

A History of Babylonia and Assyria

Volume I

Robert William Rogers

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PREFACE

During the past ten years, when not absorbed in the duties of a busy professorship, I have given my time to the preparation of this work. In its interest I have made repeated journeys to Europe, and also to the East, and the greater part of the text has been written in the University Library at Leipzig, the British Museum in London, and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In the last named I have had especial opportunity to investigate the early history of cuneiform research in the almost unrivaled collections of early travelers and decipherers. Large parts of the book have been rewritten twice or thrice as changes in opinion and the discovery of fresh monumental material have modified the views previously entertained. Whatever may be the judgment of my fellow-investigators in this difficult field, it will not truthfully be said that I have not taken pains.

Every part of the two volumes rests upon original sources, yet I have tried to consider all that modern Assyriologists have brought forward in elucidation of them, and have sought to give due credit for every explanation which I have accepted, and to treat with courtesy and respect any that I have ventured to reject. The progress of Assyriology in the past twenty years has been so rapid that every book on the history of Babylonia and Assyria published prior to 1880 is hopelessly antiquated, and many issued much later would need extensive revision. The work of investigation has fallen necessarily into the hands of specialists, and so vast has the field grown that there are now specialists in even small parts of the subject. The results of all this detailed research are scattered in scientific journals and monographs in almost all the languages of Europe. To sift, weigh, and decide upon their merits is no easy task, and I am sadly conscious that it might have been better done; yet am I persuaded that scholars who know the field intimately will recognize the difficulties and be most ready to pardon the shortcomings which each may discover in his own province.

I have sought to tell the whole story as scholars now generally understand it, rather being disposed to yield to the consensus of opinion, when any exists, than eager to set forth novel personal opinions. Yet in parts of the field at least I may claim to be an independent investigator, and to have made contributions to the knowledge of the subject.

In travel and in research in the libraries and museums of Paris, Berlin, Cairo, Constantinople, and elsewhere I have received many courtesies which I should gladly acknowledge here did it not seem disproportionate to carve great names on so small a structure. The obligations to my friend Professor Sayce are, however, so unusual that they must be expressed. He has read the entire book in manuscript, and made many suggestions, some of which led me to change my view, while others showed me wherein I had written obscurely or had failed to defend my position adequately. I am grateful to him for this new illustration of his unflinching kindness and generosity to younger men.

I take leave of the book with mingled pleasure, and regret, hoping only that it may prove sufficiently useful to demand and deserve a revision at no distant day.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

MADISON, NEW JERSEY, September 18, 1900.

BOOK I: PROLEGOMENA

CHAPTER I

EARLY TRAVELERS AND EARLY DECIPHERERS

Prior to 1820 the only knowledge possessed by the world of the two cities Babylon and Nineveh, and of the empires which they founded and led, was derived from peoples other than their inhabitants. No single word had come from the deep stillness of the ruins of Babylon, no voice was heard beneath the mounds of Nineveh. It would then have seemed a dream of impossible things to hope that some future day would discover buried libraries in these mounds, filled with books in which these peoples had written not only their history and chronology, but their science, their operations of building, their manners and customs, their very thoughts and emotions. That the long-lost languages in which these books were written should be recovered, that men should read them as readily and as surely as the tongues of which traditional use had never ceased among men—all this would then have seemed impossible indeed. But this and much more has happened. From these long-lost, even forgotten materials the history of Babylonia and Assyria has become known. These are now the chief sources of our knowledge, and before we begin our survey of the long line of the centuries it is well that we should look at the steps by which our sources were secured.

The story of the rediscovery of Babylonia and Assyria is really twofold. Two lines of research, pursued separately for a long time, at last formed a union, and from that union has resulted present knowledge. By the one line the ancient sources were rediscovered, by the other men learned how to read them.

The first clue which led to the rediscovery of the ancient language of Babylonia and of Assyria was not found in either of these two lands. It was not found by a scholar who set out to search for it. It was not a brilliant discovery made in a day, to become the wonder of ages. It was rather the natural result of a long, tedious, and somewhat involved process. It began and long continued to be in the hands of travelers, each learning a little from his predecessors, and then adding a mite as the result of his own observation. It was found in the most unlikely place in Persia, far from Babylonia and Assyria. The story of its finding is worth the telling, not only because it is necessary to any just appreciation of our present knowledge of Assyria and Babylonia, but because it has its own interest, and is instructive as a history of the progress of knowledge.

In Persia, forty miles northeast of Shiraz, once the capital of the kingdom, there is a range of everlasting hills, composed of a marble of dark grey limestone, which bears the name of Mount Rachmet. In front of this ridge, and in a semicircular hollow, there rises above the plain a vast terracelike platform. Nature built this terrace in part, but man at some time erected a wall in front of it, leveled off the top, and there built great palaces and temples. In the Middle Ages this land of Persia became full of interest for various reasons. It had an important commerce with Europe, and that naturally drew men of trade from Europe into its extensive plateaus, that were reeking with heat in summer, and equally uncomfortable in the bleak cold of winter. The commercial contact of Persia led, also, most naturally to diplomatic intercourse of various kinds with European states, and this intercourse gradually made the land known in some measure to the West.

The earliest European, at present known to us, who visited the great terrace at the foot of Mount Rachmet was a wandering friar, Odoricus, or Odoric, by name. He was going overland to Cathay, and on the way passed between Yezd and Huz, about 1320 A. D. He had no time to look at ruins, and appears hardly to have seen them at all. Yet his record is the first word heard in Europe concerning the ruins at Persepolis:

"I came unto a certaine citie called Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage unto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great store of victuals."¹

The passage is disappointing. Odoric was a "man of little refinement"² and, though possessed of a desire to wander and see strange sights, cared little for the intellectual or spiritual meaning of great places. It is an oft-recurring statement with him that he found good "victuals," and with that his simple soul was content. He evidently did not know what place the ancient ruins marked, and that he cared at all does not appear. So simple is his word that men have even doubted whether he ever saw the ruins with his own

eyes; but there is no real reason to doubt that he did. But even though he saw little and said less, his narrative was almost a classic before the invention of printing, and was copied frequently, as the numerous manuscripts still in existence show.³ Not very long after the invention of printing his story found expression in type. Then it became a call to others to go and see also. It is only a first voice in the dark-this word of Odoric-and long would it be ere another wayfarer should see the same relics of the past.

In the year 1472 the glorious republic of Venice dispatched an envoy to the Court of Uzun Hassan. His name was Josophat Barbaro, and he passed the same way as Odoric, but saw a little more, which he thus describes:

"Near the town of Camara is seen a circular mountain, which on one side appears to have been cut and made into a terrace six paces high. On the summit of this terrace is a flat space, and around are forty columns, which are called Cilminar, which means in our tongue Forty Columns, each of which is twenty cubits long, as thick as the embrace of three men; some of them are ruined; but, to judge from that which can still be seen, this was formerly a beautiful building. The terrace is all of one piece of rock, and upon it stand sculptured figures of animals as large as giants, and above them is a figure like those by which, in our country, we represent God the Father inclosed in a circle, and holding a ring in his hand; underneath are other smaller figures. In front is the figure of a man leaning on his bow, which is said to be a figure of Solomon. Below are many others which seem to support those above them, and among these is one who seems to wear on his head a papal miter, and holds up his open hand, apparently with the intention of giving his benediction to those below, who look up to him, and seem to stand in a certain expectation of the said benediction. Beyond this there is a tall figure on horseback, apparently that of a strong man; this they say is Samson, near whom are many other figures, dressed in the French fashion and wearing long cloaks; all these figures are in half relief. Two days' journey from this place there is a village called Thimar, and two days further off another village, where there is a tomb in which they say the mother of Solomon was buried. Over this is built an edifice in the form of a chapel, and there are Arabic letters upon it, which say, as we understand from the inhabitants of the place, Messer Suleimen⁷ which means in our tongue Temple of Solomon, and its gate looks toward the east."⁴

Barbaro had not made much advance upon Odoric, but his account was not altogether fruitless, though soon to be superseded.

When Shah Abbas the Great, king of Persia, began his long and remarkable reign (1586) Persia was a dark land to European eyes. It was he who opened it freely to ambassadors from Europe, all of whom he treated with a magnificent courtesy. The first of these ambassadors to arrive in his kingdom came from the kingdom of Portugal, sent out by Philip III, king of Spain and Portugal. This man was an Augustinian friar, Antonio de Gouvea, who came with messages both of peace and of war. It was his aim to endeavor to carry Christianity among the Persians-a message of peace-but also to induce Abbas to make war on the Osmanli Turks. He was somewhat more successful in the second than in the first object, though he did establish an Augustinian society at the Persian court. After many and sore adventures at the hands of sea pirates he again saw his native land, and published an account of his adventures. In this story he tells of a visit to Persepolis, and in these terms

"We continued our journey as far as a village called Chelminira, which in their language means Forty Minarets, because that was the number in the tomb of an ancient king which stood there.... We went to see the tomb of which I have spoken, and it is my firm belief that the mausoleum which Artemisia erected to her husband was not more notable, though it is held as one of the wonders of the world; but the mausoleum has been destroyed by time, which seems to have no power against this monument, which has also resisted the efforts of human malice.... The place is between two high ridges, and the tomb of which I have made mention is at the foot of the northern ridge. Those who say that Cyrus rebuilt the city of Shiraz, affirm also that he built for himself this famous tomb. There are indications that Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes, erected it for himself, besides another near it which he made for Queen Vashti; and this opinion is made more probable by the consideration of the short distance from this site to the city of Suzis, or Shushan, in which he generally resided.... At the foot of the ridge began two staircases facing one another, with many steps made of stones of so great a size that it will be beyond belief when I affirm that some of them, when they were first hewn, were more than twenty-five palms in circumference, ten or twelve broad, and six or eight high; and of these, there were very many throughout the whole structure, for the building was chiefly composed of them; and it was no small wonder to consider how they could have been placed one upon the other, particularly in the columns, where the stones were larger than in any other part. That which astonished us most was to see that certain small chapels were made of a single stone-doorway, pavement, walls, and roof.... The staircases, of which I have spoken, met on a broad landing, from which the whole plain was visible. The walls of the staircases were entirely covered with figures in relief, of workmanship so excellent that I doubt whether it could be surpassed; and by ascending the staircases access was gained to an extensive terrace, on which stood the forty columns which gave their name to

the place, each formed, in spite of their great size, of no more than three stones.... The bases might be thirty palms round, and on the columns were beautifully carved figures. The porches through which the terrace was entered were very high and the walls very thick; at each end stood out figures of lions and other fierce animals, carved in relief in the same stone; so well executed that they seemed to be endeavoring to terrify the spectators. The likeness of the king was drawn life-size upon the porches and in many other parts.

"From this place was an ascent to another much higher, where was a chamber excavated in the hillside, which must have been intended to contain the king's body, although the natives, imagining that it contained a different treasure, have broken into it, having little respect for the ancient memory of him who constructed it.

"The inscriptions-which relate to the foundation of the edifice, and, no doubt, also, declare the author of it--although they remain in many parts very distinct, yet there is none that can read them, for they are not in Persian, nor Arabic, nor Armenian, nor Hebrew, which are the languages current in those parts; and thus all helps to blot out the memory of that which the ambitious king hoped to make eternal. And because the hardness of the material of which it is built still resists the wear of time, the inhabitants of the place, ill treated or irritated by the numbers of visitors who came to see this wonder, set to work to do it as much injury as they could, taking as much trouble perhaps to deface it as the builders had done to erect it. The hard stone has resisted the effect of fire and steel, but not without showing signs of injury."⁵

From this narrative it is plain that the militant friar had learned more of the ruins than had Odoric or Barbaro. He no longer believes that Solomon had ought to do with them, but connects them with fair degree of exactness with the Persian kings. He also is more accurate and explicit concerning the inscriptions which he saw. They had already begun to exercise over his mind some little spell-a spell which was soon to hold a large part of Europe beneath its sway.

The next ambassador whom Philip III sent out to Shah Abbas was Don Garcia de Sylva y Figueroa, who likewise visited the great ruins. On his return to Isfahan he wrote a letter, in 1619, to the Marquess de Bedmar. It was written originally in Spanish, but immediately was done into Latin and published at Antwerp in 1620. This letter of a brilliant man completely superseded Gouvea's account, and evidently made a profound impression in Europe. Within five years it was translated into English, so receiving still greater publicity. His description of the ruins of Persepolis runs after this fashion:

"There are yet remaining most of those huge wilde buildings of the Castle and Palace of Persepolis, so much celebrated in the monuments of ancient writers. These frames do the Arabians and Persians in their owne language call Chilminara: which is as much as if you should say in Spanish Quarenta Columnas, or Alcoranas: for so they call those high narrow round steeples which the Arabians have in their Mesquites. This rare, yea and onely monument of the world (which farre exceedeth all the rest of the World's miracles that we have seen or heard of), sheweth it selfe to them that come to this Citie from the Towne of Xiria, and standeth about a league from the River Bandamir, in times past called Araxis (not that which parteth Media from the greater Armenia), whereof often mention is made by Q. Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch: which Authors doe point us oute the situation of Persepolis, and doe almost lead us unto it by the hand. The largenesse, fairnesse, and long-lasting matter of these Pillars appeareth by the twentieth which are yet left of alike fashion; which with other remaynders of those stately Piles do move admiration in the minde of beholders, and cannot but with much labour and at leisure be layed open. But since it is your Lordships hap to live now at Venice, where you may see some resemblance of the things which I am about to write of, I will briefly tell you that most of the pictures of men, that, ingraven in marble, doe seele the front, the sides, and statelier parts of this building, are decked with a very comely cloathing, and clad in the same fashion which the Venetian Magnificoes goe in: that is Gownes downe to the heeles, with wide sleeves, with round flat caps, their hair spread to the shoulders, and notably long beards. Yee may see in these tables some men sitting with great maiestie in certayne loftier chaires, such as use to bee with us in the Quires and Chapter--Houses of Cathedrall Churches, appointed for the seates of the chiefe Prelates; the seate being supported with a little foote-stoole neatly made, about a hand high. And, which is very worthy of wonder in so divers dresses of so many men as are ingraven in these tables, none cometh neere the fashion which is at this day, or hath bene these many Ages past, in use through all Asia. For though out of all Antiquitie we can gather no such arguments of the cloathing of Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, as we finde many of the Greekes and Romanes; yet it appeareth sufficiently that they used garments of a middle size for length, like the Punique vest used by the Turks and Persians at this day, which they call Aljuba, and these Cavaia and shashes round about their heads, distinguished yet both by fashion and colour from the Cidaris, which is the Royall Diademe. Yet verily in all this sculpture (which, though it be ancient, yet shineth as neatly as if it were but new-done) you can see no picture that is like or in the workmanship resembleth any other, which the memorie of man could yet attaine to the knowledge of from any part of the World:

so that this worke may seeme to excede all Antiquities. Now nothing more confirmeth this than one notable Inscription cut in a Jasper table, with characters still so fresh and faire that one would, wonder how it could scape so many Ages without touch of the least blemish. The Letters themselves are neither Chaldean, nor Hebrew, nor Greeke, nor Arabike, nor of any other Nation which was ever found of old, or at this day to be extant. They are all three cornered, but somewhat long, of the forme of a Pyramide, or such a little Obeliske as I have set in the margin (); so that in nothing do they differ from one another but in their placing and situation, yet so conformed that they are wondrous plaine, distinct and perspicuous. What kind of building the whole was (whether Corinthian, Ionick or mixt) cannot be gathered from the remaynder of these ruines: which is otherwise in the old broken walls at Rome, by which that may easily be discerned. Notwithstanding the wondrous and artificiall exactness of the worke, the beautie and elegancy of it shining out of the proportion and symmetrie, doth dazzle the eyes of the beholders. But nothing amazed me more than the hardnesse and durableness of these Marbles and Jaspers; for in many places there are Tables so solide, and so curiously wrought and polished that ye may see your face in them as in a glasse. Besides the Authors by me already commended, Arrianus and Justine make special mention of this Palace; and they report that Alexander the Great (at the instigation of Thais) did burne it downe. But most delicately of all doth Diodorus deliver this storie.

"The whole Castle was encompassed with a threefold circle of walls, the greater part whereof bath yielded to the time and weather. There stand also the sepulchres of their kings, placed on the side of that hill, at the foote whereof the Castle itself is built; and the monuments stand just so faire from one another as Diodorus reporteth. In a worke, all doth so agree with his discourse of it that he that bath seene this and read that cannot possibly be deceived."⁶

Sylva y Figueroa had evidently more interest in the peoples of the ancient Orient than in their languages. He had not given much attention to the inscriptions which he saw, and the idea of attempting to copy any of these strange characters never seems to have entered his mind. It was a pity that this did not occur to him, for the wide dissemination of his letter would have earlier introduced Europe to the idea that here was another great field for study. These mysterious signs would even then have attracted attention. But Europe was now soon to learn something of the appearance of these strange signs.

In the years 1614-1626 Pietro della Valle traversed a large part of Turkey, Persia, and India. On this journey he wrote "familiar" letters, which were in reality almost treatises upon geography, history, and ethnology, to a friend and physician, Illario Schipano, at Naples. In passing through Persia he visited the ruins of Persepolis, once the capital of ancient Persia. Here he marked that the city was surrounded upon three sides by mountains which broke off abruptly, leaving smooth precipice surfaces around it. Upon this smooth rock in a number of places he found strange marks, evidently made by the hand of man, and intended to paean something. What language this might be or what letters he had no idea. In a letter written October 21, 1621, he described the appearance of these strange signs, and even went so far as to copy down into his letter a few of them:⁷



and that without very great exactness. Commenting upon these signs, he remarks that in the second one of them, consisting of three strokes down, ward and one pointing toward the right, there seemed to be indications that it was made from left to right, and not from right to left. He had thus already begun to speculate upon the question as to whether this unknown language was read from right to left, as were most of the oriental tongues of which he had knowledge, or whether it was to be read, like the European languages, from left to right. On the ground already alleged, and upon other grounds which he then proceeds to state, he decided that this tongue was really to be read from left to right. The appearance of these few signs in his published letters were the first sight which Europe gained of the appearance of the written language of ancient Persia. His letters were repeatedly reprinted and must have had an extensive circulation. So came the learned of Europe to know that the ancient Persians had carved some sort of language on the rocks at Persepolis, but what these signs might mean none knew, and there was apparently no clue to their meaning. But to Pietro della Valle belongs the honor of beginning the long line of men who contributed little by little toward the reading of Assyrian and Babylonian books.⁸

Pietro della Valle was, however, not long left in possession of the honors of primacy in his examination of Persepolis. In 1627 Sir Dodmore Cotton, accredited to the Persian court as ambassador, sailed away from England, In his suite was a boy of nineteen years of age, by name Thomas Herbert. The party landed at Gombrun, Persian Gulf, on January 10, 1627-8, and thence proceeded

to Ashraff for an audience with the king. They later visited Mount Taurus and Casbin, where Cotton and Sir Robert Shirley, who was also in the suite, died, and Herbert was left free to continue his travels. Herbert saw much of Persia and of Babylonia before reaching England at the end of 1629. In 1634 he published an account of these travels and devoted a few pages to Persepolis and Chilmanor.⁹ In his description he is very entertainingly discursive concerning the "Images of Lions, Tygres, Griffins, and Bulls of rare sculpture and proportion"¹⁰ which he saw there, but he says not a word about inscriptions. In 1638 he issued a second edition, considerably enlarged, in which Persepolis receives more attention, and is introduced in quaint and enthusiastic phrase, thus:

"Let us now (what pace you please) to Persepolis, not much out of the road: but were it a thousand times further, it merits our paines to view it; being indeed the only brave Antique Monument (not in Persia alone) but through all the Orient."¹¹

In this edition he comes up to the question of inscriptions, and so alludes to them:

"In part of this great roome (not farre from the portall) in a mirrour of polisht marble, wee noted above a dozen lynes of strange-characters, very faire and apparent to the eye, but so mystical], so odly framed, as no Hieroglyphick, no other deep conceit can be more difficultly fancied, more adverse to the intellect. These consisting of Figures, obelisk, triangular, and pyramidall, yet in such Simmetry and order as cannot well be called barbarous. Some resemblance, I thought some words had, of the Antick Greek, shadowing out Ahasuerus Theos. And, though it have small concordance with the Hebrew, Greek, or Latine letter, yet questionlesse to the Inventa it was well knowne; and peradventure may conceale some excellent matter, though to this day wrapt up in the dim leafes of envious obscuritie"¹²

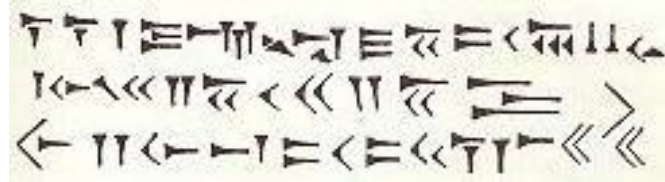
Even here Herbert did not cease the work of elaborating his description of Persepolis. He did, however, rest a few years, and in that time another traveler had seen the ruins. This was J. Albert de Mandelslo, a member of an "Embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein to the great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia," who traveled in the East 1638-1640. The account of his wanderings was written down by Olearius, secretary to the embassy, and an English translation appeared in 1662. Mandelslo also described the columns as usual and then added this statement:

"Near these chambers may be seen, engraven upon a square pillar, certain unknown characters, which have nothing common with either the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabian, nor indeed with any other language. There are twelve lines of these characters, which, as to their figure, are triangular, Piramidal, or like obeliskes, but so well graven and so proportionate, that those who did them cannot be thought Barbarians: Some believe, they are Telesmes, and that they contain some secrets which Time will discover."¹³

In 1677 Herbert issued the fourth impression of the account of his travels. In this he devotes still more space to Persepolis and its inscriptions, and it is altogether probable that he was moved to this by Mendelslo's book, and being desirous that he should not lose the credit of being first to publish a copy of the inscriptions, he includes a specimen plate. In its revised form the account deserves quotation here:

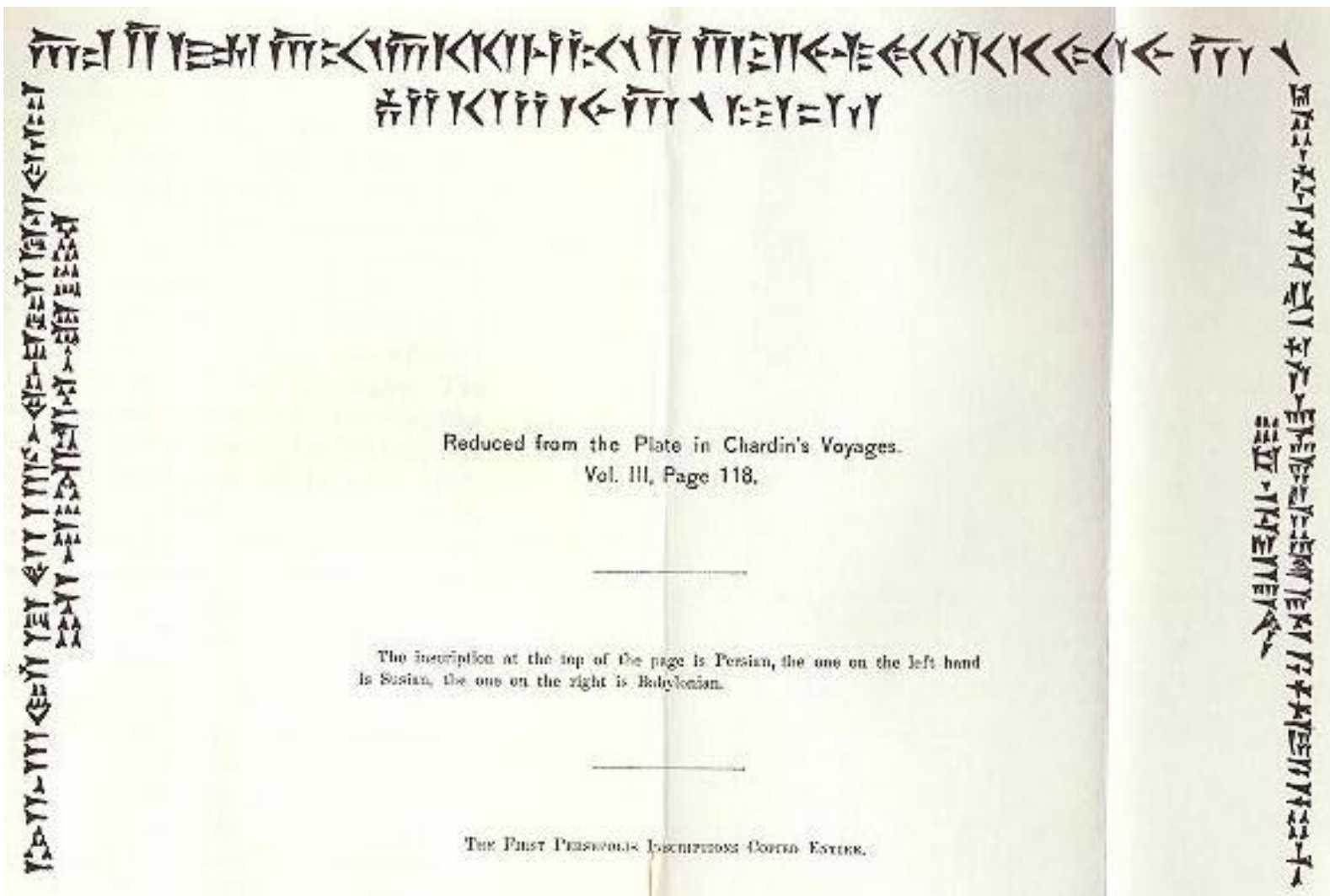
"Adjoyning these toward the West is a Jasper or Marble Table about twenty foot from the pavement, wherein are inscribed about twenty lines of Characters, every line being a yard and a half broad or thereabouts; all of them are very perfect to the eye, and the stone so well polished that it reserves its lustre. The Characters are of a strange and unusual shape; neither like Letters nor Hieroglyphicks; yea so far from our deciphering them that we could not so much as snake any positive judgment whether they were words or Characters; albeit I rather incline to the first, and that they comprehended words or syllables, as in *Brach-yography* or Short-writing we familiarly practise nor indeed could we judge whether the writing were from the right hand to the left, according to the *Chaldee*, and usual manner of these Oriental Countreys; or from the left hand to the right, as the Greeks, Romans and other Nations imitating their Alphabets have accustomed. Nevertheless, by the posture and tendency of some of the Characters (which consist of several magnitudes) it may be supposed that this writing was rather from the left hand to the right, as the *Armenian* and *Indian* do at this day. And concerning the Characters, albeit I have since compared them with the twelve several Alphabets in *Postellus*, and after that with those eight and fifty different Alphabets I find in *Purchas*, most of which are borrowed from that learned Scholar Gromay, which indeed comprehend all or most of the various forms of letters that either now or at any time have been in use through the greatest part of the Universe, I could not perceive that these had the least resemblance or coherence with any of them: which is very strange, and certainly renders it the greater curiosity; and therefore well worthy the scrutiny of some ingenious Persons that delight themselves in this dark and difficult Art or Exercise of deciphering. For, how

obscure so ever these seemed to us, without doubt they were at some time understood, and peradventure by Daniel, who probably might be the surveyour and instruct the Architector of this Palace, as he was of those memorable Buildings at Shushan and Eebatan; for it is very likely that this structure was raised by Astyages or his Grandson Cyrus; and is acknowledged that this great Prophet (who likewise was a Civil Officer in highest trust and repute during those great revolutions of State under the mighty Monarchs Nebuchodonosor, Belshazzar, Astyages, Darius, and Cyrits) had his mysterious Characters: So as how incommunicable so ever these Characters be to us (for they bear the resemblance of pyramids inverted or with bases upwards, Triangles or Delta's, or (if I may so compare them) with the Lamed in the Samaritan Alphabet, which is writ the contrary way to the same letter in the Chaldee and Hebrew), yet doubtless in the Age these were engraven they were both legible and intelligible; and not to be imagined that they were there placed either to amuse or to delude the spectators; for it cannot be denied but that the Persians in those primitive times had letters peculiar to themselves, which differed from all those of other Nations, according to the testimony of a learned Author, *Persae proprios habebant Characteres, qui hodie in vestigiis antiquorum Monumentorum vix inveniuntur*. However, I have thought fit to insert a few of these for better demonstration



which nevertheless whiles they cannot be read, will in all probability like the Mene Tekel without the help of a Daniel hardly be interpreted."¹⁴

These quotations from the successive editions of Herbert show a book in the very process of growth, but they unfortunately do not show much development of the author's knowledge. Herbert had, however, in the fourth impression consulted his notes to greater advantage, and brought forth from them some copies of cuneiform signs. These were the first that had been published in England, but unhappily they did not form a complete inscription. The first two lines come from one inscription, and the third from another, and the copying was not very well done. It was a pity that Herbert had not taken the time and pains necessary to make a complete as well as a correct copy of one inscription however small. That would have been a genuine contribution to learning. As it happened Herbert's book contributed nothing of scientific importance to the pursuit of knowledge concerning the East. It is, however, certainly true that this entertainingly written narrative play have influenced later work by arousing fresh interest in the ruined palaces, and the mystic inscriptions at Persepolis.



The copies of a few signs by Pietro della Valle and by Herbert, however, aroused no special interest, and there was in reality hardly enough of these signs even to awaken curiosity.

In the same manner the few signs which an English traveler, Mr. S. Flower, copied and published in England failed of arousing any interest in the rocks and their inscriptions at Persepolis.¹⁵

The first real impulse to an attempt at unraveling the secrets of Persepolis was given by Sir John Chardin. Born at Paris in 1643, and early a wanderer, this man, after long voyages, saw the rocks at Persepolis¹⁶ Many things he had learned in his journeyings, and among them had found how important it was to make copies of inscriptions, whether one could read them or not. He was the first to copy one of these little Persian inscriptions entire. When this was published¹⁷ it was at last possible for students to see some of the peculiarities of this method of writing. It was now plainly seen that the characters were made up of little wedges and arrowheads-of which the latter were formed by the combination of two of the former. By combinations of these wedges and arrowheads the most complex-looking signs were produced. In all of them this one abiding rule seemed to be followed, that the wedges always pointed to the right or downward, and that the arrowheaded forms were always open toward the right. The prevalence of this rule seemed to confirm the guess already hazarded more than once that the language was really to be read from left to right. But, though Chardin's published inscription awakened, for the first time, some genuine interest in the matter, there was found no man so bold as to essay a decipherment of the enigmatic signs.

After Chardin the next man to see the ruins of Persepolis was Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who was, however, too much interested in himself and in his reception by the king to pay much attention to the past and its great monuments. But in a short time there came another traveler who was interested in the past more than the present. On June 13, 1693, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Carreri started away from Naples to make the circuit of the globe, and to the same city he returned December 3, 1699, having

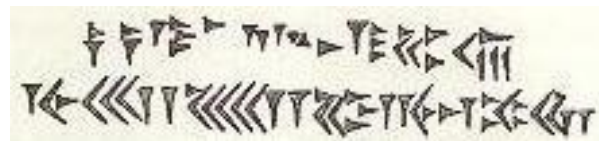
accomplished the task. In 1694 he was in Persia and naturally visited the ruins of Persepolis. He is very explicit in his statements as to how he traveled to the ruins and is careful in reporting the dimensions of everything which he saw. After some preliminary description he makes some statements about the inscriptions in this form

"On the South Side outwards there is an Inscription cut on an empty space 15 spans long, and 7 broad, in such a character that there is now no understanding Person in the World that can make anything of it. It is neither Caldee, nor Hebrew, nor Arabick, nor Greek, nor of any of those Languages the Learned have Knowledge, but only Triangles of several Sorts, severally plac'd, the various placing whereof perhaps formed divers words, and express'd some Thoughts. The most receiv'd Opinion is, that they are Characters of the ancient Goris, who were Sovereigns. of Persia; but this is not easily to be made out, the Goris themselves being at present very ignorant as to their Antiquities, and unfit to give any Judgment of such things....Not far off on a. Pilaster of the same black marble, is an Inscription in the same Character, and another on such another Stone; which I observing, and remembering those I had seen before, began to consider with myself, how easily human Judgment is mistaken, and how different things happen, to what Man proposes to himself; for whereas the Author thought by means of those inscriptions to have eterniz'd his Memory with Posterity, which the beauty of the work well deserv'd, yet quite the contrary we see is fallen out....

"Such precious Remains of Antiquity well deserve to be cut in Copper for the satisfaction of the Ingenious, before they are quite lost through the fault of the natives; but it is a difficult matter to draw above two thousand Basse Relieves, and a vast charge to print them. The Reader therefore will think it enough that I have drawn the Plan of the Palace, with some of the principal Figures; that there may be some knowledge of the several Habits of the antient Persians; and two lines of twelve there are in the inscription on the Pilaster of the first Floor; perhaps hereafter some more fortunate searcher into the oriental languages may employ his wit on it.

"Having very well spent all the Day in seeing and distinctly observing the best part of those Antiquities, I returned, and was scarce come to the place where I had left my Armenian Servant before I hear'd him as'k me whether I had found the Treasure; he believing the Inscriptions were in Portugese, and that I had Read them and taken the Treasure, as the Carvansedar had told him; which made me laugh heartily all the Way."

By the side of this narrative Carreri presents a copperplate illustration of the platform at Persepolis, showing the columns of the palace still standing in front of the mountain. Above this picture are two lines of inscription as follows:



[Reproduced in the same size as the copy given in Churchill's republication of Carreri's narrative.¹⁸]

It is evidently the purpose of Carreri to leave upon the reader's mind the impression that he had copied these characters himself. This, however, is certainly not true. A slight examination and comparison reveal the fact that these two lines are made up out of the three lines of Herbert, with but slight changes. Here, then, is a clear case of deception proved at once upon the Neapolitan. He has borrowed, and that rather stupidly, from his English predecessor. In this matter, at least, he has made no contribution to the search for facts about records at Persepolis. To make the matter rather worse, the picture of the platform at Persepolis, which he gives beneath his plate of inscriptions, is also borrowed without acknowledgment. It had already appeared in Daulier-Deslandes.¹⁹

His punishment has been severe. It has even been this, that men have been moved to say that Carreri copied much more than the plate of inscriptions and the Plan of Persepolis; that he copied, indeed, everything in his book, and had never been absent from Naples at all, nor had seen anything which he describes. This is, however, an excess of skepticism. He doubtless borrowed much from his predecessors, a common habit then, and not altogether unknown among travelers even now, but there is really no reason to believe that the whole of Carreri's narrative was fictitious.

But that question aside, the book of Carreri is of importance in the history of decipherment; not indeed that his copy or his description was of any practical use, but because his book was widely read in Europe, and had its share in keeping alive the interest in Persepolis and in stimulating more. And that was no mean service.

The slow assaults upon these inscriptions at Persepolis were now becoming international. The Spanish, Italians, English, and French had all made their observations. It was now in order that a German, Engelrecht Kaempfer, should make his contribution to the unraveling of the mystery. Kaempfer was a physician, born and trained in Germany, but largely become a Hollander by residence and service. He had already made important contributions to science through long residence in Japan, where he had studied the botany and then the manners, customs, and the history of that then unknown land. From the mystery of Japan he turned to the mystery of Persia, and not knowing exactly what he did, copied again the little three-line inscription which Chardin had already prepared for publication. That would have been no new contribution to the work had he gone no further, but he made a gain by publishing for the first time a long inscription, which was not in old Persian at all, but in Assyro-Babylonian.²⁰ The difference between the two inscriptions he does not appear to have noticed, and he certainly did not know in what language or languages these texts might be written. The longer inscription appears to have interested him most, and upon this he made some observations which sprang naturally out of his former studies in Chinese and Japanese. His question was in simplest form this: Have we in these strange-looking inscriptions a language written in alphabetic, in syllabic, or in ideographic characters Or, in another form; do these little wedge-shaped signs represent in each case a letter, a syllable, or a word? His decision was that the signs were ideographic, each of them representing an idea or a word. If he had reference in this judgment only to his longer inscription, and not to the smaller one at all, his decision was correct, and may very possibly have influenced those who came after him to a proper decision at the beginning of their researches.

Kaempfer spent the later days of his life in the Netherlands. His work might almost entirely be claimed as Holland's contribution to this international enterprise if there were any need so to do. But Holland was now to make its own direct contribution through one of its own sons, Cornelis de Bruin, who visited the ruins in 1704, and also copied inscriptions there. Ten years later an account of his travels over Moscovia, Persia, and India was published in sumptuous style in Amsterdam. In this new work there were reproduced two inscriptions in a threefold form. In reality the threefold form was later discovered to be three languages, but Bruin believed that he had really published six inscriptions, and not merely two inscriptions repeated in three languages. Bruin reproduced two other inscriptions each in a single language. Bruin's book was first published in Dutch,²¹ but afterward appeared in French.²² Its influence upon the progress of these studies was surprisingly small. The very costliness of its magnificent original publication might have made it accessible to few, and in this there is possibly some explanation of its slight influence. But the French edition, in a language more extensively used, and in a form more simple, must have had a considerable circulation. Yet even from this there came no impulse. Europe looked idly over the plates in which these strange characters appeared and apparently made no attempt to get at their secret. They were still matters of curiosity, but their publication at all was an achievement which could not be permanently fruitless. The restless spirit of man would be in pursuit of them shortly, and then each line published by one traveler after another would be eagerly scanned, and every single suggestion or hint weighed and considered. Other travelers planning to visit these same lands in the age before guidebooks, would read the accounts of their predecessors, and, inspired by them, would go to see the same ruins and to bring back more complete copies of these little inscriptions. In this was the chief hope for the future. All the copies which were yet made were too brief to offer a good chance for translation, or even decipherment. They were furthermore inaccurate in very important matters. There could be no hope of a successful decipherment until the quiet scholar in his library had copies in which every line, every wedge, every little corner, was accurately reproduced. The improvement in this respect had thus far not been great. The gain had been chiefly in the number of texts offered. If the proposition made by the Royal Society of London, when Mr. Flower's copies were first presented, in 1693, had been followed, and a complete copy made of all these inscriptions by a competent hand, the attempts to decipher would have undoubtedly begun much earlier than they did.

In this story of a slow-moving effort at decipherment the small must find its mention along with the great; and there is need to turn for a moment from Persepolis to mention the publication made in 1762 of a beautiful vase.²³ Upon this were inscribed at the upper part one long line of cuneiform characters, followed by a shorter line of the same. By the side of this shorter line were some hieroglyphic characters. Like the publications which preceded it, this also failed of any influence upon the progress of research at this time. The hieroglyphic signs were not yet deciphered, for the Rosetta stone had not yet been found by Napoleon's soldiers as they threw up their breastworks. If the Egyptian could have then been read, men would certainly have seized upon this little vase as containing a clue to the decipherment of the cuneiform characters. It would then have appeared as a bilingual text, in which the Egyptian formed one part and the cuneiform the other. By this means Egyptian would have become the mother study for Assyrian. Later this vase played a part both in Egyptian and in Assyrian studies, and then it became known that, like the monuments at Persepolis, the two lines of cuneiform texts were in reality written in three separate languages. The publication of the inscriptions on the vase was made by the French. So were the European nations, one by one, giving their share of time and labor to the international work. The greater ones among them had now done something, the smaller had yet hardly begun. One of these, the people of Denmark, was now to begin making contributions of great importance which should carry the investigations far beyond anything that had yet been attained. In the month of March, 1765, the ruins of Persepolis were visited by Carsten Niebuhr. He, like some of his predecessors, had had long experience of travel, and, unlike the others, was a man of exact and methodical habits of work. He had, furthermore, prepared for just this work by a perusal of Bruin and Chardin, and apparently, also, even by the reading of Pietro della Valle. The references which he gives to the two former show the continuity of study and indicate afresh how much these early voyagers had really accomplished, even when their work appeared to count for little at the time. Niebuhr's description of the ruins of Persepolis makes careful note of the changes which had come to the ruins by the ravages of time and the hand of man since Bruin had seen them, and then hurries on to the real matter which most concerned him. His distinguished son has thus set forth the enthusiasm and the methods of Niebuhr in these

researches:

"These ruins, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs had been sufficiently well represented by three former travelers to arouse the attention of Niebuhr as the most important monument of the East. The number of inscriptions and sculptures made him hope that an interpreter might be found who, by comparing them, would be able to understand them, if once correct copies of them were placed before him; and Niebuhr's keen eye told him how insufficient the drawings hitherto published were. Nothing out of all that he saw in Asia attracted him so powerfully in anticipation; he could not rest until he had reached Persepolis, and the last night saw him sleepless. The remembrance of these ruins remained ineffaceable all his life long; they were for him the gem of all that he had viewed.

"Three weeks and a half he remained beneath them, in the midst of a wilderness; and during this time he worked without interruption at the measurement and drawing of the ruins. The inscriptions are placed high up on the walls, and were clearly to be distinguished only when the sun shone upon them; as in this atmosphere the hard, originally polished marble is not weatherworn, his eyes, already affected by the uninterrupted work, were dangerously inflamed; and this, as well as the death of his Armenian servant, obliged him, much against his will, to leave the old Persian sanctuary before he had completed his drawings."

It would seem from this that it was the design of Niebuhr to copy every inscription which he could find at Persepolis. That would have been a great task indeed. Even without this completeness he achieved a result attained by no one who had preceded him. He republished several of the texts which Bruin and Kaempfer had published before him, but in a form far excelling them for accuracy. To these he added four texts which had not before appeared in any work. But Niebuhr made other contributions besides merely reporting the state of the ruins and giving copies of the inscriptions. His long journeyings ended in Denmark on November 20, 1767. A certain amount of leisure was now secured, and while writing the narrative of his travels²⁴ for the press he went over these little inscriptions and made some discoveries concerning them. It was in the first place clear to him that the conjectures of earlier students, that this writing was to be read from left to right, were correct. That was a good point of approach, and with that in mind he compared all his copies and soon determined that in them there were really three separate systems of writing. These three systems were always kept distinct in the inscriptions. In one of them the little wedges were not so complex in their combinations, in the second the complexity had some-what increased, while in the third it had become much greater. He did not, however, come to what now seems a natural conclusion, that three languages were here represented. He held rather to the view that the proud builders of Persepolis had carved their inscriptions in a threefold form, the same words being written in more complicated characters. Having come thus far, he made still another step in advance. He divided these little inscriptions into three distinct classes, according to the manner of their writing, calling them Class I, II, and III. He then arranged all those, which he had copied, that belonged to Class I, and by careful comparison decided that in them there were employed altogether but forty-two (42) signs. These he copied out and set in order in one of his plates.²⁵ This list of signs was so nearly complete and accurate that later study has made but slight changes in it. When Niebuhr had made his list of signs he naturally enough decided that this language, whatever it might be, was written in alphabetic characters. This much was finally determined, and future investigation would not overthrow it. Far beyond all his predecessors had Niebuhr gone. It is a pity that he was not able to go still further and essay the decipherment of one of these little inscriptions of the first class. For this, however, he did not possess the requisite linguistic genius, nor had he at command the various historical data necessary for its solution. He had given the world the material in a new and substantially correct form, and he had pointed out the proper place to begin; the rest must be left for another.

For just this which Niebuhr had furnished the learned world had been waiting. The words of Bruin and Chardin had awakened no scholar to attempts to decipher the texts which they had copied, simply because so little had been offered by them. Soon after the richer store of Niebuhr had been published, two scholars were at work seriously attempting to decipher these texts. The first was Olav Gerhard Tychsen, professor of oriental languages in the University of Rostock, in Germany; the other was Friedrich Minter, the Danish academician of Copenhagen. Tychsen made a very important discovery in the beginning of his researches, that remained to guide future workers. He observed that there occurred at irregular intervals in the inscriptions of the first class a wedge that pointed neither directly to the right nor downward, but inclined diagonally. This wedge Tychsen suggested was the dividing sign used to separate words.²⁶ This very simple discovery later became of very great importance in the hands of Minter. Of more general importance was his statement that "all the inscriptions of Niebuhr, with a single exception, are trilingual."²⁷ In that sentence spoke a linguist; the previous workers had been travelers, men of science, men of skill. The matter was now in the hands of men accustomed to deal with languages, and the promise of ultimate success was yearly growing brighter. The rest of Tychsen's work was not of enduring character. He argued wrongly as to the age of the buildings at Persepolis, and reached the erroneous conclusion that these inscriptions had been written during the Parthian dynasty (246 B. C.-227 A. D.). This error in history vitiated his promising attempt at the decipherment of one small inscription which had been found above the figure of a king. He rendered it thus:

"This is the king, this is Arsaces the great, this is Arsaces, this is Arsaces, the perfect and the king, this is Arsaces the divine, the pious, the admirable hero."²⁸

But a later investigator was to show that this was not an inscription of Arsaces at all, and that scarcely a word of it had been correctly

rendered. This statement makes the work of Tychsen appear almost abortive, but such a judgment would not be just. He had indeed failed in the greater effort, but in making that he had, nevertheless, gained several smaller steps, and at the place thus attained another might begin and travel farther.

Minter was more fortunate than Tychsen in his historic researches, and that made him also more successful in his linguistic attempts. He rightly identified the builders of Persepolis with the Achaemenides, and so located in time the authors of the inscriptions. This was great gain, the full force of which he was not able to appreciate nor to utilize. He also agreed with the judgment of the former workers that the texts were to be read from left to right, and was beyond them in his full recognition of three languages, of which the last two were translations of the first. Independently of Tychsen, he recognized the oblique wedge as the divider between words, and was able to go far beyond this, even to the recognizing of the vowel "a" and the consonant "b." This was the first sure step in the decipherment. From our present point of view it may sound small, but it is to be remembered that it was made without the assistance of any bilingual text, taken bodily out of the darkness and gloom which had settled over this language centuries before. It was an achievement far exceeding that of the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which was secured by the aid of a bilingual text containing Greek. The name of Minter may well be held in honor among all who covet knowledge of the past of the Orient.

With the material which Minter had it would have been difficult to go farther, but events were now to make accessible to another man of genius, adapted to such work, new material which would greatly simplify the labor of decipherment. This new material did not directly concern the inscriptions of Persepolis, but it did cast welcome light upon them. It is connected with three great names in the annals of oriental studies, and romantic in its personal, as in its scientific connections.

In the year 1731 there was born at Paris a boy whose parents gave him the name of Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, and destined him to the priesthood. In the seminary studies, carried on for this purpose, the young man learned Hebrew, and that introduced him to the fascination of the oriental world, as it has many another since his day. His soul forgot its dedication to the priesthood and became absorbed in oriental study at the Royal Library of Paris. Here he attracted the notice of Abbe Sallier, who secured for him a small stipend as a student of Arabic and Persian. In that treasure-house of human knowledge there fell into his hands a few leaves of an oriental manuscript, in which were written words sacred in the religion of Zoroaster. The language best known as Avestan, but long erroneously called Zend, he could not read, and his soul burned with longing to learn what these strange characters should be, and what the language which they expressed. He determined, even in his hopeless poverty, to get out to India, there to learn from the priests of Zoroastrianism the language of their sacred books. The times were troubled; war was likely at any time to begin between France and England in India, and even now French troops were about to be dispatched thither. With these lay his only hope of reaching the land of his dreams. He enlisted as a common soldier, but before he had sailed from L'Orient his friends had appealed to the minister, who gave him a discharge, provided free passage, with a seat at the captain's table, and ordered a salary paid him on arrival at his destination. He landed, on the 10th of August, 1755, at Pondi-cherry, and waited a short time to study modern Persian, and later at Chandernagore to study Sanskrit. When the war broke out between France and England he suffered terrible privations. At last his reward came at Surat, where he ingratiated himself with the priests and acquired enough knowledge of the language to translate the dictionary Veditad-Sade and other works. In May, 1762, he arrived at Paris poor and exhausted, but laden with oriental manuscripts to the number of one hundred and eighty. Out of this store he published in 1771 the Zend-Avesta, which brought to Europe its first sight of the sacred books of the followers of Zoroaster. This publication was of immense value to the study of religion and of history, but it was now destined to exert another potent influence. The linguistic collections of Anquetil-Duperron were organized and systematized by Eugene Burnouf, and it was this fact that was to have an important bearing upon the study of the inscriptions of Persepolis.

After Anquetil-Duperron and Eugene Burnouf there is to be added the name of Silvestre de Sacy, the greatest Arabic scholar of his age, as one who, without intending so to do, cast a valuable side light upon Persepolitan research.

In Persia travelers had long been noticing inscriptions written during the Sassanian period in the Pehlevi character (227-641 A. D.). In the years 1787-1791 Sylvestre de Sacy, who was later to lay the foundations of Arabic philology on which its present structure is still standing, began the decipherment of these inscriptions, and soon conquered their mystery sufficiently to gain at least their general sense. He found that they had a stereotyped form from which there was scarcely ever a departure, and that they run about in this style:

"N., the great king, the king of kings, the king of Iran and Aniran, son of N., the great king, etc." That discovery had its own importance in its own field, but, like the work of Duperron and Burnouf, it was now to be applied to other uses by a man whose aim was to decipher much older inscriptions.

If now we look back over this long story, reaching from the earlier part of the fourteenth century down to the very beginning of the nineteenth, and gather up the loose threads of our story, we shall be the better able to understand the method and the results which were now to be revealed.

Out of Persepolis, by the combined efforts of a long line of travelers, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, Danish, and Portuguese, there had been brought to Europe copies of some little inscriptions written in cuneiform characters. It had already been learned concerning them that they belonged to the age of the Achaemenides, that they were written in three languages, of which the first was ancient Persian, that this ancient Persian was almost, if not quite wholly, an alphabetic language, with possibly some syllabic signs, and that of these alphabetic signs two, namely, "a" and "b," were almost certainly made out, while of some others possible or even probable meanings were suggested. To this were now to be added two valuable side lights. The decipherment of the Avestan language had supplied the grammatical structure and much of the vocabulary of a language spoken over the very same territory as that in which Persian had formerly held dominion. It was exceedingly probable that it had taken up many words, with some changes, from the more ancient tongue which scholars were now trying to decipher. It was likely, also, to represent in its grammatical structure, in its declensions or conjugations, some reminiscence of old Persian. In grammar, syntax, or lexicon of Avestan there was a good hope of finding something that might be made useful to the decipherer. Some of this material was accessible to Tychsen and to Munter, but they had not known how to use it with best effect. There is a gift for deciphering, as there is a gift of tongues. But not only from this work of Duperron and Burnouf was there new material; valuable hints might be had from the discoveries of De Sacy concerning the inscriptions of Sassanian kings. The style in which the Sassanian kings wrote their inscriptions was very probably copied from the style in which the older Achaemenides had written. That was not certain, but as a hypothesis upon which to work it might prove useful.

In this we have shown what the material was, what the problem, and what the essays made for its solution, and now there was a call for a man able to practice a method by which all that existed of fact or of hypothesis could be brought to bear, and the successful result be achieved. But even while this preliminary work was going on the genius who should achieve the result was preparing.

CHAPTER II

GROTEFEND AND RAWLINSON

IT were difficult, if not impossible, to define the qualities of mind which must inhere in the decipherer of a forgotten language. He is not necessarily a great scholar, though great scholars have been successful decipherers. He may know but little of the languages that are cognate with the one whose secrets he is trying to unravel. He may indeed know nothing of them, as has several times been the case. But the patience, the persistence, the power of combination, the divine gift of insight, the historical sense, the feeling for archaeological indications, these must be present, and all these were present in the extraordinary man who now attacked the problem that had baffled so many.

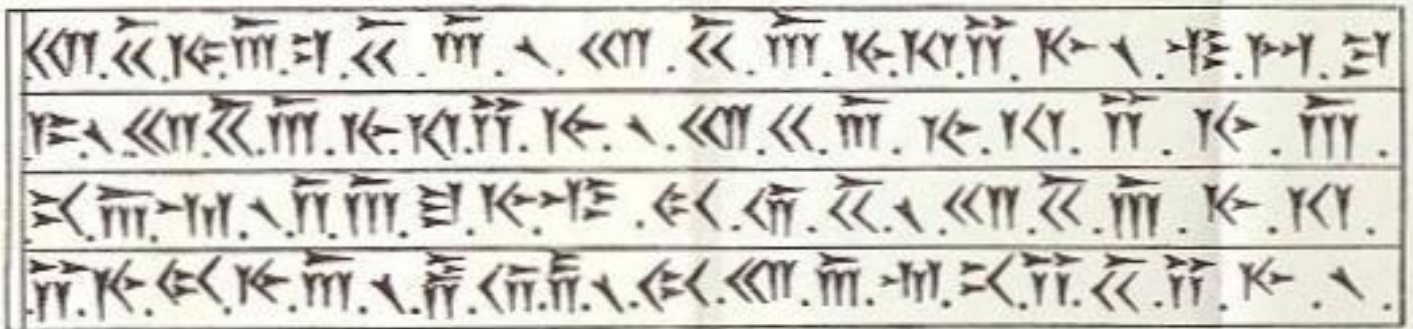
On June 9, 1775, Georg Friedrich Grotefend was born at Munden, in Hanover, Germany. He was destined to become a classical philologist, and for this purpose studied first at Ilfeld and later at the University of Gottingen. Here he attracted much attention, not only as a classical scholar of promise, but also as an ingenious man with a passion for the unraveling of difficult and recondite questions. He formed the friendship in Gottingen of Heyne, Tychseu, and Heeren. On the recommendation of the first named, he was appointed in 1797 to an assistant mastership in the Gottingen Gymnasium. Two years later appeared his first work, which brought him reputation and a superior post in the Gymnasium at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Up to this time he had given no attention to the study of oriental languages. But in 1802 his friend, the librarian Fiorillo, drew the attention of Grotefend to the inscriptions on Persepolis, and placed in his hands all the literature which had hitherto appeared.

I.



* NIEBUHR TAB. 24. B.

II.



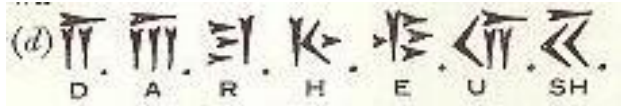
* NIEBUHR TAB. XXIV. G.

INSCRIPTIONS DECIPHERED BY GROTEFEND.

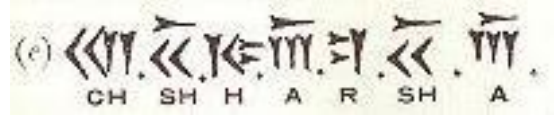
* From Niebuhr's *Reisenschreibung nach Arabien und andern nachgelegten Ländern*. Kopenhagen, 1774-1804, Band II, p. 124. Tab. XXIV.

Grotefend was at once enlisted, and, though he had no oriental learning, set himself to the work, probably little dreaming of how many years of his life would be spent upon these little inscriptions or upon the work which grew out of them. His method was exceedingly simple,²⁹ and may be made perfectly clear without the possession of any linguistic knowledge. His fundamental principles and his simplest facts were taken over bodily from his predecessors. He began with the assumption that there were three languages, and that of these the first was ancient Persian, the language of the Achaemenides, who had erected these palaces and caused these inscriptions to be written. For his first attempts at decipherment he chose two of these old Persian inscriptions and laid them side by side. The ones which were chosen were neither too long nor too short; the frequent recurrence of the same signs in them seemed to indicate that their contents were similar, and finally they were clearly and apparently accurately copied by Niebuhr. The inscriptions thus selected were those numbered "B" and "G" by Niebuhr (see plate), which, for the purpose of this exposition, may be designated simply as first and second (I and II). Following Tychsen and Munter, he held that these inscriptions, which accompanied figures of kings, were the titles of these monarchs, and were presumably similar to the inscriptions of Sassanian kings which De Sacy had just deciphered. Grotefend placed these two inscriptions side by side and carefully examined them. In the work of Ivliinter a word had been pointed out which appeared frequently in these inscriptions, sometimes in a short form and some. times longer, as though in the latter case some grammatical termination had been added to it. In these two inscriptions this word appeared both in the shorter and in the longer form. Grotefend was persuaded that this word meant king, as Minter had discovered, and that when it appeared twice in each of these texts in exactly the same place, first the shorter and then the longer form, the expression meant "king of kings." A glance at the plate will show that in these two inscriptions, in the second line, after the first word divider, appear the two sets of signs exactly alike, thus:

names of the Achaemenides to find three names which should suit. The first names thought of were Cambyses, Cyrus, and Cambyses. These will, however, not do, because the name of the grandfather and grand. son are exactly alike, whereas on the two inscriptions they are different. The next three to be considered are Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes. If these be correct, then the seven signs with which I begins must be the name Darius (see d above). The next thing in order was to find the form of the name Darius in ancient Persian. Of course Grotefend did not expect to find it written in that way exactly, for the modern European spelling has come to us from the Greek, and the Greeks were not careful to reproduce exactly the names of other peoples who were, in their view, only barbarians. He ascertained from the Hebrew lexicon that the Hebrews pronounced the word Daryavesh, while Strabo in one passage, in trying to represent as accurately as possible the Persian form, gave it as Dareiaves. Neither of these would work very well into the seven characters, and on a venture Grotefend gave the word the form of Darheush, and so the first word was thus to be set down

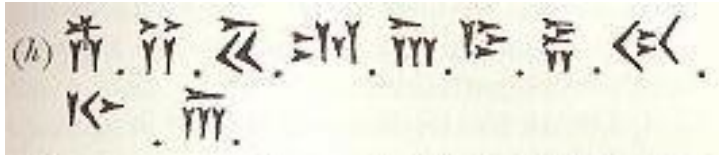


That seemed to fit well enough, and as later investigations have shown, it was almost wholly correct, there being only errors in H and E, which did not vitiate the process, nor interfere with carrying it out further. The next task was to make out the name at the beginning of II. This was comparatively easy, for nearly all these same letters were here again used, and only the first was wanting. It was easy to supply this from the Hebrew form of the name and also from the Avestan language so recently deciphered. This name was therefore read thus:

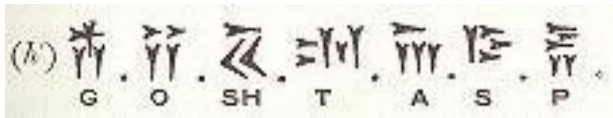


The error in this also was exceedingly slight, when one considers the extreme difficulty of the task and the comparative bluntness of this tool of conjecture or surmise or, to put it boldly, guess. This name was supposed to be the Persian form for Xerxes.

The next thing in order was to find the letters for the third name, and that was a much more difficult problem. This was the name which appears in I, line four, last word, thus:



Here were ten signs. Grotefend believed that this word was in the genitive case, and some signs at the end must be cut off as the genitive ending. But how many? That was the question. Perhaps the Avestan language (then called Zend) would help him. To the study of this he now had recourse, and after much doubt decided to cut off the last three as ending, and take what remained as the king's real name. The name which he was seeking, as we have already seen, was Hystaspes, the late Persian form of which Grotefend followed, and thus made out the name:



In this word, as in the other two, later discovery showed that he had made a mistake, but this time only in the first two characters. To Grotefend's own mind the whole case seemed clear and indisputable, for the same characters occurred in all three names, and thus each supported the other. At this time the Persian alphabet was supposed to contain forty-two alphabetic characters, of which Grotefend believed that he had found thirteen. To this he soon added more, by a simple process of combination, using the word for the name of god in these texts, namely, Aurmazda.

He now felt himself able to translate these inscriptions in part, thus:

- I. Darius, the mighty king, king of kings.. son of Hystaspes.
- II. Xerxes, the mighty king, king of kings... son of Darius, the king.

This was an epoch-making result, and even Grotefend with all his enthusiasm and with all the confidence of genius, did not fully realize it. This much he was anxious to get before the learned world for acceptance, or perhaps for criticism. That should have been easy indeed, but, in fact, it was not easy. The Göttingen Academy of Sciences refused absolutely to believe in his methods or his results, and would not take the risk of disgracing itself by publishing Grotefend's paper, describing his work, in its transactions.³⁰ He was not an Orientalist at all by training or experience, and the learned men of Göttingen who were orientalists asked whether "any good thing could come out of Nazareth," that is, whether a man who was not an orientalist could possibly offer a contribution of value to oriental learning. The case was a sad one for the patient, plodding decipherer, for it was not easy to see how he could gain any publicity for his work. At this juncture a personal friend, A. H. L. Heeren, who was about to publish a book on the ancient world,³¹ offered to give space in the appendix to Grotefend for the purpose of setting forth his theories and discoveries. Grotefend eagerly seized the opportunity, and there appeared his work. It met, on the whole, with a cold reception. Volney denounced it as resting on forms of names which were at least doubtful and might be incorrect, and with him joined many German voices. On the other hand Anquetil-Duperron, now an aged man, waiting "with calmness the dissolution of his mortal frame," and the immortal De Sacy received it with enthusiasm and hailed it as the beginning of the sure reading of these inscriptions.

Those who doubted the whole scheme were later to receive a severe setback, and that from an unexpected source. It will be remembered that while the Persepolis inscriptions were still in the copying stage a beautiful vase had come to Paris which contained some Egyptian hieroglyphics, and also some signs like those found at Persepolis. After the publication of Grotefend's work in Heeren's book the Abbe Saint-Martin, in Paris, devoted much thought and time to its criticism and study. At this same time Champollion was engaged in the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. He suggested to the abbe that they should try to decipher together the marks upon the vase. When this was attempted the abbe found that the name on the vase in cuneiform characters should be transliterated thus:

CH. S H. A. R. S H. A³²

and this was remarkably confirmed by the finding of the same name, according to Champollion, in the Egyptian signs. This was a small matter in some ways, but it increased the faith of many in the method and results of Grotefend.

Meanwhile Grotefend himself was continuing his efforts to get beyond these few words and decipher a whole inscription. At this stage, however, entirely different traits of mind were needed, and a completely changed mental furnishing. In the preliminary work the type of mind which Grotefend possessed was admirably adapted to the work to be done. The mental training derived from long study of the classics of Greek and Latin was likewise of constant service. He had, however, now reached the point where extensive and definite knowledge of the oriental languages was imperatively necessary. In order to secure words of ancient Persian he must know words in the related oriental languages or in those other languages which, though not related, had been used in or about the same territory, and so might have borrowed words from old Persian. He must also know the oriental spirit, have a feeling for oriental life, be able to understand in advance just about what an oriental was likely to say. None of these possessions were his. His later work was therefore largely abortive. He tried to translate entire inscriptions, and failed almost completely, though he devoted much time for all the rest of his life to this matter, without, however, abandoning his real field of classical literature.

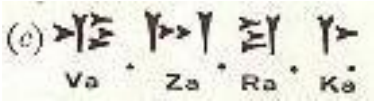
However unsuccessful the later efforts of Grotefend may have been, nothing can ever dim the luster of his fame as a decipherer. It was he who first learned how to read an ancient Persian word. From this, in due course, came the power to read the words of Babylonian and Assyrian. In other words, through the discoveries of Grotefend the world of ancient Persia was reopened, and men learned to read its ancient inscriptions. By them also the much greater worlds of Assyria and Babylonia were likewise rediscovered. Much of what we know of ancient Persia came from them; almost all that we know of Assyria and Babylonia was derived from them. To very few men, in all time, has it happened to make discoveries of such moment.

While he still lived and worked others with better equipment in a knowledge of the oriental languages took up his work. The first of these was a Norwegian by birth, R. Rask. It was his good fortune to discover the plural ending in ancient Persian, which had baffled Grotefend. In the work of decipherment Grotefend never got so far as to determine all the characters in the phrase, king of kings, and this was now achieved by Rask,³³ who correctly apportioned the characters. The same ending appears also in another word after the word "king" Rask also for this suggested a very plausible rendering. In the Sassanian inscriptions the phrase is "king of lands;" why might not this be the same? That question would find its answer at a later day.

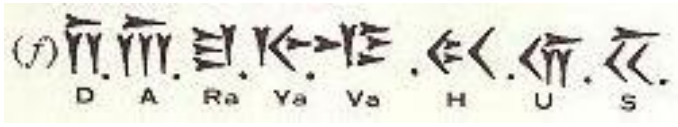
And now appeared a man to grapple with the problem of the inscriptions of Persepolis, who was in learning far better equipped than any who had preceded him. This was the French savant, Eugene Burnouf.³⁴ He had already gained fame as the man who had given the grammar of Avestan a scientific basis. He knew that language in all its intricacies. To this he added a knowledge of Persian life and religion in the period following that to which these inscriptions belonged. All this learning could be brought to bear upon these inscriptions, and Burnouf used it all

as a master. He found in one of the little inscriptions which Niebuhr had copied at Naksh-i-Rustam a list of names of countries. To this he gave close study, and by means of it accomplished almost at a stroke several distinct achievements. In the first place he found the equivalent for almost every character in the Persian alphabet. In the next he determined finally that old Persian was not the same language as Avestan, but that it was closely related to it, and that therefore there was good hope that Avestan as well as certain Indo-European languages would contribute important light to the study of old Persian.

Before his own discoveries were made in full, and before their publication, Burnouf had called the attention of Lassen to this list of names. Induced by the remarks of Burnouf, Lassen made this same list of names the subject of investigation, and at about the same time as Burnouf published the results of his study, which were almost identical.³⁵ He had, however, made, in one respect at least, very definite progress over Burnouf. He discovered that, if the system of Grotefend were rigidly followed, and to every letter was given the exact equivalent which Grotefend had assigned, a good many words could not be read at all, while others would be left wholly or almost wholly without vowels. As instances of such words he mentioned CPRD, THTGUS, KTPTUK, FRAISJM. This situation led Lassen to a very important discovery, toward which his knowledge of the Sanskrit alphabet did much to bring him. He came, in one word, to the conclusion that the ancient Persian signs were not entirely alphabetic, but were, partially at least, syllabic, that is, that certain signs were used to represent not merely an alphabetic character like "b," but also a syllable such as "ba," "bi," "bu." He believed that he had successfully demonstrated that the sign for "a" (see second sign in "f," below) was only used at the beginning of a word, or before a consonant, or before another vowel, and that in every other case it was included in the consonant sign. For example, in inscription I the first word of the second line ought to be read thus:



while in inscription II the middle word in line three should be so read:



This discovery was of tremendous importance, and may be said to have completely revolutionized the study of these long puzzling texts. To it two other scholars made important contributions, the one being Beer, and the other Jacquet, a Parisian savant.

This long line of successful decipherment had been carried on with only a small portion of the inscriptions of ancient Persia, that were still in existence. Other and better copies of the inscriptions were even at this time in Europe, but had not been published. In 1811 an English traveler, Claudius James Rich, had visited Persepolis and copied all the texts that were to be found, including those which Niebuhr and his predecessors had copied. These were discovered in the papers of Rich, and in 1839 were published, coming naturally at once into the hands of Lassen, who found in them much new material for the testing of his method and for the extension of the process of decipherment.

Still greater and more valuable material was placed in Lassen's hands through the travels of Westergaard, a Dane, who, in this, imitated worthily his fellow-countryman Niebuhr. Westergaard had again gone over the old ground at Persepolis and had there recopied and carefully collated all the well-known inscriptions.³⁶ In this he had not done a useless task, for only by oft-repeated copying and comparing could the finally definite and perfect text be attained, without which the decipherment would always be subject to revision. But Westergaard went further than this; he visited at Naksh-i-Rustam the tombs of the Persian kings, and there copied all the tomb inscriptions which were hitherto unknown. On his return this new material was also made accessible to Lassen, who was now fairly the leader in this work of decipherment. Lassen found that the new copies of the old texts were so important that he went over some of the ground afresh and found it useful to reedit some of his work which had before seemed final. The same material called a new worker into the field in the person of Holtzman,³⁷ of Karlsruhe, in Germany, whose work, however, made no very deep impression on the general movement.

In the work of decipherment thus far the chief positions had been held by Grotefend and Burnouf, but for the maintaining of its international character the time was calling for workers from other lands. As it happened, at this very time an Englishman was at work on the same task, from a different point of view, and with different materials. It was well that this was so, for the conclusions thus far reached would probably have failed of general acceptance but for the support obtained by the publication of similar results achieved by a man of different nationality and diverse training. The history of all forms of decipherment of unknown languages shows that skepticism concerning them is far more prevalent than either its opposite, credulousness, or the happy mean of a not too ready faith.

The man who was thus to rebuke the gainsayer and put the capstone upon the work of the decipherment of the Persian inscriptions was

Major, (afterward Sir) Henry Rawlinson, who was born at Chadlington, Oxford, England, on April 11, 1810. While still a boy Rawlinson went out to India in the service of the East India Company. There he learned Persian and several of the Indian vernaculars. This training hardly seemed likely to produce a man for the work of deciphering an unknown language. It was just such training as had produced men like the earlier travelers who had made the first copies of the inscriptions at Persepolis. It was, however, not the kind of education which Grotefend, Burnouf, and Lassen had received. In 1833 the young Rawlinson went to Persia, there to work with other British officers in the reorganization of the Persian army. To Persia his services were of extraordinary value, and met with hearty recognition. It was in Persia, while engaged in the laborious task of whipping semi-barbarous masses of men into the severe discipline of the soldier's life, that the attention of Rawlinson was attracted by some inscriptions. The first that roused an interest in him were those at Hamadan, which he copied with great care. This was in the year 1835, at a time when a number of European scholars were earnestly trying to decipher the inscriptions from Persepolis. Of all this eager work Rawlinson knew comparatively little. It is impossible now to determine exactly when he first secured knowledge of Grotefend's work, for Norris, the secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, has left us no record of when he first sent copies of Grotefend's essays to the far-distant decipherer. Whatever was sent in the beginning, it is quite clear that Rawlinson worked largely independently for a considerable time. He had certainly begun his work and adopted his method before he learned of what was going on in Europe.³⁸

Rawlinson's method was strikingly like that adopted in the first instance by Grotefend. He had copied two trilingual inscriptions. That he had before him three languages, and not merely three styles of writing, he appears to have understood at once. To this ready appreciation of the presence of three languages Rawlinson's experience of the polyglot character of the East had probably contributed. In 1839 he thus wrote concerning his method of decipherment:

"When I proceeded...to compare and interline the two inscriptions (or, rather, the Persian columns of the two inscriptions, for as the compartments exhibiting the inscription in the Persian language occupied the principal place in the tablets, and were engraved in the least complicated of the three classes of cuneiform writing, they were naturally first submitted to examination) I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groups, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groups which were thus brought out and individualized must represent proper names. I further remarked that there were but three of these distinct groups in the two inscriptions; for the group which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from its position, suggested the idea of its representing the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated, corresponded with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, assuming the groups to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was that in these three groups of characters I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groups, according to the succession, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily and were, in fact, the true identifications."³⁹

In the autumn of 1836, while at Teheran, Rawlinson first secured an acquaintance with the works of St. Martin and Klaproth, but found in them nothing beyond what he had already attained by his own unaided efforts, and in certain points he felt that he had gone further than they, and with greater probability.

Rawlinson's next work was the copying of the great inscription of Darius on the rocks at Behistun. This was a task of immense difficulty, carried on at the actual risk of his life, from its position high up on the rocks and beneath a blazing sun.⁴⁰ In 1835, when he first discovered it, Rawlinson was able to study it only by means of a field glass. At this time he could not copy the whole text, but gained more of it in 1837, when he had become more skilled in the strange character. In that year he forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society of London his translation of the first two paragraphs of this Persian inscription, containing the name, titles, and genealogy of Darius. It must be remembered that Rawlinson had accomplished this without a knowledge of the related languages, except for what he could extract from the researches of Anquetil-Duperron. In the autumn of 1838, however, he came into possession of the works of Burnouf on the Avestan language, which proved of immense value in his work. He also secured at the same time the copies of the Persepolis inscriptions made by Niebuhr, Le Brun, and Porter, and the names of countries in them were of great assistance to him, as they already had been to Burnouf and Lassen. With the advantage of almost all that European scholars had done, Rawlinson was now able to make rapid progress, and in the winter of 1838-1839 his alphabet of ancient Persian was almost complete. He was, however, unwilling to publish his results until he had ransacked every possible source of information which might have any bearing on the matter. In 1839 he was settled in Baghdad, his work in reality finished and written out for publication, but still hesitating and waiting for more light. Here he obtained books from England for the study of Sanskrit, and a letter from Professor Lassen, which greatly pleased him, though from it he was able to obtain only one character which he had not previously known. Here also he received the copies which Mr. Rich had made at Persepolis, and a transcript of an inscription of Xerxes at Van which had been made by M. Eugène Bore. In this year (1839) he wrote his preliminary memoir, and expected to publish it in the spring of 1840.

Just at this juncture he was suddenly removed from Baghdad and sent to Afghanistan as political agent at Kandahar. In this land, then in a state of war, he spent troublous years until 1843. He was so absorbed in war, in which he won distinction, and in administration as well, that

his oriental studies had to be given up entirely.

In December, 1843, he was returned to Baghdad, the troubles in Afghanistan being for the time ended, and at once resumed his investigations. Here he obtained the fresh copies and corrections of the Persepolitan inscriptions which Westergaard had made, and later made a journey to Behistun to perfect his copies of those texts which had formed the basis of his first study. At last, after many delays and discouragements, he published, in 1846, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, his memoir, or series of memoirs, on the ancient Persian inscriptions, in which for the first time he gave a nearly complete translation of the whole Persian text of Behistun. In this Rawlinson attained an imperishable fame in oriental research. His work had been carried on under difficulties, of which the European scholars had never even dreamed, but he had surpassed them all in the making of an intelligible and connected translation of a long inscription. Remarkable as this was, perhaps the most noteworthy matter in connection with his work was this, that much of it had been done with small assistance from Europe.⁴¹ He had, indeed, received from Norris, Grotefend's results, though not at the very beginning, and he was later supplied with all that other scholars had been able to accomplish. Furthermore, as early as 1837 he was in correspondence with Burnouf and Lassen, from both of whom he gained assistance. When all allowance is made for these influences, his fame is not diminished nor the extent of his services in the decipherment curtailed. His method was settled early and before he knew of Lassen's work. That two men of such different training and of such opposing types of mind should have lighted upon the same method, and by it have attained the same results, confirmed, in the eyes of many, the decipherment.

The whole history of the decipherment of these ancient Persian inscriptions is full of surprises, and another now followed immediately. In January, 1847, the Dublin University Magazine contained an unsigned article with the taking title, "Some Passages of the Life of King Darius," the opening sentences of which were as follows:

"In adding this new name to the catalogue of royal authors, we assure our readers that we are perfectly serious. The volume which contains this monarch's own account of his accession, and of the various rebellions that followed it, is now before us; and unpretending as it is in its appearance, we do not hesitate to say that a more interesting-and on many accounts a more important addition to our library of ancient history has never been made."⁴²

After this introduction the writer proceeds to narrate how Major Rawlinson had copied at Behistun the inscription of Darius and how he had successfully deciphered it. As the paper proceeds, the anonymous writer goes beyond the work of Rawlinson to tell of what had been done in Europe by Grotefend and others, displaying in every sentence the most exhaustive acquaintance with the whole history of the various attempts at decipherment. Then he falls into courteous and gentle but incisive criticism of some of Major Rawlinson's readings or translations, and herein displays a mastery of the whole subject which could only be the result of years of study. There was but one man in Ireland who could have written such a paper as that, and he was a quiet country rector at Killyleagh, County Down, the Rev. Edward Hincks!

⁴³ He was born at Cork, in 1792, and was therefore the senior of Rawlinson by about eighteen years. After an education at Trinity College, Dublin, that wonderful nursery of distinguished Irishmen, where he took a gold medal in 1811, he was settled in 1825 at Killyleagh, to spend the remainder of his life. His first contributions to human learning appear to have been in mathematics, but he early began to devote himself to oriental languages, publishing in 1832 a Hebrew grammar. He was one of the pioneers of Egyptian decipherment, and his contributions to that great work are acknowledged now to be of the highest rank. 'Unhappily his life has never been worthily written, and it is impossible to determine just when he first began to study the inscriptions of Persepolis. It is, however, clear that, independently of Rawlinson, he arrived at the meaning of a large number of signs, and had among his papers, before Rawlinson's work appeared, translations of some of the Persepolitan texts. His first published memoir was read before the Royal Irish Academy on June 6, 1846, having been written in the month of May in that year. In this paper Hincks shows an acquaintance with the efforts at decipherment which had been made by Westergaard and Lassen, but he seems not to have seen the works of the other continental decipherers. He had much surpassed these two without the advantage which they enjoyed of more complete literature.

In the work of Hincks the Persepolitan inscriptions had been now for the third time independently deciphered and in part translated. With this Dr. Hincks did not cease his work, but went on to larger conquests, of which we shall hear later in this story.

The work of decipherment was now over as far as the ancient Persian inscriptions were concerned. There was, of course, much more to be learned concerning the language and concerning the historical material which the inscriptions had provided. On these and other points investigation would go on even to this hour. But the pure work of the decipherer was ended, the texts were read. A language long dead lived again. Men long silent had spoken again. It seemed a dream; it was a genuine reality, the result of long and painful study through a series of years by scores of men, each contributing his share.

Though the work upon Persian was in this advanced stage, very little had yet been done with the other two languages upon these same inscriptions. What might be the result of a similar study of them nobody now knew. It was believed that the columns written in two other languages contained the same facts as those which had been so laboriously extracted from old Persian, and there was, therefore, little

incitement to their study. Before the end of this period, however, there were beginning to be hints that these other two languages were important, and that one of them was the representative of a great people who possessed an extensive literature. The proofs that this was indeed true were now slowly beginning to accumulate, and, when enough of them were gathered to make an impression, the men who were gifted with the decipherer's skill would turn from the Persian to unravel the secrets of the unknown and unnamed languages which the kings of Persia had commanded to be set up by the side of their own Persian words. Great results had already flowed from the Persian studies. New light had been cast upon many an enigmatical passage in Herodotus; a whole kingdom had been permitted to speak, not through its enemies, as before, but for itself. But all this was as nothing compared with the untold, unimagined results which were soon to follow from a study of the third language which existed in all the groups at Persepolis. To this study men were now to be wrought up by the brilliant work of explorers.

We have traced one story-the story of decipherment. We turn now to a second story, the story of exploration.

EXCURSUS.

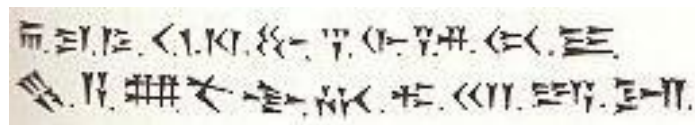
THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF FLOWER'S COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS.

The first characters from Persepolis which were published in England appeared in the Philosophical Transactions for June, 1693, and their history was so peculiar and of such considerable importance that they are here reproduced and the story of their misuse in various forms is set forth.

The beginning of the story is found in a letter sent by Francis Aston to the publisher, which, with all its solecisms, runs thus:

"Sir, I here send you some Fragments of Papers put into my hands by a very good Friend, relating to antique and obscure Inscriptions, w^h were retrieved after the Death of Mr. Flower, Agent in Persia for our East India Company; who while he was a Merchant at Aleppo had taken up a resolution to procure some Draught or Representation of the admired Ruines at *Chilmenar*, pursuant to the third Enquiry for Persia, mentioned in the Philosophical Transactions, pag. 420, viz., whether there being already good Descriptions in words of the Excellent Pictures and Basse Relieves that are about Persepolis at Chilmenar yet none very particular, some may not be found sufficiently skilled in those parts, that might be engaged to make a Draught of the Place, & the Stories their [sic] pictured & carved. This Desire of the Royal Society, as I believe, it hinted at a Summary Delineation, w^h might be perform'd by a Man qualify'd in a few days, taking his own opportunity for the avoiding much Expençe, (w^h you know they are never able to bear:) So I cannot but think Mr. Flower conceived it to be a business much easier to perform then [sic] he found it upon the place, where he spent a good deal of Time and Money, & dying suddainly after, left his Draughts & Papers dispersed in several hands, one part whereof you have here, the rest its hoped may in some wise be recovered, if Sir John Chardin's exact & accurate Publication of the entire Word do not put a period to all further Curiosity, w^h I heartily wish."

Accompanying this letter was a lithographed plate of inscriptions from Nocturestand, that is Naksh-i-Rustam, and from Chahelminar, that is, Persepolis. They had been copied by Flower in November, 1667. The first, second, and fourth of these inscriptions are Sassanian and Greek, while the third and sixth are Arabic. The fifth consists of two lines of cuneiform characters as follows:



To these cuneiform characters Mr. Flower had added this explanatory note:

"This character, whether it be the ancient writing of the Gawres and Gabres, or a kind of Telesmes is found only at Persepolis, being a part of what is there engraven in white Marble, & is by no man in Persia legible or understood at this Day. A Learned Jesuit Father, who deceased three years since, affirmed this character to be known & used in Egypt."

The editor appended to this a note which showed that he was a man of some penetration "it seems written from the Left Hand to the Right, and to consist of Pyramids, diversely posited, but not joined together. As to the Quantity of the Inscriptions, Herbert reckon'd in one large Table Twenty Lines of a prodigious Breadth. Of this sort here are distinct Papers, each of several Lines."

Aston appears to have been much interested in these papers of his deceased friend, for he recurs to the matter again to say that in February, 1672, Flower had compared these cuneiform signs with twenty-two characters, "Collected out of the Ancient Sculptures, to be found this day extant in the admired Hills of Canary."

It is unfortunate that Flower died without publishing his own copies of inscriptions. If he had lived to give them forth, a curious catalogue of mistakes might have been avoided.

Mr. Aston doubtless supposed that the characters formed an inscription either complete or at least connected. These characters, as a matter of fact, were selected by Flower from the three languages at Persepolis, and do not form an inscription at all. As published by Aston they are taken at random from Persian, Susian, and Assyrian, as the following list will show. The first line begins with three Persian characters (a, ra, sa), the next is Assyrian (u), and after it the Persian word-divider. After these come one Persian (th) and three Assyrian (bu, sa, si) syllabic signs; then one Susian (sa), one Assyrian (rad), one Persian (h), and finally one Assyrian (i) character. The second line is equally mixed. It begins with a Persian sign (probably bumi) followed by three Assyrian (a, u, nu), one Susian (ak) and then another Assyrian (kha) sign. These are followed by one Susian (ti), one Persian (kh), one Assyrian (ya), and finally one Susian (ta). The signs were exceedingly well copied, and it is a pity that a man who could copy so well had not been able to issue all his work. It might have hastened the day of the final decipherment.

Instead of really contributing to a forward movement in the study of the Persepolis inscriptions, Flower's copies resulted in actual hindrance to the new study.

The history of this retrograde movement is a curious chapter in the history of the science of language. It deserves to be followed step by step if for naught else than for its lessons in the weaknesses of human nature.

The cuneiform characters of Flower now began an extraordinary and unexpected career. The first man who appears to have noticed them was Thomas Hyde. Hyde was professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, but, like other Hebrew professors in later days, devoted much energy to other oriental study. His great book was on the religion of the Persians,⁴⁴ in which he discussed many things, without always displaying much willing receptiveness for things that were new. He reproduced in a plate the cuneiform characters of Flower, along with some Sassanian and Palmyrene inscriptions. Over the Sassanian and Palmyrene texts Hyde waxes eloquent of denunciation. He bewails the sad fact that these "wretched scribblings, made perhaps by ignorant soldiers," had been left to vex a later day. Then he comes to a discussion of the cuneiform characters, and gives them that very name (*dactuli pyramidales seu cuneiformes*).⁴⁵ Next he quotes Aston's statement that Herbert had mentioned twenty lines of cuneiform writing at Persepolis. Hyde waves this statement majestically aside, and gives a long argument to show that these signs were not letters, nor intended for letters, but are purely ornamental.⁴⁶ He attached great importance to the interpunction in Flower's copy, and adds that Herbert and Thevenot had given three lines of the same kind of ornamentation, but as they did not give any interpunction, he pronounces their copies worthless. Just here he made a series of mistakes. In the first place, of course, the interpunction was the invention of Flower, and was, as we now see, merely his way of indicating that he had copied only separate and selected signs. In the next place, Thevenot gives no copies of inscriptions at all. Hyde had evidently seen some copies in some place and was quoting from memory. One wonders whether he had not seen the copies of Mandeslo, and had in memory confused him with Thevenot.

The next man who was moved to make use of the characters of Flower was a Dutchman, Witsen, who was gifted with a keen eagerness for the marvelous. He calmly reproduces Flower's characters, which he had most probably copied from Hyde, and introduces them to his readers in a remarkable narrative. "In the lands beyond Tarku, Boeriah, and Osmin," he says, "is a country where a German medical man, who had traversed it when flying from the anger of Stenko Rasin, has told me he had seen on arches, walls, and mountains sculptured letters of the same form as those found on the ruins of Persepolis, which he had also seen. This writing belonged, it is said, to the language of the ancient Persians, Gabres, Gabres, or worshipers of fire. Two specimens of them are given here, though these characters are now unintelligible. Throughout the whole country, said this medical man, above all at a little distance from Derbent, in the mountains beside which the road passes, one sees sculptured on the rock figures of men dressed in strange fashion like that of the ancient Greeks, or perhaps Romans, and not only solitary figures, but entire scenes and representations of men engaged in the same business, besides broken columns, aqueducts, and arcades for walking over pits and valleys. Among other monuments there is there a chapel built of stone, and revered by some Armenian Christians who live in its neighborhood, and on the walls of which were engraved many of the characters of which I have spoken. This chapel had formerly belonged to the pagan Persians who adored a divinity in fire."⁴⁷

This whole account bears every mark of having been manufactured to fit the inscriptions. No such ruins have been seen by any person in the country described, and no inscriptions have been found there. The cuneiform characters had to be accounted for in some way, and this was Witsen's method.

But more and worse things were still to be invented to account for these same little characters of Flower.

In 1723 Derbent and Tarku were visited by Dimitri Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, who had the patronage of the czar, Peter the Great, in his search for antiquities and inscriptions. He died at Derbent, and the inscriptions he saw are all catalogued by Frahm, and there is no cuneiform

inscription among them. The prince's papers passed into the hands of Th. S. Bayer, who utilized them in a book, *De Muro Caucaseo*, in which he tried to prove that this wall was built in the time of the Medo-Persian empire. Now, Bayer was acquainted with Witsen's book, and made references to it, but he evidently did not believe in the marvelous story which Wit en told concerning the cuneiform inscriptions, for he makes no reference to it at all, whereas that would have given the most conclusive proof of the main thesis of his book which could possibly be suggested. Here were inscriptions of the Medo-Persian people, found at the very wall which he desired to prove was Medo-Persian in origin. But the end was not yet concerning the papers of the unfortunate Prince of Moldavia. Professor Guldenstadt planned a trip through the Caucasus in 1766-69, and friends put in his hands certain papers to be used on the journey. Among them was a copy of Flower's cuneiform characters. It seems probable that he was informed that this copy belonged to Cantemir's papers, for when Guldenstadt's papers came into the hands of Klaproth he attached to the Flower characters this note: "Inscriptions de Tarkou, d'apres un Dessin du prince Dimitri Cantemir, qui se trouvait avec les Instructious de Guldenstadt. St. P. 4 Aug., 1807"⁴⁸ Now here, by a chapter of accidents, mistakes, and deceits, were Flower's signs localized at Tarku, and of course considered a veritable inscription.

In 1826 F. E. Schulz was sent by the French government to the East to search for inscriptions, and he took with him the Flower signs, with Klaproth's note attached. It was probably his intention to go to Tarku and collate the copy with the original inscription, for of course he had no doubt that it really existed. Schulz, however, was murdered at Julameih in 1829, and when many of his papers were recovered, here was found among them the same old copy of Flower. Schulz's copies were published, and the "inscription of Tarku" appears with the rest.

The next man to allude to it was Saint Martin, who gravely informs his readers that this inscription was carved above the gate of Tarku,⁴⁹ thus adding a little definiteness to the tradition.

Naturally enough the Flower copy made its way to Grotefend, who was, however, not deceived by it.⁵⁰ He recognized at once that it really consisted of a number of characters selected from all three languages which were found at Persepolis, though he did not know that Flower was the copyist. This was in 1820, and one might have expected that this would end the wanderings and the fictitious history of Flower's copies. But not just yet; there was still vigor in the story and the race was not yet over.

In 1836 Burnouf got a copy of the same lines and set to work earnestly to decipher them. He found that they contained the name of Arsakes, repeated three times.⁵¹

In 1838 Beer discussed the lines, and attached himself to Grotefend's view, recognizing the fact that they did not form an inscription at all.

Burnouf's translation did not suit the next investigator very well, and he began afresh to decipher and translate. This was A. Holtzmann, who argued learnedly that the lines formed a genuine Persepolitan text of great interest. The inscription was indeed a memorial of Arses, who was murdered in B. C. 336 by Bagoas. Holtzmann thus translated the text "Arses (son) of Artaxerxes, King of Provinces, the Achaemenian, made (this)."

Here was indeed a fitting conclusion of the whole matter. Flower had copied a few signs out of three different languages, and out of them had been woven this elaborate history. It is a melancholy story from one point of view. But it is instructive also as showing that progress in knowledge is not uniform, but has its undertow as well as its advancing wave. Happily there is a dash of humor in it as well.

CHAPTER III

EARLY EXPLORERS IN BABYLONIA

WHEN the city of Nineveh fell, and when Babylon was finally given over to the destroyer, a deep darkness of ignorance settled over their ruins. The very site of Nineveh was forgotten, and, though a tradition lived on which located the spot where Babylon had stood, there was almost as little known of that great capital as of its northern neighbor. In the Middle Age the world forgot many things, and then with wonderful vigor began to learn them all over again. In the general spell of forgetfulness it cast away all remembrance of these two great cities. Even the monk in his cell, to whose industry as a copyist the world owes a debt that can never be paid, reeked little of barbarous cities, whose sins had destroyed them. He knew of Jerusalem and of Bethlehem, for these had imperishable fragrance in his nostrils. They were sacred cities in a sacred land, and he sighed as he thought that they were now in the hands of infidels. But Nineveh and Babylon, they were mentioned, it is true, in the prophets; but then Nahum had cursed the one and Isaiah predicted the destruction of the other, and they had received their deserts. Where they might be he knew not, nor cared. But after a time came the period when Europe began to relearn, and that with wonderful avidity. The Crusades roused all Europe to a passionate interest in the Orient. Palestine, Syria, and Egypt were traversed by one after another of travelers who visited sacred scenes and came home to tell wonderful stories in Europe. Of these almost all were

Christians, who knew in greater or less degree the New Testament, but were for the more part hopelessly ignorant of the Old Testament. They would fain see the land of the Lord, but cared little for associations with Old Testament prophets, heroes, or kings.

But at last there appeared a man who had wider interests than even those that concerned the land of Palestine. He was a Jewish rabbi of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre. The Rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah, set out from home about 1160 A. D., and journeyed overland across Spain and France, and thence into Italy. As he went he made the most careful notes of all that he saw, and gave much attention to the learned and pious men of his own faith whom he met. From Italy he passed over to Greece, and then on to Constantinople, with which he was profoundly impressed. After he had visited the sacred spots in Palestine he went over the desert by way of Tadmor, and crossed the Euphrates, and then journeyed on eastward to the Tigris, where he visited the Jews of Mosul. Of Mosul and its surroundings he has this to relate:

"This city, situated on the confines of Persia, is of great extent and very ancient; it stands on the banks of the Tigris, and is joined by a bridge to Nineveh. Although the latter lies in ruins, there are numerous inhabited villages and small towns on its site. Nineveh is on the Tigris distant one parasang from the town of Arbil."⁵²

From Nineveh Benjamin of Tudela passed on down the river and visited Baghdad, then a great center of culture both Mohammedan and Jewish, and this was more to him than even its wealth, and it is as to a climax that his last sentence concerning this city comes

"The city of Baghdad is three miles in circumference, the country in which it is situated is rich in palm trees, gardens, and orchards, so that nothing equals it in Mesopotamia. Merchants of all countries resort thither for purposes of trade, and it contains many wise philosophers, well skilled in sciences, and magicians proficient in all sorts of enchantment."⁵³

From Baghdad Benjamin went on to Gihiagin or Ras-al-Ain, which he mistakenly identified with Resen (Gen. x, 12), and then continues his narrative thus:

"From hence it is one day to Babylon. This is the ancient Babel, and now lies in ruins; but the streets still extend thirty miles. The ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar are still to be seen, but people are afraid to venture among them on account of the serpents and scorpions with which they are infested. Twenty thousand Jews live about twenty miles from this place, and perform their worship in the synagogue of Daniel, who rests in peace. This synagogue is of remote antiquity, having been built by Daniel himself; it is constructed of solid stones and bricks. Here the traveler may also behold the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, with the burning fiery furnace into which were thrown Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah; it is a valley well known to everyone. Hillah, which is at a distance of five miles, contains about ten thousand Jews and four synagogues.... Four miles from hence is the tower built by the dispersed Generation. It is constructed of bricks called al-ajurr; the base measures two miles, the breadth two hundred and forty yards, and the height about one hundred canna. A spiral passage, built into the tower (in stages of ten yards each), leads up to the summit, from which we have a prospect of twenty miles, the country being one wide plain and quite level. The heavenly fire, which struck the tower, split it to its very foundation."⁵⁴

That Benjamin of Tudela actually did visit Mosul, and that he there saw across the river the great mounds which marked the ruins of Nineveh there is no reason to doubt, but it is not so clear that he also saw the ruins of Babylon. He did make the visit to Baghdad, for that city is described in the terms of an eyewitness. It is, however, not certain that he had really seen the ruins of Babylon, for his description lacks the little touches which accompanied the former narrative. He is here probably reproducing simply what he had heard from others concerning these ruins.

Benjamin of Tudela wrote his narrative in Hebrew. It was known to the learned during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, but was not printed until 1543, when it appeared at Constantinople in the rabbinic character. In 1633 it appeared, with a Latin translation, at Leyden. It later appeared in English and French, and thus became known over a large part of Europe. Though thus well known, the book of Benjamin appears to have attracted no attention to the buried cities of Nineveh and Babylon.

Like the first scant notices of Persepolis given by the earlier travelers, these notes of Benjamin of Tudela would bear fruit in a later day, for they would incite other travelers to visit the same mysterious ruins.

The next word of information concerning the ancient sites was brought to Europe by another Jew, the Rabbi Pethachiah of Ratisbon, whose recollections were set down by one of his disciples, after the scanty notes which he had made by the way.

The time was now hastening on toward the period when men of Europe began to travel extensively in the Orient, and of these many visited both Mosul and Baghdad. Most of them, however, did not pay any attention to the ruins which lay near these cities. Many, like Sir John

Mandeville (1322-56), made no journey to these sites, but were contented to report what they had heard concerning them. Marco Polo appears to have cared nothing for the ruins, and, though he visited both Mosul and Baghdad, never refers to them. Others confounded Baghdad with Babylon, and really believed that the Mohammedan capital was the same city as that which Nebuchadnezzar had made powerful.

In 1583 the Orient was visited by John Eldred, an English traveler and merchant, whose quaint notice of Babylon and of Nineveh was among the very first hints which came directly to England concerning these great cities. His account is as follows:

"We landed at Felugia the 8th and 20th of June, where we made our abode seven dayes, for lack of camels to caree our goods to Babylon. The heat at that time of the yeare is such in those parts that men are loath to let out their camels to travell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the river: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to unlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to carie our English merchandizes onely to New Babylon over a short desert; in crossing whereof we spent eighteen houres, travelling by night and part of the morning, to avoid the great heat.

"In this place which we crossed over stood the olde mightie citie of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are easilie to be scene by daylight, which I John Eldred have often behelde at my goode leisure, having made three voyages between the New citie of Babylon and Aleppo over this desert. Here also are yet standing the dunes of the olde tower of Babell, which being upon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the nearer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth sundry times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing about a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone worke of Paules steeple in London, but it heweth much bigger.⁵⁵ The bricke remaining in this most ancient monument be half a yard thicke and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne only, and betwene every course of bricke there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sounde and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere. The citie of New Babylon joyneth upon the aforesaid desert where the Olde citie was, and the river of Tygris runneth close under the wall, and they may if they will open a sluice, and let the water of the same runne round about the towee. It is about two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian, and Turkish tongues the people are of the Spanyards complexion: and the women generalie where in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein, and this they doe be they never so poore."⁵⁶

The old confusion between Baghdad and Babylon plainly exists in the mind of Eldred, but apart from that error his words have a magical ring in them, and might well induce others to set out to see such sights. He appears not to have seen the ruins of Nineveh at all, but another Englishman, who sailed from Venice in 1599, was more fortunate and also more romantic.

There is more of eloquence in Anthony Shirley (or Sherley), who thus wrote of both cities:

"I will speake of Babylon; not to the intent to tell stories, either of the huge ruines of the first Towne or the splendour of the second, but--because nothing doth impose anything in man's nature more than example--to chew the truth of God's word, whose vengeance, threatened by His Prophets, are truely succeeded in all those parts...."⁵⁷

"All the ground on which Babylon was spred is left now desolate; nothing standing in that Peninsula between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but only part, and that a small part, of the greate Tower, which God hath suffered to stand (if man may speake so confidently of His greate impenetrable counsels) for an eternal testimony of His work in the confusion of Man's pride, and that Arke of Nebuchadnezzar for as perpetual a memory of his greate idolatry and condigne punishment."⁵⁸

"Nineve, that which God Himself calleth That greate Citie, hath not one stone standing which may give memory of the being of a towne. One English mile from it is a place called Mosul, a small thing, rather to be a wisse of the other's mightinesse and God's judgment than of any fashion of magnificence in it selfe."⁵⁹

In these words is sounded for the first time the note which would bring eager explorers to these mounds. The former travelers had looked curiously upon these mounds and then passed on; this man saw in them facts which illustrated the Hebrew prophets. In a later day expeditions would go out from England for the very purpose of seeking in them books which might confirm or illustrate the history and the prophecy of the Hebrew people. The real force behind the large contributions of money for these explorations was this desire to know anything that had any possible bearing on the scriptures of the Old Testament. Anthony Shirley did not see that day, but he belonged to it in spirit.

In all these notices of passing travelers ignorance was mingled with credulity, and definite knowledge was wanting. The most that had been accomplished was the perpetuation and the stimulation of interest in these cities. The very small amount of progress that had been made is

indicated by the publication in 1596, at Antwerp, of the great Geographical Treasury of Ortelius,⁶⁰ an alphabetic list of places, with such descriptive geographical facts added as were then known. Ortelius states that certain writers identified Nineveh with Mosul, but as he had no definite information, he had to let the matter rest at that. Of Babylon even less was known. All the authorities quoted by Ortelius, except Benjamin of Tudela, identify Babylon with Baghdad, and that position he accepts. It is clear from this that there was need for more travelers who should see, and understand as well what they saw.

A beginning is made by an English traveler, John Cartwright, whose tone is very similar to that of Sherley, though he makes more of a contribution to the knowledge of the subject:

"Having passed over this river [the Choaspes] we set forward toward Mosul, a very antient towne in this countrey, sixe dayes journey from Valdac, and so pitched on the banker of the river Tigris. Here in these plaines of Assiria, and on the bankes of the Tigris, and in the region of Eden, was Ninevie built by Nimrod, but finished by Ninus. It is agreed by all prophane writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures that this citty exceeded all other citties in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it seemes by the ruinous foundation (which I thoroughly viewed) that it was built with four sides, but not equall or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we gesse) an hundredth and fifty furlongs, the two shorter sides, ninty furlongs, which amounteth to foure hundred and eighty furlongs of ground, which makes three score miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile. The walls whereof were an hundredth foote upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might passe on the rampire in front: these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundreth towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times."⁶¹

After these descriptions of the past and present of Nineveh, Cartwright supplied some extracts from its history and then concluded thus:

"Finally, that this city was farre greater than Babilon, being the Lady of the East, the Queene of Nations, and the riches of the world, hauing more people within her wall, than are now in some one kingdome: but now it is destroyed (as God foretold it should be by the Chaldaeans) being nothing else, then (*sic*) a sepulture of her self, a litle towne of small trade, where the Patriarch of the Nestorians keeps his seate, at the deuotion of the Turkes. Sundry times had we conference with this Patriarch: and among many other speeches which past from him, he wished us that before we departed, to see the Iland of Eden, but twelue miles up the riuier, *which he affirmed was undoubtedly a part of Paradise.*"

Keen as Cartwright was after historical and legendary material, he continued the error of confusion of Baghdad and Babylon. His descriptions, however, contained some new matter:

"Two places of great antiquity did we thoroughly view in the country: the one was the ruines of the old tower of Babel, (as the inhabitants hold unto this day) built by Nymrod, the nephew of Cham, Noahs stone....

"And now at this day that which remayneth, is called, the remnant of the tower of Babel: there standing as much, as is a quarter of mile in compasse, and as high as the stone-worke of Paules steeple in London. It was built of burnt bricke cimented and joyned with bituminous mortar, to the end, that it should not receiue any cleft in the same. The bricke are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thickness, and between euery course of bricke, there lyeth a course of mats made of Canes and Paume-tree leaves, so fresh, as if they had beene layd within one yeere.

"The other place remarkable is, the ruines of old Babilon, because it was the first citie, which was built after the Flond.... This city was built upon the riuier Eyphrates, as we found by expert ence, spending two dayes journey and better, on the ruines thereof.

"Amongst the other stately buildings was the temple of Bel, erected by Semiramis in the middle of this citie.... Some do thinke, that the ruines of Nimrods tower, is but the foundation of this temple of Bel, & that therefore many traouellers haue bin deceiued, who suppose they haue seene a part of that tower which Nimrod builded. But who can tell whether it be the one or the other? It may be that confused Chaos which we saw was the ruines of both, the Temple of Bet being founded on that of Nimrod."⁶²

There are not wanting indications in this narrative that Cartwright knew the description of Sherley, whom he almost seems to quote in the comparison with St. Paul's Cathedral.

The visiting of Babylon and Nineveh was now becoming as much of an international matter as was the observing of the ruins of Persepolis at a slightly later time. Gasparo Babbi,⁶³ a Venetian, Alexander Hamilton, an Englishman, and Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, a Spaniard, followed soon after Cartwright, but made no advance in their investigations beyond that which had been seen by their predecessors. Following these came the great traveler, Pietro della Valle, who has received so much attention already in a former narrative concerning

Persepolis.⁶⁴ He made the same mistake of confusing Baghdad with ancient Babylon, but he visited Hillah, which probably few of his predecessors had done. He also visited the great mound near Hillah, called Babil by the natives. This, Pietro della Valle believed, was the ruin of the Tower of Babel. This mound he had sketched by an artist, and from it he collected some bricks, which he afterward took back to Rome. One of these was presented to Athanasius Kircher, the Jesuit, who wrote a learned treatise on the Tower of Babel. Kircher believed that this brick had formed part of the original Tower of Babel, wrecked by the hand of God, a silent monitor from the great age of the dispersion of tongues. He placed it in his museum, and it is still preserved. This is probably the very first Babylonian antiquity which came into Europe, and must always have a great interest on that account. Though it was not what Pietro della Valle and Kircher supposed, it was, nevertheless, a brick from the glorious period of Babylonian history, and to the world of letters had a meaning of tremendous import. It was the harbinger of great stores of tablets and of building bricks which were soon to flow from that land. Far beyond the dreams of the mediaeval student of the Tower of Babel were this first brick and those which were to follow, to carry the thoughts of men.

After these men of the world, others bent on errands of religion passed up and down the valley -Augustinians, Jesuits, Carmelites, and Franciscans-some of whom visited the sites covered with ruins, while others were content to report what they had heard. They were generally impressed with the thought that they were in lands where God had signally manifested his displeasure with the sons of men, but none of them appear to have felt any quickening of imagination at the thought of the great deeds of human history which had there been enacted. They naturally knew no more of the meaning of the mounds than did those who had preceded them.

So the end of the seventeenth century had come, and no man knew more of the history of Babylon or of Nineveh than could be gathered out of the pages of the Greeks or the Latins, or from the stirring words of the Old Testament. The day of the traveler who went and saw, and no more, was now nearly over, and the day of the scientific explorer was rapidly hastening on. Before men should be led to dig up these great mounds they must be roused to interest in them, and that the traveler had done in some measure. The age of the explorer and of the decipherer had come, and the intellectual quickening of the times manifested itself in a thorough study of the mounds of Nineveh and Babylon.

CHAPTER IV

EXPLORATIONS IN ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, 1734-1820

THE man who began the new age of exploration was not himself an explorer, nor were several of his immediate successors. He was, however, a man of scientific spirit, and in that differed from the men who had gone before him. He was not seeking marvels, nor anxiously inquiring for evidences of strange dealings in dark days. He was a student of geography and history, and went into the Orient specially charged to study them. Jean Otter, member of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, and afterward professor of Arabic at the College de France, spent ten years in western Asia, being sent thither for the purpose of study by the Comte de Maurepas. His notice of the city of Nineveh is very different indeed from all that preceded it. Its tone of criticism, of sifting out the false from the true, is the tone of the new age that had now begun

"Abulfeda [the Arabian Geographer] says that Nineveh was on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite the modern Mosul; either he must have been mistaken, or the inhabitants of the district are greatly in error, for the latter place Nineveh on the western bank of the Tigris, on the spot which they call Eski-Mosul. If we attempt to conciliate the two opinions by supposing that Nineveh was built on both sides of the river, nothing is gained, for Eski-Mosul is seven or eight leagues higher up the stream. One point seems to favor the belief of Abulfeda, and that is, that opposite Mosul there is a place called Tell-i-Toubah--that is to say, the Hill of Repentance--where, they say, the Ninevites put on sackcloth and ashes to turn away the wrath of God."⁶⁵

Otter also visited the mounds at Hillah, and, with a better knowledge of the Arabian geographers than any of his predecessors, located the ancient city of Babylon near Hillah. The true location of the city even he did not make out, but the site was almost determined. A scientifically trained scholar, as Otter was, had not found it, but the thoughts of men were at least pointed away from the identification with Baghdad.

After Otter the land of Babylonia was visited by a Carmelite missionary, Father Emmanuel de Saint Albert. He saw the ruins at Hillah and made a very important report upon them to the Duke of Orleans. His account was not published, but in manuscript form came into the hands of D'Anville, who presented to the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris a paper on the site of Babylon. This paper was based, in its conclusive portions, upon the description of southern Babylonia given by Pietro della Valle, and especially that now offered by the Carmelite missionary. The words of the latter differ in important respects from the descriptions of any travelers who had preceded him. He says:

"Before reaching Hillah a hill is visible which has been formed by the ruins of some great building. It may be between two and three miles in

circumference. I brought away from it some square bricks, on which were writing in certain unknown characters. Opposite this hill, and distant two leagues, another similar hill is visible, between two reaches of the river at an equal distance.... We went to the opposite hill, which I have already mentioned; this one is in Arabia, about an hour's distance from the Euphrates, and the other is in Mesopotamia, at the same distance from the Euphrates, and both exactly opposite to each other. I found it very like the other, and I brought away some square bricks, which had the same impressions as the first-mentioned ones. I remarked upon this hill a fragment of thick wall, still standing on the summit, which, from a distance, looked like a large tower. A similar mass was lying overturned beside it; and the cement was so solid that it was quite impossible to detach one brick whole. Both masses seemed as if they had been vitrified, which made me conclude that these ruins were of the highest antiquity. Many people insist that this latter hill is the remains of the real Babylon; but I know not what they will make of the other, which is opposite and exactly like this one. The people of the country related to me a thousand foolish stories about these two mounds; and the Jews call the latter the prison of Nebuchadnezzar."⁶⁶

Unlike the travelers who had preceded him, this missionary cared nothing for the marvelous, and would have none of the stories of the natives. He had, however, so completely and accurately described these ruins that the work of D'Anville was comparatively easy. He decided that this was really Babylon, and that Baghdad was not its modern representative. The final word of D'Anville is interesting, and opens up the new era of study of this part of the Orient

The written characters which, as Father Emmanuel says in his report, are impressed upon the bricks which remain of buildings so ancient that they may have formed part of the original Babylon would be for scholars who wish to penetrate into the most remote antiquity an entirely new matter of meditation and study."⁶⁷

These words were written in 1755, in the very middle of the eighteenth century. They show how the study of the city of Babylon lagged behind the investigation of the cities of Persia. At this very time, as we have already seen, Europe was stirring with interest in the great Achaemenian dynasty, and not only was the site of Persepolis well known, its inscriptions had been several times copied, and men were eagerly trying to decipher them. It was not yet time to turn from the study of Persepolis to the study of Babylon, but the hour was rapidly hastening on. Father Emmanuel and his skillful interpreter before the Academy had done much to bring the hour nearer.

In December, 1765, Carsten Niebuhr, whose name has already filled a large place in this story in connection with the ruins of Persepolis, visited Hillah. He was absolutely certain in his own mind that these ruins belonged to the city of Babylon.⁶⁸ He was deeply impressed by their vast size, but still more by the evidences of a high state of civilization which they indicated. He found lying upon the ground and about the great mounds numerous bricks covered with inscriptions. Niebuhr could not read a line upon them, and no man living could have done so; but that they existed, and that the writing was the writing of the ancient Babylonians, was now well known in Europe. Europe had, however, entirely failed to grasp the meaning of these important facts. Europe believed that a people who could only write upon clay must have been a people in a low state of civilization indeed, and must have possessed but a small literature. Niebuhr quotes from Bryant these words, and they were fairly representative of the general opinion entertained in Europe: "I cannot help forming a judgment of the learning of a people from the materials with which it is expedited and carried on, and I should think that literature must have been very scanty, or none at all, where the means above mentioned were applied." To Niebuhr such reasoning appeared to be folly. To his mind the presence of these inscribed bricks was evidence of a very high state of civilization.⁶⁹ He lamented that he could not remain longer at the site, the more thoroughly to study its ruins, and calls earnestly for others to continue the work which he had to leave unfinished.

Niebuhr also visited the mounds near the Tigris and opposite the city of Mosul. Here also he was as clear and cogent in his reasoning as he had been at Hillah. The site of Nineveh he identified without difficulty,⁷⁰ but it appears to have impressed him much less than the more ancient, and the greater, mother city of Babylon.

The hope and wish of Niebuhr that others would soon follow him to carry on researches at Babylon were soon gratified. In 1781, on July 6, M. de Beauchamp sailed away from Marseilles to carry on astronomical observations at Baghdad and to make historical and geographical studies in the neighborhood. He visited Hillah, and contributed further to its exact localization. His knowledge of the languages and the archeology both of the past and the present of the Orient was not equal to that of Niebuhr, and he therefore made curious mistakes concerning the names which the Arabs had given to certain portions of the mounds, but withal he marks a fresh step of progress. The mound which had now long been known to travelers as the mound of Babel he now designates under the name of Makloube. For the first time he directs attention to a second mound close by the first, which he considers the site of Babylon; it is the mound called El-Kasr by the Arabs.

Of the mound at Hillah he says: "Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to Abbe Bartholomy."⁷¹ ... I was informed by the master mason employed to dig for bricks that the places from which he procured them were large, thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw amongst the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow and of the sun and

moon formed of varnished bricks. Some idols of clay are found representing human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half moon in relief. The bricks are cemented with bitumen, except in one place, which is well preserved, where they are united by a very thin stratum of white cement, which appears to be made of lime and sand."

"Most of the bricks found at Makloube have writing on them; but it does not appear that it was meant to be read, for it is as common on bricks buried in the walls as on those on the outside...."

"The master mason led me along a valley which he dug out a long while ago to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he showed me, I guess to have been sixty feet thick. It ran perpendicularly to the bed of the river, and was probably the wall of the city. I found in it a subterranean canal, which, instead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of sandstone six or seven feet long by three feet wide. These ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hella, and incontestably mark the situation of ancient Babylon...."

"Besides the bricks with inscriptions, which I have mentioned, there are solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, of a white substance, covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis mentioned by Chardin. Four years ago I saw one; but I was not eager to procure it, as I was assured that they were very common. I mentioned them to the master mason, who, told me that he sometimes found such, but left them among the rubbish as useless. Black stones which have inscriptions engraved on them are also met with."⁷²

In these descriptions and narratives of the learned and inquiring abbe are found the first notices of ex. cavations and the first accounts of the finding of inscriptions beyond the mere building bricks stamped with names and titles of kings. These had been seen often before and several had been taken to Europe. The period of description of mounds has now come to an end and the period of excavation has fully come. These little inscriptions which at first awakened so slight an interest in Abbe Beauchamp would soon be eagerly sought with pick and shovel. Then would come the effort to read them, and later the full knowledge of the past history of the great valley. One observation of the abbe is of great importance in this story. The cylinders, he says, were "covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis mentioned by Chardin." That showed, as by prophetic instinct, the very line which would be pursued for the decipherment of the literature of Babylon.

As definite knowledge of the site of Nineveh, as Abbd Beauchamp had achieved of the site of Babylon, was now soon secured by a French physician, Guillaume A. Olivier, who was sent into the East for the purpose chiefly of scientific study. He had no such knowledge of the ancient world as the abb6, and therefore failed to make any independent contribution to the progress of knowledge respecting Nineveh. His references to the city are scanty enough, and he does not appear to have seen any inscriptions.⁷³ At this time the knowledge of ancient Babylon very far exceeded the knowledge of Nineveh. It is, however, proper to say that both sites had been found, and excavations on a very small scale had been begun at Babylon. These excavations, it is true, were primarily made to obtain building material which was to be used in the construction of dwellings for the people about the neighboring country. Incidentally, however, inscriptions were found, and these were recognized as being pieces of writing from the ancient people of Babylon. The words of Beauchamp produced an uncommon impression in Europe, and were the subject of much discussion. In England especially were men aroused by them to a sense of eager thirst for a sight of these inscriptions-the books of the Babylonians-and for an effort to read them. So soon as this desire should crystallize it was certain to result in an attempt to secure some of them for an English museum. The first move in this direction was made by the East India Company of London, which forwarded, on October 18, 1797, a letter to the governor of Bombay instructing him to give orders to the company's resident at Bussorah to have search made for some of these inscribed bricks. He was then to have them. carefully packed and sent as soon as possible to London. Early in 1801 the first case arrived at the East India House in London. These inscriptions were the first that had reached London. It was true, indeed, that no man could read them. They stood, however, as silent monuments of the past, and their very position in London called upon men to attempt their decipherment. Their resemblance to the inscriptions of Persepolis had also been pointed out, and of that there was now no doubt. At this time the work was in progress which resulted in the reading of ancient Persian. Here were now inscriptions in ancient Babylonian, and they must also be read.

There were at last enthusiasm and real interest in Babylon. This general interest was focused by a remarkable book by Joseph Hager,⁷⁴ which was the direct result of his inspection of the Babylonian inscriptions that were now in the East India House. Hager's small book was epoch-making both in its suggestions and in its conclusions. In a few pages he reviewed the history of the observations made at Babylon, and then connected the inscribed stones there found with the Persepolitan inscriptions. His statements on these points well deserve repetition:

"It is well known that for more than a century past, about which time the Persepolitan inscriptions were first discovered by European travellers, the opinions have been much divided respecting these characters. Some have believed them to be talismans, and others the characters of the Guebres, or antient inhabitants of Persia; others held them for mere hieroglyphics, and others for alphabetic characters, like ours. KAEMPFER supposed them to express whole ideas, like the Chinese characters, but that they had been appropriated solely for the palace of Istakhar...."

"By the Babylonian bricks here exhibited, the whole difficulty in regard to their origin is removed; as it is evident that Babylon, in point of cultivation, was much earlier than Persepolis, and that the Chalckans were a celebrated people, when the name of the Persians was scarcely known."⁷⁵

It must be remembered that this little book of Hager was written before the Persepolis inscriptions had been deciphered at all, and this makes all the more remarkable the generalizations of this gifted man, who seemed to foresee the very conclusions to which men would come when both the inscriptions of Persepolis and these new texts were finally deciphered. Even beyond these deductions was Hager led to go, when he summed up his conclusions at the end of his volume,⁷⁶ for there he claimed that even the Assyrians must have used the same method of writing-and this before he had even so much as seen an Assyrian inscription of any kind.

Hager's little book had an influence out of all proportion to its size. The great tomes of many travelers had utterly failed to excite more than a passing interest. His book was soon translated into German and made a distinct impression upon Grotefend, then deeply absorbed in his efforts to decipher the records of the Achaemenian kings. In its English form it became known in France, there to inspire the archaeologist, A. L. Millin, to publish in facsimile⁷⁷ a small inscribed stone brought several years before from the neighborhood of Baghdad to Paris by the botanist Michaux. The article of Millin called this little inscription a "Persepolitan monument," though his own statements show that it came not from Persepolis, but from Babylonia. His copy of this beautiful little inscription was another added to the increasing list of objects which awakened in men the belief that beneath the mounds at and about Hillah must lie buried great stores of monuments of the past of Babylonia.

While these publications were appearing, and while men were still curiously examining the East India House inscriptions, a man was preparing for a work which would demonstrate the truth of these hopes and astonish the world with unsuspected discoveries.

Claudius James Rich, who had been born at Dijon, France, in 1787, but spent his childhood at Bristol, England, and there secured his earliest education, went early in life to Bombay in the service of the East India Company. Gifted extraordinarily with a love for languages and with a readiness in their acquiring, he there made himself acquainted with Latin and Greek, and especially with Hebrew, Aramaean, Persian, Arabic, and even somewhat with Chinese. Later, by fortunate accidents, he had found opportunity to continue his oriental studies at Constantinople and at Smyrna, and then in Egypt; while a sojourn in Italy put the language of that people at his service. Before he was twenty-four years of age he had been appointed the resident of the East India Company at Baghdad. Though he had not probably been consciously preparing for this particular post, all that he had learned and much that he had experienced now became of the greatest service to him. In the beginning of his residence at Baghdad he appears to have been most interested by the city itself and its immediately surrounding country, and began the collection of materials for a history of its Pashalic. In 1811, however, he was in some way led to visit the ruins of ancient Babylon, and at once there was awakened in him a new passion. On December 10, 1811, he saw for the first time the great mounds, to which he was now to devote so much energy and enthusiasm. His first impressions were distinctly disappointing. When he could secure the first opportunity to write them down he said:

"From the accounts of modern travelers I had expected to have found on the site of Babylon more, and less, than I actually did. Less, because I could have formed no conception of the prodigious extent of the whole ruins, or of the size, solidity, and perfect state of some of the particular parts of them; and more, because I thought that I should have distinguished some traces, however imperfect, of many of the principal structures of Babylon. I imagined, I should have said: 'Here were the walls, and such must have been the extent of the area. There stood the palace, and this most assuredly was the tower of Belus.' I was completely deceived; instead of a few insulated mounds, I found the whole face of the country covered with the vestiges of building; in some places consisting of brick walls surprisingly fresh, in others merely of a vast succession of mounds of rubbish of such indeterminate figures, variety, and extent as to involve the person who should have formed any theory in inextricable confusion and contradiction."⁷⁸

This first visit of Rich to Babylon was brief, for he was back again in Baghdad on December 21. In that short time, however, he had planned all the mounds, and had correctly located them by astronomical observations. He also tested the mounds by digging into them in several places, of which the following words may serve as a sufficient description:

"I went with ten men with pickaxes and shovels to make experiments on the Mujelibe; they dug into the heaps on the top, and found layers of burnt bricks, with inscriptions laid in mortar. A kind of parapet of unburnt bricks appears to have surrounded the whole. On the western face the mud bricks were not only laid on reeds, but mixed up with them. In the northern face, where a part is also still standing, the bricks are not mixed up with reeds, but only laid on layers of them; here I found some beams of the date tree, specimens of which I brought away. The part of the mud wall standing on the west front is not thick; that on the northern side is more so, but none of them are of any considerable thickness. On the north front the height of the whole pile to the top of the parapet is 132 feet. The southeast angle is higher."⁷⁹

From these walls he took specimens of the inscribed building bricks, and likewise, when possible, purchased from the inhabitants various smaller inscriptions, which were later to form a part of the treasures of the British Museum. Rich's work at that time seemed small in amount, but it was the first serious survey of all the mounds, and has formed from that day to this the basis for every subsequent examination of them. So carefully had his work been done that he required, upon later acquaintance, to change his conclusions but slightly. His first account was, strangely enough, published in Vienna, but it was eagerly read and discussed in London. Free as it had been from theorizing, it, nevertheless, called forth a review and criticism from Major Rennell, who argued that Rich had not properly considered the allusions of classical historians and geographers, and had therefore improperly identified some ruins. Rennell's paper determined Rich to visit the ruins again, to verify or to correct his first statements. In his second visit he did find some things to correct, but in the main confirmed and established his former conclusions. The results of this visit were written out at Baghdad in the month of July, 1817, and, like the first publication of Rich, carried forward very distinctly the investigation of the ancient city.

Rich had already achieved enough to gain fame, but he was to do still more for oriental study, not, indeed, at Babylon, but at the other chief center, the city of Nineveh. In April, 1820, he set out from Baghdad to escape its heat by a journey in Kurdistan, and this was productive of valuable results in the geography of a land then but little visited by Europeans. In this journey Mr. Rich reached Mosul on October 31, 1820, and there spent four months. The experience which had been gained in his work at Babylon was now splendidly used. He visited and sketched with plans every one of the great mounds which might be considered as forming a part of the ancient city of Nineveh. The first of these mounds to be explored was that known among the natives as Neby Yunus, because it was supposed to contain the tomb of the prophet Jonah. Here he learned that even a cursory examination by means of the spade would uncover inscriptions, and some that had been found by the natives were shown to him. They were written in cuneiform characters, which Rich of course could not read, but some were secured for the British Museum, where their influence would soon be felt. From Neby Yunus Rich transferred his investigations to Kuyunjik, where he surveyed the mound, drafted a plan of it, and conversed with the natives, learning from them little more than that most of the inscriptions were found at Neby Yunus.

After the investigations at these two mounds Rich went down the river and studied the mound of Nimroud, where, as the natives said, Nimrod is buried. In every Arab village which he visited Rich found inscriptions in the cuneiform character. Some which were small enough to be easily transported he purchased for his collection. Many were, however, monumental in character, being cut into stones, which the Arabs had used in the erection of their miserable hovels. Rich appears to have found no opposition among the natives to his study of the mounds, but he did find various suspicions of himself and of his motives among the more ignorant of them. In one of his tours about Mosul the remark was overheard that he was probably seeking a suitable place to plant guns and take the city. The cupidity and fear which rendered miserable the lives of later explorers did not trouble him, partly because he knew by long association the temper of the natives, and so did not unnecessarily wound their sensibilities, and partly because he did not dig up the ground, as was necessary in the work of his successors.

The inscriptions which Rich had secured soon came to London, and there formed the nucleus of the great Assyrian and Babylonian collections of the British Museum. They showed at the very first glance that the daring guess of Hager was correct. They were indeed written in the same kind of characters as those which had been sent home to London from the ruins of Babylon. That fact alone was of so great moment as to make distinguished all the work of Rich at Nineveh. He had laid the basis for all future work in that city, as he had previously done in Babylon. His plans and drawings must be used by whoever should next take up the work.

To all this work at Babylon and at Nineveh Rich was to add useful labor at Persepolis, which he visited in August, 1821. His approach to the city was graphically described in these words:

"It was dark when we left the bridge of the Araxes. My expectation was greatly excited. Chardin, when I was a mere child, had inspired me with a great desire to see these ruins, and the desires excited in us in childhood are too vivid ever to be effaced. Their gratification has a relish which motives suggested by reason and judgment are unable afterward to equal. My late antiquarian researches had, however, also added their interest to my other inducements; and as I rode over the plain by the beautiful starlight, reflections innumerable on the great events that had happened there crowded on my memory. I was in the moment of enjoying what I had long waited for; and what a delightful moment that is! At last the pointed summit began to detach itself from the line of the mountains to which we were advancing. Mr. Tod pointed it out: 'Under that lie the ruins.' At that moment the moon rose with uncommon beauty behind it. Ages seemed at once to present themselves to my fancy."⁸⁰

Here at Persepolis he made more exact copies of the inscriptions to which already so much discussion had been given in Europe, and his copies proved to be of great value to those who were to engage in the criticism and the perfecting of the work of Grotefend. On the way back to Baghdad from this visit to Persepolis Rich died of cholera, at Shiraz, while bravely serving others who were suffering from the disease. The man who had wrought so wonderfully for the study of the ancient world now died a hero in the humblest service for the poorest of humanity.

The impulse which Claudius James Rich gave to Babylonian and Assyrian study has never yet lost its effect. Others had done much, indeed,

in awakening interest, and Rich's own testimony, quoted above, shows that Chardin had done this for him; still others had made observations of lasting value, while a very few had accurately determined ancient sites, and so had made possible his work. All these things, and more, Rich had accomplished. None who preceded him had excelled him in inspirational power, for even his Journal, intended only as the basis of future careful writing, possessed it, and none had equaled him in the collecting of definite information concerning the ruins both of Nineveh and of Babylon. His quickening and informing influence worked wonders in his immediate successors.

While Rich was still living in Baghdad, surrounded by a great retinue of servants and soldiers, in the almost regal state which was then deemed necessary in order to overawe the impressible natives, he received a visit from a fellow countryman, Sir Robert Ker Porter. This was October 14, 1818, and Rich had, as we have seen, made his investigations at Babylon, and published them in Europe. It was natural that he should discuss them with this newcomer. Porter had already visited Persepolis, and by the copying of inscriptions had added his name to the long and worthy line of those who had made the work of Grotefend possible. Of all those who had yet been in Babylonia none were endowed in the same manner as this new visitor. Others had possessed greater experience in travel, though even in this his experience was not small. Others had had better scientific equipment in knowledge of surveying and in acquaintance with oriental languages. In these matters Porter was far behind Rich and the former wanderers. But Porter was an artist, an artist who had made his name famous in England by many a canvas depicting the glory of England in war, and the history of her people in Church and State. To this he added the unique distinction of having been court painter at St. Petersburg. A man of talent, if not even a man of genius, a man of great social following in Great Britain and in Russia, where he had entered the highest circles and even married a Russian princess—such was Sir Robert Ker Porter. His skill as a painter qualified him admirably to sketch the ruins of Babylon, and his trained eye was ready to observe the lay of land and the external conditions of the modern surroundings of ancient sites. He had had experience in the copying of texts at Persepolis, and could now copy at Babylon with additional sureness. He had a gift for striking description in words, and his brush added vividness to his pen. Rich gave him willing assistance, and Rich's admirably trained secretary, Bellino, accompanied him to the ruins at Hillab. Though Porter was lacking in many things, his observations were useful and served well in directing later workers bent on definite work. Upon his return the account of his travels was published in sumptuous style,⁸¹ beautifully illustrated by his own brush. The big book was received with acclaim in England, and apparently also on the continent. A man with greater scientific equipment but with less social following might have written a work more valuable scientifically, which would, nevertheless, have completely failed in influence on the age. Porter's work, however, offered the needed supplement to the work of Rich. Rich had written very little indeed, and that was concerned with details, and at times was very dry indeed. It was, besides this, not published in a complete form until after the author's death. Porter saw his own book published, and heard the popular plaudits. Here was at last a description of Babylon as it now was, duly intermingled with quotations from previous observers, and fortified by the word of Mr. Rich and Mr. Bellino. Here were pictures of mounds and ruined walls and inscribed bricks, and here was the expressed opinion that they had not yet been fully explored. What better thing could have been done for the recovery of Babylon at this time than the publication of just such a book as this of Sir Robert Ker Porter! It was impossible that its publication should not be followed by a rekindling of zeal in the pursuit of oriental learning; or that its glowing and pictured pages should fail to excite the wonder of even the ordinary reader, who may to-morrow become an explorer himself or a patron of such pursuits in others. Just as the book of Chardin had roused the boyish enthusiasm of Rich and sent him in his early manhood to the scenes which it described, so would this new book exert a similar influence upon others. Though its scientific contributions are not to be named with those of Rich, its popular influence was great, and it is to be ranked with the greatest of all the influences which contributed to the recovery of Nineveh and Babylon.

With the work of Sir Robert Ker Porter another period of exploration in Babylonia and in Assyria closes. The progress had been indeed very slow. The whole story is a narrative of description, rising at times to measurement and survey, and very rarely to the summit of actually recovering inscribed monuments. But all this was absolutely indispensable work. It was foundation work, preparatory and perhaps little more. But it represented a clear step forward beyond that of the days of the credulous seeker for marvels. It was, further, an era of popularization, and before governments or peoples, in monarchies or democracies, would join heartily in costly excavations, the people must get some promise of interesting result, some zeal for the learning of the past history of humanity, and some taste for the color of the Orient. In the greatest of the democracies, also, it was well that the people should come to believe that a study of the mounds of Babylon and Nineveh might give results of value to the study of their Bible, for the English people were then willing to give much if there were promise of any such result. Of that issue assurance was given in many a word from Shirley to Rich, and that the people had heard it was soon clearly shown. In France there was probably less diffusion of popular biblical knowledge; yet from France was to come the first real step which should prove that England's hesitation had been unwise. In France that which failed in the popular interest and enthusiasm was supplied by the love of learning in the few and by the great liberality of the government, in a land where governments have always done marvels for the pursuit of learning. But the story of this great work belongs to the new era, that now follows the period closed by two Englishmen whose names belong high up on the record—Claudius James Rich and Sir Robert Ker Porter.

CHAPTER V

EXCAVATIONS IN ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, 1843-1854

THE period of exploration in Babylonia was succeeded by the era of excavation, but the succession was not so rapid as might have been expected. The whole history of the progress was slow, and there was now a pause before the really culminating work was begun. But this pause was full of preparation.

In 1823 Julius Mohl came from Tübingen, where he had taken in the previous year the doctor's degree, to Paris, to become the pupil of the greatest Arabist of the day, Silvestre de Sacy, whose name has already appeared in the story of decipherment. In 1840 Mohl became one of the secretaries of the Société Asiatique, and thus became permanently attached to the French capital. Though his masters had taught him the Arabic classics rather than the learning of the older Orient, he was, nevertheless, full of a desire to know of its history, language, and literature. At about the time of the pause in the progress of Babylonian exploration Mohl visited London, and there saw the inscribed Babylonian bricks which the East India Company had brought together. He was filled with an overmastering belief that these little bricks were the promise of an immense literature which lay buried, awaiting the excavator's spade. He returned to Paris to read of mounds in Babylonia and Assyria, and to reflect upon the untold treasures which must come to light if properly sought. There was no opportunity found for Mohl himself to go to Assyria or Babylonia to seek these long-lost monuments, but there soon came a time when he could arouse another to this call.

In 1842 the French government created at Mosul a vice consulate. French commerce with the district did not warrant or demand this, and the new departure was really made in the interest of archaeological study—to establish at this happily chosen place a French archaeological mission. The man selected to fill the new post was admirably suited to it. Paul Emil Botta was now but thirty-seven years of age, with the full ardor of youth and the steadying influence of experience of the world. He had had service as the French consul at Alexandria, and must there have learned of the methods of archaeological study in which the French had already met with distinguished success. Before Botta departed from Paris for his new post MOM had impressed strongly upon his mind that a great opportunity was now his to dig, and not merely to describe, explore, and plot the mounds opposite Mosul. The preliminary work of plotting and examining these mounds had been well done, and no more of it was needed. Rich had made it entirely unnecessary for any follower of his to repeat more of that work. It was now Botta's duty to dig beneath the surface of the oft-described mounds, and determine finally whether they covered any remains of the ancient city of Nineveh. Botta was persuaded, and went out to Mosul to occupy his consulate on May 25, 1842. That was an historic clay in the annals of Assyrian study.

The French diplomat and archaeologist, whose face bore the fine lines of the scholar rather than the marks of a man of the world, found himself in a place little suited to one who had lived in Paris, or even in the comparative comfort of Alexandria. Mosul was a mean little city, built more of mud than of stone, lying upon the right or western bank of the Tigris. It had once possessed an extensive commerce with the East, of which it still retained the remnants. Botta seems to have cared little for the town or its fanatical inhabitants, and were it not for the comments of Layard, we should know little of what it was at this time. Botta's own letters give it scarcely more than a passing reference. When he stood by the banks of the river Tigris he could see the river Choser discharging its sluggish and muddy waters into the great river. The eye could follow the little river back over a plain which melted away into the mountains of Kurdistan upon the east and northeast. Upon this plain there were a few squalid villages, the homes of a peasantry more fearful of the taxgatherer than of death. Over these the pasha of Mosul exercised a sway, patriarchal only in its severe authority. The land had once supported a vast population; of that the history left by Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews made no doubt possible. Besides these wretched villages the most noticeable objects were several vast mounds. They had been often described before, and Botta knew just what they were supposed to be. As he swept his eyes over them, the first that was noticeable was south of the Choser, on his right hand as he looked across the river. It might seem to the untrained eye at first glance merely a hill, a bit of nature's own handiwork, but the top was too flat, the sides unnaturally regular and steep. Upon its top rose a mosque, and grouped round this were several poor houses forming a little village. The mound was called Neby Yunus—that is, Prophet Jonah—and to his honor and memory the mosque was dedicated. Beneath, in the mound, lay the prophet's bones, according to the tradition of the natives. As he looked farther north on the opposite side of the Choser lay a larger mound called Kuyunjik, where also there were some human habitations. This mound was larger than the other, and beyond them was a raised line which seemed to unite these two mounds, and might mark the remains of an ancient line of wall which inclosed them both. Farther back from the Tigris, upon the rising ground along the upper Choser and distant about fourteen miles north-northeast from Mosul, was another mound with a village called Khorsabad. Other lesser mounds were either in sight or were known from the descriptions of travelers or from native residents. Botta looked the field over and doubted where to begin. His first discouraging experience resulted from a careful survey of the town of Mosul itself. He had been led to believe that as the towns about the ruins of Babylon had been built of brick dug from the remains of the ancient city, so he would find in Mosul huts erected of bricks taken from the ancient city. His plan, therefore, was to go over Mosul and seek for signs of ancient-looking bricks, and especially for any that were inscribed with cuneiform characters. He would then ascertain from what mound these had come. To his great surprise and discomfiture he found no such memorials of the past, and was therefore left without this hint as to the proper place to begin excavations. The mounds were so large as to discourage aimless seeking, and he began a process of questioning the natives concerning any finds that might be known. Gradually some pieces of inscribed stone were brought forth from hiding places, and these he bought from their owners. This surprising news that a man had come to Mosul who would buy old stones became noised about the whole country, and he had numerous offers of bits of stone and clay. But even with all this advertising of his wishes the number of antiquities offered was much less than that which the passing traveler reported at Baghdad or at Hillah. Furthermore, it was difficult to ascertain where the natives had secured what was offered him, for they naturally desired to work these mines for their own gain and not permit the Frank to learn of their

exact whereabouts. Botta's own mind swerved gradually round to the notion that the most promising mound was Neby Yunus, and he carefully considered the possibility of digging there. From this purpose he was finally dissuaded by the awkward fact that a village occupied the better part of the top of the mound, which would make digging almost impossible without the utter collapse and ruin of the miserable hovels. Besides this there were Mohammedan graves in the mound, and, above all, was not Jonah himself buried beneath its surface? To disturb a spot thus sacred would mean a revolution among the natives which might set the whole region ablaze with fanaticism. This plan was therefore abandoned and the mound by Kuyunjik was selected for the first efforts. At the western edge of this mound near the southern extremity a few large bricks could be seen which were joined with bitumen. These seemed to offer a hope that they belonged to some ancient building. Here, therefore, Botta began to dig in December, 1842. His funds were very limited and he could employ but a few workmen, whose slow movements promised little results. The workmen, however, discovered some fragments of bas-reliefs and broken bits of clay inscriptions. For three months the work went on and nothing large or valuable or beautiful came out of the little ditches or wells. What was found was interesting indeed, for it offered proof positive that this mound really did cover some ancient building or buildings. It was, however, discouraging to find only broken pieces, and not complete monuments.

While this work was in progress the inhabitants gathered round the ditches and watched curiously the slow and careful work. They did not know what it all meant, but it was perfectly clear that this man was seeking inscriptions, whatever they might be. Every little fragment found which contained any of these strange little wedge-shaped marks was carefully numbered and laid aside. One of the bystanders whose home was at Khorsabad observed this proceeding, and within the first month of the excavations brought down from Khorsabad two large bricks with inscriptions, which he offered to sell to Botta. This gave him the hint that perhaps Khorsabad might be a more profitable mound for excavations. He was, however, still hopeful of success at Kuyunjik, and continued to work on. At last, on March 20, 1843, his faith in this mound gave out, and he determined to send a few men to Khorsabad to try the mound there. It was a fortunate resolve. In three days word was brought to him at Mosul that antiquities and inscriptions had already been found. He was, however, skeptical, fearing lest the records might be some late Arabic graffiti, and was there, fore unwilling to go himself lest those which had been found should prove valueless. He sent a servant with instructions to copy a few of the inscriptions and then report. The reply showed beyond a doubt that the antiquities were really Assyrian. Thereupon Botta went to the scene, to behold a sight that thrilled him.

His workmen had lighted upon a very well-preserved ancient wall, not of a city, but of a building. This they had followed round and so uncovered a large room, in which were lying fragments of sculptures, calcined by fire, together with a number of well-preserved inscriptions. The full meaning of this new room was not ascertained until long after, but some appreciation of it was Botta's own, as he looked down into the rude excavation. He believed at once that this was but one room, perhaps of a great palace, and proved the supposition at once by causing wells to be driven near by in several places, out of which came other bas-reliefs, almost perfectly preserved. In these his eyes looked upon a sight which no man had seen since the great royal city fell before its enemies more than two thousand four hundred years before. Only one day could Botta remain at Khorsabad, and then had to return to Mosul for other duties. Thence he wrote on April 5, 1843,⁸² a quiet, dignified letter to the author of his first enthusiasm, A. I. Mohl. There is scarcely a word of enthusiasm in the letter, but it roused Mohl to contribute of his own small purse and also sent him to the Academy of Inscriptions with Botta's letter and the accompanying diagrams. Meanwhile the excavations went slowly on, though with some opposition on the part of the pasha. A month later a second and more important letter moved the French government to its old line of generous assistance to archaeological research, and three thousand francs were placed at Botta's disposal for further researches.

Thus supported by France, and cheered on by the ever-active Mohl, Botta's course seemed clear and his success certain. He was, however, sorely pressed by great difficulties. The climate was dangerous, and he almost fell a victim. The natives were suspicious beyond measure, and hampered his work at every turn. Some supposed that he was digging for buried treasure, and that these inscriptions which he copied were talismanic guardians from which he would learn its exact location. Yet others supposed that he was searching for old title deeds by which to prove that all this land had belonged to Europeans, who thus might claim its restoration. These and similar stories came to the ears of Mohammed Pasha, then governing the pashalic of Mosul, and he entered gradually upon a policy of oppression. He first set guards over Botta's workmen, whose business it was to seize any piece of metal that might be found and dispatch it to him, that it might be carefully examined to determine whether it was gold. This caused so little inconvenience to Botta that it was scarcely worth the trouble, and he soon felt compelled to resort to more strenuous measures. He had given permission to Botta to erect for himself a small hut where he might find a resting place when he came up on visits from Mosul. The wily pasha now pretended that this was in reality a fortress and that the trenches were its defenses. It was evidently Botta's intention to overawe the country by force of arms and detach it from the sultan's dominions. Upon these representations the Sublime Porte ordered that all the excavations should at once cease. Botta was equal to the painful emergency. On October 15, 1843, he dispatched a courier to the French ambassador at Constantinople, begging him to make such representation to the Porte as might secure permission for the continuance of the excavations.

While these petitions were pending amid the usual delays at Constantinople the wily pasha was pretending to Botta that all his difficulties were due to the people of Khorsabad, and not to his own machinations. "I told him one day," says Botta, "that the first rains of the season had caused a portion of the house erected at Khorsabad to fall down. 'Can you imagine,' said he, laughing in the most natural manner, and turning to the numerous officers by whom he was surrounded, 'anything like the impudence of the inhabitants of Khorsabad? They pretend

that the French consul has constructed a redoubtable fortress, and a little rain is sufficient to destroy it. I can assure you, sir, that, were I not afraid of hurting your feelings, I would have them all bastinadoed till they were dead; they would richly deserve it, for having dared to accuse you.' It was in this manner that he spoke, while he himself was the author of the lie, and his menaces alone were the obstacles which prevented the inhabitants from exposing it."⁸³

At Constantinople difficulties innumerable and delays uncounted were found, and not until May 4, 1844, did the firmans allowing the work to proceed reach Botta at Mosul. They were brought from Constantinople by M. E. Flandin, who had been sent from Paris to copy and sketch all the antiquities which were too bulky or heavy to be removed. It was already decided in Paris that everything else should be carried thither.

When Botta attempted to begin excavations again he found that it would be necessary to raze the little village and thus be free to dig over the whole mound. This was accomplished by paying the inhabitants to remove to the level ground at the foot of the mound and then entering into an agreement to restore the mound's surface as it was for their rebuilding. The work now went on apace. Botta copied the inscriptions, while Flandin planned all the rooms and buildings that were found, and three hundred native laborers worked lustily with pick and shovel to lay bare this portion of the ruined city. Scores of inscriptions, chiefly upon stone and monumental in character, were now found. Great winged bulls that once had guarded palace doors came to light. Bas-reliefs of much beauty portraying scenes of peace and war arose out of dust and dirt. The success of the work passed all the hopes of Botta and all the enthusiastic predictions of Mohl, and almost exceeded the belief of the learned world in Paris. In October, 1844, Botta stopped the work and soon began to arrange for the transportation of the antiquities to Paris. The difficulties were great and the delays annoying, but at last, in December, 1846, the entire mass of material was successfully landed at Havre, thence to be transported to Paris and deposited in the Louvre.

To crown the work the French government published all the drawings of Flandin, all the copies of inscriptions, and all the descriptive matter of Botta in five magnificent folio volumes,⁸⁴ in a style worthy of French traditions and of French liberality to archaeological research.

So ended in a worthy publicity the first great expedition to Assyria which had succeeded in bringing to Europe the first Assyrian monuments which the Occident had ever seen. It was a noble work of Botta, of Flandin, of Mohl, and of France.

Botta would probably have gone back to Khorsabad or to some other mound in the district of Nineveh after the publication of his discoveries had he not been sent into government service elsewhere. His work might well call him to return, but another would soon continue it.

On March 5, 1817, there was born in Paris an English boy of Huguenot descent, whose early training, gathered here and there in England, France, and Italy,⁸⁵ awakened in him a love for the fine arts, an interest in archaeology, and a passion for travel. In the boyish days of Austen Henry Layard his eager reading of the Arabian Nights was mixed with study of Fellowe's travels in Asia Minor and with the perusal of Rich's accounts of discovery at Babylon and Nineveh. Rich's journal filled him with desire to see these great mounds beneath which lay ancient memorials of untold interest. Herein again, as often before, is seen the continuity of research in these lands, the influence of enthusiasm carried over from man to man.

Fortunately for science Layard's education had been too uneven to fit him for the pursuit of a profession, and the law, for which he was destined, did not awake in him an enthusiasm sufficient to overcome the early defects. The restless fever was in his blood, and the quiet ways of England were too tame for the almost Gallic spirit within him. He determined, therefore, to seek a career in Ceylon, and in 1839, when a mere boy in appearance and but twenty-two years of age, he set out to make the journey overland in company with Edward Ledwich Mitford, who was bent upon the same business. Mitford was nearly ten years older than Layard and had had experience in Morocco, where he had learned the Arabic dialect there in use. Before setting out upon this journey Layard had learned a little Arabic and Persian, and had tried to make other hasty preparations for the dangerous voyage over lands almost unknown, amid savage animals and even more savage men. Upon reaching Hamadan, Persia, Layard abandoned the plan of seeking his fortune in Ceylon, and therein archaeology triumphed over commerce. Mitford pursued his way on to Ceylon, and Layard returned into western Asia.⁸⁶

It was upon May 10, 1840, that Layard and Mitford first saw Mosul and examined somewhat curiously the mounds on the opposite bank, which Layard had learned from Rich to consider the remains of Nineveh. The mounds of Kuyunjik and Neby Yunus did not make so great an impression upon Layard as did the great mound of Nimroud, farther south. But all aroused in him a deep longing to learn their secrets. Even then he could say, "These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Baalbec or the theaters of Ionia." This spell deepened as he saw more of Nimroud by rafting down the Tigris toward Baghdad. His words are a promise of the work that was to follow:

"It was evening as five approached the spot. The spring rains had clothed the mounds with the richest verdure, and the fertile meadows, which stretched around it, were covered with flowers of every hue. Amidst this luxuriant vegetation were partly concealed a few fragments

of bricks, pottery, and alabaster, upon which might be traced the well-defined wedges of the cuneiform character. Did not these remains mark the nature of the ruin, it might have been confounded with a natural eminence. A long line of consecutive narrow mounds, still retaining the appearance of walls or ramparts, stretched from its base, and formed a vast quadrangle. The river flowed at some distance from them, its waters, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foaming whirlpools by an artificial barrier built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current, but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab who guided my small raft gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, my companion explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimrod, and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared, and united by clamps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream. It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to insure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals, spreading like network over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation. No wonder that the traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race! The Arab was telling me of the connection between the dam and the city built by Athur, the lieutenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were now before us--of its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace, now represented by the mound of Hammum Ali--and of the histories and fate of kings of a primitive race still the favorite theme of the inhabitants of the plain of Shinar, when the last glow of twilight faded away, and I fell asleep as we glided onward to Baghdad.

"My curiosity had been greatly excited, and from that time I formed the design of thoroughly examining; whenever it might be in my power, these singular ruins."⁸⁷

The resolve expressed in this last sentence is very striking when one remembers that it was taken in April, 1840. This was more than two years before Botta had even seen the mounds. At least in the thought of excavation Layard anticipated Botta, though the good fortune of the latter gave him the precedence in the field.

In May, 1842, Layard passed through Mosul on his way to Constantinople, and found Botta established as consular agent and already engaged in carrying on excavations at Kuyunjik. Layard was too much a man of dignity, even in his youth, to feel any envy of the fortunate Frenchman, who was now doing what he had been dreaming. In the two years which had passed Layard had attempted to secure aid to enable him to undertake just such work as this, but in vain. His own government was not as easily induced to aid archaeologists as the government of France, whether monarchical or republican, has always been. Layard then formed terms of friendship with Botta, and entered upon a correspondence. When Botta was discouraged at his small success it was Layard who wrote urging him to persevere.

At the time of this second visit, to Mosul, Layard was on his way home to England. At Constantinople, however, he was detained and sent thence to Salonica upon service for the British embassy. The British ambassador at Constantinople was now Sir Stratford Canning, afterward Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had secured for the British Museum the marbles of Halicarnassus. The skill, patience, and ardor with which he had pursued the efforts required to obtain these had increased his own interest in the monuments of the past. To him Layard told the story of the mounds, and described his eagerness to try excavations in them. At last he had found the right man, and Sir Stratford gave him £60, to which Layard was to add an equal amount collected among friends. With this small sum Layard left Constantinople October, 1845, and traveled with all haste to Mosul. Mohammed Pasha was now governor of the province, and from him Layard could expect no help, but every possible interference. He therefore concealed the object of his mission, but after a few days gave out that he was going to hunt wild boars, and then left Mosul by a raft to float down to Nimroud, where he had determined to begin excavations. Here an Arab tent sheltered him, and hearts more tender than the pasha's watched over him. His record of the night before the first spade was struck into the ground reveals the enthusiasm of the man, and gives some clue to his great success:

"I had slept little during the night. The hovel in which we had taken shelter, and its inmates, did not invite slumber; but such scenes and companions were not new to me; they could have been forgotten had my brain been less excited. Hopes long cherished were now to be realized or were to end in disappointment. Visions of palaces underground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then, again, all was reburied and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep when, hearing the voice of Awad [his Arab host], I rose from my carpet and joined him outside the hovel. The day had already dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction."⁸⁸

The excavations thus begun were carried on until December amid constant difficulties set on foot by the pasha. The plans pursued were exactly the same as were followed against Botta. When the excavations were resumed, after a visit to Baghdad, they were again interrupted by the fanaticism of the Arabs, operating upon the new governor of the province, Ismail Pasha. When they were again resumed, in February, 1846, Layard left the mound to visit a neighboring sheikh, and was returning to the mound when he observed two Arabs hastening to meet him with excited faces. The narrative of what followed is best told by Layard himself:

"On approaching me they stopped. 'Hasten, O Bey,' exclaimed one of them-; 'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;' and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

"On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

"I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off toward Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learned this with regret, as I anticipated the consequences.

"While I was superintending the removal of the earth, which still clung to the sculpture, and giving directions for the continuation of the work, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahmar, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. As soon as the two Arabs had reached the tents and published the wonders they had seen everyone mounted his mare and rode to the mound, to satisfy himself of the truth of these inconceivable reports. When they beheld the head they all cried together, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet!' It was some time before the sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. 'This is not the work of men's hands,' exclaimed he, 'I but of those infidel giants of whom the prophet, peace be with him! has said that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood.' In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred.

"I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before nightfall reached the object of my search, about twelve feet distant. Engaging two or three men to sleep near the sculptures, I returned to the village and celebrated the day's discovery by a slaughter of sheep, of which all the Arabs near partook. As some wandering musicians chanced to be at Selamiyah, I sent for them, and dances were kept up during the greater part of the night. On the following morning Arabs from the other side of the Tigris and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages congregated on the mound. Even the women could not repress their curiosity, and came in crowds, with their children, from afar. My cawass was stationed during the day in the trench, into which I would not allow the multitude to descend.

"As I had expected, the report of the discovery of the gigantic head, carried by the terrified Arab to Mosul, had thrown the town into commotion. He had scarcely checked his speed before reaching the bridge. Entering breathless into the bazaars, he announced to everyone he met that Nimrod had appeared. The news soon got to the ears of the *cadi*, who, anxious for a fresh opportunity to annoy me, called the *mufti* and the *ulema* together to consult upon this unexpected occurrence. Their deliberations ended in a procession to the governor, and a formal protest on the part of the Mussulmans of the town against proceedings so directly contrary to the laws of the Koran. The *cadi* had no distinct idea whether the bones of the mighty hunter had been uncovered or only his image; nor did Ismail Pasha very clearly remember whether Nimrod was a true believing prophet or an infidel. I consequently received a somewhat unintelligible message from his excellency to the effect that the remains should be treated with respect, and be by no means further disturbed, and that he wished the excavations to be stopped at once, and desired to confer with me on the subject.

"I called upon him accordingly, and had some difficulty in making him understand the nature of my discovery. As he requested me to discontinue my operations until the sensation in the town had somewhat subsided, I returned to Nimroud and dismissed the workmen, retaining only two men to dig leisurely along the walls without giving cause for further interference. I ascertained by the end of March the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions, differing from those previously discovered in form, the human shape being continued to the waist and finished with arms. In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, though strongly developed to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprung from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These sculptures, forming an entrance, were partly in full and partly in relief. The head and fore part, facing the chamber, were in full; but only one side of the rest of the slab was sculptured, the back being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks. That the spectator might have both a perfect front and side view of the figures they were furnished with five legs; two

were carved on the end of the slab to face the chamber, and three on the side. The relief of the body and three limbs was high and bold, and the slab was covered in all parts not occupied by the image with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions.

"I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temple of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength, than the body of the lion; of rapidity of motion, than the wings of the bird. These winged human-headed lions were not idle creations, the offspring of mere fancy; their meaning was written upon them. They had awed and instructed races which flourished three thousand years ago. Through the portals which they guarded kings, priests, and warriors had borne sacrifices to their altars long before the wisdom of the East had penetrated to Greece, and had furnished its mythology with symbols long recognized by the Assyrian votaries. They may have been buried, and their existence may have been unknown, before the foundation of the Eternal City. For twenty five centuries they had been hidden from the eye of man, and they now stood forth once more in their ancient majesty. But how changed was the scene around them! The luxury and civilization of a mighty nation had given place to the wretchedness and ignorance of a few half barbarous tribes. The wealth of temples and the riches of great cities had been succeeded by ruins and shapeless heaps of earth. Above the spacious hall in which they stood the plow had passed and the corn now waved. Egypt has monuments no less ancient and no less wonderful, but they have stood forth for ages to testify her early power and renown, while those before me had but now appeared to bear witness, in the words of the prophet, that once `the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs... his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations;' for now is ' Nineveh a desolation and dry like a wilderness, and flocks lie down in the midst of her: all the beasts of the nations, both the cormorant and bittern, lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice sings in the windows; and desolation is in the thresholds."⁸⁹

In one respect this narrative of Layard's far excels all that had been written by the men who before his day had seen or measured or worked in these mounds. None before had ever told the story of their experiences or of their discoveries in words so full of color, life, and movement; none had ever displayed so much of enthusiasm and so great a power of description. In another respect Layard becomes a successor of one of the earliest of English travelers and explorers. Like Shirley, he knew how to make all that he saw bear upon the words of the Bible. He could quote the very words out of the Scriptures and make the dust covered monument reflect a bright light upon them. These two powers-the power of description in color and the power of biblical comparison -ranged all England at his back. They who cared nothing for the Bible were moved by the fire and the beauty of his description; they who loved the Bible saw in him a man who was making discoveries which promised to illustrate or confirm records to them most dear. In due time, also, these influences became so potent that the British government was moved to lend a hand to this work, and so that which had been begun upon slender private means became a great national enterprise.

The colossal figures which so deeply moved Layard were indeed a noble sight, but they were not so important as the smaller inscriptions which were later to be dug out of their resting places. Layard had supposed that the winged lions had guarded the entrance of some great temple, the spade was later to show that they had stood at the portals of the palace of Shalmaneser II.

The work which revealed these monuments had been carried on under many difficulties and with a constant dread of interruption from the suspicious natives or their rulers. It was therefore a great relief to Layard's anxieties when he received from Constantinople a "vizirial letter, procured by Sir 'Stratford Canning, authorizing the continuation of the excavations and the removal of such objects as might be discovered." This put another face upon Layard's work, and enabled him to do openly work which had hitherto been carried on with as much concealment as possible. He now made some small attempts upon the mound of Kuyunjik, but his funds were extremely limited and the results were not encouraging. He therefore resumed with fresh vigor the work at Nimroud, from which he was shortly able to send a large consignment of monuments on a raft to Baghdad and thence to Bassorah, for transportation to England. Soon after which his health, already undermined by the enervating climate, compelled him to cease work and make a mountain journey for recuperation.

Upon his return to Mosul he found letters from England advising him that Sir Stratford Canning had presented to the British Museum the antiquities which had been found, and that furthermore the Museum had received from the government a grant of funds for continuing the work. This was good news indeed, though Layard had to lament that it was so much smaller than Botta had enjoyed, and that therefore he must stint and economize and strive to utilize every penny.

With such resources as he had the work was resumed in October, 1846, and a winter campaign was carefully planned. Huts were erected for shelter from the storms; wandering Arabs were induced to pitch their tents near by, and instead of living by plunder draw wages for labor in the trenches. Many a new plan of dealing with troublesome natives was tried and the better adopted. In all this Layard had the valuable

assistance of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, whose brother, Charles Rassam, was British vice consul at Mosul. Hormuzd Rassam was native born and understood the people as no European could hope to do. He conducted most of the dealings with them, and kept the peace without use of force.

The excavations carried on under these auspices, and with the powers which Layard then possessed, were successful beyond his wildest dreams. As the trenches followed round the walls of room after room they uncovered great slabs of alabaster, with which the chamber walls were wainscoted, and these were found to be richly carved in relief with scenes of hunting, of war, and of solemn ceremony. The very life of palace, camp, and field in Assyrian days came back again before the astonished eyes of the explorer, while these received an addition to their verisimilitude by the discovery in some of the ruins of pieces of iron which had once formed parts of the same kind of armor as that portrayed on the reliefs, together with iron and bronze helmets, while in others were found vases and ornamentally carved pieces of ivory. Here were the pictures and there were the objects which they represented. As the trenches were dug deeper or longer monuments carved or inscribed were found daily. One trench ten feet beneath the surface uncovered the edge of a piece of black marble. It was the corner of "an obelisk about seven feet high, lying on its side." It was covered on three sides with inscriptions and with twenty small bas-reliefs. The inscriptions recorded and the bas-reliefs illustrated various forms of gift and tribute which had been received by Shalmaneser II, though when found these facts were of course unknown. No inscription equal in beauty and in the promise of valuable historical material had yet been found in Assyria. Layard was therefore particularly anxious to get it away from the place lest some mishap should befall it. He therefore set Arabs to sleep and watch by it overnight and had it speedily packed for shipment. Day after day the work went on with the regular and constant discovery of stone slabs similar to those which had been found before, and with the finding of inscribed bricks which, though not so beautiful as the stone, contained much more historical material.

When the trenches began to yield less material Layard determined to try elsewhere. Had his funds not been so severely limited, he would have continued still further the excavations at Nimroud, even though they did not appear to be immediately productive. This would have been the best method of procedure, but the means would not permit it, and Layard had to seek fresh soil.

For his next adventure he chose the mound of Kalah Shergat, where he had before desired to make excavations. Out of these ruins were taken an interesting sitting figure and many small bricks with inscriptions, some of which belong to the earliest of the great Assyrian conquerors, Tiglathpileser I. But what ancient city this might be Layard was unable to ascertain. That it was none other than the city of Asshur,⁹⁰ first capital of the kingdom, was a discovery made afterward.

A few days were also given to excavation in the mound of Kuyunjik with similar good fortune, and then the work had to cease because of the consumption of the means for its carrying on. On June 24, 1847, Layard left Mosul for the land journey to Constantinople, after having sent the last of his discoveries down the Tigris.

After a few months' rest in England, devoted in considerable measure to the preparation of the narrative of his expedition and of the copies of the monuments which he had found, Layard was ordered to Constantinople to service with the British embassy. He had not been able to finish for the press the work which he had written, and went out to his duty not knowing whether his story would awaken any interest or not.

He does not appear even to have dreamed that any special call would come to him to resume the excavations again. But the books⁹¹ were published after his departure, and at once all England rang with his praise and with an eager expression that this work must go on further. The British Museum secured more funds for the work and he was directed to set out for Assyria again. From England Hormuzd Rassam, Mr. F. Cooper, an artist, and Dr. Sandwith, a physician, were induced to accompany him. They set sail from the Bosphorus on August 28, 1849, for Trebizond, and landed there on the thirty-first day and began the journey to Mosul.

In this expedition he laid the chief emphasis upon the mound of Kuyunjik and Neby Yunus. In the former he discovered the great palace of Sennacherib, and so keen was he now become in the examination of inscriptions and tables of genealogy that he recognized the fact that this edifice belonged to the king whose son was the builder of the palace at Nimroud and whose father built the palace discovered by Botta at Khorsabad. It is to be remembered that he made this conjecture without being able to read Assyrian at all. Later study has determined that he had correctly ascertained the facts. Sargon built the palace at Khorsabad; his son Sennacherib built the palace at Kuyunjik, while his son Esarhaddon erected the palace at Nimroud. Even greater than in the first expedition were his discoveries at Kuyunjik both for the history, the literature, and the art of ancient Assyria. But he also conducted excavations at Kalah Shergat, Nimroud, and Khorsabad. From Mosul he made excursions to various sites in northern and southern Babylonia. Upon these excursions he visited and for the first time described the great mound of Niffer, where a later expedition was to achieve unparalleled successes. At Hillah he made some excavations, but met with little success.

After another season he returned in April, 1852, to England. His first work was the writing of his narrative and the preparing of his inscriptions for publication.⁹² He found that his previous books had made him famous, while the new discoveries would be certain to add much to his reputation. This secured for him honored diplomatic posts, notably at Constantinople, where he was able to serve Assyrian study

by dealing with the Turkish government in the interest of explorers, as he had once served it by his own labors.

Layard's two expeditions to Assyria had been fruitful indeed beyond those of Botta, and their influence lived far beyond even Layard's own life. His books had, as we have already seen, touched the popular heart in many points, and, though he laid the work down to take up diplomatic service, in which he appears not to have been so happy, others were found to continue it.

Even while Layard was still at work in Nineveh the French government sent Victor Place, an architect of great skill, to hold the post of consular agent at Mosul and continue Botta's work. He had not accomplished much when Layard's work ended, but remained and made important discoveries in the department of Assyrian art, cooperating afterward with a French expedition, to which attention must later be paid.

Meanwhile in England interest in the whole of Babylonia and Assyria grew apace, manifesting itself in many ways. The government had been moved to assist Layard's investigations, and it now joined in the work in still another way. For a long time the frontier between Turkey and Persia had been a bone of contention, each land gaining or losing as the fortune of war might be, while predatory bands belonging neither to the one nor the other made reprisals upon both. In 1839 and 1840 war almost ensued between the two nations, whereupon England and Russia intervened, and a commission was appointed to sit at Erzerum to conduct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of difficulties. This commission, after a session lasting four years, agreed upon a treaty, the basis of which lay in a survey of the doubtful territory between the two states, and a proper de. limitation of the border. This work was carried on by representatives of England, Russia, Turkey, and Persia. The most prominent of these was Colonel W. F. Williams. In January, 1849, Mr. William Kennett Loftus was sent out from England to serve as geologist upon his staff Loftus found time amid other duties to visit large numbers of mounds in Babylonia, and the very sight of them filled him with enthusiasm. Of one, the mound of Hammam, he says:

"I know of nothing more exciting or impressive than the first sight of one of these great Chaldean piles looming in solitary grandeur from the surrounding plains and marshes. A thousand thoughts and surmises concerning its past eventful history and origin—its gradual rise and rapid fall—naturally present themselves to the mind of the spectator. The hazy atmosphere of early morning is peculiarly favorable to considerations and impressions of this character, and the gray mist intervening between the gazer and the object of his reflections imparts to it a dreamy existence. This fairylike effect is further heightened by mirage, which strangely and fantastically magnifies its form, elevating it from the ground, and causing it to dance and quiver in the rarefied air. No wonder, therefore, that the beholder is lost in pleasing doubt as to the actual reality of the apparition before him."⁹³

In the spring of 1850 Loftus carried on small excavations at Warka, the ancient city of Erech, but, though many interesting antiquities were found, they were not to be compared with the results of Layard's work. This was due in chief measure to the exceedingly meager means at the disposal of Loftus, and further to the great difficulties of excavating in Babylonia. Upon this first expedition Loftus rendered distinguished services by his long, and often dangerous, travels over southern Babylonia. Upon these trips he visited Niffer, Mukayyar (Mugbeir), and a number of lesser sites, most of which had never before been visited by Europeans. These he carefully described, and minutely located, rendering thereby access easy for others. Even to this present some of Loftus's work remains useful. He had also a keen eye for the peculiarities of mounds, and expressed a longing to dig in some spots which have since proved exceedingly productive. An opportunity to do some of the work he had planned was soon to come to him through private enterprise in England.

While travelers and explorers were busy among almost savage peoples English interest in the mounds continued, and finally eventuated in the organization of an Assyrian Excavation Fund, which undertook to gather popular subscriptions and to direct excavations in Assyria and Babylonia with the means thus acquired. At this time Sir Henry C. Rawlinson was British resident and consul general at Baghdad, and to him was intrusted the general oversight of such excavations as might be planned and carried on. This direction could hardly have been placed in better hands. His extensive travels, and long residence in the East and his remarkable attainments in the decipherment of ancient Persian had fitted him in the fullest degree to take charge of efforts intended to make the buried records of the great valley accessible to the world.

Loftus was sent by the fund to conduct excavations and carry on explorations in the southern part of the country. His work was successful in bringing to London considerable numbers of inscribed tablets, with many vases, and a considerable mass of mortuary remains. It attracted, however, little popular attention, not that it was unimportant, though less in amount than Layard's, but chiefly because Loftus did not possess Layard's popular gifts, and was unable to set forth his discoveries in such attractive fashion. Had it not been for the notes which Rawlinson sent home, he would have remained almost unknown.

Rawlinson's next move was to send J. E. Taylor, British vice consul at Bassorah, to Mugbeir, probably the ancient Babylonian city of Ur.⁹⁴ Taylor dug straight into the center of the mound, finding almost nothing as a reward for his pains. It was rather at the southwestern corner that his great discovery was to be made. Of it he has this story to tell:

"I began excavating the southwest corner, clearing away large masses of rubbish formed of the remains of burnt, mingled with sun-dried, bricks. I worked along at a depth of 10 feet and a breadth of 6 without finding anything. I then returned, and worked a few feet north along the brick casing of the western wall; here, 6 feet below the surface, I found a perfect inscribed cylinder. This relic was in the solid masonry; it had been placed in a niche formed by the omission of one of the bricks in the layer, and was found standing on one end. I excavated some little distance further without any success, and then relinquished this corner for the northwest one. Here, also, I found a second cylinder similar to the one above mentioned, but at 12 feet from the surface. At this corner I sank a shaft 21 feet deep by 12 broad. The sun-dried bricks, composing this solid mass within were here of an amazing thickness; their size was 16 inches square and 7 inches thick. Just below the cylinder were two rough logs of wood,, apparently teak, which ran across the whole breadth of the shaft.

"Having thus found two cylinders in the solid masonry in two corners, I naturally concluded the same objects would be found in the two corners still remaining. I sank a shaft in each, and found two other cylinders precisely in the same position, and in the same kind of structure, one at 6 and the other at 2 feet from the surface. This is easily accounted for when looking at the irregular surface of the ruin, which, at the southeast corner and south side generally, has been subject to greater ravages from rain than the other sides, owing to the greater depression of the surface toward these points."⁹⁵

Taylor also conducted excavations at Abu Sharein and Tel-el-Lahm, but without important results.⁹⁶

At this time expeditions were so numerous and the work of different men in various places so constantly in progress that it is impossible to follow them in detail and almost impossible to arrange them in chronological order.

While yet Loftus was still at work and Taylor had not even begun his labors the French government was taking steps to resume excavations upon large scale. It was the indefatigable Mohl who kept government and people in France ever incited to good works in this matter. At last he moved M. Leon Faucher, the minister of the interior, to ask the assembly for a credit of 70,000 francs, and on October 9, 1851, an expedition set out from Marseilles for Hillah, which was reached July 7, 1852. The members of this expedition were MM. Fulgence Fresnel, formerly consul at Jeddah, Jules Oppert, professor of German at the Lycee, Reims, and F. Thomas, an architect.

Oppert had already done important work upon old Persian and was a trained orientalist. He made important researches at Babylon and visited a large number of mounds, some of which Loftus had already seen. This expedition excavated at Birs Nimroud and found rich treasures of art and of inscriptions. At the same time Place was continuing excavations at Khorsabad. The materials found both by Place and by the expedition at Birs Nimroud were loaded on rafts to be floated down the river to Bassorah. Unhappily, and as it is stated by "sheer carelessness and mismanagement," the rafts were overturned and the whole collection was lost in the river.⁹⁷ Though this sore mishap had occurred, Oppert brought back to Europe much fresh knowledge, and the published results of the expedition were notable.⁹⁸

In the same year that the French expedition, which ended so unhappily, was being planned the trustees of the British Museum secured a grant from Parliament to begin anew the work at Nineveh. Layard was now absorbed in the diplomatic service, and would not go out to take up the work again. His former assistant was, however, now studying at Oxford, and to him the authorities appealed. To his lasting honor Mr. Hormuzd Rassam accepted the post, and set out at the end of 1852 to begin excavations at Kuyunjik, under the general direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson. Rassam was fitted for the work of excavator as few who had ever dug in these mounds. He knew land and people from his birth up; he had served a long and useful apprenticeship to Layard; he was devoted to the business he had in hand, and eager to give every energy to its successful accomplishment. In one respect he was unfortunately not so well equipped as the brilliant Oppert, who was now busy among the mounds of Babylon. Oppert knew all that was then known of the cuneiform writing, while Rassam knew nothing of the language in which the ancient records of his country were written.

When he reached Mosul he found that Sir Henry Rawlinson had drawn a line across the mound at Kuyunjik, assigning the northern half of the mound to the French and retaining the remainder for the "English sphere of influence." Place had, however, not yet dug at all in this mound, but was busy with the continuing of excavations at Khorsabad. Rassam was endowed beyond Place in a feeling for archaeological investigations, and believed that the northern part of the mound was by far the most promising. From the very beginning he desired most to try excavations there, but felt himself prevented by the arrangement which Sir Henry Rawlinson had made. He concealed from Place his feelings and went sturdily to work upon other parts of the mound. For nearly a year and a half his work continued, and from his trenches and wells there were constantly brought out inscribed records of the past, now fragments of tablets, now obelisks, now clay cylinders, and now beautifully preserved tablets, with the fine, neat writing of the ancient Assyrians. During all this time M. Place made no move toward even the beginnings of excavation at Kuyunjik, and Rassam finally concluded that, after all, Sir Henry Rawlinson had exceeded his authority in setting off a part of the mound to the French, and therefore determined, "come what might," to move over to the top of the mound and see what might be found. His first essays were to be made at night so as to prevent any possible interference by Place if it should be attempted. The story is romantic, and Rassam's own laconic sentences best describe it

"After having waited a few days for a bright moonlight night,⁹⁹ I selected a number of my old and faithful Arab workmen who could be depended on for secrecy, with a trustworthy overseer, and gave them orders to assemble at a certain spot on the mound about two hours after sunset. When everything was ready I went and marked them three different spots on which to dig. There had been already a number of trenches dug there on a former occasion, but at this time I directed the workmen to dig across them and go deeper down; and having superintended the work myself till midnight, I left them at work (after telling them to stop work at dawn) and went to bed.

"The next morning I examined the trenches, and on seeing some good signs of Assyrian remains I doubled the number of workmen the second night and made them work hard all night. As usual, I superintended the work till midnight, and then went to bed, but had not been asleep two hours before my faithful Albanian overseer came running to give me the good tidings of the discovery of some broken sculptures. I hurried immediately to the spot, and on descending one of the trenches I could just see in the moonlight the lower part of two bas-reliefs, the upper portion having been destroyed by the Sassanians or other barbarous nations who occupied the mound after the destruction of the Assyrian empire. I could only find out this from experience, by examining the foundation and the brick wall which supported the bas-reliefs; so I directed the workmen to clear the lower part of the sculptures, which clearly showed that the slabs belonged to a new palace; but on digging around them we came upon bones, ashes, and other rubbish, and no trace whatever was left of any other sculptures. On the third day the fact of my digging at night oozed out in the town of Mosul, which did not surprise me, seeing that all the families of the workmen who were employed in the nocturnal work knew that they were digging clandestinely somewhere; and, moreover, the workmen who were not employed at night must have seen their fellow laborers leaving their tents and not coming to work the next day. Not only did I fear the French consul hearing and coming to prevent me from digging in what he would call his own ground, but, worse than all, that it should be thought I was digging for treasure by the Turkish authorities and the people of Mosul, who had always imagined that we were enriching ourselves by the discovery of fabulous treasures; consequently, on the third night, I increased the workmen, and resolved to remain in the trenches till the morning, superintending the work. It can be well imagined how I longed for the close of the day, as there was no doubt in my mind that some Assyrian structure was in existence near those broken slabs which had been found the night before. I was not disappointed in my surmises, for the men had not been at work three hours on the third night before a bank under which they were digging fell and exposed a most perfect and beautiful bas-relief, on which was represented an Assyrian king (which proved afterward to be Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus) in his chariot hunting lions. The delight of the workmen was past all bounds; they all collected and began to dance and sing from their inmost heart, and no entreaty or threat of mine had any effect upon them. Indeed, I did not know which was most pleasing, the discovery of this new palace or to witness the joy of my faithful and grateful workmen. We kept on working till morning, and seeing that by this time three perfect sculptures had been uncovered, I had no doubt in my mind that this was quite a new palace. The night workmen were changed, and new hands put to work in the daytime, as I had now no more fear of being thwarted by my rivals, because, according to all rules, I had secured this palace for the British nation. During the day we cleared out all the lion-hunt room of Assurbanipal, which is now in the basement room of the British Museum. In the center of this long room or passage there were heaps of inscribed terra cottas, among which I believe was discovered the famous Deluge Tablet. Undoubtedly this was the record chamber of Assurbanipal."¹⁰⁰

The discovery thus made was the greatest which had yet been made either in Assyria or Babylonia. Rassam, by the exercise of a skilled judgment and the fortunate combination of circumstances, had actually uncovered the long-buried library of the royal city of Nineveh--the library which Assurbanipal had gathered or caused to be copied for the learning of his sages. Here was a royal storehouse of literature, science, history, and religion brought to light, ready to be studied in the West, when the method of its reading was fully made out. Well might Rawlinson join with Layard in applause over this happy and fortunate discovery, which had linked Rassam's name forever with the history of Assyrian research.

In March, 1854, Rassam returned to England, and Loftus, who had finished his researches in the south, was sent to Kuyunjik to complete Rassam's work. This task he fulfilled with complete success, recovering many more tablets, to be sent, as Rassam's were, to the British Museum.

While these works were in progress the East India Company again took part, in a most valuable manner, in the work of Assyrian study. On the request of the trustees of the British Museum the company dispatched Commander Felix Jones, assisted by Dr. J. M. Hyslop, from Baghdad to Mosul to survey the whole Nineveh district. This was accomplished in a masterly fashion during the month of March, 1862, and three great maps were published, which remain the standard records until to-day.¹⁰¹

And now the long and brilliant series of excavations was drawing near to another period of rest. But at the very end Sir Henry Rawlinson was the author of a remarkable discovery. During the months of August and September, 1854, he had placed "an intelligent young man, M. Joseph Tonetti by name," in charge of excavations at Birs Nimroud, where the ill-fated French expedition had carried on its work. For two months the work was not very successful, and then Sir Henry Rawlinson visited the works in person, and after some examination determined to break into the walls at the corners, in the hope of finding commemorative cylinders, such as Taylor had found at Mugheir. He first directed the removal of bricks down to the tenth layer above the plinth at the base, and while this was being done busied himself elsewhere. When this had been finished he was summoned back, and thus describes the happy fortune which ensued:

"On reaching the spot I was first occupied for a few minutes in adjusting a prismatic compass on the lowest brick now remaining of the original angle, which fortunately projected a little, so as to afford a good point for obtaining the exact magnetic bearing of the two sides, and I then ordered the work to be resumed. No sooner had the next layer of bricks been removed than the workmen called out there was a Ahazeneh, or 'treasure hole'--that is, in the corner at the distance of two bricks from the exterior surface there was a vacant space filled up with loose reddish sand. 'Clear away the sand,' I said, 'and bring out the cylinder;' and as I spoke the words the Arab, groping with his hand among the debris in the hole, seized and held up in triumph a fine cylinder of baked clay, in as perfect a condition as when it was deposited in the artificial cavity above twenty-four centuries ago. The workmen were perfectly bewildered. They could be heard whispering to each other that it was *sihr*, or 'magic,' while the graybeard of the party significantly observed to his companion that the compass, which, as I have mentioned, I had just before been using, and had accidentally placed immediately above the cylinder, was certainly 'a wonderful instrument.'" ¹⁰²

The cylinder thus recovered was one of four originally set in four corners of the building, and a little later a second was found. The remaining two were not recovered, as the corners in which they had presumably been placed had long before been broken down. Nebuchadnezzar had taken great pains to preserve the records of his great works of building and restoration.

And now the long series of excavations was ended. Men of learning in the history of the ancient Orient had been overwhelmed by the mass no less than by the startling character of the great discoveries. The spade and the pick might now be suffered to lie idle and rust for several years. There was great work to do in the reading of these long-lost books. Europe waited for the results before beginning new excavations.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECIPHERMENT OF ASSYRIAN

WHEN the masters of decipherment, Grotefend, Rawlinson, and Hincks, had brought to happy conclusion the reading of the ancient Persian inscriptions which had been copied at Persepolis, Behistun, and other less important sites, they were still confronted by a great series of problems.

Many of these inscriptions were threefold in form, and, as has already been shown, it was now generally believed that they represented three separate languages. The first was now read, and it was ancient Persian. The second called for attempts at its decipherment. None knew what people these were whose language appeared side by side with ancient Persian, and opinion now called them Scythians, and now Medes. But what, ever their language might be named, some one must essay its decipherment. In reality a number of men in different places were at work simultaneously upon the fascinating problem. It was to be expected that Grotefend would attempt the task, and this he did, but, unfortunately, without complete success. He was, indeed, hardly fitted by his training for work of this kind. The great achievement of really beginning this decipherment was reserved for Niels Louis Westergaard, whose very first paper ¹⁰³ laid the foundations for the successful reading of the second class of Persepolitan writing. His method was very similar to that used by Grotefend in the decipherment of Persian. He selected the names for Darius, for Hystaspes, for the Persians, and for other nationalities, and compared them with their equivalents in the Persian texts. By this means he learned a number of the signs and sought by their use in other words to spell out syllables or words, whose meanings were then ascertained by conjecture and by comparison. He estimated the number of separate characters at eighty-two or eighty-seven, and judged the writing to be partly alphabetical and partly syllabic. The language he called Median, and classified it in the "Scythian," rather than the "Japhetic," family. But Westergaard's results were tentative at the best, and needed the severe criticism of another mind. These they obtained in two papers by Dr. Hincks, read before the Royal Irish Academy. ¹⁰⁴ Hincks clearly advanced upon Westergaard, and again, as before, showed himself a master of all the processes of cuneiform decipherment.

After Westergaard and Hincks the work was taken up by a French scholar, F. de Saulcy, who was able to see farther than either. De Saulcy looked back upon the decipherment of ancient Persian and compared the signs of the Median language, for so he also named this second language. He observed that they were similar, then he looked ahead and saw that they appeared almost identical with the characters in the third language, to which he gave the name *Assyrian*. De Saulcy was not the first to give this title to the third form of writing found at Persepolis--that designation was now becoming common--but he was the first to point out the remarkable resemblance between the signs or characters in the second and third groups of the texts. It was now clearer than ever that if the second language, whatever it was, whether Median or Scythian, could be deciphered, the way would be open to the reading of Assyrian. To this great end de Saulcy contributed by his increased success in the study of Median.

All three, Westergaard, Hincks, and de Saulcy, had done their work with very defective materials. It was very improbable that the study of the Median or Scythian would get beyond de Saulcy's attempts without the publication of fresh material. This was soon forthcoming, through

the generosity of Sir Henry Rawlinson. At great personal cost of money, time, and dangerous labor he had completed the copy of the inscription at Behistun. The first column was in ancient Persian, and in the decipherment of this he had won imperishable fame. The second column he had not time to publish at once himself, and therefore gave it over to Mr. Edwin Norris, with full permission to use it as he wished. Norris, leaning in the beginning strongly upon Westergaard, succeeded in deciphering almost all of it. His paper, read before the Royal Asiatic Society of London on July 3, 1852,¹⁰⁵ was almost epoch-making in the history of the study, and it was long before it was superseded.

The work of Norris drew Westergaard¹⁰⁶ once more into the arena with criticism, with fresh conjectures, and with several marked improvements. Mordtmann¹⁰⁷ followed him in a paper too little leaning upon the work of predecessors, and there fore containing useless combinations and repetitions, but, nevertheless, making a few gains upon the problems. He named the language Susian--and the name was happily chosen. A. H. Sayce¹⁰⁸ attacked the problem next in two brilliant papers, the first of which even went so far as to present a transcription and partial translation of two small inscriptions. The translation was necessarily fragmentary, but none of the former workers had equaled it. He argued learnedly for the name Amardian for the language, and returned again to this matter in a second paper, which likewise registered progress in the decipherment. Oppert,¹⁰⁹ who gave most of his great skill to other questions, also studied these texts shortly after Sayce, and made contributions of importance to the problem. The problem of the second form of writing at Persepolis and at Behistun was solved, and in 1890 Weissbach¹¹⁰ was able to gather up all the loose threads and present clear and convincing translations of the long-puzzling inscriptions.

If now we pause for a moment and look back, we cannot fail to be moved by the patience, skill, and learning that had been employed in the unraveling of these tangled threads of ancient writing. It was a long and a hard hill, and many a weary traveler had toiled up its slope. Persian and Susian at last were read. The progress, slow at first, had at last become very rapid. As yet, however, the historical results had been comparatively meager. The inscriptions were not numerous, and their words were few. But how different this would be if only the third language could be deciphered. That third language at Persepolis and at Behistun was undoubtedly Assyrian or Babylonian. Here in Susian and in Persian were the clues for its deciphering. If it could be read, men would have before them all the literatures of Assyria and Babylonia. What that meant was even now daily becoming more clear. While Norris was working quietly in England Botta and Layard were unearthing inscriptions by the score in Assyria, and the first fruits of Babylonian discovery were likewise finding their way to Europe. With such a treasure. trove it was not surprising that men almost jostled each other in their passionate eagerness to learn the meanings of the strange complicated signs. which stood third at Persepolis and at Behistun.

Grotefend had picked out among the Assyrian transcripts of the Persepolis inscriptions the names of the kings, just as he had in the old Persian texts, but was able to go but little further. More material was imperatively necessary before much progress could possibly be made. As soon as the letters from Botta to Mohl were published announcing the discoveries at Khorsabad a man was found who plunged boldly into the attempt at deciphering Assyrian. Isidore de Loewenstein made his chief point of departure in a comparison of the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions on the Caylus vase.¹¹¹ It was hardly a good place to begin, and it is therefore surprising that his success was so great as it really was. Loewenstein made the exceedingly happy stroke of suggesting that the Assyrian language belonged to the Semitic family of speech, and was therefore sister to Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaean.¹¹² This suggestion would alone dignify his work, for it became exceedingly fruitful in the hands of later workers. He was, however, not very successful in determining the values of the signs, and in that there was the greatest need for success. In the second memoir¹¹³ Loewenstein was much more successful, for his point of departure was more happily chosen. He now chose for comparison the proper names of Persians,¹¹⁴ which were transliterated in the Assyrian texts. With such comparisons a beginning might well be made, and this beginning Loewenstein made in happy fashion. To him, however, it was not given to read an Assyrian text; that proved to be a task much more difficult than anyone had imagined.

But workers were increasing in numbers, and all had hope that at last the way out to the light must be found.

Of all these none was gifted with such marvelous skill in decipherment as Edward Hincks. He had already had a goodly share in the decipherment of the first form of the Persepolis inscriptions, and, as we have just seen, his work upon the second was exceedingly important. Both these services he was now to surpass, and apparently with ease. Upon November 30, and again upon December 14, 1846, he read before the Royal Irish Academy two papers, afterward printed as one,¹¹⁵ in which he plunged boldly into the decipherment of the Babylonian. In a third paper, read on January 11, 1847,¹¹⁶ he modified somewhat the views expressed in the two former papers, and advanced a step farther. In the preparation of these papers it seems quite clear that Hincks had received no help from any other worker. Loewenstein's first paper he had not seen, and the second paper was not yet published. The work of Hincks was independent in every way. What he accomplished in those three papers it would be difficult to exaggerate. A number of Babylonian signs were definitely determined in meaning, and the meanings then assigned remain the standard to this day. He even succeeded at this time in determining correctly a large part of the

numerals. He was on the clear high road to a reading of the texts, but he was too careful to venture to translate. His method, even under the pressure of the enthusiasm that must have tingled in his veins, remained rigidly scientific.

And now the inscriptions which Botta had unearthed at Khorsabad began to come to Paris. From the heavy wooden cases came slabs of stone, covered with dust, but bearing strange wedge-shaped characters. Henri Adrien de Longperier was now to arrange them in the same order in the Museum of the Louvre. He could not do this work without a longing to read these unknown characters, and so, like others elsewhere, he began to ponder over the hard problem. He was familiar with Loewenstein's work, and so began his own efforts standing upon Loewenstein's shoulders. It is true that Loewenstein could not give him much help with individual signs, but he had at least selected a group of signs, after comparison with old Persian, which he believed represented the word "great," and was probably to be pronounced *rabou*. Loewenstein had learned this from the Persepolis inscriptions. Longperier found the same group in the inscriptions from Khorsabad. He assumed its correctness and pushed on a bit further. In these texts of Botta a little inscription was often repeated, and after long comparison A. de Longperier translated the whole inscription in this way

"Glorious is Sargon, the great king, the [...] king, king of kings, king of the land of Assyria."¹¹⁷ But the strange thing about this translation was this, that he could not name or pronounce a single word in it all except the one word, *rabou* "great." Yet the researches that were to follow showed that the translation was almost a full and correct representation of the original. If de Longperier had had before him the list of signs and meanings which Hincks had already proposed, he might have gone further. As it was, he made out the name of Sargon, and there paused. When one looks back upon all this work in France, England, and Ireland, and sees the little gain here and another there, he cannot but think that the slow progress was chiefly due to lack of communication. If, by some means, each worker might have known at once the move of his friendly rival, the progress must inevitably have been more rapid. It is indeed true that the men who worked in France managed through published paper or letter or society meeting to keep fairly well in touch. But the much more brilliant Irishman beyond two stormy channels found no way of learning promptly what they were thinking, and, still worse, was not readily able to make known his work to them. So much was this latter fact painfully true that the keen Frenchmen worked steadily on without his invaluable aid. This lack of ready communication of hypotheses and of results still continues in a measure, in spite of all improvements in printing and in dissemination of documents, and appears to be increased rather than diminished by the vast number of societies and of journals devoted to the pursuit of science.

Botta was now back again in Paris and was publishing in parts a memoir¹¹⁸ upon the language of the inscriptions which he had brought back to the world. He made but little effort to decipher or to translate, but he collated all the inscriptions which he had found, and made elaborate lists of the signs which he found upon them. He differentiated no less than 642 separate signs-enough to make the stoutest heart of the decipherers quail. For every one of these signs a value, or a meaning, or both, must be found. This at once and forever settled all dispute about an alphabet. If there were 642 characters, some of them certainly must represent syllables. But how could there possibly be so many syllables? Botta looked over the Persepolis inscriptions, comparing inscription No. 1, that is Persian, with inscription No. 3, that is Babylonian. In No. 1 he sometimes found the name of a country represented by *several signs*, whereas in No. 3, in the proper place, he found the same country represented by only one sign. It now became clear that this Babylonian language was partly at least written in ideograms. Here was another added difficulty, for even if one should learn the meaning of these ideograms, how would it ever be possible to learn the word itself, or, to speak loosely for the moment, its pronunciation? That was a problem, surely, and the means for its solution did not appear at that time, nor for many days. Botta's work went on, however, without this most desirable knowledge, and he finally picked out the words for king, land, people, and a few others of less importance, but still could not spell the words out in Roman characters. He could set down a sign and say, "There, that means 'land,' but I absolutely do not know how the Assyrians read it." With knowledge so defective as this Botta naturally did not attempt any complete translations. He had, however, made a useful contribution in positive directions, and a still more useful one negatively by showing how untenable were some of the old alphabetic theories.

Meantime de Saulcy went on with his struggles over the Persepolis and other inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings. He published some papers which unhappily reached no successful result. This has brought him somewhat under the ban of the unthinking, who themselves never dare make a mistake, and hence never accomplish anything. De Saulcy made the mistakes, soon perceived them, and went on cheerfully to repair them. He had also been working at Egyptian, and had learned much in that school of the processes of decipherment. In this he was like Hincks, and de Longperier seems also to have gained useful hints in the same school. Now de Saulcy was ready to take the daring step of attempting to decipher and translate an entire inscription. This was the first publication of an entire Assyrian inscription, with a commentary justifying and explaining the method word by word. In this paper de Saulcy set down one hundred and twenty signs the meaning of which he thought he knew, but the uncertainty was great, and even he could hardly claim that he had resolved fairly the difficulties which hung around the repetition of signs for the same consonant.

What de Saulcy could not accomplish was achieved by Hincks. In a remarkable paper on the Khorsabad inscriptions, read June '25, 1849,¹¹⁹ Hincks showed how vowels were expressed along with their consonants in the same sign. There was, for example, a sign for RA, and another for RI, and still another for RU. Then there was a sign for AR, and presumably also for UR and IR, though he did not fully and perfectly define the last two. Here was an enormous gain, for to all these separate signs de Saulcy had assigned the meaning R. This paper was not

fully completed until January 19, 1850, up to which time Hincks continued to make additions and corrections to it. At its very end he added a few lines of translation from Assyrian. This was indeed a translation in a sense attained by no other interpreter. It gave first the Assyrian characters, then an attempted transcription into Roman characters, and finally the almost complete and very nearly correct translation. It is impossible to read this paper at this late date without astonishment at its grasp of fundamental principles, its keen insight into linguistic form and life, and its amazing display of powers of combination.

The year 1849 had ended well, and the year 1850 had begun with every sign of hope. Now were even greater things in store. Layard's discoveries at Nineveh had begun to reach London, where they could not fail to rouse afresh Assyrian study, just as Botta's had done in France. It was natural that the first man to avail himself of the fresh material thus made accessible should be Sir Henry Rawlinson. No man had suffered so much in his efforts to secure copies of inscriptions, and now that he was again in London it is not surprising that he should at once seize upon the beautiful obelisk which Layard had brought from the mound of Nimroud. In two papers read January 19 and February 16¹²⁰ Rawlinson gave an elaborate and an acute handling of this great inscription, concluding with a tentative translation of those parts of it which appeared to his study to give a reasonable sense. If we compare this work of Rawlinson with the work of Hincks, it suffers considerably by the comparison. Rawlinson, it is true, has often hit the true sense of a passage, more often he has even presented a smooth translation which late study has gone far to justify. On the other hand, he did not give text, transcription, and translation together, as Hincks had done, and it was therefore impossible for students who could not examine the original to criticise, verify, or disprove the values he assigned to the characters. It is clear that without this there can never be definite, determined progress in any work of interpretation. Nevertheless, though the means for this had not been given by Rawlinson in his translation, he had discussed a number of words, printing the sign with its transcription and translation, and thereby supplying full material for the use of later workers.

But even after this Rawlinson's great contribution to the decipherment was still to be given. While scholars in Europe had been struggling over the Persepolis inscriptions he was living alone in Baghdad, seeking every opportunity to study the rocks at Behistun, and so obtain a complete copy of the great trilingual inscription of Darius. He had already published the Persian part of this text; and Edwin Norris, with his per. mission, had issued the second (then called Median) part. The most important part was the Babylonian, and the copy of this Rawlinson still held in his own possession, laboriously working it over, and trying to wring the last secret from the complex signs before he ventured upon its issue to the world. For the length of this delay Rawlinson has been most unjustly blamed and criticised.¹²¹ That he was jealous of his fame is made clear enough by the controversial letters of later years, but in this he was well enough justified. Others were at work in the effort to decipher these long lost records of old world peoples. They were eager for the phantom of fame for themselves, and few would be likely to take pains to conserve to Rawlinson the fame which was justly due his achievements, as some little compensation for the loss of ease and for the privations and toils which he had endured.

At last in 1851 appeared the long-expected, eagerly-awaited *Memoir*.¹²² Rawlinson published one hundred and twelve lines of inscription in cuneiform type, accompanied with an interlinear transcription into Roman characters and a translation into Latin. To this was added a body of notes in which many principles of grammar and of interpretation were discussed, together with brief lists of signs.

This *Memoir* of Rawlinson is justly to be considered an epoch-making production. Here at last was a long and difficult inscription almost completely translated, and here was the subject of the Assyrian language carried even to the point of close disputing about grammatical niceties. It was indeed the completion of a gigantic task pursued amid great difficulties, with a single eye. Science and society have too little honored the man who dared and executed this great task.

But great as was the result of Rawlinson's work there was a sense in which it brought new difficulties and trials to the patient interpreters of the texts. It became perfectly clear from his studies that in Assyrian or Babylonian the same sign did not always possess the same meaning. Such signs as these Rawlinson called polyphones. This was added difficulty upon difficulty. Here, for example, was a sign which had the syllabic values Kal, Rib, Dan, etc. This principle seemed to some of Rawlinson's critics perfectly absurd. In the popular mind, also, it did very much to destroy all faith in the proposed interpretation of the Babylonian inscriptions. "How," one man would say, "do you know when this sign is to be read Kal, or when Rib, or how do you know that it does not mean *Dan*?" "Yes," adds another, "how do you expect us to believe that a great people like the Assyrians and Babylonians ever could have kept record with such a language, or with such a system of writing as that? The whole thing is impossible on the face of it." Of course such criticism could make no impression upon Rawlinson himself; his knowledge had come to him by painful steps and slow, and was not thus easy to overthrow. It did, however, have weight in popular estimation, and the popular estimate cannot be despised or cast aside even by scholars. It had to be reckoned with, as Rawlinson knew well enough. It would be easy after a while to prove that his interpretation was correct—for that day he could wait patiently. It was, however, unfortunate that Rawlinson could not have set forth all his reasons and all his processes, together with all the critical apparatus. In this particular one must feel some disappointment over the great *Memoir*—in this at least it was not equal to the papers of Hincks.

While Rawlinson was now thought by many to have solved the problem in the main points, Hincks never relaxed for a moment his energetic pursuit of interpretation.

In July and August, 1850, he appears to have attended the meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh, where he circulated among the members a lithographed plate containing a number of signs registering forms of verbs. This paper, of which only a brief sketch was published,¹²³ has been almost overlooked in the history of the progress in Assyrian research. It is, however, of great importance. It shows that Hincks had gone beyond the point of mere guessing at the meanings of sentences, and had reached the point of studying the grammar of the language which was in his hands. In this field he was soon to excel all others, and lay deep and solid foundations of Assyrian grammar.

During the year 1851 Hincks appears to have published nothing, and was then probably engaged in a study of all the material that was accessible. In the next year he published a list of two hundred and fifty-two Assyrian characters, the rules of which he discussed separately.¹²⁴ This paper marks an extraordinary advance over all that had gone before. He now applies no longer the old methods of decipherment alone, but adds to this method a new and far more delicate one. He analyzes grammatical forms, and shows how a root appears in different forms according to its use in different conjugations. By this means he is able to test the values proposed and to verify them. In this paper, also, he showed that Assyrian possessed a most elaborate system of writing. There were first signs for single vowels, such as a, i, u. Secondly there were simple syllabic characters, such as ab, ib, ub, ba, bi, bu; thirdly there were complex syllabic characters, such as bar, ban, rab, etc.

Meantime Jules Oppert had returned from Babylonia and soon after visited England to see the British Museum collections. He was present at the meeting of the British Association at Glasgow in 1855, and there heard Sir Henry Rawlinson's account of the excavations at Birs Nimroud, and himself spoke upon the results of his own work in Babylonia.¹²⁵

The workers were now increasing in numbers, for Oppert was a great accession in Paris, after his two years of absence, and in England there was a new accession in the person of Fox Talbot, a remarkably gifted man. But with all the new workers in Ireland, France, and England, who gave in their adhesion to the principles and the results of decipherment, there were many who derided or who doubted the whole matter. Often before had doubts been expressed about the translations, and the investigators passed quietly on and paid no attention. H. Fox Talbot was, however, in the fresh enthusiasm of his scholastic life, unwilling longer to hear these doubts without some effort to dissipate them. He therefore devised a novel and striking plan. Rawlinson was now about to publish for the trustees of the British Museum lithographic copies of selected Assyrian inscriptions. He had already copied and had lithographed the contents of a cylinder, which he asserted contained the name Tiglathpileser. An advance copy of this lithograph was sent to Fox Talbot, who at once made a translation of the parts which he could readily make out. This translation he put in a packet, carefully sealed, and sent to the Royal Asiatic Society, accompanied by a letter the purpose of which appears clearly in the following extracts

"Having been favored with an early copy of the lithograph of this inscription by the liberality of the trustees of the British Museum and of Sir H. Rawlinson, I have made from it the translation which I now offer to the society. A few words will explain my object in doing so:

"Many persons have hitherto refused to believe in the truth of the system by which Dr. Hincks and Sir H. Rawlinson have interpreted the Assyrian writings, because it contains many things entirely contrary to their preconceived opinions. For example, each cuneiform group represents a syllable, but not always the same syllable; sometimes one and sometimes another. To which it is replied that such a license would open the door to all manner of uncertainty; that the ancient Assyrians themselves, the natives of the country, could never have read such a kind of writing, and that, therefore, the system cannot be true, and the interpretations based upon it must be fallacious."¹²⁶

This was the situation as Talbot apprehended it, and he suggested that his translation be kept sealed until Sir Henry Rawlinson's should be published, and then that the two versions be compared. If then the two were found in substantial agreement, it would go far to convince the doubting, as each translation would have been made entirely independently of the other. When this communication was read before the Society Sir Henry Rawlinson moved that measures be taken to carry out Mr. Talbot's plan upon even a greater scale than he had purposed. It was determined to request Sir Henry Rawlinson, Edward Hincks, and Jules Oppert to send to the society, under sealed covers, translations of this same inscription. These translations were then to be opened and compared in the presence of the following committee: The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman), Dr. Whewell, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Grote, the Rev. W. Cureton, and Prof. H. H. Wilson.

Sir Henry Rawlinson furnished an almost complete version, but neither Dr. Hincks nor Dr. Oppert had had time to complete theirs. They sent in, however, enough for effective comparison. The versions were found indeed to be in closest correspondence, and the committee reported that:

"The coincidences between the translations, both as to the general sense and verbal rendering, were very remarkable. In most parts there was a strong correspondence in the meaning assigned, and occasionally a curious identity of expression as to particular words. Where the versions differed very materially each translator had in many cases marked the passage as one of doubtful or unascertained signification. In the interpretation of numbers there was throughout a singular correspondence."

The examiners then drew up tables of coincidences and of variations, and the Royal Asiatic Society published all four translations side by side.

The effect in Great Britain of this demonstration was great and widespread. It gradually became clear to the popular mind that the Assyrian inscriptions had really been read, and the popular mind in Great Britain is a force in science as in politics. The results of its influence would soon appear.

With this popular demonstration the task of interpreting the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions may properly be regarded as having reached an assured position. It was indeed necessary that all the work from the very beginning of Grotefend's first attempts at decipherment of the Persepolis inscriptions should be tested by fresh minds. This testing it secured as man after man came to the fore as a student of Assyriology. The ground was, however, fully gained and completely held. Assyrian study was able to take its place by the side of older sisters in the universities of the world. The material which Botta had sent to Paris was being quickly read, and papers dealing with its historic results were appearing almost weekly. In England the inscriptions which had been sent home from the excavations of Layard, Loftus, Taylor, and especially Rassam, were yielding up their secrets. It could not be long until popular opinion would demand that the excavations be resumed. At this time, however, workers were busy securing the results of previous expeditions.

In the midst of all these efforts at decipherment there began a movement destined to influence greatly the progress of Assyrian studies in England. On the 18th of November, 1870, there met in the rooms of Mr. Joseph Bonomi, Lincoln's Inn Fields, a company of men summoned by him and by Dr. Samuel Birch, of the British Museum. They were bidden "to take into consideration the present state of archaeological research, and, if it appeared desirable, to institute an association for directing the course of future investigations, and to preserve a record of materials already obtained, an association whose special objects should be to collect from the fast-perishing monuments of the Semitic and cognate races illustrations of their history and peculiarities; to investigate and systematize the antiquities of the ancient and mighty empires and primeval peoples, whose records are centered around the venerable pages of the Bible." As the result of this preliminary conference a public meeting was convened at the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature on the 9th of December, 1870, at which time the Society of Biblical Archaeology was formed. Dr. Samuel Birch was chosen president, and Mr. W. R. Cooper, secretary, while Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and Dean R. Payne Smith were vice presidents. Among the earliest list of members

were found Edwin Norris, Hormuzd Rassam, W. H. Fox. Talbot, Rev. A. H. Sayce, and George Smith. The society was successful from the very beginning of its existence, its influence upon Assyrian and Babylonian study being particularly noticeable. The first volume of Transactions was issued in December, 1871, and in it Fox Talbot wrote on "An Ancient Eclipse" (in Assyria), and George Smith contributed an elaborate paper on "The Early History of Babylonia." In a short time the society's publications became the chief depository of investigations made by English scholars in the books of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECIPHERMENT OF SUMERIAN¹²⁷ AND OF VANNIC

THE first students who attempted to decipher the ancient Persian inscriptions made much of the difficulty of the cuneiform characters. They were so totally unlike any other form of writing that even while men were busy in the effort to find out their meaning disputes began as to their origin. If the signs had looked like rude pictures of objects, as did Egyptian hieroglyphics, there would have been some clue to their origin, but during the decipherment process no one could discern any such resemblance. When the decipherment of Assyrian began men wondered still more as to the inventors or discoverers of the strangely complicated signs. When Assyrian was finally read it became clear to several investigators almost simultaneously that it belonged to the Semitic family of languages. That discovery intensified the difficulty concerning its method of writing. In 1850 Edward Hincks called attention¹²⁸ to the fact that, though Assyrian was a Semitic tongue, yet was its script totally unlike that used by any of the related languages. He suggested that the script was related to the Egyptian, and put forth the hypothesis that it was invented by an Indo-European people, who had been in contact with Egyptians and had borrowed something from their method of writing.

Shortly afterward (1853) Rawlinson wrote to the Royal Asiatic Society¹²⁹ announcing the discovery of a number of inscriptions "in the Scythian language," which he thought were related to the Median texts of the Persepolis inscriptions. He pronounced these new inscriptions to be older than the Persepolis inscriptions, and also older than the dynasty of Nebuchadrezzar, and argued that the Scythians were in possession of the western country before the Semites appeared. He was clearly of the opinion that he had found inscriptions written in cuneiform characters, but in

a non-Semitic language. He seems, in a word, to be moving toward the idea that these Scythians had invented the cuneiform method of writing. This view was propounded in the very next year by Oppert,¹³⁰ who attempted to show how this assumed Scythian script had passed over into the hands of the Assyrians.

Rawlinson was now busily engaged in the investigation of the new problem, and on December 1, 1855, was able to report substantial progress to the Royal Asiatic Society.¹³¹ He had been studying so-called "Scythian" inscriptions as old as the thirteenth century B. C., and he found the same language in the left columns of the Assyrian syllabaries. These syllabaries be explained as consisting of comparative alphabets, grammars, and vocabularies of the Scythian and Assyrian languages. His theory now was that these Babylonian Scythians were known as Accadians. They were the people who had built the cities and founded the civilization of Babylonia. The Semites had merely entered into their labors, and had adopted from them the cuneiform system of writing. The language of the Accadians he thought more closely related to the Mongolian and Manchu type than to any others of the Turanian languages.

Hincks had meantime been studying some small bilingual texts and was prepared to state some of the peculiarities of the newly found Accadian language.¹³² He observed, in the first place, that verbs were entirely unchanged in all persons and numbers, while the substantives formed a plural by the addition of *ua* or *wa*. He found also postpositions where we should use prepositions, and this was a resemblance to the Turanian languages, though he would not go so far as Rawlinson in saying to which one of them Accadian seemed most nearly related. A year later Hincks¹³³ abandoned the name Accadian, preferring to call it by some such name as Old Chaldean. This was his last contribution to the investigation of the inscriptions and the languages which they expressed. On December 3, 1866, he died, leaving behind an imperishable record of painstaking labor, accurate scholarship, and amazing fertility and resourcefulness of mind. To the new science of Assyriology he had made more contributions of permanent value than perhaps any other among the early decipherers. The death of Hincks left Jules Oppert as the leader in the work of unraveling the tangled threads of the new language.

In 1869 Oppert read a learned paper¹³⁴ on the origin of the Chaldeans, in which he gave the name Chaldean or Sumerian as the name of the language which Rawlinson had called Accadian. The name Sumerian was judged by many to be more suitable and gradually came into use, though Accadian is even yet used by some scholars, while for a short time the phrase Sumero-Accadian was in vogue.

Up to this time the study of Accadian or Sumerian had been carried on very largely along historical and geographical lines. No single text had been studied, expounded, and translated until 1870, when Professor A. H. Sayce¹³⁵ devoted to a small inscription of Dungi the most elaborate philological exegesis. The words in Accadian were here compared one by one with words of similar phonetic value in more than a score of languages and dialects, and for the first time Accadian loan words were recognized in Assyrian. This paper marked a distinct advance in the study of Sumerian, at the same time that it indicated the position attained by his predecessors in the new study. Sayce had proved a worthy successor of Hincks in philological insight, and had contributed much to the grammatical study of Sumerian. He was speedily followed in this by Oppert, who contributed more grammatical material in two excellent papers.¹³⁶

Up to this time none had dared to compile a Sumerian grammar, though material was rapidly accumulating. But in 1873 Lenormant began to issue the second series of his *Lemires assyriologiques*,¹³⁷ the first part of which contained a complete and systematic grammar of Sumerian. In the section relating to phonetics Lenormant noted the correspondence between *ng* and *m*, and identified Sumer (= Sungiri) with Sennar, Shinar (Gen. x, 10), *Samarrah* (Abu 'I-farag, Hist. dyn., ed. Pococke, p. 18), *Sumere* (Amm. Marc. 25, 6). The second part of this book was wholly given up to paradigms, while the third contained an extensive list of cuneiform signs. The fourth and last part was given over to a long discussion of the name of the language, in which Lenormant learnedly opposed Oppert's name of Sumerian, and contended for the older name Accadian. The whole book would in itself make a considerable scholarly reputation, and it was followed by another in an astonishing brief space of time. In this¹³⁸ Lenormant was not directly concerned with the Sumerian language, but in two chapters, entitled "*The People of Accad*" and "*The Turanians in Chaldea and in Western Asia*," he again entered upon the difficult subject. He had now advanced to the view that the Accadian language, as he still insisted upon calling it, must be classified in the Ural-altaic family and considered as the type of a special group. In certain particulars he judged it to have most affinity with the Ugro-finnic, in others with the Turkish languages.

In spite of all that has been achieved by the English and French investigators the subject was still filled with difficulty, and when Eberhard Schrader, later justly called "the father of Assyriology in Germany," wrote his important book on the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions¹³⁹ he almost avoided it. In this book he must needs refer to the language which appeared in the left column of the syllabaries, but he did not enter into the vexed questions in dispute between Lenormant and Oppert. Two years later, however, in a review¹⁴⁰ of Lenormant he definitely took sides with him against Oppert and adopted Accadian instead of Sumerian. In this he was followed by his distinguished pupil, Friedrich Delitzsch,¹⁴¹ who contributed some further explanations of the syllabaries.

When the year 1873 drew to its close scholars had reason to feel that the question which had puzzled Hincks in 1850 was settled. They were able to say that all scholars were agreed upon two propositions,¹⁴² namely, 1. The cuneiform method of writing was not invented by the Semitic Babylonians or Assyrians. 2. It was invented by a people who spoke a language which belonged to the agglutinative forms of human speech. There was indeed still a dispute about the name of the new language whether it should be called Accadian or Sumerian, and there were numerous questions concerning its character, age, literature, and history which might occupy the skill and patience of investigators for a long time, but the main question was settled.

But alas for the danger of overassurance! While Oppert and Lenormant were disputing concerning the name of this ancient language, there lived in Paris an orientalist, Joseph Halevy, who held distinguished rank as a scholar in the difficult field of Semitic epigraphy. Halevy was not known as an Assyriologist at all, but he had followed every detail of the process of deciphering Sumerian, had watched every discussion of its grammatical peculiarities, and had never from the beginning believed in its existence! On July 10, 1874, the Academie des Inscriptions listened to the first of a series of papers on the Sumerian question from him. Other papers followed on July 24 and August 14.¹⁴³ In these Halevy discussed three questions:¹⁴⁴ 1. Granting its existence, does the Accadian language belong to the Turanian family? 2. May the existence of a Turanian people in Babylonia be conceded? 3. Do these so-called Accadian texts present a real language distinct from Assyrian, or merely an ideographic system of writing invented by the Assyrians? As Weissbach has pointed out,¹⁴⁵ the order of these questions is strange and unmethodical. Halevy should have begun with the third question, and then passed on to the other two. But, whatever may be said of the method, there cannot be two opinions as to the consummate ability of the discussion. Halevy's mind was stored with learning philological, historical, and ethnological; he was a dialectician superior to Lenormant or Oppert; he had the keenness of a ready debater in searching out the weakest places in the arguments of his opponents and the skill of an expert swordsman in puncturing them. It was a most daring act for a man not yet known as an Assyriologist to oppose single-handed the united forces of scholarship in the department. Halevy had sought to prove no less a thesis than that all scholars from the beginning of the investigation by Hincks and Rawlinson had been deceived. The signs which they had supposed represented the syllables or words of a language spoken in Babylonia in the very beginning of recorded time were to him but the fanciful product of the fertile minds of Assyrian priests. The cuneiform writing was the invention of Semites, long used by Semites, and the Sumerian words so called were only cryptic signs, invented for mystification and especially used in incantations or religious formulae.

When Halevy's papers were published not a single Assyriologist was convinced by them, and only one anonymous writer¹⁴⁶ ventured to accept his conclusions. On the other hand, every Assyriologist of note who had had any share in the previous discussions was soon in the field with papers attacking Halevy's positions or defending the ground which but a short time before had seemed so sure as to need no defense. In a few months Lenormant¹⁴⁷ had written a large volume in opposition, while Schrader was content with an able and much briefer paper.¹⁴⁸ Delitzsch, in a review¹⁴⁹ of Lenormant's book, also ranged himself with them, while Oppert,¹⁵⁰ opposing Halevy with all his learning and acuteness, nevertheless continued to argue for his own peculiar tenets against Lenormant, Schrader, and Delitzsch.

The issue was now squarely joined, and earnest and able though the replies to Halevy had undoubtedly been, nevertheless, it must be said in justice that they had not driven him from the field. To Lenormant Halevy¹⁵¹ had replied promptly, and had done much to diminish the effect of that scholar's attack upon his position. The defenders of the existence of the Sumerian language did not agree among themselves on many points, and wherever they differed Halevy skillfully opposed the one to the other in his argument. In 1876 he read before the Academie des Inscriptions, and afterward published, a paper on the Assyrian origin of the cuneiform writing,¹⁵² in which he modified his views somewhat, yet strenuously insisting that the entire system was Semitic. This paper was then reprinted, along with the

former publication of 1874, in book form,¹⁵³ and with this he began to win some adherents to his views, the earliest being W. Deecke¹⁵⁴ and Moritz Grunwald.¹⁵⁵ That was at least a slight gain, and he was encouraged to press on with fresh arguments.

Meanwhile the lines of those who still believed in the existence of the ancient tongue were closing up. Gradually Oppert's name, Sumerian, was accepted by scholars, foremost among whom were the pupils of Delitzsch, Fritz Hommel, and Paul Haupt, while Lenormant conceded a point and called it the language of Sumer and Accad.¹⁵⁶ In 1879 there appeared a small book¹⁵⁷ by Paul Haupt which may truly be said to open a new era in the whole discussion. Haupt was then a young man of extraordinary gifts, and his handling of the Sumerian family laws showed how to treat a bilingual text in a thoroughly scientific manner. There can be no doubt that Haupt had done much to stem the tide which was threatening to set toward Halevy's position. Nevertheless, in 1880, Stanislas Guyard¹⁵⁸ came over to Halevy, and in 1884 Henri Pognon,¹⁵⁹ these being the first Assyriologists to embrace his views. Between these two dates De Sarzec¹⁶⁰ had been carrying on his excavations at Tello, in southern Babylonia, and had been sending to the Louvre most interesting specimens of his discoveries. In 1884 the first part of his book¹⁶¹ containing copies of the newly found inscriptions appeared. To Sumerian scholars there seemed no doubt whatever that these inscriptions were written in the Sumerian language. Halevy at once began to explain their strangely sounding words as in reality Semitic, and in 1883, at the International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden, presented a most elaborate paper in which he presented his theory in its fullest and most scientific form.¹⁶² Halevy was not convinced that his views were incorrect by any of the arguments already advanced, neither did the appearance of the De Sarzec monuments and inscriptions move him. His efforts became more earnest, and Guyard's support was likewise full of vigor. Nevertheless, the cause was not gaining, but in the larger view really losing. It was significant that the younger school of Assyriologists were strongly supporting the Sumerian view. Jensen, who was later to be known as one of the most eminent Assyriologists of his time, opposed Halevy's view in his very first work,¹⁶³ as did also Henrich Zimmern¹⁶⁴ whose first paper was of even greater importance. Carl Bezold¹⁶⁵ likewise joined with the older school. But encouragement of the very highest kind was even now almost in Halevy's hands. In some notes added to Zimmern's first book¹⁶⁶ Delitzsch took occasion to speak in warm terms of Halevy's very important contributions to the subject, and while not yet ranging himself at his side, declared that his view deserved very close examination. Well might the great French orientalist rejoice over such a promised accession. When the first part of Delitzsch's Assyrian dictionary¹⁶⁷ appeared every page contained proof that in his case Halevy's long and courageous fight had won. Delitzsch had joined the still slender ranks of the anti-Accadians, and when his Assyrian grammar appeared a whole paragraph¹⁶⁸ was devoted to a most incisive attack upon the Sumerian theory. The accession of Delitzsch is the high-water mark of Halevy's theory. The morrow would bring a great change.

Delitzsch's grammar was received with enthusiasm, as it well deserved to be, but the anti-Sumerian paragraph was severely handled by its critics. In like manner the anti-Sumerian position of the dictionary met with a criticism which indicated that even the great name of Delitzsch was not sufficient to increase confidence in Halevy's cause. Sayce, in a review no less remarkable for the range of its learning than for its scientific spirit, protested against Delitzsch's method. Lehmann, in a big book devoted to the inscriptions of a late Assyrian king¹⁶⁹ devoted an entire chapter¹⁷⁰ to the Sumerian question. In it the whole subject was treated with a freshness and an ability that left little to be desired. Though some minor criticism was passed upon it, none but Halevy dared deny that it marked a step forward in the process of tearing down his elaborate theories.

In the very same year in which Delitzsch's grammar appeared Bezold made a brilliant discovery in finding upon an Assyrian tablet the Sumerian language mentioned.¹⁷¹ In his announcement of this new fact Bezold writes banteringly, asking Halevy to permit the language to live, as the Assyrians had mentioned it byname. Beneath this humorous phrase there lies, however, a quiet note of recognition that the mention was important, though not conclusive as to the main question.

Almost every month after the year 1892 brought some new material to be considered and related to the ever-debated question. The newer discoveries of De Sarzec, the wonderful results of the American expedition to Nippur, the editing of texts found by previous explorers—all these had some link with the Sumerian question. In 1897 Professor Delitzsch, borne down by the weight of fresh evidence, abandoned Halevy's side and once more allied himself to the

Sumeriologists. As he had been a great gain, so was he now even a greater loss. Halevy indeed gained others to his side, but none bore so famous a name. The school which he had founded was waning. Though the debate still continues, it has no longer the same intensity. Year by year the question is less and less, "Was there a Sumerian language--were there Sumerians?" and is more and more, "What was the Sumerian language--who were the Sumerians?" Every year seems to justify Hincks, Rawlinson, and Oppert, the great masters who laid the foundations in this increasingly fruitful field.

The history of the study of cuneiform inscriptions is complicated by the number of different languages which used the wedge-shaped characters. We have already shown that the cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were in the Persian, Susian, and Assyrian languages, and we have also set forth at length the long discussion over the question of Sumerian, another language likewise written in the cuneiform characters. The use by four different peoples of wedge-shaped characters may well dispose the mind to accept the statement that still another people wrote their language in similar fashion.

The Armenians have preserved for us among their traditions of Semiramis the statement that she had at one time determined to build a new city in Armenia as the place of summer residence. "When she had seen the beauty of the country, the pureness of the air, the clearness of the fountains of water, and the murmuring of the swift-flowing rivers, she said: 'In such a balmy air, amid such beauty of water and of land, we must build a city and a royal residence that we may spend the one quarter of the year, which is summer, in the comfort of Armenia, and the other three quarters, during the cold weather, in Assyria.'"¹⁷² Even so late as this present century scholars found the name Semiramis full of mystery and attraction, and were anxious to learn more about her great deeds. About the end of June, 1827 Fr. Ed. Schulz departed from Erzeroum determined to suffer any loss in the effort to find the summer city of Semiramis. There is no need to say that he did not find it, but, like many another searcher, found something far more important. As he went along the borders of Lake Van, then almost unknown to Europeans, he turned in at the gates of the fascinating city of Van and began a search through the remains of its former greatness. Beneath the great citadel of Van was found a small chamber approached by a flight of twenty steps. Above these steps he found inscriptions in the cuneiform character carved in the face of the solid rock. When these had been carefully copied he sought elsewhere and - was rewarded with the discovery of still others. In other places in the neighborhood he found more, until he had copied no less than forty-two inscriptions. Schulz was murdered, and when his papers were recovered and brought to Paris the inscriptions were splendidly reproduced by lithography, and published in 1840.¹⁷³ At this time the Persian decipherment had indeed been well begun, as had also Assyrian, but none were able to read the new inscriptions for which Schulz had given his life. They were exceedingly well copied, when the difficulties are considered, but so soon as an attempt was made to decipher them doubts arose as to their accuracy. It was soon found that three of the inscriptions were written by Xerxes, and were in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian, but the remaining thirty-nine were in some unknown language.¹⁷⁴ In 1840 an inscription in this same language was found by Captain von Muhlbach near Isoglu, on the Euphrates, two hundred and fifty miles west of Van. The copies by Schulz as well as this new text came before the eyes of Grotefend in due course, and he was quick to discern that they did not belong to Assyrian kings. This negative conclusion was of some importance as a guidepost, but Grotefend was able to go no further. In 1847 Sir A. H. Layard found another inscription of the same kind at Palu,¹⁷⁵ on the eastern bank of the Euphrates about one hundred and eighty miles from Van. It was now clear enough that this new language belonged to a people of some importance in the ancient world, whose civilization or dominion extended over a considerable territory.

There was in these facts an urgent call for some man able to decipher and translate the records and construct a grammar of the language in which they were written. Who should attempt this new problem but that marvelous decipherer of strange tongues, Dr. Edward Hincks? And two papers by him were read before the Royal Asiatic Society, December 4, 1847, and March 4, 1848.¹⁷⁶

In these papers Hincks determined correctly the meaning of a large number of the characters; found the meaning of such ideographs as "people," "city," and the signification of several words. He further was able to show that the termination of the nominative singular and plural of substantives was "s," while the accusative ended in "n." He had thus perceived that the language was inflectional, and went on to argue erroneously that it was Indo-European, or Aryan, as he called it. He read the names of the kings as Niriduris, Skuina, Kinuas, and Arrasnis, but very shortly corrected them into Milidduris, Ishpinish, Minuas, and Argistis, in which the error, chiefly in the first name, is very slight. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this work, but we may gain some idea of its value by comparing with it Rawlinson's note on the subject published two years later. "There are," says Rawlinson,¹⁷⁷ "it is well known, a series of inscriptions found at Van and in the vicinity. These inscriptions I name Armenian. They are written in the

same alphabet that was used in Assyria, but are composed in a different language--a language, indeed, which, although it has adopted numerous words from the Assyrian, I believe to belong radically to another family, the Scythic. There are six kings of the Armenian line following in a line of direct descent. I read their names as: 1. Alti-bari; 2. Arimena; 3. Isbuin; 4. Manua; 5. Artsen; 6. Ariduri (?)." In the reading of these names Rawlinson is distinctly behind Hincks, as he was always less keen in the treatment of philological niceties.

For a long series of years Hincks had no successor in the work of decipherment. But every few years new inscriptions¹⁷⁸ were found written in the same language, and each one naturally increased the probability of a successful outcome of the efforts after decipherment.

In 1871 Lenormant¹⁷⁹ took up the task where Hincks and Rawlinson had laid it down. His method was scientific, and, like all his work, learned and searching. He first sketched the early history of Armenia, as he had learned its outlines from the Assyrian inscriptions. That was to be the historical basis of his work, and from it he hoped to extract useful geographical material which might help in the securing of names in the Vannic inscriptions. He proposed to call the language Alarodian (Herodotus, iii, 94; vii, 79), and argued that it was non-Aryan, and that its closest modern representative was Georgian. He pointed out that "bi" was the termination of the first person singular of the verb, and that parubi signified "I carried away."

In the next year Dr. A. D. Mordtmann¹⁸⁰ attacked the question and five years later returned to it again. He determined the meaning of twelve new words, and supplied a most valuable analysis of all the inscriptions, but did not succeed in the translation of a single one of them. Nevertheless, he had made a gain.

The next decipherer was Dr. Louis de Robert¹⁸¹ (1876), who deliberately cast away all that had been gained by Hincks, Rawlinson, Lenormant, and Mordtmann, and set out afresh upon a totally wrong road. He tried to show that the inscriptions were written in the language of Assyria. The result was nothing, and the next worker must return to the methods of the old masters.

Meantime new inscriptions were constantly coming to light. Bronze shields with the name of Rusas were found by Sir A. H. Layard, and excavations near Lake Van by Hormuzd Rassam unearthed still more inscribed objects in bronze. Layard also laid a firmer foundation for future work by recopying more accurately all the inscriptions for which Schulz had given his life.¹⁸²

On the 9th of April, 1880, M. Stanislas Guyard presented to the Societe Asiatique in Paris¹⁸³ "some observations upon the cuneiform inscriptions of Van." He had noticed at the end of a good many of the inscriptions a phrase in which occurred the word "tablet." He remembered that Assyrian inscriptions frequently ended with an imprecatory formula, heaping curses upon whomsoever should destroy this tablet, and he suggested that here was a formula exactly the same. When he had tested this new clew he found that the words thus secured seemed to fit exceedingly well into other passages, and his guess seemed thereby confirmed.

It is curious that the very same clew as that followed by Guyard had also independently been discovered by Professor A. H. Sayce, who had been working for several years upon these texts. He had fortunately found out a few more words than Guyard and was able to push on farther as well as more rapidly. The words in which he began to explain his method to the Royal Asiatic Society were strong, but every one was justified by the issue. He says: "The ideographs so freely, employed by the Vannic scribes had already showed, me that not only the characters but the style and phraseology of the inscriptions were those of the, Assyrian texts of the time of Asshur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser II. I believe, therefore, that I have at last solved the problem of the Vannic inscriptions and succeeded in deciphering them, thereb3 compiling both a grammar and vocabulary of the language in which they are written. Owing to the number of the texts, their close adherence to their Assyrian models, and the plentiful use of ideographs, it will be found that the passages and words which still resist translation are but few, and that in some instances their obscurity really results from the untrustworthiness of the copies of them which we possess."¹⁸⁴

The long paper which followed these swords began with a survey of the geography, history, and theology of the Vannic people, derived very largely from Assyrian sources, but tested and expanded from the native sources which he had just deciphered. After this followed an account of the method of writing, an outline of the grammar, an analysis,

and a translation of the inscriptions. It was a most remarkable piece of work, as surprising because of its learning as because of its proof of a perfect genius for linguistic combination. It reminds the reader continually of Hincks at his best. The effect of its publication was instantaneous. Guyard¹⁸⁵ reviewed it at length, offering corrections and additions, yet showing plainly enough that the work was successful. Further contributions to the subject were made by Professor D. H. Miller, of Vienna, who had been studying the texts independently both of Sayce and Guyard. More inscriptions also came to light, and in 1888 Professor Sayce was able to review the whole subject, accepting heartily some of the many emendations of his work which had been proposed, rejecting others, and so putting the cap. stone upon his work. The mystery of the inscriptions at Van was solved. When new texts in the same language should appear men might indeed dispute as to the name of the language whether to call it Vannic or Alarodian or Urtian or Chaldian, but they would at least be able to read it.

So rested the matter of the language of Van until 1892, when Dr. C. F. Lehmann¹⁸⁶ began a series of studies in the inscriptions which Sayce had deciphered, seeking to determine more closely a host of historical and geographical questions which grew out of them. He first demonstrated that the people who had written many of these texts were the same as the Chaldians (, not *Chaldeans*, who are) of the Greeks. The language was therefore to be called Chaldian, and another difficulty was cleared up. Beginning in 1895, Dr. Waldemar Belck and Dr. C. F. Lehmann¹⁸⁷ published a series of papers of great acuteness, working out the life history of this old people, who had thus been restored to present knowledge, clearing up many points previously obscurely or incorrectly set forth by Sayce.

In further pursuit of the studies thus begun Drs. Belck and Lehmann¹⁸⁸ departed from Berlin in the summer of 1898 for a journey through Persian and Russian Armenia. They visited Van and carefully collated all the inscriptions previously found by Schulz and others, and found new texts which had been overlooked by all their predecessors. New inscriptions of Assyrian kings, especially of Tiglathpileser I and Shalmaneser II, were found, and by these, also, our knowledge of Chaldian history was increased. The results of this valuable expedition are now being made known, and it may be regarded as the concluding event in the history of the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions.

CHAPTER VIII

EXPLORATIONS IN ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, 1872-1900

THE first impulse to excavations in Assyria was given by a German scholar who had established himself in Paris. Julius Mohl cheered on Botta to the work of excavation, and kept him encouraged while it dragged along. During all the time that Layard, Loftus, and their coadjutors worked in the field Mohl watched them from afar, and carefully noted their successes. He was now secretary of the Societe Asiatique of Paris, and in his annual reports he told the society of all that had gone on in the great valley amid the graves of ancient cities. In his report for the year 1855 his note was distinctively sad. He recorded the fact that every single expedition which had been sent out to dig had laid down the work or had been recalled. That seemed to him a lamentable circumstance, for to his discerning eye the soil was underlaid with monuments recording the whole life of the vast empires which had held sway in Nineveh or in Babylon. He was impatient to have the excavations resumed, and he called on the governments to take steps to this end.

The future was to confirm Mohl's view fully, and even more than confirm it, of the vast treasures that lay buried. The time, however, for their excavation had not come in the year 1855. Neither governments nor free peoples would carry on excavations for antiquities that were mere unmeaning curiosities when they were found. That work must wait until the decipherment had reached a sure result, and until the work of translation had been so far popularized that the results should be generally known. As a former chapter has shown, the period of doubtful translations ended and the period of surely known results began in 1857. It was only necessary that these matters should be popularized, and that would require some time. This popularization was, fortunately, carried on chiefly, at least in England, by the great masters themselves. Rawlinson, Hincks, Talbot, Norris—a remarkable list of names, surely these were the men who made known in popular papers or by lectures and addresses the great discoveries in Assyria. Some of these papers struck the old note of Shirley, and revealed the importance of Assyrian studies for the light they were sure to shed upon the Bible. That would be certain to arouse interest in Great Britain and, as before, might result in the beginning of more excavations. The sequel will show how wonderfully this very zeal for biblical study operated in the stimulating of Assyrian research.

A boy, George Smith by name, destined for the work of an engraver, read in the short spaces of his crowded days the magic words of Rawlinson and the other pioneers, and was moved to begin the study of Assyrian himself. As he himself witnessess,¹⁸⁹ he was first roused to definite study by the interest of biblical history, and with the purpose of doing something for it, he applied in 1866 to Sir Henry Rawlinson for permission to study the original copies, casts, or fragments of inscriptions belonging to the reign of Tiglathpileser. Rawlinson gladly gave

the permission, and Smith went earnestly to work. His success was not great with these, but his industry was rewarded by the discovery of a new inscription of Shalmaneser with the name of Jehu upon it, by which he ascertained the year of Shalmaneser's reign in which Jehu had paid his tribute.¹⁹⁰ In this discovery, the first original work which Smith had done, there was one little hint of use to the Old Testament student. Smith had begun as he was to go on. After this discovery Sir Henry Rawlinson was so struck by the young man's success that he suggested his employment by the British Museum for work in the new Assyrian department. There he was established in the beginning of 1867, and his success was immediate. In his own survey of his work in the museum Smith remembered most vividly the biblical discoveries, and these were they which gave him his first popular reputation and the opportunities of his life. He found on the texts names and notices of Azariah, king of Judah, Pekah, king of Israel, and Hoshea, king of Israel. These stirred his pulses and drove him on even at the peril of his health. The depletion of vital force through constant and difficult work was probably the ultimate cause of his early death, after the brilliant series of discoveries and explorations which were now before him. Smith possessed in unusual degree a gift for decipherment. While still feeling his way along the intricate mazes of cuneiform decipherment there came to the British Museum some copies of the then undeciphered Cypriote texts. Dr. Birch called his attention to them, and soon he was engaged in an attempt to read them. On November 7, 1871, he read a paper before the Society of Biblical Archaeology "On the Reading of Cypriote Inscriptions."¹⁹¹ The method which he used was similar to the plan of Grotefend, and it was applied with wonderful skill and with surprising results. He had picked out the word for king, though he knew no Greek with which to make comparisons, and had identified forty out of fifty odd characters. A man possessing genius of such order was sure to win fame in the new field of Assyriology.

From 1867 to 1871 discovery followed discovery until Smith's edition of the Assurbanapal inscriptions appeared. This volume made clear the immense gain to history from the discovery and decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions, for it contained the accounts of the campaigns and of the building operations of Assurbanapal. Yet, great as all this was, its influence fell far short, of that of a discovery which Smith made in 1872. In that year, while working among some fragments brought home by Rassam, Smith picked out a broken clay tablet, upon which he soon read unmistakable parallels to the biblical account of the deluge. The piece thus found was soon followed by three duplicates and other lesser fragments. From these he ascertained that the part first found was the eleventh in a series of twelve tablets, and that it gave the history of a great hero whom Smith called Izdubar. He published the announcement of his discovery, and Assurbanapal was forgotten, few probably thinking of the great king who had made the library out of which these newly found tablets had come. But England did not know how to be calm in the presence of such a discovery as this. When Smith had translated enough of the tablets to make a somewhat connected story of the deluge, as the Babylonians told it, he read a paper on the subject before the Society of Biblical Archaeology on December 3, 1872. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. Sir Henry C. Rawlinson presided, Smith presented his translation, and then enthusiasm had sway when it was pointed out by Dr. Birch that this had immense importance for the study of the Bible. Again was struck the old note of Shirley, and again that audience responded. Then Mr. Gladstone spoke, showing how valuable all these discoveries were for the study of the origins of Greek culture, which he said had come from the East by way of Phoenicia. This was appreciated, but it was not exactly what the company most desired to hear, and to that phase Mr. Gladstone's last sentence returned, concluding with the magic word "religion."¹⁹² The cheers broke forth then with a good will, and at a late hour the company went away to spread abroad this marvelous story of the discovery of an early narrative which all thought illustrated, and many believed confirmed and corroborated, the biblical story in Genesis.

The government was urged at once to resume excavations on the site of Nineveh to find more material which might illustrate or confirm the biblical narrative. It did not or could not move instantly, and the public would not wait. The proprietors of *the Daily Telegraph*, a widely circulated journal, moved by the editor, Edwin Arnold, perceived the opportunity and seized it. They offered a thousand guineas to pay the expenses of an expedition to Nineveh on condition that Smith should lead it, and send letters to the paper describing his experience and discoveries. On January 20, 1873, a month after Norris's death, Smith set out upon his enterprise, and on March 2 he reached Mosul, ready to begin excavations. He soon found that delays were the order of the day, and that the firman had not arrived. He therefore made a trip to Babylon, and on his return began small excavations at Nimroud, April 9. The discoveries made were few, and comparatively unimportant, and this mound was therefore abandoned, and excavations undertaken at Kuyunjik on May 7. On May 14 Smith secured from the same room in which Rassam had found Assurbanapal's library a new fragment of the Deluge story which fitted into the ones previously found. This fact was considered of sufficient moment to be telegraphed to London for publication in the paper. Smith was naturally much pleased with the discovery, but was also in the highest degree gratified by the finding of inscriptions of Esarhaddon, Assurbanapal, and Sennacherib. Two more fragments of the Deluge tablet were shortly afterward found, and then on June 9 the excavations were stopped, as the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* were satisfied with the discovery of the Deluge fragments and did not wish to continue farther the work. Smith was much disappointed at this decision, and reluctantly left for England at once with his treasures.

He was, however, sent out again from London on November 25, 1873, by the trustees of the British Museum, who had set apart one thousand pounds for further excavations at Nineveh. Smith reached Mosul on January 1, 1874, and immediately began excavations at Kuyunjik. These were productive of many inscriptions and of interesting archaeological materials, but nothing of startling importance as regards the Bible was found. Smith ceased work and left Mosul on April 4.

When compared with the explorations of Lay and Rassam the work of Smith was comparatively small in amount, but it was valuable in the

recovery of much historical material, and its influence upon public feeling and opinion in England was very great. Men were moved by his spirit, no less than by his words and works, to desire that new excavations should be undertaken. Without such inspiration, it is well to remember, the work might have ceased altogether. The British Museum again determined to avail itself of Smith's services, and in October, 1875, he set out for Constantinople to seek to obtain a firman which should permit the resumption of his excavations. He was harried with petty annoyances by Turkish officialdom, but at last secured the coveted permission and returned to England to prepare for his third expedition. In March, 1876, he again set out for the East, and proceeded to Baghdad to inspect some antiquities which were offered for sale. It was then his purpose to begin excavations, but the plague had appeared, the country was unsettled, and there was every possible interference made by natives and by Turkish officials. In previous expeditions he had not learned how to deal with orientals, and alienated their sympathies without impressing them by his power. He was also disturbed more or less by a quarrel with Rassam and his family. Ignorant of the laws of health, by which Europeans are so closely bound in the Orient, he worked too much, rested too little, and was careless in the providing of good food suitable for the climate. At times he rode for days eating only crusts of bread. Beset behind and before with difficulties, and not permitted to excavate, he had to content himself with visits to numerous mounds, which he sketched or planned. On his way back he fell ill of fever, and died at Aleppo, August 19, 1876. Smith's death came to the little world of Assyrian students as a thunderclap out of a clear sky.¹⁹³ In England he was looked upon by scholars and people alike almost as a prophet; in Germany,¹⁹⁴ where a new and vigorous school of Assyriologists had begun its work, men were thrown into confusion by the severity of the loss which they felt. It was indeed a sore blow to the new study; but science dare not linger. The ranks closed up at the British Museum by the appointment of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, and the trustees sought a man to begin again the excavations which Smith had laid down.

It was natural that they should turn at once to Rassam. It was indeed a long time since he had worked in the field, for he had been absorbed in diplomatic service. He was now living in retirement in England, but responded immediately to the call for service in the same field as that in which his earliest fame had been won.

In November, 1876, Rassam set out for Constantinople to seek a firman--the same errand which had cost Smith so many pangs. After a fruitless wait of four months he returned to England, but went out again when Sir Austen Henry Layard became British ambassador at Constantinople. This was indeed a fortunate appointment for Assyrian studies. Layard would be justly expected to exert himself to secure opportunities for further excavation if that was possible. His representations to the Porte were successful, and in November, 1877, Rassam was back in Mosul, where he received by telegraph the news that the firman was granted. His choice of a site for excavations was most happy. The natives had been finding at the hitherto unexplored mound of Balawat, about fifteen miles east of Mosul, fragments of bronze plates, some specimens of which had been sent to him in England. These he had shown to Professor Sayce, who found the name of Shalmaneser upon them, discovered their importance, and advised Rassam to begin diggings at that site. Sayce had thus come into a relation to Rassam similar to that held by Mohl in earlier days to Botta. The result was most successful. Rassam discovered in this mound, from which the fragments had come, the beautifully inscribed and adorned bronze plates which had covered at one time the palace gates of Shalmaneser.

He also, however, began excavations at Kuyunjik and at Nimroud, where small numbers of interesting inscriptions were found. Rassam further made extensive journeys over portions of Babylonia, and among other results identified the site of Sippara. He visited Babylon and made some small excavations there, returning then by way of Van to England. Though not so rich in results as his former expedition, this last venture of Rassam helped on the national collections of the British Museum, and thereby added to the knowledge of ancient history.

While Rassam was busy a new discoverer appeared in the East and very quietly began his work. M. Ernest de Sarzec was appointed French consul at Bassorah, on the Persian Gulf, and entered upon his duties in January, 1877. He had been in Abyssinia and had served in Egypt. He knew the desert and its people, and he carried to his new post strong enthusiasm for archaeological work. Two months after he entered Bassorah de Sarzec had begun excavations at Telloha mound four miles in length, lying in the great alluvial plain of southern Babylonia, about five miles from the banks of the Schatt-el-Hai, and sixty miles north of Mugheir. On this mound de Sarzec worked from March 5 to June 11, 1877, and again from February 18 to June 9, 1878. In July, 1878, he returned to Paris and found himself famous. He went again and worked in the mound from January to March, 1880, and also November 12, 1880, to March 15, 1881. His work was thus prolonged over a considerable period, and instead of merely running trenches hither and thither, he dug systematically over a large part of the mound. The results were full of surprises to the guild of Assyrian students, and were indeed almost revolutionary. He uncovered a fine temple, whose outer walls were one hundred and seventy-five feet long and one hundred feet broad, erected upon a vast mound from sixteen to twenty feet high. The outer wall was five feet thick, built of great baked bricks one foot square, bearing the name Goudea. These bricks were tightly fastened together by bitumen. In the interior he found thirty-six rooms, chiefly small in size, though one was fifty-five by sixty-five feet. In almost every room there were found objects of interest or of instruction for the study of the history of early Babylonia. In one room alone there were found no less than eight diorite statues, from an early period of Babylonian art, which had been unfortunately mutilated by some later barbarians, for all were headless. The valuable inscriptions were, however, in perfect preservation. In another part of the mound during the very first season there were found two beautiful terra cotta cylinders, each twenty-four inches in length by twelve in diameter. Each of these contained no less than two thousand lines of inscription, forming thus the longest inscriptions from an early period then known. De Sarzec's work was done in masterly fashion, and when the inscriptions and objects of art were brought to Paris and deposited in the Louvre, it

was felt that indeed a new era had opened for French archaeological study. Quarters were fitted up in the Louvre, and these objects found a place beneath the great roof, together with the discoveries of Botta, the pioneer. They did not receive the same acclaim as Botta's discoveries had done in France, or Layard's in England, but they were even of greater value scientifically. From the inscriptions the early language of the Sumerians was more perfectly learned, and from the statues and reliefs some faint idea was first conceived of the appearance of the great people who had laid the foundations of civilization in southern Babylonia. That was a distinguished service which de Sarzec had rendered. It alone was sufficient to give him high place on the roll of those who had made Babylonia live again.

Again and again since 1881 has de Sarzec resumed his work at Telloh, and every year has he brought forth from the same mounds fresh discoveries of moving interest. In 1894 the spades of his workmen struck into a chamber from which were taken no less than thirty thousand tablets, a vast hoard of archives mostly of a business character and relating to trade, commerce, agriculture, and industry, with a goodly number of temple documents and religious notices. The mass of tablets was so great that it was not possible to protect them from the thieving propensities of the natives, and many thousands were stolen, to be sold and scattered all over the world both in public museums and in private hands. While this is to be deplored, it is perhaps safe to expect that in the end very few of them will be lost to science. With this exception de Sarzec has been successful in securing for the Louvre an important part of the brilliant results of his explorations, and the end of his work is not yet.

During all this long period of exploration and excavation, carried on by almost all the nations of Europe, there have been developing in America schools of students of the languages, history, and religions of the ancient Orient. It was natural that in America, also, men should begin to talk of efforts to assist in the great work of recovering the remains of Babylonian and Assyrian civilization. In 1884, at meetings of the American Oriental Society and of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, conferences were held upon this subject in which Professor John P. Peters, of Philadelphia, the Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, Professor Francis Brown, and Professor Isaac H. Hall, of New York, and Professors C. H. Toy and D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, were participants. These and other gentlemen finally formed an organization, afterward connected with the Archaeological Institute of America, for the purpose of raising funds to send out to Babylonia an expedition to explore the country and see where excavations might profitably be undertaken. Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, of New York, gave five thousand dollars to defray the expenses of this preliminary exploration, and on September 6, 1884, the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia departed from New York.¹⁹⁵ The personnel of this expedition consisted of Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mr. J. H. Haynes, then an instructor in Robert College, Constantinople, and Dr. J. R. S. Sterrett. They traveled over much of the land of Babylonia, visiting sites where excavations had previously been made, as well as scores of mounds that had not yet been examined by archaeologists. Upon his return, in June, 1885, Dr. Ward earnestly recommended that an expedition be placed in the field to engage in the actual work of excavation. He advised that Anbar be the site chosen for this purpose,¹⁹⁶ but spoke with enthusiasm of the opportunities in other places, among them at Niffer, then erroneously identified with ancient Calneh, of which he said, "There nothing has been done; it is a most promising site of a most famous city."¹⁹⁷

The report of Dr. Ward bore no immediate fruit, but the leaven was steadily working, and efforts were proceeding in several directions to secure funds to undertake excavations. The labors of Dr. John P. Peters at last bore fruit, and an expedition was sent out by the University of Pennsylvania which departed from New York June 23, 1888. Of this company Dr. Peters was director, and Professors Hermann V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Robert F. Harper, of the University of Chicago, were Assyriologists, Mr. Perez Hastings Field, architect, and J. H. Haynes, business manager, commissary, and photographer. It was, however, long ere the expedition could come to its work. There were the usual delays in securing permission from the Imperial Ottoman government; there were difficulties in the gathering of equipment and in the assembling of the staff; there was a shipwreck of part of the expedition on the island of Samos, and perils of health and of life during the long journey overland to southern Babylonia.¹⁹⁸

At last, on February 6, 1889, excavations were begun on the mount of Nuffar, or Niffer, the site of ancient Nippur, and continued until April 15, with a maximum force of two hundred Arabs. The difficulties were enormous, for there were constant struggles with some of the native tribes, with many individuals among them, and with sundry Turkish officials. But in spite of all this the expedition made a trigonometrical survey of all the mounds and won from them more than "two thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments (among them three dated in the reign of King Ashuretililani of Assyria), a number of inscribed bricks, terra cotta brick stamp of Naram-Sin, fragment of a barrel cylinder of Sargon of Assyria, inscribed stone tablet, several fragments of inscribed vases (among them two of King Lugalzaggisi of Erech), door socket of Kurigalzu, about twenty-five Hebrew bowls, a large number of stone and terra cotta vases of various sizes and shapes, terra cotta images of gods and their ancient moulds, reliefs, figurines, and toys in terra cotta, weapons and utensils in stone and metal, jewelry in gold, silver, copper, bronze, and various precious stones, a number of weights, seals, and seal cylinders."¹⁹⁹ It is an excellent record, yet to Dr. Peters it seemed that the first year's work "was more or less of a failure, so far at least as Nippur was concerned."²⁰⁰ This judgment is probably influenced by the great difficulties with the Arabs which embittered the last days of the work.²⁰¹ It was successful, though far surpassed in importance by that which was to follow.

From January 14 to May 3, 1890, the University of Pennsylvania expedition was again at work at Nippur, with Dr. Peters as director, and Mr. Haynes as business manager, and with a maximum force of four hundred Arabs. During this season about eight thousand inscribed tablets were taken from the ruins as well as antiquities of other kinds in large numbers.²⁰² It was a brilliantly successful year in every particular, being also less disturbed by troubles with the Arabs than the former. All these antiquities were sent to Constantinople for the Imperial Museum, though later considerable portions of them were presented to the museum of the University of Pennsylvania as a personal gift of the sultan. This gracious act arose directly out of the dignified and generous course pursued by the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania. They had honestly handed over the antiquities to the Constantinople authorities, as indeed they had promised to do, but had gone much further than this. Professor Hilprecht was sent to Constantinople to catalogue these same collections for the Imperial Museum. This work was done with great skill, but also with such tact as to call forth expressions of gratitude from all who were connected with the museum. By gifts of antiquities to the museum in Philadelphia, of which Professor Hilprecht was himself a curator, the sultan aimed to repay the University of Pennsylvania for this free gift of his services.

For a time excavations at Nippur were intermitted, but on April 11, 1893, the University of Pennsylvania had another expedition in the field under the directorship of Mr. J. H. Haynes. Then began one of the most important of all the long series of expeditions in Babylonia or in Assyria. Haynes remained steadily on the ground at work until February 15, 1896, with a short break from April 4 to June 4, 1894. Never before had a European ventured to carry on excavations through a hot season. Professor Hilprecht has not spoken too cordially in saying that "the crowning success was reserved for the unselfish devotion and untiring efforts of Haynes, the ideal Babylonian explorer. Before he accomplished his memorable task, even such men as were entitled to an independent opinion, and who themselves had exhibited unusual courage and energy, had regarded it as practically impossible to excavate continuously in the lower regions of Mesopotamia. On the very same ruins of Nippur, situated in the neighborhood of extensive malarial marshes, and among the most wild and ignorant Arabs that can be found in this part of Asia,²⁰³ where Layard himself nearly sacrificed his life in excavating several weeks without success,²⁰⁴ Haynes has spent almost three years continuously, isolated from all civilized men, and most of the time without the comfort of a single companion. It was indeed no easy task for any European or American to dwell thirty-four months near these insect-breeding and pestiferous Affej swamps, where the temperature in perfect shade rises to the enormous height of 120° Fahrenheit (=c. 39° Reaumur), where the stifling sandstorms from the desert rob the tent of its shadow and parch the human skin with the heat of a furnace; while the ever-present insects bite and sting and buzz through day and night; while cholera is lurking at the threshold of the camp and treacherous Arabs are planning robbery and murder-and yet during all these wearisome hours to fulfill the duties of three ordinary men. Truly a splendid victory, achieved at innumerable sacrifices, and under a burden of labors enough for a giant; in the full significance of the word a monumentum aere perennius."²⁰⁵

During the third campaign of the University of Pennsylvania about twenty-one thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments were taken out of the mound, and besides these there were found large numbers of antiquities of other kinds, all of great importance in the reconstruction of the past history of Babylonia. Among these were large numbers of vases and fragments of vases from the very earliest period of history, drain tiles, water cocks, brick stamps, beautiful clay coffins glazed in tile fashion and finely preserved, and diorite statues and fragments.²⁰⁶

After a brief and necessary interruption, the Philadelphia expedition began work again in February, 1899, with Dr. J. H. Haynes as manager and Messrs. Geere and Fisher as architects. In January, 1900, Professor Hilprecht reached Nippur and took charge as scientific director. Under his direction "an extensive group of hills to the southwest of the temple of Bel" were systematically excavated. From the same-location about twenty-five hundred tablets were taken in the first campaign, and later excavations had increased the number to about fifteen thousand. Within six weeks "a series of rooms was exposed which furnished not less than sixteen thousand cuneiform documents, forming part of the temple library during the latter half of the third millennium B. C."²⁰⁷

From these four campaigns had come a vast store of literature of all kinds; here were letters and dispatches, chronological lists, historical fragments, syllabaries, building and business inscriptions, astronomical and religious texts, votive tablets, inventories, tax lists, and plans of estates. No expedition had ever been more successful and none had ever been more warmly supported at home. Fortunate in its directors at home, rich in the scientific directorate of Professor Hilprecht, the results attained have been worthy of all the expenditure of energy, life, and treasure.

Alone among the greatest of the modern nations: Germany had done very little in the field of exploration while other peoples had been so busy. German scholarship had made the highest contributions to decipherment and to the scientific treatment of texts unearthed by the patient explorers sent out by others. It were strange if Germany should not also seek to find new tablets as well as to read them. Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, long an exponent of the science of Assyriology and one of the most eminent scholars of modern times, urged the formation of the German Orient Society,²⁰⁸ which was finally constituted early in 1898.

Even before the proposed society was organized a "commission for the archaeological investigation of the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris" prepared to secure direct information concerning the various sites which seemed to promise the best results when excavated. To this end

Professor Eduard Sachau, of the University of Berlin, accompanied by Dr. Robert Koldewey, departed for the East October 23, 1897. They thoroughly explored Babylonia and Assyria,²⁰⁹ and brought back abundant information for the use of the new society, which was now fairly started. To it scholars gave their aid, the German Emperor made a grant of funds, and in the end of the year an expedition was sent to the East with Dr. Koldewey as director and Dr. Bruno Meissner, of Halle, as Assyriologist. The latter, after very useful service, retired and was succeeded by Dr. E. Lindl, of Munich. In the spring of 1899 work was commenced in the great mound of El-Kasr, Babylon, beneath which were the remains of the palace of Nebuchadrezzar. Success was had in a measurable degree from the very beginning in the discovery of a new Hittite inscription²¹⁰ and of many tablets of the neo-Babylonian period. The future work, which must continue for a number of years, is in good hands, for German patience and persistence will be certain to continue it to the end.

In 1888 there was made in Egypt a most surprising discovery of letters and dispatches written for the most part in the Babylonian script and language. A peasant woman, living in the wretched little mud village of Tell-el-Amarna,²¹¹ on the Nile, about one hundred and eighty miles south of Memphis, was searching for antiquities among the sand and stones by the mountain side some distance back from the river. Little did she know that beneath this rubbish lay all that remained of the temple and palace of the great heretic king of Egypt, Amenophis IV, or, as he called himself, Akh-en-Aten. Her concern was only to find some bits of anteaeka, which might be sold to those strange people from Europe and America, who buy things simply because they are old. Out of the mound she took over three hundred pieces of inscribed tablets, some of them only 2x1/8 inches by 1x11/16 inches, while others are 8x3/4 inches by 4x7/8 inches and even larger. One hundred and sixty of these, many of them fragments, were acquired by Herr Theodore Graf, of Vienna, and were purchased from him by Herr J. Simon, of Berlin, and presented to the Royal Museum in the latter city. Eighty-two were bought for the trustees of the British Museum by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge; sixty came into the possession of the Gizeh Museum in Cairo, and a few into private hands.

The documents thus restored to the world are to be reckoned with the most important of cuneiform discoveries. They consist of letters and dispatches which passed between Amenophis III and Amenophis IV on the one hand, and on the other various monarchs, princes, and governors of western Asia, among whom were Kadashman-Bel of Babylonia, Asshur-uballit of Assyria, Dushratta of Mitanni, Rib-Adda of Byblos, Abimilki of Tyre, Abdi-Kheba of Jerusalem, and many others. Their historical value is great not only because of the chronological material deducible from them, but also because they give a note worthy side light upon the entire social relations of the time.²¹²

During the long series of years that excavation had been carried on in the East by Europe and America but little interest in the subject was aroused in Turkey, in whose great empire all these finds were made. But during the latter part of the period there came a great revival of enthusiasm for antiquity in Turkey itself, due almost entirely to the wisdom, patience, and learning of one man. Trained in Europe, a man of fine natural taste and of great personal enthusiasm, Hamdy Bey was admirably fitted for the post of director-general of the Imperial Ottoman Museum. He has transformed it and all its arrangements and made certain a great future for it. Aply seconded by his brother, Halil Bey, he gave great and continued help to the Philadelphia expedition, and magnificently has his museum profited thereby. It remained only that this museum, the best situated in all the world to gain thereby, should itself undertake excavations. Hamdy Bey succeeded in interesting the sultan himself in the matter and inducing him to provide a sum of money from his private purse to undertake excavations at Abu-Habba, the site of ancient Sippar. The director of the expedition was the French Dominican, Father Scheil, a distinguished Assyriologist, who was accompanied by Bedry Bey, who had been Turkish commissioner to the Philadelphia expedition, and therefore knew by experience the best method of exploration. The expedition was completely successful, and in the short space of two months, at a cost of only three thousand francs, gathered a fine store of over six hundred and seventy-nine tablets and fragments, mostly letters and contracts dated in the reign of Samsuiluna, the son and successor of Hammurabi, as well as many vases and other objects similar to those found by the expedition at Nippur.²¹³ Scheil was naturally supported by all government officials in the most loyal fashion, and his success is an interesting promise for the future. The Turkish government is able to control its own representatives in the neighborhood of the mounds, and if it is once thoroughly aroused to the interest and importance of excavating its untold buried treasures of art, science, and literature, scarcely any limits may be set to the great results that may be expected for our knowledge of ancient Babylonia.

Besides these great expeditions other smaller and less conspicuous undertakings have frequently been made to secure the archaeological treasures of Babylonia and Assyria. The most successful among these are doubtless the repeated oriental visits of Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, of the British Museum. He has gone quietly into various parts of the East and, with a thorough understanding of the natives, has been able year by year to increase the collections of the museum. No public account of his work has been made, and no narrative of his labors can therefore be given here.

Here rests for a time the story of expeditions to uncover the buried cities of Babylonia and Assyria. For a short time only in all probability, for the gain has been so large, the rewards so great, that new expeditions must ever seek an opportunity to labor in the same fields.

While great expeditions have their periods of labor and their periods of rest one form of exploration goes on all the time in spite of many efforts to prevent it. The natives of the district have learned that antiquities may be sold to Europeans and Americans for gold. The traffic in them in Turkey is forbidden by law, and their export from the country is interdicted. But the native digs on surreptitiously and smuggles the

results into the hands of merchants, who market them in Baghdad, London, and elsewhere. This practice brings into the possession of museums and so into the hands of scholars hundreds of tablets that otherwise might long remain hidden. Yet it is greatly to be deplored, for much is thus broken by careless and ignorant handling, and the source or origin, a point of great importance, is unknown or concealed from fear of the government. It is therefore on many accounts to be hoped that the Turkish government may ultimately succeed in preventing it, and may secure for its own rapidly growing museum more of the objects that are found by chance.

All that has been found yet is but a small part of that which doubtless lies buried beneath the mounds. Therein is an urgent call to men of wealth, to learned societies, and to governments to continue the work that has already been so marvelously successful. The gaps that yet remain in our knowledge of ancient Assyria and Babylonia may in large measure be easily filled up by the same methods that have given us our present acquaintance with that mighty past.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOURCES

THE sources for the history of the Babylonians and Assyrians may be grouped under four main heads: I. The monumental remains of the Assyrians and Babylonians themselves; II. The Egyptian hieroglyphic texts; III. The Old Testament; IV. The Greek and Latin writers.

Of these four by far the most important in every particular are the monumental remains of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

I. *The Monuments of Babylonia and Assyria.* From the mounds that cover the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria there has come a vast store of tablets, which now number certainly not less than one hundred and sixty thousand in the various museums of the world. These tablets contain the literature of the two peoples, a literature as varied in form and content as it is vast in extent. In the end all of this literature may be considered as sources for history. Every business tablet is dated, and from these dates much may be learned for chronology, while even in the tablets themselves there is matter relating to the daily life of the people, all of which must ultimately be valuable in the reconstruction of the social history. So also are all religious texts, all omens and incantations, sources for the study of the history of religious development. But as we are here concerned chiefly with political history, the primary sources are the so-called royal inscriptions. These royal inscriptions begin very early in Babylonian history, and then chiefly as mere records of names and titles. These early kings caused their names and titles to be written in some way upon all their constructions. Even little statuettes and vases bear the royal mark, while the bricks used in the erection of large buildings were stamped with the king's name and the names of the lands over which he ruled. Simple and uninteresting though these often are, they give the political relations of lands and, in connection with other materials, enable us to trace out the line of political development. This style of name and title writing continues down to the fall of the Babylonian empire. Alongside of it, however, there was early developed a narrative form of royal inscription, giving an account of the campaigns and conquests of the royal arms. These narrative inscriptions are of three kinds: 1. Annals; 2. Campaign inscriptions; 3. General votive inscriptions.

In the annalistic inscriptions the deeds of the king are arranged in chronological order by years of reign. Of all the ancient sources these are by far the most important, for from them we learn the exact order of events, often a matter of first-rate importance. Besides these texts the kings have left many inscriptions in which the events are arranged in campaigns. While this second class is just as important as the first for the mere statement of events, it is, nevertheless, much less valuable to us. From the arrangement of campaigns it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the exact order of events in time, and hence the sequence of conquests or of defeats. The general or votive inscriptions begin usually with a most elaborate ascription of titles, and with all manner of boasting phrases concerning the king's prowess. They then set forth the king's conquests, arranged in groups, and usually after a geographical plan. The order often widely departs from a chronological one, and as some kings have left us only texts of this kind, it is impossible to understand the sequence of events during certain reigns.

The royal inscriptions which describe battle, siege, and conquest are almost exclusively Assyrian. The inscriptions of Babylonian kings which have come down to us are almost without exception peaceful in tone and matter. They record little else than the erection of temples and palaces or the restoration of those which had fallen into partial or complete decay. For the order of events in their campaigns against other peoples as well as for the events themselves we must rely almost entirely upon non-native sources.

In addition to these historical sources the Babylonians and Assyrians have left a great mass of chronological material to which we must give attention later (see Chapter XII).

In respect of their value as sources of knowledge these monumental remains can only be said to be as valuable as the records of other ancient peoples. They bear for the most part the stamp of reasonableness. Often, indeed, do they contain palpable exaggerations of kingly prowess, of victories, and of conquests. They therefore require sifting and rigid criticism. But in most cases it is possible to learn from the issue of the events the relative importance of them, and so be able to check the measure of extravagance in the narrative. When subjected to the same

tests and tried by the same canons of criticism the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments yield as just and true a picture of their national history as the sources of Greek and Roman history to which the world has been so long accustomed.

The second source is of far less importance than the first, yet is at times exceedingly valuable.

II. *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts* are of very slight importance as direct sources of knowledge concerning the political history of Babylonia and Assyria, but they contain many place and personal names useful in the elucidation of corresponding names in Assyrian texts.

The third source, while more important than the second, is still not so valuable as the primary monumental source.

III. *The Old Testament*. The gain of the Old Testament has been greater from Assyrian studies than the reverse, though the apologetic value of monumental testimony has often been greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that it was interest in the Old Testament which inspired most of the early explorers and excavators and some of the earlier decipherers and interpreters, and that from the historical notices in the Old Testament came not a few points for the outworking of details in the newly discovered inscriptions. The historical portions of the Old Testament which are still of importance as sources for Assyrian and Babylonian history are especially 2 Kings, while of even greater importance, in many instances, are the prophets Isaiah, Nahum, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

IV. *The Greek and Latin Writers*. As sources the Greek and Latin writers once held first place, but are now reduced to a very insignificant position by the native monumental records. Never-the-less, they still retain some importance, and need constantly to be used to check and control the native writers as well as to assist in the ordering of their more detailed materials.

First in importance among all the classical writers stands Berossos, or Berosos, for so the name is also transliterated into Greek. He was a Babylonian by origin, and a priest of the great god Bel. The date of his birth and of his death are equally unknown, but it is clear that he was living in the days of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.),²¹⁴ and continued to live at least as late as Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B. C.). He wrote a great work on Babylonian history, the title of which was probably *Babyloniaca*, though it is also referred to under the title of *Chaldaica* by Josephus and Clemens. It was dedicated to his patron, Antiochus I Soter. The *Babyloniaca* was divided into three parts, of which the first dealt with human history from the chaos to the flood, the second from the flood to Nabonassar, and the third from Nabonassar to Alexander. The first two consisted only of lists of kings without any proper historical narrative, while with the third began the real story of events.

Both lists and narrative of Berossos could not fail to be of considerable moment to us, if we had them in even fairly well preserved form. Unhappily, however, the original work has perished, and all that remains are excerpts which have come to us after much copying and many transfers from hand to hand. The history of these fragments is a very curious example of book making in antiquity. In the Mithradatic war a certain Alexander of Miletus was taken prisoner and carried to Rome as the slave of Lentulus, from whom he received the name of Cornelius. In 82 B. C. he received the Roman citizenship and lived in Rome with some distinction as a man of letters. There he wrote an enormous number of books relating to ancient history, and on that account received the name of Polyhistor.²¹⁵ The period of his greatest distinction and productivity was between 70 and 60 B. C. His historical works were simply excerpts from the writings of his predecessors, and in this manner he compiled a history of Assyria, the exact title of which is not now known. This history was made up of extracts from Berossos, Apollodoros, *Chronica*, and the third book of the *Sibyllines*, and was worked over into pseudo-Ionic Greek by Abydenos. It came also into the hands of Josephus and of Eusebius. Josephus was seeking especially those parts of the history which illustrated the history of the Jews, and naturally took from Alexander only those parts which were suitable for his purpose. In like manner, also, Eusebius copied only portions. By this process we have preserved in Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, and in Eusebius, *Chronica*, small parts of the great work of Berossos, while the dynasties have come down to us from George the Synkellos. Wherever we can secure enough of Berossos to compare with the native monumental sources we find most remarkable agreement with them. From Berossos but little is to be learned of direct value, but the support which we gain from these fragmentary remains for the general course of the history is very great. As will later appear, chronological material of much complexity and difficulty is obtained from certain parts of these fragments.

The next Greek writer who comes before us as a possible source is Ktesias. He was a contemporary of Xenophon, and was born of the family of the Asclepiadae at Cnidus. He wandered thence in B. C. 416 to the court of Persia and became body physician to King Artaxerxes Mnemon, whom he cured of a severe wound received in the battle of Cunaxa, B. C. 401. In 399 he returned to his native city, and in the ease thus achieved proceeded to work up into historical form the materials he had collected. He wrote in twentythree books a history of Persia () in the Ionic dialect. The first six books treated the history of Assyria, and the rest the history of Persia down to his own time, in which he claims to have used the royal annals of the Persian kings (). His work was extensively used in the ancient world,²¹⁶ and wherever quoted became at once the object of sharp controversy. He was accused of being untrustworthy and indifferent to truth, and the charges and the controversy continue until to-day. The severity of the judgments²¹⁷ against him probably arise partly out of the acrimonious manner in which

he attacked Herodotus, and partly out of the fact that he used Persian sources for his history. In the years of his Persian residence he had so completely absorbed the Persian point of view as to seem hardly just to the Greek conception of their history in its relations to the Persians. If we subject to modern criticism the fragments of his history that remain, our judgment must be that the first six books, relating to the early history of Assyria, are valueless. Whether this was due to the fact that he was unable himself to read the sources which he used, and was therefore obliged to rely upon the word of others to tell him the story found in them, or that he must be accused of actually inventing and setting forth as history an entertaining mass of empty fables, will probably never be decisively determined. The books themselves have perished. Only fragments of them survive in the quotations by Diodorus and Eusebius and others, and in an epitome by Photius.²¹⁸ For our purposes they scarcely come into the question at all.

Last of all among the classical writers we come to Herodotus, the father of history. Of the value of his works as a source very diverse opinions have been and are still held. From him surely much was expected. Born in Halicarnassus, in Caria, B. C. 484, he had associations with the greatest men of his time, and apparently planned his history with skill and care. He desired to tell of the famous events in the struggle between the Greek and the barbarian, and of the causes which led to the Persian war. He traveled extensively in the East, and there is some reason to believe that these journeys were undertaken with a view to the gathering of materials for his history. Egypt he visited, but there is doubt whether he traversed the whole country from the Mediterranean to Elephantine. There is still more doubt concerning his travels beyond the confines of Egypt. He certainly attempts to leave the impression, even when he does not specifically so state, that he also visited Tyre, on the Syrian coast, that he penetrated to Babylon and thence to Nineveh, to Ecbatana, and perhaps even to Susa. Professor Sayce has attempted to prove, with much learning and great acuteness, that "he never visited Assyria and Babylonia,"²¹⁹ and asserts that "he stands convicted of never having visited the district he undertakes to describe,"²²⁰ and concludes with the statement that "the long controversy which has raged over the credibility of Herodotus has thus been brought to an end by the discoveries of recent years."²²¹ That Professor Sayce has proved upon Herodotus a host of inaccuracies, some travelers' tales, and has effectually disposed of his claims to rank as an independent source of ancient history there can be no doubt. Yet that in this case, as in other similar modern judgments, there is an excess of skepticism is perhaps no less true. There is good reason for believing that Herodotus had really visited Babylon, for the topographical details which he gives bear frequently the stamp of an eyewitness.²²² The main fact, however, remains that from Herodotus but little of historical value may be learned, save as every single fact is checked by the explicit statements of native monumental historians.²²³

After these there remain among classical writers few who deserve to be mentioned as sources. The chronological materials left by some of them, as, for example, the earlier parts of Berossos and the exceedingly valuable Canon of Ptolemy, will have to be estimated later (see Chapter XII).

From a few other less-known writers, such as Kleitarchos, Arrian, Hieronymos of Kardia, and an unknown writer concerning Alexander the Great (Onesikritos), certain topographical details are learned.

Our judgment of all the classical writers must be that their value is entirely subordinate to the native sources, and not so valuable as the notices in the Old Testament or the brief words from the Egyptian hieroglyphic texts.

CHAPTER X

THE LANDS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

THE Babylonian and Assyrian peoples had their seat in a great valley with but one distinct and sharp natural boundary. This clear boundary was the Persian Gulf upon the south, which said to all landsmen, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther." That boundary these peoples respected and never ventured out on the troubled and mysterious waters. On the east the boundary between them and their next neighbors was fluctuating and uncertain. The natural boundary would seem to be the mountains of Elam, but these mountains slope gradually westward to the plain, and do not rise precipitously from it. Down these slopes poured hordes of men in all ages, and there was no sharp line of defense to keep them from the valley, while on the other hand the people of the valley were often filled with conquering power sufficient to extend their border far up the slopes into Elam. On the north, also, the boundary was almost equally uncertain. The mountains of Armenia might be regarded as the natural border on the north, but these are intimately connected with the great valley, for they belong to the drainage system of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and, like the mountains of Elam, slope more gently toward than from the valley. On the north, therefore, as on the east, the lands of Assyria and of Babylonia were open to incursion from the outside, or to raids from within outward. The western border was still more indefinite. In the northwest the valley land swept away in a gentle rise from the Euphrates to the plateau of Aram, and over it even to the Mediterranean. While upon the southwest the desert formed the only barrier between the valley and Arabia or the lands of the Jordan valley. Nomadic peoples passed over this barrier with ease, and became powerful factors in the history of the Babylonians. On the other hand, however, the Babylonians did not readily pass the broad line of the desert.

Within this roughly bounded country two great empires existed for centuries, and the dividing line between them moved up and down the valley as the power of either became stronger than that of the other. Nature had set no boundary between them, for the whole valley lay open from north to south. Yet, though this is true, there have existed from remote times separate provinces in the valley, with more or less definite boundaries between them. If we begin in the south, these separate provinces may thus be described: Close to, the Persian Gulf was a small country, the country of the Sea Lands, the influence of which was marked in the early history of the whole valley. The country of the Sea Lands was entirely alluvial, and small in extent. Through it in early times the Tigris and the Euphrates passed by separate estuaries into the Persian Gulf. Later, though at what time is unknown, the two rivers united and began to flow through one channel into the sea. This alluvial territory is now growing by the river deposits at the rate of about a mile in seventy years, and there is good reason for believing that its average growth in historic time has been not less than a mile in thirty years. If the ratio of increase has been as high as this, the country of the Sea Lands was a very small land during the period 4000-600 B. C. Above it geographically lay the land of the Kaldi, likewise alluvial, and extending northward nearly to the city of Babylon. It has also no line of clear separation from the Sea Lands, nor from Babylonia to the north. As kings from the Kaldi country later ruled in Babylon and had control over the whole vast empire, of which it was the capital, the name of Chaldea was extended by Greek and Roman historians so as to include the whole of Babylonia. Next above the land of the Kaldi was Babylonia itself, which extended northward along the valley, with two exceptions, to the Armenian mountains. These exceptions were the original lands of Assyria and Mesopotamia. Assyria, in its original geographical and historical sense, was the small triangular-shaped land lying between the Tigris and the Zab Rivers and the Median mountains. When the Assyrians gained in power and numbers they soon extended their dominion beyond these very narrow boundaries, and with their dominion went likewise the geographical name, so that even in early times the name Assyria had been carried westward to the Euphrates and southward as far as Hit, while to the Greeks and Romans it covered the entire valley.²²⁴ The other separate land or province was- the small country included between the Euphrates and the Khabur Rivers and the mountains of Armenia. This was the land known as Nahrina, the Aram-Naharaim²²⁵ of the Hebrews, and the Mesopotamia of the Greeks and Romans. Unhappily this name of Mesopotamia was extended to cover the territory between the Tigris and Euphrates southward even to the Persian Gulf. This completely destroys the historical nomenclature, and introduces a confusion that does not appear in any of the records of either the Assyrians or Babylonians.

For this country between the Tigris and Euphrates, including Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Chaldea, and the Sea Lands, the ancient inhabitants had no general geographical name. The geographical terminology varied with the rise and fall of political power. There were, however, certain clear exceptions to this general rule. For example, the name Assyria was never extended so as to cover Babylonia proper, though it is extended so far westward. On the other hand, the name Babylonia is carried so far north as almost to include Assyria, though the small original land of Assyria appears always to be kept sharply distinguished. The general term of the Assyro-Babylonian valley may properly be used to cover all the country.

Though the word Mesopotamia was never applied by either Assyrians or Babylonians to their country, yet it is in a real sense the product of two rivers, in a sense almost as complete as that Egypt is the product of the Nile.

The Tigris and the Euphrates have their sources upon opposite sides of the same mountain range. This is the highest ridge between the Black Sea and the great valley, and the only one which has peaks bearing perpetual snow-hence known to the ancient Greeks as the Niphates. From its western side the Euphrates flows westward to Malatiyeh, as though to lose itself in the Mediterranean. But at Malatiyeh the course is suddenly changed to the southeast, passing within a few miles of the source of the Tigris at Lake Goljik, thence forcing its way through the mountains in a tortuous course. Thence its course is generally southeast until opposite Baghdad, where it approaches to within twenty miles of the Tigris, and the rivers appear about to form a junction. Both, however, again separate, and only make their final union at last after a very sharp convergence. The estimated length of the Euphrates is seventeen hundred and eighty miles. It is navigable for a distance of twelve hundred miles above its mouth. During its whole course it is an imposing river among the greatest rivers of the world. Like most mountain streams, its early course is swift and its bed rocky. Its first great tributary is the Kara Su--that is, the Black Water--at Keban-Maaden, a few miles west of Kharpoot. Its next affluent is the Sajur, received from the right, or west. This is followed by the Balikh, which, in a course of only one hundred and twenty miles, brings the water from Mount Masius. The next is the Khabur, also received from the left, which brings another considerable body of water also from the lower slopes of Mount Masius. From this point, for eight hundred miles until the junction with the Tigris, the Euphrates receives no tributaries whatever. It has been well said that the "upper region of the Euphrates resembles that of the Rhine, while its middle course may be compared with that of the Danube, and its lower with the Nile."²²⁶

The Tigris is formed by the junction of two small head streams, the eastern rising near Bitlis, not far from the western bank of Lake Van, while the western comes from the neighborhood of Kharpoot. Unlike the Euphrates, the Tigris receives many important tributaries, which flow down from the Zagros and Elmatine mountains. The first important one of these is the Eastern Khabur, after which in rapid succession follow the Upper Zab, the Lower Zab, the Adhem, and the Diyaleh. This constant accession of fresh water gives the Tigris a character entirely different from the Euphrates. The Euphrates continually decreases in size and flows ever in a more sluggish stream. When it receives the Khabur it is four hundred yards wide and eighteen feet deep; at Irzah or Werdi, seventy-five miles lower down, it is three hundred and fifty yards wide and of the same depth; at Hadiseh, one hundred and forty miles below Werdi, it is three hundred yards wide, and still of the

same depth; here its current is four knots per hour in the flood season, but this speed diminishes within the next fifty miles; at Hit, fifty miles below Hadiseh, its width has increased to three hundred and fifty yards, but its depth has been diminished to sixteen feet; at Felujiah, seventy-five miles from Hit, the depth is twenty feet, but the width had diminished to two hundred and fifty yards. From this point the contraction is very rapid and striking. The Saklowijeh Canal is given out upon the left, and some way further down the Hindiyeh branches of upon the right, each carrying, when the Euphrates is full, a large body of water. The consequence is that at Hillah, ninety miles below Felujiah, the stream is no more than two hundred yards wide and fifteen feet deep; at Diwaniyeh, sixty-five miles further down, it is only one hundred and sixty yards wide; and at Lamlun, twenty miles below Diwaniyeh, it is reduced to one hundred and twenty yards wide, with a depth of no more than twelve feet. Soon after, however, it begins to recover itself. The water, which left it by the Hindiyeh, returns to it upon the one side, while the Schatt-el-Hai and numerous other branch streams flow in upon the other; but still the Euphrates never recovers itself entirely, nor even approaches in its later course to the standard of its earlier greatness. The channel from Kurnah to El Khitr was found by Colonel Chesney to have ⁴⁴ an average width of only two hundred yards, and a depth of about eighteen or nineteen feet, which implies a body of water far inferior to that carried between the junction of the Khabur and Hit."

The Tigris and the Euphrates have both flood seasons and carry their waters over a wide extent of country, exactly as the Nile. This fact is so perfectly clear that there can be no doubt concerning it, though Herodotus directly asserts the contrary, saying, "The river does not, as in Egypt, overflow the corn lands of its own accord, but is spread over them by the help of engines."²²⁷ The rise is indeed not so prolonged as the rise of the Nile, but its influence is, nevertheless, distinctly to be seen. The rise in the Tigris is due to the melting of the snows on the mountains, and as it drains the southern slopes, and the Euphrates the northern slopes, the Tigris rises more rapidly. The Tigris usually begins to rise early in March. By the first or second week in May the highest point is reached, and the river then declines rapidly and reaches its level at about the middle of June. As the course of the Tigris during the entire upper part of its course is between banks of considerable height, the river rarely overflows. On its lower course, however, and especially between the thirty-second and thirty-first parallels, it covers a wide extent of country. The inundation of the Euphrates is much more regular and extensive. The melting of snow on the northern slopes is slower, and the river begins to swell very slowly about the beginning of March, and gradually increases until the highest point is reached about the end of May, when the waters stand about thirteen feet above low water.²²⁸ At this point the river remains, for about a month, sinks slightly toward the middle of July, and then more rapidly till September. The Euphrates begins to overflow its banks much higher up than the Tigris, and even at its junction with the Khabur is described as "spreading over the surrounding country like a sea." From Hit downward the river spreads over both banks, but with a strong tendency to flow farther and more deeply over the western bank. The slow and regular rise of the river made it exceedingly valuable for irrigation, and the Babylonian people fully availed themselves of this great opportunity. Along its banks were constructed brick walls provided with breakwaters to divert and control the swift current at the rise. Sluice gates controlled the rise so that the eastern bank received an inundation equal to the west, while canals almost innumerable diverted the retreating waters, and prevented the flow from damaging the cultivable area. Furthermore, the water was retained in sufficient quantity to supply an irrigation system far back from the river for the grain harvest, after the fall of the river. This entire system is now a vast ruin. The river rises and falls as it wills, and sweeping far over the western bank, turns the country into a morass. The harm of this is both negative and positive. It makes impossible any such great gathering of grain as existed when this great valley was the world's granary, and it fills the land with a dangerous miasma, which produces fevers and leaves the inhabitants weak and sickly. There are few instances in the world of a sadder waste of a beautiful and fertile country.

In the lower alluvial country the Tigris and Euphrates have made numerous changes in their river beds. These changes have often begun in the spring and summer floods and then continued. The branch streams which are thus formed perpetually vary, being sometimes so large as to be navigable and again left absolutely dry. Yet, on the whole, with the exception of the great change produced by the union of the Tigris and Euphrates at their mouths, the general course of the rivers remains about the same throughout the historic period.

Of the changes in branch streams by far the most important are on the side of Arabia. There branches off near Hit a wide, deep channel, which skirts the Arabian rocks and passes into the Persian Gulf by an entirely distinct channel. This conveys a considerable body of Euphrates water, and keeps back the encroachment of the desert, thus extending considerably the arable part of Chaldea and the Sea Lands. There is some doubt as to its age, and as to whether or not it was in the beginning partly or wholly artificial.

Besides the two rivers neither Assyria nor Babylonia has any supplies of water beyond one single fresh-water lake, on the Arabian side of the Euphrates fifty miles south of the ruins of Babylon, and twenty-five or thirty miles from the river. It does not appear to have been well known or counted of importance by the ancient inhabitants, for no mention of it has yet been found in any Assyrian or Babylonian texts; it was known to the Romans as *Assyrium Stagnum*, and is now called Bahr-i-Nedjif. It lies in a basin forty miles long and from ten to twenty miles broad, inclosed on three sides by limestone hills varying from twenty to two hundred feet in height. On the remaining side there is a ridge of rock which separates it from the Euphrates basin. At the season of the inundation the Euphrates pours water into this lake and then it appears to be a part of the inundation. The water is then sweet and good. When the river returns to its original level the lake remains with but very slight change in volume, but the water becomes so disagreeable as to be unpotable. It has been supposed that this may be due to its connection with rocks of the gypsiferous series.

The great valley has a climate which appears little fitted to produce men of energy and force, for the temperature over its entire surface is very high in the summer season. In the far south, along the Persian Gulf, and in the near-by regions, the atmosphere is moist and the heat is of the same character as that of Hindustan or Ceylon. Records do not exist to show the range of the thermometer, but the passing traveler states the simple fact that the temperature is higher than at Baghdad. In Baghdad the average maximum daily temperature indoors during June and July is set down as 107° Fahrenheit, and it often goes up to 120° or 122°. ²²⁹ At present this high temperature is also reached in the north as far up at least as Mosul. It is now also rendered much more oppressive by hot winds, which arise suddenly and filled with impalpable sand drive about in eddying circles or sweep in vast clouds over a wide extent of country. This dust becomes at times so thick as to completely shut off near objects from the vision, as though by a fog. The gleaming particles of sand shine beneath the sweltering sun, the sand enters nostrils or mouth and seems to choke the very lungs. Death itself sometimes alone terminates the suffering experienced in these terrible visitations. It is, however, altogether probable that in the period, of the ancient history neither the heat nor the sand was such a menace. ²³⁰ Then the whole land in the south was one vast network of canals. The presence of the body of water thus everywhere spread abroad greatly modified the temperature, so that the sudden change which now exists from the heat of the day to the cool of the night could not have been so great. Besides this these canals made the land a cultivated garden, free almost entirely from the incursion of yellow sand. These sands properly belong to the Arabian desert, from which they yearly come in increasing quantities into the plain and valley. During the period of the glory of Babylon these sand waves had certainly not gone beyond the Euphrates, and they could hardly have reached it. At present from May to November the sky is usually without a single cloud. In November the clouds gather, and in December and January there are heavy rains. These flow rapidly off into the rivers, for there is no canal system to retain the water for use in agriculture. There is no cold weather in all the land in the sense understood in the temperate zone. There is in midwinter an occasional sign of frost, sufficient to whiten the dew upon the grass in early morning, and in rare cases ice has been known to form in the marshes. So mild, indeed, are the winters that Persian kings made Babylon their winter residence to avoid the bitter cold of their own highlands. In recent times native Indians, expelled for state reasons from their own country, fix their residence in Bassorah or Baghdad to enjoy the mild winter climate.

The whole alluvial plain of Babylonia was proverbially fertile in the ancient world. Herodotus began the chorus of praise in the west, and it has continued with greater or less emphasis down the ages. He begins his praise in the oft-quoted words: "Of all countries that we know, there is none that is so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension, indeed, of growing the fig, the olive, the vine, or any other tree of the kind; but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundredfold, and when the production is at the greatest, even three hundredfold. The blade of the wheat plant and of the barley plant is often four fingers in breadth. As for the millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my own knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia must seem incredible to those who have not visited the country." ²³¹ The same note exactly is struck by Theophrastus in his statement: "In Babylon the wheat fields are regularly mown twice, and then fed off with beasts to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done the return in lands that are badly cultivated is fifty fold; while in those that are well farmed it is a hundredfold." ²³² Strabo follows in the same strain, saying: "The country produces barley on a scale not known elsewhere, for the return is said to be three hundredfold. All other wants are supplied by the palm, which furnishes not only bread, but wine, vinegar, honey, and meal;" ²³³ and Pliny says that the wheat crop, where the land is well farmed, is a hundred and fifty fold.

In estimating these tributes to the productiveness of the land it is perhaps well to remember that Herodotus had an affluent imagination and was inclined to exaggerate for effect. Theophrastus is more reliable when speaking of such matters, but probably leaned somewhat on the tradition of Herodotus. The other statements must be exaggerations. To the modern husbandman in this valley the yield of wheat and barley is from thirty to forty fold. When all allowance is made for the poor methods now followed, and for changed conditions, it is still unlikely that the ancient average yield greatly exceeded sixty fold.

Modern travelers hardly equal the ancient in their estimate of the fertility of the soil, especially when compared with that of Egypt. Rich, who was a most careful observer and accurate reporter, says, "The soil is extremely fertile, producing great quantities of rice, oats, and grain of different kinds, though it is not cultivated to above half the degree of which it is susceptible." Chesney, who knew the land from much experience during survey work, is even more strong in the statement "Although greatly changed by the neglect of man, those portions of Mesopotamia which are still cultivated, as the country about Hillah, show that the region has all the fertility ascribed to it by Herodotus." Loftus adds to this the comparative statement that "the soil is not less bountiful than that on the banks of the Egyptian Nile." ²³⁴ This statement is, however, of very slight value indeed, for when it was written Loftus had never been in Egypt. Probably the soundest modern estimate is that of Olivier, who knew both Egypt and Babylonia, and adjudged the former to be somewhat more fertile than the latter. ²³⁵

It is commonly believed that wheat and barley are indigenous to the plains of the Euphrates, and that thence, after a period of cultivation, they spread westward over Syria and Egypt and on to Europe. If this be true, the land might well be expected to yield a good harvest of native cereals.

But the productivity of the land did not stop with the great cereals. The inhabitants had a wide range of vegetables for food, among which are

pumpkins, kidney-beans, onions, vetches, egg plants, cucumbers, "gombo" lentils, chick-peas, and beans.

Above the vegetables and cereals of the land rose its trees, of which the variety was great, both of those that yielded fruit and of those that added merely to the beauty of the land; among these were the apple, fig, apricot, pistachio, vine, almond, walnut, cypress, tamarisk, plane tree, and acacia. But valuable and beautiful though they all were, none was equal in utility, in song, or in story with the palm. From the most ancient of days down to the present all the Orient has rung with the praises of the palm. In Babylon it found a suitable place for its development. It was cultivated with extreme care. Even in early times the process of reproduction had been discovered, and was facilitated by shaking the flowers of the male palm over those of the female. From the products of this tree the peasantry were able almost to support life. The fruit was eaten both fresh and dry, forming in the latter case almost a sweetmeat. If decapitated, the tree gave a juice which might be used as a wine, and was "sweet and headachy," in the opinion of Xenophon. The Greeks even assert that the Babylonians derived from the palm bread, wine, vinegar, honey, groats, string and ropes of all kinds, firing, and a mash for fattening cattle.

The fauna of the land was as rich and as varied as its flora. The rivers swarmed with fish. In their slow-flowing waters the barbel and carp grew to large size and were most highly esteemed. But the eel, murena, silurus, and gurnard were also used for food, and found in abundance.

By the waters and amid the great reeds which almost seemed to wall in the rivers were birds in extraordinary variety, among them pelicans, cranes, storks, herons, gulls, ducks, swans, and geese. On land were found the ostrich, the bustard, partridge, thrush, blackbird, ortolan, turtledove, and pigeon, together with birds of prey like eagles and hawks. A few snakes are found, of which only three varieties are known to be poisonous, but none of these are so dangerous as many found in adjoining lands.

The larger animals were numerous, but of all the varieties that existed wild only the ox, ass, goat, and sheep were domesticated at an early period and made useful to man. To these were added the domestic hog, which seems, however, to have remained in a semi-wild state. In a later period the horse and camel were brought into use.

But if the domesticated animals were comparatively few, the wild animals were of extraordinary number. At the head of all of them, in the estimation of the Assyrian and Babylonians, stood the lion. He is not so fierce as his namesake of Africa. In size he is not much larger than a St. Bernard dog, and his Assyrian name originally meant big dog. The modern representative in the same regions is not deemed formidable by Europeans, for he never attacks men save when brought to bay in a position from which there is absolutely no chance of escape, when he will fight desperately. The natives, however, hold them in dread, and never make a fight against one which may be seen in the very act of slaying sheep. There are two varieties, one without a mane and the other with a mane of thick, tangled black hair. It is the latter which excites most fear in the native breast. The Assyrian and Babylonian kings hunted lions in the chase, and made great boast of the number that they had slain. The chase of the lion was, indeed, the royal sport, and fills a large share of the numerous monumental illustrations of hunting.

In very early times the elephant wandered at will over the middle Euphrates country, but it disappeared certainly before the thirteenth century, and was henceforward only an object of curiosity, when received by kings as presents in distant wars. Like the elephant, other beasts of chase or prey early disappeared, or ceased to be objects of interest because of their rarity. Among these were the urs, leopard, lynx, wild-cat, hyena, porcupine, beaver, and the ibex. During at least a large part of the history the wild ass and onager roamed in small herds over much of the country and especially between the Balikh and the Tigris. The beauty and swiftness of the wild ass have long been celebrated in the Orient, and the Assyrians admired and represented them in their monuments. It appears that they attempted to tame them for the drawing of chariots, but met with poor success. Modern attempts to make them serviceable have been equally futile. The natives frequently capture foals and rear them on milk in the tent. They become docile and affectionate, but are delicate in captivity and useless for labor. Two varieties of deer appear in monumental representation, the one apparently representing the gray deer, which still exists in the country, and the other the fallow deer, which is now entirely unknown. The hare, also, is frequently exhibited as the object of chase.

While both Babylonia and Assyria were exceedingly rich in flora and fauna, they are both, and especially the former, exceedingly poor in mineral wealth. The alluvium is absolutely destitute of metals and of stone. This had an important reflex influence upon the civilization of the country. As stone was not procurable close at hand, the early builders who would have it for utility or decoration sought it at great distances. From Arabia came probably the earliest stone utilized in the country. This had to be transported long distances overland. The skill required for this in the overcoming of engineering difficulties pushed forward the development of the people in mechanical pursuits, and hence reacted upon civilization. But even as early as 3000 B. C. stone was brought from the Lebanon and the Amanus. This was rafted down the Euphrates, after a considerable land journey to its upper waters. And herein was cause for the study of problems in river transportation and in the construction of navigable rafts. Such problems as these would be insoluble by natives in the same district at present, but they were successfully carried out on a large scale in early times, as the great buildings and the inscriptions describing them abundantly witness. But, though the Babylonians did thus acquire stone, they could hardly have secured enough to house the entire population as well as for royal residences and the homes of the gods. The need for a permanent and less costly building material was solved in another way. There was beneath their feet an inexhaustible supply of the best qualities of clay. This was readily molded into bricks. Some of these were dried in the

sun, and were then deemed sufficient for the filling in of the interiors of walls. Others were baked in kilns, and with these the walls were faced. In the excellence of materials used, and in the perfection of form, texture, and solidity, and in the great size of their bricks the Babylonians have probably never been excelled. The same material was used for the manufacture of books or tablets. These were made even more carefully, and were almost indestructible. For records the ancient world knew nothing their superior and perhaps nothing equal. The papyrus of ancient Egypt was so fragile and so easily destroyed by either fire or water that it bears no comparison with the brick which resisted both almost equally well. The clay tablet has preserved through the centuries a vast literature, much of it uninjured, while untold portions of the literature of the more cultured Egyptians have hopelessly perished.

In the erection of buildings the bricks were joined together in three different ways. They are found simply set together in the interior of walls, without any substance to form a close junction. More commonly they were united by bitumen, which was found in several parts of the country, but especially at Hit. Here are inexhaustible springs which have supplied the whole surrounding country for untold centuries, and form the subject of repeated references in the literature not only of Babylonia, but of Egypt, Greece, and Rome as well.²³⁶ Slime and mud were also used, and with these calcareous earths appear to have been mixed, the whole forming a solid and extremely tenacious mortar.

From the bitumen pits petroleum is now taken, and may have been known to the ancients. But here ends the very brief catalogue of the mineral products of Babylonia. The land could hardly be poorer in this respect.

In mineral wealth Assyria was incomparably superior to Babylonia. Stone of excellent quality, and in many varieties, such as limestone, conglomerate, and sandstone, is found on every hand, while other stones were easily accessible. A soft and beautiful alabaster, readily cut into slabs, abounds on the eastern banks of the Tigris. This beautiful material was extensively used for wainscoting in Assyrian palaces, and its outer surfaces were then richly carved in bas-reliefs. The progress thus made in the art of sculpture was noteworthy, and is to be numbered among the greatest triumphs won by this warlike people in the arts of peace. The mountains of Kurdistan, easily reached by the rivers or water courses above the great cities, supplied many beautiful forms of marble; while Mount Masius offered a fine quality of dark-colored basalt of great fineness and hardness. These stones were indeed not used for the walls of buildings. The colonists of Assyria retained the custom of Babylonia, from which they had come, and built their houses, temples, and palaces of brick, and later ages continued to follow their example. Like Babylonia, Assyria had extensive bitumen pits, located at Kerkuk,²³⁷ in the territory between the Lesser Zab and the Adhem, while another source is found in the bed of the Shor-Derreh torrent, near Nimroud. Salt is also obtainable in the former district.

The lands which were thus rich in flora and fauna and sufficiently supplied with minerals for man's ordinary use maintained a great population, largely settled in cities, in which the real political life of the land began. The cities which play important parts in the later history may here be set down, with just enough of color and description to make them real in the story of their political life.

In the far south lay the city of Eridu, which played but a small part in all the history of Babylonia, unless indeed it had importance in a period still more ancient than that known to us. The site is now known as Abu-Shahreïn,²³⁸ and has not yet been adequately studied. The remains of the city, so far as they have been excavated, appear to contain a large temple, which was probably the home of the god Ea, who here received special veneration.

West of Eridu stood the great city Ur, which occupied from the earliest times down to the beginning of Babylon's hegemony a position of distinguished influence in the land, and even thereafter continued to be the most important city in the south. The chief god of the city was Sin, the moon god, here worshiped under the name of Nannar. The moon god always exerted profound influence over the minds of the people, and Ur therefore was early adorned with a large temple for the worship of Sin, which was frequently restored down the centuries to the days of Nabonidus. The ruins of the city have been but slightly explored, and will almost certainly give a rich treasure, at some future day, to a complete examination of them. The mound is now called El-Mugheir²³⁹--the place of bitumen--for the inhabitants have used it for centuries as a place to secure bitumen, which they dug from between the bricks of Babylonian buildings.

At the modern town of Senkereh,²⁴⁰ on the left bank of the Shatt-en-Nil Canal stood the next chief city, Larsa. This was also one of the most ancient cities of the land. The sun god held the chief position in Larsa, and here the early kings Ur-Gur and Dungi built a temple in his honor. This temple found restorers in Hammurabi, Burnaburiash, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus, and so remained a venerated spot unto the very end of Babylonian history. The city early played an important political part, and retained its place at the head of a small state even down to the reign of Hammurabi. It was the last city to succumb to him and yield allegiance to the conquering might of Babylon.

Somewhat north of Larsa, probably at the mound of Tell-Id, was the city of Girsu, which is mentioned as early as the reign of Dungi, and was the chief city of at least one petty king (Urkagina) in the early period. Its influence was, however, small in comparison with those farther south or when compared with the city of Uruk (Erech, Orchoe), which is but a short distance from it. Uruk was a border city between northern and southern Babylonia, and long remained the center of a small independent kingdom. It was the place of worship of the goddess

Nana of the Sumerians, with whom the Semitic inhabitants identified their goddess Ishtar. The temple dedicated to the goddess and called E-Anna (house of heaven) was built by Ur-Gur and Dungi and often restored. It now forms the ruin of El-Buwarije, while the general mass of ruins is called Warka,²⁴¹ which has unhappily not been dug up. The city had independence at an early period, and is coupled by Hebrew tradition²⁴² with the earliest centers of the land, and Babylonian records go far to prove that this is correct. It was, however, much more than a mere center of power. It was a seat of learning and must have had a library at a very early period. Many books in the library of Asshurbanapal, and especially religious hymns, bear colophons which show that they were copied from originals at Uruk. Strabo adds to this fact the statement that at Orchoe there was a school of Chaldeans, that is in his use of the word "astrologists." This would indicate that culture was still resident in this city, though it had vanished from other more ancient centers. The political, literary, and religious history of the city all make it of so great interest and importance that it is especially a matter for regret that it has never been properly excavated.

On the banks of the canal Shatt-el-Hai, which unites the Tigris and Euphrates, is a mound Tellah,²⁴³ from which have come vast stores of inscribed tablets of every description. It marks, in all probability, the site of the ancient city of Lagash, which had a long history as a separate state, though with many fluctuations of power.

The next city in our progress northward was Isin, of which, unhappily, very little is known. It was linked in the title of the kings who made Nippur, its near-by neighbor, the chief city of the land, but its history was swallowed up in the greater history of the places about it, and its ruins have not been certainly identified.²⁴⁴

Nippur, on the other hand, is now the best known city in all Babylonia. The greatest discoveries yet made beneath the soil of the entire land were made here by the University of Pennsylvania expedition. Nippur was the oldest center of the worship of the god Bel, and may be the oldest city of all Babylonia of which there is any known record. As Ur was the city of the moon god, and Sippara the city of the sun god, so was Nippur the home of Bel, and as these three were the greatest of the gods of Babylonia, so their cities outranked all others in early political history, until dethroned by force; after which they continued to be the chief places of veneration in all the empire. Nippur was rich in buildings devoted to religion and to royal residence, and its great ruin mound, Niffer or Nuffar, has yielded an extraordinary mass of ancient treasures.

But great as all these cities were in age, and rich though they continued to be in religious associations, they were all surpassed in influence by the city of Babylon. They were forgotten of men when the dust and sand settled upon them, but the glory and the shame of Babylon remained. Even the name of the city lived on in the ruin heap Babil.²⁴⁵ The chief ruins of Babylon lie near the modern village of Hillah, and cover such a great extent of country that until very recently no men have been found bold enough to attempt the exploration of the entire mound. The city laid no claim to great age, and was probably not very ancient when Hammurabi made it the chief city over all the land and displaced the more ancient seats of power. The religious glory of the city was also in a sense fictitious. Its chief god had been Marduk (the biblical Merodach), and to him fitting worship was paid for generations. But Marduk's own position in the pantheon was not great enough to bring to the city a religious primacy, and he was therefore identified with the great god Bel, and under that name was worshiped in Babylon. To him was erected a great temple in pyramidal form rising to seven stories, and known as E-sagila. Kings vied with each other to make this the largest and most beautiful shrine in the empire, and in it all rulers must needs "take the hands of Bel" before their authority was deemed valid. So came the city to possess political power, dominion over the hearts and consciences of men, and wealth unapproachable. To Babylon in the days of Nabonidus was joined another city, Borsippa, which may have been as old as the capital itself. In it stood the temple of E-zida, now Birs Nimroud,²⁴⁶ dedicated to Nabu (the biblical Nebo), on which kings lavished almost as much labor and wealth as upon E-sagila. The two cities were linked also in their religious festivals, for on the first day of Nisan (March-April), the beginning of a new year, the god Nabu left his temple in solemn procession to visit his father, Marduk, in Babylon. Of so great importance was this festival that the king was required to share in it, no matter where he might be at the time, whether on business or pleasure bent, under the penalty of forfeiting for the coming year the title of king of Babylon. It is easy to see that this gave enormous power to the priesthood, for it was they alone who represented these great deities in the eyes of all the people.

Five hours (about fifteen miles) northeast of Babylon lay Kutha, now a mound and village called Tell-Ibrahim,²⁴⁷ once the leading city of northern Babylonia before the rise of the city of Babylon. The chief god of the city was Nergal, whose temple was called E-shid-lam, at which passing kings were wont to pay honors and offer sacrifices. From Kutha a profound influence passed into the world's history by the act of one of the Assyrian kings. Sargon deported thence a number of inhabitants to Samaria on the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel, who introduced the worship of Nergal and then engrafted upon it features derived from the religion of Jehovah. In close relation with Kutha stood the near-by city of Kish, somewhat as Borsippa stood to Babylon.

In the extreme northern part of Babylonia, and nearly opposite to the present Baghdad, lies the mound Akerkuf,²⁴⁸ which marks the site of Dur-Kurigalzu (Kurigalzburg), a city named after a Babylonian king, but the influence of which in history was slight. Much the same may

be said of the city of Upi (Opis) during most of the period of Babylonian history, with this exception, that it appears to have had some influence during the Hammurabi period.

The cities of Assyria were not so ancient as those of Babylonia, and their general character was commercial rather than religious, military rather than peaceful and culture-loving. Their temples were indeed large and imposing, for the Assyrians had amassed great wealth in war, and they believed, no less than the Babylonians, that the gods had led them to victory. They also boasted great piles devoted to the residence of kings, in which, however, libraries were not so common as in Babylonia.

The first city of Assyria in age was Asshur, whose site is now marked by the mound of Kalah Shergat,²⁴⁹ on the right bank of the Tigris. It was originally a colony and dependency of Babylonia, but its kings spread their power over the adjoining country, which they named Asshur, after their city. It was the home of the great god Asshur, whose temple E-kharsag-kurkurra was erected by the earliest rulers of whom we know anything, and frequently restored by later monarchs. When Calah became the capital of the kingdom Asshur lost its dignity and decreased in size, but retained a certain reverence as the ancient site of the most revered national god, and as the mother city of the kingdom.

A little farther north, but on the eastern bank of the Tigris and at its junction with the Upper Zab, Shalmaneser I built the city of Calah, which he made the capital of Assyria. It remained the royal residence down to the age of Sargon. The mound Nimroud²⁵⁰ marks its site, and this has been fairly but not completely dug over. The city was not an ancient and venerated shrine of any deity, but worship was paid to Asshur in its temple.

A little farther up the eastern bank of the Tigris the ruin heaps and squalid villages of Kuyunjik²⁵¹ and Neby Yunus mark the site of Nineveh, which Sennacherib made the capital of the empire. The city was, however, much older than this, and may almost certainly be accounted one of the most ancient cities in the kingdom. It was the center of the worship of Ishtar, who was called Ishtar of Nineveh to distinguish her from Ishtar of Arbela. Ishtar of Nineveh was worshiped in a great temple on which generation after generation lavished extraordinary plunder. It was the dream of Sennacherib to make Nineveh surpass Babylon in size and magnificence, and, though he did not reach that ideal, he did make it a fine city, second only to the ancient mother city by the Euphrates. To all the world Nineveh stood as the representative city of the hated Assyrian empire, and that made its name a byword among the peoples.

North of Nineveh, at the foot of the mountains, Sargon planted a new city, to which he gave his own name, Dur-Sharrukin (that is, Sargon'sburg), which he probably designed not only to make a royal residence, but also the capital of the country and a rival of Nineveh. The remains of the city at Khorsabad²⁵² were the first Assyrian ruins excavated, and these have shown that he made the city magnificent with a palace and other buildings, but it never became even an equal of Nineveh.²⁵³ It apparently did not long outlive its founder, but sank away into insignificance.

Far more important than this creation of the fancy of an Assyrian king was the city of Arbailu. How old this city was is not known. There is not in all the inscriptions any evidence that the Assyrian kings paid any attention to it. It certainly received at their hands no great palaces and no temples. It had no political weight in the development of Assyrian power, though it must have had an Assyrian populace. It lived a quiet life apart from the great tides of war or commerce during the Assyrian period, and survived the ruin which overwhelmed the empire. It was still an important city in Persian days, and continued to exist when the city of Nineveh was unknown save as a name in the memory. A great mound marks its site, and its name is retained in the modern Erbil.²⁵⁴ The mound has not yet been excavated, and may very probably contain important memorials of the city's long career.

Outside the strict limits of Assyria lay the city of Nagibina. It lay upon the Kharmis, a tributary of the Khabur, at the foot of the mountains. It was the center of an Assyrian province, and continued to live under the name of Nisibis after the empire had ended. Hadrian ceded it to the Parthians, but it returned to Roman rule and was flourishing at the time of Septimius Severus (Septimia Colonia Nisibis). Under the Seleucids it still continued prosperous and bore the name of Antiochia Mygdoniae. Its modern representative, a miserable collection of huts, has returned to the ancient name and is called Nisibin.

Farther west, on the left bank of the Balikh, was Harran, or Road-Town, through which passed the great highways from south and east toward the west. Harran was the center for the worship of Sin, the moon god, in the north, as Ur was in the south, and perhaps no sacred city in the land ever held so tenaciously to its ancient belief. When Christianity overran Mesopotamia this city remained the last center of paganism, and under the Mohammedan sway the sect of Sabeans here continued the worship of the moon. The history of Harran runs so far back that its origin is lost in the mists that surround the very beginnings of civilization. During the continuance of Assyrian power it was a constant factor in the life of the empire, and when Nineveh had ceased to vex mankind it was still a powerful city. The Parthians made a stronghold of it, and there Crassus was defeated. It later formed part of the Christian kingdom of Abgar, and became a city of the Roman

empire. The mounds²⁵⁵ which mark its site must certainly contain memorials of its long history, but they have not been excavated. The classical name was Carrhoe (which evidently contains a reminiscence of the ancient name), and it has still some importance as a road town.

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLES OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

THE civilization of Assyria and Babylonia and their great sweep of history were not made by one people. Men of several different stocks contributed to the result, and here, as often afterward in the world's history, the history bears the stamp not of a unity but of a diversity of races. Even in modern times, with all the resources at our command, it is often difficult to distinguish the different strains of races and to trace their influence in the movements of history. We need, therefore, feel no surprise that there should be great difficulty in tracing out the racial affinities of the peoples who made history in Assyria and Babylonia.

At the earliest period to which direct monumental records go back we find a people in possession of Babylonia who are called by us Babylonians. Their written records are found to be in part a Semitic language, a language closely related in forms and vocabulary to the northern branch of the Semitic family, of which Hebrew and Aramaic are well-known examples. But when these earliest records are all gathered together it appears that large numbers of them are bilingual; that is to say, side by side with the Semitic Babylonian is found another language. This other language appears in these inscriptions in the form of two dialects, one called "the language of the land of Accad" and the other "the language of the land of Sumer." As the latter contains the older forms it is now called the Sumerian language, and the other is regarded as a dialect of it. In this Sumerian language, written though it be in part at least by Semitic Babylonians, lies the proof of the existence of a Sumerian people. They belong distinctly, as yet, to the prehistoric period in Babylonian life. Of their racial connections we know only the single negative fact that they were not Semites. Their language is agglutinative, and they have been connected on linguistic grounds both with Indo-Europeans and especially with Turanians. But the evidence is slight in itself and of doubtful weight even if it were more extensive, for language is, after all, proof not of race but of social contact.²⁵⁶

But, though we are unable to say who these Sumerians were, we are in a position to aver some facts concerning their work in the world and their relations to the Semitic Babylonians. It was they who invented the cuneiform system of writing, a cumbrous and artificial system indeed, and yet a wonderful advance upon the still more cumbrous picture writing out of which it was developed. When the Semitic Babylonians conquered the Sumerians and possessed their lands they adopted at once this system of writing and took over with it the literature which it enshrined. This literature was especially devoted to the setting forth of forms of worship, of hymns of praise to gods, of prayers for forgiveness from sins, and of incantations for delivery from disease. It was natural that the Babylonians should desire to retain this religious material in its ancient tongue, as it was not to be expected that it would be so efficacious if translated into their own Semitic speech. There arose, therefore, a custom of providing these religious texts with interlinear translations into the Semitic speech. Sumerian had now come into the same position as did Latin in the religious life of the Middle Ages. It remained only that it should advance into a position similar to that held by Latin in general life in the same period. This also came about, for not only were religious texts so written, but also historical texts as well. Gradually this custom ceased and the Sumerian language was no longer mentioned or used; but the system of writing which the Sumerians had devised continued in full use to the fall of the Babylonian commonwealth, and even lived on in the hands of the Indo-Europeans who came after them.²⁵⁷

The Babylonians had indeed conquered the Sumerians, but in a higher sense they had been conquered by them, and their civilization in general and their religion in particular owed a deep debt to this strange, almost unknown people who stand on the very confines of human history.

At about the beginning of the fourth millennium before Christ the Sumerian people, who had already attained a high civilization, found their land invaded by a vast horde of barbarians, for so these must have appeared to them. These were Semites, closely related in blood to the Arabs who once overran Spain and the Hebrews who once came pouring across the Jordan into Canaan. Whence these invaders came is not certain. It has been thought by some that they came from the northeast through the passes of the Kurdistan mountains, and that Babylonia was the land in which they had their first national development and from which they spread over western Asia to make great careers as Arabians, Canaanites, and Aramaeans.²⁵⁸ This view, once stated and supported with surpassing learning, is now almost abandoned, and but few great names may be cited among its modern adherents. A second view finds the original home of the Semites in Africa, either in the northeastern²⁵⁹ or northwestern part of the great continent.²⁶⁰ It were idle to deny that strong linguistic support for this view may be found in the recognized affinity between the Semitic languages and Egyptian, Coptic, Berber, and the Kushite (Bisharee, Galla, Somali, etc.) languages. But when all has been said in favor of this view there still remain more potent considerations in favor of a third view, that the original home of the Semites was in Arabia,²⁶¹ out of which they came in successive waves of migration to find larger and more bountiful

lands in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and even in the far western land of Canaan. This latter view seems ever to win new adherents and may be said now to be generally accepted by modern scholars. The Babylonians conquered the Sumerians, drove some of them out, destroyed others, and assimilated the rest. During the long course of their history they remained as unchanged and unchangeable as the Egyptians. They were powerful in warfare at first, but gradually cast aside the warlike spirit and became so devoted to the arts of peace as to be unable to defend their country from invasion, which happened again and again during their long history. Yet so great was their vitality and so marked their racial individuality that they always triumphed in the end and absorbed their conquerors. Just as their type, the distinctive Semitic type, prevailed over the Sumerian, so also did it prevail over the Kassites, Elamites, and that long line of lesser peoples who conquered them in part or settled among them peaceably. The Babylonians were devoted chiefly to religion and to literature, as their remains would seem to indicate. It was they who erected the largest temples that the world has ever seen, and as the materials used were perishable, ever reerected and restored them. It was they who provided these temples with books, liturgies, hymns, and prayers, and heaped up thousands of tablets recording all these building operations and giving glory and honor to the gods who had inspired the work.

Out of the Babylonian people sprang the Assyrians, for Assyria was colonized from Babylonia. Though of the same blood, the Assyrians gradually became a very different people. Less exposed to invasion during a large part of their history than the Babylonians, they remained of much purer Semitic blood. In religion, in language, and in literature they continued to the end ever dependent upon the southern people. Their climate belonged to the temperate rather than to the subtropical zone, and the inclemency of winters over at least part of their little kingdom served to toughen their fiber, while their early efforts at conquest gradually hardened them into the form which they bore during all their history. They became a military people on the one hand, and a commercial people on the other. Early accustomed to blood and fire, they became totally unlike the peace-loving Babylonians, and their history is filled with deeds of almost unparalleled savagery. Wherever their armies marched women were ravished, men were mutilated or flayed alive, houses and cities and fields of grain were given to the torch, and desolation and ruin were left behind. Yet out of this conquest they achieved empire, and sobered by its burdens, learned to govern as well as to destroy, and devised methods of subjection and of rule, which were afterward applied by a people who in certain respects much resembled them, the Romans. Along with this development in the arts of war and the practice of government there went a great growth in trade. The Assyrian traders invaded the whole East and took gain both from buying and from selling, from transport and from storage. They influenced the king to conquest in more than one instance that the field of their operations and the extent of their money getting might be increased. That they contributed to civilization by their barter and trade there is no doubt, and this result affords a bright contrast to the weary details of blood and fire which otherwise would fill the whole canvas. Yet, though thus given over in large measure to war and commerce, the Assyrians knew their lack and ever looked with envy to the superior civilization of Babylonia. Some of their kings imitated the Babylonians in the founding and storing of libraries with books of religion and literature and not merely with boastful narratives of bloody conquest. Others bore witness to the attractiveness of the Babylonian culture by conquering parts of that country that they might worship at its ancient shrines and add to their names royal titles, bestowed by all hereditary priesthood, which had come down from an immemorial past. Thus were mixed up in the Assyrian nature elements both of barbarism and of civilization, and now one and now the other is manifested in the work which they did in the world. But when the whole history is surveyed, as in a panorama, the barbarism must be admitted to prevail over the civilization and the total impression to be less favorable than that which the Babylonians make upon us.

Long after the Babylonians and Assyrians had risen to power in the world the great valley came to know another people who called themselves Kaldû, and were known to the Hebrews as Kasdim, to the Greeks as Chaldaioi (), from whom we have called them Chaldeans.

They were undoubtedly Semites,²⁶² for not only are their names purely Semitic, but their religion, manner of life, and adaptation to Semitic usages all bear the same stamp as those of the Semitic Babylonians. The origin of the Chaldeans is, like that of the Babylonians, lost in the past. They also probably came out of the heart of Arabia and settled first along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, pushing gradually northward until they held the country about the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. From that district they begin the long series of incursions which finally won for them the control of Babylonia, and made them the heirs of the Babylonian people in civilization and in empire. In the beginning they were nomads and tillers of the soil, but became men of the city and formed little city kingdoms similar to those which had existed in the early days of Babylonian civilization. The lines of their development were, however, more similar to those of the Assyrians than to those of the Babylonians. They developed military prowess and founded a great empire by the sword. Its extension toward the west was marked by bloodshed and the destruction of ancient centers of civilization. But later the objects of civilization were furthered by them and their kings became patrons of learning. In this latter stage they are perhaps to be regarded as having lost their national life and character and as transformed by the Babylonian civilization which they had conquered.

The Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, and the Chaldeans—these were the peoples who wrought out the history here to be narrated. Besides these there were many other lesser peoples who contributed to the movements which are to be told, but their characterization may best be left to the time of their appearance in the narrative, as they were secondary rather than primary actors in the great drama.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHRONOLOGY

UNLIKE the Egyptians, both the Assyrians and Babylonians, but especially the latter, gave much attention to chronology, seeking in a number of different ways to preserve the order of events and to construct a backbone for their historical recollections. The chronological material thus produced must have been very extensive, for the portions which have come down to us are silent witnesses of the yet unrecovered or totally destroyed materials of which they were but fragments. Our chronology of the history of these people must be based primarily upon their own chronological materials, but from certain of the Greek writers useful material is secured. All this material may here be grouped in order, accompanied by notes upon its value and use, as sources for chronology.

A.--BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS.

I. *Babylonian Chronological Materials.* The Babylonian priests, historiographers and chronographers have left us an enormous mass of chronological materials, all now in a fragmentary state, but showing clearly how much importance was attached by them to the arrangement of historical facts in due order of time. These original sources may thus be arranged

1. *The Babylonian King List A.* A brief list of the names of the kings of several Babylonian dynasties, now badly broken, with many names missing. By the side of each king's name is given the number of years of his reign, and at the end of each dynasty also a summation of the years of reign of all the kings of that dynasty.²⁶³

2. *The Babylonian King List B.* A list of Babylonian kings, containing the names and years of reign of the kings of the first and second dynasties, with the years of reign of each one, and also the summation as before.²⁶⁴

3. *A Babylonian Chronological Tablet of Dynasty I* (cited here as C).²⁶⁵ There has recently been discovered in the collections of the British Museum an extremely valuable chronological tablet, dated in the reign of Ammi-sadugga, giving lists of important events in the years of reign of all the kings of the first dynasty down to Ammi-sadugga. At the end of each list of events is given the number of years that each king reigned. The disturbing fact about this list is that the figures given in it do not tally with those given in tablets A and B. For example, in A and B, Sumuabi reigns 15 years, but here 14, so also for Sumu-la-ilu is here given 36 years instead of 35, for Sin-muballit 20 instead of 30, for Hammurabi 43 instead of 55, and for Samsu-iluna 38 instead of 35 years. Previous to the discovery of this tablet lists A and B had been followed as closely as possible by all chronologists. This procedure must now be changed and the new tablet considered, for it was written while this dynasty was still on the throne, and the summaries agree exactly with the yearly lists of principal events.

4. *Fragments of a Babylonian Chronicle (A, cited by some as S).*²⁶⁶ A badly broken tablet, containing originally six columns, of which only column V nearly complete, and parts of columns II and IV now remain. It contains in brief chronicle fashion mention of certain important events in the reigns of Babylonian kings of the dynasties of the Sea Lands and of Bazi.

5. *The Babylonian Chronicle (B).*²⁶⁷ A large tablet containing one hundred and seventy-six lines of writing, dated in the twenty-second year of Darius I, and containing brief chronicles of the chief events in the reigns of Babylonian kings from Nabonassar to Saosduchinos, and of Assyrian kings from Tiglathpileser III to Assurbanapal.

6. *Fragments of a Babylonian Chronicle of Nabonidus (Nab. Chron).*²⁶⁸ A small broken tablet containing a chronicle of events of the last years of the reign of Nabonidus and the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

7. *Fragments of a Babylonian Chronicle (cited as P).*²⁶⁹ An unbaked tablet, originally about eight inches square, containing accounts of expeditions made by some of the early Babylonian kings against external enemies. Less than one third of the tablet is preserved. That which remains begins in the reign of Kadashman-Kharbe, son of Karakhardash. The style of this chronicle is so similar to that of one of the Assyrian lists that it is probable the latter was copied from this.

Besides these direct statements made in inscriptions for purely chronological purposes the Baby. Ionian texts of other kinds, both historical and contract, contain numerous allusions to dates, synchronisms, and the like. The more important of these may here be grouped together with the necessary comments upon their meaning or bearing.

8. *A Boundary Stone Dated the Fourth Year of King Bel-nadin-apli.*²⁷⁰ In this text it is stated that from Girkishar, king of the Sea Lands, to Nebuchadrezzar I there were six hundred and ninety-six years. This does not seem like a round number, and if we could bring it to bear upon some fact already known to us, it would be extremely valuable. But the only king known to us (who is known as king of the Sea Lands) is Gul-ki-shar (or kur?) the sixth king of the second dynasty. The names are not identical, though they are judged to mean the same person by

several scholars.²⁷¹ Where so great doubt exists it is hardly safe to lay much stress upon the chronological statement here made. Future investigation will probably clear the matter of all doubt.

9. In an inscription of Nabonidus occurs this statement with reference to one of the early kings:

"The name of Hammurabi, one of the old kings, who seven hundred years before Burnaburiash had built E-barra and the temple pyramids on the old foundations, I saw therein and read."²⁷²

Like the preceding notice, this, also, is of doubtful application and therefore of doubtful weight. Two kings by the name of Burnaburiash are known to us, but as they reigned very close together, the choice between them makes little difference. They were contemporaries of Amenophis III, king of Egypt, and are to be located about 1400 B. C. If we reckon seven hundred years backward from this date, we get 2100 B. C. as the period of Hammurabi. This date is, however, irreconcilable with the Babylonian King Lists, according to which Hammurabi must be placed about 2300 B. C. No solution which meets the situation is yet proposed for this difficulty. The most tempting way out would be to change the length of dynasty III, given as five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months, for which Rost²⁷³ would suggest three hundred and ninety-six, but if this be done, we have simply altered our sources, and are reduced to conjecture. It seems wiser for the present to abide by the King Lists, and permit this round number of seven hundred years to stand as unexplained.

10. In another text of Nabonidus there occurs again a chronological hint:

"E-D U-BAR, his temple in Sippar-Anunit, which no king had built for eight hundred years, since Shagarakti-Buriash, king of Babylon, son of Kudur-Bel. His foundation inscription I sought, found, and read."²⁷⁴ Nabonidus reigned 555-539 B. C., if we count backward eight hundred years, we reach for Shagarakti-Buriash the period about 1355 B. C. The difficulty now appears of deciding who this king is. He must clearly belong to the Kassite dynasty (dynasty III), and since the name of Ku-dur Bel has been identified as No. 26 on the King List there seems little doubt that the king here meant is Shagarakti-Shuriash,²⁷⁵ some of whose inscriptions have come down to us. In the tentative chronology here given this king is located 1298-1286, which approximates with sufficient close-ness to the date given by Nabonidus.

11. In the same inscription of Nabonidus²⁷⁶ there is given still further a chronological note which carries us far back into the past:

"àthe foundation stone of Naram-Sin, which no king before me had found for 3,200 years--[this] Shamash the great Lord of E-barra. . . showed to me."

If we accept this, we are carried back to 3750 B. C. for the date of Naram-Sin, and, therefore to about 3800 B. C. for his father, Sargon I. Over this date there rages a ceaseless controversy. It was at first generally accepted, for example, by Oppert,²⁷⁷ Tiele,²⁷⁸ Hommel,²⁷⁹ and Delitzsch.²⁸⁰ Of these Hommel afterward became persuaded that the date was too high and proposed to reduce it to 3400 B. C.²⁸¹ Lehmann has argued learnedly for a reduction of Naram-Sin to 2750 B. C.,²⁸² and Winckler²⁸³ has expressed doubt about the matter. Positive proof on either one side or the other has not yet come to light, and for the present it seems best to hold the date 3800 B. C. tentatively, pending further light on the subject. It is indeed hardly probable that the historiographers of Nabonidus had before them lists which carried the dates backward to the exact number 3,200. It looks like a round number and was probably intended to be so taken. To cast it away altogether is, however, to leave us in the dark without a single definite point for reckoning.

12. Assurbanapal in his narratives of victorious campaigns in Elam has also provided us with a chronological note. He brought back to its place of origin a statue of a goddess carried away to Elam by Kudur-nankhundi 1,635 years before--²⁸⁴ that is, about 2285 B. C. This appears to be a valuable indication of time, for the numeral does not look like a round number, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. Neither is there any special difficulty in attaching it to the other historical and chronological facts.

13. Sennacherib also has left a very definite date in one of his inscriptions. He says:

"Adad and Shala, the gods of Ekallate, whom Marduk-nadin-akhe, king of Accad, in the time of Tiglathpileser, king of Asshur, had taken away and brought to Babylon, after a lapse of four hundred and eighteen years, I have taken out of Babylon and restored to Ekallate their place."²⁸⁵ This, also, like the preceding, appears to be not a round number, but the result of some careful calculation or to rest directly upon early documents. It has, nevertheless, been much doubted in quite recent times. Rost²⁸⁶ proposes to read 478 in order to bring it better into

relation with what seems to him to be the order of events demanded by other chronological facts. On the other hand, Lehmann²⁸⁷ proposes to read 318 instead of 418, because that figure appears better to fit the situation as demanded by the other facts. Neither of these attempts seems to be well founded. It is better to accept a number like this as final, even though it appears to be in conflict with the other facts in our very limited knowledge of ancient Babylonia. It appears on the face of the matter to be more worthy of credence than such round numbers as 600, 700, 800, and 3,200. If we accept it tentatively, it brings out our reckoning in this way: Sennacherib has dated the four hundred and eighteen years from the destruction of Babylon by himself. This took place in 689, and we should therefore be carried back to 1107 as a date during the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhe.²⁸⁸ To this date may be added another fact of importance for this reign. On a boundary stone of Marduk-nadin-akhe' there is mention of a victory over Assyria in the tenth year of his reign. It is most natural to connect this victory with the removal of the statues to which Sennacherib refers. This would make 1107 the tenth year of the reign, and therefore 1111 or 1116 the first year of his reign.²⁸⁹ This is a date that ought not lightly to be set aside, and the arguments brought against it by Rost and Lehmann do not seem to be decisive.

These are all the notices in Babylonian historical inscriptions which may be made directly applicable to the question of chronology. It has appeared in each case that they are not always to be reconciled with each other without some sort of forcing. Every chronological scheme that has been proposed has in some way made accommodations, either by altering the figures or by rejecting some of them altogether.

In addition to these King Lists, chronicles, and references in historical inscriptions the chronologist secures some aid from genealogical details. Thus a king often gives his father's name, and upon his father's inscription is found the name of the grandfather. By such simple means a whole dynasty may be arranged in correct order.

Even more important than this are external indications of age, and these may be divided into two parts: (1) The approximate date of an inscription, and hence of a king in whose reign it was written, may sometimes be obtained from palaeographical indications. A study of the forms of characters and the manner of their writing gives at times an indication of the period. Likewise, also, (2) the position in which an inscription is found within a mound is at times an approximate indication of age. Sometimes the finding of a text beneath the pavement of known age may be conclusive, but in general this kind of evidence, as also that drawn from palaeography, is rather precarious, being subject to too many possible interpretations in the hands of different persons. The greatest value of palaeography and of archaeology is found when they lend additional weight to direct statements in lists or in chronological texts.

If now we turn from Babylonia to Assyria, we shall find that this people, also, gave great attention to chronological details, and partly because we are nearer to them and partly because their monumental remains have reached us in a rather better condition we are able to come to conclusions rather more satisfactory than in the case of Babylonia.

II. Assyrian Chronological Material.

1. The Assyrians early constructed an Eponym Canon, in which were set down the names of the chief officers of the state in regular yearly succession. In this list the name of a new king was always entered in the year of his accession. There was thus provided an admirable method of preserving order in references to the past, and historical inscriptions, especially in a colophon at their conclusion, often mention the limmu or eponym of a certain year, just as they give the name of the king who was reigning. These eponyms were used therefore for dating, exactly as in later times the Greeks used archons and the Romans, consuls. A number of copies of the eponym canons must have existed, for numerous fragments have come down to us. These it has been possible to piece together the correct order largely by means of the Canon of Ptolemy, to be mentioned below. When so arranged the parts which have come down to us extend from B. C. 902, when the eponym was Asshurdan, to B. C. 667, when the eponym was Gabbaru.²⁹⁰

2. *The Assyrian Expedition Lists.* In addition to the Eponym Canon, which is characterized by lists of names only, the Assyrians drew up supplementary lists in which the names of eponyms were also given, and by the side of each name were added short notices of important events that fell in his year, such as expeditions to certain countries for the purpose of conquest. The fragments of this list which have come down to us begin during the reign of Shamshi-Adad IV (B. C. 824-812), and brief though they are, have proved of immense importance. On one of these fragments, by the side of the Eponym Pur(ilu) Sa-gal-e, there is mentioned an eclipse of the sun under these words, "In the month of Sivan there was an eclipse of the sun." Astronomical investigations have shown that a total eclipse of the sun occurred at Nineveh June 15, 763 B. C., lasting two hours and forty-three minutes, with the middle of the eclipse at 10:05 A. M. This astronomical calculation gave a fixed date for the year of that eponym and thereby fixed every year in the entire canon.²⁹¹

3. *Synchronistic History.* In addition to these important lists we have also lists of the synchronisms between Babylonia and Assyria, beginning with the peace treaties between Karaindash, king of Babylon, and Asshur-bel-nisheshu, king of Assyria. This synchronistic history is written in the style of brief chronicles, and is, also, unhappily fragmentary.²⁹²

Besides these lists and chronicles which were made for chronological purposes, there have also come down to us in historical inscriptions certain references which are valuable for chronological purposes. These may be conveniently enumerated as follows:

4. The statement made by Sennacherib (see under Babylonia No. 13, pp. 320, f.), from which we recovered the date 1107 in the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhe, is useful, also, for the chronology of Assyria, for from it we obtain the date 1107 as falling in the reign of Tiglathpileser I.

5. From the inscriptions of Sennacherib, and from the same period of his reign, there has come to us a note that assists in locating an early Assyrian king. At Babylon Sennacherib found a seal of Tukulti-Ninib with a brief inscription, to which he added an inscription of his own, so that the whole stood as follows

"Tukulti-Ninib, king of the world, son of Shalmaneser, king of Asshur, conqueror of the land of Kardu. Whoever alters my writing and my name, may Asshur and Adad destroy his name and land. This seal is presented, given, from Asshur to Accad.

"Sennacherib, king of Asshur, after six hundred years conquered Babylon and brought it away from the possessions of Babylon."²⁹³

If we add to 689, the date of the destruction of Babylon, this six hundred years, we get the date of 1289 as falling somewhere within the reign of Tukulti-Ninib.

6. In the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I appears this note concerning two of the early Assyrian rulers:

"At that time the temple of Ann and Adad, the great gods my lords, which in former times Shamshi-Adad, *isshakhu* of Asshur, son of Ishme-Dagan, *isshakka* of Asshur, had built, for six hundred and forty-one years had been falling down. Asshur-dan, king of Assyria, son of Ninib-apal-esharra, king of Assyria, had torn down that temple, but had not rebuilt it; for sixty years its foundations had not been laid."²⁹⁴

If now the date of Tiglathpileser is correctly determined above under No. 4, the addition of sixty years to it will give the date 1167 as falling within the reign of Asshur-dan and 1808 as falling in the reign of Shamshi-Adad. As the date from which Tiglathpileser reckoned back-ward is not certainly known, these dates may vary a few years in either direction, but will probably be a little higher.

With these dates the special allusions in Assyrian historical inscriptions, which are important for our purpose, come to an end.

It remains now only that we turn to those sources outside of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, which contain chronological material, which may be of importance in its bearing upon the native sources. Of these the first in importance which comes to us from the Greeks is in reality simply Babylonian, for it is based upon Babylonian documents originally.

B.--GREEK WRITERS.

I. *Berosos*. We have given attention above to the use of *Berosos* as a source for the history, and we must now turn to his chronological tables. In this is found one of the most difficult problems with which the chronologist has to deal. As has already been shown, the *Babyloniaca* of *Berosos* was divided into three books. The first book described the origin of the world and of man and continued down to the deluge. The second described the deluge and perhaps came down into the historical period; and the third book was devoted to the historical period.

The manner in which *Berosos* has come down to us has been already described, and that mistakes could easily creep in during such a process may easily be seen. In no particular would mistakes be more likely to appear than in the lists of figures in his chronological lists, and as a matter of fact the mistakes are indeed very evident. If we take up these books in order, we shall speedily see what material, if any, of value may be found in them. According to *Berosos* there reigned before the flood ten kings during a period of one hundred and twenty years. The *sars* is 3,600 years; that is, these kings reigned 432,000 years. AS these statements have come down to us both in *Eusebius* and in the *Syncellus*, they may be regarded as certainly coming from *Berosos*.

Book I. 10 kings = 120 *sars* - 432,000 years.²⁹⁵

If we turn to Book II, we find that there is a difference between the sources in which *Berosos* has been preserved for us.

According to the Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 147, line 12) there were 86 kings who ruled 34,080 years, to which is added also the explanation 9 sars at 3,600, 2 ners at 600, and 8 sos at 60 = 34,080. On the other hand, Eusebius (Chron., ed. Schoene, i, p. 26) says that these 86 kings ruled 33,091 years, which is, in all probability, simply a mistake for 34,091. There is therefore exactly eleven years difference between the Syncellus and Eusebius in this report, which would correspond to the difference between the death of Alexander the Great (323 B. C.) and the beginning of the Seleucid era (312).²⁹⁶

How are these figures to be interpreted? The most probable explanation is that first suggested, and later amplified and corrected by Alfred von Gutschmid,²⁹⁷ that the Babylonians had grouped their kings of the post deluge period in a cycle of 36,000 years. If now we take from this number the number 34,080 preserved by the Syncellus, we have left exactly 1,920 years for the historical list of kings.

If we could find the point at which these 1,920 years terminated, we shall arrive at the point at which Babylonian history begins. Many have been the views on this subject, but a consensus of opinion is now gradually forming as the result of a suggestion first offered by Peiser.²⁹⁸ There is preserved in Abydenus, according to Eusebius, this sentence, "Hoc pacto Chaldaei suae regionis regm ab Aloro usque ad Akxandrum recensent;" that is, "In this manner the Chaldaeans reckon the kings of their land from Aloros to Alexander." By the word Chaldaei is here meant doubtless Berossos, and from this we learn that Berossos had continued his history to Alexander, and the king here meant is certainly Alexander, son of Alexander the Great. Do the 1,920 years end here? It is probable that they do. It is indeed most probable that they extended down to the Seleucid era in 312, for Berossos would surely be glad to pay such a compliment to these rulers, to one of whom he had dedicated his book.²⁹⁹ If now we date backward from 312 (or 311, the date of Alexander's death), we arrive at 2232 or 2231 as the year of the beginning of Babylonian history according to Berossos. But immediately that we attempt to determine where to place this date in our Babylonian chronology difficulties begin. Lehmann would locate it during the reign of Hammurabi as the year when all Babylonia was united under one scepter and Bel-Marduk became the national deity. On the other hand, Rost would accept it as the date of the beginning of the first dynasty. There is no decisive argument in favor of either view, and it is easy to imagine that it may refer to some other event of consequence. It were folly to accept it to the exclusion of the dates which have come down to us from original Babylonian sources.

It is believed by some scholars (Lehmann, Rost, Alarquant) that the date 2232-2231 is confirmed from another Greek source, and this must be considered.

Simplicius in his commentary upon Aristotle's treatise, (De Caelo), says that Callisthenes had been asked by Aristotle to send to Greece any records of astronomical observations which he might find in Babylon. This Callisthenes did, after entering Babylon with Alexander the Great in the autumn of 331 B. C. Upon the authority of Porphyrius, Simplicius avers that Callisthenes found such observations extending back for 31,000 years.³⁰⁰ There is, however, grave doubt about this figure. A Latin translation by Moerbeka (about 1271 A. D.) reads 1903, which is in itself more reasonable. Furthermore, the reading 31,000, assuming it to be an error, can readily be explained on palaeographical grounds.³⁰¹ Lehmann therefore insists that the reading 1903 is original, and proposes to use it as dating back-ward from 331 B. C., which would yield 2233 B. C. as the date of the beginning of the observations. This would agree remarkably well with Berossos, and so confirm it from the astronomical side. But the difficulty about the text is fatal to confidence in it. The figure 31,000 is actually in our only original witness to the text, and it can-not be proved that 1903 was actually in the codex which Moerbeka used.³⁰² The numeral 31,000 in-deed is just such a number as is afforded by other of the Greek writers. Pliny states that the number of years given by Berossos was 490,000,³⁰³ and Diodorus makes it 473,000.³⁰⁴ The numerals in all these copyists of Berossos seem in a hopeless tangle, and it is useless to attempt to build any solid chronological structure upon them.

Having failed in this search for a starting point of Babylonian chronology by means of Berossos and Simplicius, we must search still further to see if there be left anywhere else in Berossos even one single point that might be useful in connection with the native sources. Schwartz has lately subjected the whole of the fragments of Berossos to a searching examination and arrives at the conclusion that the following scheme may be regarded as certain:³⁰⁵

I. 10 Kings before the flood

120 Sars = 432,000

II. 86 Kings after the flood.. 34,090

8 Median Usurpers 224 [2448-7 B. C.-2224-3]

11 Kings 248 [2224-3 -1976-5]

49 Chaldean Kings 458 [1976-5 -1518-7]

9 Arabian Kings 245 [1518-7 -1273-2]

45 Kings 526 [1273-2 -747-6]

III. From Nabonassar to Cyrus 206 [747-6 -538-7]

Total 468,000 =130 Sars

From Cyrus to Alexander's Death 215 [538-7 -323-2]

Grand Total 468,215

It is utterly impossible to reconcile this scheme with that which has been preserved for us by the Babylonian King Lists and Chronicles. We do not find the same divisions of dynasties in the latter, nor do we understand who are meant by the Median, Chaldean, and Arabian usurpers and kings. The learned and ingenious efforts made by Hommel³⁰⁶ to reconcile them are not generally regarded as at all successful, nor have later attempts been any more fruitful. Like a number of other problems, this must be left unsolved, at least for the present.

II. *The Canon of Ptolemy*. Among the works left by Claudius Ptolemy, an eminent Egyptian astronomer, mathematician, and geographer who lived in the second century A. D., is a (Canon of Kings), a catalogue of Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman kings. It is impossible now to determine the origin of this remarkable list. When tested by the native monuments it has in every case stood the test, and was extremely valuable in the early work of the decipherment, for by its use the order of the kings was first established. It begins with Nabonassar and ex-tends to Alexander the Great. It was plainly made for astronomical and not for historical purposes, and therefore only contains the names of those kings who began to reign with the beginning of a year and continued to its end. Kings who came to the throne after the beginning of the year and reigned but a few months are not named at all. For purposes of comparison the Canon of Ptolemy, with the Babylonian names, may here be set down.

THE BABYLONIAN CANON OF RULERS IN CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAUS.³⁰⁷

Length of Reign	Greek Forms of Names	Babylonian Forms of Names	Years B. C.
14		Nabu-nasir	747
2		(Nabu)-nadin-(zir)	733
5		Ukinzir-Pulu	731
5	æ	Ululai	726
12		Marduk-apal-iddin	721
5	æ	Sharrukin	709
2		àààà	704

3		Bel-ibni	702
6	<i>æ</i>	Ashur-nadin-shum	699
1	<i>æ</i>	Nergal-ushezib	693
4		Mushezib-Marduk	692
8	<i>æ</i>	àààà.	688
13	<i>æ</i>	Ashur-akh-iddin	680
20		Shamash-shum-ukin	667
22		Kandalanu	647
21		Nabu-apal-usur	625
43		Nabu-kudurri-usur	604
2	<i>æ-</i>	Amel-Marduk	561
4		Nergal-shar-usur	559
17		Nabu-na'id	555

This single brief list far exceeds in value all that remains of Berossos, and indeed all the chronological material in all the other Greek sources.

C.--EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

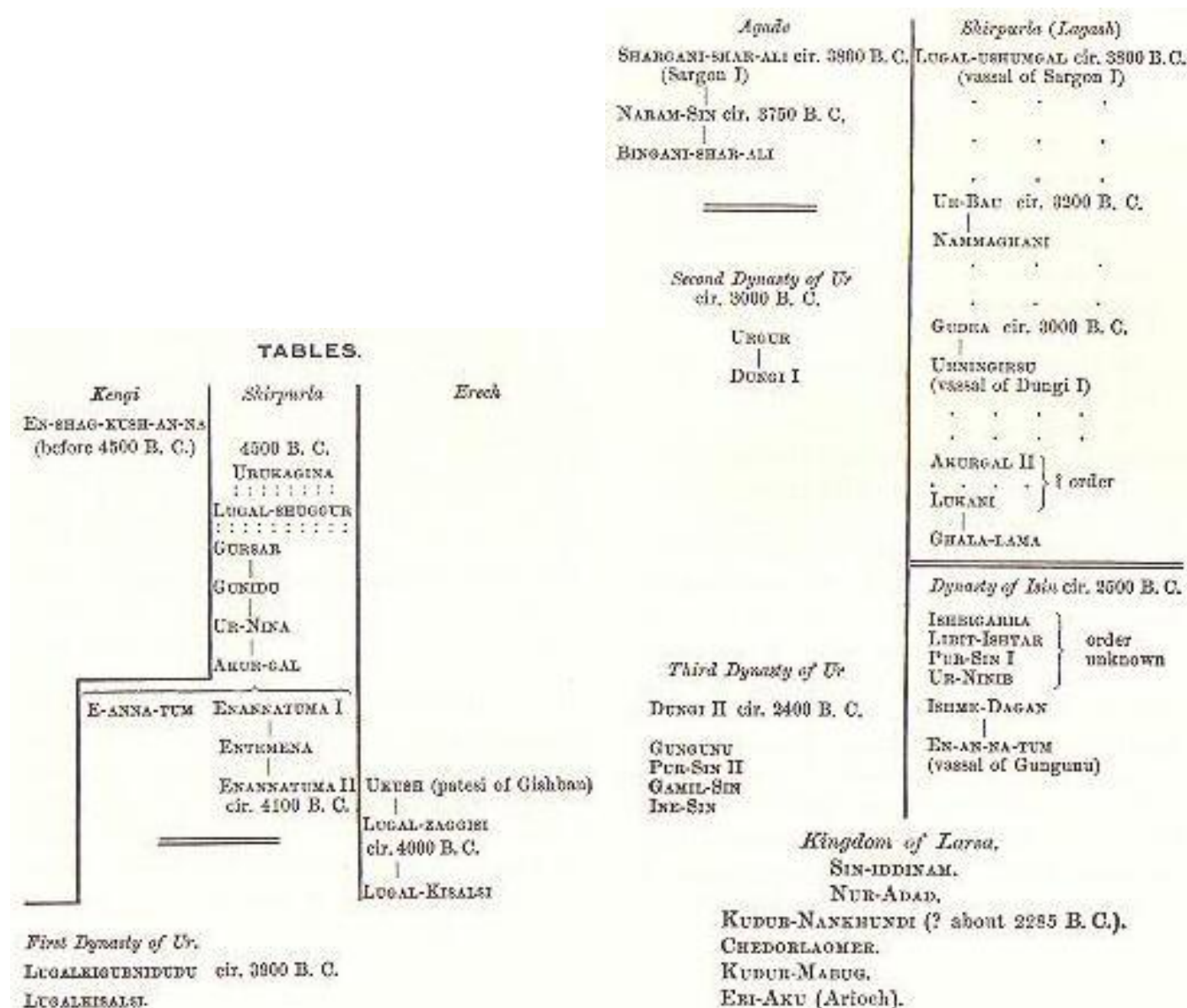
From the Egyptian inscriptions scarcely anything of value may be obtained for chronological purposes. The light which the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions has brought to the Egyptian texts is indeed far more useful than the converse.

D.--THE OLD TESTAMENT

Practically the same statement is true with reference to the Old Testament, the chronological materials of which were first set in their proper light through Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries.

If now from all these sources we essay the making of a chronological table for Babylonia and Assyria, it must be admitted that with respect to the former, at least, the result is not encouraging. Every effort to make all the facts which have come down to us dovetail accurately together has failed. These facts can only be reconciled by supposing error somewhere. Every investigator differs from every other as to the place in which he finds the errors; yet each feels confident that he has found the correct solution. For the present it seems unwise to attempt

to draw up a hard and fast list of kings in the early centuries by means of a system which rests on the acceptance of figures from some ancient documents and the rejection of figures from others. The only scientific course would seem to be to decline to force these figures into agreement, but simply to put down those which seem reasonably well attested, and to indicate those places in which they are in conflict with other figures. This we proceed to do, accompanying the dates in some cases with references to the sources enumerated above, and with explanations of the discrepancies. We begin here with the earliest known period.



Kingdom of Babylon
First Dynasty

			Length of year according to King List (years)
1	SUMUABI	2454-2440	15
2	SUMU-LA-ILU	2439-2405	35
3	ZABU	2404-2391	14

4	APIL-SIN	2390-2373	18
5	SIN-MUBALLIT	2372-2343	30
6	HAMMURABI	2342-2288	55
7	SADISU-ILUNA	2287-2253	35
8	ABESHU' (EBISHUM)	2252-2228	25
9	AMMISATANA	2227-2203	25
10	AMAIISADUGGA	2202-2182	21
11	SAMSUSATANA	2181-2151	31

The order of these names is taken from Babylonian King Lists A and B. The years of reign are those given in the King List. It is possible that some of the differences between these and the numbers given in Chronological Tablet C may be explained on the basis suggested by Sayce (Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archaeology, xxi,p.18), that in A and B allowance is made for rival princes who were deemed illegitimate and hence not mentioned by name, while in C we have naturally only the names and the years of legitimate rulers. For confirmation of this theory we shall have to await the discovery of new material.

Second Dynasty
Length of Reign

			Length of Reign
1	AN-MA-AN	2150-2091	(60)
2	KI-AN-NI-BI	2090-2035	(56)
3	DAM-KI-ILU-SHU	2034-2009	(26)
4	ISH-KI-BAL	2008-1994	(15)
5	SHU-USH-SHI	1993-1970	(24)
6	GUL-KI-SHAR	1969-1915	(55)
7	KIR-GAL-DARA-BAR	1914-1865	(50)
8	A-DARA-KALAMA	1864-1837	(28)
9	A-KUR-UL-AN-NA	1836-1811	(26)
10	MELAM-KUR-KUR-RA	1810-1803	(8)
11	EA-GA-MIL	1802-1783	(20)

These names with the numerals attached are found in Lists A and B. The length of several of the reigns seem exceedingly high, and there is

reason to doubt whether they are correct. It is also impossible to reconcile the total period of three hundred and sixty-eight with the facts learned from other sources, respecting the period which has elapsed between certain kings of dynasty I and dynasty II; as, for ex-ample, between Hammurabi and Burnaburiash (see above, I, 9, p. 316). Many efforts have been made to relieve these difficulties. Hommel at one time attempted to prove that this second dynasty really pre-ceded dynasty I; ³⁰⁸ he then later took the view that the second dynasty and the first were contemporaneous, ³⁰⁹ and that the second dynasty, so called, was really "entirely apocryphal." ³¹⁰ He has since come to the conclusion that "the first six and possibly, also, the last king (Ea-gamil, twenty years) should be retained, and the seventh to the tenth wholly rejected." ³¹¹ It does not appear that there is any good reason for rejecting all or any part of these names as apocryphal, but the figures which are attached to them may easily be wrong in whole or in part, just as the discovery of List C has shown that there are errors or, at least, irregularities in the Lists A and B respecting dynasty I. For the present the only safe position is one of doubt and uncertainty.

We may now turn with rather more confidence to the next dynasty. In it we come, for the first time, to a period in which native documents have preserved for us fractions of years. For this and other reasons the chances of error are reduced and a higher degree of probability in the result may be expected.

Third Dynasty. Kassites
Length of Reign

1	GANDISH	cir. 1782-1767 B. C.	16
2	AGUM-SHI	1766-1745	22
3	BIBEIASHI	1744-1723	22
4	DUSHI	1722-1714 9	(?19)
5	ADUMETASH	1713-	
6	TASHZIGURMASH.		
7	AGUM-KAKRIME		
	[Perhaps about six unknown kings.]		
	KARAINDASH	cir. 1450	
	KADASHMAN-BEL [formerly called Kalimma-Sin]	cir. 1430	
	BURNABURIASH I	cir. 1420	
	KURIGALZU I	cir. 1410	
	BURNABURIASH II [son of Kurigalzu]	cir. 1400	
	KARAKHARDASH	Cir. 1370	
	KADASHMAN KHARBE I		
	[SHUZIGASH or NAZIBUGASH, Usurper],	Cir. 1360	
	KURIGALZU II, son Kadashman-Kharbe I,	Cir. 1350	

	NAZIMARUTTASH, son of Kurigalzu II,	Cir. 1340	
	KADASHMAN-TURGU, son of Nazimaruttash.		
	KADASHMAN-BURIASH.		
26	KUDUR-BEL	About 1304-1299	6
27	SHAGARAKTI-SHURIASH	Cir. 1298-1286	13
28	BIBEIASHU	Cir. 1285-1278	8
29	BEL-SHUM IDDIN	Cir. 1277-1275	1 year 6 months
30	KADASHISIAN-KHARBE II	Cir. 1277-1275	1 year 6 months
31	ADAD-SHUM-IDDIN	Cir. 1274-1269	6
32	ADAD-SHUM-USUR	Cir. 1268-1239	(30)
33	MELISHIPAK	Cir. 1238-1224	15
34	MARDUK-APAL-IDDIN	Cir. 1223-1211	13
35	ZADIAMU-SHUM-IDDIN	Cir. 1210	1
36	BEL-SHUM-IDDIN	Cir. 1209-1207	3

The names in this list still offer many difficulties to the historian and chronologist. The names from No. 1 to No. 6 are drawn from the Baby. Ionian King List A, as are also the years of reign assigned to the first four. The provisional date for Gandish (1782 B. C.) is also assigned on the basis of the same list, which assigns five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months as the length of this dynasty. If now the date of the end of the dynasty be set at 1207 B. C., on a reckoning of the following dynasty (see below), and this year 1207 be the five hundred and seventy. sixth year, it follows that the dynasty must have begun in 1782 ($1207 + 575 = 1782$). The dates of the first four kings of the dynasty are computed on the basis of the length of their reigns given in the same list.

The kings from No. 26 to 36 are also put down as they are found in the same list, together with the years of reign computed in the same manner.

The arrangement of the kings from No. 7 to No. 25, inclusive, is in several cases extremely doubtful. They rest largely upon inscriptions belonging to several of the kings found chiefly at Nippur, and the reasons for the order here adopted are given for the most part in the history proper which follows, and usually in the footnotes or in the references contained in them. At the best the order, and in some instances the names them-selves, must remain doubtful until cleared up by monumental evidence.

Fourth Dynasty. Dynasty of Isin.

1	MARDUK (?)	cir. 1206-1189 B. C.	(18)
2	Four unknown kings.	1 cir. 1188-1183 B. C.	(6)
3	Four unknown kings.	1 cir. 1188-1183 B. C.	(6)
4	Four unknown kings.	1 cir. 1188-1183 B. C.	(6)
5	Four unknown kings.	1 cir. 1188-1183 B. C.	(6)
6	NEBUCHADREZZAR I,	cir. 1135 B. C.	
7	BEL-.NADIN-APLI,	cir. 1125 B. C.	
8	AAIARDUK-NADIN-AKHE,	cir. 1117-1096 B. C.	(22)
9	MARDUK-AKHE-IRBA?]	1095	(1 year 6 mos.)
10	MARDUK-SHAPIK-ZER-MATI 1094-1083. (12) [ADAD-APAL-IDDIN, usurper, not mentioned in King List.]		
11	NABU-SHUM (or-nadin)	cir. 1082-1075	(8)

For the arrangement of the fourth dynasty our materials are exceedingly scanty. The King List A is badly broken and but little can be made out of it. The first name is almost entirely destroyed, but the number of years is certainly fixed at 18. The numeral 6 attached to the second king appears also to be certain. From a monument of his own Nebuchadrezzar I is known, and Bel-nadin-apli from a boundary stone. Marduk-nadin-akhe is known from Assyrian synchronisms, and the years of reign, 22, appear upon the King List A. The location of Marduk-akhe-irba is exceedingly doubtful, but the numeral 1 year and 6 months is on the King List, as are also the numerals 12 and 8 which follow. The reasons for the location of the remaining kings are given below in the history.

The length of this dynasty has usually been given, on the basis of the King List, as 72 years and 6 months, but by a simple calculation Peiser proved that this was impossible, and suggested that it must be 132 years.³¹² After an examination of the passage he became convinced that it must be 132, and with this Knudtzon³¹³ agrees, as does also Lehmann, though the latter thinks that 133 is possible.³¹⁴ The date of Marduk-nadirs-akhe is made clear by the allusion of Sennacherib (see above, 1, 13, p. 320), and from that date it is possible to reckon downward to the end of the dynasty at 1075 and forward to its beginning (1075 + 131=1206 B. C.), though the latter figure is to be regarded only as tentative.

Fifth Dynasty. Dynasty of the Sea Lands

1	SIBARSHIPAK	cir. 1074-1057	(18)
2	EA-MUKIN-ZER	cir. 1057	(5 mos.)

3	KASSHU-NADIN-AKHE	cir. 1056-1054	(3)
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Both names and length of reign are taken from King List A.

Sixth Dynasty. Dynasty of Bazi

1	EULBAR-SHAKIN-SHUM	1053-1037	(17)
2	NINIB-KUDUR-USUR	1036-1034	(3)
3	SILANIM-SHUKAMUNA	1033	(3 mos.)

Both names and length of reign are taken from King List A.

Seventh Dynasty. The Dynasty of Elam

1	An Elamite [name unknown]	1032-1027	(6)
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The length of reign is given in King List A, but the name is broken off, and has not yet been recovered from any other source.

From this point onward there is a considerable gap in our knowledge of the Babylonian kings, and even the length of the gap cannot be definitely ascertained.

Eighth Dynasty. The Dynasty of Babylon.

NABU-BIN-ABLI	1026-991	(36)
Unknown King	990	8 mos. and 10 days
Several unknown kings, possibly four or even six.		
SHAMASH-MUDAMMIK	cir. 910	
NABU-SHUM-ISHKUN	cir. 900	
NABU-APAL-IDDIN	cir. 880	[at least 31 years]
MARDUK-NADIN-SHUM		
MARDUK-BALATSU-IKBI	cir. 812	
BAU-AKH-IDDIN	cir. 800	
Probably two missing names		
Probably two missing names		
NABU-SHUM-ISHKUN		
NABU-NASIR	747-734	

NABU-NADIN-ZER	733-732	(2)
NABU-SHUM-UKIN	731	(1 mo. and 12 days)

Our knowledge of the chronological order of the kings of this dynasty is exceedingly slight. The Babylonian King List A gives the length of reigns in a few instances, and these are set down. The position of the kings from Shamash-mudam-mik to Bau-akh-iddin is determined by the Assyrian synchronisms (see history). When Nabu-nasir is reached we come to the exact chronological material of the Ptolemaic Canon, which gives us the definite dates 747 and 733.

Ninth Dynasty

UKIN-ZER	731-730	
PULU (= TIGLATHPILESER III, of Assyria)	729-727.	
ULULAI (= SHALMANESER IV, of Assyria)	727-722	(5)
MARDUK-APAL-IDDIN (Merodach-baladan)	721-709	(12)
SHARRUKIN	709-705	(5)
SIN-AKII-ERBA (Sennacherib)	705-703	
MARDUK-ZAKIR-SHUMI	703	
MARDUK-APAL-IDDIN (Merodach-baladan)	703-702	
BEL-IBNI	702-700	(3)
ASHUR-NADIN-SHUM	699-694	(6)
NERGAL-USHEZIB	693	(1)
MUSHEZIB-MARDUK	693-690	(4)
SIN-AKH-ERBA (Sennacherib)	689-682	
ASSHUR-AKH-IDDIN (Esarhaddon)	681-665	
SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN	667-647	
KANDALANU (= ASHUR-BAN-APAL)	647-626	
NABU-APAL-USUR (Nabopolassar)	625-605	
NABU-KUDURRI-USUR (NEBUCHADREZZAR)	604-562	
A-AIEL-MARDUK (EVIL-MERODACH)	561-560	
NERGAL-SHAR-USUR	559-556.	
LABASHI-MARDUK	556	
NABU-NA'ID (Nabonidus)	555-539	

For this period the chronological material is abundant and extraordinarily accurate. The dates may be regarded as fixed with as much definite-

ness as may be expected in the history of the ancient Orient.

The Chronology of Assyria
Ishakkus of Asshur.

ISHME-DAGAN, cir. 1830.
SHAMSHI-ADAD I, cir. 1810.
Igur-kapkapu,
SHAMSHI-ADAD II,
KHALLU, (?)
IRISIIUM, (?)

Kings of Assyria.

BEL-KAPKAPU, cir.. 1700 B. C.
.....
ASSHUR-BEL-NISHESHU, cir. 1450 B. C.
PUZUR-ASHUR, cir. 1420.
ASSHUR-NADIN-AKHE, cir. 1380 B. C.
ASSHUR-UBALLIT, cir. 1370.
BEL-NIRARI, his son, cir. 1350.
PUDI-ILU, his son.
ADAD-NIRARI I, his son, cir. 1345.
SHULMANU-ASHARID I, his son (SHALJIANESER I), cir. 1330.
TUKULTI-NINIB, his son, cir. 1290.
ASSHUR-NAZIR-PAL I, cir. 1280.
ASSHUR-NARARA. NABU-DAIAN.
BEL-KUDUR-USUR, Cir.. 1240.
NINIB-APAL-ESHARRA, cir. 1235 B. C.
ASSHUR-DAN, cir. 1210.
MUTAKKIL-NUSKU, cir. 1150.
ASSHUR-RISH-ISHI, cir. 1140.
TUKULTI-APAL-ESHARRA (TIGLATHPILESER I), cir. 1120.
ASSHUR-BEL-KALA, cir. 1090.
SHAMSHI-ADAD I, cir. 1080.
ASSHUR-NAZIR-PAL II, cir. 1050.
ERBA-ADAD.
ASSHUR-NADIN-AKHE.
.....
ASSHUR-ERBI.
TUKULTI-APAL-ESHARRA (TIGLATHPILESER II), cir.. 950.
ASSHUR-DAN II, his son, cir. 930.
ADAD-NIRARI II, his son, 911-891.
TUKULTI-NINIB II, his son, 890-885.
ASSHUR-NAZIR-PAL III, his son, 884-860.
SHULMANU-ASHARID (SHALMANESER II), 859-825.
SHAMSHI-ADAD II, 824-812.
ADAD-NIRARI III, 811-783.
SHULMANU-ASHARID (SHALMANESER III), 782-773.
ASSHUR-DAN III, 772-755.
ASSHUR-NIRARI II, 754-745.
TUKULTI-APAL-ESHARRA (TIGLATHPILESER III = PULU), 745-727.
SHULMANU-ASHARID (SHALMANESER IV), 726-722.
SHARRUKIN (SARGON), 721-705.
SIN-AKH-ERBA (SENNACHERIB), 704-681.
ASSHUR-AKH-IDDIN (ESARHADDON), 680-665.
ASSHUR-BAN-APAL, 668-626.
ASSHUR-ETIL-ILANI, 625-622 (?).

BOOK II: THE HISTORY OF BABYLONIA

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF BABYLONIA TO THE FALL OF LARSA

THE study of the origins of states is fraught with no less difficulty than the investigation of the origins of animate nature. The great wall before every investigator of the beginnings of things, with its inscription, "Thus far shalt thou come and no farther," stands also before the student of the origins of the various early kingdoms of Babylonia. It may always be impossible to achieve any picture of the beginnings of civilization in Babylonia which will satisfy the desire for a clear and vivid portrayal. Whatever may be achieved by future investigators it is now impossible to do more than give outlines of events in the dim past of early Babylonia.

If we call up before us the land of Babylonia, and transport ourselves backward until we reach the period of more than four thousand five hundred years before Christ, we shall be able to discern here and there signs of life, society, and government in certain cities. Civilization has already reached a high point, the arts of life are well advanced, and men are able to write down their thoughts and deeds in intelligible language and in permanent form. All these presuppose a long period of development running back through millenniums of unrecorded time.. At this period there are no great kingdoms, comprising many cities, with their laws and customs, with subject territory and tribute-paying states. Over the entire land there are only visible, as we look back upon it, cities dissevered in government, and perhaps in inter-course, but yet the promise of kingdoms still unborn. In Babylonia we know of the existence of the cities Agade, Babylon, Kutha, Kish, Gishban, Shirpurla (afterward called Lagasb), Guti, and yet others less famous. In each of these cities worship is paid to some local god who is considered by his faithful followers to be a Baal or Lord, the strongest god, whose right it is to demand worship, also, from dwellers in other cities.³¹⁵ This belief becomes an impulse by which the inhabitants of a city are driven out to conquer other cities and so extend the dominion of their god. If the inhabitants of Babylon could conquer the people of Kutha, was it not proof that the stronger god was behind their armies, and should not other peoples also worship him? But there were other motives for conquest. There was the crying need for bread—the most pressing need of all the ages. It was natural that they who had the poorer parts of the country should seek to acquire the better portions either to dwell in or to exact tribute from. The desire for power, a thoroughly human impulse, was also joined to the other two influences at a very early date. The ruler in Babylon must needs conquer his nearest neighbor that he may get himself power over men and a name among them. Impelled by religion, by hunger, and by ambition, the peoples of Babylonia, who have dwelt apart in separate cities, begin to add city to city, concentrating power in the hands of kings. Herein lies the origin of the great empire which must later dominate the whole earth, for these little kingdoms thus formed later unite under the headship of one kingdom and the empire is founded.

At the very earliest period whose written records have come down to us the name of Babylonia was Kengi—that is, "land of canals and reeds."³¹⁶ Even then the waters of the river were conveyed to the fields and the cities in artificially constructed canals, while the most characteristic form of vegetable life was the reed, growing in masses along the water courses. More than four thousand five hundred years before Christ there lived in this land of Kengi a man who writes his name En-shag-kush-ana,³¹⁷ who calls himself lord of Kengi. We know very little indeed of him, but it seems probable that his small dominion contained several cities, of which Erech was probably the capital, and Nippur was certainly its chief religious center. Even at this early time there was a temple at Nippur dedicated to the great god Enlil, over which there was set a chief servant of the god, who controlled the temple worship, protected its sanctity if necessary, and was accounted its ruler. The title of this ruler of the temple, this chief priest, was *patesi*.³¹⁸ Naturally enough the man who held such an important religious post often gained political power. If the god whom he represented was a god whose power had been shown in the prosperity of his worshipers in war or in trade, it was natural enough that neighboring cities should come under his glorious protection, and that his *patesi* should stand in the relation of governor to them. Now En-shag-kush-ana was the *patesi* of Enlil, and the honor of that god was in his keeping. We do not know of what race he was. He may have been Sumerian, he may have been a Semite, or he may have been of mixed race, for that mixture of blood had already begun is shown clearly enough by contemporary monuments. But whatever his own blood was his people were Sumerians and the civilization over which he ruled was likewise Sumerian. But even at this early time the Sumerian vitality was dying out, and the day was threatening when a new and more virile people would drive the Sumerians out of their heritage and possess it in their room. Some individuals of this race were already settled in the Sumerian territory in the south, and others of them already possessed the great northern domain, which once had belonged to the Sumerians. Out of this period to which En-shag-kush-ana belongs we hear several echoes of the conflict that was already begun for the possession of all Babylonia. To about this period there belongs a little broken inscription written by another lord of Kengi, who has been trying to reconquer part of northern Babylonia which was already in the possession of these new invaders. These invaders were Semites, whose original home was probably Arabia, but who were now for some time settled northwest of

Babylonia and probably in Mesopotamia. They coveted the rich alluvial soil on which the Babylonians were living as well as the fine cities which already dotted it here and there. The Sumerians had probably once possessed this very land in which they were now dwelling, but had been driven from it by their resistless advance. It seems probable that the city of Gishban was one of their earliest possessions, and that to it they later added Kish, which became the chief city of their growing kingdom. While En-shag-kush-ana was lord over the Sumerian kingdom in the south the kingdom of Kish was threatening to overwhelm the whole of Babylonia. It was a successor of his, or perhaps a predecessor, who attacked Enne-Ugun, the king of Kish. Victory came to the Sumerians, and the king, whose name is yet unknown, came home, bearing with him the spoil of the conquered Semite--"his statue, his shining silver, the utensils, his property"³¹⁹--and set them up as an offering in the sanctuary of the great god Enlil, who had given him the victory. Well might the king of Kengi boast of a victory which must for a time at least stay the progress of the invading Semite.

It was, however, only a temporary reverse for this people. The Semites had the fresh power of a new race, and soon produced a leader able to strike the one blow needed to destroy forever the Sumerian commonwealth. There was a patesi of Gishban, called Ukush, and it was his son Lugalzaggisi who, when he had come to the rule over Kish and Gishban, went down into southern Babylonia and overwhelmed it. It was probably easily accomplished, for the work of the Sumerians was done. Yet theirs had been a noble career, and the people who had invented a system of writing that served their conquerors for thousands of years were a people who had left a deep impress on the world's history. About 4000 B. C. Lugalzaggisi made Erech the capital of the now united Babylonia, and Nippur readily became the chief center of its religious life. The language of the Sumerians was used by their conqueror in which to celebrate his conquest, and to their gods did he give thanks for his victories. It was they who had called him to the rule over Kengi and appointed unto him a still greater dominion. His words glow with feeling as he says: "When Enlil, lord of the lands, invested Lugalzaggisi with the kingdom of the world, and granted him success before the world, when he filled the land with his power, (and) subdued the country from the rise of the sun to the setting of the sun--at that time he straightened his path from the lower sea of the Tigris and Euphrates to the upper sea, and granted him the dominion of everything(?) from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, and caused the countries to dwell in peace."³²⁰ Lugalzaggisi made a small empire in one stroke, and his boastful inscription begins with a long list of titles "Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech, king of the world, priest of Ana, hero of Nidaba, son of Ukush, patesi of Gishban, hero of Nidaba, he who was favorably looked upon by the faithful eye of Lu-galkurkura (that is, Enlil), great patesi of Enlil."³²¹ The power of his name extended even to the shores of the Mediterranean, though, of course, he did not attempt to rule over so vast a territory.

Lugalzaggisi was succeeded on the throne by his son, Lugal-kisalsi,³²² and it appeared for a time as though the Sumerian kingdom was blotted out forever, and that no more than peaceful absorption into the Semitic life could await it. But a kingdom slowly built up during the ages often makes more than one effort to retain its life, and this was to be the case with the Sumerian kingdom.

Perhaps while Lugal-kisalsi was still alive a reaction began. The nucleus for it was found in an ancient kingdom, the kingdom of Shirpurla, whose chief city was Sungir,³²³ in southern Babylonia. Who had laid the foundations of either city or kingdom is unknown to us. We come upon them both in full power and dignity, about 4500 B. C. Urukagina then is king of Shirpurla, and he is engaged in the building and restoration of temples and the construction of a canal to supply his city with water.³²⁴ But it is only a glimpse that we catch of his operations in the far distant past, and then he disappears and for some time, perhaps a generation or more, we hear nothing of his city or kingdom. Then there appears a new king in Sungir, Ur-Nina. Like Urukagina, he also was a builder of temples, for which he brought timber all the way from Magan--the Sinaitic peninsula. There is no mention in any of his little inscriptions of war, and in his time uninterrupted peace seems to have prevailed.³²⁵ He was succeeded by his son, Akurgal, none of whose inscriptions have come down to us. After him came his son, Eannatum,³²⁶ who felt sorely the increasing pressure of the Semitic hordes, and determined to strike a blow against Gishban and its domination of Babylonia. The Sumerians won, and the bloody battle remained long famous in the annals of a dying people. Upon his return, covered with honor, Eannatum set up in the temple of his god Niu-Sungir a splendid stele³²⁷ in commemoration of his victory. Upon one of its white limestone faces stand two goddesses, before whom lies a great heap of weapons and of booty taken from the Semites. Above them is the totem, or coat of arms of the city--a double-headed eagle above two demi-lions placed back to back. On the other side of the stele is Eannatum standing upright in his war chariot, with a great spear in his hand, followed by his troops and charging upon the enemy. The plain is covered with the bodies of his enemies, and vultures fight with each other and devour the mangled heads, legs, and arms of the defeated enemy. Rude though it undoubtedly is, yet the execution bears witness to high civilization, for such execution could only be the result of long practice in the plastic art. By this one stroke Eannatum had freed Ur and Uruk from the Semitic invader and had imparted a fresh lease of life to the almost expiring Sumerian commonwealth. The new energy of victory was shown at once. Elam was invaded and Sumerian supremacy almost entirely reestablished over the whole of Babylonia and its tributary lands. The simple records of his deeds makes Eannatum one of the greatest conquerors of the far distant past. He was succeeded by his brother, En-anna-tuma I, and he by his son, Entemena, who has left us a beautiful silver vase with a brief inscription as well as fragments of vases which he presented to the great god Enlil at Nippur. After him came his son, En-anna-tuma II, who remains up to this time but a shadowy personality before us. With him we lose sight of the little kingdom of Shirpurla for a considerable period, and all our interest is transferred again to Semitic kingdoms in the north.

At about 3800 B. C. we catch a glimpse of an-other conqueror in Babylonia. At Nippur³²⁸ there have been found sixty-one fragments of vases bearing the name of the king Alusharshid.³²⁹ From the fragments of these vases a complete inscription has been made out, which reads: "Alusharshid, king of the world, presented (it) to Bel from the spoil of Elam when he had subjugated Elam and Bara'se." This inscription makes known the important fact that a king, living probably at Kish, had conquered part of the land of Elam and the unknown land of Bara'se (or Para'se), from which he brought back fine marble vases and dedicated them to the gods of Babylonia. It is significant that these vases are dedicated to gods at Nippur and Sippar,³³⁰ for in this we find indications of a kingdom which included northern Babylonia, Nip-Pull, Sippar, and extended its influence even over the land of Elam. And with these few faint rays of light from the north and its kingdom darkness again closes in upon early Babylonia.

Once more, at about the same period, do we get sight of a bright light in the gray dawn of history, and this time it is, not from Babylonia, but from Gutu, the mountain country of Kurdistan, from which the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers came down to Assyria and Babylonia. Here reigned a king whose words are thus read: "Lasirab (?) the mighty king of Gutu,... has made and pre-sented (it.) Whoever removes this inscribed stone and writes (the mention of) his name thereupon his foundation may Gutu, Ninna, and Sin tear up, and exterminate his seed, and may whatsoever he undertakes not prosper."³³¹ In itself brief and un-important, this little text introduces us to another land under Semitic influences at a very early period.

Manishtusu,³³² another king of the same period, has left us a mace head and a stele as memorials of his sovereignty, yet we have few clues to his personality.

Far away also from northern Babylonia, in the mountain country of the northeast, there existed at about this same period another Semitic kingdom, of which Anu-banini was king. His was the kingdom of Lulubi, and he a Semitic ruler. At Ser-i-Pul, on the borderland between Kurdistan and Turkey, his carved image has been found with an inscription calling down curses on whom-so-ever should disturb "these images and this in-scribed stone."³³³

Here, then, are several signs of Semitic power and culture in northern Babylonia and its neighboring lands. Some one of these centers of influence might become the center of a great kingdom that should again attack the Sumerians in the south. But this was reserved for a city which had up to this time produced no great conqueror. Out of the city of Agade came a man of Semitic stock great enough to essay and accomplish the task of ending finally the political influence of the Sumerians. His name is Shargani-shar-ali, but he is also called Shargina, and is best known to us as Sargon I. Most of that which is told of him comes to us in a legendary text-hardly the place to which one would commonly go for sober history. But a little sifting of this source speedily reveals its historic basis. The text,³³⁴ two mutilated copies of which are in existence, belongs to a much later date than that of the king himself. It was probably written in the eighth century B. C., and purports to be a copy of an inscription which was found upon a statue of the great king. The story begins in this way: "Shargina, the powerful king, the king of Agade am I. My mother was poor, my father I knew not; the brother of my father lived in the mountains. My town was A2upirani, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. My mother, who was poor, conceived me and secretly gave birth to me; she placed me in a basket of reeds, she shut up the mouth of it with bitumen, she abandoned me to the river, which did not over-whelm me. The river bore me away and brought me to Akki, the irrigator. Akki, the irrigator, received me in the goodness of his heart. Akki, the irrigator, reared me to boyhood. Akki, the irrigator made me a gardener. My service as a gardener was pleasing unto Ishtar and I became king, and during... four years held royal sway. I commanded the black-headed people and ruled them" In the fragmentary lines which follow the king mentions some of the important places conquered in his reign, and among them names Duril and Dilmun, the latter an island in the Persian Gulf. Unhappily this account does not enable us to construct a very clear idea of his campaigns, and we are forced to fall back upon a source which at first sight seems even less likely to contain veritable historical material than the legendary tablet which we have just cited. This is an astrological tablet³³⁵ in which the writer tries to prove by historical examples that portents are valuable as indicating the issue of some campaign. Each campaign was preceded by some portent, and after it is told the writer explains that Sargon invaded Elam and conquered the Elamites, or that he marched into the west and mastered the four quarters of the world; or that he overcame an up. rising of his own subjects in Agade. The fact that these details occur in an astrological text makes one wary of placing much reliance upon them. On the other hand, they are perfectly reasonable in themselves, and we should accept them at once from any other inscription.

It has been maintained by some that Shargina, or Sargon, and his great deeds are purely legendary,³³⁶ and by others that his deeds have been simply projected backward³³⁷ from some later king, and have therefore no historical value. There is, however, no valid reason for doubting the main facts concerning the king's achievements. That he actually existed is placed beyond all doubt by the discovery of several of his own inscriptions.³³⁸ One of these reads thus: "Shargani-char-ali, son of Itti-Bel, the mighty king of Agade and of theàof Bel, builder of Ekur, temple of Bel in Nippur,"³³⁹ and so bears witness not only to his historical existence, but also to his work as a builder. Of that tangible evidence has been found at Nippur. Far down in the mound is found the remains of a "pavement consisting of two courses of burned bricks

of uniform size and mold. Each brick measures about fifty centimeters square and is eight centimeters thick."³⁴⁰ Most of the bricks in this pavement are stamped, and a number of them contain the inscription of Shargani. shar-ali, who is thus shown to have laid down this massive construction, in which later his son also participated. No good reason for doubting that he was a great conqueror, east, south, and west, has been brought forward. On the other hand, when these same omen tablets refer to his son and successor they can be tested by texts of the king referred to, and prove to be worthy of credence. The allusions to these expeditions show that they were raids intended to gain plunder with which to increase the wealth and beauty of his home cities. It is not to be supposed that he succeeded in extending his dominion over lands so distant as northern Syria, but that the securing of great cedar beams from the Lebanon was the chief object of that expedition. A use for these cedar beams was soon found in buildings, "The great temple of Ekur to the god Bel in Nippur and the temple of Eulbar to the goddess Anunit in Agade were built by him."³⁴¹ Other allusions to buildings erected by him are also to be found in later inscriptions. In warlike prowess he was the model for an Assyrian king who bore his name centuries later; in building skill he was emulated by a long line of Babylonian kings even unto Nabonidus, who sought diligently to find the foundation stones which he had laid. In the omen tablet there is evidence of credulous faith in the signs of heaven, but that is surely no reason for doubting all that is told therein of Sargon. A lonesome figure he is, in the dull gray dawn of human history, stalking across the scene, bringing other men to reverence the name of Ishtar, and making his own personality dreaded.

Sargon was succeeded by his son, Naram-Sin (about B. C. 3750), who seems to have maintained in large degree the glory of his father's reign. The records of his reign are fragmentary, but every little piece bears witness to its importance. He is asserted to have invaded the city of Apirak, and to have carried the people into slavery after he had killed their king, Rish-Adad.³⁴² His chief warlike expedition known to us was into the land of Magan,³⁴³ which appears to lie in Arabia, near the Peninsula of Sinai. But he was still more famous as a builder, for he rebuilt temples in Nippur³⁴⁴ and in Agade, and erected at his own cost the temple to the sun god in Sippar.³⁴⁵ Be-sides these temples this great king laid the foundations and erected the enormous outer wall of Nippur-the great wall Nimit-Marduk. He first dug for his foundations about five meters below the level of the ground down to the solid clay. Upon this he "built of worked clay mixed with cut straw and laid up en masse with roughly sloping or battered sides to a total height of about 5.5 meters. Upon the top of this large base, which is about 13.75 meters wide, a wall of the same enormous width"³⁴⁶ was raised. The bricks were "dark gray in color, firm in texture, and of regular form. In quality they are unsurpassed by the work of any later king."³⁴⁷ Each of these bricks bore the stamped name and titles of the king. A king who could and did construct such massive fortifications must have possessed a kingdom of great political importance, of whose extent, however, it is now impossible to form a very clear idea. His chief city, or at least his original home city, was Agade, but he calls himself King of the Four Quarters of the World, in token of the world-wide dominion which he deemed himself to have attained. It is small wonder that a king who had thus won honor among men as a builder of mighty works and an organizer of a great kingdom should be deified³⁴⁸ by his followers and worshiped as a creator. Nothing is known of the successors of Naram-Sin except of his son, Bingani-shar-ali. The kingdom of Sargon and his son vanishes from our view as rapidly as it came, leaving not even a trace of its effects.

Sargon I had had as one of his vassals Lugal-ushumgal,³⁴⁹ *patesi* of Shirpurla, and it seems quite probable that after the end of the dynasty of Sargon and Naram-Sin the hegemony returned to the famous old city which had once stood at the head in the earlier day of the entire Sumerian domination. Whether that be the case or not, when we next get a clear view of Babylonia, long after the days of the kings of Agade, it is Shir-purla that we find in the chief place. Of the *patesis* of Shirpurla at this early date two are known to us as men of power and distinction, Ur-Bau (about 3200 B. C.) and Gudea (about 3000 B. C.). We possess a long inscription of the former, containing six columns,³⁵⁰ engraved upon the back of a small statue of the king, which has been wrought with considerable skill out of dark green diorite. Like other inscriptions of the same period, it contains but little material for historical purposes. There is no word of battle and war; all is peace serene in these ancient texts. It is not, however, to be supposed that the lot of these kingdoms was thus happy. It must always be remembered that even unto the end the kings of Babylonia did not write accounts of their wars. From other sources we know well that Nebuchadrezzar was a great soldier, but in only a single one of his own inscriptions does he speak of aught else but building of palaces and temples and dedications to the gods. Ur-Bau had, doubtless, his fair share of the tumults of a very disturbed age.

The inscriptions of Gudea are similar to those of Ur-Bau in their subjects, but they give us incidentally a glimpse into a wider field. Ur-Bau was succeeded on the throne by Nammaghani, his son-in-law, who was, perhaps, followed by Ur-nin-gal, and then comes a break in the list to be filled by one or more kings yet unknown to us. After this lacuna comes the mighty Gudea, a king great enough to prove that even yet the Sumerian factor could not be eliminated from the world's history. Like Ur-Bau, he was a great builder, and of his wonderful work his inscriptions are full. In the building of his temples Gudea was directed by a divine vision. The goddess Nina appeared to him in a dream and showed him the complete model of a building³⁵¹ which he should erect in her honor. In the execution of this plan he brought from Magan (northeastern Arabia) the beautiful hard dolerite out of which his statues were carved. From the land of Melukhka (northwestern Arabia and the Peninsula of Sinai) were brought gold and precious stones. These lands were not far from his own, but it is more surprising to read that he brought from Mount Amanus, in northwestern Syria, great beams of cedar, and in other neighboring mountains quarried massive stones for his temples. All these facts throw a bright light upon the civilization of his day. That was no ordinary civilization which could achieve work

requiring such skill and power as the quarrying or the cutting of these materials and the transportation of them over such distances. A long period for its development must be assumed. Centuries only and not merely decades would suffice as the period of preparation for such accomplishments. But it is also to be observed that the securing of these materials must have involved the use of armed force. The sturdy inhabitants of the Amanus would not probably yield up their timber without a struggle. One little indication there is of Gudea's prowess in arms, for he conquered the district of Anshan, in Elam.³⁵² This single allusion to conquest is instructive, for it was probably only representative of other conquests by the same builder and warrior. But in spite of this inference the general impression made by his reign is one of peace, of progress in civilization, of splendid ceremonial in the worship of the gods, and of the progress of the art of writing. As a warrior he is not to be compared with Sargon of Agade; as an exponent of civilization he far surpasses him. The successor of Gudea was Urningirsu, himself followed after an interval by Akurgal II, Lukani, and Ghalalama.³⁵³ But these later *patesis* were no longer free to do their own will as Gudea had been. With him had again passed away the independence of the ancient kingdom of Shirpurla.

The civilization of Shirpurla was, as we have seen, a high one. From the indications which we possess at present it would seem a far higher civilization than that of Agade, which had overcome it for a time. But it was not a Semitic civilization. All these inscriptions of the kings and of the *patesas* of Shirpurla are written in the Sumerian and not in a Semitic language. This also would seem to point to the conclusion that the Semites entered Babylonia from the north and not from the south.

From Shirpurla the power passed to Ur,³⁵⁴ a city admirably situated to achieve commercial and historical importance. The river Euphrates flowed just past its gates, affording easy transportation for stone and wood from its upper waters, to which the Lebanon, rich in cedars, and the Amanus were readily accessible. The wady Rummein came close to the city and linked it with central and southern Arabia, and along that road came gold and precious stones, and gums and perfumes to be converted into incense for temple worship. Another road went across the very desert itself, and, provided with wells of water, conducted trade to southern Syria, the Peninsula of Sinai, and across into Africa. This was the shortest road to Africa, and commerce between Ur and Egypt passed over its more difficult but much shorter route than the one by way of Haran and Palestine. Nearly opposite the city the Shatt-el-Hai emptied into the Euphrates, and so afforded a passage for boats into the Tigris, thus opening to the commerce of Ur the vast country tributary to that river. Here, then, were roads and rivers leading to the north, east, and west, but there was also a great outlet to the southward. The Euphrates made access to the Persian Gulf easy. No city lay south of Ur on that river except Eridu, and Eridu was no competitor in the world of commerce, for it was devoted only to temples and gods—a city given up to religion.

In a city so favorably located as Ur the development of political as well as commercial superiority seems perfectly natural. Even before the days of Sargon the city of Ur had an existence and a government of its own. To that early period belong the rudely written vases of serpentine and of stalagmite which bear the name and titles of Lugal-kigub-nidudn³⁵⁵ (about 3900 B. C.), king of Erech, king of Ur. We know nothing of his work in the upbuilding of the city, nor of that of his son and successor, Lugal-kisalsi. They are but empty names until further discovery shall add to the store of their inscribed remains. After their work was done the city of Ur was absorbed now into one and now into another of the kingdoms, both small and great, which held sway over southern Babylonia.

About a thousand years after this period the city of Ur again seized a commanding position through the efforts especially of two kings, Ur-Gur³⁵⁶ and Dungi. The former has left many evidences of his power as well in inscriptions as in buildings. Most probably by conquest Ur-Gur welded into one political whole the entire land of northern and southern Babylonia, and assumed a title never borne before his day. He calls himself king of Sumer and Accad. In that title he joined together two words each of which contained a history extending far back into the past. The word Sumer, derived from Sungir, as we have already seen,³⁵⁷ stood for the ancient Sumerian civilization, while Accad had come from Agade,³⁵⁸ the city that was once the leader in the new Semitic movement which was, to supersede it. In this new kingdom we may see the first clear move made toward the formation of the great empire that was to come later.

All over this kingdom which he had thus formed did Ur-Gur build great structures for protection, for civil use, or for the worship of the gods. In his own chief city of Ur he built the great temple to the moon god; in the city of Erech he erected a temple to the goddess Nina. At Larsa also there are found unmistakable evidences that it was he who built there the shrine of the sun god. When these cities are dug up in a systematic fashion we shall be able to obtain some conception of his activity in this matter. At present we are able to form a more complete picture of his works in Nippur than in Ur. In Nippur he built a great *ziggurat*, or pyramidal tower, whose base was a right-angled parallelogram nearly fifty-nine meters, long and thirty-nine meters wide. Its two longest sides faced northwest and southeast respectively, and the four corners pointed approximately to the four cardinal points. Three of these stages have been traced and exposed. It is scarcely possible that formerly other stages existed above. The lowest story was about six and a third meters high, while the second (receding a little over four meters from the edge of the former) and the third are so utterly ruined that the original dimensions can no more be given. The whole *ziggurat* appears like an immense altar.³⁵⁹ The defensive walls of Ur were also built by Ur-Gur, who seemed to be building for all time. Of his wars and conquests we hear no word, but, as has been said before in a similar instance, it is not probable that his reign was thus peaceful. It was probably built by the sword, and to the sword must be the appeal per-haps in frequent instances.

Ur-Gur was succeeded by his son, Dungi,³⁶⁰ who was also indefatigable in building operations. He completed the temple of the moon god in Ur, and built, also, in Erech, Shirpurla, and Kutha. These two names of Ur-Gur and Dungi are all that remain of what was perhaps a considerable dynasty in Ur. Their buildings and their titles would seem to indicate that they held at least nominal sway over a considerable part of Babylonia. It is probable, however, that they were contented with the regular receipt of tribute, and did not attempt to control all the life of the cities subject to them. Each of these cities had its own local ruler, who submitted to the superior force of a great king, who was to him a sort of suzerain, but on the least show of weakness any one of these rulers was ready to set up his own independence, and, if he were strong enough compel also his neighbors to accept him as suzerain. When the dynasty of Ur-Gur and Dungi was no longer able to maintain its position in Babylonia there were not wanting men strong enough to seize it.

After some time, when we again are able, by the means of monumental material, to see the political life of Babylonia we find that the supremacy has passed into the hands of the city of Isin. The kings of Isin whose names have come down to us are Ishbigarra,³⁶¹ Ur-Ninib,³⁶² Libit Ishtar,³⁶³ Bur Sin I,³⁶⁴ and Ishme-Dagan,³⁶⁵ who ruled about 2500 B. C. The chief title used by them is king of Isin, but some of them use the greater title, king of Sumer and Accad. All of them use the names of other cities in addition to that of Isin, such as Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and Erech. Their inscriptions give no hint of the life of these cities or of the never-ending struggles for supremacy that must have been going on. To their titles they add only an occasional allusion to building or to restoration. Ishme-Dagan is the last man of this dynasty to bear the title of king of Sumer and Accad; his son, En-annatuma,³⁶⁶ acknowledges his dependence upon a king of Ur who begins a new dynasty in that famous old city.

The third dynasty of Ur consists of Dungi II, Gungunu, Bur Sin II, Gamil Sin, and Ine-Sin.³⁶⁷ They began to reign about 2400 B. C. as kings of Ur, and to that add the curious title "King of the Four Quarters (of the world)." Where was the Kingdom of the Four Quarters of the World, and why do the kings use such a title? It appears much earlier in an inscription of Naram-Sin, and is applied also to Sargon after his three campaigns in the west, while an inscription of Dungi bears the same curious legend. Again and again in later centuries is the title borne by kings of Babylonia and Assyria. It has been thought to be the name of some kingdom with a definite geo-graphical location and a capital city. It has been located at several places in northern Babylonia, but without satisfactory reason. The title is rather the claim to a sort of world-wide dominion. Well indeed might Sargon use it after he had made expeditions into the west and laid the whole civilized world tributary at his feet. The use of the title by these kings may also imply some successful raids in the far west.³⁶⁸ If there were any such, no account of them has come down to us. Besides the usual records of their building we have from this dynasty only hundreds of contract tablets, now scattered in museums nearly all over the world. These tablets, uninteresting in themselves, are yet the witnesses of an extraordinary development in commercial lines. The land of Babylonia was waxing rich and laying the foundations for great power in the world of trade when its political supremacy was ended. The end of the dynasty, and with it the end of the dominion of Ur, is clouded in the mists of the past.

At about this same period there was also in existence a small kingdom called the kingdom of Amnanu,³⁶⁹ with its chief city Erech. The names of three of its sovereigns have come down to us upon brief inscriptions,³⁷⁰ the chiefest of them being apparently Sin-gashid. Unlike the kingdoms founded in Ur and in other cities, this kingdom of Amnanu seems to have exerted but small influence upon the historical development of the country. The name of the kingdom disappears, and is attached to no later king until it is suddenly used again by Shamashshumukin (667-647 B. C.),³⁷¹ but apparently without any special significance,³⁷² and rather as a reminiscence of ancient days.

After Ur, in the progress of the development of empire in Babylonia, came the dominion unto Larsa, the modern Senkereh, on the bank of the canal Shatt-en-Nil. The names of two of the chief kings of this dynasty are Nur-Adad³⁷³ and his son, Sin-iddin,³⁷⁴ but the order in which they stand is still uncertain. Both of these kings built in Ur, and Sin-iddin also founded a temple to the sun god in Larsa, and dug a new canal between the Tigris and the Shatt-en-Nil. This work of canal building, which became so important and so highly prized in the later history, begins there-fore at this early period. The king who built canals saved the land from flood in the spring and from drought in the summer and was a real public benefactor. The names of the other kings who ruled in Larsa and had dominion in Babylonia at this time are either wholly unknown to us or are exceedingly difficult to place in correct order.

The times were sorely disturbed and it is easy to understand why the Babylonian records are in such disorder as to make it difficult to understand the exact order of events. At this time a new factor in Babylonian history was making itself felt. Babylonia had long been the battle ground between the ancient Sumerians and the Semites. The day had now come when a new people the Elamites must enter the lists for the possession of the deeply coveted valley. The rulers of Elam appear to have made many attempts to get a hold upon parts of Babylonia. One of them was Rim-Anum,³⁷⁵ who actually did get control at about this time of some parts of the country, and was referred to in business documents as Rim-Anum the king. As no historical texts have come down to us from his reign, it is impossible to say how long he ruled or what influence he had upon the country.

To this same period of Elamite invasions belongs Kudur-Nankhundi,³⁷⁶ who made a raid into Babylonia 2285 B. C., reached Erech and plundered its temples, carrying away into captivity a statue of the goddess Nana. His influence upon the land was apparently very slight, for apparently no documents exist which are dated in his period. It is probable that he was not successful in establishing any dominion over the country at all. But his failure would not daunt other princes; the prize was great and men would not fail in its winning for want of a trial.

Probably soon after Kudur-Nankhundi the successful raid was made. The Babylonian inscriptions have preserved for us no mention of the king's name who swept down into the valley and carried all before him. The Hebrews among their traditions preserved the name of Chedor-laomer³⁷⁷ (Kudur-Lagamar) as the Elamite who invaded the far west. To him or to other Elamite invaders the weak kingdom of Sumer and Accad was able to offer no effectual resistance, and the kings of Larsa were quickly dispossessed. The Elamites in a few short years had swept from east to west, destroying kingdoms whose foundations extended into the distant past. Their success reminds one of the career of the Persians in a later day.

Under the rule of these Elamite conquerors Kudur-Mabuk³⁷⁸ was prince of E-mutbal, in western Elam. His authority and influence were extended into Babylonia, and perhaps even farther west. He built in Ur a temple to the moon god as a thank offering for his success.

He was succeeded by his son, Eri-Aku,³⁷⁹ who was still more Babylonian than his father. He extended the city of Ur, rebuilding its great city walls "like unto a mountain," restored its temples, and apparently became a patron of that city rather than of Larsa, though he still calls himself king of Larsa. The Elamite people were now become in the fullest sense masters of all southern Babylonia. Eri-Aku calls himself "exalter of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Accad," and so claims all the honors which had belonged to the kings of native stock who had preceded him. This invasion and occupation of southern Babylonia by the Elamites prepared the way for the conquest of southern Babylonia by the north and the establishment of a permanent order of things in the land so long disturbed.

With Larsa ends the series of small states, of whose existence we have caught mere glimpses, during a period of more than two thousand years. As Maspero has well said: "We have here the mere dust of history rather than history itself; here an isolated individual makes his appearance in the record of his name, to vanish when we attempt to lay hold of him; there the stem of a dynasty which breaks abruptly off, pompous preambles, devout formulas, dedications of objects or buildings, here or there the account of some battle or the indication of some foreign country with which relations of friendship or commerce were maintained—these are the scanty materials out of which to construct a connected narrative." But, though we have only names of kings of various cities and faint indications of their deeds, we are able, nevertheless, out of these materials to secure in some measure an idea of the development of political life and of civilization in the land.

As has been already said, the civilization of southern Babylonia, in the period 4000-2300 B. C., was at the foundation Sumerian. But during a large part of this time it was Sumerian influenced by Semitic civilization. The northern kingdom even about 3800 B. C. was Semitic. Intercourse was free and widely extended, as the inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin and the operations of Gudea have conclusively shown. The Sumerian civilization was old, and the seeds of death were in it; the Semitic civilization, on the other hand, was instinct with life and vigor. The Semite had come out of the free airs of the desert of Arabia and had in his veins a bounding life. It was natural that his vigorous civilization should permeate at first slowly and then rapidly into the senile culture of the Sumerians. The Sumerian inscriptions early begin to give evidence of Semitic influence. Here it is a word borrowed from the Semitic neighbors, there it is a name of man or god. This influence increased. Toward the end of the period the Semitic words are frequent, the Semitic idiom is in a fair way to a complete peaceful conquest, and political contest would bring about the final triumph of Semitism, though not the extermination of Sumerian influence. It remained until the very end of Babylon itself, and the rise of the Indo-European world powers. The conservatism of religious customs gave to the old language and the old literature, now become sacred, a new life. The temples still bore Sumerian names when Babylon's last conqueror entered the magnificent gates.

Concerning the political development we know altogether too little for dogmatic conclusions. The whole may be summed up in the following manner: The earliest indications show us the city as the center of government. The chief man in the city is its king, or, if there be no title of king, he is called patesi. When the surrounding country is annexed his title remains the same; he is still king of the city. But after a time a new custom comes into vogue. Ur-Ba'u is king of Ur, but he is more, he is also king of Sumer and Accad. By that expression we are introduced to the conception of a government which controlled not only segregated cities, but a united country, northern and southern Babylonia. The position of the capital was indeed fluctuating. The capital depends altogether on the king and his place of origin. The kingdom has its governmental center in Ur, but Ur is not its permanent capital. The capital is later found in Isin, and the kings of Isin are then kings of Sumer and Accad when they have conquered and bear rule in the north and south. This old title lives on through the centuries, and later kings in other cities are proud to carry it on their inscriptions.

This union of all Babylonia under one king was not the means of creating a national unity strong enough to resist the outside invader. Sumerian civilization seemed to have reached the end of its development as a political factor. The raids of the Elamites scattered and broke

its power, and the time was ready for a man strong enough to conquer the petty kings of Larsa, take the title of king of Sumer and Accad and make a strong kingdom.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST AND SECOND DYNASTIES OF BABYLON

THE origin of the city of Babylon is veiled in impenetrable obscurity. The first city built upon the site must have been founded fully four thousand years before Christ, and it may have been much earlier. The city is named in the Omen tablet of Sargon,³⁸⁰ and, though this is no proof that the city was actually in existence about 3800 B. C., it does prove that a later tradition assigned to it this great antiquity. At this early date, however, it seems not to have been a city of importance. During the long period of the rise of the kingdom of Sumer and Accad no king in the south finds Babylon worthy of mention, though Babylon must have been developing into a city of influence during the later centuries of the dominion of Isin and Larsa. From about 2300 B. C. the influence of this city extends almost without a break to the period of the Seleucides. No capital in the world has ever been the center of so much power, wealth, and culture for a period so vast. It is indeed a brilliant cycle of centuries upon which we enter.

The name of the first king of Babylon is given in the Babylonian King Lists as Sumu-abi (about 2454-2440 B. C.),³⁸¹ of whom we know nothing. We have likewise no historical inscriptions of his immediate successors, and our only knowledge of their reigns is to be obtained from the fragmentary notes of contract tablets, which sometimes give indications of the life of the people. From the inscriptions of later kings we also get word of some building operations of two of them. These kings are Sumu-la-ilu (about 2439-2405 B. C.), who built six strong fortresses in Babylon, and Zabu (about 2404-2391 B. C.), who erected in Sippar of Anunit the temple of Edubar to the city's deity. After Zabu there was apparently all attempted revolution, for we get hints that a certain Immeru³⁸² attempted to ascend the throne. His name does not appear on the King List, and it is probable that he was not able to gain a secure position in the kingdom.

The next rulers are Apil-Sin (about 2390-2373 B. C.) and Sin-muballit (about 2372-2343 B. C.), whose reigns are likewise unknown to us.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the large numbers of business documents which have come down to us out of the period of this first dynasty of Babylon, none of these rulers down to Apil-Sin is called king and Sin-muballit only in the form of a passing allusion in one single tablet. It is difficult to explain this fact unless we accept the view that the real kingdom of Babylon did not begin until Hammurabi had driven out the Elamites and so won for himself the title borne by the old kings of Ur, Isin, and Larsa.

The son and successor of Sin-muballit was Hammurabi (about 2342-2288 B. C.), with whom begins a new era. It is the chief glory of his name that he made a united Babylonia, and that the union which he cemented remained until the scepter passed from Semitic hands to another race. In this he far exceeded the success of Sargon and Lugalzaggisi, whose empires were of but short duration. Yet he had even greater difficulties to meet than they. The Elamites were firmly fastened in the country, and would hardly give it up without a struggle. The activity displayed by these Elamite princes in building was an indication of how much they valued their new possessions. We are not yet in possession of facts enough to enable us to follow the movements of Hammurabi in his conquest of the country. The struggle was probably brief and without distinction. The people of the kingdom of Sumer and Accad had no genuine national life, no divine patriotism. When one king passed they cared not, and as willingly paid taxes to another, if only he made them no heavier. The Elamites were soon driven out of Babylonia, and Hammurabi assumed the titles of king of Sumer and Accad, king of the Four Quarters of the World, as well as the old title, king of Babylon. The ready acquiescence of the people in the new rule of Hammurabi and the new leadership of the city of Babylon is shown conclusively by the entire absence of any uprising or of any attempt to throw off the yoke. The time was ripe for the overturning of the old Sumerian state, and in Hammurabi was found the man for the new era. The manner of the conquest is unknown to us, and in the knowledge of the fact we must rest content.

We know very little about the government of the country which Hammurabi had thus organized into a consolidated kingdom or empire. That he had petty princes or viceroys under him is made clear by sundry letters and dispatches to such officials which have come down to us.³⁸³ But it is still impossible so to order these little fragments as to gain complete or satisfying pictures of his relation to them. If Hammurabi be the same person as Amraphel, who is mentioned in the Hebrew traditions (Gen. xiv), and many suppose, with considerable reason, that he is,³⁸⁴ we have there evidence that he was deemed in a later period to have had a considerable body of allies with whom he was associated in campaigns in the west. Of these who are thus mentioned Chedorlaomer has not yet been identified on any Babylonian inscription of an early date, though the name may well correspond with a form Kudur-lagamar,³⁸⁵ for both parts of which there is ample support. On an inscription of late date (about 300 B. C.) a name has been found which, whether it be read Kudur-nuchgamar, or Kudur-lugkgamar, or what not, almost certainly represents Chedorlaomer. The name of Tidal, king of Goiim, has not yet been certainly identified; but in this same inscription a

certain "Tudchula, son of Gazza," appears to be mentioned, who possibly represents Tidal.³⁸⁶ Arioch, king of Ellasar, is certainly to be identified with Eri-Aku, son of Kudur-Mabuk, the well-known king of Larsa. The narrative of their campaigns in the west accords well with what we know of the general situation, but forms only an episode in Babylonian history, and cannot now be satisfactorily related to the general movements of the time.

As soon as the conquest of Sumer and Accad was completed Hammurabi showed himself the statesman even more than the soldier. He displayed extraordinary care in the development of the resources of the land, and in thus increasing the wealth and comfort of the inhabitants. The chiefest of his great works is best described in his own ringing words--the words of a conqueror, a statesman, and a patriot: "Hammurabi, the powerful king, king of Babylon,... when Anu and Bel gave unto me to rule the land of Sumer and Accad, and with their scepter filled my hands, I dug the canal Hammurabi, the Blessing-of-Men, which bringeth the water of the overflow unto the land of Sumer and Accad. Its banks upon both sides I made arable land; much seed I scattered upon it. Lasting water I provided for the land of Sumer and Accad. The land of Sumer and Accad, its separated peoples I united, with blessings and abundance I endowed them, in peaceful dwellings I made them to live."³⁸⁷ This was no idle promise made to the people before the union of Sumer and Accad under the hegemony of Babylon, but the actual accomplishment of a man who knew how to knit to himself and his royal house the hearts of the people of a conquered land. There is a world of wisdom in the deeds of this old king. No work could possibly have been performed by him which would bring greater blessing than the building of a canal by which a nearly rainless land could be supplied with abundant water. After making the canal, Hammurabi followed the example of his predecessors in Babylonia and carried out extensive building operations in various parts of the land. On all sides we find evidences of his efforts in this work. In Babylon itself he erected a great granary for the storing of wheat against times of famine--a work of mercy as well as of necessity, which would find prompt recognition among oriental peoples then as now. The temples to the sun god in Larsa and in Sippar were rebuilt by him; the walls of the latter city were reconstructed "like a great mountain"--to use his own phrase--and the city was enriched by the construction of a new canal. The great temples of E-sagila in Babylon and E-zida in the neighboring Borsippa showed in increased size and in beauty the influence of his labors. There is evidence, also, that he built for himself a palace at the site now marked by the ruin of Kalwadha, near Baghdad.

But these buildings are only external evidences of the great work wrought in this long reign for civilization. The best of the culture of the ancient Sumerians was brought into Babylon, and there carefully conserved. What this meant to the centuries that came after is shown clearly in the later inscriptions. To Babylon the later kings of Assyria look constantly as to the real center of culture and civilization. No Assyrian king is content with Nineveh and its glories, great though these were in later days; his greatest glory came when he could call himself king of Babylon, and perform the symbolic act of taking hold of the hands of Bel-Marduk. Nineveh was the center of a kingdom of warriors, Babylon the abode of scholars; and the wellspring of all this is to be found in the work of Hammurabi.

But if the kings of Assyria looked to Babylon with longing eyes, yet more did later kings in the city of Babylon itself look back to the days of Hammurabi as the golden age of their history. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar acknowledged his position in the most flattering way, for they imitated in their inscriptions the very words and phrases in which he had described his building, and, not satisfied with this, even copied the exact form of his tablets and the style of their writing. In building his plans were followed, and in rule and administration his methods were imitated. His works and his words entitle him to rank as the real founder of Babylon.³⁸⁸ Hammurabi reigned fifty-five years according to the King Lists, but forty-three years according to a native document which comes to us from his own dynasty.

When the long reign was ended the son of Hammurabi entered into his father's labors. Samsu-iluna (about 2287-2253) seems to have followed closely in the footsteps of Hammurabi. He tells us of building in Nippur and in other cities--some of them still unknown to us--of increasing the size of Babylon itself, and of continuing the works upon canals.³⁸⁹ The profound peace which Hammurabi achieved by arms continues through his reign and into the reigns of his successors. We have no historical inscriptions, for the records which have come down from their reigns are the so-called contract or business tablets, from which no connected story has yet been made out. From them we learn of the high civilization of the country and of its continued prosperity. The names of these kings, with their approximate dates, can only be set down until some future discovery reveals records with a historical meaning.

Abeshu' (Ebishum), about 2252-2228 B. C.

Ammitatana, about 2227-2203 B. C.

Ammisadugga, about 2202-2182 B. C.

Samsusatana, about 2181-2115 B. C.

The names of the kings of this dynasty are very peculiar when one thinks that they are set down as native rulers over the city of Babylon. The

origin of Zabu and its meaning are very doubtful, Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit are good Babylonian names, but the other eight are most certainly not Babylonian at all. This at once raises the question as to the nationality or race of these kings. The names would seem to suggest that the men who bore them were not Babylonian, but had come from some other branch of the great Semitic family. This seems now to be quite probable. Their names are for the most part to be connected with the Canaanite branch of the Semitic family, and it seems probable that they owe their origin to an invasion of Babylonia by the same race that peopled the highlands of Canaan. How and when they settled in Babylon remains obscure. According to the King Lists this dynasty was followed immediately by the second dynasty, which in all things must have been very like its predecessor. It is called the dynasty of Uru-Azag,³⁹⁰ and it has been conjectured that this refers to a district of the city of Babylon. This would make this dynasty consist of native princes, who had originated in a separate part of the city, by which they are named. The names of these kings and the length of their reigns are here given:

1	An-ma-an, about	2150-2091	(60)
2	Ki-an-ni-bi	2090-2035	(56)
3	Dam-ki-ilu-shu	2034-2009	(26)
4	Ish-ki-bal	2008-1994	(15)
5	Shu-ush-shi	1993-1970	(24)
6	Gul-ki-shar (? Kur)	1969-1915	(55)
7	Kir-gal-dara-bar	1914-1865	(50)
8	A-dara-kalama	1864-1837	(28)
9	A-kur-ul-an-na	1836-1811	(26)
10	Me-lam-kur-kur-ra	1810-1803	(8)
11	Ea-ga-mil	1802-1783	(20)
			368 years

We owe this list of kings and the length of each reign to the Babylonian historians.³⁹¹ It is certainly a surprising list of years of reign. As our confidence in the length of reigns given to kings in the first dynasty has been somewhat shaken by the discovery of the Babylonian Chronicle, in which Hammurabi receives forty-three years instead of fifty-five years, we may feel a reasonable doubt as to the accuracy of these long reigns. No inscriptions of any of these kings have yet been found, and no business documents dated in their reigns have come to light. It is not therefore to be argued that the kings had no existence. Inscriptions of theirs may readily be supposed to be still in existence in the vast stores yet unearthed, or reasons may easily be found for supposing that a systematic effort had been made to destroy all their records. It has been supposed that during, perhaps, the latter part of this term the disturbances and movements began which resulted in the removal of all rule from the hands of the Babylonians and the transfer of it to invaders from the Kassite country. However that may be, a long period elapsed from the days of Hammurabi until the passing of power into the hands of foreigners. Hammurabi had indeed builded well. North and south together acknowledged the dominion of his successors. Peace at home and abroad gave leisure for the pursuit of literature, art, and science. This great silent period gives the necessary time for the progress in all these things, which is evidenced by the works no less than the words of the following centuries. From the peace and stability which his genius achieved we must now turn to the turmoil which ensued

when his influence was finally overcome. Yet it was overcome in part only; the city of Babylon, which he had made great, so continued. Its supremacy there was none to question. It was only the constant effort of men to possess it and all that its traditions covered and contained.

CHAPTER III

THE KASSITE DYNASTY

AT about the year 1783 ends the long period of stable peace, during which Babylonia was ruled by kings of native blood. This land of great fertility had tempted often enough the hardy mountaineers of Elam, even as in later centuries the fair plains of northern Italy were coveted by the Teutons, who surveyed them from the mountains above. As long as the influence of Hammurabi and the other founders of the united kingdom of Babylonia remained the country was able to defy any invader. But the development of the arts, the progress of civilization, and the increase of trade and commerce had weakened the military arm. Babylon was becoming like Tyre of later days, whose merchants were always willing to pay tribute to a foreign foe rather than run the risk of a war which might injure their trade. At this time, however, Babylon still possessed patriotism and national pride, and there is no reason to believe that the foreigner seated himself upon the proud throne of the Babylonians without difficulty. It is indeed unlikely that the conquest of Babylon was achieved by a definitely organized army, led by a commander who purposed making himself king of Babylon, while still continuing to reign in his own country. It is rather the migration of a strong, fresh people which here confronts us. This people is called the Kasshu, and their previous seat was in Elam, but it is difficult to localize them more perfectly. It seems probable that they stood in some relation to the people dwelling along the banks of the Zagros, who became famous in later times under the name of the Kossoeans³⁹² (), and it has even been suggested that they are, in some way, to be connected with another people, the Kissians (), who were at one time settled in the country of Susiana,³⁹³ but are also believed to be mentioned in Cappadocia.³⁹⁴ In the present state of our knowledge we are not justified in identifying them positively with either or both of these peoples. It will be safer simply to call them Kassites, and thus leave their racial affinity an open question. Certain indications there are which seem to show that they did not come direct from their ancient home into Babylonia, but were settled first in the far south, near the Persian Gulf. They entered Babylon probably as roving bands, then in increased numbers overran the land and gained control, so that they set up a foreign dynasty in place of the previous native Babylonian rule.

Concerning this Kassite dynasty our knowledge is very unsatisfactory. The Babylonian historians preserved in their King Lists the names of all these kings, but unhappily this list, in the form in which we possess it, is badly broken and many of the names are lost. The list assigns to this dynasty five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months.³⁹⁵ On this representation the Kassites must have ruled from about 1782 B. C. to about 1207 B. C. During this long period the Kassites naturally did not remain foreigners, but were rapidly assimilated to Babylonian culture as well as to Babylonian usages. They naturally wrote inscriptions, as their predecessors had done; they built buildings and worshiped the Babylonian gods. But their rule did not bring forth so rich a fruit as Hammurabi's had done, and the records that have come down to us are much more fragmentary. Of only one king in this dynasty do we possess any long historical inscription, and his name does not appear upon the King List, but stood where the list is broken beyond hope of restoration. The correspondence of some of the kings with kings of Egypt has been preserved, and by it a most welcome light is shed upon the obscure period. We possess only contract tablets of other kings, the number of which will be largely increased by the publication of tablets that have been found at Nippur.

The names of the first kings in the list are:

				Length of Reign
1	Gandish ³⁹⁶	Perhaps about	1782-1767 B. C.	16
2	Agum-shi	Perhaps about	1766-1745 B. C.	22
3	Bibeiashi ³⁹⁷	Perhaps about	1744-1723 B. C.	22
4	Dushi ³⁹⁸	Perhaps about	1722-1714 B. C.	(9) (19?)
5	Adumetash ³⁹⁹	Perhaps about	1713	

6	Tashzigurumash ⁴⁰⁰			
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To us these names convey no real meaning. They are only shadows of men. The name of the first king also appears in a votive tablet under the form Gande, and in still another little fragment as Gaddash. He gives honor to the great god Bel, and wrote his name and titles on the door sockets set up by former Babylonian kings. But his name is not written in the same skillful manner as of former worthies. The rude workmanship is eloquent of the change which had come through a ruder race. The world's progress was put back when the Kassites come to rule in Babylon.

But, though we know so little about this king Gandish, we know even less about his followers for a long time. These six kings fill a blank space in the history which had been all aglow with life and color in the days of the first dynasty.

After the sixth name the Babylonian King List is hopelessly broken, and no names can be read for a considerable space. It seems probable that Tashzi-gurumash may be the same as the king from whom Agum-kakrime claims descent. If this be true, we may have found by this means the name of the next king on the list. There belonged to the library of Assurbanapal a long inscription⁴⁰¹ in Assyrian characters which purports to be a copy of an inscription of an early king of Babylon. Certain peculiarities of the Assyrian text make it much more probable that it is a translation from Sumerian.⁴⁰² The king whose deeds it recounts was Agum-kakrime. In this text he calls himself the son of Tashshigurumash. It is very tempting to connect this Tashshigurumash with the sixth name in the list of kings, and this is now generally done. It is probably right, yet it must be admitted that it is still somewhat doubtful. If Agum-kakrime were really the son of King Tashshigurumash, it is natural to suppose that with his father's name in his inscription would stand the title of king, which is not the case. The entire inscription sounds rather like the text of an usurper who is attempting to bolster up his claims to the throne by sounding titles and genealogical connections, as was done in certain cases in later times.⁴⁰³

Whether Agum-kakrime was the next name in the list or not, it seems almost certain that he must have belonged to this same period and his name must have followed very shortly upon the list. In his inscription, after giving all his connections of blood and all his ties to the gods, he sets forth the lands of his rule in these words: "King of Kasshu and Accad; king of the broad land of Babylon; who caused much people to settle in the land of Ashnunnak; king of Padan and Alvan; king of the land Guti, wide extended peoples; a king who rules the Four Quarters of the World am I." This is a remarkable list of titles. It is at once noteworthy that the titles do not follow the usual Babylonian order. Usually a Babylonian king would write the title in this fashion: "King of Babylon, king of the Four Quarters of the World, king of Sumer and Accad, king of Kasshu." The titles "king of Padan and Alvan, king of Guti, etc.," would hardly have been used in this form at all. The Babylonian kings would seem to feel that they could not bear direct rule over a land lying outside of the rule of the Babylonian gods who alone could give the title to a king in Babylon. Rather would such a king have called himself "King of the kings of Padan, Alvan, and Guti," which lands he would thus rule through a deputy appointed by himself. It is to be observed that later Kassite kings conformed very carefully to this custom.⁴⁰⁴ That Agum-kakrime violated it is another proof that he belongs to the earlier kings of the dynasty, in a time before the Kassites had accommodated themselves to the customs of their conquered land.

But the titles of Agum-kakrime serve another and larger purpose for us than the furnishing of a confirmation of the position we have assigned him in the dynasty; they furnish us with a view of the extent of territory governed from Babylon during his reign. His kingdom covers all Babylonia, both north and south, which belonged to the ancient empire of Hammurabi; but it far exceeded these bounds. Agum-kakrime still continued to rule the land of Kasshu, and the land of Ashnunnak. Guti also, a land of which we have heard nothing since the days of Lasirab, was also subject to him, as well as Padan, the land of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Balikh, and Alvan (modern *Holwan*), which was contiguous to Guti and lay in the mountains of Kurdistan. As there is no indication in the inscriptions of the previous dynasties that so large a territory had been added to Babylonia since the days of Hammurabi, we are shut up to the view that the Kassites had themselves achieved it. This would make them greater conquerors than even the mighty founder of Babylon's greatness.

The major part of this inscription of Agum-kakrime deals with the restoration to Babylon of some gods which had been carried away in a previous raid upon the country. Agum-kakrime says that he sent an embassy to the far away land of Khani,⁴⁰⁵ which was probably located in the mountain country east of the Tigris, and south of the Lower Zab, to bring back to Babylon the statues of Marduk and Zarpanit. In order to understand this move on his part it must be remembered that, from the Babylonian point of view, there could be no legitimate king in Babylon unless he had been appointed to his rule by Marduk, patron god and real ruler of the city. But Marduk had been carried away by the people of Khani. It was all important, therefore, for the stability of the throne that this god, at least, be immediately restored. If Agum-kakrime had had sufficient troops at his command, he would probably have taken the god by force from this captors; as Nebuchadrezzar I and Assurbanapal did in later times. He did not do this, but sent an "embassy." In this expression we may see an euphemism for the purchase or ransom of the gods by actual payment of gold or silver. When these gods were taken away we do not know. Perhaps we shall not

go far astray if we locate this event in the later reigns of the kings of the second dynasty, at which time we have also placed the beginnings of the Kassite influence. The gods must have been removed by a destructive invasion, for Agum-kakrime follows the story of their restoration with the statement that he placed them in the temple of Shamash, and provided them with all the necessities for their worship, because Marduk's own temple, E-sagila, had to be restored before it was fit for his occupancy. This ruinous state of Babylon's great state temple points backward to a period of great weakness, to the period when Babylon was tottering from the proud position to which Hammurabi had brought it, and was already an easy prey for the foreigner.

The remaining lines of this important inscription deal with temple restorations, and thus add the name of Agum-kakrime to the list of great builders who have already passed in review before us. No other events in his reign are known to us, nor is its length preserved. The indications which remain would seem to show that he must have reigned long and peacefully.

After the reign of Agum-kakrime there is a sharp break in the chain of our information concerning the history of this dynasty. It will be necessary to make clear the reason for this break, and to set forth briefly the means adopted for the partial repair of the breach.

In giving the names of the kings of this dynasty from Gandish to Agum-kakrime we have simply followed the lists made by the Babylonian scholars in ancient times. If the list were perfectly continued, we should have an easy task in following out the kings of the dynasty, and in setting forth something of their activity by means of other historical material. Unhappily the tablet containing the list is broken off just after the name of Tashshigurumash. The list is then resumed after some distance by the name Kudur-Bel, alongside of whose name stands the numeral VI as the number of years of his reign. Following the name Kudur-Bel there are found the names of ten kings of the Kassite dynasty. There are thus preserved the names of sixteen kings, to which we may add that of Agum-kakrime, making seventeen in all. At the bottom of the list it is stated that there were thirty-six kings in the dynasty, and that the sum of the years of their reigns was five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months. For the completion of the list we therefore need the names of nineteen kings. How many of these names can be obtained? In the present state of investigation it is safe to say that of these nineteen missing names twelve have been secured with reasonable certainty, and for the most part they can be arranged accurately in order in the dynasty. These names have been secured in some instances from contract tablets dated in their reigns; in others from their own inscriptions; in others from the so-called Synchronistic History--an original Assyrian document giving very briefly the early relations between Babylonia and Assyria--in others from letters and dispatches which passed between the courts of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt.

Before proceeding with the history of the remaining kings of this dynasty it will be necessary to say something by way of preface of the conditions of political life prevailing elsewhere, in order to the better understanding of the facts which we possess with reference to these reigns.

More than one hundred years before the beginning of the Kassite dynasty a new state, destined to a splendid career of dominion among men, was showing the beginnings of its life along the eastern bank of the Tigris. The land of Assyria in its original limits was a small land inclosed within the natural boundaries of the Tigris, the Upper and the Lower Zab, and the Median mountain range. Its inhabitants at this time were Semites, and apparently of much purer blood than their relatives the Babylonians, who had intermarried with the Sumerians--a custom afterward continued with the Kassites and with many other peoples. The chief city of this small Assyrian state was Asshur, in which were ruling, at the period of the beginning of the Kassite dynasty, Semitic Ishakkus, who were the beginners of a long and distinguished line. Their land was admirably furnished by nature. In it lived a people who were not enervated by luxury nor prostrated in energy by excessive and long-continued heat, but accustomed to battle with snowdrifts in the mountains and to conserve their physical force by its constant use. It is no wonder that under such favorable conditions this people should have risen rapidly to power. In a short time we shall find them able to negotiate treaties with the kings of Babylonia, and soon thereafter the main stream of history flows through the channels they were now digging. It is for these reasons that we have here touched lightly upon the beginnings of their national life.

Two other lands require brief mention before we can properly understand the movement of races during the period of the Kassite dynasty.

In the northwestern part of the great valley between the Tigris and Euphrates lay a small country whose two chief limits were set by the river Euphrates and its tributary the Balikh. In the Egyptian inscriptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties it is called Naharina--that is, the river country--but it was called Mitanni by its own kings. How long a people had lived within its borders with kings of their own and a separate national existence remains an enigma. No inscriptions of the people of Mitanni, save letters written to kings of Egypt, have been found. We should indeed hardly know of the land at all but for the discovery of the royal archives of the kings Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, the kings of Egypt who had diplomatic intercourse with it. From these letters and dispatches we have learned the names of several of the kings of Mitanni, among them Artatama, Artashuma, Sutarna, and Dushratta. Their chief god was Tishup, whose name as well as the names of his worshipers is not Semitic, but what their racial ties may be we do not know. At the time when these kings were writing dispatches to the kings of Egypt their land was in some sort of union with Khanigalbat, a land later known as Melitene and situated much farther north and west in the mountains. Between the kings of Mitanni and the kings of Egypt there were bonds of marriage, the kings of Egypt having married princesses from the far distant "river land." The fact that the proud kings of Egypt were anxious to ally themselves to

the kings of Mitanni would seem to indicate that the land was sufficiently wealthy or influential to make it worthy of the attention of Egypt. The letters of Mitanni were written chiefly in the Semitic language of Babylonia, and in the cuneiform characters, with which we are familiar in the native inscriptions. One of these letters, however, preserved in the Royal Museum in Berlin,⁴⁰⁶ is written in the language of Mitanni, which has thus far not yielded to the numerous efforts made to decipher it.⁴⁰⁷ The kingdom of Mitanni must take its place among the small states which have had their share in influencing the progress of the world, but whose own history we are unable to trace. But, though we cannot do this, we may at least observe that it seems to have been largely under Semitic influences, for its method of writing was borrowed from its powerful neighbors.

The last land to which our attention must be diverted, before proceeding with the main story is the land of Kardunyash.⁴⁰⁸ Originally the word Kardunyash seems to be applied to a small territory in southern Babylonia close to the Persian Gulf. The termination, "ash" is Kassite, and it has been supposed, with good reason, that the Kassites first settled in this land by the Persian Gulf, and used it as a base from which to overrun and conquer Babylonia. Whether this be true or not, it is at least certain that the name Kardunyash comes to be used by the Kassite kings as a sort of official name for the land of Babylonia.

We are now able to return to the Kassite dynasty after a long excursus; the better prepared to gather together such little threads of information as link them with their neighbors.

As we have seen above, the Babylonian King List is so broken after the name Tashsigurumash that some names are lost. Of these missing names we have already secured the name of Agum-kakrime. After him there lived six kings whose names, together with all their words and works, are lost.

The next king of the Kassite dynasty of whom we have knowledge is Karaindash (about 1450 B. C.). Like his predecessors and successors, he was a builder, as his own brief words make plain: "To Nana, the goddess of E-Anna, his mistress, built Karaindash, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad, king of Kasshu, king of Kardunyash, a temple in E-Anna." In this brief inscription the king places Babylon first in his list of titles, and the two Kassite titles, Kasshu and Kardunyash, at the very last. This can only be due to a following of the immemorial Babylonian usage. The old land soon absorbed the peoples who came to it as conquerors, and by the potency of its own civilization and the power of its religion compelled adherence to ancient law and custom. The Kassites had conquered Babylonia by force of arms; already has Babylonian culture conquered the Kassites and assimilated them to itself.

In the reign of Karaindash we meet for the first time evidence of contact between the still youthful kingdom of Assyria and the empire of Babylonia--even then hoary with age. Our knowledge of these relations between the two kingdoms comes from the Assyrians, who made during the reign of Adad-nirari III (811-783 B. C.) a list of the various friendly and hostile relations between Babylonia and Assyria from the earliest times down to this reign. The original of this precious document has perished, but a copy of it was made for the library of Assurbanapal by some of his scholars, to whom our knowledge of the ancient Orient owes so much. This copy is now in the British Museum, and, though badly broken, fully half of it may be read.⁴⁰⁹ It has been named the Synchronistic History, and, though it is not a history in any strict sense, it is convenient to retain this appellation. The very first words upon it which may be read with certainty relate to Karaindash, and are as follows: "Karaindash, king of Kardunyash and Asshurbelnishishu, king of Assyria, made a treaty with one another, and swore an oath concerning this territory with one another." This first entry evidently refers to some debatable land between the two countries, concerning which there had been previous difficulty. The two kings have now settled the boundary line by treaty. This shows that Assyria was already sufficiently powerful to claim a legitimate title to a portion of the great valley, and it was acknowledged by Babylon as an independent kingdom. It is not long before this small kingdom of Assyria begins to dispute with Babylonia for the control even of the soil of Babylonia itself. With this first notice of relations between the two kingdoms begins the long series of struggles, whether peaceful or warlike, which never cease till the bloodthirsty Assyrian has driven the Babylonian from the seat of power and possessed his inheritance.

We are unhappily not in a position to be very certain as to the order of succession of the followers of Karaindash, but his immediate successor was probably Kadashman-Bel.⁴¹⁰ No historical inscription of this king and no business documents dated in his reign have yet come to light in Babylonia. We should be at a loss to locate him at all were it not for the assistance to be obtained from the archives of the Egyptians. As in the case of the land of Mitanni, so also here are we in possession of some portions of a correspondence with Amenophis III, king of Egypt. The British Museum possesses a letter written in Egypt by Amenophis III to Kadashman-Bel, and the Berlin Museum has three letters from Kadashman-Bel to Amenophis III. The first letter is probably a copy of the original sent to Babylonia. It begins in this stately fashion: "To Kadashman-Bel, king of Kardunyash, my brother; thus saith Amenophis, the great king, the king of Egypt, try brother: with me it is well. May it be well with thee, with try house, with try wives, with try children, with try nobles, with try horses and with try chariots, and with try land may it be well; with me may it be well, with my house, with my wives, with my children, with my nobles, with my horses, with my chariots, with my troops, and with my land, may it be very well." The letter then discusses the proposed matrimonial alliance between Egypt and Babylonia and urges that Kadashman-Bel should give to him his daughter to wife. The letter further announces the sending to Kadashman-Bel of an ambassador to negotiate a commercial treaty between the two states, by which certain imports from

Babylonia into Egypt were to pay a customs duty. The letters preserved in Berlin seem to relate to the same correspondence and deal chiefly with the proposed marriage of the daughter of Kadashman-Bel to Amenophis III, to which friendly consent was finally given. Both the daughter and the sister of Kadashman-Bel were thus numbered among the wives of Amenophis III—full proof of the very intimate relation which now subsisted between the two great culture lands of antiquity, Babylonia and Egypt. To find letters passing between Babylon and Egypt about 1400 B. C., and ambassadors endeavoring to negotiate commercial treaties, does, indeed, give us a wonderful view into the light of the distant past. This all witnesses to a high state of civilization; to ready intercourse over good roads; to firmly fixed laws and stable national customs. It gives us, however, no light upon the political history of Babylonia, which is the object of our present search, and we must pass from it. Kadashman-Bel had a long reign and was succeeded by Burnaburiash I.

The Synchronistic History⁴¹¹ sets down this king as contemporary with Puzur-Asshur, king of Assyria, with whom he seems to have had a hostile demonstration concerning the boundaries between the two lands. As the Assyrian writer alludes only euphemistically to their relation as unfriendly, and says nothing of an Assyrian victory, it is safe perhaps to conclude that Burnaburiash was successful. Little else of his reign is known, though he was also in a measure a builder of temples, for a brick brought from the temple ruins at Larsa shows that he had erected there a temple to the sun god.⁴¹²

Of the next king, Kurigalzu I, about 1410 B. C., son of Burnaburiash I, our knowledge is also very unsatisfactory. It is known from the letters of Burnaburiash II that he stood in friendly relations with Amenophis III, king of Egypt, and it is probable that his relations with the Assyrians were friendly. The few inscriptions⁴¹³ of his which remain record simply the usual building operations. The titles which he uses in his texts are "King of Sumer and Accad, king of the Four Quarters of the World," to which in one instance he adds the title "shakkanak (that is, governor) of Bel," and in another case uses this latter title only. The title of king of Babylon, which we might have expected, is not used by him at all. This maybe because he was not officially made king by the use of all the solemn ceremonies which the priesthood had devised. The city of Dur-Kurigalzu (Kurigalzburg) derived its name from him, but it does not appear whether he was its founder or only a benefactor and re. builder. The compiler of the Synchronistic History found no events in his reign in connection with the contemporary Assyrian king, Asshur-nadin-akhe, which were worthy of narration, and he is therefore passed by without a word. His reign was probably short, and at its conclusion, about the year 1400, he was succeeded by his son, Burnaburiash II, whose reign was long and prosperous, though no Babylonian memorials of it have been preserved.

Four letters written by this king to Amenophis IV (*Napkhuriya, Akh-en-Aton*), king of Egypt, are preserved in the Berlin Museum,⁴¹⁴ and two more are in the British Museum.⁴¹⁵ No historical material of great moment is offered in these letters. They reveal a period of relative peace and prosperity, and deal, in considerable measure, with the little courtesies and amenities of life. It is, for example, curious to find the Babylonian king reproving the king of Egypt for not having sent an ambassador to inquire for him when he was ill.⁴¹⁶ When kings had time for such courtesies, and could only excuse themselves for failing to observe them on the ground of their ignorance of the illness and the great distance to be covered on the journey, there must have been freedom from war and from all distress at home and abroad.

The successor of Burnaburiash II appears to have been Karakhardash (about 1370 B. C.), who had for his chief wife Muballitat-Sherua, daughter of Asshur-uballit, king of Assyria, so that the custom of intermarriage which prevailed between the royal houses of Egypt and Babylon at this period_ had also its illustration between the houses of Assyria and Babylonia. This alliance made for peace between the two royal houses, but did not establish peace between the peoples of the two countries. When Karakhardash died his son, Kadashman-Kharbe I, came to the throne. His mother was Muballitat-Sherua, and so it happened that an Assyrian king had his grandson upon the throne of Babylon. This king conducted a campaign against the Sutu, whom he conquered and among whom he settled some of his own loyal subjects. Upon his return from this expedition he found himself confronted by a rebellion of the Kassites, who were probably jealous of the growth of Assyrian influence, and he was killed. The rebels then placed upon the throne Nazibugash (also called Shuzigash, about 1360 B. C.), a man of humble origin and not a descendant of the royal line. As soon as the news of this rebellion reached Assyria Asshuruballit, desiring to avenge his grandson, marched against Babylonia, killed Nazibugash, and placed upon the throne Kurigalzu II, a son of Kadashman-Kharbe.⁴¹⁷ Kurigalzu II (about 1350 B. C.) was probably made king while still young, and his reign was long. We cannot follow its events in detail, but may get a slight view of some of its glories. Many centuries before his day, when Kudur-nakhundi of Elam ravaged in Babylonia, he carried away a small agate tablet, which was carefully preserved in the land of Elam. This happened about 2285 B. C., and now, about 1350 B. C., Kurigalzu II invades Elam and conquers even the city of Susa itself. The little agate tablet is recovered, and the victorious Kurigalzu II places it in the temple of E-kur at Nippur, with his own brief inscription engraved on its back: "Kurigalzu, king of Karadunyash, conquered the palace of Susa in Elam and presented (this tablet) to Belit, his mistress, for his life."⁴¹⁸ It is to this campaign that the Babylonian Chronicle probably refers in its allusion to the campaign of Kurigalzu against Khurbatila, king of Elam, which resulted so victoriously. After the invasion of Elam the victorious Kurigalzu II also fought with Bel-nirari, king of Assyria, and worsted him, as the Babylonian Chronicle narrates the story, though the Assyrian Synchronistic History claims the victory in the same conflict for the Assyrians.⁴¹⁹

Nazi-Maruttash (about 1340 B. C.), son of Kurigalzu II, the next king, also fought with the Assyrians, led by their king, Adad-nirari I, who defeated him signally, and gained some Babylonian territory by pushing the boundary farther south. This is the Assyrian account; what the Babylonian story may have been we do not know, for the Babylonian Chronicle is broken at this point. Of the son of Nazi-Maruttash who succeeded him under the name of Kadashman-Turgu we know nothing, and of his successor, Kadashman-Buriash (about 1330 B. C.), we only know that he was at war with Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria,⁴²⁰ without being able to learn the outcome. These constantly recurring wars with Assyria are ominous, and indicate the rapid increase of Assyrian power. They point toward the day of destruction for Babylon, and of glory for the military people who were beginning to press upon the great city.

The following reigns are almost entirely unknown to us. The names of the kings awaken no response in our minds, and we can only set them down as empty words; they are Kudur-Bel (about 1304-1299 B. C.) and Shagarakti-Shuriash (about 1298-1286 B. C.), though in their cases the Babylonian King List has supplied us with the length of their reigns, and we know definitely and certainly their order in the dynasty.

The Babylonian Chronicle now again comes to our aid, and with rather startling intelligence. Tukulti-Ninib, king of Assyria, has invaded Babylon. We do not know what steps led to this attack. Perhaps the old boundary disputes had once more caused difficulty, perhaps it was only the growing Assyrian lust for power and territory. But whatever the cause this was no ordinary invasion intended chiefly as a threat. The Assyrian king enters Babylon, kills some of its inhabitants, destroys the city wall, at least partially, and, last and worst of all, removes the treasures of the temple, and carries away the great god Marduk to Assyria.⁴²¹ Here was a sore defeat indeed, and the end, for the time at least, of Babylonian independence. The line of kings is continued during the period of war and invasion with the names of Bibeishu (about 1285-1278 B. C.), during whose reign the invasion probably occurred; Bel-shumiddin, and Kadashman-Kharbe II, who together reigned but three years (about 1277-1275), and Adad-shum-iddin (about 1274-1269 B. C.). But the last three of these kings must have been only vassals of Tukulti-Ninib, who was the real king of Babylon for seven years, even though he was represented by these as his deputies.⁴²² Here is the city of Hammurabi, glorious in its history, ancient in its days, ruled by a king of the small and relatively modern state of Assyria. But the old spirit was not quite dead, and after seven years of this domination the Babylonians rose in rebellion, drove the Assyrians from Babylon, and made Adadshum-usur (about 1268-1239 B. C.) king, while Tukulti-Ninib returned to Assyria only to find a rebellion against him beaded by his own son.⁴²³ In this his life was lost, and he went down with the decline of his once brilliant fortunes. On the other hand, the reign of Adadshum-usur was at once the token and result of better fortunes in Babylonia. In his reign the power of Babylon again began to increase. He attacked Assyria itself, and the Assyrians were scarce able to keep the victorious Babylonians out of their country. Their king, Bel-kudur-usur, was slain in battle, and in the overturning Babylonia made gains of Assyrian territory. The reign of Meli-Shipak (about 1238-1224 B. C.) was also a period of Babylonian aggression against the Assyrian king Ninib-apal-esharra,⁴²⁴ and to such good purpose that the next Babylonian king, Marduk-apal-iddin (about 1223-1211 B. C.), saw the Assyrians once more confined to their narrow territory, stripped of all their conquests, and was able to add to his own name the proud titles "king of Kishshati, king of Sumer and Accad,"⁴²⁵ in token of the extension once more of Babylonian dominion over nearly the whole of the valley.

But this change was too great and too sudden to last, and the power of Assyria must soon return and then again continue to develop. When Asshur-dan became king of Assyria, and this was probably while Marduk-apal-iddin was still reigning, there was another reversal of fortunes, though this time the change was neither so sudden nor so great. Asshur-dan fought with the next Babylonian king, Zamamashumiddin (about 1210 B. C.), and succeeded in winning back some of the cities in the ever-debatable land between Assyria and Babylonia,⁴²⁶ and thus gave proof that the Assyrian power was again waxing strong. The next Kassite king, Bel-chum-iddin (about 1209-1207 B. C.), reigned also but a short time, and the very brevity of these reigns may, perhaps, as often, indicate that the period was filled with strife. Assyria was certainly threatening the Babylonian empire, for the long reign of Asshur-dan gave time for the carrying out of extensive plans, and the power to realize them was plainly not wanting. The failure of the Kassites to hold inviolate the territory of Babylonia resulted in a Semitic revolution in which the dynasty that had ruled so long in the queenly city ended. Its advent was heralded by war and by internal dissensions in the last preceding dynasty; and its approaching end was indicated in like manner.

CHAPTER IV

THE DYNASTY OF ISIN

THE Cause Of the downfall of the great Kassite dynasty is unknown to 115. It may have been due to an uprising of the Semites against foreign domination, with the war cry of "Babylonia for the Babylonians;" a cry which in various languages has often resounded among men and won many a national triumph.

The Babylonian King List names the new dynasty, the dynasty of Isin,⁴²⁷ but its origin is still doubtful. It has been suggested that it began in

Babylon and is named after a section of the city known as Isin,⁴²⁸ but it is still possible that it originated in the city of Isin, whose influence had been marked at an earlier period of the history. This dynasty reigned in Babylon a period of one hundred and thirty-two years. The list is so badly broken that but few of the names have been retained, and we are once more forced to seek the means of restoring the names from notices in other documents. There were eleven kings in this dynasty who were regarded by the Babylonian historians as legitimate, and of these four or five are entirely unknown to us.

The names of the first two kings of the dynasty, who reigned eighteen and six years respectively (about 1206-1189 B. C. and 1188-1183 B. C.), are lost and cannot yet be restored; so, also, are the names and the regnal years of the next three kings. The sixth king of the dynasty was Nebuchadrezzar I⁴²⁹ (about 1135 B. C.). This king exhibits once more the spirit almost of a Halnmurabi. His victories are brilliant, and his defeats only evidence the hopelessness of the cause of Babylonia and the vigor of his efforts to save the state. When he began to reign Mutakkil-Nusku was probably king of Assyria, and in him lived the traditions of the glorious reign of Asshur-dan, who had once more carried the Assyrian arms to victory. Assyria was preparing to contest with Babylonia the possession of the whole of the valley, and the older land had need of a man of force and character. In the reign of the next Assyrian king, by name Asshur-rich-ishi, came the first great contest, the beginning of the struggle for supremacy between the two great nations. Nebuchadrezzar took the initiative and entered Assyria, but was met by Asshur-rich-ishi, defeated and forced to retreat in a veritable rout, having burned even his baggage to lighten his return to Babylonia. Having collected reinforcements, he returned to the contest, but was met by superior forces, again defeated and forced to retreat, having lost forty of his chariots. This terrible reverse found a counterbalancing success elsewhere, for Nebuchadrezzar conquered the Lulubi, punished Elam on the east,⁴³⁰ and, most important of all, swung fearlessly and successfully his flying columns into the far west, even into Syria,⁴³¹ that goal of such mighty endeavor in the distant past. In one of his inscriptions Nebuchadrezzar calls himself "sun of his land, who makes his people prosperous, the protector of boundaries." Well might he make the boast, for, though unsuccessful against the Assyrians, he had maintained a kingdom, which without him had probably fallen before the new and already almost invincible Assyrian power.

Nebuchadrezzar I was succeeded by Bel-nadinapli (about 1125 B. C.), whose reign furnishes no event of importance known to us. In the reign of his successor, Marduk-nadin-akhe (about 1117-1096 B. C.), the Assyrians displayed in a still clearer light the power which was finally to put the destinies of all western Asia in their hands. The throne of Assyria was now occupied by Tiglathpileser I, one of the greatest warriors of antiquity. Against his kingdom Marduk-nadinakhe at first had some success, for he carried away from Ekallati the images of the gods Adad and Sala. These remained away for centuries, and were only restored to their place by Sennacherib. But such successes only nerved Tiglathpileser to greater efforts. He invaded Babylonia and captured a number of cities in its northern half and even took Babylon itself. Herein is the first great blow against Babylonian independence. The Assyrians did not hold the captured city, but Tiglathpileser I was the grand monarch of western Asia, and the Babylonian king ruled only by sufferance.

The next Babylonian king was probably Mardukakhe-irba, who ruled only one year and six months and then gave place to Marduk-shapik-zer-coati (about 1094-1083 B. C.), with whom there began again a brief period of stable peace. The Assyrians under king Asshur-bel-kala had given over for the present the policy of crushing Babylonia, and had adopted rather the plan of making an ally and friend of the ancient commonwealth. After the death of Marduk-shapik-zer-coati, a man of unknown origin, Adad-apal-iddin, came to the throne. Usurper though he was, Asshur-bel-kala continued the same friendship to him, and even gave him a daughter in marriage. The last king of this dynasty was Nabu-shum (or -nadin), about 1082-1075 B. C., of whose reign no tidings have yet come down to us.

During the latter part of this dynasty the Assyrians were chiefly occupied in the internal strengthening and solidifying of their kingdom, while the Babylonians were unable to undertake any extensive campaigns. After this period our direct Babylonian information becomes more and more fragmentary, and even in some cases of doubtful meaning. The Babylonian state had lost the key to western Asia and the Assyrians had found it. Neither state was for the moment making any great efforts, but the future belonged to Assyria for centuries at least, and the sun of Babylonia had suffered a long eclipse. From now onward we must turn away from Babylon to see the main stream of history flowing through its rival's dominions.

We have followed the fortunes of the Babylonian cities from the gray dawn of antiquity down the centuries, through good report and evil report. We have watched the cities grow into kingdoms and have seen the kingdoms welded into a mighty empire. We have followed its advance to the very zenith and have seen its decline into subjection. It is a noble history, and even in outline has enough of the rich color of the Orient to make a glowing picture for the mind. From its contemplation we must now turn to look upon the development and progress of the kingdom of Assyria.

FOOTNOTES

¹ *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffues, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc. By Richard Hakluyt,

Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Imprinted at London, anno 1699, p. 54. [Here beginneth the iournall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartars of the East.] The following is the original Latin text: "

Ab hac, transiens per civitates et terras, veni ad quamdam civitatem nomine Coprum, quae antiquitatus civitas magna fuit: haec maximum damnum quondam intulit Romae; eius autem muri bene quadraginta miliarum sunt capaces. Et in ea sunt palacia adhuc integra, et multis victuali. bus haec abundat." (See *Sopra la Vita e i Viaggi del Beato Odorico da Pordenone*, Stuni del Chierico Francese Fr. Teofilo Domenichelli. In Prato, 1881, pp. 156, 157.) The name of the place called Comum, above, is variously written by different authorities: Comerum, YULE; Conium, VENNI; Comum, UTIN.; Coman, Mus.; Comerum, FARS. The manuscript readings are very diverse, but I believe with Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, by Col. Henry Yule, C. B., London, Hakluyt Society, 1866, p. 52, note) that the reading to be preferred is Comerum, which is the Camara of Barbaro, the Kinara of Rich, and the Kenare of Mme. Dieulafoy.

² This is the judgment of Colonel Yule [*ib.* i, p. 8], and everything seems to me to bear it out.

³ Cordier enumerates seventy-nine as still existing in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, etc.

See for biographical and critical material: *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV^e Siecle du Bienheureux Frere Odoric de Pordenone Religieux de Saint-Francois*, publiés avec une introduction et des notes par Henri Cordier. Paris, 1891.

The narrative of Odoricus was first published in 1513 under the title, "*Odorichus de rebus incognitis*, Pesaro [per Girolamo Soncino], 1513, in 4." Only one copy of this extraordinarily rare book is known to exist, and that is in the Reale Biblioteca Palatina de Parme, and I have not seen it. It is described with facsimiles in Cordier, pp. cxvii-cxxiii.

A second edition appeared in 1528, at Paris, and the third reprinting was in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, ii, Venetia, 1583, pp. 245-253. This beautiful edition I have seen. The title of the section is "Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Udine, dell' ordine de' frati Minori, Delle usanze, costumi, & nature, di diverse nationi & genti del Mondo, & del maritirio di quattro frati dell'ordine predetto, qual patirono tra gl'Infedeli."

⁴ *Viaggi Fatti da Venetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopli*, con la descrizione particolare di Citta, Luoghi, Sitti, Costumi, et della Porta del Aran Turco & di tutte le intrate, spese, & modo di governo suo, & della ultima Impresa contra Portoghesi. In Venezia, JI.D. XLIII, p. 51.

⁵ Relacam, All I em que se tra- I tam as gueras e gran I des victorias que alcan- I gouo grade Rey da Persia XA Abbas do grao Tur I co Mahometto, & seu filho Amethe: as quail I resultarao dal Embaixadas, q" por mandado I da Catholica & Real Magesta de del Rey I D. Felipe segundo de Portugal fize. riio algu"s Religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Augusti. I nho a Persia.

Composto pella Padre F. Antonio de Gouvea I Religioso da mesma ordem, Reitor do Col I legio de sancto Augustinho de Goa, & I professor da sagrada Theologia.

Impresso em Lisboa per Pedro Crasbeeck.-Anno M.DCXI, fol. 30, recto et seq.

Relation I des Grandes I Guerres et I victoires obtenues par I le Roy de Perse I Cha Abbas I contre les Empereurs de Turquie I Mahomet et Achmet son fils. I En suite du voyage de quelques I Religieux de l'Ordre des Hermites de S. Augustin envoyez I en Perse par le Roy Catholique Dom Philippe Second I Roy de Portugal.

Par le P. Fr. Anthoine de Gouvea, Religieux du mesme I Ordre, Recteur du College de S. Augustin de Goa, I Professeur en Theologie.

Traduit de l'Original Portugais, imprime A Lisbonne avec Licence I de l'Inquisition, de rordinaire & du Palais.

A Rouen, I chez Nicolas Loyselet, pres S. Lo, I derriere le Palais, A l'Oyselet-1646, pp. 78, ff.

⁶ *Garciae Silva Figueroa I Philippi III I Hispaniarum Indiarumq. Regis I Ad Persiae Regem Legati I De I Rebus Persarum I Epistola*. I v Kal. an. M. DC.XIX.

Spahani exarata I Ad Marchionem Bedmari I nuper ad Venetos, Rune ad Sereniss. I Austrriae Archiduces, Belgarum Principes I Regium Legatum I Antverpiae I ex officina Plantiniana.-b1.DC.XX, p. 6, ff.

English translation in Pumphrey's *His Pilgrimes*. London, 1628. Part ii, 1633-1834.

⁷ Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino.... Descritti da Izzimeo in 54. Lettere familiari... All' eredito, e fra' piuz cari, di molti anni suo Amico Mario Seipano. In Roma 31DCL. Vol. iii, p. 206. Printed 1658.

⁸ Pietro della Valle was a man of learning in his age, writing and speaking Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, and possessing some knowledge of Cop. tic. He was a close and careful observer, and accurate, for the greater part, in the reproduction of his observations. A brief sketch of his life is printed in the introduction to *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, from the old English translation of 1664, by G. Havers. In 2 vols. Edited by Edward Grey. London. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1892.

⁹ A | Relation of some yeares | travaile, begunne | Anno 1626 | Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially | the Territories of the Persian Monarchic: and | some parts of the Orientall Indies, | and isles Adjacent.., by T. A. Esquier. London, 1634, pp. 56-60.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹ *Ibid*, second edition, p. 143.

¹² Some yeares | Travels | into | Divers Parts of | Asia and Afrique |...Revised and enlarged by the Author. London, 1638, pp. 145, 146.

¹³ The first edition which I have been able to find of Mendelslo's travels appeared at Utrecht in 1651, in *Neer duyts overgeset door D. V. Wageninge*. The first German edition which I have seen was published at "Schleszwig In Jahr MDCLVI." The first English edition bears title-page thus: *The Voyages &c Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein...* written originally by Adam Olearius, Secretary to the Embassy. Faithfully rendered into English, by John Davies of Kidwelly. London, XDC.LX11. P. 5.

¹⁴ Some Years | Travels | into | Divers Parts | of | Africa and Asia the Great |... | In this fourth Impression are added (by the Author now living) as well many Additions throughout the whole work, as also several Sculptures, never before Printed. | London, 1677, pp. 141, 142.

¹⁵ These copies of Mr. Flower had a most singular history, an outline of which is given in the Excursus below, see p. 74.

¹⁶ Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, 3 tom. Amsterdam, 1711.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, tom. iii, plate at p. 118

¹⁸ A Collection of Voyages and Travels [Churchills]. Vol. iv. London, MDCCIV. Containing pp. 1-606. A Voyage round the World. By Dr. John Francis Gemelli-Carreri.... Translated from the Italian, pp. 172, 174. Plate p. 176. The plate is better reproduced in Voyage du Tour du Monde Traduit de l'Italien de Gemelli Careri, par M. L. N. Paris, MDCCXXVII. P. 246. Should be p. 402. The pagination is incorrect.

¹⁹ Les Beautez de la Perse... par Isieur A. D. D. V. (*Andrae Daulier Des Lands Vardomois.*) Paris, M.DC.LXXIII.

²⁰ Kaempfer's important investigations are published in his great book. *Amoenitalum exoticarum politico physico-mediarum, fasciculi v, quibus continenter variae relationes, observationes cE descriptiones rerunz Persicarum cE ulterioris Asiae, multa attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientem, collectae ab auctore Engelberto Kaempfero.* D. Lemgoviae, 1712. Quart.

²¹ *Cornelis de Bruins Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie.* t'Amsteldam, 1714. Folio. Between pages 216 and 217 are magnificent copperplate views of the ruins at Persepolis, and between 217 and 218 are the copies of the inscriptions, numbered 131, 134.

²² *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moseovie, en Perse, et aux Indus Prievdales*, 2 tom. A Amsterdam, 1718. The plates in this edition are inserted in vol. ii, between pages 270 and 271, and between 272 and 273.

²³ Recueil d'Antiquites.... tom. cinquieme, planche xxx. Paris, 1762.

²⁴ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien and andern umliegenden Landern*. Kopenhagen, 1774-1837, 3 vols. The description of

Persepolis is in vol. ii.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, plate xaiii, between pp. 132 and 133.

²⁶ *De cuneatis inscriptionibus Persepolitani lucubralio*. Rostochii, 1798, 24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁹ Grotefend's first paper was written in Latin (*De cunealis, quas vocant inscriptionibus persepolitani legevudis et explicandis relatio*) and presented by a friend to the Göttingen Academy September 4, 1802. It was followed by others on October 2, November 13, 1802, and May 20, 1803. None of these were published by the society. The original papers were found by Professor Wilhelm Meyer, of Göttingen, in the society's archives and published in the *Nachrichten von der Iioaiglichen Gesellschaft der zaissenschafteya zu Gotthxgen*, 1893, No. 14.

³⁰ This refusal is the more noticeable as the Academy had, in the very beginning, announced that Grotefend "had been led by certain historical presuppositions, and also by the analogy of the Sassanian inscriptions, to discover in the shorter cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis, written in the first and simplest of the three forms of character, which he had examined with this purpose in view, the names and titles of Darius and Xerxes."--*Gottingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, September 18, 1802 (No. 149).

³¹ *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*, von A. H. L. Heeren. 3 vols. Göttingen, 1815. The paper by Grotefend is printed in vol. i, pp. 563, ff., under the title *Ueber die Erklärung der Beilschriften, and besonders der Inschriften von Persepolis*.

Heeren's book was translated into English with the title, *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*, by A. H. L. Heeren. Oxford, 1833. In this edition Grotefend's essay appears in vol. ii, pp. 313, ff., accompanied by plates better executed than those of the German edition.

³² *Nouvelles observations sur les inscriptions de Persepolis*, par K. Saint-Martin. (*Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscrip. et Belles-Lettres*. Tome xii, part 2, 1839, pp. 113, ff.) This paper was read before the Academy, December 20, 1822.

³³ R. Bask, *Ueber das Alter and die Echtheit der Zend Sprache and des Zend-Avesta and Herstellung des Zend-Alphabets nebst einer Uebersicht der yesamnten Sprachstammes; uebersetzt von Fried. Heinrich von der Hagen*. Berlin, 1826, p. 28.

³⁴ *Memoire sur deux inscriptions cuneiformes trouviees pres d'Hamadan*, par M. Eugne Burnouf. Paris, 1836.

³⁵ Some believe that Lassen borrowed these results from Burnouf's communications to him, and therefore count him dishonest in making no acknowledgment.

³⁶ Lassen, *Die Alpersischen Keilinschriften nach Herrn N. L. Westergaard's Mittheilungen*. *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Band A. Bonn, 1845. See especially pages 1-3.

³⁷ *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Persischen Keilinschriften*, von Adolf Holzmann. Erstes Heft. Karlsruhe, 1845.

³⁸ On Rawlinson's life, and also on his work as a decipherer, see now *A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson*, by George Rawlinson. London, 1898. The notice of Rawlinson's work here given was written before the appearance of this memoir.

³⁹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, x, pp. 5, 6.

⁴⁰ See *Athenaeum*, November 8, 1884, No. 2916, p. 593.

⁴¹ George Rawlinson has attached himself to the view that Sir Henry Rawlinson had almost completed the work of decipherment of the Old Persian alphabet before he learned anything of the work of Grotefend. He says: "Up to this time [end of 1836] he had no knowledge at all of

the antecedent or contemporary labors of continental scholars, but had worked out his conclusions entirely from his own observation and reasoning" (*Memoir*, p. 309). This view rests upon the decipherer's own recollections of his work. It is, however, almost certain that Sir Henry Rawlinson forgot just when he first learned of Grotefend's work, and thought that he was independent, when in reality he was assisted by Grotefend, Burnouf, and Lassen. In 1884 he carried on a spirited controversy with Professor F. Max Müller concerning the right of priority of discovery. In one of his letters he speaks thus of the matter: "Now, for my own part, I take leave to say that, though I worked independently, and with some success, in my early attempts to decipher the Persian cuneiform inscriptions (from 1835 to 1839), still I never pretended to claim priority of discovery over Grotefend, Burnouf, and Lassen.... As I was in pretty active correspondence with Burnouf and Lassen from 1837 to 1839 on the values of the cuneiform characters, it is impossible to say by whom each individual letter became identified" (*Athenaeum*, November 8, 1884, p. 593). This letter makes it sufficiently plain that Rawlinson himself when he carefully considered the matter did not make so great a claim for himself as does his brother in the admirable memoir. His fame is secure, and needs not to be established by any attempt to prove that he was wholly independent of European scholars in all his earlier work.

⁴² *Dublin University Magazine*, Dublin, 1847, p. 14.

⁴³ Apart from the internal evidence there is now no doubt that this paper was written by Hincks, though published anonymously. See Adler, *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, October, 1888, p. civ; and compare Stanley Lane Poole, *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxvi, p. 439

⁴⁴ Thomas Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum*. Oxonii, 1700. The second edition appeared at Oxford, in 1760, under the title *Veterum Persarum et Partorum et Mediorum Religionis Historia*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, first edition, p. 526; second edition, p. 556.

⁴⁶ "Me autem iudice non sunt Literae, nee pro Literis intendebantur; sed fuerunt solius Ornatus causa...."--*Ibid.*, first edition, p. 527; second edition, p. 557.

⁴⁷ Nicolaus Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, II Part, p. 563. Amsterdam, 1705. Quoted by Burnouf, *Memoire sur deux inscriptions*. Paris, 1836, pp. 177, 178.

⁴⁸ Burnouf, *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴⁹ *Nouvelles Observations sur les inscriptions de Persepolis*, par M. Saint Martin, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, II^e Serie, tom. xii, p. 114.

⁵⁰ *Hall. allgem. Lit.-Zeitung*, April, 1820, p. 845.

⁵¹ Burnouf, *Memoire sur deux inscriptions*. Paris, 1836, pp. 176, ff.

⁵² *Itinerarium Benjamin Tudelensis. Ex Rebraico Latinum factum Bened. Aria Montano interprete*. Antverpia;, M.D.LXXV, p. 58.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71. Compare also Martinet, *Reisetagbuch des Rabbi Benjamin von Tudela*. Bamberg, 1858, pp. 16, 18. For English translations see Thomas Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, London (Bohn), 1848, pp. 94, 100, and especially A. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*. London and Berlin, 1840, i, pp. 91, 92, 105-107.

⁵⁵ "For about seven or eight miles from Bagdad, as men passe from Felugia, a towne on Euphrates, whereon Old Babylon stood, to this newe citie on Tigris (a worke of eightene houres, and about forty miles space) there is seen a ruinous shape, of a shapelesse heape and building, in circuit less than a mile, about the height of the stoneworke of Paule's steeple in London, the bricks being six inches thicke, eight broad, and a foot long (as Master Allen measured) with mats of canes laid betwixt them, yet remaining as sound as if they had beene laid within a yeere's space. Thus Master Eldred and Master Fitch, Master Cartwright, also, and my friend Master Allen, by testimony of their own eyes, have reported. But I can scarce think it to be that tower or temple, because authors place it in the midst of old Babylon, and neerer Euphrates; whereas this is neerer Tigris."--Purchas his Pilgrimage, 1626, p. 50 (folio edition), quoted in *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*, etc., by the late Claudius James Rich, edited by his widow. London, 1839, p. 321.

- [56](#) *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. By Richard Hakluyt, Master of Artes, and Student sometime of Christ-Church in Oxford. Imprinted at London by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Baker, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majestic. 1589, p. 232.
- [57](#) Sir Anthony Sherley, *His Relation of His Travels into Persia*. London, 1613, p. 21.
- [58](#) *Ibid.*
- [59](#) *Ibid.*
- [60](#) *Abrahami Ortelii Antverpiani Thesaurus Geographicus Recognitus et Auctus*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1696. The copy which the writer used in the Bodleian Library had belonged to Joseph Scaliger, and contained manuscript notes of his. On Nineveh he had nothing to add, and on Babylon merely wrote in the margins some Arabic words which had been transliterated in the text of Ortelius.
- [61](#) *The Preacher's Travels*, penned by I. C. (preface signed John Cartwright). London, 1611, pp. 89, 90.
- [62](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 99,100.
- [63](#) *Viaggio nelle Indie Orientali*, Venise, 1690. See also *Recueil des Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, par les freres de Bry. Franefort, 1660.
- [64](#) See p. 16.
- [65](#) *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, par M. Otter, de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris. 1748, pp. 133, 134.
- [66](#) *Memoire sur la Position de Babylone*, par M. d'Anville. Memoires des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, t. xxviii, p. 256, annee 1755 [published 1761].
- [67](#) Comp. trans. in Evettq, *ibid.*, p. 44.
- [68](#) "Dass Babylon in der Gegend von Helle [Hillah] gelegen habe, daran ist gar kein Zweifel."--*Reisebeschreibung nach Arabian and andern umliegenden Landern*. Kopenhagen, 1778, ii, p. 287.
- [69](#) "Man kann daraus vielmehr den Schluss machen, dass die Babylonier es in der Schreibkunst and den Wissenschaften schon sehr weit gebracht haben müssen.--*Ibid.*, pp. 290, 291.
- [70](#) *Ibid.*, p. 353. 9
- [71](#) Afterward published in beautiful copies by Millin, *Monuments Antiques inedits*. Paris, 1802, vol. ii, pp. 263, ff.
- [72](#) Abbe Beauchamp made at least two visits to Hillab. The description of the first is found in *Journal des Savants*, Mai, 1785, pp. 852, ff. The second is published in *Journal des Savants*, December, 1790, pp. 2403, ff. The extracts given above are from the latter, pp. 2418, ff. This second paper is translated into English in the *European Magazine*, May, 1792, pp. 338, ff; for extracts see pp. 340, ff.
- [73](#) *Voyage dans l'Eympire O,Homan, l'Egypte et la Perse*, par G. A. Olivier. Paris, an. 12, iv, pp. 283, 284 [published 1801-7].
- [74](#) A Dissertation on the Newly Discovered Babylonian Inscriptions, by Joseph Hager, D.D. London, 1801. At the end this beautifully printed little volume contains five plates reproducing the Babylonian inscriptions which had been found on the East India House antiquities. The reproductions have probably never been surpassed for beauty or accuracy.
- [75](#) *Ibid.*, pp. xvii, xviii.
- [76](#) That these characters were the Chaldaic characters with which, according to ATHENAEUS, the epitaphium of SARDANAPALUS at

Nineveh was engraved; the Assyriac characters mentioned by HERODOTUS, DIODORUS, POLYAENUS, and other ancient authors.--*Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷⁷ *Monuments Antiques inedits ou nouvellement expliques*, par A. L. Millin. Paris, 1802, tome i, pp. 58, sqq. *Discription d'un monument persepolitain, qui appartient au Museum de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, with two beautiful plates.

⁷⁸ *Fundgraben des Orients, bearbeitet durch eine Gesellschaft von Liebhabern*. wien, 1813, p. 129. The narrative of Rich extends pp. 129-162, and also pp. 197-200. The pages 129-162 are reprinted in the volume edited by his widow, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon* in 1861, now first published, etc. London, 1839.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸⁰ *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Neneveh*, with Journal of a voyage down the Tigris to Baghdad, and an account of a visit to Shiraz and Persepolis, by the late Claudius James Rich, Esq. Edited by his widow. Two volumes. London, 1836, vol. ii, p. 218.

⁸¹ *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., etc., during the years 1817, 8, 9, and 20*, by Sir Robert Ker Porter. In two volumes. London, 1821, 1822.

⁸² *Lettres de K Botta sur tes Decouvertes d Morsabad*, publiees par M. J Mohl. Paris, 1845. M. Botta's Letters on the Discoveries at Nineveh, translated from the French by C. T. London, 1850.

⁸³ Quoted in Bonomi, *Nineveh and Its Palaces*. London, 1852, p. 15.

⁸⁴ *Monument de Ninive decouvert et decrit*, par M. P. E. Botta, mesure et dessind par M. E. Flandin. Ouvrage publie par ordre du gouvernement sous lea auspices de M. le Ministre de l'Interieur, et sous la direction dune Commission de rInstitut. Tomes i-v. Paris, Imprimerle Nationale, 1849.

⁸⁵ The early life of Layard is sketched very briefly by Lord Aberdare in the introduction of the second edition of Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*. London, 1894.

⁸⁶ The story of Layard's early wanderings is told in *A Land March from England to Ceylon, forty years ago*, by Edward Ledwich Mitford, F. R. G. S., two volumes, London, 1884, which describes the European travels and the oriental as far as Hamadan. The story is continued in *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, by Sir Henry Layard, G. C. B., two volumes, London, 1887. Mitford's book very curiously refrains from mentioning Layard's name.

⁸⁷ *Nineveh and Its Remains; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an enquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians*, by Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D.C.L. Two volumes. London, 1849, i, pp. 7, 8.

⁸⁸ *Nineveh, and Its Remains*, i, p. 25.

⁸⁹ Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, i, 65, ff.

⁹⁰ See *infra*, p. 297.

⁹¹ These books were *Nineveh and Its Remains* (see references above) and *The Monuments of Nineveh*, by Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D.C. L., London, 1849. The latter contained one hundred plates, many well executed, but far below the standard of beauty set by Botta's superb volumes.

⁹² *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert: being the result of a second expedition undertaken for the trustees of the British Museum*, by Austen H. Layard, M.P. London, 1853.

A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh, including bas-reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib and bronzes from the ruins of Nimroud,

from drawings made on the spot during a second expedition to Assyria, by Austen Henry Layard, M.P. Seventy-one plates. London, 1853.

⁹³ *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, by William Kennett Loftus, F.G.S. London, 1857.

⁹⁴ See *infra*, p. 290.

⁹⁵ "Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer," by J. E. Taylor, Esq., *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv, p. 263, 264.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 404, ff.

⁹⁷ *Journal of Sacred Literature*, iii, p. 471 (July, 1856).

⁹⁸ *Expedition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, par Jules Oppert. 2 vols. Paris, 1863-1867.

⁹⁹ December 20, 1853.

¹⁰⁰ *Excavations and Discoveries in Assyria*, by Hormuzd Rassam, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vii, pp. 39-41. Rassam has told the story again in *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897), pp. 24, ff.

¹⁰¹ "Topography of Nineveh," illustrative of the maps of the chief cities of Assyria; and the general geography of the country intermediate between the Tigris and the upper Tab, by Felix Jones, Commander Indian Navy, and Surveyor in Mesopotamia. [with three large folded maps.] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv, pp. 297, ff.

¹⁰² "On the Birs Nimroud; or, The Great Temple of Borsippa," by Sir Henry Rawlinson, B.C.B., *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xviii (1860), pp. 2, ff. [This paper was read January 13, 1855.]

¹⁰³ "Zur Entzifferung der Achaemenidischen Keilschrift zweiter Gattung," von N. L. Westergaard, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vi, pp. 337, ff.

¹⁰⁴ On the first and second kinds of Persepolitan writing, by the Rev. Edward Hincks, D.D., *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxi, 114, ff. On the three kinds of Persepolitan writing, and on the Babylonian lapidary characters, *ibid.*, pp. 233-248.

¹⁰⁵ "Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription," by Mr. E. Norris, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv, pp. 1-213; addenda, pp. 431-433.

¹⁰⁶ Westergaard, Om den anden eller den sakiske Art of Akhaemenidernes Rileskrift, in "*Det kongelige Danske Tredenskabernes Selskabs Skrifter*." Femte Raekke; Historisk og filosofisk Afdeling; Andet Bind, forste Hefte, pp. 39-178. Kjøbenhavn, 1856.

¹⁰⁷ "Erklärung der Keilinschriften zweiter Gattung," von A. D. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, xv, pp. 1-126. "Ueber die Beilinschriften zweiter Gattung," *ibid.*, xxiv, pp. 1-84.

¹⁰⁸ "The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media," by A. H. Sayce, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iii, pp. 465-485. "The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the Language of the Second Column of the Akhaemenian Inscriptions," by A. H. Sayce, *Actes du Vlieme Congres International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 a Leide*, 2ieme partie.. section 1: Semitique, pp. 637-756.

¹⁰⁹ See especially Jules Oppert, *Le Peuple et la Longue des Medes*. Paris, 1879.

¹¹⁰ F. H. Weissbach, *Die Achamemdeninschriften Zweiter Art*. Leipzig, 1890.

¹¹¹ *Essai de déchiffrement de l'écriture Assyrienne pour servir à l'explication du Monument de Khorsabad*, par Isidore Lowenstern. Paris and Leipzig, 1845.

[112](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

[113](#) *Exposi des elements constitutifs du systeme de la troisieme ecriture cuneiforme de Persipolis*, par Isidore Lowenstein. Paris and Leipzig, 1847.

[114](#) *Ibid.*, p. 10, footnote 1, where a complete list of the names used is given.

[115](#) On the three kinds of Persepolitan writing, and on the Babylonian lapidary characters. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxi, "Polite Literature," pp. 233, ff.

[116](#) On the third Persepolitan writing, and on the mode of expressing numerals in cuneatic characters, *ibid.*, pp. 249, ff.

[117](#) *Journal Asiatique*, x, pp. 532, ff. Comp. also *Revue Archeologique*, 1847, pp. 501, ff., "Lettre a M. Isidore Lowenstein sur les inscriptions cuneiformes de l'Assyrie" (20 Septembre, 1847).

[118](#) This memoir of Botta began in the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai, 1847, and continued until Mars, 1848. It was published entire under the title *Memoire sur l'ecriture cuneiforme Assyrienne*, par M. Botta, Consul de France A Mossul. Paris, 1848. For a rather more detailed account of Botta's method in this investigation see Hommel, *Geschichte*, pp. 94, 95, and Baulen, *Assyrien and Babylonien*, 5te Aufl., pp. 137, 138.

[119](#) *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, "Polite Literature," pp. 1, ff.

[120](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xii, pp. 401, ff.

[121](#) See the allusions made to the subject by F. Max Miller in his *Biographical Essays*, pp. 284, 287, and elsewhere. These and other allusions in the same paper which seemed to reflect upon Rawlinson led to an animated controversy in the *Athenaeum* in 1884.

[122](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv, entire (1851).

[123](#) *Report of the Twentieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, held at Edinburgh in July and August, 1850. London, 1851, p. 140, with plate at the end.

[124](#) *On the Assyrio-Babylonian Phonetic Characters*, by the Rev. Edward Hineks, D.D. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. axii, part ii, "Polite Literature," pp. 293, ff.

[125](#) *Report of the Twenty-fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, held at Glasgow in September, 1855. London, 1856, pp. lxxii, 148, 149.

[126](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xviii, p. 150.

[127](#) The history of the Sumerian discoveries and disputes has been written by Weissbach (*Die Sumerische Frage*, von F. H. Weissbach, Leipzig, 1898) in so masterly fashion that all who now study this interesting and important episode in cuneiform research can hope for nothing more than the position of gleaners, and may be pardoned if they sometimes doubt whether even a single full head of grain remains. It were pedantic to attempt to do the work all over again without drawing upon his unrivaled collection of materials, and this chapter therefore depends very much upon him, and hearty acknowledgment is here made of the fact. It attempts to seize upon the salient points and emphasize them, but students who wish to follow the minute discussions, unsuitable for a book of this character, must have recourse to Weissbach.

[128](#) *Report of the Twentieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1850. *Transactions of the Sections*, p. 140. See also *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, "Polite Literature," p. 295 (dated November 24, 1852).

[129](#) *Athenaeum*, 1853, p. 228.

[130](#) *Athenaeum francais*, 3, p. 991, ff., October 21, 1884.

- [131](#) *Athenaeum*, 1855, p. 1438.
- [132](#) *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, x, p. 516, ff. (1866).
- [133](#) *Atlantis*, iv, 57, ff.
- [134](#) *Comptes rendus de la Societe francaise de numismatique et d'archeologie*, i, 73, ff.
- [135](#) "On an Akkadian Seal," *Journal of Philology*, iii, 1, ff., 1871.
- [136](#) *Journal Asiatique*, ser. i, 113, ff., and *Memoires du I Congres intern. des Orientalistes*, ii, 216, ff. Paris, 1876.
- [137](#) *Lettres assyriologiques*, 11 Serie: *Etudes accadiennes*, T. i, en 4 parties. Paris, 1874.
- [138](#) Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldeens et les origines accadiennes*. Paris, 1874-75.
- [139](#) Schrader, Eberhard, *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften. Kritische Untersuchung der Grundlagen ihrer Entziferung. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, xxvi, pp. 1-392, 1872; also separately, Leipzig, 1872.
- [140](#) *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung*, 1, Rec. No. 200, 1874, quoted by Weissbach.
- [141](#) *Assyrische Studien*, Heft 1. *Assyrische Thiernamen mit vielen Excursen and einem assyrischen and akkadischen Glossar*. Leipzig, 1874.
- [142](#) So formulated by Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- [143](#) *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, iv, ser. 2, 201, 209, 215; see also pp. 261-264. The entire paper is published in *Journal Asiatique*, vii, ser. 3, 461, ff., 1874.
- [144](#) So stated by Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- [145](#) *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- [146](#) This unknown writer wrote in *Ausland*, Jhg. 47, 941, ff., 1874. I have not succeeded in finding this paper, and quote it on the authority of Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 27, footnote 1.
- [147](#) *La Langue primitive de la Chaldee et les idiomes touraniens. Ettude de philologie et d'histoire, suivie d'un glossaire accadien*, pp. vii, 455. Paris, 1875.
- [148](#) *Ist das Akkadische der Keilinschriften eine Sprache oder eine Schrift? Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, xxix, pp. 1, ff., 1876.
- [149](#) *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1875, column 1075, ff.
- [150](#) *Etudes sumeriennes*. 1. *Sumerien ou accadien?* 2. *Sumerien ou rien?* *Journal Asiatique*, vii, ser. 5, 267, ff., 442, ff., 1875.
- [151](#) *La pretendue Langue d'Accad est-elle touranienne?* Reponse A M. F. Lenormant, 31 pp. Paris, 1875. Read before the Academie des Inscriptions November 26, 1875.
- [152](#) *Nouvelle Considerations sur le syllabaire ouniforme*, *Journal Asiatique*, vii, ser. 7, 201, ff., 1876.
- [153](#) *Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation babylonienne*, 268 pp. Paris, 1876.

- [154](#) *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1877, 456, ff.
- [155](#) *Ausland*, Jhg. 49, 584, ff., 1876. Quoted from Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 29, footnote 3.
- [156](#) *Journal Asiatique*, vii, ser. 12, 378, f.
- [157](#) *Die Sumerischen Familienyeseetze in Eeilschrift, Transcription, and Uebersetzung, nebst ausfehrlichem Commentar and zahlreichen Excursen. Eine Assyriologische Studie*, von Dr. Paul Haupt, pp. viii, 75. Leipzig, 1879.
- [158](#) *Revue critique*, nouv., ser. ix, 425, ff. (31 Mai, 1880).
- [159](#) *Journal Asiatique*, viii, ser. 2, 413, ff. *Revue Brit.*, 1884, ii, 47.
- [160](#) See below, pp. 236, ff.
- [161](#) *Decouvertes en Chaldee*. Publ. par les soins de Leon Heuzey. 1. Paris, 1884.
- [162](#) *Actes du 6ieme Congres international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 d Leide*, ii, 535, ff. Leide, 1885. Halevy's paper is entitled "Apercu grammatical de l'allographie assyro-babylonienne."
- [163](#) *De incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum seriei guae dicitur shurbu tabula VI. Zeitschrift fur Keilschriftforschung*, i, 279-322; ii, 15-61; ii, 306-311; 416-425. *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, i, 52-68. Also partly reprinted as dissertation. Monachii, 1885.
- [164](#) *Babylonische Busspsalmen*. Leipzig, 1885.
- [165](#) *Kurzgefasste Ueberblick fiber die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*. Leipzig, 1886.
- [166](#) *Bab. Bussps*, pp. 113, ff.
- [167](#) *Assyrisches Worterbuch zur gesannaten bisher verofentlichen Keilschrift-literatur*, u. s. w. 1st part. Leipzig, 1887.
- [168](#) *Assyrische Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1589, c 25. English edition same date.
- [169](#) *Shamashshumukin Konig von Babylon*, von C. F. Lehmann. Leipzig, 1892.
- [170](#) *Ibid.*, chap. iv, pp. 57-173.
- [171](#) *Zeitchrift fur Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 434, f.
- [172](#) *Des Moses von Chorene, Geschichte Gross-Armeniens, aus dem Armenischen ubersetzt*, von Dr. M. Lauer. Regensburg, 1869, pp. 31, 32. There is an English translation of the History of Armenia, or rather the Genealogical Account of Great Armenia, of Moses of Chorene (about 430 A. D.), by Winston, London. 1736 4to, but it is not accessible to me.
- [173](#) *Journal Asiatique*, Seme sere, tome is, 1840, pp. 257-323.
- [174](#) *Monatsberichte uber die F-erhandlvngen der Gesellsehaft fur Erdkwrde su Berlin*, i, pp. 70-75; also in *Original Papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London*, i, 1, pp. 131, ff.
- [175](#) Sayce, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, xiv, p. 378 (1882).
- [176](#) Both papers are published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ix, pp. 387-449 (1848).

[177](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xii, p. 475 (1850).

[178](#) A list is given by Sayce, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, xiv, pp. 380, 381.

[179](#) *Lettres assyriologiques*, i, pp. 113-164 (1871).

[180](#) *Entzifferung and Erklärung der armenischen Keilschriften von Van and der Umgegend*, von Dr. A. D. Mordtmann. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, xxvi, pp. 465-696 (1872). *Ueber die Keilschriften von Armenien. Ibid.*, xxxi, pp. 406-438 (1877).

[181](#) *Etude philologique sur les inscriptions cuneiformes de l'Arménie*. Paris, 1876.

[182](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiv, p. 384.

[183](#) *Journal Asiatique*, 7 ser., tom. xv, pp. 540-543, Mai-Juin, 1880.

[184](#) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, xiv, pp. 377-732.

[185](#) *Melanges d'Assyriologie*. Paris, 1883.

[186](#) *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, pp. 131, ff.

[187](#) *Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 578-616; 1896, pp. 302-308.

[188](#) *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1899, pp. 116-120.

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1898, pp. 227, 414-416, 522-527, 568-592; 1899, pp. 411-420.

[189](#) *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith. London, 1875, p. 9.

[190](#) Smith's report of his first discovery is so interesting in the history of Assyrian study that it is here reproduced entire:

"*Assyrian Inscription*. While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu, king of Israel, sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign. That he received tribute from Jehu is well known from the black obelisk inscription, but the date of the event has not been previously ascertained. This fact is of chronological interest. I may add that Jehu in this inscription is styled 'Son of Omri,' the same as on the black obelisk." GEORGE SMITH.--*Athenaeum*, No. 2031, September 29, 1866, p. 410.

[191](#) *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, i, pp. 129, ff.

[192](#) *The Times* (London), December 4, 1872, p. 7. The account of the meeting given above rests chiefly upon the report in *The Times* published the following day. Professor Sayce, however, is inclined to think that the order of addresses in the meeting was somewhat different. Though not present himself at the meeting, he had spent the afternoon with Air. Smith, and later had a full account of the meeting from Dr. Birch. He believes that it was Mr. Gladstone who emphasized the importance of these discoveries in their bearing upon the Bible, and that Dr. Birch spoke last and not first.

[193](#) See notices of his life in *The Academy*, x, pp. 266, 266 (by Boscawen). *The Athenaeum*, No. 2660, September 9, 1876, p. 338. See also *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vi, p. 674. *The Times*, September 6, 1876, p. 4 c.; September 7, 1876, pp. 10, f.

[194](#) Professor Delitzsch, who was on very intimate terms with Smith, has indicated with sufficient clearness his own sense of loss in the reprinting of portions of Smith's last diary in his great geographical treatise (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 266, 267).

[195](#) See "Report on the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, 1884-8'5," by William Hayes Ward, *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Boston, 1886, and also "The Wolfe Expedition," by Rev. W. H. Ward, D.D., LL.D., *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, June to December, 1885, pp. 56-60. The diary of Dr. Ward is pub. lished in part by Dr. Peters in *Nippur*, vol. i, Appendix F, pp. 318-375.

[196](#) *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature*, p. 60. On this mound of Anbar compare a most interesting note by Sir Henry Rawlinson quoted in *Nippur* by John P. Peters. New York, 1897, vol. i, pp. 178, 179. Rawlinson reached the negative result that Anbar could not be identified with any Assyrian or Babylonian site.

[197](#) *Papers of the Arelaeological Institute*, Report of Dr. Ward, p. 29.

[198](#) See the lively narrative of Peters, *Nippur*, vol. i, pp. 1-241.

[199](#) This summary of the year's operation is quoted from Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Chiefly from Nippur*, vol. i, part ii. Philadelphia, 1896, p. 8.

[200](#) Peters, *Nippur*, vol. i, p. vii.

[201](#) See Peters, *ibid.*, vol. i, chap. sii; *The Catastrophe*, pp. 279, ff.

[202](#) See the summary by Hilprecht in *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, vol. i, part ii, p. 8, and compare the full and entertaining narrative of Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii, *passim*.

[203](#) Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 565.

[204](#) Layard, *l. c.*, pp. 556-562. "On the whole I am much inclined to question whether extensive excavations carried on at Niffer would produce any very important or Interesting results" (p. 562).

[205](#) Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, vol. i, part ii, p. 10.

[206](#) Compare the summary in Hilprecht, *ibid.*, p. 9. An account of this expedition by Mr. Haynes himself has not yet appeared, though it is understood that one is in contemplation.

[207](#) Hilprecht, "Latest Research in Bible Lands," *Sunday School Times*, May 6, 1900, p. 276.

[208](#) See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Ex Oriente Lux!* Ein wort zur Forderung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig, 1898.

[209](#) *Am Euphrat and Tigris*. Reisenotizen aus dem winter 1897-1898, von Eduard Sachau, mit 6 Bartenskizzen and 32 Abbildungen. Leipzig, 1900, pp. 160.

[210](#) *Wissenschaftliche Verofentlichungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*. 1 Heft. *Die Hettitische Inschrift gefunden in der Konigsburg von Babylon* am 22. August 1899 and verofentlicht von Dr. Rob. Koldewey. Vorwort von Prof. Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig 1900.

[211](#) There is a dispute as to whether the name of the place should be Tellel.Amarna or simply El-Amarna. winckler has adopted the latter on the basis of a private communication from Professor Maspero, who asserts that El-Amarna is alone heard from the lips of the natives on the spot. To this view also Steindorff is inclined, for he writes "Tell el-'Amarna (or better, El-'Amarna) " (Baedeker's *Egypt*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 193). On the other hand, Petrie (*History of Egypt*, ii, p. 205), Budge (*The Tell-El Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, *passim*), and Sayee, all of whom know the place well, unite in reading Tell-el-Amarna. Professor Sayce says in a personal note to the writer: "There is no place called El-Amarna, which is the Egyptian name of a Bedawin tribe (El-Amaran). But there is a Tel el-Amarna and a Dr el-Amarna, some miles to the south of the Tel."

[212](#) On the Tell-el-Amarna discoveries in general consult the valuable bibli. ography in *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with Auto. type Facsimiles*, London, 1892, pp. lxxxvii, ff., and add to that especially Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund van El-Amarna*, Berlin,

1889, seq., and also *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. v. A useful summary of the general historical results is given by Carl Niebuhr, *Die Amarna Zeit*. Leipzig, 1899.

[213](#) On this expedition and its results see Notes by Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux relatifs a la Philologie et a l'archeologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes*, vol. xvi, and especially Extrait d'une lettre du P. Scheil, *ibid.*, p. 184, and compare the survey by Hilprecht, *Recent Research in Bible Lands*. Philadelphia, 1897, pp. 81, ff.

[214](#) See Eusebius, *Chronica*, ed. Alfred Schoene. Berlin, 1875, p. 11.

[215](#) On the life of Alexander Polyhistor compare J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, Heft I, *Alexander Polyhistor and die von ihm erhaltenen Reste judischer and samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*. Jahresbericht des jiidisch-theologischen Seminars, Breslau, 1874, p. 17, and the further references there given in footnote, especially Rauch, *De Alexandri Polyhistoris vita atque scriptis*. Heidelberg, 1843.

[216](#) Gilmore, *The Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, London, 1888, pp. 2, 3, names no less than thirty-four writers, among them Strabo, Plutarch, and Xenophon, who have preserved portions of Ktesias.

[217](#) As a specimen of a sharp modern judgment upon him, both personally and as an author, one may refer to Marcus v. Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assur's und Babel's*. Berlin, 1857, pp. 289, ff. While as a specimen of a more favorable judgment see Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, Herodotus, i-iii, London, 1883, p. xxxiii: "It is certain that he (Ktesias) was justified in claiming for his history the authority of Persian documents, and that many of the charges of falsehood brought against him must be laid not upon him, but upon his Eastern friends. His history of Assyria is much like the Egyptian history of mediaeval Arab writers, clothed only in a Greek dress;" and also Paul Rost, *Untersuchungen zur altoriental. aschen Cgeschichte*, pp. 109, 110. *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1892, 2, Berlin.

[218](#) See Gilmore, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[219](#) Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, p. xxviii.

[220](#) *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

[221](#) *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

[222](#) See, for example, Baumstark in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopaedie der class. Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart, n. d., col. 2689. "Seine Angaben fiber B. sind die einzigen unmittelbar and vollstandig auf uns gekommenen aus der gesamten griechischen Litteratur vorchristlicher Zeit. Dass sic im wesentlichen auf Augenschein beruhen, ware besser niemals bestritten worden."

[223](#) a For a careful assembling of the valuable references in Herodotus and a comparison of the native sources see J. Nickel, *Herodot and die Keilschriftforschung*, Paderborn, 1896, and add also *Herodotus and the Empires of the East*, based on Nickel's *Herodot and die Keilschriftforschung*, by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Ph.D., and James Henry Stevenson, Ph.D. New York, n. d. (1899).

[224](#) That means the whole of the valley, including Babylonia, appears from its regular use by Herodotus (for example, i, 178, 185; iii, 92, and iv, 39). It is used in the same manner also by Xenophon (*Cyropaedea*, ii, 1, 5.)

[225](#) Gen. xxiv, 10; Dent. xxiii, 5. There seems good reason for the view that it ought to be written Aram-Naharim, that is, plural not dual. (See W. Max Miiller, *Asien and Eeropa nach altadgyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 249-255, and compare Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, on Judg. iii, 8, and Moore on same passage.)

[226](#) Colonel Chesney says, "In some respects the scenery of the Euphrates reminded me of that of parts of the Nile, though far exceeding the latter in picturesque effect" (*Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. London, 1868, p. 76).

[227](#) Herodotus, i, 193.

[228](#) Colonel Chesney found the increased depth to be thirteen and a half feet (*Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*. London, 1850, vol. i, p. 61).

[229](#) *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, by Lady Anne Blunt, ii, p. 278. "In July, 1889, the average daily maximum temperature at Baghdad was 114° in the shade, and In 1890 we encountered the same temperature more than once in June." Peters, *Nippur*, ii, p. 310.

[230](#) The reference here is to the period of Babylonian occupation. That great heat was experienced in the Greco-Roman period is well evidenced. See, for example, Theophr., *de vent.*, 25, and Plutarch, Alexander, 35.

[231](#) Herodotus, i, 193.

[232](#) Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, viii, 7 (ed. Fredericus Wimmer, p. 135, line 2, ff.).

[233](#) xvi, p. 742 (ed. Carolus Mullerus, p. 632, line 26, ff.).

[234](#) *Travels and Researches in Chaldaeae*, p. 14.

[235](#) Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, etc., ii, p. 423.

[236](#) See, for example, Herodotus, i, 179; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 129, ff., 152; Strabo, xvi, 743. The pits are described by Chesney (*Narrative of Euphrates*, p. 280; comp. also p. 76) and by Rich (*Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*, London, 1839, pp. 101, 102).

[237](#) See Ainsworth, "Journey to Constantinople," in Chesney's *Narrative of Euphrates Expedition*, p. 497: "There are several wells from which considerable quantities of naphtha and petroleum are obtained. From eight to ten gallons were said to be collected from each well per diem."

[238](#) See Loftus, "Notes on Abu-Shahreïn and Tel-el-Lahm," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiv, pp. 412, ff. "We found that the name Abu-Shahreïn had vanished, and Nowawis taken its place as the present designation of the ancient ruins of Eridu." Peters, *Nippur*, ii, p. 96.

[239](#) Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaeae and Susiana*, London, 1857, pp. 127, ff.; Peters, *Nippur*, ii, pp. 196, ff. (with photograph of the Ziggurat).

[240](#) Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 256. See especially Sachau, *Am Euphrat and Tigris*, pp. 66-68. Sachau believes that the mound contains not only remains of temples and palaces, but also of the dwellings of the inhabitants. "In diesen babylonischen Stadten Senkere and Warka scheinen ausser den Tempeln and Palasten auch noch die Wohnungen der Burger unter dem Schutt erhalten zu sein ahnlich wie in Pompeji, wahrend in Ninive ausser den beiden Konigsburgen, Kojunjik and Nebi Junus, der Mauer and den Thoren alle ubrigen Wohnungen spurlos von der Erdoberflache verschwunden sind. Aehuliches gilt auch von dem Weichbild von Babylon." *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[241](#) Loftus, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, f. It has been visited by Ward (see Peters, *Nippur*, i, pp. 349, 360) and by Sachau (*op. cit.*, pp. 61-64), who has well described its present appearance.

[242](#) Gen. x, 10.

[243](#) Heuzey-de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldee*, passim; Peters, *Nippur*, i, pp. 265, 269; ii, 291. The visit by Ward is described in his diary (Peters, *Nippur*, i, pp. 337-339, 342).

[244](#) Peters suggests Bismya as the probable site of Isin (*Nippur*, ii, 272).

[245](#) There is still some doubt about the identification of various mounds near Hillah with the parts of ancient Babylon. There is a learned and exhaustive review of the matter by Baumstarck in Pauly-wissowa, *Realenc. der class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, ii (1899), and an outline of the problems by the writer in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, *sub voce*. There is a good plan of the sites in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Cheyne), i, facing cols. 417, 418. The mounds are well described by Peters (*Nippur*, i, pp. 212; ii, 53) and by Sachau (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, ff.).

[246](#) Oppert, *Expedition en Mesopotamie*, i, pp. 200, ff.; Peters, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 213, ff.

[247](#) Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*. New York, 1897, p. 396.

[248](#) On the mound see Chesney, *Narrative of Euphrates Expedition*, p. 83, and Rich, *Narrative of Journey to the Site of Babylon*, pp. 2, 3.

[249](#) Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, pp. 266, 267. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, f., and 104, with two illustrations of the mounds. Ainsworth, *Journal of the Geographical Society*, xi, p. 5.

[250](#) Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, New York, 1849, i, pp. 28, 44, etc. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Rassam, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 225 (with plan and illustration of ruins).

[251](#) Layard, *op. cit.*, i, p. 98, etc.

[252](#) M. Botta's letters on the discoveries at Nineveh, translated from the French by C. T[obin]. London, 1850, *passim*. Rassam, *op. cit.*, p. 295. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 121.

[253](#) The site was a very poor one, as has often been pointed out (see, for example, Sachau, *l. c.*); for it was badly supplied with water, and lay apart from the great lines of communication.

[254](#) Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113 (with picture of the mound).

[255](#) Ainsworth, *Euphrates Expedition*, i, p. 203.

[256](#) The theory that the Sumerians were Mongols has been strongly supported by Hommel, Lenormant, and others, and as strongly denied by Halevy, Paul Haupt, and Donner. In recent-times attempts have been made by Hermann (*Ueber die Sumerische Sprache*, Russian Archaeological Congress, Riga, 1896), in a paper which I have not seen, to show that there is a connection between Sumerian and the Ugro-Finnish member of the Ural-Altai family. (See A. H. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. 273, ff.) The solution of the question is not yet found.

[257](#) A great controversy has raged about the question of this Sumerian language. It has been asserted by some that the view taken here is wholly erroneous, and that we have in these bilingual tests not two languages, but simply two forms of writing. According to this view the so-called Sumerian language was simply a cabalistic method of sacred writing, invented for their own purposes by Semitic priests. This view, first proposed in this form by Halevy, in the beginning secured some converts, but has latterly lost ground. To the present writer the facts seem wholly opposed to it. See Chapter VII.

[258](#) The northern origin of the Semites was adopted by Renan, *Histoire generale des langues semitiques*, 2d edit., p. 29, but the strongest argument for it is presented by J. Guidi, *Della Sede primitiva dei Popolo Semitici*, in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 3d series, vol. iii. (Some additions are made to the evidences of Guidi by Jacob Krall, *Grundriss der altorientalischen Geschichte*, I Theil, Wien, 1899, p. 31.) To this same view adheres Hommel, who has devoted much learning to its exposition and defense; for example, *La Patrie originaire des Semites*, in the *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, vol. i, pp. 217-228, Firenze, 1880; *Die Namen der Saugeithiere*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 496, ff.; *Die Semitischen Volker and Sprachen*, pp. 7, 11, 12, 59-63, 95, ff.; *Die Sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des Babylonisch-assyrischen* (Etudes archeologiques linguistiques et historiques dediees a C. Leemans, Leide, 1885, pp. 127-129) and *Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyriens*. Berlin, 1885, p. 267.

[259](#) Noldeke, Theodor, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 2^{te} Auflage. Leipzig, 1899, p. 11. Noldeke puts forward this view very tentatively and only as an hypothesis, and admits "dass die Herkunft aller Semiten aus Arabien sehr wohl denkbar ware" (p. 13).

[260](#) Professor D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, has suggested northwestern Africa as the primitive seat of the Semites, and has supported it with many arguments, chiefly ethnological. His paper, read before the Philadelphia Oriental Club, has been printed together with a criticism by Professor Jastrow, who inclines to Noldeke's view rather than to Brinton's. *The Cradle of the Semites*, by Daniel G. Brinton, 31. D., and Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., Philadelphia, 1890.

[261](#) Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*, 1st ed., p. 13. E. Schrader, *Die Abstammung der Chaldaer and die Ursitze der Semiten*, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii, pp. 397, ff. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 106, 107. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i, pp. 207, ff. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, pp. 490, 491. Winekler, *Die Volker Vorderasiens*. Leipzig, 1899, p. 10. Winckler states the general movements and the general relationships of the Semitic peoples very admirably in this brief tract.

[262](#) Jensen has suggested that they were "Semitized Sumerians," and Lehmann appears to agree with him (Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, p. 173), but at best the opinion is merely a guess and has no direct support in the inscriptions.

[263](#) These two King Lists have been repeatedly copied, collated, and verified. The chief literature upon them is as follows: (a) *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1884, pp. 193-204 (Pinches). (b) *Sitzungs-berichte der Berl. Ak. der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 579-607 (Schrader). (c) *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, I u. IT, Leipzig, 1894 (Knudtzon). (d) *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1888, pp. 22, ff. (Pinches). (e) *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1890, vol. ii, pp. 286, ff. (Schrader). (f) *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Losung*, Leipzig 1898 (Lehmann).

[264](#) See note 264.

[265](#) (a) The teat is catalogued in British Museum as BU. 91-5-9, 284, and is published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc.*, in the British Museum. Part VI, edited by E. A. w. Budge. London, 1898 (copied by Pinches). (b) The new Babylonian Chronological Tablet (BU. 91-5-9, 284, with translation). *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, January, 1899 (Sayce). (c) King, *Hammurabi*, ii and iii.

[266](#) First discovered and published by George Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iii, pp. 361, ff. The text is republished by Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 153.

[267](#) See the following publications. (a) *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vi, pp. 193, ff. (Pinches). (b) *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 148, ff. (Winckler). (c) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xix, pp. 655, ff. (Pinches). (d) Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 47, 48.

[268](#) (a) On a Cuneiform Inscription relating to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the events which preceded and led to it. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1881, vii, 139, ff. (Pinches). (b) *Untersuchungen zur altoriental. Geschichte*, pp. 154,155 (Winckler).

[269](#) (a) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1894, pp. 807, ff. (Pinches.) (b) *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. v, pp. 106, ff. (Pinches.) (c) *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1893-97, pp. 116, 116, 122, 124, and 297, ff. (Winckler).

[270](#) Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, vol. i, part i, pl. 30, teat 83.

[271](#) For example, by Hilprecht, *Assyriaca* (Boston,1894), pp. 20, ff., and also by Hommel in Hastings, Bible Dictionary, i, pp. 223, 224, and in *Expository Times*. On the other hand, winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, p.130, footnote 3, and also p. 267), Rost (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, in Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1897, p. 16), and Lehmann (*Zwei Hauptprobleme*, pp. 17, 18) are against this view. Lehmann is of the opinion, also, that the name in the King List is not Gulkishar, but perhaps Gulkikur (??) (op. cit., p. 17).

[272](#) I. R. 69, b. 4-8 (British.Museum Sti, 4-30, 2, col. ii, 20-26).

[273](#) *Orientalistische Zeitschrift*, iii, eol. 146 (1900).

[274](#) V R. 64, c. 27-30, *Comp. Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, 2, p. 107.

[275](#) This is the solution to which Rost is attached (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 15, 51, 52).

[276](#) V R., 62 b. 57-60. *Comp. Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, 2, p. 105.

[277](#) *Journal Asiatique* (1883), i, p. 89.

[278](#) *Geschichte*, p. 114.

[279](#) *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 167.

- [280](#) Delitzsch-Murdter, *Geschichte Babylonians and Assyrians*, 2d ed., pp. 72, f.
- [281](#) Hastings, *Bib. Diet.*, i, p. 224.
- [282](#) Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprob.*, pp. 172, ff.
- [283](#) *Untersuchungen*, p. 44, f.
- [284](#) III R. 38, 1 a. 12-18. Comp. George Smith, Asshurbanipal, pp. 250, ff., and *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii, p. 209, foot of the page.
- [285](#) III R., 14, 48-50. Comp. *Keil. Bibl.*, ii, p. 119.
- [286](#) *Untersuchungen*, p. 16.
- [287](#) *Zwei Hauptprobl.*, p. 98, ff.
- [288](#) III R. 43, col. i, 5, 27, 28.
- [289](#) So Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i, part i, p. 43, and Hom. mel in Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, 1, p. 224.
- [290](#) See on the Eponym Canon in general, Schrader, *Keilinschriften end Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen, 1878, pp. 299-356, where the references to the original texts are given.
- [291](#) On these Expedition Lists see again Schrader, *op. cit.*, and also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 61-67. Also Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, ii, pp. 178, ff.; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1889, vol. i, pp. 204, ff.
- [292](#) The synchronistic history is first published entire by F. E. Peiser and Hugo Winckler in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, pp. 194, ff.
- [293](#) III. R. 4, 2. Com. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 11, No. 1.
- [294](#) 1. R. 18, col. vii, lines 60-70. Corn. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i, p. 43, and *Records of the Past*, new series, i, p. 117.
- [295](#) Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, i, p. 9; Syncellus, ed. Dindorf.
- [296](#) So Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 9.
- [297](#) a v. Gutschmid's first paper appeared in the *Rheinisches Museum fur Philologie*, Neue Folge, Band viii (1853), pp. 252-267. It is reprinted in *Kleine Schriften, von Alfred von Gutschmid, herausgegeben von Franz Ruhl* (Leipzig, 1890), ii, pp. 97-114. Much of this paper was withdrawn by von Gutschmid in a review of Brandis, *Ueber den hist. Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der assyr. Insehriften in Neue Jahrbucher fur Philologie*, Band lxxiii (1856), pp. 405-421 (reprinted *Kleine Schriften*, ii, pp. 115, ff.), and was modified later in *Beitrage zur Gesehichte des Alten Orients* (1858), pp. 18, ff., and in *Neue Beitrage zur Gesehichte des Allen Orients* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 115, ff.
- [298](#) *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, vi, pp. 264, ff. This suggestion had pre-viously been made by Floigl, v., *Die Chronologie der Bibel des Manetho and Beros*. Leipzig, 1880, p. 259, *Gesehichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 7, but had escaped the attention of scholars generally. Peiser's suggestion was independent of Floigl.
- [299](#) So Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 4. Lehmann agrees with this (*Zwei Houptprobl.*, p. 107) on slightly different grounds.
- [300](#) *Simplicii in Aristotelis "De Caelo" commentario*. Consilio et autori. tate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editit J. S. Heiberg, Berlin, 1894, p. 606, line 14.

- [301](#) See the discussion in Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobl.*, p. 109, and especially the palaeographical observations of Professor Diels on p. 110, and the Nachtrage on p. 210.
- [302](#) Rost (*Untersuchungen*) has worked out the same comparison as Lehmann in practically the same way, but independently of him.
- [303](#) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 57 (ed. Mayhoff, Teubner, ii, p. 49).
- [304](#) Diodorus, ii, 31 (ed. Dindorf, Lips., 1828, i, p. 181).
- [305](#) Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopadie der class. Altertums-wissenschaft*, ii, p. 314.
- [306](#) Hommel, *Semiten*, i, pp. 329, ff. Compare in opposition to these attempts Tiele, *Geschichte*, i, p.109, and Winckler, *Untersuchungen z. altorientalische Geschichte*, 3, ff.
- [307](#) For this list see primarily *Table Chronologique des Reynes. . .des C. Ptolemee*, etc., par M. l'Abbe Halma, *Ouvres de Ptolemee*, tom. iii, Paris, 1819, p. 3, and comp. Georgius Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829, vol. i., pp. 390, ff., and Keil. *Bibl.*, ii, pp. 290, 291. winckler, *Kezlschrift-liches Textbuch zum Alteva Testament*, p. 68.
- [308](#) *Geschichte*, i, p. 169.
- [309](#) Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition as Illustrated by the Monuments*, London, 1897, pp. 125, ff.
- [310](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
- [311](#) Hommel, "The True Date of Abraham and Moses," *The Expository Times*, a, p. 211 (February, 1899).
- [312](#) ZA vi, 268, ff.
- [313](#) Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, i, p. 60; ii, p. 277.
- [314](#) Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobl.*, pp. 14, 15.
- [315](#) Winckler *Untersuchungen*, , Leipzig, 1889, p. 65.
- [316](#) Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i, part ii, p. 47, and p. 38, footnote 9.
- [317](#) The inscriptions of this king are published be Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, Nos. 90-92. See further Hilprecht's notes on p. 51.
- [318](#) There has been a long dispute over the meaning of the word. See es. pecially Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i, part iii, pp. 232, ff.; Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 49, and especially footnote 1; Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 31, footnote 3; Jensen, *Zeitschrift d. Deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxviii, 254, ff. The view set forth above owes much to Hilprecht.
- [319](#) Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 50.
- [320](#) Hieprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part ii, p. 53
- [321](#) *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- [322](#) *Ibid.*, plate 42, text No. 89.
- [323](#) Sungir (formerly read Gir-su) later becomes Sumer and gives its name to the whole of southern Babylonia. It appears in Hebrew in the form Shinar () Gen. xi.

[324](#) See translations of the inscriptions of Urukagina by Amiaud, *Records of the Past*, new series, i, pp. 68, ff., and Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bib.*, iii, part i, p. 10.

[325](#) The inscriptions of Ur-Nina are published in Heuzey-Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 1, No. 2; pl. 2, Nos. 1, 2; pl. 31. They are well translated by Amiaud (*Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i, pp. 64-66) and by Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bib.*, iii, part i, pp. 11-15.

[326](#) The name was originally read Edingiranagin. See now Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 42, note 1, and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xi, p. 330, note 2. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv, 70, note 6.

[327](#) This is the well-known stele of the Vultures, now in the Louvre. Most of our knowledge of it is due to Heuzey, who has given much time to its study. It has been the subject of some controversy, but Heuzey has been for the most part vindicated. See Heuzey, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, i, pp. 49-82, and *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1892, vol. xx, pp. 262-274, and *Decouvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 3, 4. The whole monument is well described by Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 606, ff., and by Hilprecht, *Recent Research in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 76, ff.

[328](#) By the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (see Hilprecht, *Old Barb. Ins.*, i, part i, p. 19).

[329](#) The signs with which the name is written are URU-MU-USH, the reading of them as Alusharshid as well as the translation of the inscription belongs to Hilprecht (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

[330](#) Inscriptions of Alusharshid have also been found in Sippar (*Academy*, September 5, 1891, p. 199, P. S. (see Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 21), and still others are in the possession of the British Museum, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc.*, in the British Museum, part vii, London, 1899, Nos. 12,161, 12,162.

[331](#) The credit of publishing the text of the inscription here referred to belongs to Winckler (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, p. 406), but he misunderstood and wrongly dated it at about 1600 B. C. (*Geschichte*, p. 82). Hilprecht correctly translated and located it on palaeographical evidence (*Old Bab. Inscript.*, i, part i, pp. 12, 13).

[332](#) *Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte*, von Hugo Winckler, Leipzig, 1892, No. 67, p. 22.

[333](#) The inscription was found February 28, 1891, by J. de Morgan, and is published by Scheil (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Phil. et Archéol. Egypt. et Ass.*, vol. xiv, liv. 1 & 2, pp. 100, ff.). See also Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Insc.*, vol. i, part i, p. 14, and Hommel, *Proceedings of the Society of Bib. Archaeology*, xxi, pp. 115, 116. The inscription had, however, been known long before it was seen by De Morgan. Sir Henry Rawlinson knew it, and, indeed, correctly understood it, save only that he made a slight error in reading the name. This anticipation of later work by the great explorer and decipherer is made plain in the following words extracted from an unpublished letter written under date of September 17, 1880, by Rawlinson to Professor Sayce: "Many thanks for your references, which I believe, however, were all duly entered in my notebooks. I am afraid we don't take quite the same view of the Geography of the Inscriptions. My own idea is that, at any rate until the time of Sargon, the Assyrians hardly penetrated beyond the outer range of the Perhim plateau. I think I can trace all the early campaigns (and can identify many of the names) along the western side of the great range from Sulimanieh to Susa. Instead of Nizir being at Alwend I place it at *Bend-i-Nuh*, Noah's ridge, the culminat-ing range of Zagros. The inscription at Sir Pul belongs to Kannubanini, king of the Lulubini, thus fixing their locality and showing them to be identical with the modern Luri or Luli."

[334](#) Published III R. 4, No. 7. It has been frequently translated, for ex-ample, by George Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Bib. Arch.*, i, pp. 46, 47; by Fox Talbot, *Records of the Past*, first series, vol. v, pp. 1, ff.; by Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 208, 209; and by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bib.*, iii, 1, pp. 100-103.

[335](#) First published by George Smith in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archceology*, i, pp. 47-61, and IV R. 34. See partial translations by Hommel (*Geschichte*, pp. 304-306) and Winckler (*Keilinschrift. Bib.*, iii, part i, pp. 102-107). The text is republished in IV Rawlinson, second edition, plate 34.

[336](#) So, for example, Winckler, *Geschichte Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 38.

[337](#) Hommel supposed the existence of another king Sargon, whom he located about 2000 B. C., whose conquests he believed were ascribed

to the earlier king (*Geschichte*, Berlin, 1886, p. 307, note 4). He has, however, since accepted the historical character of this king (art. "Babylonia," *Dict. of the Bible*, Hastings, i, p. 225, art. "The Oldest History of the Semites," *Expository Times*, December, 1896, vol. viii, pp. 103, ff.). Maspero believes that it is Sargon II (722-705 B. C.), who is projected back-ward (*Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. trans., New York, 1885, p. 599).

[338](#) Published by Winckler, *Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 22, and by Hilprecht, *Old Babyl. Ins.*, vol. i, part i, plates 1-3.

[339](#) Hilprecht, *Old Babyl. Ins.*, vol. i, part i, p. 15.

[340](#) *Op. cit.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 19.

[341](#) I R., 69, col. ii, line 29 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, 2, pp. 84, 85, tr. by Peiser).

[342](#) This fact comes from the astrological tablet, discussed above under Sargon, col. ii, lines 12-14.

[343](#) *Ibid.*, lines 15-16. Comp. I R. 3, No. 7 (on an object brought from Magan).

[344](#) Brick stamps of this king have been found at Nippur bearing the legend, "Naram-Sin, builder of the temple of Bel." Hilprecht, *Old Babylonia Ins.*, i, part 1, p. 18.

[345](#) V R., p. 64, col. ii, lines 57-60 (trans. by Peiser in *Keilinschrift. Bib.*, iii, part ii, p. 105).

[346](#) Hilprecht, *Old Bab., Inst.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 20.

[347](#) This is the judgment of Haynes, who dug down this wall. See Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[348](#) Cesnola found at Curium in Cyprus a seal with this inscription, "Apal-Ishtar (?) son of Ilu-bana, servant of the god Naram-Sin" (see Tomkins, *Abraham and His Age*, London, 1897, plate x, and p. xxviii). This would seem to show that Naram-Sin had been deified. See also M. Thureau Danguin (in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iv, No. iii, p. 76), who quotes the legend, "The god Naram-Sin, god of Agade, Sharru-Ishdagal, the scribe, thy servant."

[349](#) Heuzey, *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (seance du 28 aout, 1896).

[350](#) Published by Heuzey in De Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée*, plates 7, 8, copied and translated by Amiaud, in the same work. See also Y. Le Gac in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vii, pp. 125, ff., and Jensen, *Keil. Bib.*, iii, part i, pp. 19, ff. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale*, ii, pp. 124-135, and iii, pp. 42-48.

[351](#) Gudea A, published by Amiaud in De Sarzec, *Decouvertes, etc.*, p. iv, plates 20 and 13, and page 134. The credit of first explaining the exceedingly difficult expressions in this text which refer to the dream belongs to Zimmern (*Traumgesicht Gudea's*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iii, pp. 232-235). See now Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions of Gudea*, part i. Leipzig, 1899.

[352](#) Gudea B, col. vi, 64-66. Comp. Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, p. 38, note 9.

[353](#) Lukani and Ghalalama are known to us from an inscription of the latter upon a fragment of a statue now in the Louvre. See Heuzey, *Revue Archeologique*, 1886, pl. vii, No. 1., and also in De Sarzec, *Decouvertes*, pl. 21, No. 4; Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, pp. 70, 71.

[354](#) The ruins of Ur, now called Mugheir, have long been known. They were first explored by Taylor and Loftus. The early references to Ur and its commerce have been collected by Hommel (*Die Semitischen Völker u. Sprachen*, pp. 204-211, and *Geschichte*, pp. 212-218, 325-329).

[355](#) Published by Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part ii, No. 86.

[356](#) The reading of the name of this king has long been a bone of contention. It has been read Urukh, Urkham, Orkham, Urbagas, Urbabi, Likbabi, Amilapsi, Urea, Likbagas, Urbau, etc. Recently the form Ur-Gur has seemed likely to prevail. Inscriptions of this king are published I

R. 1, and translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, pp. 77, ff.

[357](#) See above, p. 206.

[358](#) The identification rests in the beginning upon a statement of George Smith: "I have only recently discovered the identity of Akkad with the capital of Sargon" (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 226), based on the finding of Agade in a Sumerian text with the interlineal transcription Accad in Assyrian. Comp. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 198, and Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscip.*, i, part ii, p. 58. On the other hand, Tiele, (*Geschichte*, p. 76), and Lehmann (*Shamashshumukin*, p. 73) argue against the view.

[359](#) Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 17, 18.

[360](#) The inscriptions of Dungi are published I R. 2, and translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 81, ff.

[361](#) IV R. 35, 7, line 9.

[362](#) The name used to be read Gamil-Ninib (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part i, p. 27); for his inscriptions comp. also IV R. 35, 5 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, p. 85).

[363](#) The name is also read Libit-Anunit (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part i, p. 27. Comp. also I R. 3, No. xviii (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii., part i, p. 87).

[364](#) Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[365](#) I R. 2, No. 5, 1 and 2 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, p. 87).

[366](#) I. R. No. 6, sub. 1 and 2 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, p. 87).

[367](#) On the inscriptions of these kings see Hilprecht, *Old. Bab. Ins.*, 1, part i, p. 27, and compare *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, pp. 87-91. See also Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Bib. Arch.*, vol. xxi, pp. 19, ff. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Revue Semitique*, 1897, pp. 72, ff.

[368](#) On this title, King of the Four Quarters (shar kibrat irbitti), see especially Lehmann, *Beitrage zu Assyriologie*, ii, p. 618; Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part i, p. 25.

[369](#) Comp. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 231, 232.

[370](#) I R. 2, No. viii, 1, 2, IV R. 36, 3, Brit. Mus., 82, 7-14, 181, copied by Peiser. All these are translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, pp. 82-86.

[371](#) V R. 62, No. 2, line 2. Comp. Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, ii Theil, Tafel i and ii.

[372](#) See Winckler as above and comp. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, i Theil, p. 76.

[373](#) His inscriptions are published, I R. 2, No. iv, and translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, p. 91.

[374](#) Inscriptions of this are published, I R. 6, No. xx (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 92, 93), and by Delitzsch in *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, pp. 391, ff. (see also *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 90, 91.).

[375](#) For business documents in his reign comp. Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xix, p. 73, and Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux relatif d la Phil. et archeol. Egypt et Ass.*, xx, pp. 64, 66. Comp. further Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, p. 207.

[376](#) III R. 38, 1 a. 12-18. See above, p. 319. The name appears in the form Kudur-Nakhkhunte in old Susian.

[377](#) See further on Chedorlaomer below, p. 390. A very similar view of the events is now taken by Winckler (in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, iii, p. 96).

[378](#) An inscription of Kudur-Marbuk is published I R. 2, No. iii, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 92, 93.

[379](#) Inscriptions of Rim Sin—that is, Eri-Aku—are found I R. 6, No. xvi, 3, No. x, *Mittheilungen des Akad-Orient-Vereins zu Berlin*, i, p. 16, and are translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 94, 96. On the reading of the name as Eri-Aku see Schrader in *Sitzungsberichte K. Preuss. A k. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 24 Oct., 1896, xli.

[380](#) IV R. 34, obverse 1. 8. *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 102, 103.

[381](#) The dates which are set down with the names of the kings of this dynasty must in all cases be taken as approximate only and as subject to the greatest doubt. They rest in all cases upon the original sources, but these sources contain numerous contradictions and discrepancies, and it is idle to attempt to make from them a chronology that may lay any claim to accuracy. See above, p. 338.

[382](#) The name Immeru occurs on a number of contract tablets, but without being called king. Events are, however, dated by his name, just as though he were king. (See Meissner, *Beitrage zum altbab. Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1893, Nos. 10 and 38; Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iv, pp. 8, 9.) His exact position is difficult to fix. He is located after Zahn by Meissner (*op. cit.*, p. 4), and this has found considerable acceptance (so Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprob.*, p. 31, and King, art. "Babylonia" in Cheyne & Black, *Enc. Biblica.*). Sayce, however, says he was a contemporary of Sumu-la-ilu, and perhaps . . . a vassal king of Larsa (*Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, London, 1899, p. 281).

[383](#) See *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, by L. W. King, M.A., three volumes, London, 1898, ff.

[384](#) See, for example, Rommel (*The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, London, 1897, p. 193, and elsewhere), Sayce (*Early Israel*, p. 213). Driver (*Authority and Archaeology*, p. 39) says, "There is little doubt" that Amraphel "is a corrupt representation of Khammurabi." But the name can scarcely be called "corrupt" in view of the form Ammu-rabi. Comp. Zimmern, *Theologische Rundschau*, i, p. 321.

[385](#) Kudur appears frequently in these Elamite names. Lagamar occurs as the name of an Elamite deity in an Assyrian text (V R. vi, col. 6, 33), and also in the inscriptions of Anzan-Shushinak (F. H. Weissbach, *Anzanische Inschriften, Abh. d. phil. Kist. Classe. der k. Sachs. Lies. d. Wissenschaften*, xii, p. 126. Leipzig, 1891). Unfortunately a sharp controversy has occurred over the name Chedorlaomer which was thought to appear in some texts of the period of the Arsacidm (see Pinches, *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, xxix, 1897, pp. 66, ff.), and Father Scheil thought that he also had found the name in early tablets (*Revue Biblique*, v, October, 1896, pp. 600, f.; *Recueil de Travaux relatifs . . . Egypt. et Ass.*, xix, 4, ff.). In the latter case King (*Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, London, 1898, p. xxix) has shown conclusively that the text was misread by Scheil and that the name Chedorlaomer does not occur on it. He has further demonstrated that the reading of Mr. Pinches is very doubtful. Keen and successful though his criticism is, it can hardly be denied that beneath all the obscurity there lies a real reference to the Chedorlaomer of Gen. xiv. Such, for example, is the view of Zimmern (*Theologische Rundschau*, i, pp. 320, 321) and Driver (*Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 42, 43). See, for a learned discussion of the whole matter, the article "Chedorlaomer," by Thiele and Kusters, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (ed. Cheyne Black), i, cols. 732-734.

[386](#) See Pinches, King, and Driver, as above cited, on Chedorlaomer.

[387](#) The Louvre Inscription Col. I 1-11 10. See, for full references to the original texts, Jensen in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, p. 123, and comp. also translation by Winckler (*Geschichte*, p. 64).

[388](#) See Winckler, *Geschichte*, pp. 63, 64.

[389](#) The text of Samsu-iluna here referred to is published by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 140) and translated by him, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 131, ff.

[390](#) Winckler reads Uru-azagga and supposes this to be a part of the city of Babylon (*Geschichte*, pp. 67, 68, 328). See on this Hilprecht's criticism (*Assyriaca*, pp. 25-27, 103), who reads simply Shish-khu and believes in the non-Semitic origin of the dynasty. To this Winckler replies in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i, pp. 275-277. Sayce has supposed Uruazagga to be represented by "a part of the mounds of Tello or its immediate vicinity" (*Records of the Past*, new series, i, p. 13), but later reads Sisku (*Early Israel*, p. 281.) Hommel has attempted to connect the first king of his dynasty with Prince An-a-an of Erech (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xvi, pp. 13-15), but without success (see Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, pp. 101, ff.).

[391](#) See further above on the Chronology, p. 339.

[392](#) Delitzsch believes that these are all one people (*Die Sprache der Kossaer*, p. 4). But see for reasons to the contrary Oppert (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iii, pp. 421, ff., and v, pp. 106, f.) and also Lehmann (*ibid.*, vii, pp. 328, ff.; *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesell.*, 1896, p. 306; *Zwei Hauptprobl.*, pp. 211, 212). Lehmann identifies the Kasshu with the Kissians, and against this view may be quoted Rost, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 43, 44. The name Kassite, which we have here adopted, is colorless and leaves the question undecided until more light has been obtained. It was proposed by Sayce (*Records of the Past*, new series i, p. 16), but he, nevertheless, identifies them with the Kosseeans (*ibid.*, note 7). Kassite is now in general use (for example, by Winckler, *Geschichte*, pp. 78, 79, and Hilprecht (Cassite), *Old Bab. Ins.*, vol. i, part i, p. 28; McCurdy (Kasshites), *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i, p. 143).

[393](#) . Strabo, *Geographica*, xv, 2 (ed. Augustus Meineke, vol. iii, p. 1014). Sennacherib (Taylor Cylinder, col. i, line 64, tr. by Rogers in *Records of the Past*, new series, vi, p. 86) found the Kashshi in the Kossaeen mountains. Comp. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak S4leimania*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 126, who locates them in the "*LutiBagtsche Bergland*."

[394](#) Ptolemaeus, v, 6, 6, quoted by Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 44.

[395](#) See above pp. 340-342.

[396](#) The name of this king is also abbreviated into Gande (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part i, pp. 28, ff.), and even into Gan (*ibid.*, p. 30). It also appears in the form Gaddash on an inscription published by Pinches (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, i, pp. 54, 78; comp. *Academy*, 1891, p. 221). The inscription is in the British Museum (84-2-11, 178), and is published by Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 156, No. 6). Also Hilprecht, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vii, p. 309, note 4, and *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part 1, p. 30, n. 3.

[397](#) This name is written Guyashi by Pinches and Winckler. Delitzsch discovered another sign before the GU (*Assyriologische Miscellen*, Sonderabdruck aus den Berichten der phil.-his. classe der K. Sikhs Gesell. der Wiss. Sitzung vom 8 Juli, 1893, p. 184). Knudtzon reads Bibeiashi, and avers that the reading is certain after a new collation (see Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobl.*, p. 19).

[398](#) The reading of the name is doubtful. It is sometimes read Ush-shi. Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete*, i, p. 60) reads Du; while Delitzsch suggests that it may be AD. Rost (*Untersuchungen*, p. 24) reads Abu (P) makhru.

[399](#) Reading doubtful. Delitzsch and Winckler read Adumetash, and so also Lehmann. Rost is doubtful and suggests a comparison with Attametu.

[400](#) Reading doubtful, though the signs are reasonably clear. Winckler reads Tash-shi-gurumash, because in the text of Agumkakrime the latter calls himself a son of Tash-shi-gurumash, a name so like this that they may, without violence, be thought the same (Delitzsch, *Assyriologische Miscellen*, p. 185).

[401](#) This- text was first published II R. 38, No. 2, and repeated in more perfect form V R. 33. It was collated by Delitzsch and then translated in *Kossaer*, pp. 55, ff. It was again collated by Bezold and, upon his contri. butions, translated by Jensen (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part i, pp. 134, ff.). For further literature see Bezold (*Ueberblick*, p. 57).

[402](#) Winekler (*Geschichte*, p. 79).

[403](#) So, for example, by Sargon II and Tiglathpileser III.

[404](#) These distinctions are due to the keenness of Winekler (*Geschichte*, pp. 80, 81).

[405](#) The location of Khani is now fairly well settled. Assurnazirpal (I R. 28, col. 1, 18, comp. *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, 124) alludes to "Mount Khana on the side of the lands of the Lullumi," and Billerbeck (*Sanschak Sul.*, p. 8) would identify this mountain with the "Karadagh oder das Bergland zwis. then diesem and dem Hamrin" See further, Sayce, *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, January, 1899, pp. 13, ff., who locates "the country of Khana on the eastern side of the Babylonian frontier."

[406](#) VA. Th. 422.

[407](#) Attempts to decipher this language have been made by Sayce (*Academy*, vol. zaavii, 1890, p. 94; *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, v, pp. 260-214), by Jensen (*Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, v, pp. 166-208; vi, pp. 34-72), and by Brunnow (*ibid.*, v, pp. 209-259).

[408](#) Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 135, 136; *Geschichte*, pp. 86, 87). For references to the El-Amarna letters from Kardunyash see below.

[409](#) Published II R. 66, and III R. 4, 3. See also Delitzsch, Kassaer, pp. 6, ff., and the valuable translation by Peiser and Winekler (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 194, ff.), which is based on a new collation by Winckler. See also above, p. 324.

[410](#) The name was formerly read Kallima-Sin (Winckler, *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, i, pp. 2, ff.), but see for the correction Knudtzon, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, xii, pp.269, 270.

[411](#) Col. i, lines 6-7.

[412](#) I R. 4, xiii, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, i, p. 163.

[413](#) I R. 4, Lehmann in *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, v, 417, and Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Ins.*, i, part i, p1. 20, etc.

[414](#) VA. Th. 149, 150, 151, 152. *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Heft i.

[415](#) Bu. 88-10-13, Nos. 21, 46, and 81.

[416](#) VA. Th. 150, 10, ff., translated by Zimmern, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, v, p. 139.

[417](#) These facts are found in the Babylonian Chronicle P, first published in translation by Pinches, *Records of the Past*, new series, v, pp. 106, ff., and retranslated more accurately by Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 115, f. With this chronicle is to be compared the Synchronistic History, in which there appear to be some errors. Comp. Winckler, *ibid.*, and also Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 54, etc.

[418](#) Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscip.*, vol. i, part i, p. 31.

[419](#) Comp. Chron. P, iii, 20-22, with Synchronistic History, i, 18, ff., and see Winekler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 122, 123, and Rost, *Untersuchungen*, p. 54, note 1. Chronicle P has here read Adad-nirari incorrectly for Bel-nirari.

[420](#) III R. 4, No. 1. Comp. Delitzsch, *Kossaer*, p. 10, and Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, vol. i, part i, p. 31.

[421](#) Chronicle P, col. iv, 3-6.

[422](#) See Hommel's acute suggestions for removing the chronological difficulties in winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 138, 139.

[423](#) Chronicle P, iv, 7-11.

[424](#) Synchronistic History, ii, 3-8.

[425](#) VI R. 41, i, 20.

[426](#) Synchronistic History, iii, 9-12.

[427](#) Jensen reads Isin (*Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, xi, p, 90), and Craig (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xiii, pp. 220, 221), supports him. Comp, also Rost (*Untersuchungen*, p. 10, note 2).

[428](#) So, for example, Rost, *l. c.*

[429](#) Hilprecht has tried, with great learning and acuteness, to prove that Nebuchadrezzar I was the first king of this dynasty (*Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i, part i, pp. 38-44), but without success. Delitzsch has shown that the name of Nebuchadrezzar could not have stood in the first place on the King List (*Assyriologische Miscellen*, p. 188), and Winekler has proved that this view cannot be reconciled with Assyrian chronology (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 28, 29, and *Altosriezatalische Forschungen*, i, p. 131).

[430](#) V R. 55-5h, and Hilprecht, *Freibrief Nebuchadrezzar's*. See also S. A. Smith, *Assyrian Letters*, iv, and Meissner in *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 259, ff. (by latter mistakenly ascribed to Nebuchadrezzar II).

[431](#) *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1882, p. 10, and comp. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, i, part i, p. 41.

A History of Babylonia and Assyria

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BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ASSYRIA

OF the period when the first settlers of a Semitic race entered Assyria nothing is known, but all things point to their coming from Babylonia. The oldest traditions of the Semitic peoples connect the Assyrians with the Babylonians, and the earliest titles of their rulers point to dependence upon the previous civilization in the south. We are unable to trace the political and social history of Assyria to any point at all approaching the vast antiquity of Babylonia.

There is evidence, as already seen, that the city of Nineveh was in existence at least three thousand years before Christ, but of the men who built it and reigned in it we know absolutely nothing. As in Babylonia, we are confronted in the beginnings of Assyrian history only by a name here and there of some early ruler of whose deeds we have only the simplest note, if indeed we have any at all. The first Assyrian ruler bears the title of *Ishakku*, which seems to mean priest-prince, and implies subjection to some other ruler elsewhere. These early rulers must have been subject princes of the kings in Babylonia, for there is no evidence yet found to connect them with any other state, while their traditional connections are all with the southern kingdom. The names of several of these *Ishakke* have come down to us, but are unhappily not able to arrange them in any definite order of chronological sequence. Apparently the first of them are Ishme-Dagan and his son, Shamshi-Adad I. The latter of these built a great temple in the city of Asshur and dedicated it to the gods Anu and Adad. We have no certain indications of the date of these rulers, but we are probably safe in the assertion that they ruled about 1830-1810 B. C.¹ After a short interval, probably, there follow two other priest-princes, whose names are Igur-Kapkapu and Shamshi-Adad II.² The names of two other *Ishakke* have also come down to us, Khallu and Irishum,³ but their date is unknown.

These six names are all that remain of the history of the early government of Assyria. At this period, about 1800 B. C., the chief city was Asshur, then and long after the residence of the ruler. There is no hint in these early texts of hegemony over other cities; though Nineveh certainly, and other cities probably, were then in existence. The population was probably small, consisting, in its ruling classes at least, of colonists from Babylonia. There may have been earlier settlers among whom the Semitic invaders found home, as there were in Babylonia when the Semites first appeared in that land, but of them we have no certainty. It is an indistinct picture which we get of these times in the temperate northern land, but it is a picture of civilized men who dwelt in cities, and built temples in which to worship their gods, and who carried on some form of government in a tributary or other subject relation to the great culture land which they had left in the south. The later Assyrian people had but faint memory of these times, and to them, as to us, they were ancient days.

At about 1700 B. C. the priest-prince ruling in Asshur was Bel-Kapkapu, according to a statement of Adad-Nirari III (811-783), a later king of Assyria, while Esarhaddon would have us believe that he was himself a direct descendant of a king, Bel-bani, and, though we may put no faith in such genealogical researches, perhaps greater credence may be given the other historical statement with which the name of Bel-bani is followed.⁴ According to the historiographers of Esarhaddon, Bel-bani was the first *Ishakku* of Asshur who adopted the title of king, having received the office of king from the god Marduk himself. If there be any truth at all in these statements, we must see in Bel-bani the first king of Assyria, but the fact is empty of real meaning, whether true or not, for we know nothing of the king's personality or works.

After these names of shadowy personalities there comes a great silent period of above two hundred years, in which we hear no sound of any movements in Assyria, nor do we know the name of even one ruler.⁵ At the very end of this period (about 1490 B. C.) all western Asia was shaken to its foundations by an Egyptian invasion. Thutmose III,⁶ freed at last from the restraint of Hatshepsowet, his peace-

loving sister or aunt, had swept along the Mediterranean coast to Carmel and over the spur of the hill to the plain of Esdraelon. At Megiddo the allies met him in defense of Syria, if not of all western Asia, and were crushingly defeated. The echo of that victory resounded even in Assyria, and whoever⁷ it was who then reigned by the Tigris made haste to send a "great stone of real lapis lazuli"⁸ and other less valuable gifts in token of his submission. It was well for Samaria that Thutmosis was satisfied with those gifts, and led no army across the Euphrates.

Soon after the invasion of Thutmosis III we again learn the name of an Assyrian king, for about 1450 B. C. we find the Kassite king of Babylonia, Karaindash, making a treaty with the king of Assyria, whose name is given as Asshur-bel-nisheshu.⁹ This latter is the first king of Assyria of whom we may consider that we know anything. He claims a certain territory in Mesopotamia, and makes good his claim to it. Assyria now is clearly acknowledged by the king of Babylonia as an independent kingdom. The independence of the northern kingdom was probably achieved during the two hundred years preceding, through the weakness of the kingdom of Babylonia. It must be remembered that it was in this very period that Babylonia was torn with internal dissension and fell an easy prey to the Kassites. While the Kassites were busy with the establishment of their rule over the newly conquered land the time was auspicious for the firm settling of a new kingdom in Assyria.

Shortly after, though perhaps not immediately, his successor, Puzur-Asshur, came to the throne (about 1420 B. C.). Like his predecessor, he also had dealings with the Babylonians concerning the boundary line; and beyond this fact noted by the Assyrian synchronistic tablet,¹⁰ we know nothing of him.

After Puzur-Asshur came Asshur-nadin-akhe (it is Asshur who giveth brothers), a contemporary of Amenophis IV,¹¹ the heretic king of Egypt, with whom he had correspondence.¹² A later king also records the fact that he built, or rather perhaps restored, a palace in Asshur. His reign was an era of peace, as these two facts apparently would prove, namely, the correspondence with the far distant land of Egypt, indicating a high state of civilization, and the restoration of a palace, and not, as heretofore, a temple.

He was succeeded by his son, Asshur-uballit (Asshur has given life), about 1370 B. C., and in his reign there were stirring times. His daughter, Muballitat-Sheru'a, was married to Kara-Khardash, the king of Babylon. Herein we meet for the first time, in real form, the Assyrian efforts to gain control in Babylonia. The son of this union, Kadashman-Kharbe I, was soon upon the throne. The Babylonian people must have suspected intrigue, for they rebelled and killed the king. This was a good excuse for Assyrian intervention, for the rebels had killed the grandson of the king of Assyria. The Assyrians invaded the land, and the Babylonians were conquered, and another grandson of Asshur-uballit was placed upon the throne, under the title of Kurigalzu II¹³ This act made Babylonia at least partially subject to Assyria, but many long years must elapse before any such subjection would be really acknowledged by the proud Babylonians. They were already subject to a foreign people, the Kassites, who had indeed become Babylonians in all respects, but it would be a greater humiliation to acknowledge their own

colonists, the Assyrians, a bloodthirsty people, as their masters. Asshur-uballit also made a campaign against the Shubari, a people dwelling east of the Tigris and apparently near the borders of Elam.¹⁴

Friendly relations between Assyria and Egypt were continued during his reign, and a letter¹⁵ of his to the Egyptian king Amenophis IV has been preserved, in which occur the following sentences "To Napkhuriya¹⁶ . . . king of Egypt my brother Asshur-uballit, king of Assyria, the great king thy brother. To thyself, to thy house, and to thy country let there be peace. When I saw thy ambassadors I rejoiced greatly . . . A chariot . . . and two white horses, . . . a chariot without harness, and one seal of blue stone I have sent thee as a present. These are presents for the great king." The letter then proceeds to ask very frankly for specific and very large gifts in return, and tells very clearly of the present state of the road between Egypt and Assyria.

In the reign of Asshur-uballit Assyria made a distinct advance in power and dignity, and this development continued during the reign of Asshur-uballit's son and successor, Bel-nirari (Bel-is-my-help)-about 1380 B. C. Of him two facts have come down to us, the mutual relations of which seem to be as follows: Kurigalzu II had been seated on the Babylonian throne by the Assyrians and therefore owed them much gratitude, but to assure the stability of his throne he must needs take the Babylonian rather than the Assyrian side of controversies and difficulties between the peoples. The grandson of Bel-nirari boasts concerning him that he conquered the Kassites¹⁷ and increased the territory of Assyria. By this he must mean not the Kassite rulers of Babylonia, but rather the people from whom they had come—that is, the inhabitants of the neighboring Elamite foothills. This conquest simply carried a little further the acquisition of territory toward the east and south which had been begun by Asshur-uballit's conquest of Shubari. But these Assyrian conquests led to Babylonian jealousy and then to a conflict between Kurigalzu II and Bel-nirari, in which the latter was victorious, and this, in turn, brought about a rearrangement of the boundary line by which the two kings divided between them the disputed territory,¹⁸ though it does not appear which was the gainer.

Again the succession to the throne passed from father to son, and Pudi-ilu (about 1360 B. C.) reigned in Asshur. He has left us only brief inscriptions,¹⁹ in which he boasts of building at the temple of Shamash, probably that at the capital city. From his son we learn that he was a warrior of no mean achievements, though our geographical knowledge is not sufficient to enable us to follow his movements closely. He is represented as overrunning the lands Turuki and Nigimkhi, and conquering the princes of the land of Gutium.²⁰ Beside these conquests to the north of the city of Asshur he also extended his borders toward the southwest by the conquest of the nomad people the Sutu. From reign to reign we see the little kingdom of Asshur grow. These conquests were probably not much more than raids, nor is it likely that at so early a period a serious effort was made by the Assyrians to govern the territory overrun.²¹ It was preparatory work; the peoples round about Asshur were gradually being brought to know something of its growing power. They would soon come to regard it as a mistress and consolidation would be easy. It was in similar fashion that the empire of Babylonia had grown to its position of influence.

Pudi-ilu was succeeded by his son, Adad-nirari I (about 1345 B. C.), who has left us two records, the one a bronze sword inscribed with his name and titles,²² the other a considerable inscription,²³ carefully dated by the eponym name, the oldest dated Assyrian inscription yet found. The latter is largely devoted to an account of the enlargement of the temple of Asshur in the capital, his wars being but slightly mentioned. In the enumeration of the lands conquered by him the countries already overrun by his predecessors are repeated-Shubari, the Kassite country, and Gutu, to which he adds the land of the Lulumi. The fact that these lands needed so soon to be conquered again shows that the first conquest was little more than a raid. But this time a distinct advance was made; Adad-nirari does more than conquer.

He expressly states that he rebuilt cities in this conquered territory²⁴ which had been devastated by the previous conquests. Here is evidence of rule rather than of ruin, and in this incident we may find the real beginnings of the great empire of Assyria. Again there were difficulties with Babylonia, and Adad-nirari fought with Kurigalzu II and with his successor, Nazi-Maruttash (about 1345 B. C.), both of whom he conquered, according to Assyrian accounts,²⁵ though the Babylonian Chronicle would give the victory to the Babylonian king, in the first case at least. In the inscription of the bronze sword Adad-nirari calls himself king of Kishshati, a title which is found earlier in an inscription of Asshur-uballit.²⁶ He does not call himself king of Asshur at all, though this title is given by him to his father and grandfather. Apparently he seems to claim for himself a greater dignity than that of ruler merely over Asshur, else would he certainly have called himself king of Asshur, as did his predecessors. But his own description gives us no means of determining the location or the bounds of the territory which he had conquered or over which he claimed rule. When his reign closed he left Assyria and its dependencies far stronger than when he took the government in his own hands.

His son, Shalmaneser I, was his worthy successor. From his own historiographers very little has come down to us—only two broken tablets,²⁷ from which it is difficult to make out any connected story, but the fame of his great deeds called forth more than one mention from later kings,²⁸ and these will enable us to reconstruct the main portion of his achievements. The general direction of his conquests was toward the northwest. This would seem to imply that the policy of his father had been successful, and that the territory toward the northeast and the southeast was peacefully subject to Assyria. He pushed rather into the great territory of the valley between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and therein established colonies as a bulwark of defense against the nomadic populations of the farther north. Still farther westward the land of Musri was also subjected. This land lay north of Syria, close to Mount Amanus, and hence very near to the great Mediterranean Sea. To reach it Shalmaneser must cross the Euphrates—the first time that Assyrian power had crossed the great river. Subsequent events show that the more westerly parts of the land which he conquered were not really added to the Assyrian state. As in the case of Shubari, so also in this, other invasions would be necessary. But this at least had been gained, the rapidly growing kingdom was firmly established as far as the Balikh, and perhaps even to the Euphrates beyond.

Small wonder is it that a conqueror of such prowess and an organizer of such ability should deem it necessary to build a new Capital worthy of so great a kingdom. The city of Asshur was old, and its location was far south, too near the old Babylonian border. A kingdom that was growing northward and westward needed a capital more nearly central in location. Shalmaneser I determined to erect his new

capital at Calah,²⁹ and so pitched upon a site which remained the capital of his country for centuries, and later became the southern portion of Nineveh itself. In peace as in war a man of foresight and skill, like his father, he left Assyria the greater for his living and ruling.

In the reign of his son and successor, Tukulti-Ninib (about 1290 B. C.), the irresistible progress of the Assyrian arms reached a glorious climax. There had once more arisen trouble between the two states of Assyria and Babylonia. Perhaps it was the old and vexed boundary question, which would not down; perhaps the never-forgotten restless ambition of the Assyrians to rule at Babylon. Whatever the cause or excuse Tukulti-Ninib invaded Babylonia with force sufficient to overwhelm its defenders and the imperial capital was taken. After an unexampled career of power and of civilization Babylon had fallen and the Assyrian plunderer was among her ruins. Tukulti-Ninib laid low a part of the city wall, even then massive, killed some of the defenders, and plundered the temple, carrying away into Assyria the image of the great god Marduk. This was no mere raid, but a genuine conquest of the city, which was now governed from Calah. Assyrian officers were stationed both in the north and in the south of the country. Tukulti-Ninib adopts the title of king of Sumer and Accad in addition to his former titles, king of Kishshati and king of Asshur. In his person were now united the latest Assyrian title and one of the most ancient titles in the world. The old and coveted land of Sumer and Accad, the conquest of which by Hammurabi had been the very making of his empire, was now ruled from the far north. A curious evidence of the rule of Tukulti-Ninib in Babylon itself was found by Sennacherib, probably during the second attack upon the city (689 B. C.). Tukulti-Ninib had sent to Babylon a seal inscribed with his name, and this was taken to Assyria.³⁰ For seven years only was this rule over Babylonia maintained. The Babylonians rebelled, drove out the Assyrian conqueror, and set up once more a Babylonian, Adadshum-usur (about 1268-1239 B. C.), as king over them. When Tukulti-Ninib returned to Assyria after his unsuccessful effort to maintain his authority in the south he found even his own people in rebellion under the leadership of his son. In the civil war that followed he lost his life, and the most brilliant reign in Assyrian history up to that time was closed.

Up to this point the progress of the Assyrians had been steady and rapid. The few Semitic colonists from Babylonia had so completely overwhelmed the original inhabitants of their land that the latter made no impression on Assyrian life or history, and in this alone they had achieved more than the Babylonians, after a much longer history and with greater opportunities. We have seen how the Babylonians were influenced by the Sumerian civilization and by the Sumerian people. Afterward they were first conquered by the Kassites and then so completely amalgamated with them that they ceased to be a pure Semitic race. Thus the influences of Semitism could not be perpetuated and disseminated by the Babylonians, while, on the other hand, the Assyrians suffered no intermixture. The latter had already so gained control of the fine territory which they first invaded as to be absolute masters of it. Under them the land of Assyria had become Semitic. More than this, they had gained sufficient influence by conquest over the older Aramaean peoples toward the southeast, between them and the Kassites and the Babylonians, as to take from the Babylonians the Semitic leadership. Their colonies in the upper Mesopotamian valley were centers of Semitic influence and stood as a great bulwark against the non-Semitic influences on the north. By crossing the Euphrates and conquering the land of Musri they had also threatened the older Semitic civilizations in Syria and Palestine. Would they be able to wrest the

power from them, as they had from the eastern Aramaeans and from the Babylonians? If this could be done, the Assyrians would hold in their hands the destinies of the Semitic race. It seemed as though they were to accomplish even this, when they were suddenly checked by the successful rebellion of the Babylonians, by civil war, and by the death of their great leader. This reverse might mean their permanent overthrow if the Babylonian people still had in their veins the courage, the dash, and the rugged independence of the desert Semite. If, however, the intermixture of Sumerian and Kassite blood, not to mention lesser strains, had weakened the Semitic powers of the Babylonians, the check to Assyria might be only temporary. It is a critical day in the history of the race. The severity of the blow to Assyria is evidenced not only by the results in Babylonia, but no less by the fragmentary character of Assyrian annals for a long time. It is, indeed, for a time difficult not only to learn the course of events in Assyria, but even the names and order of the kings. The Babylonian Chronicle³¹ mentions an Assyrian king, Tukulti-Asshur-Bel, in close connection with the history of Tukulti-Ninib, but in words so obscure that his relation to the history is difficult to understand. It is altogether probable that he reigned as regent³² in Assyria during the seven years in which his father was engaged in the reducing and ruling of Babylon, but of his deeds in these years we have no knowledge.

The successor of Tukulti-Ninib on the throne of Assyria was his son, Assurnazirpal I, who had led the rebellion against him. In his reign the ruin of Assyrian fortunes which began in his father's defeat and death went rapidly on. The Babylonian king, Adad-shum-usur, felt himself strong enough to follow up the advantage already gained by the restoration of his family to power, and actually attacked Assyria, from which he was only with difficulty repulsed.

The next Assyrian kings were Asshur-narara and Nabu-daian (about 1250 B. C.), of whose reigns we know nothing, although we are able to infer from the sequel that the Assyrian power continued to wane, while the Babylonian increased. The reigns were short, and were soon succeeded by Bel-kudur-usur and Ninib-apal-esharra, in whose clay the Babylonians under the leadership of Meli-Shipak and Marduk-apal-iddina invaded Assyria and stripped the once powerful kingdom of all its southern and part at least of its northern and western conquered territory. Apparently all was lost that the Assyrian kings of the earlier day had won, and the end of Assyrian leadership had come, but the motive force of the Assyrians was not destroyed.

The successor of Ninib-apal-esharra was Asshur-dan (about 1210 B. C.), and with him begins the rehabilitation of Assyrian power. He crossed the river Zab, and invading the territory which had been for some time considered Babylonian, restored a small section of it to Assyria. We know little else of his reign, but this is sufficient to mark the turning point and explain what follows. His great-grandson, Tiglathpileser, boasts of him that he reached a great age.³³ In his reign the rugged virtues of the Assyrians were preparing for the reawakening which was soon to come. Of the following reign of his son, Mutakkil-Nusku³⁴ (about 1150 B. C.), we have no information, though we are probably safe in the supposition that his father's work was continued, for we find in Babylonian history, as has been seen, no evidence of any weakening of Assyria, but rather the contrary. The gain in the Assyrian progress is shown more clearly by the reign of his son, Asshur-rich-ishi (about 1140 B. C.), who is introduced to us

very fittingly as "the powerful king, the conqueror of hostile lands, the subduer of all the evil."³⁵ The beginning of his conquests was made by a successful campaign against the Lulumi and the Kuti, who have found mention more than once before. They must have either become independent, during the period of Assyria's decline, or perhaps have been added to the restored Babylonian empire. Having thus made sure of the territory on the south and east, Asshur-rish-ishi was ready to meet the great and hereditary foe of Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar I was now king in Babylon, and, flushed with recent victory over a portion of Elam, was a dangerous antagonist. The issue between the kings seems to have been joined not in the old land of Babylonia south of Assyria, but in Mesopotamia, and the Assyrians were victorious. Of the other deeds of Asshur-rish-ishi we know nothing save that he restored again the temple of Ishtar in Calah.

Asshur-rish-ishi was succeeded by his son, Tiglathpileser I (Tukulti-pal-esharra, My help is the son of Esharra-that is, My help is the god Ninib). There was therefore no break in the succession and no new dynasty begins. Nevertheless, a new period of Assyrian history really commences with the next king. With Asshur-rish-ishi ends the first period of growth and decay and of renaissance. To his son he left a kingdom almost as great as Assyria had yet possessed. Tiglathpileser begins to reign with the titles of king of Kishshati and king of Asshur; the only title belonging to his ancestors which he did not possess was king of Sumer and Accad. With him we enter upon a wonderful period in the career of the Assyrian people.

CHAPTER II

TIGLATHPILESER I AND HIS SONS

TIGLATHPILESER I (about 1120 B. C.) was the grand monarch of western Asia in his day, and the glory of his achievements was held in memory in Assyria for ages after. It is fitting that one who wrought such marvels in peace and war should have caused his deeds to be written down with care and preserved in more than one copy.³⁶ To his gods he ascribed the credit of his works. Their names, a formidable number, stand at the very head of the chief written memorials of his reign. Here are Asshur, the ancient patron deity of his land, "the great lord, the director of the hosts of the gods," and Bel also, and Sin, the moon god; Shamash, the sun god; Adad, the god of the air, of storms, of thunder, and rain; Ninib, "the hero;" and, last of all, the goddess Ishtar, "the firstborn of the gods," whose name was ever to resound and be hallowed in the later history of Nineveh.³⁷ With so great a pantheon had the people of Assyria already enriched themselves.

The annals of the king show that he planned his campaigns well and had a definite aim in each struggle against his enemies. When he ascended the throne Babylonia was too weak to interfere with his labor of building up anew the Assyrian empire, and no immediate campaign southward was therefore necessary. On the other hand, there was a threatening situation in the north and west. The nomadic tribes, established in the hill country above the Mesopotamian valley, northward of Harran, had never been really subdued, and some fresh effort had to be made to hold them in check or the integrity of the

kingdom might be endangered. The tribe that was now most threatening was the Mushke. This people was settled in the territory north of Milid, the modern Malatiyeh, on both sides of the upper waters of the Euphrates. In later times they became famous as the Moschi³⁸ of the Greeks, and the Meshech³⁹ of the Old Testament, being in both cases associated with the Tubal or Tibareni, who at this period lived toward the south and west, inhabiting a portion of the territory later known as Kappadokia. The Mushke had crossed the Euphrates southward and possessed themselves of the districts of Alzi and Purukhumzi about fifty years before, in the period of Assyria's weakness. The Assyrians had once overrun this very territory and claimed presents for the god Asshur from its inhabitants, but it was now fully in the control of the Mushke, and had for these fifty years been paying tribute to them, and not to the Assyrians. Feeling their strength, and unopposed by any other king, the Mushke, to the number of about twenty thousand, in five bands, invaded the land of Kummukh. Here was indeed a dangerous situation for Assyria, for if these people were unchecked, they would not long be satisfied with the possession of this northern part of Kummukh, but would seize it all, and perhaps invade the land of Assyria itself. Trusting in Asshur, his lord, Tiglathpileser hastily assembled an army and marched against them. He must cross the rough and wild Mount Masius and descend upon his enemies among the head waters of the Tigris. How large a force of men he led in this venture we do not know, but his victory was overwhelming. Of the twenty thousand men who opposed him but six thousand remained alive to surrender and accept Assyrian rule. The others were savagely butchered, their heads cut off, and their blood scattered over the "ditches and heights of the mountains."⁴⁰ This savagery, so clearly met here for the first time, blackens the whole record of Assyrian history to the end. It was usual in far less degree among the Babylonians, so that the ascendancy of Assyria over Babylonia is, in this light, the triumph of brute force over civilization.

Having thus overwhelmed the advance guard of the Mushke, Tiglathpileser returns to reestablish, by conquest, the Assyrian supremacy over the southern portions of the land of Kummukh. This country was also quickly subdued and its cities wasted with fire, perhaps as centers of possible rebellion. The fleeing inhabitants crossed an arm of the Tigris toward the west and made a stand in the city of Sherishe, which they fortified for defense. The Assyrian king pursued across mountain and river, and carried by assault their stronghold, butchering the fighting men as before. The men of Kummukh had some forces from the land of Qurkhe⁴¹ as allies, but these profited little, and the united forces were overwhelmed. Again the Tigris was crossed and the stronghold of Urrakhin-ash laid waste. Rightly appreciating the terrible danger that threatened them, the inhabitants gathered together their possessions, together with their gods, and fled "like birds"⁴² into the mountain fastnesses that surrounded them. Their king realizing the hopelessness of his state, came forth to meet his conqueror and to seek some mercy at his hand. Tiglathpileser took the members of his family as hostages, and received a rich gift of bronze plates, copper bowls, and trays, and a hundred and twenty slaves, with oxen and sheep. Strangely enough he spared his life, adding complacently to the record the words: "I had compassion on him, (and) granted his life," which hereafter was to be lived under Assyrian suzerainty. By these movements the "broad land of Kummukh" was conquered, and the Assyrian ruled at least as far as, if not beyond, Mount Masius. Great achievements these for the first year of a reign, and the next year was equally successful. It began with an invasion of the land of Shubari, which had been conquered before by Adad-niari I, and had again rebelled, thence the king marched into the countries of Alzi and Purukhumzi, of which we

heard in his first campaign, in order to lay upon them anew the old annual tribute so long unpaid to Assyria. The cities of Shubari surrendered without battle on the appearance of Tiglathpileser, and the district north of Mount Masius was all a tribute-paying land. On the return from this campaign the land of Kummukh is again devastated. The exaggeration of the king's annals appears strongly here, for if, in the campaign of the first year, Kummukh had been so thoroughly wasted as the king's words declare, there would certainly have been little left to destroy in the next year. This time there is added at the conclusion one sentence which did not appear before. "The land of Kummukh, in its whole extent, I subjugated and added to the territory of my land."⁴³ Well may such a conqueror continue in the words which immediately follow: "Tiglathpileser, the powerful king, overwheeler of the disobedient, he who overcomes the opposition of the wicked."⁴⁴ The control of the great Mesopotamian valley in its northern portion between the Tigris and the Euphrates is safely lodged in Assyrian hands.

The third year of the reign of Tiglathpileser contained no less than three campaigns. The first, against Kharia⁴⁵ and Qurkhi, we cannot follow in its geographical details, and are therefore unable fully to realize its meaning and importance. It was a mountain campaign, full of toilsome ascents, and carried on with the usual savage accompaniments. In quite a different direction lay the course of the second campaign of this year. In stead of the north, it was the south that now claimed attention. The king crosses the Lower Zab River, which discharges its waters into the Tigris not far south of the ancient capital, Asshur, and conquers an inaccessible region amid the mountains of its upper courses. A third campaign again carries him to the north against Sugi, in Qurkhi, and results also in a victory, from which no less than twenty-five gods were brought back to Assyria in triumphal subjection to Anu, Adad, and Ishtar.

The great undertaking of the fourth year of the king's reign was a campaign into the lands of the Nairi.⁴⁶ By this the annals of Tiglathpileser clearly mean the lands about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, lying north, west, and south of Lake Van. In this territory there was as yet no Chaldian kingdom, but no less than twenty-three native kings or princes united their forces to oppose the Assyrian. There was more mountain climbing to reach them, and then they were severely punished. The kings were taken alive, and after swearing oaths of fealty to the gods of Assyria were liberated. Chariots and troops of horses, with much treasure of every kind, were taken, and a yearly tribute of twelve hundred horses and two thousand oxen was put upon the inhabitants, who were not removed from their land⁴⁷ One only of these twenty-three kings--Sini, the king of Daiyaeni⁴⁸--refusing to surrender as the others, resisted to the last. He was therefore carried in chains to Assyria, where he probably saw reasons for submission, for he was suffered to depart alive. This episode in the king's conquests is concluded with the claim that the whole of the lands of Nairi were subdued, but later history shows clearly that further conquest was necessary. It was a great move forward in Assyria's growth into a world power to have accomplished this much. As a part of the same campaign tribute was collected from the territory about Milid, and another year of activity was ended.

By comparison with the previous four years the fifth seems a year of less result. Aramaean peoples

inhabiting the Syrian wastes, west of the upper waters of the Euphrates and south of the city of Carchemish, had crossed the river into Mesopotamia. Tiglathpileser expelled them, and so again strengthened Assyrian supremacy in northern Mesopotamia as far as Carchemish. Following up his easily won victory, the king crossed the Euphrates in pursuit and laid waste six Aramaean cities at the foot of Mount Bishri.

The campaign of the next year was directed against the land of Musri,⁴⁹ which had already felt the arm of Assyria in the reign of Shalmaneser I. The people of Musri were aided by allies from the land of Qumani,⁵⁰ and both lands were subjugated and a yearly tribute put upon them, after they had suffered all the horrors of the savage Assyrian method of warfare. In the language of the annals, their heads were cut off like sheep."

The king thus records the results of his five years of campaigns: "In all, forty-two centuries and their kings from beyond the Lower Zab (and) the border of the distant mountains to beyond the Euphrates, to the land of the Hittites and the Upper Sea⁵¹ of the setting sun, from the beginning of my sovereignty until my fifth year my hand has conquered. Of one mind I made them all; their hostages I took; tribute and taxes I imposed upon them." With this notice in the annals of Tiglathpileser ends all account of his campaigns. No other word concerning any further raids or ravages is spoken. Were it not for the Synchronistic History we should know nothing more of his prowess. The information which thus comes to us is not so full as are the notes which we have already passed in review, but it supplies what was needful to round out the circle of his marching and conquering. It was improbable that a king who had conquered north, west, and east should not also find cause for attacking the coveted land of Babylonia.

From the Synchronistic History⁵² we learn that he twice invaded the territory of Marduk-nadin-akhe and marched even to Babylon itself, where he was styled king of the Four Quarters of the World. So ends the story of the wars of Tiglathpileser I. He had not only restored the kingdom of Assyria to the position which it held in the days of Shalmaneser and Tukulti-Ninib; he had made it still more great. Never had so many peoples paid tribute to the Assyrians, and never was so large a territory actually ruled from the Assyrian capital.

But Tiglathpileser was no less great in peace than in war. He brought back the capital of Assyria from Calah to Asshur and almost rebuilt the city, which had thus again become important. The temples of Ishtar, Adad, and Bel were rebuilt. The palaces which had fallen into ruin during the absence of the court were again restored and beautified. And then into this city thus renewed, and into this land enlarged by conquest, the king brought the wealth of the world as he had gathered it. Goats, fallow deer, and wild sheep were herded into the land. Horses in large numbers taken from conquered lands or received in yearly tribute were added to the peaceful service of agriculture. But not even here did the king rest. He caused trees also to be brought from great distances and planted in the land he loved.⁵³ It is a marvelous story of peaceful achievement, worthy of a place by the side of his overpowering success in war.

In addition to the serious work of war and peace the king found time to cultivate the wiles of a sportsman, and great are his boasts of the birds and the cattle and even the lions which he slew. This

passion for sport is commemorated long afterward in an inscription of Assurnazirpal, in which we are told that Tiglathpileser sailed in ships of Arvad upon the Mediterranean.⁵⁴ It follows from this that after the six campaigns, enumerated above, the king must have made another which carried him out to the Phoenician coast, where his successors were later to fight great battles and win great triumphs.

Of the conclusion of the reign of Tiglathpileser we know nothing. He probably died in peace, for he was succeeded by his son, Asshur-bel-kala (about 1090 B. C.), and the latter was followed after a short reign by another son of Tiglathpileser, Shamshi-Adad I (about 1080 B. C.). So easy and unbroken a succession makes it a fair presumption that the times were peaceful. The sons were not able to bear the burden which came to them, so that there is speedily a falling off in the power and dignity of the kingdom. When we look back on the reign of Tiglathpileser and ask what of permanent value for Assyria was achieved by all his wars the answer is disappointing. He might boast that he had conquered from east to west, from the Lower Zab to the Mediterranean, and from the south to the north, from Babylonia to Lake Van, but what were these conquests, for the most part, but raids of intimidation and of plunder? He did not really extend the government of Assyria to such limits, even though in Kummukh he actually appointed Assyrian governors. Over this great territory, however, he made the name of Assyria feared, so that the lesser peoples surrendered at times without striking a blow for freedom, while the greater peoples dared not think of invading Assyrian territory. This insurance against invasion was the great gain which he brought to his country. By carrying savage war to other nations he secured for his own a peace which gave opportunity for progress in the arts. These great temples and palaces required time for their erection and time for the training of men who were skilled in the making of bricks and the working of wood. The very inscription from which we have learned the facts of his reign, a beautiful clay prism with eight hundred and nine lines of writing, bears impressive witness to a high state of civilization and an era of peace.

Of the reigns of the two sons we know almost nothing. Asshur-bel-kala maintained terms of peace with Marduk-shapik-zer-mati (about 1094-1083 B. C.), king of Babylonia, who thereby seemed to be considered an independent monarch and not subject to the Assyrians, as his predecessor had been. In this reign the capital appears to have been transferred to Nineveh,⁵⁵ and a word in the only inscription of the king which has come down to us hints at the king's control in the west.⁵⁶ After a short reign Asshur-bel-kala was succeeded by his brother, Shamshi-Adad, whose only work known to us was the rebuilding of the temple of Ishtar in Nineveh-another proof that the capital was now located at this city and not at Asshur.

After this reign there is another long period of silence in Assyrian history, of which we have no native monumental witnesses; a period of immense importance in the history of mankind, for it was a time not only of silence but of actual decay in the Assyrian commonwealth. As the fortunes of Assyria were at so low an ebb, the time was favorable for the growth and development of peoples elsewhere who were for a time free from the threatening of Assyrian arms. When once more we come upon a period of historical writing and of great deeds in Assyria we shall find the Assyrian conquerors confronting a changed condition of affairs in the world. To the growth of new conditions elsewhere we must now address our thought for a better understanding of Assyrian movements after the silent period.

CHAPTER III

THE INCREASE OF ASSYRIAN POWER OVER BABYLONIA

AFTER the dynasty of Isin had ceased to rule in Babylonia, brought to an end we know not how, there arose a dynasty known to the Babylonian historiographers and chronologists as the dynasty of the Sea Lands. The territory known as the Sea Lands was alluvial land at the estuaries of the Tigris and the Euphrates upon the Persian Gulf. This fertile country, already beginning to show its growing power, was destined at a later period to exercise a great influence upon the history of Babylonia. The dynasty of the Sea Lands numbered only three kings, who reigned together but twenty-one years and five months,⁵⁷ or, as the Babylonian Chronicle has it, twenty-three years.⁵⁸ This variation in the time given by the two chief Babylonian authorities is instructive in its showing that the Babylonians themselves did not preserve so accurate a memory of this time as of the earlier and later periods.

The first king of the dynasty was Sibar-shipak (about 1074-1057 B. C.), of whose reign we know only that it ended disastrously, for he was slain and buried in the palace of Sargon.⁵⁹

The next king was Ea-mukin-zer (about 1057 B. C.), who reigned but five months according to the King List, or three months according to the Chronicle. Of his reign, also, we have no further knowledge.⁶⁰

The last king was Kasshu-nadin-akhe, son of Sippai, who reigned but three years (about 1056-1054 B. C.) (Chronicle, six years), whose works are likewise unknown to us.

All of these kings, according to the statement of a later monarch, had labored upon the rebuilding of the Temple of the Sun at Sippar.

Immediately after this dynasty there follows another of three kings, called the dynasty of the house of Bazi, of which we know only the names of the rulers and the somewhat doubtful number of years which they reigned. These kings are

Eulbar-shakin-shum, seventeen years (Chronicle, fifteen) (about 1053-1037 B. C.). Ninib-kudur-usur, three years (Chronicle, two) (1036-1034 B. C.).

Silanim-shukamuna, three months (about 1033 B. C.).

After this dynasty comes another with only one king, whose name is unknown. He is called an Elamite, reigned six years, and was buried in the palace of Sargon (about 1032-1027 B. C.). In his seizing of the throne we are reminded of the former Elamite movements under Eri-Aku.

With these three dynasties we have passed over a period of history in Babylonia of perhaps forty-six years. Our lack of knowledge of the period is of course partly due to absence of original documents, but it is also probably due to the fact that there was little to tell. We have lighted upon degenerate days. The real Babylonian stock had exhausted its vigor, and was now intermixed with Kassite and other foreign blood—a mixture which would later prove stronger than the pure blood which had preceded it, for mixed races have generally been superior to those of pure blood. But there was hardly time yet for a display of its real force. Besides this Babylonia had suffered from invasions from Assyria, from Elam, and from the Sea Lands, at the head of the Persian Gulf. It was not surprising that a period not only of peace but of stagnation had come.

The most noteworthy fact in these forty-six years is the arising from the far south of the so-called dynasty of the Sea Lands. The names of these three kings are chiefly Kassite, and that would seem to imply that the Kassites had also overrun this land as well as the more central parts of Babylonia. However that may be, this is the country which is also called the land of the Kaldi, or, in the later form, the land of Chaldea. This is the period of the growth and development of new states on all sides, as we shall see in the survey to follow, and it is the first appearance of the Chaldeans in Babylonian history. Their subsequent history shows that they were Semites, though perhaps, as above stated, of somewhat mixed blood. It is not known when they first entered the land by the sea, from which they had now invaded Babylonia. It has been suggested that their power in Babylonia was attained not by conquest, but by a slow progress of emigration.⁶¹ The view is plausible, perhaps even probable, for they seem to have become kings in a period of profound peace, but there is no sure evidence.

In following the line of Babylonian kings we have now reached another period of extreme difficulty. The native Babylonian King Lists are so badly broken that no names are legible for a long period, and but very few of the numerals which give their years of reign. It is possible, however, from the fragmentary notices of Assyrian kings, from the Synchronistic History, and from certain business documents to recover a few of the names, which will be set down in their approximate order as the story progresses. The next of the kings of Babylonia seems to have been Nabu-ukin-abli,⁶² who reigned apparently thirty-six years (about 1026-991 B. C.), and whose portrait, accompanied by his titles as king of Kishshati and king of Babylonia, is given on a curious boundary stone. This is all that is known of him or his reign.

While we have been laboriously threading our way through the weary mazes of this obscure succession of dynasties in Babylonia we have left aside a period of silence in Assyria after the reign of Tiglathpileser I and his two sons. We have now seen that during this period there was no display of power and energy in Babylonia, but the people of Chaldea, using perhaps this very opportunity, had been able to establish themselves well in their own land, and even to attain power in Babylonia.

In the west there were movements of still greater importance among the Semitic peoples. Just as the decay of Babylonian power gave opportunity to the Chaldeans, so the decay of Assyrian power and the consequent absence of its threats against the west gave great opportunity to the peoples of Syria and Palestine. As the Assyrian power must soon meet these new foes, as well as old foes in new locations,

we must survey this field of the west before we proceed further with the story of Assyria.

Several times before in this history we have met with a people known as the Aramaeans. Like the Assyrians and Babylonians, they were a Semitic people whose original homeland was Arabia, and probably northern Arabia. Whether Aramaeans began to leave Arabia before or after the Babylonians will probably never be known with certainty. As the Mesopotamian valley was so much more desirable a place of dwelling than the lands later occupied by the Aramaeans, it seems reasonable to suppose that this valley was already occupied by the Babylonians when the Aramaeans came out of Arabia and moved northward. They left settlements along the edges of the Babylonian kingdom, some of which were readily absorbed, while others remained to vex their stronger neighbors for centuries. In their migrations toward the north they seemed to follow very nearly the course of the Euphrates, though bodies of them crossed over toward the Tigris and became, as we have seen, thorny neighbors of the Assyrians during the founding of the Assyrian kingdom. At the period which we have now reached their strongest settlements were along the northern Euphrates, in the neighborhood of the river Sajur. Pitru (the biblical Pethor⁶³) and Mutkinu, which had been filled with Assyrian colonists by Tiglathpileser, were now in the hands of the Aramaeans. It is altogether probable, also, that they had silently possessed themselves of territory farther north along the Euphrates, perhaps even as far as Amid, which Tiglathpileser had conquered, but which had to be reconquered, and from the Aramaeans, in a short time. But the greatest achievement of the Aramaeans was not in the upper Mesopotamian valley. They were in force in this valley when the Hittite empire fell to pieces, and to them came the best of what it possessed. Carchemish, at the fords of the Euphrates, had been passed by, and moving westward, they had seized Aleppo and Hamath and then, most glorious and powerful of all, Damascus fell into their hands. Here they founded their greatest kingdom, and centuries must elapse before the Assyrians would be able to break down this formidable barrier to their western progress. But these facts have another significance besides the political. The Aramaeans were essentially traders. The territory which they now possessed was the key to the trade between the east and the west. The products of Assyria and of Babylonia could not cross into Syria and thence in ships over the Mediterranean westward without passing through this Aramaean territory, and so paying tribute. The Aramaeans had become the land traders, as the Phoenicians were the sea traders. Now, the Assyrians were also a commercial people, shrewd, eager, and persevering. It could not be long before the king of Assyria would be pressed by the commercial life of Nineveh to undertake wars for the winning back from the Aramaeans of this territory so valuable in itself, and so important for the development of Assyrian commerce. However the Assyrians, who were never a maritime people, might endure the submission of their commercial ambition to the Phoenicians on the sea, it was not likely that they would yield up the highways of the land to a people less numerous and less strong than themselves. In the period of decay that followed the reign of Tiglathpileser this new power had risen up to bar their progress. We shall see shortly how the difficulty was met.

During the same period another power, not so great, and yet destined to influence strongly the later history of Assyria and soon to excite Assyrian cupidity, had been slowly developing in the land of Palestine south of the Aramaean strongholds. When the Hebrews crossed over the Jordan into Palestine they found a number of disorganized tribes lately freed from Egyptian rule and not yet organized into a

confederation sufficiently strong to resist the fresh blood which came on them suddenly from out the desert.⁶⁴ The Hebrews in their desert sojourn had worn off the feeling of a subject population, and from the desert air had taken in at every breath the freedom which to this very day inspires the desert Arab. It was a resistless force which Joshua led in the desultory campaigns beyond the Jordan. The period of the Judges was a rude and barbaric age, but it was an age in which Israel developed some idea of national life and some power of self-government. If the conquests of Tiglathpileser had continued many years longer, he would surely have been led to invade Palestine, and the Hebrews, without a fixed central government, without a kingly leader, without a standing army, would have fallen an easy prey to his disciplined and victorious troops. But the period of Assyrian weakness which followed his reign gave the needed breathing spell in the west, and the kingdom of Saul and David was established. Herein was established a new center of influence ready to oppose the ambition of Assyrian kings and the commercial cupidity of Assyrian traders.

The political aspect of western Asia had changed considerably in the period 1050-950 B. C. During this century we do not know anything of the life of the Assyrian people. The names of the kings Assurnazirpal II (about 1050 B. C.), Erba-Adad, and Asshur-nadin-akhe belong in this period, and the last two erected buildings in the city of Asshur, the restoration of which became a care to a later king⁶⁵ after a lapse of one hundred and fifty years. After these kings there ruled a certain Asshur-erbi, though whether he was their immediate successor or not does not appear. He has left us no accounts of his wars or of his labors. From the allusions of two later Assyrian kings we learn that it was in his reign that the Aramaeans seized Pitru (Pethor) and Mutkinu,⁶⁶ so that his reign is another evidence of the period of weakness and decay in Assyria. But he seems, on the other hand, to have invaded the far west, for on the Phoenician coast he carved his portrait in relief upon the rocks,⁶⁷ probably in the rocky gorge of the Nahr-el-Kelb, north of Beirut, a place much used for the same purpose by later Assyrian conquerors.

At about 950 B. C. Tiglathpileser II began to reign in Assyria, and from his time on to the end of the Assyrian empire we possess an unbroken list of the names of the kings. He is called king of Kishshati and king of Asshur,⁶⁸ and with his name and his titles our knowledge begins and ends. He was succeeded by his son, Asshur-dan II⁶⁹ (about 930 B. C.), and he again by his son, Adad-nirari II (911-891 B. C.), in whose reign the old struggles between Assyria and Babylonia began again. Babylonia was now ruled by Shamash-mudammik, and these two monarchs met in battle at the foot of Mount Yalman and the Babylonian was utterly overthrown. We hear no more of him, and his life may have ended in the battle.

The struggle was renewed by his successor, Nabushum-ishkun, who likewise suffered defeat at the hands of Adad-nirari II, and was compelled to yield some cities to the Assyrians, after which a treaty of peace was made between the two nations. Besides these notices of the relations between the two kingdoms our only record of the times is a short inscription of Adad-nirari II,⁷⁰ in which his genealogy only is given. His son, Tukulti-Ninib II (890-885 B. C.), introduces us to the threshold of a new period of Assyrian conquest. He began again the campaigns in the north, which had rested since the days of

Tiglathpileser I, over whose course, in part, he marched, piercing the highlands even to the confines of Urartu (Armenia) and extending his ravages from Lake Urumiyeh on the east to the land of Kummukh on the west. At Supnat (Sebeneh-Su) he caused his relief portrait to be set up alongside of that of Tiglathpileser, whose exploits he had been emulating.

In his reign Assyria gives plain indication that the period of decay and of weakness was past. The Babylonians had been partially humbled, and were at least not threatening. The Assyrians were therefore free to begin again to assert the right to tribute in the north and northwest. In the next reign the issue is joined, and a new period of Assyrian progress begins.

CHAPTER IV

THE REIGN OF ASSHURNAZIRPAL

WHEN Assurnazirpal (885-860 B. C.) succeeded his father on the throne of Assyria he inherited opportunities rather than actual possessions. The kingdom over which he ruled from his capital city of Nineveh was comparatively small. Babylonia, while not physically so strong as Assyria, was, nevertheless, entirely independent under the reign of Nabu-apal-iddin (about 880 B. C.), who probably began to reign very shortly after Assurnazirpal. The countries to the north which had been conquered by Tiglathpileser I and again overrun by Tukulti-Ninib were only tributary, and not really governed from Nineveh. Furthermore their tribute was not paid voluntarily, but only when an Assyrian army stood ready to collect it by force. The Aramaeans possessed the best lands in the upper Mesopotamian valley, and must be met on the field of battle. The opportunity was great, because none of these peoples were strong enough to oppose Assyria single-handed, and there was no present prospect of any sort of union between them. Assurnazirpal was in every respect the man for this situation; no king like him had arisen before in Assyria.

Abundant historical material enables us to follow closely the development of his plans and the course and conduct of his campaigns. His standard inscription upon alabaster⁷¹ contains three hundred and eighty-nine lines of writing, and gives, in almost epic grandeur, the story of the truly imperial plans which he had made for Assyria. This longest and best known text is supplemented by no less than eight other texts,⁷² some shorter originally, some fragmentary. Some of these are repetitions, either in the same or varying phrase, and thus add to the certainty of the text which may be made from their comparison.

In the very first year of the king's reign his campaigns of conquest begin, and it is in the north that he must first tranquilize populations by destruction and savage butchery. The course of his march was first northwestward, apparently following closely the course of the Tigris for a short distance and then striking due north over "impassable roads and trackless mountains" to the land of Nimme, which we are to locate west of Lake Van, about the neighborhood of Mush.⁷³ Here were found strong cities, meaning thereby cities fortified against invasion, which were soon captured, with the loss of many fighting men

to the enemy. According to the Assyrian account the remainder of the defenders fled into the mountains, there to hide like birds until, after a three days' march, Assurnazirpal overtook them "nested" amid the fastnesses and slew two hundred of them. Thence returning again into their country, he threw down the walls of their cities and dug them up, and set fire to the heaps of ruins. There was no reason to doubt that the survivors would pay tribute to Assyria, if indeed anything had been left them wherewith to pay after such a visitation. The memory of such discipline might be expected to abide, while the report of it was sure to spread rapidly, after the fashion of an oriental story, among surrounding tribes who might learn from it the wisdom of surrender and of tribute paying without an attempt at a defense of national or tribal liberty. So it fell out, for when Assurnazirpal, leaving the waste behind him, went southwestward into the land of Kurruri,⁷⁴ by the side of Mount Rowandiz, he found ready for his taking a great tribute of oxen, sheep, wine, and a bowl of copper, and an Assyrian governor was easily established over the land, to look rather after its tribute than its worthy governing. And while these events were happening the people of Gozan between the Tigris and Lake Urumiyeh) and the people of Khubushkia,⁷⁵ who lived west of them and nearer the old limits of Assyria, also sent a voluntary tribute consisting of "horses, silver, gold, lead, copper, and a bowl of copper." From such bloodless successes the king turned southward into the land of Qurkhi of Betani (along the bank of the Tigris eastward of Diarbekir) and fought with a population who only fled to the mountains after a bitter defeat. They also were overtaken, and two hundred and sixty of their heads were built into a pyramid; their cities were wasted and burned, and an Assyrian governor was set to rule them. Bubu, the son of the chief of Nishtum, one of their cities, was flayed in the city of Arbela and his skin spread on the fortress wall.

So stands the sickening record of the first year's campaign.⁷⁶ This savage beginning augured ill for the new states which had sprung up since the days of Tiglathpileser. What mercy was there to be found in a man of this quality? If years and vigor were his portion, it would be difficult to set a limit to his success as a conqueror, while the early placing of governors over communities which had surrendered seemed to imply that he had also gifts as an administrator. But we follow his story further. In the next year (884 B. C.) the king invaded Kummukh, perhaps to insure payment of the annual tribute, or there may have been signs of rebellion. There was more of conquering to do on the way, and then Kummukh was entered, apparently without a struggle. But before the king's purpose had developed, whatever it may have been, he was summoned to the banks of the Euphrates.

The Aramaean communities along the Euphrates had no central government. They lived under the old forms of city governments, some still independent, some dependencies of Assyria with Assyrian governors. Bit-Khalupe was one of these subject communities located on the Euphrates, about halfway between the Balikh and the Khabur (modern Halebe), and the governor was Khamitai, an Assyrian subject. There was a rebellion here-so ran the intelligence brought to the Assyrians-the Assyrian governor was slain, and his place had been given to a certain Akhiyababa brought from Bit-Adini. It was summons enough. Assurnazirpal showing thereby the mobility of his army, came southward along the course of the Khabur, halting at Sadikan (or Gardikan, the modern Arban⁷⁷) to receive tribute from an Aramaean prince, Shulman-khaman-ilani, and again at Shuma to receive like honor from Ilu-Adad, in silver, gold, lead, plates of copper, variegated cloths, and linen vestments. The news of his approach

reached Bit-Khalupe, and the faint hearts of the people sank in them. They surrendered, saying as they came from the city gates and took hold of the conqueror's feet, in token of submission, "Thou willest and it is death, thou willest and it is life; the will of thy heart will we perform."⁷⁸ But even this abject surrender did not avail with such a man as Assurnazirpal. He attacked the city and compelled the delivering up of all the soldiers who had joined in the rebellion. No mention is made of the treatment of the private soldiers, but their officers' legs were cut off. The nobles who had shared in the uprising were flayed, and their skins stretched over a pyramid erected, and apparently for this very purpose, at the chief gate of the city. Then the city, plundered of all its wealth and beauty,⁷⁹ was left a monument of ferocity and a warning to conspirators. The unhappy Akhi-yababa was sent off to Nineveh, there to be flayed that his skin might adorn the fortress walls, while his place as Assyrian governor over Bit-Khalupe was taken by Azilu. As in the former year, the story of this punishment went abroad. The rulers of Laqi⁸⁰ and Khindanu⁸¹ hastened to send tribute to the conqueror while he was staying at Suri, while yet another Aramaean people, the Shuhites, sent Ilubani, their ruler, and his sons to carry a costly tribute direct to Nineveh.

Following these events there was a lull in the king's actions, while he stayed at Nineveh, as though there were no more lands to conquer. But news reached him of a revolt among Assyrian colonists planted by Shalmaneser I at Khalzi-lukha,⁸² under the leadership of one Khula. Again must the king march northward into lands always troubled. On this march the king erected at the sources of the river Supnat a great inscribed portrait of himself by the side of the reliefs of Tiglathpileser I and Tukulti-Ninib. Thence he moved northwestward to the slopes of Mount Masius, where Khula was captured, his men butchered, and his city razed. On the return march, in the country of Nirbi, the lowlands about the modern Diarbekir,⁸³ he took and devastated the chief city, Tela, which was defended by a threefold wall, slaying three thousand of its fighting men. A little farther south the king approached the city of Tuskha,⁸⁴ in whose site he apparently recognized an important vantage point, for he halted to restore it. The old city wall was changed, and a new wall built in massive strength from foundation to the coping. Within these walls a royal palace was erected, an entirely new structure. A new relief of the king's person, fashioned of white limestone, and inscribed with an account of the king's wars and conquests in the land of Nairi, was set in the city walls, to be studied as a warning by its inhabitants. The city thus rebuilt and restored was peopled by Assyrian colonists and made a storehouse for grain and fodder. The aim, apparently, was to use it as a base of supplies in military operations against the north and west. Some of the inhabitants of the land had fled, but upon payment of homage were allowed to return to their cities and homes, many of these in ruins. A heavy annual tribute was put upon them, and their sons were taken away to Nineveh as hostages.

While engaged in this work of reconstruction much tribute was received from neighboring states. Later in the year another district in the land of Nirbu, near Mount Masius, revolted, and was subdued in the usual manner. On the return journey to Nineveh the people of Qurkhi, the inhabitants about Malatiyeh, and the Hittites paid tribute to the apparently resistless conqueror. The next year (882) witnessed an uprising in the southeast led by Zab-Dadi, a prince of the country of Dagara, to whom the people of

Zamua⁸⁵ also joined themselves. There was thus in revolt a considerable section of territory lying in the mountains east of the Tigris and between the Lower Zab and the Turnat (modern Shirwan) Rivers. Not satisfied with the attempt to escape annual tribute, these daring warriors thought to invade Assyrian soil. The battle with them, fought, out in the lowlands, was an Assyrian victory, and the campaign ended in the receipt of a heavy tribute, and the taking of many cities, which, contrary to former custom, were not destroyed.⁸⁶ This new method was, however, soon abandoned, for the next year (881) these people refused to pay their tribute, and their country was again invaded. This time savagery had its sway, and the cities were dug up and burned, while blood was poured out like water. It was now safe to advance through the broken land farther into the mountains for more plunder, but we are not able to follow the king's movements in this extended campaign for lack of geographical knowledge.

It is especially noteworthy that, though the usual destructions prevailed, there were again displayed some constructive ideas, for the city of Atlila,⁸⁷ which had previously been destroyed by the Babylonians, was rebuilt and made an Assyrian fortress, with a king's palace, and with the Assyrian name of Dur-Asshur. This completed, for a time at least, the subjugation of the eastern borders of the kingdom, and the king could establish a regular collection of tribute in the north. The wealth poured into Calah year after year in these raids must have been enormous. Herein lies the explanation of the possibility of maintaining a standing army and carrying on conquests of outlying territory. The Assyrian people could not have stood the drain of resources necessary for foreign conquest, nor could the merchants of Nineveh have borne a system of taxation sufficient to maintain armies so constantly on the march. It is noteworthy that nearly every campaign made thus far in this brilliant reign was for tribute gathering. The king was not yet ready for the attempt to add largely to his empire, nor even to extend widely the area of his tribute getting. Time for the training of his army was necessary, and funds had to be accumulated for the payment and equipment of his troops. Undoubtedly many adventurers from among foreign conquered peoples fought in the armies of Assurnazirpal, and found their compensation in such booty as they were allowed to appropriate. It remains, however, true that the cost of the military establishment must have been great, and the collection of tribute supplied this outlay. The king watched closely the collection of tribute, and nonpayment anywhere was the signal for a sudden descent on the offenders. "During the eponymy of Bel-aku (881 B. C.) I was staying in Nineveh when news was brought that Ameka and Arastua had withheld the tribute and dues of Asshur my lord"⁸⁸ --so began this campaign of which we have just spoken, and so began many another. Herein we have an instructive commentary on the whole policy of Assyria for years to come. Let us recall the need of conquering the Aramaeans to secure commercial extension, and the need of the tribute to maintain an army capable of such conquest, and in these two motives, the one depending upon the other, we have the explanation of Assyrian history for this reign, and for not less than six reigns after it.

In the next year (880 B. C.) the king collected in person the tribute of the land of Kummukh, afterward pushing on through the land of Qurkhi, into the fastnesses of Mount Masius, for a like purpose, and finally returning to the fortress of Tushkha to continue his former building operations. That so large a part of the year is occupied with the careful and systematic collection of tribute foreshadows a great campaign of conquest toward which this storing up of supplies of money and material is a necessary

preparation. Possibly the traders of Nineveh, profiting by the earlier punishment of the Aramaeans, were urging the king to wider conquests in the prosperous west, which would result in a still further extension of their trade. However that may be, the year 879 brought matters of immense importance in Assyrian history. The king first marched southwest to the Euphrates and the Khabur. The Aramaeans of Bit-Khalupe had not forgotten their sore discipline, and paid their tribute at once. And in like manner one community after another gave their silver and gold, their horses and cattle, to their suzerain as he moved slowly down the Euphrates to Anat (modern Anath).

All this resembles former campaigns, but now a sudden change appears. Attempting to collect tribute at Suru (another city of the same name as the capital of Bit-Khalupe), Assurnazirpal finds the Shuhites, whose chief city Suru was, in league with the Kassite Babylonians in their resistance. The Babylonian king at this time was Nabu-apaliddin, who began to reign in his ancient city probably very soon after Assurnazirpal began to reign in Assyria. He was either a weak man or a man of extraordinary policy, or he would long before this have been in conflict with his northern neighbor. In the discontent of the Shuhites he saw a hopeful opportunity for injuring Assyria without too great risk to his own fortunes. He contributed to the revolt not less than fifty horsemen and three thousand footmen—a considerable contribution in the warfare of that century. For two days the battle raged in and about Suru before the Assyrians obtained the mastery. Assurnazirpal punished this uprising in his usual way, by utterly wasting the city, slaying many of its inhabitants, and carrying away immense spoil. He is probably narrating only the simple truth when he says that the fear of his sovereignty prevailed as far as Kardunyash and overwhelmed the land of Kaldu. The Babylonian king, though he continued to reign for some time after this, gave no further trouble to Assyria. He was kept busily engaged in his own land in two important enterprises. The Aramaean tribe known as the Sutu, whom we have met in this story in northern Babylonia, had centuries before wrought ruin at the ancient religious city of Sippar, where the worship of the sun god had its especial seat. With the destruction of the temples the worship carried on for so many centuries ended. The former kings belonging to the dynasty of the Sea Lands, Shamashshipak and Kassu-nadin-akhe, had tried in vain to prevent the total destruction of the temple and to reorganize its worship. Their efforts had completely failed, and the temple had now become a hopeless ruin, covered with sand of the near-by desert. Here was a work for the pious king. Dislodging the Sutu from the city by force of arms, Nabu-apal-iddin began the reconstruction and restoration of the fallen temple, and carried the work to a successful conclusion, setting up again the splendid old ceremonial worship of the sun. The inscription in which he has celebrated these deeds is one of the most beautiful monuments of ancient Babylonia.⁸⁹ To carry them out fully he seems to have maintained the peace with Assurnazirpal and his successor.

But if the success and severity of Assurnazirpal caused the king of Babylon to occupy himself entirely with internal affairs, it had little effect on the hardy and daring Aramaeans, for scarcely had the Assyrian king returned to Calah when he was again called into the field by the revolt of the men of Laqi and Khindanu and of the whole Shuhite people. This time the king was better prepared for the work in hand, for he had boats constructed at Suru, and was therefore able to follow the fugitives to the river islands. The ruin of this campaign seems awful even after the lapse of centuries. The cities were utterly broken down and burned, the inhabitants butchered when they could be taken, and even the standing crops were

destroyed that neither man nor beast might eat and live. It was no real compensation for such deeds that two new cities were founded, one on the hither bank of the Euphrates, named Kar-Assurnazir-pal (that is, fortress of A.), and the other on the far bank, called Nibarti-Asshur⁹⁰ (that is, the ford of Asshur), for these could only be intended for military purposes, and not as a contribution to civilization or as abiding places for a ruined people. But the king was not satisfied that he had got at the root of the trouble, and the next year followed up his advantage with another campaign apparently intended to cut off any further rebellion at the fountain head. It seems probable that the real source of the energy and enthusiasm which sustained so many rebellions among the Aramaeans was the state of Bit-Adini, on the Euphrates, above the mouth of the Khabur.⁹¹ The most powerful Aramaean settlements were here, and the capital city, Kap-rabi⁹² (great rock), was populous, well fortified, and defiant. If this city were taken, there would be hopes of crushing out completely the spirit of resistance.

In his next campaign (877 B. C.) Assurnazirpal besieged the city and took it by assault, in which eight hundred of the enemy were killed and two thousand four hundred made prisoners. This was followed by its complete destruction, and an end was therefore made of incitements to rebellion in Bit-Adini. The effect on the remaining Aramaean settlements along the Euphrates was as marked as it was sudden. Others sent their unpaid tribute at once, and there was, during the reign of Assurnazirpal, no further trouble over the prompt payment of the Aramaean tribute. With this campaign Assurnazirpal had not indeed ended forever the fitful struggles of the Aramaeans against superior force. These were all renewed again in the very next reign. He had, however, settled the question that there could be no strong Aramaean state in that valley. The Aramaean people must go elsewhere to make their contribution to history and civilization.

The time had come, therefore, when all the lands north, east, and west as far as the Euphrates which had paid tribute to Tiglathpileser I were again paying it regularly to Assurnazirpal. There were no more of these states left to tranquilize. Most of them had been dealt with cruelly, many had been devastated, and thousands of their inhabitants butchered with all the accompaniments of oriental savagery. These communities had not been added regularly to the empire to be governed by satraps or officers making regular reports to the king in Assyria and receiving instructions from him. If such had been the plan, the peoples who paid tribute would have been receiving some sort of return in social order and royal direction for the heavy tribute paid. They were receiving nothing in return. They had to look to themselves for protection against the forays of barbarians who inhabited the mountain passes about them. Such a status was not likely to be permanent. While their punishment had been too severe for them to venture again to excite the wrath of such a monarch, they might nourish their wrath and hope for a better day. Perhaps the next Assyrian king might be a weak man, and they would be able to throw off the yoke in his day. Meantime, while Assurnazirpal held the reins of government, it would be well to pay the tribute and give no excuse for a raid. But with this quiescence of the tributary states the employment of his army became a serious question with Assurnazirpal. He had made a fighting machine such as had not been known before. His men had been trained in adversity, toughened by hard marches, and brutalized by scenes of blood and fire. He could not disband it, for at once the tribute-paying states, unterrified by it, would throw off their dependence and the influx of gold would cease. He could not hold it in idleness, for such an aggregation of brutal passions would inflame the

commonwealth and disturb the peace. The army would also soon lose its efficiency if unemployed, for the elaborate modern systems of drill for the conserving of health and the promotion of discipline were unknown. It is plain that these men must fight somewhere; but where should it be, and for what ulterior purpose? Ambition might answer to the king, for conquest and the extension of Assyrian territory, and greed might urge to further tribute getting, and commercial enterprise might clamor for the reopening of old lines of trade to the west through the territory of the Aramaeans. It was this last which prevailed, though the two former ideas had their influence and their share in the decision.

It was in the month of April⁹³ of the year 876 that Assurnazirpal began the great westward movement in which all his highest endeavors were to culminate. All else had been but preparation. The first part of his march, across the great Mesopotamian valley, was little else than a triumphal progress. Every one of the Aramaean settlements on or near his route to the Euphrates sent costly tribute, consisting of chariots, horses, silver, gold, lead, and copper, most of which must be sent back to Calah, while the king marched on. When the Euphrates was reached it was crossed at its flood, in boats made of the skins of animals, and the city of Carchemish⁹⁴ was entered. The glory of the city had departed. Once the capital of the great Hittite empire, now broken in power, it was now merely the center of a small state, of which Sangara was ruler. His policy was direct and simple. He was willing to pay down the sum of twenty talents of silver, one hundred talents of copper, two hundred and fifty talents of iron, along with chains and beads of gold and much other treasure, if he were simply let alone. Though deprived of its political influence, Carchemish was now an important commercial city. War could only destroy its commerce, and success against the renowned Assyrian conqueror was doubtful, if not absolutely impossible. National pride counted for nothing. The primary desire was to get the Assyrians out of the country as soon as possible; and well might they pay a heavy tribute to gain so great a boon as that. Neighboring states, fearing invasion and plunder, likewise sent tribute, and the king could move on farther westward. Crossing the river Apre (modern Afrin) after a short march, Assurnazirpal came into the territory of another small state, called Patin, which was apparently Aramaean or partially so. The capital of the state was Kunulua, and the ruler was Lubarna, whose territory extended from the Apre to the Orontes, and thence over the mountain ridges to the sea near Eleutheros, with northern and Southern limits not now definable.⁹⁵ It was a rich and fertile country, and might well excite the cupidity of the Assyrian army. Lubarna offered no resistance to the invader, but was anxious only to expedite his progress, with presents truly regal in amount and in magnificence.⁹⁶ The march was then southward across the Orontes to the city of Aribua,⁹⁷ located near the Sangura River, which was a southerly outpost of Lubarna. Though Lubarna had so thoroughly submitted to the Assyrians in hope of getting them out of the country, Aribua was made an Assyrian outpost, colonists settled in it, and grain and straw, harvested by force in the lands of the Lukhuti, were stored in it. Whether the town was to become the capital of an Assyrian province or merely a base of supplies for possible hostile operations does not appear. And now there was no one to oppose the king's march north and west into the green slopes of the Lebanon. From beneath the historic cedars an Assyrian king again looked out over the Mediterranean, and with far greater hopes of securing a foothold there than any of his predecessors had ever had, whether Assyrian or Babylonian.

While this invasion was in some measure a raid for booty, it was more powerfully conceived and better disciplined than the others had been. When Sargon I had marched hither he passed through lands scantily populated with peoples, with whom he had little contact. There was no possibility of making an empire out of Babylonia and a province on the far western sea, with vast uncontrolled territories between. When Tiglathpileser I came out to the same sea he had left great territories and populous communities between him and the homeland, and, like the early Babylonian, there could be no hope of making an empire out of two lands so widely separated. But Assurnazirpal had measurably changed the situation. He did not, it is true, actually rule the entire territory from the Lower Zab and its overhanging hills to the Lebanon, but he had broken its spirit, and was received as its conqueror. In many places rule was exercised by governors, both native and Assyrian, whom he had appointed. In yet others there were towns peopled by Assyrian colonists, stored with Assyrian provisions, and defended by massive walls of Assyrian construction. The situation was indeed changed, and the result of this invasion might well be different. Assurnazirpal knew the conditions with which he was confronted, and fully appreciated the opportunity for making a great empire. The Mediterranean was even then the basin upon which touched the greatest empire of the world; and the Egyptians understood the value of their geographical situation. The Phoenicians were already a powerful commercial people. The Hebrews formed an important center of influence in Canaan. What relation should Assyria come to sustain to these powers of antiquity? An augury of the answer to that question came as Assurnazirpal halted on the Lebanon. The people of Tyre, of Sidon, of Tripolis,⁹⁸ and of Arvad sent splendid gifts, a fatal blunder, for it was a confession of weakness, which would be noted and remembered by the Assyrians. It was a recognition of the power of the Assyrian arms, of which almost every Assyrian king boasts in the stereotyped phrase: "By the might of the terrible arms;" and the Assyrians would bring forth yet greater daring as they remembered that the commercial rulers of the west feared their power too greatly to test it. And, worst of all, it was a confession to the world that these western peoples, who fronted the Mediterranean cared more for the profits of their commerce than for freedom. We shall see very shortly the results of this sending of gifts to the Assyrian king. Assurnazirpal had achieved his present purpose in this direction. He did not go down to Tyre or Sidon to look upon the weaklings who paid tribute without seeing his arms, but turned northward into the Amanus mountains on an errand of peace. Here he cut cedar, cypress, and juniper trees and sent the logs off to Assyria. Somewhere else in the same district he cut other trees, called *mekhri* trees, which seem to have been numerous enough to give their name to the country in which they were found. These were taken back to Nineveh and offered to Ishtar, the lady of Nineveh.

So ended, in the peaceable gathering of building materials, a remarkable campaign. Assurnazirpal had succeeded brilliantly where his predecessors had failed. But as we look back over the entire campaign we can discern significant silence concerning one western people. There is no allusion to Damascus or to any of its tributary states. They were all left undisturbed, and a glance at the map reveals how carefully the Assyrian army had avoided even their outposts. To have attacked that solidly intrenched state would have been certain disaster, and Assurnazirpal was wisely instructed in passing it by. Years must elapse before the Assyrians should dare attack it.

The campaign was noteworthy also in that there had been almost no savagery, no butchering of men, scarcely any ruthless destruction of cities. This better state of war was of course due to no change of

method on the part of Assurnazirpal, but simply to the almost entire absence of resistance. The former campaigns had terrified the world, and the fruits of severity were an easy conquest and the development of the peaceful art of building. The burning of cities and the slaughter of men were resumed in 867 in a small campaign through the lands of Kummukh, Qurkhi, and the oft-plundered country about Mount Masius. It was emphatically a campaign of tribute collecting, and the only matters of any political consequence were the appointment of an Assyrian governor over the land of Qurkhi and the carrying of about three thousand captives into Assyria. Such a leavening as that might influence the Assyrian people.

These renewed ravages ended the wars of Assurnazirpal; the remainder of his reign was devoted to works of peace. But it would be a mistake to suppose that campaigning had occupied his entire attention during his reign, for undoubtedly the two chief works of his reign were executed partially during the very period when he was most busy with tribute collecting. These works were the rebuilding of the city of Calah and the construction of a canal. The former was necessary because the city which Shalmaneser I had built had been deserted during the period when Assur was again the capital, and a short period of desertion always meant ruin to Assyrian buildings. Only the outer surface of its thick walls was built of burnt brick, the inner filling being composed of unburnt brick merely, so that a trifling leak in the roof transformed this interior into a mass of clay, speedily causing the walls to spring. Judging from the hundreds of references in Assyrian literature to the restoration of walls and buildings, it may justly be thought that the Assyrians were especially bad roof builders. Indeed their advance in constructive skill never kept pace with their progress in the arts of decoration. It is this anomaly which has left us without any standing buildings in Assyria, while vast temples still remain in Egypt. It is, of course, to be observed that Assyrian construction would doubtless have shown a different development had stone been abundant as a building material. As an offset to this, however, it must be remembered that brick is one of the most durable of materials when properly baked and laid, and that the Assyrians knew how to bake properly is evidenced by their clay books, which have survived fire and breakage and wet during the crash and ruin of the centuries. Besides the general reconstruction of Calah, Assurnazirpal built himself a great palace, covering a space one hundred and thirty-one yards in length and one hundred and nine in breadth,⁹⁹ which remained a royal residence for centuries. Its massive ruins have been unearthed at Nimroud, being the northwestern one of the three there discovered. His second great work was the construction, or reconstruction, of an aqueduct to bring an abundant supply of water to the city from the Lower Zab. The river bank was pierced near the modern Negub, and the water first conveyed through a rock tunnel and then by an open canal to the great terrace. Its course was lined with palms, with various fruit trees, and with vineyards, and well was it named *Babelat-khigal*--the "bringer of fruitfulness."¹⁰⁰

In the year 860 B. C. the reign of Assurnazirpal ended in peace. He had wrought great things for Assyrian power in the world, and the empire as he left it was greater actually and potentially than it had ever been before. Of the man himself the world can have no pleasant memories. No king like him in ferocity had arisen before him, and in Assyria at least he was followed by none altogether his equal. One searches the records of his reign and finds seldom anything more than catalogues of savage and relentless deeds. So rarely indeed does a work of mercy or peace brighten the record that it is a relief to turn the page.

CHAPTER V

SHALMANESER II TO ASSHUR-NIRARI II

SHALMANESER II (859-825 B. C.), who succeeded his father, Assurnazirpal, continued his policy without a break, and even extended it. We are even better instructed concerning his reign, for more historical material has come down to us from it. The most important of his inscriptions is a beautiful obelisk of black basalt. The upper parts of the four faces contain beautifully carved figures of various animals which the king had received in tribute and as gifts, each illustration being accompanied by an epigraph explaining its meaning. The lower parts bear inscriptions recounting in chronological order the campaigns of the king. There are no less than one hundred and nine lines of compact writing upon this one monument.¹⁰¹ This story of his wars is supplemented by the fine monolith of the king, containing his portrait in low relief, covered with one hundred and fifty-six lines of text¹⁰² And this again, in its turn, is supplemented by fragmentary inscriptions upon bronze plates which once covered massive wooden doors or gates.¹⁰³ From these three main sources of information we are able to follow in order all the chief events of the king's reign. The accounts, however, are less picturesque and full of life than those of his predecessor. Campaigns are often dismissed in a few colorless words, and the record takes on the nature of a catalogue rather than of a history. We shall therefore present the story of his reign, not in its chronological but rather in its logical order, following the circle of his achievements from country to country. The annalistic style of Assurnazirpal may stand as the representative of this reign, with the difference, already mentioned, that it possesses greater breadth and richer color.

For twenty-six years Shalmaneser led every campaign in person-an amazing record. His armies were then sent out under the leadership of the Tartan Asshur-dayan. Like his father, Shalmaneser was oppressed by the weight of his own army. It must fight or die, and when there was no excuse for operations of defense there must be a campaign to collect tribute, and when that was not needed fresh conquests must be attempted.

From his father he also inherited the old Aramaean question, which was to consume much of his energy through a considerable part of his reign. We have seen that Assurnazirpal broke the spirit of the Aramaeans in the Mesopotamian valley and compelled them to pay tribute regularly. But, though this was true, it was to be expected that they would try his successor's mettle at the first opportunity. Of these states Bit-Adini was still the most powerful as well as the most daring. We are not told what act of Akhuni, ruler of Bit-Adini, led to an outbreak of hostilities, but we shall probably not be far wrong if we ascribe it to the ever-vexing tribute. Whatever the difficulty, Shalmaneser invaded the country in 859, the first year of his reign, and captured some of its cities, but apparently did not directly attack the capital. The invasion had to be repeated in 858 and again in 857, and in both years there were displays of savagery after the fashion of Assurnazirpal. Pyramids of heads were piled up by city gates and the torch applied to ruined cities. But in the latter year the opposition to Assyrian domination was hopelessly broken down. The brave little land was annexed to Assyria, placed under Assyrian government, and

colonists from Assyria were settled in it.¹⁰⁴

Such success was likely to lead soon to an attack upon the larger and richer Aramaean settlements farther west. The states with which he would have to deal at first were Hamath, Damascus, and Patin, the small but fertile and powerful state between the Afrin and the Orontes, which had given much trouble to his father. Patin was not so powerful as the other two, but could not be left out of account in a western invasion. Hamath was the center of Aramaean influence in northern Syria, and under the leadership of Irkhulina was no mean antagonist. But by far the most powerful and important of the three states was Damascus, whose king at this time was Ben-Hadad II. If an enduring union could be formed between these two states and allies secured in Phoenicia and in Israel, the peoples of the west might defy even the disciplined and victorious armies of Assyria. But the ambition of Damascus to be actual head over all the western territory and mutual jealousies among the other states prevented any real union against the common oppressor. However, the threatened advance of Assyria was sufficient to bury for a time at least their differences and a confederation for mutual defense was formed for a year, during which time it was a powerful factor in the history of western Asia.

Shalmaneser II was ready for the attempt on the west in 854. The campaign of that year is of such great importance that it will be well to set it down in the words of the Monolith inscription, with such further comment as may be necessary to make its meaning clear:

"In the eponymy of Dayan-Asshur, in the month of Airu, on the fourteenth day, from Nineveh I departed; I crossed the Tigris; to the cities of Giammu on the Balikh I approached. The fearfulness of my lordship (and) the splendor of my powerful arms they feared, and with their own arms they slew Giammu, their lord. Kitlala and Til-sha-apli-akhi I entered. My gods, I brought into his temples, I made a feast in his palaces. The treasury I opened, I saw his wealth; his goods and his possessions I carried away; to my city Asshur I brought (them). From Kitlala I departed; to Kar-Shulman-asharid I approached. In boats of sheepskin I crossed the Euphrates for the second time in its flood. The tribute of the kings of that side of the Euphrates, of Saugar of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kummukh, of Arame, the son of Gusi; of Lalli, the Melidoean; of Khayani, son of Gabbar; of Kalparuda, the Patiuian; of Kalparuda, the Gurgumeean; silver, gold, lead, copper (and) copper vessels, in the city of Asshur-utir-asbat, on that side of the Euphrates, which (is) on the river Sagur, which (city) the Hittites call Pitru, I received. From the Euphrates I departed, to Khal man I approached. They feared my battle (and) embraced my feet. Silver and gold I received as their tribute. Sacrifices I offered before Adad, the god of Khalman (modern Aleppo). From Khalman I departed; two cities of Irkbulina, the Hamathite, I approached. Adennu, Mashga, Argana, his royal city, I captured; his booty, goods, the possessions of his palaces I brought out (and) set fire to his palaces. From Argana I departed, to Qarqar I approached; Qarqar, his royal city, I wasted, destroyed; burned with fire. One thousand two hundred chariots, 1,200 saddle horses, 20,000 men of Dadda-idri (that is, Ben-Hadad II) of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 saddle horses, 10,000 men of Irkhulina, the Hamathite; 2,000 chariots, 10,000 men of Ahab, the Israelite; 500 men of the Quans;¹⁰⁵ 1,000 men of Musri; 10 chariots, 10,000 men of the Irkanatians; 200 men of Matinu-Baal, the Arvadite; 200 men of the Usanadians; 30 chariots, 10,000 of Adunu-Baal, the Shianian; 1,000 camels of Gindibu, the Arabian; ... 1,000 men of Baasha, son of Rukhubi, the Ammonite-these

twelve kings he took to his assistance; to make battle and war against me they came. With the exalted power which Asshur, the lord, gave me, with the powerful arms which Nergal, who goes before me, had granted me, I fought with them, from Qarqar to Gilzan I accomplished their defeat. Fourteen thousand of their warriors I slew with arms; like Adad, I rained a deluge upon them, I strewed hither and yon their bodies, I filled the face of the ruins with their widespread soldiers, with arms I made their blood flow. The destruction of the district . . .; to kill themselves a great mass fled to their graves. . .without turning back I reached the Orontes. In the midst of this battle their chariots, saddle horses, (and) their yoke horses I took from them."¹⁰⁶

By means of this detailed and explicit account it is easy to follow the king's movements and understand the campaign. Shalmaneser leaves Nineveh and makes straight across the valley for the Balikh. He is here received with open arms, and secures great gifts. His next important stop is at Pethor, beyond the Euphrates, where more tribute, brought long distances, even from the land of Kummukh, is received. From Pethor to Aleppo the distance was short and the issue was the same--Aleppo surrendered without a blow. It is interesting to mark that Shalmaneser localizes in Aleppo the worship of the god. Adad, to whom he paid worship. If this statement is correct, we may find in it a proof of early intercourse between Aleppo and Assyria, for we have long since found Adad worshiped in Assyria. This was the end of the unopposed royal progress. As soon as he crossed into the territory of the little kingdom of Hamath he was opposed. Three cities were, however, taken and left behind in ruins. Shalmaneser II then advanced to Qarqar,¹⁰⁷ a city located near the Orontes. Here he was met by the allied army collected to defend the west against Assyria. Its composition throws light on the relative power of the states in Syria and Palestine and deserves attention. The main body of the army of defense was contributed by Hamath, Damascus, and Israel. These three states contributed much more than half of the entire army and nearly all of the most powerful part of it, the chariots and horsemen. From the north there came men from Que (eastern Cilicia) and Musri. From the west came detachments contributed by the northern Phoenician cities which were unwilling or unable to send enormous gifts to buy off the conqueror, as 'Pyre and Sidon had done, but were willing to strike a blow for independence. The last section was made up of Ammonites and Arabs. This was a formidable array, and the issue of the battle fought at Qarqar might well be doubted. The Assyrians had, of course, a well-seasoned army to oppose a crowd of raw levies; but the latter had the great advantage of a knowledge of the country as well as the enthusiasm of the fight for home and native land. Of course the records of Shalmaneser claim a great victory. In the Monolith inscription¹⁰⁸ the allies killed are set down at 14,000, in another inscription the number given is 20,500,¹⁰⁹ while in a third it rises to 25,000.¹¹⁰ The evident uncertainty in the figures makes us doubt somewhat the clearness of the entire result. There is, as usual, no mention of Assyrian losses, but they must have been severe. The claim of a great victory is almost certainly false. A victory for the Assyrians it probably was, for the allies were plainly defeated and their union for defense broken up; but, on the other hand, the Assyrians did not attempt to follow up the victory they claimed, and no word is spoken of tribute or plunder or of any extension of Assyrian territory.¹¹¹ The alliance had saved the fair land of Hamath for a time and had postponed the day when Israel should be conquered and carried into captivity. It is a sore pity that despite the dread of the Assyrians, voiced so frequently by the Hebrews, and evidently felt by the other allies, mutual jealousy should have prevented the continuance of an

alliance which promised to save the shores of the Mediterranean for Hebrew and Aramaean civilization.

Shalmaneser was busied elsewhere, as we shall shortly see, during the years immediately following, and it was not until 849 that he was able to make another assault on the west. The point of attack was again the land of Hamath, and again Ben-Hadad II of Damascus and Irkhulina of Hamath had the leadership over the twelve allies. This time Shalmaneser claims to have slain ten thousand of his enemies, but he mentions no tribute and no new territory. We may therefore be almost certain that the victory was rather a defeat, and that he was really compelled to withdraw. In 846 Shalmaneser once more determined to attack the foe which had done such wonderful work in opposing the hitherto invincible Assyrian arms. In this campaign he did not trust merely to his usual standing army, but levied contingents from the land of Assyria and with an enormous force, said by him to number 120,000 men, he set out for Hamath. Again he was opposed by Ben-Hadad II and his allies, and again he "accomplished their defeat." But, as in the previous campaigns and for the same reasons, we are compelled to assert that the Aramaeans had given full proof of their prowess by resisting the immense Assyrian army. The next attempt upon the west was made in 842. In this year Shalmaneser found a very different situation. Ben-Hadad II, who had ruled with a rod of iron and held the neighboring peoples in terror, was now dead,¹¹² and the cruel but weak Hazael reigned in Damascus. Ahab, who was a man of real courage and of great resources, was dead, as was Joram (852-842), his successor; and Jehu, the usurper, was now king in Samaria. He seems to have been a natural coward and did not dare to fight the terrible Assyrians. The other states which had united in defense under Ben-Hadad II were hopelessly discordant, each hoping to throw off the quasi-suzerainty of Damascus. The people of Tyre and Sidon had again returned to their commerce and were ready to send gifts to Shalmaneser that they might not be disturbed at the gates of the seas. Jehu sent costly tribute, apparently in the mad hope of gaining Assyrian aid against the people of Damascus, whom he hated and feared, not reckoning that the Assyrians would seek this tribute year after year until the land should be wasted. This act of Jehu gave the Assyrians their first hold on Israel, and the consequences were far reaching and disastrous. Hazael, noble in comparison with all the former allies of Damascus, determined to resist Shalmaneser alone. In Saniru, or Hermon,¹¹³ he fortified himself and awaited the Assyrian onslaught. Six thousand of his soldiers were killed in battle, while one thousand one hundred and twenty-one of his chariots and four hundred and seventy horses with his camp equipage were taken. Hazael fled to Damascus and was pursued and besieged by the Assyrians. But, powerful though he was, Shalmaneser was not able to take Damascus, and had to content himself with a thoroughly characteristic conclusion of the campaign. He cut down the trees about the city, and then marching southward, entered the Hauran, where he wasted and burned the cities.¹¹⁴ So ended another assault on the much-coveted west, and it was still not conquered. No such series of rebuffs had ever been received by Tiglathpileser or by Assurnazirpal, but Shalmaneser was not deterred from another and last attempt. In 839 he crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time and marched against the cities of Hazael. He claims to have captured four of them, but there is no mention of booty, and no word of any impression upon Damascus.¹¹⁵

Shalmaneser had led six campaigns against the west with no result beyond a certain amount of plunder. There was absolutely no recognition of the supremacy of Assyria. There was no glory for the Assyrian

arms. There was no greater freedom achieved for Assyrian commerce. And yet some progress had been made toward the great Assyrian ambition. The western states had felt in some measure the strength of Assyria, those certainly who sent gifts rather than fight had shown their dread; while the smoking ruins in the Hauran were a silent object lesson of what might soon happen to the other western powers which had hitherto resisted so gallantly. The Assyrian was beating against the bars set up against his progress, and the outcome was hardly, if at all, doubtful.

Besides his difficulties in the west Shalmaneser had no lack of trouble with the far north. As Damascus had a certain preponderance among the western states, so had Urartu (or Chaldia) among the northern states. There is some reason for believing that at this time, as was true later on, Urartu may have tried to exercise some sort of sovereignty over the land of Nairi. This much, at least, is certain, that the people of Urartu were the mainspring of much of the rebellion among the smaller states in the north and west.

The long series of Assyrian assaults on Urartu had begun in the reign of Tiglathpileser I, who had crossed over the Arsaniyas and entered the country. Assurnazirpal, also, had marched through the southern portion of the district, but had made no attempt to annex it to Assyria. In the very beginning of his reign, 860 B. C.,¹¹⁶ Shalmaneser made the first move which led to this series of campaigns. He entered the land of Nairi and took the capital city of Khubushkia, on Lake Urumiyeh, together with one hundred other towns which belonged to the same country. These were all destroyed by fire. The king of Nairi was then pursued into the mountains and the land of Urartu (Chaldia) invaded. At this time Urartu was ruled by Arame, who seems to have been a man of courage and adroitness. His stronghold of Sugunia was taken and plundered. Shalmaneser did not push on into the country, but withdrew southward by way of Lake Van, contented with his booty or too prudent to risk more. He made no more attempts on Urartu until 857,¹¹⁷ when his campaigning carried him westward and northward to Pethor and thence through Anzitene, which was completely laid waste, and over the Arsaniyas into Urartu. On this expedition the country of Dayaeni, along the river Arsaniyas, was first conquered and apparently without much opposition. The way was now open to the capital city, Arzashku. Arame, the king of Urartu, fled further inland and abandoned his capital to the Assyrians, who wasted it as of old, and left it a heap of ruins while they pursued the fleeing king. He was overtaken, and thirty-four hundred of his troops killed, though Arame himself made good his escape. Laden with heavy spoil, Shalmaneser returned southward, and, in his own picturesque phrase, trampled on the country like a wild bull. Pyramids of heads were piled up at the ruined city gates and men were impaled on stakes. On the mountains an inscription, with a great image of the conqueror, was set up. The defeat of Arame seems to have brought his dynasty to an end, for immediately afterward we find Sarduris I, son of Lutipris, building a citadel at Van and founding a new kingdom. Shalmaneser returned to Assyria by way of Arbela. He had therefore completed a half circle in the north, passing from west to east, but had accomplished little more than the collection of tribute.¹¹⁸

In the tenth year of his reign (850 B. C.) Shalmaneser II again invaded Urartu, this time entering the country from the city of Carchemish. The only achievement of the expedition was the taking of the fortified city of Arne and the ravaging of the surrounding country;¹¹⁹ no enduring results were effected.

More might, perhaps, have been attempted, but the king was forced to go into the west to meet the people of Damascus, as narrated above. Shalmaneser never again invaded Urartu in person. In the year 833 he sent an army against it under the leadership of his Tartan Dayan-Asshur. In the seventeen years which had elapsed since the last expedition the people of Urartu had been busy. The kingdom of Siduri (Sarduris I) had waxed strong enough to conquer the territories of Sukhme and Dayaeni, which for a time had seemed to belong to Assyria after having been so thoroughly conquered by Shalmaneser II. The account of the campaign ends in the vain boast of having filled the plain with the bodies of his warriors.¹²⁰ The sequel, however, shows that this campaign and another similar one in 829, under the same leadership, had not really conquered the land of Urartu.¹²¹ Instead of growing weaker it continued to grow stronger, and we shall often meet with displays of its power in the later Assyrian history. When the series of campaigns against the north was finally ended for this reign it could only be said that in the north and in the west the Assyrian arms had made little real progress.

In the east also Shalmaneser failed to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. His efforts in this quarter began in 859, when he made a short expedition into the land of Namri,¹²² which lay on the southwestern border of Media below the Lower Zab River. Not until 844 was the land again disturbed by invasion. At this time it was under the rule of a prince, Marduk-shum-udammiq, whose name points to Babylonian origin. He was driven from the country, and a prince from the country district of Bit-Khamban, by name Yanzu,¹²³ was put in his place.¹²⁴ This move was not very successful, for the new prince rebelled eight years later and refused the annual tribute. In 836 Shalmaneser crossed the Lower Zab and again invaded Namri. Yauzu fled for his life to the mountains, and his country was laid waste. Shalmaneser, emboldened by this small success, then marched farther north into the territory of Parsua, where he received tribute, and then, turning eastward, entered the land of Media, where several cities were plundered and laid waste. There seems to have been no attempt made to set up anything like Assyrian rule over any portion of Media, but only to secure tribute. On the return by way of the south, near the modern Holwan, Yanzu was taken prisoner and carried to Assyria.¹²⁵ But the efforts of Shalmaneser to control in the east, and especially the northeast, did not end here. The mountains to the northeast of Assyria had been a thorn in the side of many an Assyrian king. We have already seen how Shalmaneser at the very beginning of his reign ravaged and plundered in Khubushkia, on Lake Urumiyeh, farther north than the land of Namri. In 830 the king himself remained in Calah, sending an expedition to receive the tribute from the land of Khubushkia. It was promptly paid, and Dayan-Asshur, who was in command, led his troops northward into the land of Man,¹²⁶ which was wasted and burned in the usual fashion. Returning then by the southern shore of Lake Urumiyeh, several smaller states were plundered, and finally tribute was collected again in Parsua.¹²⁷ In the next year (829) another campaign was directed against Khubushkia to enforce the collection of tribute, and thence the army marched northward through Musasir and Urartu, passing around the northern end of Lake Urumiyeh. Returning southward, Parsua was again harried and the unfortunate land of Namri invaded. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, leaving all behind them. In a manner entirely worthy of his royal master the Tartan laid waste and burned two hundred and fifty villages before he came back by way of Holwan into Assyrian territory.¹²⁸ It is not too much to say that all these operations in the northeast, east, and southeast were unsuccessful.

Shalmaneser had not carried the boundaries of his country beyond those left by Assurnazirpal in these directions.

In the south alone did Shalmaneser achieve real success. The conditions which prevailed there were exactly fitted to give the Assyrians an opportunity to interfere, and Shalmaneser was quick to seize it. In the earlier part of his reign the Babylonian king was Nabu-aplu-iddin, who after his quarrel with Assurnazirpal had devoted himself chiefly to the internal affairs of his kingdom. He made a treaty of peace with Shalmaneser,¹²⁹ and all went well between the two kingdoms until Nabu-aplu-iddin died. His successor was his son, Marduk-nadinshum, against whom his brother, Marduk-bel-usate, revolted. This rebellion was localized in the southern part of the kingdom, comprising the powerful land of Kaldi. The Babylonians had engaged in no war for a long time, and were entirely unable to cope with the hardy warriors of Kaldi, whom Mardukbel-usati had at his command. The lawful king, Marduk-nadin-shum, fearing that Babylon would be overwhelmed by the army which his brother was bringing against it, resolved upon the suicidal course of inviting Assyrian intervention. This was in 852, and no appeal could have been more welcome. Ever since the last period of Assyrian decay the kingdom of Babylonia had been entirely free of all subjection to Assyria. Here was an opportunity for reasserting the old protectorate. Shalmaneser marched into Babylonia in 852, and again in 851, and halted first at Kutha, where he offered sacrifice, and then entered Babylon to sacrifice to the great god Marduk, also visiting Borsippa, where he offered sacrifices to Nabu. It is not to be doubted that by these presentations of sacrifices Shalmaneser intended not only to show his piety and devotion to the gods, but also to display himself as the legitimate overlord of the country. Having paid these honors to the gods, he then marched down into Chaldea and attacked the rebels. He took several cities, and completely overcame Marduk-bel-usate and compelled him to pay tribute. From this time forward until the end of his reign Marduk-nadin-chum ruled peacefully in Babylon under the protectorate of Assyria.¹³⁰ By this campaign the king of Assyria had once more become the real ruler of Babylonia, the Chaldeans by their inaction acknowledging the hopelessness of any present rebellion.

We have traced in logical rather than in chronological order the campaigns of Shalmaneser from the beginning to the close of the thirty. first year of his reign. At this point all record of his reign breaks off, and for the closing years we are confined to the information derived from the records of his son, Shamshi-Adad IV. There are no more records of Shalmaneser's doings in the last years of his reign, because they were too troubled to give any leisure for the erection of such splendid monuments as those from which our knowledge of his earlier years has been derived. In the year 827 B. C. there was a rebellion led by Shalmaneser's own son, Asshur-danin-apli. We know but little of it, and that little, as already said, derived from the brief notices of it preserved in the inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad IV. We have no direct means of learning even the cause of the outbreak. Neither can we find an explanation of the great strength of the rebels, nor understand its sudden collapse when apparently it was in the ascendant. Wars of succession have always been so common in the Orient that, failing any other explanation, we are probably safe in the suggestion that Shalmaneser had probably provided by will, or decree, that Shamshi-Adad should succeed him. Asshur-danin-apli attempted by rebellion to gain the throne for himself, and the strange thing was that he was followed in his rebellion by the better part of the kingdom. The capital city, Calah, remained faithful to the king, but Nineveh, Asshur, Arbela, among

the older cities and the chief colonies, a total of twenty-seven cities, joined the forces of Asshur-danin-apli. It is difficult to account for the strength of this rebellion, unless, perhaps, the leader of it was really the elder son, and a sense of fairness and justice in the people overcame their allegiance to their sovereign. The struggle began in 827, and before the death of Shalmaneser, in 825 B. C., the kingdom for which he had warred so valiantly had been split into two discordant parts, of which Shalmaneser was able to hold only the newly won provinces in the north and west, together with the land of Babylonia. The old Assyrian homeland was in the band of the rebels, and all the signs seemed to indicate that Babylonia would soon regain complete independence and that the Aramaean peoples would be able to throw off their onerous yoke. After the death of Shalmaneser, Shamshi-Adad spent two more years in civil war before he was acknowledged as the legitimate king of Assyria. We do not know what it was that gave him the victory, but a complete victory it was, and we hear no more of the rebels or their leader.¹³¹

The civil war had brought dire consequences upon the kingdom which Assurnazirpal had made great, and Shalmaneser had held to its allegiance for thirty-one long years. It was therefore necessary, as soon as his title to the throne was everywhere recognized, for Shamshi-Adad to undertake such campaigns as would secure to him the loyalty of the wavering and doubtful, and would overcome the openly rebellious or disaffected. His first campaign was directed against the troublesome lands of Nairi, which may have been planning an uprising to free themselves from the tribute. Shamshi-Adad entered the land and received their tribute without being required to strike a blow. He must have forestalled any organized resistance. The promptness with which the campaign was undertaken and the completeness of its success make it seem probable that Shamshi-Adad had had from the beginning the support of the standing army of Assyria. If this were the case, we can the better understand how the rebellion against him was put down even when the greater part of the country had embraced the fortunes of Asshur-danin-apli, for the commercial classes of Assyria could not stand against the disciplined, hardened veterans of Shalmaneser. As soon as the danger in the Nairi lands had been overcome Shamshi-Adad marched up and down over the entire land of Assyria, "from the city of Paddira in the Nairi to Kar-Shulmanasharid of the territory of Carchemish; from Zaddi of the land of Accad to the land of Enzi; from Aridi to the land of Sukhi,"¹³² and over the whole territory the people bowed in submission to him. This is the first instance in Assyrian history of a king's marching from point to point in his own dominions to receive protestations of allegiance. It shows clearly to what unrest the land had come during the civil war.

The second campaign was undertaken chiefly, if not wholly, for the collection of tribute. Its course was directed first into the land of Nairi and thence westward to the Mediterranean. Cities in great numbers were devastated and burned, and the territory against which Shalmaneser had so long made war was brought again to feel the Assyrian power.¹³³ The leader in this campaign was Mutarris-Asshur.

The third campaign, likewise in search of booty, was directed against the east and north. The lands of Khubashkia and Parsua were crossed, and the journey led thence to the coasts of Lake Urumiyeh, and then into Media. In Media, as in the other lands, tribute and gifts were abundantly given. Again the Nairi lands were overrun, and the king returned to Assyria, assured only that the tribute would be paid as long

as he was able to enforce it.¹³⁴

In the next year of his reign Shamshi-Adad was compelled to invade Babylonia. The years of the Assyrian civil war had given that land the coveted opportunity to claim independence. Marduknadinshum had been succeeded in Babylon by Marduk-balatsu-igbi (about 812 B. C.), though the exact year of the change is unknown to us. He paid no Assyrian tribute, and in all things acted as an independent ruler. Against him Shamshi-Adad marched. His course into Babylonia was not down the Mesopotamian valley, as one might have expected. He went east of the Tigris along the edge of the mountains. He seems not to have made a hasty march, for he boasts of having killed three lions and of having destroyed cities and villages on the way. The river Turnat was crossed at flood. At Dur-Papsukal, in northern Babylonia, he was met by Marduk-balatsu-igbi and his allies. The Babylonian army consisted of Babylonians, Chaldeans, Elamites, Aramaeans, and men of Namri, and was therefore composed of the peoples who feared the development of Assyria and were willing to unite against it, even though they were usually common enemies. Shamshi-Adad claims to have won a great victory, in which five thousand of his enemies were slain and two thousand taken captive. One hundred chariots and even the Babylonian royal tent fell into the hands of the victor.¹³⁵ We may, however, well doubt whether the victory was so decisive. The only inscription which we possess of Shamshi-Adad breaks off abruptly at this point. But the Eponym List shows that in 813 he again invaded Chaldea, while in 812 he invaded Babylon. These two supplementary campaigns would seem to indicate that he had not achieved his entire purpose in the battle of Dur-Papsukal. It is indeed unlikely that he succeeded in restoring the conditions which prevailed in the reign of Shalmaneser, though his short reign was, on the whole, successful. If he had not had the civil war to quell and its consequences to undo, he might well have made important additions to the territory of Assyria.

Shamshi-Adad was succeeded by his son, Adad-nirari III (811-783 B. C.), whose long reign was filled with important deeds. Unfortunately, however, we are not able to follow his campaigns in detail because his very few fragmentary inscriptions give merely the names of the countries which he plundered, without giving the order of his marches or any details of his campaigns. In 806, in 805, and in 797 he made expeditions to the west in which he claims to have received tribute and gifts from the land of the Hittites, from Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri,¹³⁶ Edom, and Philistia to the Mediterranean. On this same expedition he besieged Damascus and received from it great booty. The king of Damascus was Mari; and Adad-nirari could scarcely have had a greater triumph than the humbling of the proud state which had marshaled so many allied armies against the advance of the Assyrians and had then held out single-handed so long against them. These expeditions to the west accomplished little more of importance. It was no new thing to receive tribute from the unwarlike merchants of Tyre and Sidon, and the Israelites had long since become a subject people. Only Edom and Philistia are named as fresh conquests.

In the northeast also he was brilliantly successful. The Eponym Lists mention no less than eight campaigns against the Medes, and the conquests in this direction carried the king even to the Caspian Sea, to which no former Assyrian king had penetrated.

In the north he did not get beyond the limits of his ancestors. Urartu, which had so strenuously asserted and maintained its rights, was not disturbed at all, and remained an entirely independent kingdom.

In the south Adad-nirari III was entirely successful, as he had been in the west. We have already seen that there was an expedition against Babylonia in 812, and this was followed in 803 by one against the Sea Lands about the Persian Gulf. In 796 and 795 Babylonia was again invaded. One of these campaigns, but which one is uncertain, was directed against a certain Bau-akhi-iddin, of whose personality or relation to Babylon we know nothing. He may have been king in Babylon at this time, or perhaps more probably a rebellious native prince. Assyrian influence was completely reestablished by these campaigns, and Babylonia again became practically an Assyrian province. The Assyrian Synchronistic History, from which we have largely and repeatedly drawn in the narrative of several previous kings, was edited and compiled at this time as one of the signs of the emphatic union of the two peoples.. It was the purpose of Adad-nirari III to blot out completely the distinctions and differences between them. He even began an intermixture of their religions. Though the Assyrians had begun their career as a separate people with the Babylonian religion as then taught and practiced, the two peoples had diverged through historical development, and were now in many points quite different in their religious usages. The Assyrians had introduced other gods, as, for instance, Asshur, into their pantheon, while the Babylonians, who had had less contact with the outer world, had made less change. Adad-nirari III now built in Assyria temples modeled carefully on Babylonian exemplars and introduced into them the forms of Babylonian worship with all its ritual. One of the most striking instances of this policy was the construction in Calah, his capital city, of a great temple, the counterpart of the temple of Ezida in Borsippa. Into this was brought from Borsippa the worship of Nabu. The policy, strange as it was, met with a certain success, for Babylonia disappears almost wholly for a long time as a separate state and Assyria alone finds mention.

In connection with this introduction of the worship of Nabu we get a single gleam of light upon some of the mythical history of Babylonia. There has been preserved a statue of Nabu, set up in the temple in Calah by Adad-nirari III, on the back of which is an inscription¹³⁷ containing these words "For the life of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, its Lord [that is, of Calah], and for the life of Sammuramat, the lady of the Palace and its Mistress." The Dame Sammuramat is plainly the Babylonian form of the Greek Semiramis. It may be that this Sammuramat is the original of the Semiramis of the story of Ktesias, though there is no further proof than the identity of the names-rather a slender basis for so much conjecture. It has been supposed by some that Sammuramat was the mother of the king, who ruled as regent during the earlier portion of the king's reign, for he must have been but little more than a lad when he became king. Others believe that Semiramis was the wife of the king, and perhaps a Babylonian princess. Either of these roles would have given her an opportunity for great deeds out of which the legend reported by Ktesias might easily grow, but it is impossible, in the present state of knowledge, to decide between them.¹³⁸

The reign of Adad-nirari III must be included in any list of the greatest reigns of Assyrian history. No Assyrian king before him had actually ruled over so wide an extent of territory, and none had ever possessed, in addition to this, so extensive a circle of tribute-paying states. Though he had done little in

the northeast and nothing in the north, he had immensely increased Assyrian prestige in the west, and in the south Babylonia, with all its traditions of glory and honor, had become an integral part of his dominions.

After his reign there comes slowly but surely a period of strange, almost inexplicable, decline. Of the next three reigns we have no single royal inscription, and are confined to the brief notes of the Eponym Lists. From these we learn too little to enable us to follow the decline of Assyrian fortunes, but we gain here and there a glimpse of it, and see also not less vividly the growth of a strong northern power which should vex Assyrian kings for centuries.

The successor of Adad-nirari III was Shalmaneser III (782-713), to whom the Eponym Lists ascribe ten campaigns. Some of these were of little consequence. One was against the land of Namri, an eastern tributary country of which we have heard much in previous reigns. It had probably not paid the regular tribute, which had therefore to be collected in the presence of an army. No less than six of the campaigns were directed against the land of Urartu. We know nothing directly of these campaigns and their results. But the history of a time not very distant shows that these campaigns were more than the usual tribute-collecting and plundering expeditions. They were rather the ineffectual protests of Assyria against the growth of a kingdom which was now strong enough to prevent any further Assyrian tribute collecting within its borders, and would soon be able to wrench from Assyrian control the fair lands of Nairi. A loss so great as that might well give the Assyrian kings cause for anxiety and for desperate efforts to hinder the development of the enemy. This loss of tributary territory in the north had apparently already begun in this reign, but there were no other losses of territory elsewhere, and the reign ended with the substantial external integrity of the empire which Assurnazirpal had won.

The next king was Asshur-dan III (772-755), in whose reign the decay of Assyrian power was rapid, in spite of strenuous efforts to maintain it, and in spite of success in its maintenance in certain places. In the year 773, when his reign actually began, though, according to Assyrian reckoning, 772 was the first official year, he led a campaign against Damascus. In 772 and again in 755 he marched against Khatarikka in Syria. These three western campaigns show that, however much Assyria had lost in the north, it had not yet given up any claim on the prosperous lands beyond the Euphrates. And the two invasions of Babylonia--771 and 767--are evidence of the same facts as regards that land. Asshur-dan III was plainly endeavoring to hold all that his fathers had won, but he had as yet undertaken no campaigns against any new territory. Whatever he may have planned or intended to do in that way was made impossible by a series of rebellions in Assyrian territory. The first of these began in 763 in the city of Asshur, the ancient political and religious center of the kingdom. We do not know its origin, but the general character of ancient oriental rebellions and the succession of events which immediately follow in this story make it seem probable that some pretender had attempted to seize the throne. The attempt failed for the present and the rebellion was put down in the same year.

This was shortly followed by another rebellion, also of unknown cause, in the province of Arpakha, known to the Greeks as Arrapachitis,¹³⁹ a territory on the waters of the Upper Zab. While a third at Guzanu, in the land of the Khabur, took place in 759 and 758. These rebellions were signs of the

changes that were impending, and could not long be delayed.

To the superstition of the Assyrians there were other omens than defeats and losses in war, which must have seemed to indicate the approach of troublous days. In 763 the Eponym List records an eclipse of the sun in the month of Sivan. To the Assyrians this was probably an event of doubt and concern. To modern students it has been of great importance, because the astronomical determination has given us a sure point of departure for Assyrian chronology. In 759 there was a pestilence, another omen of gloom.

The reign of Asshur-nirari II (754-745) was a period of peaceful decadence. In 754 he conducted a campaign against Arpad, and in 749 and 748 there were two expeditions against the land of Namri. With these expeditions the king made no effort to collect his tribute or to retain the vast territory which his fathers had won. Year after year the Eponym List has nothing to record but the phrase "in the country," meaning thereby that the king was in Assyria and not absent at the head of his armies.

In 746 there was an uprising in the city of Calah. We know nothing of its origin or progress. But in it Asshur-nirari II disappears and the next year begins with a new dynasty. In the per. son of Asshur-nirari II ended the career of the great royal family which had ruled the fortunes of Assyria for centuries.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGNS OF TIGLATHPILESER III AND SHALMANESER IV

A MARVELOUS change in Assyria was wrought by the rebellion of 746 B. C. Before it there reigned the last king of a dynasty which had made the kingdom great and its name feared from east to west. A degenerate son of a distinguished line was he, and the power which had swept with a force almost resistless over mountain and valley was a useless thing in his hands. He remained in his royal city while the fairest provinces were taken away and added to the kingdom of Urartu, and while others boldly refused to pay tribute and defied his waning army. After 746 B. C. the Assyrian throne is occupied by a man whose very name before that time is so obscure and unworthy as to be discarded by its owner. We do not know the origin of this strange man, for in the pride of later years he never mentioned either father or mother, who were probably humble folk not dwelling in kings' houses. He was perhaps an army commander; an officer who had led some part of the greatest standing army that the world had then known. He may also have held a civil post as governor of some province or district. In his career that was now to begin he displayed both military and civil ability of such high order that we are almost driven to believe that he had been schooled by experience in both branches of effort. His reign was not very long, so that he probably gained the throne comparatively late in life, at a time when the power of adaptation is less strong than in youth, when the years of a man's life are devoted rather to the display of powers already acquired than to the development of new ones. We do not know whether he set on foot the rebellion which dethroned Asshur-nirari II or merely turned to his own purposes an uprising brought about by others. In either case he acted with decision, for he was crowned king in 745, the next year after the rebellion. He was well known as a man of resources and of severity, for no rebellion against him arose, and no pretender dared attempt to drive him from power. He spent no time in marching

through the land to overawe possible opponents, but at once began operations outside the boundaries of the old kingdom. That he should dare to leave his capital and his country immediately after his proclamation shows how sure he was of his own ability, and how confident that his personal popularity or his reputation for severe discipline would maintain the peace. Whatever the name of his youth and manhood may have been he was proclaimed under the name and style of Tiglathpileser, adopting as his own the name which had been made famous by the great Assyrian conqueror, whom he emulated in the number and success of his campaigns, and greatly surpassed in the permanency of the results obtained. The name of Tiglathpileser would undoubtedly strengthen him in the popular mind; for it is beyond question that in a land like Assyria, in which writing, even in the earliest times, was so constantly practiced, some acquaintance with the history of their kings was diffused among even the common people. He was plainly not a descendant of the kings who preceded him, or he would certainly have followed the usual custom of Assyrian kings and set down the names of his ancestors with all their titles. He alludes indeed to "the kings, my fathers,"¹⁴⁰ but this is a boast without meaning when unaccompanied by the names.

There is another proof of his humble origin to be found in the contemptuous treatment of his monumental inscriptions by a later king. Tiglathpileser restored, for his occupancy, the great palace erected by Shalmaneser H in Calah. Upon the walls of its great rooms he set up slabs of stone upon which were beautifully engraved inscriptions recounting the campaigns of his reign. When Esarhaddon came to build his palace he stripped from the walls these great slabs of Tiglathpileser that he might use them for his own inscriptions. He caused his workmen to plane off their edges, so destroying both beginning and ending of some inscriptions, and purposed then to have his own records carved upon them. He died without entirely completing his purpose, or we should have been left almost without annalistic accounts of the events of the reign of Tiglathpileser. Such treatment as this was never given to any royal inscriptions before, and we may justly see in it a slight upon the memory of the great plebeian king.

Were it not for the vandalism of the king Esarhaddon we should be admirably supplied with historical material for the reign of Tiglathpileser. He left behind him no less than three distinct classes of inscriptions.¹⁴¹ Of these the first class consist of the stone inscriptions, in which the events of the reign are narrated in chronological order. These, the most important of his inscriptions, are in a bad state of preservation through the mutilations of Esarhaddon. The second class of the inscriptions, written upon clay, give accounts of the king's campaigns grouped in geographical order; while the third class, also on clay, give mere lists of the countries conquered without details of any kind. If all this abundant material had been as carefully preserved as the inscriptions of Assurnazirpal, we should be able to present a clear view of the entire reign. As it is, questions of order sometimes arise which render difficult the setting forth of a consecutive narrative.

It was in the month of Airu 745 B. C. that Tiglathpileser III (745-727) ascended the throne. As the year had but just begun, this was counted, contrary to the usual custom, as the first year of the reign. In the month of September he set out upon his first campaign, which was directed against Babylonia. In Babylonia there had also been dull days, while the Assyrian power was dwindling away. After Marduk-

balatsu-iqbi there reigned Bau-akh-iddin, of whom later days seemed to have preserved no recollection save that he was a contemporary of Adad-nirari III. If monuments of his reign are still in existence, they are concealed in the yet unexplored mounds of his country. After him Babylonia had two, or perhaps even three, kings whose names as well as their deeds are lost to us. If there had arisen in Babylonia at that time a king such as the land had seen before, a man of action and of courage, independence might probably have been achieved without a struggle. But instead of that the kingdom fell into fresh bondage. The nomadic Aramaeans, communities of whom had given so much trouble to the Assyrians, had invaded Babylonia from the south and taken possession of important cities like Sippar and Dur-Kurigalzu. So powerful and numerous were they that they threatened to engulf the country and blot out the civilization of Babylonia. After the loss of two or three names we come again upon the name of Nabu-shum-ishkun, who reigned, how long we do not know, in this period of Babylonian decline. He was succeeded in 747 by Nabu-nasir, commonly known as Nabonassar (747-734 B. C.). Like his predecessors, he was unable to control the Aramaeans, and when Tiglathpileser III entered the land he was acclaimed as a deliverer.¹⁴² The march of the new Assyrian king southward had been a continuous victory. He moved east of the Tigris along the foothills of the mountains of Elam, conquering several nomadic tribes such as the Puqudu and the Li'tan. He then turned westward and attacked Sippar, overcoming its Aramaean intruders, and doing a like service to Dur-Kurigalzu. He marched south as far as Nippur and there turned about.¹⁴³ By this campaign he had so thoroughly disciplined the Aramaean invaders and overcome all discordant elements that he was able to give a new order of government and life to the state.

It is a striking commentary on the political and civil ability of this extraordinary man that he was able to begin a new order of administration for subject territory in the first year of his reign, and as a part of his first campaign. He had reconquered Babylonia as far south as Nippur, for Babylonian and Assyrian control over it had practically been lost. He was not satisfied with the payment of a heavy tribute, but reorganized the whole government of the territory. He first subdivided it into four provinces, placing Assyrian governors over them, and then built two cities as administrative centers. The first of these was called Kar-Asshur, located near the Zab. The name of the second is not given in the Annals, but it was probably Dur-Tukulti-apal-esharra.¹⁴⁴ These were made royal residences, each being provided with a palace for the king's occupancy. The second was required to pay the great tribute of ten talents of gold and one thousand talents of silver. In each the king set up a monument, with his portrait as a sign of the dominion which he claimed, and in both people from the other conquered districts were settled. This plan of planting colonies and of transporting captives from place to place had indeed been tried on a small scale by other Assyrian kings, but it had never been adopted as a fixed and settled policy. From this time onward we shall meet with it frequently. Tiglathpileser III consistently followed it during his whole reign, trying thereby to break down national feeling, and to sever local ties in order that the mighty empire which he founded might be in some measure homogeneous.

When the Aramaean nomads had been overcome and the land had received its new order of government, the king offered sacrifices in Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, and in other less important cities, to Marduk, Be], Nabu, and other gods. It was a fruitful year. Never before had the land of Babylonia been brought into such complete subjection to Assyria. Nabonassar was a king only in name; the real monarch

lived in Calah. So small indeed is his influence from the Assyrian point of view that he is not even mentioned in Tiglathpileser's accounts of the campaign; he is simply ignored as though he was not. To such sad contempt had come a man who was nominally king of Babylon. Yet, though thus despised by the Assyrian overlord, Nabonassar is still called king by the Babylonians, who held control of the national records. In them it is still his name and not his conqueror's which stands in the honored list of Babylon's rulers.

Having thus left affairs in a safe condition in the south, Tiglathpileser III next turned his attention to the troublesome lands east of Assyria. We have already seen how frequently the Assyrian kings had to invade their territory in order to collect the unwillingly paid tribute. The first of these lands to be invaded was Namri. The Assyrian people who lived along their own borders and hence close to Namri had suffered much from the incursions of half-barbaric hordes which swept down from the mountains and plundered their crops and other possessions. These movements in and through Namri made up a situation similar to that which Tiglathpileser had just settled in Babylonia. The march through Namri and thence northward through Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Arziah, and other districts to Nishai was marked by ruins and burning heaps. But the entire campaign was not filled with works of ruin. The districts of Bit-Sumurzu and Bit-Khamban were added to the territory of Assyria and received the benefits of Assyrian government. The city of Nikur, which had been destroyed in the beginning of the campaign, was entirely rebuilt¹⁴⁵ and resettled with colonists brought from other conquered lands. This became, therefore, a center around which Assyrian influences might crystallize. The campaign was fruitful in definite results, as the expeditions of Assurnazirpal, seeking only plunder, never could be. The king did not personally enter the heart of Media, but sent an army under command of Asshur-daninani to punish the tribes south of the Caspian Sea; but to follow its marches is beyond our present geographical knowledge.¹⁴⁶ A second expedition¹⁴⁷ into Media was necessary in 737, when the process of settling colonists in troublesome districts was further carried out. No such control over Indo-European inhabitants of the mountain lands of Media was, however, achieved as had been secured over the Semites of Babylonia, and Media remained practically independent and ready to give trouble to later Assyrian kings, and even to have an important share in the breaking up of the monarchy which was now harrying it.

But if Tiglathpileser was confronted by a difficult situation in Babylonia and a more difficult one in Media, and the lands between it and Assyria, his difficulties may justly be said to have been colossal when one views the state of affairs in the north. As we have already seen, the weakness and decadence of Assyria after the reign of Shalmaneser II had given a great opportunity to Urartu, and kings of force and ability had arisen in the land to seize it. Of the kings of Urartu Argistis had taken from Assyria the hard-Ton lands of Dayaeni and Nirbi, and had overrun, plundering and burning, the whole great territory lying north of Assyria proper, and as far east as Parsua, east of Lake Urumiyeh.¹⁴⁸

Great though these conquests undoubtedly were, and dangerous as was the threat against Assyrian power, they were far surpassed in the reign of Sarduris II, who succeeded Argistis, while Asshurdan III was impotently ruling in Assyria. Sarduris broke down and destroyed the whole circle of tribute-paying states dependent upon Assyria in the north. His conquests and annexations to the kingdom of Urartu or

Chaldia continued in a westerly direction until he had overrun the most northern parts of Syria, comprising the territory north of the Taurus and west of the Euphrates. He even claimed the title of king of Suri--that is, of Syria. His next move was the formation of an alliance with Matilu of Agusi, Sulumal of Melid, Tarkhulara of Gurguln, Kushtashpi of Kummukh, and with several other northern princes, among them probably Panammu of Sam'al and Pisiris of Carchemish. These princes probably did not give a willing ear to the solicitations of Sarduris II, as a neighboring friendly prince, for a defensive alliance against the encroachments of the powerful Assyrian kingdom, but were rather forced into such an alliance. Accompanied by these allies, whether of their own will or not, Sarduris marched against the west. The inscriptions which have come down to us render it exceedingly difficult to follow perfectly the movements in this campaign, but the following is the probable order and meaning of them. At about the same time of Sarduris's march westward Tiglathpileser also invaded the west, directing his attack against the city of Arpad--the real key--of the northern part of Syria. It had belonged to Assyria, as a tribute paying state, but now actually formed part of the new kingdom of Urartu. If Tiglathpileser could restore it to his kingdom, he would make a long step forward in the restoration of Assyrian prestige in all the west. He besieged the city and could probably have reduced it. Sarduris did not come directly to its aid, but instead threatened Assyria itself, and so forced Tiglathpileser to raise the siege and return by forced marches. On his return he crossed the Euphrates, probably below Til-Barsip, and he then turned northward. The two armies met in the southeastern part of Kummukh between Kishtan and Khalpi, and Sarduris was forced to retire. Tiglathpileser pursued, destroying as he went the cities of Izzida, Ququsanshu, and Kharbisina, until he reached the Euphrates north of Amid.¹⁴⁹ Here the pursuit ended, for he did not cross the river, whether because he thought his purpose fully accomplished or because his army was too weak for the venture we do not know.

The result of this conflict was overpowering, and its direct consequences are to be seen in the next three campaigns. From Sarduris the Assyrians took a great mass of spoil in camp equipage and in costly stuffs and precious metals, together with a large number of captives. In the enumeration of these trophies there is probably gross exaggeration, but there is no reason to doubt the truth of the main fact that a very great victory was won. The moral effect of it was far more important than all the gain in treasure. The allies of Sarduris at once sent presents and tribute to Tiglathpileser, and the entire Syrian country was once more opened to Assyrian invasion without fear of opposition from Urartu. There is a curious parallel in all this to the resistance offered by Damascus and its allies to Shalmaneser II¹⁵⁰ As soon as the alliance which Ben-Hadad II had formed lost its cohesiveness Syria was speedily ravaged by Shalmaneser.¹⁵¹ In the latter case a most promising alliance had been formed under the leadership of Sarduris. If the selfish, commercial interests of the Phoenicians could have been laid aside, and if the Syrian states had once more heartily united, the Assyrians would have been easily overcome and the west saved from all immediate danger of Assyrian invasion. But these petty unions, which dissolved after the striking of one blow, were more harmful than useful. By them the Assyrians were only maddened, and their natural thirst for booty and commercial expansion increased to a passion. The cities which participated in the alliances were ruthlessly destroyed in revenge, and fertile countries laid waste.

In the next year (742 B. C.) Tiglathpileser, free from all fear of interference from Urartu,¹⁵² undertook

the reduction of Arpad. He could make no further gains in Syria until that city was overcome, for the rich cities along the Mediterranean could not be expected to fear the Assyrians and to pay tribute so long as a city smaller in size and nearer to Assyria held out against the eastern power. We know nothing of the details of the siege. It was prolonged in a most surprising fashion, for Arpad did not fall until 740. Our ignorance of the two years' siege probably spares us the knowledge of barbarous scenes, of the slaughter of helpless women and children, of the flaying of men alive, and of the impaling of others on stakes about the city walls. It is not to be supposed that a city which had so long resisted the great god Asshur and the king whom he had sent would come off lightly. The fall of Arpad was the signal for the prompt appearance before Tiglathpileser of messengers from nearly all the neighboring states with presents of gold and silver, of ivory, and of purple robes. In the city of Arpad he received these gifts, and with them the homage of all the west, which would endure any amount of shame and ignominy, and desired only to be left alone. One state only sent no presents and offered no homage. Tutammu, king of Unqi, alone dared to resist Assyria. Unqi was at this time but a small state probably nearly coterminous with the state of Patin, between the Afrin and the Orontes.¹⁵³ Tiglathpileser at once invaded his country and took the capital, Kinalia, which was utterly destroyed. The defiant king was taken prisoner, and his little kingdom, provided with Assyrian governors,¹⁵⁴ was made a part of the Assyrian empire which Tiglathpileser was now forming. This little episode furnished a new point to the moral of Arpad which would not be lost on the other states of Syria.

The west had been severely punished and might be left to meditation for a time. In 739 Tiglathpileser set out to win back to Assyria a part of the lands of Nairi which had fallen under the control of Urartu. We have no accounts of the campaign, and know only that Ulluba and Kilkhi, two districts of Nairi, were taken. These were not plundered according to the former fashion, but actually incorporated with Assyria, and provided with an Assyrian governor, who made his residence in the lately built city of Asshur-igisha. Another campaign against the same districts was made in 736 B. C. This carried the conquests up to Mount Nal, and so to the very borders of Urartu. It is perfectly clear that both these campaigns were but preparatory to an invasion of Urartu, which was plainly already planned and soon to be attempted. These two campaigns were meant only to weaken the southern defenses of Urartu. Perhaps the king, even in 739 or in 738, would have attempted to follow up the victories which he had gained but for the breaking out of rebellions in Syria and along the Phoenician coast. The whole development of Assyrian policy with reference to Syria and Palestine is so intensely interesting for many reasons that it is unfortunate that we are left with such fragmentary lines at the very point in the Annals where the events of this important year are narrated. We must again resort to conjecture for the defining of the order of events, though the main facts are clear enough.

Among the princes and kings who formed a combination to refuse to pay Assyrian tribute and to resist its collection by force, if necessary, Azariah, or Uzziah, of Judah, seems to have been very influential, if not an actual leader, exercising a sort of hegemony over the other states of Palestine and Syria. To support him the states of Hamath, Damascus, Kummukh, Tyre, Gebal, Que, Melid, Carchemish, Samaria, and others to the total number of nineteen had banded together. It was certainly a most promising coalition. If the forces which these states were able to put into the field were brought together and beaten into warlike shape by a leader of men and a skillful soldier, there was good reason to hope

for an annihilation of the army of Tiglathpileser. There is no reason to doubt that Uzziah¹⁵⁵ (Azariah) was equal to the task, colossal though it was, if he had a loyal support from his allies, and if all would make common cause against their oppressor. We can only watch and see the end of effectual opposition to Assyria through the weakness of some members of this alliance. Tiglathpileser came west, and, passing by the countries of some of the allies, started southward into Palestine, making as though he would enter Judah and attack the ringleader, Uzziah, before the allies could effectually concentrate their forces. As soon as he entered Samaria, Menahem, the king, threw down his arms and paid to the Assyrians one thousand talents of silver as a token of his acknowledgment of subjection. We do not know all the reasons for this move. It may have been necessary in order to save the land from utter destruction if no assistance could be secured elsewhere. But it looks at this distance, and on the surface, like an act of cowardice and a betrayal of the oath of confederation. The weakness or the blundering, or both, in all these western alliances becomes more evident in every successive campaign. It might well be supposed that the dread of national extinction which had been threatened in every successive Assyrian invasion would have overcome the weakness, and long use undone the blundering. On the payment of this tribute Tiglathpileser abandoned the attack on Judah and began to conquer, probably one by one, the districts which had joined in the union for defense. We have no full account of this overwhelming campaign. One city only, with the name of Kullani, possibly the biblical Kalneh,¹⁵⁶ is specifically mentioned as being captured, though the extent of territory actually occupied was so extensive that many must have been taken. The whole country, from Unqi and Arpad on the one side and Damascus and the Lebanon on the other, and on to the Mediterranean coast, was added to Assyrian territory and provided with an Assyrian governor. In this territory the colonizing plans of Tiglathpileser were applied on an extensive scale. Into it thirty thousand colonists were brought from the lands of Ulluba and Kilkbi, conquered in 739, while thousands were carried out of it to supply the places left vacant by the exiles. When Tiglathpileser turned his face homeward he carried with him a heavy treasure, in which were mingled the tributes of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hirom of Tyre, Sibittibi'li of Gebal, Urikki of Que, Pisiris of Carchemish, Enilu of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadilu of Kask, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Atun, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhammi of Ishtunda, Urimmi of Khubishna, and of Queen Zabibi of Arabia. It is a roll not of honor, but of dishonor, and Uzziah might well have been proud that his name does not appear upon it. Capacity and courage, with some national spirit and patriotism, in even a few of these might have saved the country, or at least postponed the evil day of its undoing.

While these events were happening in the west the policy of Tiglathpileser was receiving in the east signal proofs of its wisdom. Among the Aramaeans east of the Tigris certain communities rose in rebellion against Assyria. Under the old regime such an uprising near the capital would have caused the liveliest concern. The king would have hurried home from his labors in the west and himself have quelled the rebellion. But Tiglathpileser had provided the rudiments of a system of provincial government. We have already seen how ready he was at the very beginning of his reign to set up provincial governors with powers of administration over certain definite districts, and with force sufficient to maintain order. They were now responsible for the maintenance of the portion of the empire under their immediate control, and well they knew that they would be held to a strict accounting for their work. On the old method perhaps all that he had gained in the west would have been lost and all the

work would have had to be begun again. In this instance, however, the Assyrian governors of Lullume and of Nairi, at the heads of armies, invaded the rebellious district and put down the uprising with the utmost severity. When this was accomplished there was another display of colonizing activity on a colossal scale. From these turbulent districts men were deported and settled at Kinalia, the capital of Unqi, while others were settled in various parts of the new province of Syria.¹⁵⁷

In 735 the time had fully come for the effort to break down the kingdom of Urartu (Chaldia). We have seen how carefully this campaign was planned, and how Tiglathpileser worked up to it. Unfortunately the Annals are not preserved in which the story of the campaign was told, and we must rely again upon the looser statements of his other inscriptions. With very little opposition Tiglathpileser penetrated the country up to the gates of the capital city, Turuspa (Van). Here the people of Urartu struck a blow, but were defeated and forced to withdraw within the walls. Tiglathpileser began a siege, but could not reduce the city because he had no navy with which to attack or blockade on the lake side, and so could not starve it into submission. It was also so well fortified on the land side that he was unable to carry it by assault. While engaged in the siege he sent an army through the country, which made its way as far as Mount Birdashu, the location of which is not known. This expedition destroyed a number of cities on the Euphrates and plundered the inhabitants.

After some ineffectual fighting about the capital Tiglathpileser raised the siege and departed. He had not succeeded in adding the kingdom of Urartu to Assyria, but he had broken its spirit, and we hear no more of its power and defiance for some years. The gain to Tiglathpileser by the campaign was the removing of all danger of a flank movement from the north when he was engaged in carrying out his plans in the west, where his work was still unfinished. In 734 we find him again on the shores of the Mediterranean, having probably crossed the plains of Syria near Damascus and gone straight to the coast, which he followed southward. He had no fear of an attack in the rear from Tyre and Sidon, busily absorbed in sending out their merchant ships. It appears probable that the first city attacked was Ashdod or Ekron, which was easily taken, and then Gaza was approached. The king of Gaza at this time was Hanno (Khanunu), who had no desire to meet the Assyrian conqueror, and therefore fled to Egypt, leaving the city to stand if it were attacked. He hoped to secure the help of the Egyptians in opposing the Assyrian advance. Again selfishness interfered with the placing of a stone in the way of Assyrian progress. If the Egyptians had had any wise conception of the situation in western Asia at this period, they would have seen that the very highest self-interest demanded the giving of help to the weak city of Gaza. Gaza was the last fortified city on the way to Egypt from the north. It would serve well as a place for the defense of the Egyptian borders, for who could say, after the events of the past few years, when Tiglathpileser III would plan to attack Egypt? Indeed who could say that this man who planned so far in advance of events had not already purposed an invasion of the land of the Nile? One by one the coalitions formed against him in Syria had been broken down. A wise policy in Egypt would have aided these combinations in order to keep a buffer state, or a series of them, between Egypt and the ever-widening power of Assyria. It was too late for that. All but Judah were paying a regular tribute to Assyria. The last outpost on the coast-the city of Gaza was now threatened. It was surely well to make a stand here, and it would probably have been easy to inspire in Judah, or even in Damascus and Hamath, the enthusiasm for another attempt against the Assyrians. But Gaza was foolishly left to its fate, and that was easy to

foresee. The city was taken; its goods and its gods were taken away to Assyria. In its royal palace Tiglathpileser set up his throne and his image in stone in token of another land added to Assyria. A native prince was appointed as a puppet king, whose chief concern must have been the collection of the heavy annual tribute for Assyria. The worship of the god Asshur was introduced along with that of the other gods native to the place.¹⁵⁸ One only of the methods of Tiglathpileser for the engrafting of a new state into his empire seems not to have been exhibited--there was no colonization. The capture of Gaza seems but a small result for the campaigns of a year, for the taking of Ashkelon and Ekron, with places like Ri'raba, Ri'sisu, Gal'za, and Abilakka, can scarcely be counted as of much moment. In reality, however, the place was a very important outpost for Assyria. It would have been important for Egypt in the cause of defense, it was no less important for Assyria in the cause of offense, and we shall see shortly that it was thus used, and very effectively.

Tiglathpileser had now disposed of the seacoast, and would be ready and free to attend to the reduction of the inland hill country of Palestine, which he had long been coveting. His plans had been well laid, and thus far admirably executed. He might safely have hoped for complete success as the direct result of his own prudence and skill, and without external assistance of any kind. But assistance he was to have through the tactless blundering of those who ought to have opposed him. Affairs were now in a very different state in Palestine from that in which they had been when his last attempt had been made, and Uzziah offered a manly and almost successful resistance. Uzziah had died in 736, and his son, Jotham, had ruled only two pitiful years and then left a weakened kingdom to Ahaz, who was only a boy when he ascended the throne. It would have been no difficult task for Pekah, king of Samaria, and Rezin, king of Damascus, to have shown him the need of a new alliance against Assyria.

We have paused often before over these diminishing opportunities for union against Assyria. It is well for the entire understanding of the situation that we pause again at this point. Ahaz was a weakling--of that the sequel leaves no doubt whatever; but he was also stiff-necked and unwilling to take counsel, however excellent. The wisdom of the prophet Isaiah, who was also an acute statesman, was lost on him. But in the nature of the case a man who, like him, gave little heed to the religion of Jehovah would be less likely to listen to a prophet's words than to the words of foreign kings. His introduction of the manners, customs, and worship of foreign nations shows how open he was to outside influences.¹⁵⁹ Coward though he was personally, he was king of a land with great resources for defensive war, as Uzziah had sufficiently shown. The way was again open for alliances which should include at least Damascus, Israel, and Judah. But the people of Damascus and of Israel were blind to all these opportunities, and saw only an opportunity for present personal gain. Menahem was dead, or his previous experience with Tiglathpileser might have restrained his people from folly. His son, Pekahiah, was also dead, after a reign of only two years, and a usurper, Pekah, was on the throne in Samaria. Rezin still reigned in Damascus. These two saw in the youth and inexperience of Ahaz a chance for revenge upon Judah and the enrichment of their own kingdoms. They united their forces and invaded Judah. So began the Syro-Ephraimitic war. They marched apparently south on the east side of Jordan, and first took Elath,¹⁶⁰ which Uzziah had added to the kingdom of Judah, and so greatly increased its commercial prosperity. From Elath they went northward, intending to attack Jerusalem itself and overcome Judah at the very center.

The situation was a terrible one for Ahaz. He would never be able to hold out single-handed against such foes. To whom should he turn for help? There was no help in Egypt, for Egypt had not extended help to Hanno, and was now absorbed in a life-and-death struggle with Ethiopia. There was an Assyrian party at his court which urged him to lean upon Tiglathpileser. His wisest counselor was Isaiah, but Isaiah he would not hear, and so he sent an embassy to meet Tiglathpileser and sue for help against the Syro-Ephraimitic combination. To get the necessary gifts for the winning of favor he stripped the temple and emptied his own treasure-house.¹⁶¹ We do not know where the embassy met the Assyrian, though it was probably at some point in Syria. The gifts were presented, and Tiglathpileser at once promised his help to Ahaz. It is a marvelous story of blindness, folly, and mismanagement on the one side and of almost fiendish wisdom and cunning on the other. All these plans of Damascus and Israel to plunder and divide Judah had played into the hands of Assyria. As soon as Tiglathpileser offered his first threat against Damascus and Israel the two allies left Judah and went northward. The danger to Jerusalem was therefore ended for the time, but the trouble for the rest of the country was only begun. The troops of Damascus and Israel were not withdrawn from Judah in order to oppose Tiglathpileser with united front, but each army withdrew into its own territory, there to await the pleasure of Tiglathpileser. He decided to attack Samaria first, and in 733 the attempt was made. Tiglathpileser came down the seacoast past the tributary states of Tyre and Sidon, and turned into the plain of Esdraelon above Carmel. His own accounts fail us at this point, but the biblical narrative fills up the gap by the statement that he took Ijon, AbelBeth-Ma'aka, Janoah, Qedesh, and Hazor, together with Gilead, Galilee, and the whole land of Naphtali.¹⁶² It might be expected that he would now attack Samaria itself and perhaps slay the king. He was relieved of this by a party of assassins who slew Pekah, and then presented Hoshea to be made king in his place and to be subject to him.¹⁶³

This completed the subjection of Israel, and Tiglathpileser was now able to turn to the far greater task of overcoming Damascus. Rezin was not discomfited by the conquest of Israel, and trusted that the army of Damascus, which had so glorious a record of bravery and victory, might triumph again. He met Tiglathpileser on the field of battle and was defeated, escaping very narrowly himself. The only thing that remained was to shut himself up in Damascus and withstand the siege if possible. He was soon beleaguered, with the most terrible devastation of the entire country about Damascus. Tiglathpileser boasts that he destroyed at this time five hundred and ninety-one cities, whose inhabitants, numbering thousands, were carried away, with all their possessions, to Assyria. At about the same time, and very probably during the progress of the tedious siege, Tiglathpileser sent an army into northern Arabia. A queen of Arabia, Zabibi, had paid him tribute in 738, but since then we have no hint that he received anything more. Samsi was now queen, and she refused to pay any tribute and retired before the army, attempting to entice the Assyrians into the heart of the country. When at last she was overtaken and forced to fight the Assyrians were victorious; Samsi was conquered and plundered of vast numbers of camels and oxen. An Assyrian governor was then left to watch her payment of tribute, though she was permitted to manage her own kingdom as she willed. The effect of this victory was almost magical. From nearly the entire land of Arabia even as far south as the kingdom of the Sabaeans deputations came bearing costly gifts for Tiglathpileser. This expedition produced little of permanent value for the Assyrian empire, but was for the time, at least, a means of adding to the imperial income. At the same

time tribute was received from Ashkelon, as a sign that that hardy little state desired good relations with the conqueror.

At last, about the end of 732, Damascus fell into the hands of Tiglathpileser III, and the last hope of the west was gone. Rezin was killed by his conqueror.¹⁶⁴ Tiglathpileser sat up his throne in the city which had so long and so bravely, although with so much unwisdom, withstood him and his predecessors. Well might he make merry within its walls, and receive royal honors and imperial homage at the end of so long and bitter a struggle. Ahaz of Judah came and visited him there, paying honor to the foreign conqueror who had indeed saved him from Syria and Israel, but whose people could never rest satisfied while Judah was only a tribute-paying dependency and not actually a part of the empire. It is probable that other princes also paid him honor here, as they had done before. Tiglathpileser had no need to invade the west again. He had carried the borders of Assyria far beyond any of his predecessors in that direction. By his colonizing methods he had begun the assimilation of divers populations into one common whole. He had extended the field of operations for Assyrian commerce all the way across Mesopotamia and Syria to the Phoenician cities. Had his people been native to the seacoast, he might have undertaken to snatch the commerce of the Mediterranean. But there was no need for that in his time. Some problems and difficulties must be left for the future to solve. While this long series of campaigns was in progress in the west Babylonia was first peaceful and then disturbed. In one sense the Assyrian protectorate, while it oppressed the native sense of dignity and independence, was a great blessing. It delivered the people from the need of a great standing army, and gave them a sense of security without it. The reign of Nabonassar was an age of literary activity, especially manifested in the study of history and chronology,¹⁶⁵ and the leisure for such study was won by Assyrian arms. In estimating the reign of Tiglathpileser this must not be left out of the account.

With the end of the reign of Nabonassar, in 733, the period of peace abruptly closed, if, indeed, there had not been disturbances before that time. He was succeeded by his son, Nabu-nadinzer (733-732), who was slain by a usurper, Nabushum-ukin, in the second year of his reign. It was at this time that Tiglathpileser was most deeply absorbed in delicate and difficult operations in the west. It was impossible for him to leave to other hands the conduct of the siege of Damascus, or the direction of the important, though subsidiary, expeditions in Palestine and Arabia. For a season Babylonia must be left to its own resources; which offered an opportunity to the traditional enemies of Babylonia, the Chaldeans, or Aramaeans. The union of tribes made a successful attack on the country when Nabu-shum-akin had reigned only about one month. Nabu-shum-ukin was deposed, and in his place Ukinzer, a Chaldean prince of the state of Bit-Amukkani, was made king. This was in 732, and Tiglathpileser was still in camp before Damascus. With the accession of Ukinzer, Babylonian unrest almost became a frenzy. There was a traditional hatred of the Chaldeans, and they were now masters in the land, and their hand was not light in ruling. It is therefore not surprising that the priests, who were great landed proprietors, and the wealthier classes in general, who were despoiled of property by their new and hungry rulers, should have longed for the intervention of Tiglathpileser. Weary of the constant disturbances in the south, he decided to invade the land in 731, and make an end of the disturbances by giving to the people a new form of government with more perfect supervision. In his progress through the land he met first with the tribe of Silani, whose king, Nabu-ushabshi, shut himself up in his capital,

Sarrabani. The Assyrians took the city and destroyed it. Nabu-ushabshi was impaled in front of it as a warning to rebels, while his wife, his children, and his gods, with fifty-five thousand people, were carried into captivity.¹⁶⁶ The cities of Tarbasu and Yabullu were next utterly wasted, and thirty thousand of their inhabitants, with all their possessions, were carried away. The next victim in this bitter campaign was Zakiru, of the tribe of Sha'alli, who was carried in chains to Assyria, while his whole land was laid waste as though a storm of wind and wave had passed over it.¹⁶⁷

The way was now open for an attack upon the real object of the expedition. Ukinzer had left Babylon and fled to the confines of his own tribe of Amukkani, where he shut himself up in his old capital of Sapia. If Tiglathpileser expected him to surrender on demand, he was mistaken. Ukinzer prepared for a siege. The season was now probably late, as much time had been spent on the preliminary conquests, and there was not time to reduce the city by regular siege. Tiglathpileser therefore contented himself for this year with destroying the palm gardens about the city, leaving not one tree standing, and with wasting all the smaller cities and villages in the environs.¹⁶⁸

While this process of pacification was going on other Chaldean princes were filled with fear lest their punishment should come next, and began to take steps to set themselves right with Tiglathpileser. Of these Balasu (Belesys), the chief of the Dakkuri, sent gold, silver, and precious stones, as did also Nadin of Larak. But the most important of these was Merodach-baladan, of the tribe of Yakin, king of the country of the Sea Lands, close to the Persian Gulf. He had never before given any form of submission to any Assyrian king, but now came, apparently in person, to Sapia and presented an immense gift of gold, precious stones, choice woods, embroidered robes, together with cattle and sheep.¹⁶⁹ Great though his submission was, the end was not yet with the family of Merodach-baladan.

In the year 730 there are no events to record, but in 729 Tiglathpileser was again in Babylonia, and this time was able to take the stronghold of Sapia. Ukinzer was deposed, and the unrest of Babylonia was terminated. And now the plans which Tiglathpileser must have made years before could be fully carried out. He was determined to make an end of the ruling of Babylonia by native princes and instead govern it himself directly by making himself king. He instituted festivals in the principal Babylonian cities in honor of the great gods. In Babylon he offered sacrifices to Marduk, at Borsippa to Nabu, at Kutha to Nergal; while other offerings less magnificent were made in Kish, Nippur, Ur, and Sippar. He then, in Babylon, performed the great ceremony of taking the hands of Marduk.¹⁷⁰ By this act he was received as the son of the god and as the legitimate king of Babylon. On New Year's Day of the year 728 he was proclaimed king in the ancient city of Hammurabi. At Babylon he was crowned under the name of Pulu (Poros in the Ptolemaic canon), but whether he had borne this name before or had now adopted it in order that by change of name the Babylonians might be spared living under the name of Tiglathpileser—an Assyrian conqueror—is not known to us. This move of accepting the crown of Babylon had a great advantage and an equally great disadvantage. It would act as an effectual bar to the Chaldeans, who would not dare another outbreak while the Assyrian king was king of Babylon, with his overpowering military forces in or about the city or within easy reach. On the other hand, this crowning involved a very great difficulty. It must be renewed every year; every year must the hands of Marduk be

taken. This might be almost impossible, for if there was a great insurrection at any point in the king's dominions, he would have to leave the seat of war at the time appointed and hasten to Babylon for the performance of the symbolic rite. It was not possible to transfer the capital of the empire to Babylon, for the Assyrians would have felt themselves dishonored by any such plan. Tiglathpileser must have felt sure of the stability of the empire and of the peace which he had won by the sword, or he would never have taken upon himself the burden of the crown of Babylon. In the next year, 727, he again performed the required rites and was again proclaimed king in Babylon. He had reached the very summit of the earthly magnificence of his age, and attained the goal coveted by the kings of Assyria before him. He was not only king of Sumer and Accad, but also king of Babylon.

We have no knowledge of any other important events in his reign. It was almost wholly a reign of war and conquest. We know of only one building operation, the reconstruction and improvement in Hittite style of the palace in Calah, which he occupied during most of his life, and which had been built by Shalmaneser II. In the month of Tebet of the year 727 the great king died.¹⁷¹

It is difficult to estimate calmly and judiciously his reign or his character. He had come to the throne out of a rebellion. He found himself in possession of a small kingdom with tribute-paying dependencies, many in a state of unrest or of open rebellion. The name of Assyria had been made a dread and a terror among the nations by raids of almost unexampled butchery and destructiveness, but it was now not feared as before. Weak kings had been unable to hold together the fragile fabric which kings great in war, though not in administration, had built up. He made this small kingdom a unit, freeing it entirely from all semblance of rebellion or insurrection. He reconquered the tribute-paying countries, and then, by a master stroke of policy, but weakly attempted in certain places before, he made them integral parts of an empire. In every true sense he was the creator of the Assyrian empire out of a kingdom and a few dependencies. He made Assyria a world power, knitting province to province by unparalleled colonizing, and transforming local into imperial sentiment. No king like him even in war had arisen in Assyria before, and in organization and administration he so far excelled them all as to be beyond comparison.

In an inscription written the year before his death he sums up the record of his empire building by the declaration that he ruled from the Persian Gulf in the south to Biku in the east, and along the sea of the setting sun unto Egypt, and exhibits the same extent of territory in the titles which he wears, for he was then king of Kishshati, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad, king of the Four Quarters of the Earth. In him were thus united the titles which carried back the thought of man to the very earliest centers of civilization in the Southland, to the kingdoms which had been made great by Gudea and Hammurabi, along with those which were linked with all the story of the north. In the face of a record like this none may grudge him the titles of "great king" and "powerful king." The usurper had far outstripped men born to the purple.

In the very month¹⁷² in which Tiglathpileser III died he was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV, who, if not his son, must have been his legal heir to the succession, or the change could not have been so quickly

made. No historical inscriptions¹⁷³ of his reign have come down to us, and we have, therefore, very imperfect knowledge of its events, especially as the Eponym List, which has so often before helped us to make out the order of events in the reigns, is broken off at this place. The Babylonian Chronicle sets down in the year of his accession, that is, in 727, the destruction of a city, Shamara'in or Shabara'in, the biblical Sibraim,¹⁷⁴ located between Hainath and Damascus. If this be true, we may well ask what had brought Shalmaneser so quickly after his succession into the western country. Unfortunately we do not possess his version of the story, and must derive our knowledge from his enemies, among whom the Hebrews have left us an explicit and convincing account of his chief movements.

It will be necessary before proceeding further with the narrative of Shalmaneser's movements to fasten attention for a time upon the lands of Palestine and Egypt. When Hoshea became king of Samaria in 733-2, during the reign of Tiglathpileser III, he accepted the post as a subject of the Assyrian monarch, and was bound in every possible way to maintain peace. There is no reason to doubt that he remained faithful to Tiglathpileser till the great monarch died. When the change of rulers came in Assyria we may also look for disturbances among the subject states. We have learned from frequent instances that the western states accepted the domination of Assyria only at the point of the sword. They hated the conquering destructive monarchs, and yielded only when they were crushed. We have also learned that the populations subject to Assyria were always hoping for an opportunity to free themselves from the galling yoke, and we have seen in several instances that they commonly chose as an opportunity the change of rulers in Assyria. But Tiglathpileser III had introduced a new sort of conquest and an entirely new form of administrative policy, and it was not to be expected that the opportunity for rebellion would be so great at the end of his reign as it had been before. His conquests were less destructive, less bloody, than those, for example, of Assurnazirpal, and hence the wounds which they made in the sensibilities of a people were less deep and angry. But further and more important than this, he not only conquered, he ruled. Provinces were not plundered and then, after being commanded to pay an annual tribute, left to themselves. They were provided with Assyrian governors, who could watch every movement of the subject populations, and so scent the very first sign of rebellion or of conspiracy looking to it. When any people had been so conquered and so administered during a king's reign they were not able easily to make a confederation when his death occurred. This was a very different situation from that which tribute-paying states had previously known. If rebellions at the change of kings were now generally less likely to occur, still more were they unlikely in Palestine, and of the land of Palestine they were in no country so improbable as in Israel. For by far the larger and better part of the kingdom was absolutely administered and ruled by Assyrians, and in part populated by colonists. The kingdom which was permitted to retain the semblance of autonomy extended but a short distance around the capital city. There was no inherent likelihood of any outbreak in Samaria, or any effort to win back again the old independence, when Tiglathpileser III died, and in the selfsame month Shalmaneser IV succeeded him.

But there was another land in the west in which great changes had come and new aspirations, along with new fears, had arisen. In Egypt with the year 728 there began to reign the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian, dynasty. The Ethiopians had really governed Egypt since about 775, when Piankhi made good his suzerainty by conquest. But from 775 to 728 the Ethiopian kings had been content to exercise their supremacy over the land while they suffered the native princes of Egypt to retain their nominal sway.

They were content to receive the homage and tribute of these petty princes, leaving to them the internal administration of the country, but watching carefully lest any combination might be formed to threaten their real rule. There were probably numerous attempts to achieve liberty again, but they were successfully put down. At last a native Egyptian prince, called by the Egyptians king, and reigning at Memphis under the name of Bakenrenf, the Bokkhoris of the Greeks, was deposed and killed by Shabaka of Ethiopia, who now took into his own hands the rule over the combined kingdoms of Ethiopia and Egypt. After this change in the dynasty in Egypt there are numerous signs that a great reawakening of the people of the ancient country of the Nile begins. At last they seem to have seen that the progress of Assyria must finally threaten themselves; that it could not stop at the southern limits of Palestine, but must ultimately, and none could say how soon, cross into Egypt. Furthermore, the Egyptians were beginning to long for a restoration of their power over the great Asiatic provinces as it had been in the golden days of Thotmosis III and Rameses II. The Ethiopian kings in Egypt had a difficult task in ruling as overlords over the princes in the Delta and elsewhere, who had once been free. What could do more to reconcile Egypt to the new order of affairs than a movement against the common foe of all the west or a campaign to recover the long-lost Asiatic provinces?

As we have seen above, it was altogether improbable that Israel would dare single-handed to break faith with the Assyrians, but if there was some hope of aid from the Egyptians, the case was altogether different. The people of Israel could not be expected to know fully the internal affairs of Egypt so as to understand the essential weakness of the country as an ally. They could readily know the greatness of the Egyptian empire, in which Upper and Lower Egypt were combined with the rich and prosperous kingdom of Ethiopia. They might well be acquainted with the glorious history of Egypt, with its great conquests and successful wars in the past. They could hardly, on the other hand, be expected to know of the weakness of the country at present, of the unsettled strife between the Ethiopian emperor and the princes of native blood; of the local jealousies and petty provincial strifes; of official corruption; and of the insolent avarice of the priestly class. Instead of Egypt's being an important and valuable ally it was in reality a very weak one, and a little later may be shown to be a cause of weakness rather than strength to her Syrian allies. None of these things were apparently known to Hoshea. Induced by some representations made to him, or through the direct holding out of the Egyptian hand, he sent messengers to Sibe,¹⁷⁵ who was probably an under-king of Shabaka, and entered into some sort of alliance with him. He now felt strong enough to omit the payment of the annual tribute to Assyria, which he had paid "year upon year." This implies that he had paid it at least two years before it was omitted—that is, in 727 and 726.

Now it has already appeared that Shalmaneser IV was in Syria, or at least an army of his, in the accession year, 727. A natural way of paying the tribute, and a very common one, was to the Assyrian army when it was near at hand. This Hoshea seems to have done in 727, and again in 726. In 725, relying on the help of Egypt, he rebelled and refused the annual payment of tribute. At once Shalmaneser IV invades Samaria with an army to reduce this incipient fire of rebellion, which, uncontrolled, might involve the whole of his valuable Syrian possessions in flames. Hoshea was altogether disappointed in his expectation of help from Egypt and was left to meet his fate alone. The reserve of the biblical sources has told us nothing of the efforts of Hoshea against the forces of the

Assyrians. From the order of the narrative we are probably justified in the inference that he left his capital with an army to meet the advance of the forces of Shalmaneser. He was, however, overwhelmed, captured, and probably taken to Assyria. Shalmaneser had now an open way to the city of Samaria, which he had determined to destroy as the penalty for its rebellion. The execution of this plan was not so easy as the conquest and capture of the king. Samaria prepared for a siege. There is something heroic in the very thought. It was surrounded and hemmed in by territory over which it had once ruled in undisputed sway, but which had long been controlled by Assyrian governors and filled with Assyrian colonists. As Shalmaneser advanced closer he would, of course, destroy and lay waste everything about the city which might have furnished any aid or comfort to it. From the villages and towns thus destroyed the people would flock into the capital until it was crowded. The people of Samaria may have hoped for help from Egypt, watching with sick hearts for signs of an approaching army of succor. They knew what surrender meant in the loss of their city, and in probable deportation to strange lands. They were fighting to the bitter end for homes and for life. So they resisted--and the story is amazing--for three long years.¹⁷⁶ The king of Assyria died, and still Samaria held out, and would not surrender. It makes one think what might have been if there had been such courage in Israel in the days of Menahem. Shalmaneser IV died in 722 and left Samaria unconquered, and hence all Syria in jeopardy to his successor. If a weak man should take his place now, all that had been won by Tiglathpileser III might be lost.

We have no further knowledge of any events in the reign of Shalmaneser IV. It is true that Josephus¹⁷⁷ has preserved an account of an expedition of his against Tyre, which he had taken from Menander. According to his story a certain Elulaeus, king of Tyre, had rebelled, and Shalmaneser came to besiege the city. He was, however, unable to reduce it after a five years' siege. We have no allusion to any such siege in any of the inscription material which we possess, and it is altogether probable that Josephus has made a mistake and ascribed to Shalmaneser a siege of Tyre which was really made by Sennacherib. If he had really besieged Tyre and left this siege also as an inheritance to his successor, we should almost certainly find it mentioned in the abundant historical material of the next reign.

It is impossible properly to estimate the character or deeds of Shalmaneser from the scanty historical materials which we possess. His reign of only five years was entirely too short for any great undertakings. He undoubtedly left to his successor more problems than he had solved himself.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF SARGON II

SHALMANESER IV died in the month of Tebet, and in the very same month Sargon II (721-705 B. C.)¹⁷⁸ became king of Assyria. Like Tiglathpileser III, he was not of royal blood. In no single passage does he ever claim descent from any of the previous kings, nor in any way allude to his parentage. His son, Sennacherib, who succeeded him, is also silent concerning the origin of Sargon, but his grandson, Esarhaddon, provides him with an artificial genealogy which carries back his line to Bel-bani, an ancient king of Asshur. It is a striking fact that he was able to put himself so quickly and so securely on the

throne, and it makes one think that there may have been some understanding before the death of Shalmaneser by which Sargon was made the legal heir. On the other hand, he may have been a successful general, as we have already supposed that Tiglathpileser III was, and so had in his hand a weapon ready to enforce his ambitious claims to the throne. Like Tiglathpileser, also, he must have been well known as a man of force, for there was no uprising against him, and he was at once recognized as the lawful king.

He inherited a kingdom full of great problems and difficulties. Samaria was not yet taken, and if it should succeed in effectual resistance, all Syria would take new heart, and the whole fabric which Tiglathpileser III had laboriously built up, but had not had time fully to cement together, would be in fragments. This was a not improbable outcome, for Egypt was eager to foment disturbance in the southern part of the land, hoping thereby to gain back some of the territory which had been lost. On the north there was also a disturbing center. Tiglathpileser had not been able to finish the partition of Urartu, and that state would be very willing to incite the northern Syro-Phoenician states to rebel when rulers were changed in Assyria, in the hope of building up again the kingdom which Tiglathpileser had broken in pieces. In Babylonia also the death of Shalmaneser had given opportunity for a sudden outbreak of new efforts among the Chaldeans. It was indeed a troublesome age on which Sargon had lighted. A man of great energy and ability would alone be able to meet the dangers and solve them. Such a man was Sargon. Like Tiglathpileser III, he was a usurper. It is an eloquent witness to the resources of Assyria that two such men were produced so close to each other, and not of a royal house, with inherited strength and ability.

We are well supplied with inscriptions¹⁷⁹ setting forth the chief events of Sargon's reign, and have only to follow the plain indications of the Annals in order to see them all in proper sequence.

In the year of the accession of Sargon (722 B. C.) Samaria fell, but it is improbable that he had anything to do with it in person. He could scarcely have been present so quickly, leaving behind him all the possible dangers to the throne which he had just ascended. It was a most fortunate result for his reign that Samaria was taken without a longer siege. Very probably the same army which had invested the city secured also its surrender. Neither the army nor the inhabitants of Samaria are likely to have known anything of the change of rulers in Assyria. The biblical account does not mention the name of the king of Assyria into whose hands the city fell, but the form of statement seems to imply that Shalmaneser was still considered king.¹⁸⁰ Sargon was not yet known in the west as he would later come to be. As soon as Samaria was taken he gave orders that the colonizing plans which Tiglathpileser III had devised and perfected should be carried out on a large scale. From the city there were taken away twenty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety men, who were settled in the Median mountains and in the province of Gozan (Guzanu) along the rivers Balikh and Khabur. To supply their places colonists were brought from Kutha, in Babylonia, and recently conquered territories. The people carried away from Samaria were probably of the very best blood in the land -the men who had fought for three weary years against the most powerful military state of western Asia. They were probably officials, skilled laborers, and trades people. The loss to the land was irreparable, and the kingdom of Israel never regained the strength it had lost. There was another little spasm of rebellion in a short time, as we shall see, but the land had not left

in it the national life to sustain another such struggle. So did the Assyrians in the reign of Sargon finish the task which they began in the reign of Shalmaneser II¹⁸¹ Over the land of Samaria Sargon set Assyrian governors, and the once glorious and powerful kingdom of Israel became an insignificant Assyrian province.

There were greater problems in Babylonia for Sargon than the west had yet offered. We have seen¹⁸² how in 729 Merodach-baladan, of the tribe of Bit-Yakin, king of the Sea Lands, had paid homage to Tiglathpileser III and made costly gifts in token of his subjection. That was well enough when Tiglathpileser III was threatening to destroy the entire land, but Merodach-baladan intended only to maintain his allegiance to Assyria so long as the Assyrians were able to compel it. During the short reign of Shalmaneser no effort seems to have been made by the Chaldeans, but it is quite probable that all the while the preparations were going on. When Shalmaneser died, and Sargon was busy in Assyria and unable to proceed to Babylon to take the hands of Marduk, Merodach-baladan judged that the hour had come. Without great difficulty he took southern Babylonia, the ancient kingdom of Sumer and Accad, and then the city of Babylon itself. On New Year's Day, 721, he was proclaimed king of Babylon.¹⁸³ Here was opened again the same old question as to the ruler in Babylon. Sargon never could lose the great southern kingdom without a bitter war. Merodach-baladan had thrown down the gage, and there was no alternative but to take it up. Sargon entered Babylonia and was met at Dur-ilu by an army under the command of Merodach-baladan, with Khumbanigash of Elam as an ally. According to the usual custom, Sargon claimed a victory.¹⁸⁴ It is, however, perfectly clear from the issue that Sargon had not been successful. He left Merodach-baladan in absolute possession of Babylon, not attempting at all to enter the country farther, but contenting himself with the possession of the extreme northern portion, which joined with the land of Assyria. On the other hand, Merodach-baladan did not attempt to drive the Assyrians out of this northern part, but was quite satisfied to be left in possession of the city of Babylon, in which there were wealth and power enough to satisfy his ambitions, and difficulties enough with the priesthood to engage his best powers. The failure to retake Babylon was a bad beginning for the reign of Sargon. The Assyrians would have less confidence in his prowess; the Chaldeans would have time and opportunity to strengthen themselves in their hold on Babylon; the men of Urartu and of Syria would learn of it, and would judge that the king of Assyria was not equal to his predecessors. Rebellions all over the empire lie latent in this failure of Sargon.

The first rebellion that confronted Sargon was in the west, where one might have thought that the punishment of Samaria would have deterred others from a new attempt. But the Syrian states had not all been so thoroughly blotted out as Samaria, and there was a nucleus in Hamath around which a conspiracy might crystallize. Hamath, one of the oldest cities in Syria, had never been destroyed or even engrafted into the Assyrian empire. This was due to the constant exercise of a crafty policy. Hamath had joined in rebellions, but always withdrew at the right moment, paid tribute, and played the part of a faithful ally of Assyria. It owed its deliverance in the reign of Tiglathpileser III only to this policy pursued by its king, Eni-el. But this craftiness, while it saved the state for a time, was unpopular, and Eni-el fell a victim to his own prudence, and was removed from the throne by a national party. A usurper named Il-ubidi,¹⁸⁵ or Ya-ubidi, succeeded him and at once began a new policy. In this he was aided by

Hanno (Khanunu) of Gaza, whom we have learned to know before in the reign of Tiglathpileser III. The Egyptians did not give him aid at the time when Gaza might have been saved from the Assyrians, but he was now in better favor in Egypt, and was an ally of Sibe. It is most likely that he was trying in the interests of Egypt to gain a hold over Hamath, and that he did get some direct influence is shown by his title of king of Hamath in one of Sargon's texts-to the Assyrians he evidently appeared as the real ruler of the state. II-ubidi and Hanno at once formed a new confederation, in which Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and, most surprising of all, Samaria joined.

It would appear from this that even the loss of so many of her best men and the watchful eye of an Assyrian governor were not able to crush every aspiration for liberty. Judah remained faithful to Assyria, and did not join with the confederates. II-ubidi made Qarqar his fortress, and placed a large army in the field. This was now no mean opposition which confronted Sargon, and after his practical defeat in Babylonia it was likely to have hopes of successfully opposing him. At the outset he displayed one quality of great importance; he set out promptly for Syria as soon as news of the rebellion reached him, determined to strike the first member of the alliance before the others could unite and come to his support. This Assyrian promptness had often before cost the Syrian states great losses. It fell out in this case exactly as he had planned. At Qarqar he met Ya-ubidi and his army without any of the allies and gained a complete victory. When this was done he made haste to meet Hanno and Sibe, who were the real leaders of the rebellion. At Rapikhu (Raphia) the Assyrians met the confederates and completely defeated them.¹⁸⁶ Sibe managed to get off with his life and escaped into Egypt; Hanno was taken prisoner and carried off to Assyria. This made peace in Syria for a time; Sibe was not able to undertake any more disturbances, and the remaining confederates needed time for recuperation. The result of this campaign as affecting Assyria was very important. The prestige of Sargon personally was restored, and he was left free, following the example of Tiglathpileser III, to set right the affairs of his empire in other border countries.

Of all these Urartu was the most dangerous and threatening. Sargon had planned to reach its destruction by slow and steady approaches. He would first restore to Assyria, as tribute-paying states, the communities which surrounded Urartu on the west, south, and east, and then finally strike the all-important blow. His first movement was from the east against the two cities of Shuandakhul and Durdukka, situated in the territory belonging to Irauzu of Man, by Lake Urumiyeh. These renounced their allegiance, and received help from Mit'atti of Zigirtu,¹⁸⁷ whose territory probably immediately joined. Sargon quickly defeated them and destroyed the cities (719 B. C.), but did not attempt any punishment of Mit'atti at this time.¹⁸⁸ In the same year the three cities, Sukia, Bala, and Abitikna, whose exact location is unknown, though they also adjoined Urartu, were destroyed and their inhabitants transplanted to Syria.¹⁸⁹ A similar campaign occupied the year 718, directed against the western rather than the eastern approaches to Urartu. Kiakki of Shinukhtu, a district of Tabal (Kappadokia), had not paid his tribute. He with many of his followers was transplanted into Assyria, and his land delivered over to Matti of Atun (called Tun¹⁹⁰ by Tiglathpileser III), who was required to pay a higher annual tribute.¹⁹¹

The year 717 was not, perhaps, of so great importance as many another which preceded and which followed it in Assyrian history, but it was a year of great interest in one way at least, as it ended the career of Carchemish. Alone of all the smaller states into which the great Hittite empire had broken up it had maintained a sort of independence, paying only an annual tribute. The king of Carchemish at this time was Pisiris, who is even called king of the land of the Hittites,¹⁹² as though retaining in his person something of the glory of the old empire. If he had continued to pay his annual tribute, he would probably have been permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of his high-sounding title and in the free exercise of his authority over the internal affairs of his kingdom. In an evil hour he incited Mita of Mushke to join him in a rebellion against the payment of tribute. He was speedily overcome, and at once, with his family and his followers, transported into Assyria. With them Sargon carried away as booty eleven talents of gold, twenty-one hundred talents of silver, and fifty chariots of war. Carchemish was repopled with Assyrian colonists and became an Assyrian province.¹⁹³ In such an easy manner ended the very last remnant of a once powerful empire, which had defied even Egypt at the zenith of its power.

In the same year the cities Papa and Lallukna, probably located near Urartu, joined in a rebellion, but were overcome and their inhabitants transplanted to Damascus.¹⁹⁴ Year after year did Sargon, as we have already seen, continue these colonizations in Syria. He was determined to disturb so thoroughly the national life that there might be no opportunity for any further uprisings. After all this intermixture it becomes less surprising that the Jews who returned from Babylon would not recognize the people of Samaria as their fellows,¹⁹⁵ but looked on them as a strange race, and called them Samaritans, and not Hebrews.

At last, in 716, Sargon felt himself strong enough and the way well enough prepared to make a sharper attack on Urartu, and not merely on the states which surrounded it. He was moved to a more active policy by the threatening doings of the king of Urartu. Sarduris, who had opposed Tiglathpileser III so successfully as regards the actual land of Urartu, was now dead, and in his place ruled Ursa, as the Assyrian inscriptions usually name him,¹⁹⁶ or Rusas, as he is known to native historiographers. As early as 719 Urartu was intriguing against the small kingdom of Man, of which Iranzu was king, and Sargon had to save to Man two cities which Mit'atti of Zigirtu, a tool of Urartu, had seized. That was a warning to Urartu for a time. But now Iranzu was dead and the usual troubles over the succession in small states of the Orient offered an opportunity to Urartu. The lawful heir to the throne of Man was Aza, son of the last king, and he finally did get himself seated. But Rusas then stirred up against him the old enemy of his father, Mit'atti of Zigirtu, and also the lands of Misianda and Umildish, the latter of which was ruled by a prince, Bagdatti. To these three allies were added some governors out of Rusas's own territory, and all things were ready for a successful attack on the little kingdom. Aza had given pledges of faithfulness to Assyria, and so deserved support. He was soon overcome and slain, and his land would have been speedily divided among the conspirators, with the lion's share for Rusas, had not Sargon suddenly appeared. Bagdatti of Umildish was captured and slain, as a warning, on the same spot where Aza had been killed. Ullusunu, brother of Aza, was put on the throne and confirmed in possession. In this Sargon had defeated the immediate plans of Rusas, but he was very far from having destroyed his influence.

Scarcely was Sargon's back turned when Ullusunu broke his Assyrian vows and transferred his allegiance to Urartu, actually giving up to Rusas twenty-two villages of his domain. We do not know what led to this reversal on the part of Ullusunu, but it is probable that he was forced into the act. Besides this Ullusunu induced Asshur-li' of Karalla and Itti of Allabra, two small territories of western Media, to renounce the suzerainty of Assyria and accept that of Urartu.¹⁹⁷

Here was an upturning indeed which might be imitated by other states. Sargon increased his army and returned in haste. Upon his approach Ullusunu fled to the mountains, leaving his capital, Izirtu, to the tender mercies of the enraged Sargon. The capital was soon taken, as well as Zibia and Arma'id, two fortified cities. Izirtu was burned and the others suffered to remain.¹⁹⁸ Ullusunu, probably seeing no way of escape even in mountain fastnesses, returned and sued for pardon. Astonishing as it may seem, this was actually granted, and he was once more installed in his kingdom-which confirms us in the belief that Sargon had come to think that he had not been a free agent in his rebellion, but had been compelled to it by Rusas. On the other hand, the two rebels who had joined with him suffered severely for their faithlessness. Asshur-li' of Karalla was slain, his people deported to Hamath, and his land turned into an Assyrian province. Itti of Allabra and his family were also deported into Hamath, and a new vassal king was set up in his place.¹⁹⁹ At the same time the district of Nikshamma and the city of Shurgadia, whose governor, Shepa-sharru, had rebelled, were reduced and added to the Assyrian province of Parshua.²⁰⁰ In this year Sargon also invaded western Media and conquered the governor of Kishesim, whose Assyrian name, Bel-shar-usur, probably points backward to the influence of Tiglathpileser III in this same region. Kishesim was thoroughly changed in every particular. Assyrian worship was introduced, the name of the city changed to Kar-Nabu, and a statue of Sargon set up.²⁰¹ A new province was then formed of the districts of Bit-Sagbat, Bit-Khirmani, Bit-Umargi, and of several other cities, and Kar-Nabu was made its capital.²⁰² Another city, by the name of Kharkhar, whose governor had been driven out by its populace, was similarly treated. Its name was changed to Kar-Sharrukin (Sargon's-burg), and it was colonized with captives and also made the capital of a newly formed province.²⁰³ This sort of campaigning had its influence on the surrounding country. From city to city spread the news of the mighty conqueror and of his sweeping changes, and from different parts of Media no less than twenty-eight native princes came to Kar-Sharrukin with presents to Sargon, hoping to purchase deliverance from like treatment.²⁰⁴

This year had been full of various undertakings, but nearly all of them may be said to deal directly or indirectly with Rusas of Urartu, who, even while these easterly undertakings were in progress, was not idle. Defeated in his plan of securing peacefully from Ullusunu the twenty-two villages which had been granted him, as we have seen, but afterward recovered by Sargon, he took them by force. This brought Sargon back in 715 with an army which quickly recaptured the lost territory, which was then supplied with special Assyrian governors. Daiukku, a subordinate governor of Ullusunu, who had yielded to the solicitations of Rusas, was carried off to Hamath.²⁰⁵ The suddenness and completeness of this victory induced Yanzu of Nairi to bring his homage to Sargon.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile the province of Kharkhar, which

was formed but a year before, had rebelled and must be again conquered. It was now increased in size by the addition of territory which had been thoroughly Assyrianized, and the city of Dur-Sharrukin was heavily fortified as an outpost against the land of Media. In this year twenty-two Median princes offered presents to Sargon²⁰⁷ and promised an annual tribute of horses. All these campaigns weakened the influence of Rusas over his allies, and so the way was gradually preparing for his overthrow; but the time had not come this year, for Sargon had disturbances to settle in the west.

Mita of Mushke had interfered with Que (Cilicia), and had taken from it several cities to add to his own dominion, which were readily restored.²⁰⁸

An expedition into Arabia was also rendered necessary for the collection of tribute. The tribe of Khaiapa, which had paid tribute since the reign of Tiglathpileser III, now refused to do so, and was supported by the tribes of Tamud, Ibadidi, and Marsiani. Of these Khaiapa was probably the most northerly, being settled about Medina, while the others stretched southward below Mecca.²⁰⁹ These were all conquered easily and restored to subjection. It'amar of Saba, Pir'u (Pharaoh) of Egypt, who may have been Bokkhoris, and Samsi, the queen of Arabia, whose dominions were in the extreme northern part of the country, all sent gifts.²¹⁰ This latter part of the year probably was of great value to the king in the revenue which it yielded.

In the next year (714) the campaign against Rusas of Urartu was taken up in earnest. The invasion began from the east, Sargon first appearing in Man, where Ullusunu paid him tribute, while Dalta of Ellipi sent presents all the way from the southeastern borders of Media. From Man Sargon advanced slowly and steadily into the territories of Zigirtu, where Mit'atti was still holding sway. One by one the cities and fortified camps were taken until Parda, the capital, fell into Assyrian hands. When this had happened Mit'atti and his entire people moved swiftly in one great emigration out of the country and were seen no more. They had probably come out of the steppes of Russia into this favored district, and now returned to their old home. The army was now ready to attack Rusas, who came on to meet it. In the first engagement he was defeated and fled.²¹¹ Sargon did not pursue at once, but waited to make sure of the land which was now deserted by the people of Urartu. The land of Man was entirely covered in marches, that every sign of disloyalty might be rooted out, and was then given over to Ullusunu. One more land must be ravaged before Rusas could be reached and overcome. This was Muzazir, which Shalmaneser II had attacked in 829 B. C., whose prince, Urzana, had acknowledged the overlordship of Rusas. It was a hard mountain march to reach it, but the city, forsaken by Urzana, was soon taken when once it was gained.²¹² The southern portion of Urartu was then invaded. Cities were burned and dug up and the entire land turned into a howling wilderness, and robbed of every hope of any further autonomy. Rusas looked on, perhaps, from some mountain eyrie and saw the utter collapse of his fortunes. The kingdom which his fathers had founded, of whom he was no unworthy follower, was being divided among Assyrian states or added directly to the provinces of the empire. For him there was no further hope, and he sought peace in a self-inflicted death.²¹³

Rusas left a son who succeeded his father as king of Urartu, or Chaldia, as the country was called by its own people, with the title of Argistis II. He found only a small kingdom left for him to rule, about Lake Van and the upper waters of the Euphrates. Long and sturdily had Urartu withstood the progress of Assyria in war, while it, nevertheless, accepted Assyrian civilization and even adopted the cumbersome Assyrian method of cuneiform writing. The Chaldians had even formed an empire and contested the supremacy- of western Asia with the Assyrians. In the days of Assyrian weakness they had grown stronger, until the menace to Sargon was so great that he had to plan cautiously and act decisively during a long series of years for its removal. He had now stripped them of all their southern and western possessions and shut up the king amid his mountain fastnesses, from which he would soon venture out to plunder and raid, but without hope of ever again mastering so large a portion of western Asia. Sargon's slowly maturing plans had effectually removed the greatest barrier to his country's career of conquest, extension, and aggrandizement.

For the next three years Sargon was unable to carry out any great schemes of conquest, because he was absorbed in smaller undertakings intended to complete the pacification of the north and west. The first of these was in western Media, where the province which had taken the place of the old kingdom of Karalla rose in rebellion, and, having driven out the Assyrian governor, set up as king Amitasshi, a brother of the old king, Asshur-li. The new arrangement lasted but a short time, for Sargon soon ended the rebellion. The vassal kings, Ullusunu of Man, Dalta of Ellipi, and Ninib-aplu-iddin of Allabra, all sent their tribute to the triumphant Sargon.

In the northwest, also, Sargon had a very dis. agreeable task. The land of Tabal had been conquered by Tiglathpileser III and the king deposed. In his place Tiglathpileser set up a man of humble origin, named Khulle. Bound by ties of gratitude or of necessity, Khulle paid his annual tribute until his death and remained faithful to the Assyrians, who had made him what he was. Sargon trusted him as fully as Tiglathpileser, and even added to his dominion the territory of Bit-Burutash. When he died his son, Ambaridi, or Ambaris,²¹⁴ was confirmed by Sargon as king in his stead. So completely was he trusted that Khilakki (Cilicia) was further added to his territory and Sargon's own daughter was given him to wife.²¹⁵ In spite of all this he was secretly, and later publicly, faithless to Assyria, and joined the coalition of Rusas and Mita, to whom he gave aid in their various undertakings against Assyria. His day of punishment had now arrived. His land was devastated, colonized, and then made into a new province of the empire,²¹⁶ and he, with his followers, was carried off to Assyria.

In the following year (712) a very similar case occurred in the district of Meliddu. While Sargon was busily engaged in war Tarkbunazi of Meliddu conquered Gunzinanu of Kammanu (Comana), one of Sargon's tributaries, and seized his territory. This had been done in reliance upon the help of Urartu. Sargon now overran the land and destroyed the capital, Melid. Tarkhunazi for a time defended himself in a fortress, Tulgarimme, but was taken, and, together with his troops, deported to Assyria.²¹⁷ His territory was then divided. Melid was annexed to Kummukh,²¹⁸ while the rest of the country was repopulated and formed into a new province.²¹⁹ One more year was required before this northern territory was fully reduced to subjection. In 711 there was an uprising in Gurgum, a small Hittite state.

The king, Tarkulara, was killed by his own son, Muttallu, who thus made himself ruler. Sargon soon appeared with a small body of troops, and carried off Muttallu with his followers to Assyria. His land was likewise made into a province.

While Sargon was engaged in these petty but annoying wars with small states Egypt was again plotting to gain some kind of foothold in Palestine. Ashdod was now chosen as the starting point for another effort. In this city Sargon had removed the king, Azuri, for failure to pay tribute, and had set up his brother, Akhimiti, in his stead. Under the leadership of a man named Yaman, or Yatnani,²²⁰ who was plainly inspired from Egypt, a rebellion began in which Akhimiti lost his life. By some means Philistia, Moab, Edom, and, most surprising of all, Judah were drawn into this new opposition to Assyria. Hezekiah was now king of Judah, and in this fresh union with Egypt he was flying in the teeth of the advice and warnings of Isaiah, his ablest counselor. Sargon felt the importance of this new uprising, and at once hastened either himself or by deputy, in the person of his Tartan,²²¹ to end the rebellion. Ashdod, Gath, and Ashdudimmu were easily occupied by the Assyrians. The other states of Palestine seem to have feared to join in the war when it was on, and Egypt sent no help. The inhabitants of these cities were carried away and other captives settled in their places.²²² This campaign so thoroughly stamped out all opposition in the west that it might for a time safely be left to itself.

If now we look back over Sargon's reign up to this point, we shall see that his only direct gains to Assyrian territory had been in the land of Urartu. To Shalmaneser rather than to him belongs the credit of securing Samaria. Indirectly, however, his gains had been great. He had greatly strengthened the Assyrian control from east to west over a wide circle of country, and had so established the outposts of the empire that he might feel safe from invasion. It must be remembered, however, that he was even yet governing a territory much smaller than that which Tiglathpileser III and Shalmaneser IV had controlled. Babylonia was still in the possession of the Chaldeans, and Sargon was bereft of the rarest and most honored title -king of Babylon. But he was not satisfied with this state of affairs, and had probably planned long and carefully in order to its complete overthrow. Now that his borders were safe on the north and west, and the annual tribute over the great empire was fairly well assured, the time seemed to have arrived for his greatest work.

When Sargon, in 721, after the battle of Durilu, left Merodach-baladan to rule undisturbed in Babylon he took upon himself a great risk. There was a grave possibility that the adroit Chaldean might so establish himself in the kingdom that the Assyrians could never hope to dislodge him again. But Sargon builded very wisely in this, for there were more causes for discontent in Babylonia than of satisfaction, and Merodach-baladan was much more likely to ruin his prospects of a peaceable reign than to improve them. His status was peculiar and dangerous. He never could have conquered Babylon in the sole reliance upon his own Chaldean forces, but was compelled to utilize not only Elamite but also Aramaean allies, the latter being the same half-nomad tribes which had been a disturbing factor in former times. So long as he was threatened by Assyrian armies Merodach. baladan was able to hold together these ill-assorted followers; self-preservation against a common enemy who might blot them out one at a time made them cautious. But as soon as all danger from Assyria was withdrawn by Sargon's occupation in

other quarters these Elamites and Aramaeans began to clamor for a share in the spoil of Babylonia. They had not ventured all in the service of Merodach-baladan without a well founded hope of participation in the wealth which the centuries had heaped up. Merodach-baladan was not to be suffered to wear the title of king of Babylon while his followers, who had suffered that he might win it, lay in poverty. It would be impossible to satisfy these men with anything short of a license for free plunder, and this could not be given without the ruining of the land over which he hoped to rule. Beside this Merodach-baladan could not give ever so little to his Chaldeans and Elamites without raising bitter opposition to his rule among the native Babylonians, and especially among the priesthood--perhaps the wealthiest class in the country.

In these opposing wishes there was abundant material for a flame of civil war which would destroy the ambitions of the new king of Babylon, and for this Sargon had left the land free. Merodach-baladan probably desired earnestly to strengthen his position in Babylonia with the natives by a reign of order and peace, leaving them in undisturbed possession of their estates. This was, however, impossible, and he ventured on a career of plunder. Property holders were removed from Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa into Chaldea, where they were held in some kind of bondage, while their lands and other wealth were handed over to colonists out of the number of Merodach-baladan's rapacious and unthinking allies.²²³ This policy satisfied neither party to the compact, and Merodach-baladan found himself surrounded on every side by enemies when he sadly needed friends. The Babylonians were always a fickle folk at best, and apparently delighted in changes of dynasty. A restless spirit was ascribed to them, centuries after, in the Mohammedan period, and their history as we have followed it to this point seems clearly to show that they were of this temper now.²²⁴ Nevertheless, they valued highly their ancient institutions and held in high esteem the honor of their royal titles. The priesthood must always be a conservative force in any community, and the Babylonian priesthood in charge of the worship of Marduk, and so invested with the power of making kings, who must take hold of the hands of the god, maintained with enthusiasm the ancient customs. At this time they found less of sympathy among the Chaldeans, Aramaeans and Elamites than among the Assyrians. Tiglathpileser III had so greatly valued the priests and the honors which they had to bestow that he twice visited Babylon in order to take the hands of the god and be proclaimed king, and Shalmaneser IV had even more than followed his example. Sargon might well be expected to have similar ideas and hopes. To him, therefore, the Babylonian priesthood and all the other wealthy classes which had lost home or possessions looked as a possible deliverer from the barbarous Chaldeans and Elamites.

Sargon was therefore doubly prepared for an attack on Merodach-baladan. He had made his own empire so strong and safe that he might leave it without fear, and he was certain of a friendly reception from the Babylonians. His plan was first to conquer the allies of Merodach-baladan and then to strike the defenseless Chaldean himself. An army was sent southward to overcome the Aramaeans living along the Elamite and Babylonian borders. These were speedily conquered. The Gambuli and the Aramaean tribes of Ru'a, Khindaru, Yatburu, and Puqudu were organized into a new Assyrian province, with Dur-Nabu, formerly known as Dur-Atkhara, one of Merodach-baladan's fortresses, as capital.²²⁵ This successful movement cut off Merodach-baladan from his former allies in Elam. When the Assyrians crossed the Euphrates and captured the small Babylonian state of Bit-Dakkuri, Merodach-baladan did not venture

upon a fight, but fled into Yatburu, whence he could communicate with the king of Elam. But Shutur-nakhundi,²²⁶ who now ruled in Elam in the room of Khumbanigash, was not eager to help Merodach-baladan, and, though he prudently accepted the gifts which had been sent to him, offered no help of any kind.²²⁷ The Aramaeans could not help him while an Assyrian army held them in helpless subjection, and the Elamites would not. Merodach-baladan was powerless with his small army to meet Sargon's seasoned veterans. He therefore fled southward into his old homeland and fortified himself in Igbi-Bel, where he spent the winter, which had now begun.²²⁸ The Babylonians, relieved of their oppressor, hailed Sargon as a deliverer. They organized a religious and civil procession which went to Dur-Ladinna to escort the saviour of the country to Babylon. Sargon entered the ancient city, and in all things conducted himself as a legitimate king of Babylon. He offered the required sacrifices;²²⁹ he restored the canal of Borsippa, which had fallen down;²³⁰ and by these two acts satisfied the priesthood and helped the country's commerce.

Sargon was now able to have himself proclaimed king of Babylon, and might take the god's hands and fulfill the required ceremonies on New Year's Day of the year 709. If he did this, however, he would have to repeat it year by year, and that might be in the highest degree inconvenient, if not impossible. He could not hold the priesthood faithful to himself if he did not perform the annual ceremonies, and though he could doubtless compel their obedience without winning their hearts it would be dangerous and inexpedient. He was too wise to transfer the capital of his reunited empire to Babylon, and he therefore adopted an expedient which satisfied both parties--the Assyrians and the Babylonians. He adopted the title of "*shakkanak*"--that is, governor, or viceroy--instead of king of Babylon, and for this he would not be compelled to renew the ceremony year by year. In the month of Nisan, at the great feast of Bel, he took the hands of Bel and Nabu and was proclaimed *shakkanak* of Babylon. In all respects he had as much power and influence as though he were called king.²³¹

In the next month Sargon began his campaign against Merodach-baladan. The unfortunate Chaldean had withdrawn in the early spring or late winter from Igbi-Bel to his old city of Bit-Yakin, where he employed his time in the preparation of extensive fortifications against Sargon, whose invasion he must have been continually expecting. He opened a canal from the Euphrates and filled the country about the city with water, breaking down all the bridges, so that no approach to the city was possible. Sargon found a way to overcome this difficulty, though he does not enlighten us as to his method. The city, once attacked, soon fell, and Merodach-baladan, who had been wounded in the first assault, made good his escape to Elam. An army from the Puqudu and the Sute, who were coming to help Merodach-baladan, was then overcome and the city of Bit-Yakin first plundered and then destroyed.²³² In the city Sargon found the rich men of Babylonia who had been deprived of their property in order that Merodach-baladan might reward the men who had made him king. They were sent back to their homes and their property restored. Furthermore, the priesthood received a rich reward for their share in Sargon's triumphs by the return of gods whom Merodach-baladan had taken away and the restoration of the elaborate temple worship in Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, and other places of less moment, while the tithes to the temples were newly revised and imposed upon the people. The land of Bit-Yakin was placed beyond

any opportunities, it would seem, for further rebellion, by the deportation of a portion of its inhabitants to Kummukh, from which came captives to take their place. The land was then turned into an Assyrian province to be governed from Babylon and Gambuli.²³³ Awed by such proceedings, King Uperi, of the island of Dilmun, in the Persian Gulf, sent gifts.

By this campaign, as much by the peaceful operations which attended it as by the success of arms, Babylonia was completely pacified, and was now ruled easily by the Assyrians for several years. Sargon had completely restored the old order of things against great odds, and with extreme difficulty.

While Sargon was engaged thus in Babylonia his representatives were hardly less successful elsewhere. In the far west the governor of the Assyrian province of Que, imitating his royal master, Sargon, invaded the kingdom of Mushke. The people of Mushke were among the traditional enemies of Assyria. They had been opposed to Tiglathpileser I, and they had a large share in stirring up opposition in Syria to later Assyrian kings. For a long time the Assyrians had not suffered any interference at their hands. Their dominions were bounded now on the south and east by the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, and their ruler was Mita. The Assyrian governor met with such success in conquest and plunder that Mita was forced to send an embassy to Sargon, who was then on the borders of Elam, to sue for peace.²³⁴ At the same time Sargon received gifts from seven kings of Cyprus, though what they may have feared does not appear.²³⁵ Years after (708 B. C.) Sargon acknowledged their gifts with a present of a black marble stele engraved with his portrait.

At this same period also there was a new spasm of vigor in the almost defunct empire of Urartu. Argistis was now king over what remained of the once powerful empire, and determined to make an effort to regain some of the lost possessions. He induced Muttallu, prince of Kummukh, to join in a confederation. Before anything could be accomplished the news was brought that BitYakin had fallen and an Assyrian army was already on its way to the north. Muttallu was so discomfited by this news that he sought safety in flight. His family and all his treasures fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and his land was henceforth organized and administered as a province. This fall of Kummukh happened at just the right time to enable the interchange of inhabitants with Bit-Yakin, which was mentioned above.²³⁶

In 708 we reach the last campaign of which Sargon has left his own account. Dalta, prince of Ellipi, who had acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria, was dead, and there was a strife about the succession between his sons, Nibe and Ishpabara. The former appealed to Elam for help, which he received, and by which he was able to drive out Ishpabara. The latter then, on his part, appealed to Sargon, who was the lawful overlord of the country. Sargon at once responded by sending an army which conquered Nibe and his Elamite allies, captured his capital city, Marubishti, and took him prisoner to Assyria. The land was then set once more in order, with Ishpabara as king.²³⁷

After this year all knowledge of Sargon's reign is lost to us. It is altogether improbable that he undertook any more great campaigns, but rather devoted himself afterward to such efforts to quell incipient rebellion as filled the last year which we have just described. He had indeed reached to the full the

warlike ambitions of his life. He had reunited Babylonia to the empire and brought it into complete subjection, so that it was as easily ruled as Assyria itself. He had ended the Hittite empire, a great plague spot in his predecessor's maps. He had crushed the empire of Urartu, or Chaldia, and so rendered safe his own northern border. He had brought into safe subjection all the troublesome Syrian states. There were indeed no other undertakings which he might reasonably hope to accomplish which it would be wise to begin.

The works of peace in Sargon's reign were as brilliant as his campaigns had been. He was not content merely with the repairing of palaces and temples, or even with their rebuilding, as were most of the Assyrian kings who were before him. He undertook the colossal task of founding a new city which should bear his own name, Dur-Sharrukin(Sargon's-burg). Here he erected a vast palace, which must have occupied years in the building. Its walls were covered on the inside with magnificent inscriptions recounting the great deeds of his reign. These were so admirable in their execution as to give us a strong impression of the artistic skill of the age which Sargon had made a conquering age. In 707 the palace was finished and the city ready for the entrance of the gods who were to transform it from a vast and beautiful pile of bricks into a real place of residence. Up to this time the king had resided in Calah. In 706 he entered his new city, but his enjoyment of its magnificence was very brief. A broken fragment of an Eponym List gives us some hints of events in the days immediately preceding his death, but they are too badly preserved to allow us to be in any way clear as to their meaning.²³⁸ Sargon died in the year 705, but whether by the hand of an assassin or by natural death remains uncertain.²³⁹

In the magnificence of his building operations he probably excelled all the kings who preceded him. Certainly no ruins of a former age yet found approach the magnificence of the great palaces which he built in the city which bore his name. In all other works he is naturally brought into comparison and contrast with Tiglathpileser III. Like him, he was great in the planning and organization of great campaigns, and probably excelled in the patience and slow moving on the outworks and allies of an enemy's country before making the final attack. He was also greater in the successful carrying out of great battles and sieges. For there is nothing in the campaigns of Tiglathpileser which equals the taking of BitYakin. As an administrator over the destinies of diverse peoples he is in every way worthy of his predecessor. In the carrying out of the plan of colonization and deportation he far exceeded the limits which marked the labors of Tiglathpileser. But it must be said that in originality of idea and of plan he was far behind Tiglathpileser. It was he and not Sargon who invented this method of dealing with turbulent populations. Sargon was only building on the foundations laid by another, and it is easy to show in many cases that he is the imitator and not the originator. Nevertheless, there should be no minishing of his fame as a conqueror and king. If Tiglathpileser had planned the empire, now become the greatest power in the world, it was Sargon who had built- much of it and rebuilt nearly all the rest. Again had a usurper surpassed the greatest deeds of a legitimate king, and made his name immortal in his country's annals.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGN OF SENNACHERIB

IN the same month in which Sargon died, and on the twelfth day of the month (Ab), Sennacherib²⁴⁰ (704-682) ascended the throne. He was the son of Sargon, who had so well governed his land and so thoroughly settled his power and control over it that no attempt was made to disturb the order of succession from father to son. But, though he succeeded to the inheritance of the great empire without trouble, there were tremendous difficulties to be settled at once.

The priesthood of Babylonia and in general the Babylonian people were waiting to see what position he would take up with reference to the proud and ancient people who felt themselves to be the better, even though they were the weaker, portion of the empire. Had Sennacherib gone at once to Babylonia and taken the hands of the god, he might have been proclaimed *shakkanak* of Babylon, as Sargon had been, and it is altogether probable that he would have had no important difficulties with Babylonia. He saw clearly, however, the dangers of a dual capital and the impossibility of mutually pleasing two great peoples so diverse in all their ideas and aims. So long as Babylonia remained a great city, and its citizens nourished their national life and kept burning their national pride, there would always be arising opportunities for vexation against Assyria, and therefore possibilities for some shrewd Babylonian or Chaldean to gain leadership over the popular clamor and seize the throne. The maintenance of a dual kingdom was essentially an anomaly. If colonization and deportation accomplished so much in the north and the west for continuity and peace, why should just the opposite plan be continued in Babylonia? Tiglathpileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon had done nothing to diminish the national feeling in Babylonia, but rather had contributed fuel to the flame. Tiglathpileser's visits to Babylon in order that he might be proclaimed king had fostered Babylonian pride, in that they made the Assyrian king a suitor for honors at the hands of the priesthood, though he had in reality won his triumph by force of arms. Shalmaneser had done exactly the same thing. Sargon had done even worse, for he had accepted the lesser title of *shakkanak* in order that he might be delivered from the onerous annual visit to Babylon and be free to come and go as he pleased. Sennacherib would do none of these things. He was a loyal Assyrian and no Babylonian, and was determined to break with all this past history, in which his own country had the power, but gave up its semblance and its show. He would possess that also, and show the world that Assyria was not merely the head of the empire, but its absolute master. He would, in other words, treat Babylonia as a subject state and pay no attention to its royal ideas, its kingly titles, and its priestly authorities. It is possible that in this decision jealousy was mixed up with ambition. Sennacherib could not have looked the empire over without learning that Assyria was still a raw and uncouth country, leaning upon Babylonia for every sign of culture. Perhaps he felt that this position of Babylon itself might make it some day the capital of the entire empire, while Assyria lost its leadership altogether. His policy must prevent any such possibility as that. Sennacherib must have formed his plans and matured his policy even before his father was dead, for it seems to come into play at once. The first sign of it was purely negative, but it was carefully noted in Babylonia, and the record of the divergent views has come down to us. Sennacherib did not go to Babylon to be crowned or proclaimed king or *shakkanak*. As we now see the case from the vantage point of later history this was a fatal blunder. The empire divided in opinion at once. The so-called Babylonian Chronicle, resting on official sources, sets down for 704 and 703 Sennacherib as king of Babylon. That is to say, Sennacherib, without the carrying out of the usual

rites, without the ordinary concessions to the time-honored regulations of the priesthood, without any salve for Babylonian pride, called himself king of Babylon, and the state record, compiled by authority, sets him down as king. But the Ptolemaic Canon, which clearly goes back to Babylonian sources, marks the years 704 and 703 as "*kingless*."²⁴¹ This was the real Babylonian opinion. This man Sennacherib might collect his taxes and tributes because he had the armed forces wherewith to enforce his demands, but he could not force the hearts of the people to acknowledge him as the genuine, the legitimate, king. In this, the first stroke of a new and revolutionary policy, Sennacherib had made provision for a disturbance which should vex his life, if, indeed, it did not disrupt his kingdom--such force have ancient custom and solemn religious rites.

This state of affairs could not continue long--an Assyrian king claiming to be king in Babylon while the Babylonians denied that he was king at all. A rebellion broke out in Babylonia, and a man of humble origin, called in the King List²⁴² son of a slave, by name Marduk-zakir-shumu, was proclaimed king. Here was again a disturbance brought on by folly, and likely to grow worse before it was better. In this condition of affairs the ever-watchful and certainly able Merodach-baladan saw his opportunity. Marduk-zakir-shumu had reigned one month when the Chaldean appeared, and was able to have himself again set up as king (702). He now set out to bring about a condition of affairs which would compel Sennacherib to leave him alone in the enjoyment of the old honor and position. It was Sargon who had so long left him in peace, while he was occupied in pacifying the west. If he could now disturb the west again and divert from himself Sennacherib and his armies, he might again be permitted to rule long enough to fix himself firmly in his position. This time he might hope to have less *difficulty* in satisfying his Elamite and Chaldean followers. The plan was adroit, and promised well. The Book of Kings²⁴³ narrates that Merodach-baladan sent an embassy to Hezekiah to congratulate him on his recovery from a severe illness. Hezekiah showed his visitors the royal treasures and arsenals, doubtless greatly impressing them with the wealth and strength of Judah. There is no hint of any ulterior purpose in the mind of Merodach-baladan, but the result shows pretty clearly that this embassy was really intended to sow seeds of rebellion. It is most probable that he also sought to draw Egypt into some rebellious compact, for Sennacherib later had also to fight that country. The plan to divert Sennacherib to the west failed because the state of affairs in the kingdom was very different from that which had obtained in the days of Sargon. Sargon was a usurper, and had to make sure of his borders and establish himself upon the throne. On the other hand, Sennacherib inherited a kingdom which accepted his rule without a murmur, and was therefore better able to look after Merodach-baladan at once. He made no false step in the quelling of this rebellion, though his own folly had been the real cause of it. He determined to leave the Palestinian states to their own pleasure and strike at the root of the disaffection in Babylonia.

Sennacherib crossed the Tigris and marched in the direction of Babylon, meeting with little opposition until he reached Kish, about nine miles east of Babylon, where Merodach-baladan had deployed his forces. Here was fought the first battle, and Merodach-baladan was completely routed and forced to seek safety in flight.²⁴⁴ The city of Babylon was not prepared for a siege, and Sennacherib entered it without difficulty. The palace of Merodach-baladan was plundered of everything valuable, but apparently Sennacherib did not disturb the possessions of the native Babylonians. He then marched into Chaldea,

ransacking the whole country. In one of his records of this campaign Sennacherib declares that he destroyed eighty-nine cities and eight hundred and twenty villages;²⁴⁵ in another he gives seventy-six cities and four hundred and twenty villages.²⁴⁶ Whatever the correct figures may be there can be no doubt that the land was fearfully punished. Merodach-baladan, who had hidden himself in Guzuman, was not captured. When this was done Sennacherib set about the governmental reorganization of the country. He had with him a young man named Belibni, a Babylonian by birth, but reared in the royal palace of Assyria. Him Sennacherib made king in this year (702), after Merodach-baladan had reigned but nine months.²⁴⁷ When Sennacherib was ready to return to Assyria he carried back immense booty with him, and besides the horses and asses and camels and sheep he took away two hundred and eight thousand people.²⁴⁸ This extensive deportation must have been made, according to the policy of Tiglathpileser, to achieve peace and prevent further rebellion. How well even this heroic treatment succeeded with a high-strung people like the Babylonians only later history can show.

After the end of the Babylonian campaign Sennacherib marched into the territory of the Kasshu and Yasubigallu, who lived in the Median mountains east of Babylonia. They were a semi-barbaric people, and the campaign must have been undertaken merely to make the Assyrian border country safe from their plundering raids. The invasion was successful in reducing the country, and captives of war were settled in it, while the nomadic inhabitants were forced to settle down in the cities. In this country some of the Babylonians whom Sennacherib had carried off may have found their home. Thence into Ellipi Sennacherib continued his march. Ishpabara, whom Sargon had made king, had not paid his tribute regularly, and must now be punished. Fearing the consequences of his faithlessness, Ishpabara fled, and Sennacherib easily captured the capital, Marubishti, with the villages in its environs. A part of the country was colonized and then annexed to the province of Kharkhar, as Ellipi had been to that of Arrapkha. After the withdrawal of the Assyrians, Ishpabara appears to have regained some of his lost territory.²⁴⁹

In 701 Sennacherib was forced to invade the west. He gives us no new reasons for this invasion, but the occasion for it is easily read between the lines of his records, and deduced from the biblical narrative. When rebellions were afoot in Babylonia, and for a time at least were successful, when Egypt was eager to regain lost prestige in a land where she had once been all-powerful, when an embassy from the indefatigable Merodach-baladan had come all the way from Babylonia to win sympathy and the help of a diversion in the west, it was hardly possible that these small states should remain quiet and pay their annual tribute without a murmur. We do not know how much inclined Hezekiah of Judah may have been to join in an open rebellion at this time. He had, however, taken up a position which would make it easy for him to do so; and the war party with its national enthusiasm and unthinking patriotism was strong at his court. This policy was bitterly opposed by Isaiah, the leader of the cautious minded men, who saw only disaster in any breach with Assyria at this time. Isaiah was no lover of Assyria, but he saw clearly how weak and poor was the help which the land might hope for from the outside. The Syrian states had suffered much from their former reliance on Egypt, and there was certainly no reason to hope that matters would be any better now. The wisest counsel was undoubtedly that of Isaiah. But, even though Hezekiah was willing to take it, which he certainly was not, it would have been almost impossible for

him to do so. The whole land was aflame with patriotism, and woe betide the man, even a king, who dared to oppose it.

Indeed the king had himself done much to foster not only this very spirit, now become dangerous, but also to quicken a consciousness of security which could not fail to collapse in the presence of such armies as Assyria was able to put into the field. Hezekiah had been victorious over the Philistines,²⁵⁰ and that probably very early in his reign; why should he not also conquer the Assyrians? would be the simple reasoning of those who had not directly experienced the Assyrian advance in war. He had built an aqueduct by which an abundant supply of flowing water was brought within the city walls. What that meant for the city is almost incalculable by occidentals. Jerusalem had never had flowing water before within its walls. It could therefore easily be taken by a siege in the dry season. Hezekiah had supplied this primary need, and by so doing had immeasurably added to the defensibility of the city. There is no doubt that this was a war measure, and that it would be so understood and interpreted by the people is even more clear.²⁵¹ How easy was the task of the anti-Assyrian party with such arguments as these-- victory over the Philistines, and a new aqueduct--to break down the opposition led by Isaiah and supported by his unpopular associates. All that Isaiah actually accomplished was the postponement of the breach with Assyria; without him it would inevitably have come sooner.

As in Judah, so also in Egypt was the way preparing for an uprising in Syria. An Ethiopian dynasty was now ruling, nominally at least, over the whole land of Egypt. But there is evidence enough to show that the Ethiopian king could hardly claim to be absolute master of the destinies of the Nile valley. Sennacherib in his narrative of the later campaign refers not to the king of Egypt, but to the kings of Egypt, and his successors upon the Assyrian throne supply us with lists of the names of kings over districts of Egypt. All these district kings were striving for more power, and the Ethiopian overlord must gain ascendancy over them all before he could dispose, as he would, of Egypt's greatness. He could readily see that a movement outside of Egypt, against external foes, would be certain, if successful, to increase his prestige at home. The same hopes would be in the minds of the district kings. A policy like this pursued by a district king, such, for example, as Sibe, might make him, instead of the Ethiopian overlord, the real king of Egypt. If one of these kings was seeking a place in which to gain advantage by interference, there was none more promising than Syria. Even a slight hope of regaining it would readily unite all parties in Egypt, and he would be sure of his throne. He would thus be glad to encourage any patriotic party in Syria to appeal to him for help, hoping, when the accounts were reckoned up, to be able to turn to his own advantage whatever help he might give to the rebels against Assyria. Gladly would he listen to an appeal for help from Judah. And in spite of Isaiah the appeal was sent. An embassy from Hezekiah, naturally laden with presents, went to Egypt²⁵² and the Egyptians promised assistance. More and more the patriotic party in Judah gained the ascendancy. The country was ready for a daring stroke against Assyria. Hezekiah became the moving spirit of a rebellion which swept over all the Syrian states.²⁵³

The rebellion broke first in Ekron. Here the Assyrian had set up a governor who remained faithful to his masters beyond the Euphrates, to the bitter end. The uprising in his city was general if not universal.

"The governors, chiefs, and people of Ekron," as Sennacherib says,²⁵⁴ cast Padi into iron chains and then delivered him up to Hezekiah²⁵⁵ to be shut up in prison. This act in itself-and our knowledge of it comes at firsthand from Sennacherib's own historiographers, and not from the Hebrews-shows that Hezekiah was regarded as the real head of the insurrection. Sennacherib could not brook such an insult as this to a prince whom the Assyrians had set up, for nothing of Assyrian prestige could be saved if this were allowed to go unpunished. He resolved to proceed at once in person at the head of his armies and strike suddenly before the forces of all Syria could unite. His first point of attack was the Phoenician cities. Sennacherib says nothing about a siege of Tyre at this time, for he was certainly not prepared to attack a city which could only be reached successfully by the sea. He was, however, able to ravage its tributary cities on the mainland, and so affect it indirectly. Having thus injured the city's commerce and frightened its defenders, Sennacherib turned against Sidon. Eluloeus (Luli), who was now king, dared not await the conqueror's approach, and fled. The city surrendered at once, and Sennacherib made it the capital of a new province. Tyre had been engaged in setting up a new confederation of which it should be the head. Sennacherib could now forestall this by setting up Ethobal as king in Sidon and giving him Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta (Sariptu), Machalliba, Ushu, Ekdippa (Akzibu), and Akko (now Acre) as his kingdom.

The very presence of the Assyrian monarch, engaged in his work of making and unmaking kingdoms, filled all Syria with terror. States which had been ready enough to rebel against Assyrian tribute were now ready to surrender without the faintest attempt at a fight. Among these who had more discretion than valor were Menahem (Minchimmu) of Samsimuruna, the location of which is unknown;²⁵⁶ Abdili'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Byblos,²⁵⁷ Mitinti of Ashdod, Buduilu of Beth-Ammon, Kammusu-nadab of Moab, and Malik-rammu of Edom.²⁵⁸ All these brought heavy and costly presents, and so assured Sennacherib of their desire to live peaceably and pay well their tribute. This formidable defection from the ranks of the rebels greatly reduced their chances for success, for it left large spaces of territory from which neither supplies nor men could be drawn. Sennacherib, however, had not yet terrorized all Syria, and there were some who boldly held on their course and prepared for defense. Of these states Ashkelon first demanded severe treatment from Sennacherib. Tiglathpileser had set up Rukipti as king over the people of Ashkelon, but his son, Sharru-ludari, had been driven out and a usurper named Zidqa was now ruling in the city. His only hope of a continuance in power was in successful resistance to Sennacherib. The city was, however, soon taken, and Zidqa with all his family was carried off to Assyria, and Sharruludari set up as king. It is somewhat surprising that this conquest did not bring about more desertions from the rebels, but the remainder held fast and had to be reduced piecemeal. Even the other cities which formed part of the little kingdom of Ashkelon had to be taken one at a time; so fell Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Benebarqa,²⁵⁹ and Azuru.

The campaign was now swiftly approaching Ekron, and Sennacherib is probably reporting only the actual fact when he says that the people of Ekron feared in their hearts.²⁶⁰ Before he had his reckoning with them he must first meet a formidable foe. Unlike former kings of Egypt, or of its separate districts, the present rulers were determined to send some help to the newly gained allies in Palestine, or Syria. They might well do so, for it was not merely the possession of Syria which was now in the balance, but

even the autonomy of Egypt itself. No man could possibly tell when the Assyrians would invade the land of the Pharaohs if Syria were wholly theirs, and hence a safe base of operations and supplies. As we have said before, there is every good reason for believing that this had long ago been contemplated in Assyria. The forces of the Egyptians, advancing northward, united with a contingent from Melukhkha, probably not very large, and then proceeded onward, intending doubtless a junction with the troops of Hezekiah. Before this could be effected Sennacherib halted the advance at Altaku²⁶¹ and offered battle. It was a battle of giants, and, though Sennacherib boasts of the usual victory, it must have been achieved with great loss. That the victory in a measure was his there can be no doubt. He captured the son of an Egyptian king and the son of a general of Melukhkha. The cities of Eltekeh and Timnath were then taken, and the road was opened to Ekron. Ekron could offer no effectual resistance, and the city was terribly punished. The chief men who had driven Padi from the throne were impaled on stakes about the city, while their unhappy followers were deported. The Assyrian party in the city was, on the other hand, peacefully treated.²⁶² It was a horrible object lesson to those who looked on. Padi, who was still in the hands of Hezekiah, was later restored to the command of the city.

At first thought it seems remarkable that Sennacherib did not follow up this victory over the Egyptians. Their allies in Palestine were defeated; their detachments from Arabia were routed; they themselves were in full flight. Much indeed might have been gained by a decisive castigation of troublesome Egypt. But Sennacherib's chief enemy in all this campaign was Hezekiah, and Jerusalem his real goal.²⁶³ Until the Judwan king was ruined and Jerusalem devastated, as Ekron had been, the object of the campaign would not be fulfilled.

Into Jerusalem came the news of the Egyptian defeat at Eltekeh and of the overwhelming of Ekron, and still Hezekiah did not offer to surrender. Up from the plains of Philistia came the victorious Assyrian army, and one by one the fortified cities of Judah fell before it until forty-six had been taken. Their inhabitants were now reckoned as Assyrian subjects, and according to the historians of Sennacherib they numbered two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty.²⁶⁴ These cities were then divided between Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Zil-Bal, king of Gaza—a serious loss of territory to Hezekiah. Thoroughly convinced now that further resistance would mean utter destruction, Hezekiah determined to submit and secure such terms as he could. He sent an embassy to Sennacherib, whose headquarters were established at Lachish in the Shephela. Sennacherib demanded a tribute of thirty talents of gold and eight hundred of silver, as the Assyrian accounts represent,²⁶⁵ or three hundred talents of silver, as the Hebrew narrative²⁶⁶ recounts. The securing of such a sum was a grievous task, and it was only accomplished by stripping the temple of ornaments and furnishing. The humiliation of Hezekiah was as complete as his impoverishment. It was also probably at this time that Padi, king of Ekron, was delivered up by Hezekiah, and thereupon resettled in the rule over his city.²⁶⁷ When Sennacherib had secured the gifts he did not rest satisfied, but, feeling sure that he could not be resisted, demanded the surrender of Jerusalem. A part of his army, under the command of a Rabshakeh, a general officer of some kind, is sent, with a detachment of troops as escort, to express his determination. This brought about a panic in the populace, and the king himself was in a frenzy of fear. Years later Sennacherib

might well say of Hezekiah: "I shut him up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his royal city."²⁶⁸ The city was not besieged, but was blockaded, so that all hope of succor from outside was cut of.²⁶⁹ Within the walls, amid all the confusion and fear, preparations for a last defense went on vigorously.²⁷⁰ Without them, at the "conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field,"²⁷¹ negotiations were carried on between the Rabshakeh on the one side, and on the other Eliakim, palace governor; Shebna, state recorder; and Joah, chancellor.

Though both threatened and cajoled, Hezekiah refused to give up the city, and the Rabshakeh withdrew his force and joined the main body at Libnah, whither Sennacherib had withdrawn from Lachish, which had succumbed to superior force. It was conceived to be a place of such importance that its conquest is celebrated by Sennacherib in a magnificent wall inscription with pictures in relief.²⁷²

Sennacherib had now to decide upon the course to be pursued in view of Hezekiah's determined persistence. It was clear that Jerusalem could only be taken after a siege, and this was apparently resolved upon, when news reached Libnah that Tirhaqa, king of Ethiopia, was advancing out of Egypt to give aid to Hezekiah.²⁷³ A letter was dispatched²⁷⁴ at once to Jerusalem demanding the capitulation of the city, and at the same time Sennacherib moved southward to meet Tirhaqa. He probably reached Pelusium,²⁷⁵ on the very confines of Egypt, a place famous both before and since that day as a center for the dissemination of the plague,²⁷⁶ and there pestilence suddenly fastened upon the Assyrian army. All hopes of invading Egypt must be abandoned, and Sennacherib led homeward only a miserable fragment of an army which had hitherto proved almost invincible. The joy of that hour to all the west may scarcely even be imagined. To the Hebrews it meant nothing less than God's intervention to save the remnant of a kingdom once so glorious.²⁷⁷ To Tirhaqa it gave some claim to have conquered the Assyrians, and as a victor over Khatte, Arados, and Asshur he is celebrated in one of his own inscriptions.²⁷⁸ The tradition of that wonderful deliverance lived on in Egypt, and was told to Herodotus²⁷⁹ by his cicerone in the temple of Ptah, at Memphis. As he reproduces the story, field mice gnawed the thongs of the bows and devoured the quivers of the army of Sennacherib, "king of the Arabians and Assyrians," so that "a priest of Vulcan, called Sethos," readily had a victory over them. As thus narrated the story contains much unhistorical material, though told with fire and force, but it surely has a basis in historic fact, and refers doubtless to the same event as the Hebrew writer has described.²⁸⁰

Though successful in all the great campaigns down the seacoast from Sidon to Ashkelon and up the slopes of the hill country to within fifteen miles of Jerusalem,²⁸¹ Sennacherib had, nevertheless, failed in the main object of his expedition. Jerusalem still stood, and but for pestilence it would have been a smoking ruin, as Ekron. Hezekiah still reigned, and that with increased prestige, and but for pestilence he would be a captive in Nineveh, as was Zidka, king of Ashkelon. Ethiopia was left free to continue its peaceful assimilation of Egypt, and but for the pestilence Assyrian governors would be ruling its fertile valleys as even now they held sway in Ashdod. Sennacherib's failure in the west justified in every

particular the foresight and statesmanship of Isaiah, and the echo of the prophet's words would resound when the empty boasts of the defeated king were known only to quiet students. For twenty years longer did Sennacherib possess the power of Assyria, but he never invaded Palestine again.

Sennacherib had left Babylonia in the full enjoyment of peace, but he had also sown thoroughly the seeds of unrest. Bel-ibni, one of his own creatures, was on the throne, but however well disposed he was, there was no hope that he might success. fully resist the distemper of the people. Their patriotic love for Babylon, their belief that once a world city meant always a world city, had been grossly trodden under foot by the Assyrian king; their inborn religious feeling had been outraged beyond endurance by a king who paid not the least attention to their solemn rites of coronation. Sennacherib was now deeply embroiled in the western troubles, and the Babylonians thoroughly understood them, for news traveled far and fast in the ancient Orient. The time was, to their mind, auspicious for the reassertion of national ideals. No matter what Bel-ibni may have desired, he was forced by resistless public sentiment into a position hostile to Assyria. Ever ready for any chance at his old enemy, Merodach-baladan of the Sea Lands joined in the rebellion, and the Chaldeans, under a native prince named Marduk-ushezib, also engaged in it. This looked like a promising rebellion, though that the confederates could divide the land between them if there was success might well be doubted.

The new organization of affairs in Babylonia went well for a short period, until the appearance in 700 of Sennacherib: At once the whole compact fell to pieces. Bel-ibni was captured. and sent ignominiously to Assyria, whose training he had dishonored, along with his foolish counselors. Marduk-ushezib fled toward the south, and went into hiding in the marshes at the mouths of the rivers. Merodach-baladan embarked his gods and his people upon ships, and sailing down the Persian Gulf, settled along the eastern shores in the land of Elam, whither Sennacherib did not dare to follow him. There he soon after died. No man like him as an opponent of Assyria had arisen since the days of Ben-Hadad II of Damascus. Adroit enough to surrender always at the right time, ever full of resources when there was the least hope of success, implacable in his hostility, his removal from action was a great boon to Assyria. His name did not die with Min, but his descendants, of the same stuff in their persistency, remained to plague a later day in Assyrian history. The land of Bit-Yakin was next ravaged by Sennacherib in the vain attempt to root out the elements of discord and disaffection. On his return northward Sennacherib had his own son, Asshur-nadin-shum, proclaimed in Babylon as king.²⁸² And so began another attempt at governing this difficult part of the empire.

In the next year (699) military operations were necessary in Cilicia and Kappadokia. The mountainous country of Khilakku, amid the crags of the Taurus, was penetrated and reduced to subjection. Rebellion in the lower parts of Cilicia, in the province created by Sargon, was stamped out by the destruction of the capital. This campaign seems to have made a great impression at the time. Sennacherib boasts of the overcoming of extraordinary obstacles in mountain climbing; and Berossos²⁸³ ascribes to him the erection of the city of Tarsus. By this he can only mean rebuilding or restoration, for the city is known to have been in existence at least as early as Shalmaneser II. Another campaign, probably little more than a raid, was directed about the same time against Tumor, in the north.

Again were troubles brewing in Babylonia, even while the king's own son maintained his precarious rule. The Chaldeans were not so well led as they had been, but even in exile they ceased not to plot against the nation which had humiliated them. A large number of Chaldeans had left the south lands of Babylonia and settled on the coasts of Elam. Here they were an ever-present menace to the peace of Babylonia. In 694 Sennacherib undertook a campaign for their destruction. It was a campaign extraordinary in conception and execution. He built boats on the Tigris and manned them with Phoenicians and Cyprians, who were better used to ships than the land-loving Assyrians.²⁸⁴ The boats were then floated down the Tigris to Upi (Opis), and thence conveyed overland to the Euphrates by camels, where they were again launched and went down to the Persian Gulf. A short sail brought the forces to the colonies which Merodach-baladan had founded, where the cities were destroyed and their inhabitants slain or carried into captivity.²⁸⁵ Never before had Sennacherib made a direct attack on Elam, and this was not to go by without an effort after revenge. Khallus, the Elamite king, invaded Babylonia and plundered Sippar. Asshur-nadinshum, who had enough courage to oppose him, was taken captive to Elam,²⁸⁶ whence he apparently never returned. The Elamites then crowned in Babylonia a native by the name of Nergal-ushezib. This act again divided the land. The new king held only northern Babylonia, while all the south was in Assyrian hands. Nergal-ushezib attempted to gain control also over the south, and marched to Nippur, which he took in 693.²⁸⁷ Shortly after he met an Assyrian army, and a battle was fought in which he was taken prisoner and carried to Assyria.²⁸⁸ In Elam an uprising took place in which Khallus was killed, and the throne came to Kudur-nakhundi.²⁸⁹ These reversals of fortune seemed to hand over the land of Babylon again to the Assyrians, but the matter was by no means settled. The Assyrians could not hope to hold Babylonia in safety if the Elamites were not so punished for the late invasion that they would never dare the like again. The change in kings gave a favorable opportunity, and Sennacherib invaded the land. He claims to have sacked and burned thirty-four cities and to have seized much treasure. The king was not taken nor his capital city besieged-and this failure Sennacherib ascribes to weather of unusual severity and to great cold.²⁹⁰ Kudur-nakhundi lived only three months more, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Umman-minanu, whom Sennacherib considered a man without judgment and intelligence.²⁹¹

While these events were happening in Elam, and Sennacherib was tied down to his efforts there, another Chaldean seized the reins of power in Babylonia. Mushezib-Marduk was made king in Babylon in 692. It is one of the curious changes in history that he was supported by the native Babylonians. It was but a short time since the Babylonian hatred of Chaldeans was so strong that an Assyrian king who was able to drive them from the country was hailed as a deliverer. Now the Babylonians were filled with hatred and dread of the Assyrians, and made common cause with the Chaldeans against them. The Babylonians and Chaldeans then gained as another ally the Elamites, by giving to Umman-minanu the treasures of the ancient temple of E-sagila as a bribe. Political necessities had surely made strange bedfellows when the Elamites, who so recently had been invaders and plunderers in Babylonia, were now chosen friends to strengthen a Chaldean upon a Babylonian throne. With the Elamites were found as allies peoples of many places which had been organized as Assyrian provinces but a short time before. Among these were Parsua, Ellipi, and the Puqudu, the Gambuli, and, most interesting of all, Samunu, the son of Merodach-

baladan, who had revenge in his heart beyond a doubt, and was glad of an opportunity to meet his father's enemy. The allies came down into Babylonia, and Sennacherib's historiographer waxed eloquent as he thought of that great array. They were "like a great swarm of locusts."²⁹² "The dust of their feet was like a storm by which the wide heavens are covered with thick clouds."²⁹³ In 691 Sennacherib met the combined armies at Khalule.²⁹⁴ The description of the battle as the Annals have preserved it is one of the most thrilling in all Assyrian literature.²⁹⁵ Words of blood and fire are heaped one upon the other to set forth the overwhelming might of the great king's opponents and the awful butchery which they suffered. But the very protestations of such complete victory awaken skepticism, which becomes conviction when we survey the conclusion of the whole conflict. Immediately after the battle Sennacherib withdrew to Assyria. He made no attempt to pursue the forces which he is said to have routed, neither did he turn to Babylon to drive the usurper from the throne. If he really did gain the victory,²⁹⁶ it must have been with tremendous losses which could not be promptly repaired.

In 689 Sennacherib again invaded Babylonia and came up to the city itself. The Babylonians had now no Elamite allies, and the city was soon taken. Thereupon ensued one of the wildest scenes of human folly in all history. The city was treated exactly as the Assyrian kings had been accustomed to treat insignificant villages which had joined in rebellion. It was plundered, its inhabitants driven from their homes or deported, its walls broken down. The torch was then applied, and over the plain rolled the smoke of consuming temples and palaces, the fruit of centuries of high civilization. All that the art of man had up to that time devised of beauty and of glory, of majesty and of massiveness, lay in one great smoldering ruin. Over this the waters of the Euphrates were diverted that the site of antiquity's greatest city might be turned into a pestilential swamp. Marduk, the great god of the city, was carried away and set up in the city of Asshur, that no future settlers might be able to secure the protection of the deity who had raised the city to eminence. Marduk-ushezib was carried a prisoner to Assyria.²⁹⁷

It was undoubtedly the hope and belief of Sennacherib that he had finally settled the Babylonian question, which had so long burdened him and former kings of Assyria. There would now, in his opinion, be no further trouble about the crowning of kings in Babylon and the taking of the hands of Marduk, for the city was a swamp and Marduk an exile. There would be no more glorification of the city at the expense of Nineveh, which was now, by a process of elimination, assuredly the chief city of western Asia. But in all this Sennacherib reasoned not as a wise man. He had indeed blotted out the city, but the site hallowed by custom and venerated for centuries remained. He had slain or driven into exile its citizens, but in the hearts of the survivors there burned still the old patriotism, the old pride of citizenship in a world city. He had humbled the Babylonians indeed, but what of the Chaldeans who had already produced a Merodach-baladan and might produce another like him, who would seek revenge for the punishment of his race and its allies in Babylonia? From a purely commercial point of view the destruction had been great folly. The plundering of the great city before its burning had undoubtedly produced immense treasure to carry away into Assyria, but there would have been a great annual income of tribute, which was now cut off; and a vast loss by the fire, which blotted out warehouses and extensive stores as well as temples and palaces. This historic crime would later be avenged in full measure. In any estimation of the character of the Assyrian people the destruction of Babylon must be

set down by the side of the raids and the murders of Assurnazirpal. It is a sad episode in human history which gave over to savages in thought and in action the leadership of the Semitic race, and took it away from the Hittites and Aramaeans and the culture-loving Babylonians.

For eight long and weary years the only record of the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon is, "There was no king in Babylon." The babble of many tongues of diverse peoples who had garnered knowledge, carved beautiful statues, experimented in diverse forms of government, sang hymns of praise, and uttered plaints of penitence was hushed, and in its place was the great silence of the desert, which a ruthless destroyer had made.

At some time between 688 and 682 Sennacherib again went westward into Arabia. Sargon had there met with extraordinary success. But the results had been very short-lived. The Bedouin inhabitants were able to pay tribute, and would do so for a time if there was fear of punishment, but they were so continually moving about from place to place with their flocks and herds that it was difficult to follow them and keep them in dread. It was one thing to punish a people who had houses and cities, it was another thing to discipline a people whose black tents of camel's hair were quickly folded and their possessors swept silently away over pathless deserts beneath a blazing and relentless sun. Sennacherib's long absence had blotted out the memory of the past among the Arabians, and they were now rather under Egyptian than Assyrian influence. To restore the Assyrian position was the object of an expedition known to us only by a reference in the inscriptions of Sennacherib's son and successor. Adumu, a sort of settlement, probably the Dumatha of Ptolemy, was taken and the gods carried away to Assyria.²⁹⁸ More than this could hardly have been accomplished among a population such as this. Though we have no mention of it, it is probable that some booty was secured, and the Assyrian prestige would be increased by the taking away of the gods.

It was the last act of Sennacherib in war. Shortly after his return home, on the twentieth day of the month Tebet, in the year 681, he was murdered in a temple by the hands of his own sons, [Nergal]-sharezer and Adarmalik.²⁹⁹ Like many another assassination, west and east, the crime was due to jealousy of another son and desire to secure the succession to the throne. So ended a reign little worthy of the one which had preceded it. Sennacherib's inscriptions indeed boast loudly of great victories, but there seems but little foundation for most of them. He added nothing to what his father had won and held. His hand was a hand of iron and blood, and not of real creative power. No great policy of administration was devised or begun by him. That he was Sargon's son had won him position, that he had brute force in certain measure had held it for him. The empire had been maintained in its integrity, though the fairest portion of it had been changed into ruin and waste in the doing of it.

The only act of peace which may safely be predicated of his reign was the transfer of the capital from Dur-Sharrukin to Nineveh, where a palace was reerected on old foundations, in which the king dwelt. He began to make Nineveh the world's chief city by the erection of this palace, and by the destruction of the greater Babylon the self-imposed task was completed.

CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF ESARHADDON

WE do not know the exact circumstances which led to the assassination of Sennacherib, but we shall not be far astray, in all probability, if we ascribe it to jealousy on the part of his sons. While he yet lived Sennacherib had made his son, Esarhaddon (Asshur-akh-iddin), a sort of regent over Babylonia. He had also by decree made him the legal heir to the throne, though he was almost certainly not the eldest son.

During his residence in Babylonia in these early years of his life Esarhaddon (680-668)³⁰⁰ was smitten with a great love for the ancient land with all its honored customs. His whole life shows plainly how deeply he was influenced by the glory of Babylon's past, and how eager he was to see undone the ruin which his father had wrought. As soon as the news of his father's death reached his ears he caused himself to be proclaimed as *shakkanak* of Babylon. In this he was going back to the goodly example of his grandfather Sargon. Sennacherib had ceased altogether to wear a Babylonian title. Babylonia was to him not a separate land united with his own, but a subject territory inhabited by slaves whom he despised. Esarhaddon did not even take the name of king, which in Babylonian eyes would have been unlawful without taking the hands of Marduk, now exiled to Assyria. Immediately after his proclamation in Babylonia Esarhaddon hastened to Nineveh, where the rebellion collapsed at once, and he was received as the legitimate king. According to the Babylonian Chronicle it had lasted only a month and a half—from the twentieth day of Tebet to the second day of Adar.³⁰¹ The biblical story represents the two murderers as fleeing to Armenia, and there is no reason to doubt that this was the case.³⁰² Esarhaddon's inscriptions say that he left Nineveh in the month of Shabat; and this was probably in pursuit of his brothers.³⁰³ He fought a battle with the rebels and their followers at Khanigalbat, near Melid, and readily overcame them.³⁰⁴ They had probably been hoping for some assistance from Armenia, and now accepted it. The campaign had lasted only eight months, and in the month of Kislev, 680, Esarhaddon was crowned king of Assyria.

It is very difficult to follow closely the order of events in the reign which was now begun. Unlike Sargon or Sennacherib, Esarhaddon has left us scarcely a fragment in which the chronological order of events is followed. He was more concerned in setting forth the deeds themselves than the order and relation of them—such at least must be our judgment unless at some time a text of his in true annalistic style should be found.

In the very first year of his reign (680) Esarhaddon gave clear indications of his reversal of his father's policy.³⁰⁵ Babylon had been destroyed; he would rebuild it. No Assyrian king before him had ever set himself so great a task. He did not live to see it brought to the final and glorious consummation which he had planned, but he did see and rejoice in a large part of the work. With much religious solemnity, with the anointing of oil and the pouring out of wine, was the foundation laying begun. From the swamps which Sennacherib had wantonly made slowly began to rise the renewed temple of E-sagila, the temple of the great gods, while around it and the newly growing city the king erected from the foundations

upward the great walls of Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel. All these, as the king boasts, were enlarged and beautified beyond that which they had been in their former glory. Slowly through the reign along with the wars which must now be told went on these works of peace and utility, to find their entire completion in the reign of Esarhaddon's like-minded son.

The first work of war to which Esarhaddon must direct his energies was a new castigation of the Chaldeans. While he was busy in securing his throne a fresh outbreak had occurred in the old district of the Sea Lands. Nabu-ziru-kinish-lishir, a son of Merodach-baladan, had gained some of his family's power in Bit-Yakin, and with this as a base of operations had possessed himself of the country as far north as Ur. When Esarhaddon dispatched an army against him he fled to Elam, whither his father before him had more than once gone for refuge. There was now, however, a new regime in Elam, and the king, Ummanaldash II, seized him and slew him. His brother, Na'id Marduk, fled to Assyria and delivered himself up to Esarhaddon, who, with a mercy that honors his heart and his judgment, sent him back to BitYakin to rule the country under Assyrian overlordship.³⁰⁶ This sudden desertion on the part of Elam of its traditional friendship for Merodach-baladan and the Chaldeans in general is very difficult to understand. Up to this time the Elamites had always aided every movement of the Chaldeans against the Assyrians. There happened also a little later, in 674, another strange manifestation of a new policy among these same Elamites. While Esarhaddon was elsewhere engaged the Elamites surged down into Babylonia, and, murdering and plundering as they went, reached as far as the city of Sippar. The Babylonian Chronicle records this raid,³⁰⁷ but does not utter a word concerning any retaliation on the part of the Assyrians.

While Esarhaddon was carrying on the rebuilding of Babylon, and the population was returning which had been scattered, he found occasion for a small passage at arms with the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Dakkuri, which had gained sudden wealth through the destruction wrought by Sennacherib. When the Babylonians had been driven away by Sennacherib from the territory about Babylon and Borsippa these Chaldeans had promptly taken possession. As the selfsame people were now returning whom Sennacherib had thus dispossessed, Esarhaddon determined to drive out the settlers. He deposed their king, Shamash-ibni, and set over them Nabu-usallim, a son of a certain Balasu mentioned by Tiglathpileser III.³⁰⁸ When they had been dislodged the lands were restored to their former owners. At about the same time Esarhaddon undertook to bring into subjection the tribe of Gambuli, perhaps a mixed race of Aramaeans who were settled in the border country between Elam and Babylonia near the mouth of the Tigris. They had given aid to Ummanaldash in his raid in 674, and must now be humbled. Their prince, Bel-igisha, did not dare a battle,³⁰⁹ and so surrendered and gave pledge to hold his fortress, Shapi-Bel, as a sort of outpost against Elamite invasions; it was then strengthened by the Assyrians for this purpose. Esarhaddon was too prudent to attack Elam; and there was shortly less need for it. Ummanaldash II died in the same year, and his successor, Urtaku, was of very different mind as regards the Assyrians. He appears to have used every effort to maintain peace and friendship between the two peoples. As an evidence of this temper of mind stands his action of 673 in sending back to Agade the gods who at some previous time had been carried away by the Elamites.

All these operations of war were child's play compared with the drama in the west, in which Esarhaddon played the chief role. We have already seen that Sennacherib had signally failed in Syria. He had been absolutely unable to conquer Tyre, chiefly because it had the sea on the western side, forming a defense which the Assyrian could not burn nor pull down, and of which he was probably well afraid, as a landsman from the east might well be. His efforts in Judah, we have also seen, ended in a calamity for which his superstition or faith could find only disquieting causes. Furthermore, the only effort at setting up a new government and of making a center for Assyrian influence had no abiding power. He had planned to set up Sidon as a rival of Tyre, and to gather about it in an artificial manner several cities which were better adapted to be rivals than friends. His rearrangement of the city dominion had no element of stability in it, and soon dissolved. Ethobal, whom he had made king, was probably loyal enough, and his personal influence maintained the status, quo, for it was in the end a personal rather than a national plan. As soon as he was dead and his son, Abd-milkot, reigned in his place the people of Sidon quietly dropped the Assyrian allegiance and went on with their dispatching of ships on the Mediterranean and with the piling up of treasure, none of which was paid over to Assyria as tribute. Here, then, in the Phoenician territory were entirely independent states, Tyre and Sidon, each with its own territory. We are clearly instructed concerning the territory of Sidon, and, though Sennacherib had stripped Tyre of her possessions, there is reason to believe that some of them had been regained. The wealth alone of these two states might well tempt a king who was spending upon new and old building operations such regal sums. Former kings had secured vast sums for the noninterference with Phoenician commerce; he might certainly hope to gain at least this boon, not to be despised, and he might also really conquer Phoenicia and make a loyal province of it.

With such hopes and dreams Esarhaddon led his first westward campaign. The way had been well prepared by the Assyrian conquerors who had devastated before him, and none would view the onset of his troops with equanimity. Before he could reach the sea a rebellion was genuinely on foot. Abd-milkot had found an ally in Sanduarri, king of Kundu³¹⁰ and Sizu,³¹¹ two cities, the latter located in a mountainous, almost impassable, country in northern Cilicia. Sidon had the protection of the sea, while Kundu and Sizu had the wild and trackless mountains about them. The Assyrians had often before crept among the mountains and attacked enemies hidden like birds among the clefts, as the Assyrian annalist loves to portray them. But their success by sea had been inconsiderable. The new confederation seemed to have elements of strength beyond many which had preceded it. On the approach of the Assyrians the courage of Abd-milkot forsook him and he fled to sea. Esarhaddon besieged Sidon, and the city held out well—we do not know exactly how long—but the campaign against the two rebels lasted three years. It is certainly highly probable that the greater part of this long period was devoted to the maritime city rather than to the mountain hamlets. When Sidon fell the city was devoted to destruction. The walls which had been a defense for ages were tumbled into the sea; the houses in which wealthy merchants had lived were torn from their foundations and utterly ruined. The whole city was leveled to the plain and blotted out of existence.³¹² All this is after the models of ancient days, and shows to what a pitch of wrath Esarhaddon had been wrought by the long and tedious siege. But at once he turns from this custom and exemplifies the other and better side. Upon the same site another city is built and named Kar-Asshur-akh-iddin (Esarhaddon's-burg), that in it the old commerce might live again. The new city thus built was peopled by inhabitants of the mountains conquered in war, and also and more reasonably by others

drawn from the coasts of the Persian Gulf. Abd-milkot was captured, perhaps in Cyprus, and beheaded. Kundu and Sizu were also taken, and the unfortunate Sanduarri was treated in the same way.

When Esarhaddon returned from the campaign he brought with him substantial evidences of his victory. Kundu and Sizu had probably enriched him but little, but with Sidon the case was entirely different. Here was a commercial city through which had passed a goodly share of the commerce between east and west. As through Gaza passed the trade of Arabia to the western nations now coveting the luxuries and refinements of the east, so through Sidon, and especially through Tyre, passed all that luxurious Asia had to contribute to the sybarites who lived in Greece and Italy. These things could not pass year by year through Sidon without leaving a share of the choicest of them in the hands of those who trafficked. Esarhaddon enumerates in one bald list the treasure which he carried away. It was of gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, costly woods, tapestries, and dress stuffs. The color and the richness of the east were in this mass of wealth. Esarhaddon had not reckoned too highly upon the gains of his conquest, even if three years had fled away before it was taken. To these were added the cattle, the sheep, and the asses which were driven away to render service hereafter in Assyria. The end of this campaign is a record of return to the most wretched barbarism of Assyria's darkest days. When he came up to his city gates Esarhaddon made a triumphal entry to the sound of loud music. In his train marched his captives, and among them were the chief men of Sidon, and bound round their necks was the ghastly head of Abd-milkot, while the principal men of Kundu and Sizu bore in like manner the head of Sanduarri. It is a strange sight, this entry into Nineveh, when it is remembered that the king who made it was Esarhaddon, who had been merciful to a son of Merodach-baladan and had restored to the Babylonians the lands which his father had wasted. The natural Assyrian temper had revealed itself in this latest of Assyrian monarchs.

The attack on Tyre probably began while Sidon was still in a state of siege. It was an entirely different problem, and much more difficult. Tyre was better defended by the sea than Sidon. It was larger, richer, more determined. There is little doubt that if the Tyrians had believed that the payment of a heavy gift, or even the promise to give a large annual tribute, would have freed them from all further Assyrian disturbance of trade, they would have gladly met either or both conditions. They had done so before. But there was a determination about Esarhaddon's actions that could hardly be satisfied with anything short of absolute control. The people of Tyre wanted to save some sort of autonomy, in order to the greater freedom of their commerce, and the only hope for this now was to fight and not to pay for it. Esarhaddon began his siege in earnest. He walled in the city entirely upon its landward side, and began a wearisome effort to conquer it by famine. But of one entrance to their city, and that the most important, he could not rob the Tyrians. The sea remained open, and by the sea might readily enter all that Tyre needed for the life of its citizens. He could deprive the city of its commerce by land, and that naturally must soon destroy its commerce by sea, but if the Tyrians had the heart to hold out, they certainly could not be starved into submission. Ba'al was now king of Tyre and he was clearly of different stuff from his less courageous predecessors. Year by year the siege dragged on, while other and greater efforts occupied the attention of Esarhaddon, and in the end there was no result. The siege had to be lifted, and Esarhaddon must confess defeat. It is true that upon one of his largest and most impressive monuments he pictures Ba'al of Tyre kneeling before his august majesty, who holds him with a ring through his lips.³¹³ On the

inscription, however, there is not one word about the fall of Tyre, nor elsewhere in any of Esarhaddon's records is there any claim that Tyre had been taken. We are forced to the conclusion that Esarhaddon is here glorying without justification, and that Ba'al of Tyre during his entire reign maintained his independence. The failure to take Tyre was a loss, in that great treasure would undoubtedly have been secured, but in no way was the continued existence of the city a menace to Assyria or an interference with the progress of Assyrian power anywhere in the west. There was no danger of any attack by Tyre upon the Assyrian flank if Esarhaddon should decide to move southward with his forces. Tyre would go on with her commerce and leave the rest of mankind to fight its own battles.

Esarhaddon had administered a salutary lesson to Sidon and its ally; he would now press on to discourage any further alliances or confederations in Palestine against himself and his rule. Again and again the oft-recurring rebellions in Palestine had been brought about by Egyptian agents who stirred up the small states and hoped to gain power when Assyria had been driven off. No Assyrian king had hitherto done more than snuff out the little flame of patriotism and punish the offenders. None had been so bold as to execute³¹⁴ a move against Egypt herself, prime cause of all the trouble. It is proof of the power of an ancient name that this had not been done, for opportunities there had certainly been in plenty. Egypt had been so weak that she would probably have fallen an easy prey to armies such as Assyria had long had in the field. But the Assyrians had in their thought the Egypt of Thotmosis III and Rameses II, and did not rightly estimate the Egypt of their own day. Esarhaddon, however, had learned otherwise in some way, and now laid careful and wise plans for the overthrow of Egypt. The Assyrians had broken down the great culture-loving race of the Euphrates and had scattered its treasures; they would now proceed to do in like manner unto the great people who had conserved literature and art and science during the march of the centuries and had survived the wreck which had come to others less fortunate. The freebooters of Asia, who had sacked and burned and made howling wastes where once had been beautiful cities, must seek a wider field and enter Africa.

In 673 Esarhaddon makes his first attack upon Tirhaqa, the Ethiopian king of Egypt. The campaign was absolutely without tangible results. The Assyrian army, indeed, reached the Egyptian border, but did not cross it. The way was stubbornly contested, and Esarhaddon at length withdrew temporarily without abandoning his designs. In 670 he again moved forward,³¹⁵ and probably with greatly increased forces. He was soon over the border upon this campaign, and at the first battle at Iskhupri gained a decisive victory over the Egyptians. Two more battles followed, and in these also was he victorious. After a march of fifteen days from Iskhupri he appeared before the walls of Memphis³¹⁶ and laid siege to an ancient and magnificent city. Memphis was unprepared, and soon fell into his hands. The family of Tirhaga was taken, but the Pharaoh himself made good his escape into Nubia, paralyzed with fear and hopeless of the very idea of resistance. Memphis was plundered and destroyed. Esarhaddon had tasted the joys of plunder and the satisfaction of revenge at Sidon, and was glad to drink them again to the full. The fall of Memphis filled the whole land with dismay. Such an event had probably never seemed to the proud people a possibility. There were no further resources in the country, the king had fled and left all, and only surrender was possible. AS far as the confines of Nubia the country surrendered to the Assyrians. In two brief campaigns, with apparently little loss, an Assyrian army had undone the work of centuries and humbled in the dust the world's proudest people. What was lost to the world in the

destruction of Memphis can never be known. How much else of works of art, of historical memorials, of beautiful buildings, perished may only be surmised. Esarhaddon admits that he carried away from the temples fifty-five royal statues. It was a complete overthrow, but the resistance had been slight and brief, and the land was happily not devoted to destruction.

At once Esarhaddon reorganized the government of the country. It was already divided into twenty-two divisions, called nomes. Over each of these a native prince was set up, who was really only a puppet in the hands of the Assyrian officials and assistants by whom he was surrounded. Even the names of the cities were changed into Assyrian forms, so that, for example, Sais became Kar-bel-matati (fortress of the lord of lands), and Athribis was to be Limir-ishakkuAsshur, though the inhabitants of the country would certainly never adopt such ill-sounding combinations in the room of that to which their ears for many generations had been accustomed.³¹⁷ But that many Egyptians quickly acquiesced in the new order of affairs is perfectly plain. Over the twenty-two princes Esarhaddon set Necho of Sais as chief king, subject, of course, to himself as the real overlord. Necho went so far in devotion to his Assyrian masters as even to give his son an Assyrian name. It is no wonder that the heart of Esarhaddon swelled with pride when he contemplated this conquest. That the youngest power in the Orient had been able to conquer and now to administer the affairs of a people who had been famous and powerful centuries before the first Babylonian colonists had settled in Asshur was indeed cause sufficient for boasting.

Though the greatest by far, this conquest of Egypt was not Esarhaddon's only victory in the west besides Sidon. Various Arabian tribes had given trouble to Sargon and to Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon was not free from the same difficulties. Before his first Egyptian campaign in 674 he had been compelled to attack Melukhkha. Melukhkha had indeed no political organization coterminous with its geographical boundaries. Sennacherib mentions a king of Melukhkha, but he could hardly have reigned over a country so extensive as that which the word covers in the Assyrian inscriptions. Esarhaddon began his raid, for it was little else, from Palestine. The deserts were a sore trial to his troops, unused to any such campaigning, and would have been destruction to them but for the help given by the people of the little kingdom of Aribi. Esarhaddon penetrated into the land as far probably as Mount Sammar. The king of Melukhkha was taken captive, a matter of moment only in this, that he might have become an ally of Egypt. The entire campaign was only undertaken to set the people in dread of Assyria and so make them careful to give no aid or comfort to Assyrians enemies.

In this same connection it is interesting to observe Esarhaddon's treatment of the small land of Aribi, the part of northern Arabia which comes up between Palestine and the Euphrates valley. The Assyrian kings had already had dealings with two queens of this country. Tiglathpileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib had also ravaged in Aribi, and the land had been brought in a considerable measure under the influence of Assyria. Hazael, a king of Aribi, had suffered much from Sennacherib, and had been especially bereaved in the loss of his gods, which had been carried away. Emboldened, perhaps, by the knowledge that Esarhaddon had reversed his father's policy in Babylonia, he besought the king for the return of his gods. The prayer was granted, and a friendly feeling thus reestablished. And now followed a very strange act. Esarhaddon set up a new queen in Aribi, who appears not to have disturbed the established order at all. Her name was Tabua, and she had been reared at the Assyrian court. How she could have reigned as

queen while Hazael continued as king is somewhat difficult of explanation.³¹⁸ It appears probable that we have here an instance of a sort of double rule. Perhaps the situation is like that which existed in the Nabathean kingdom at a very much later date. These kings mention their queens in their inscriptions and stamp their heads along with their own upon coins, which would seem to indicate that they exercised some influence in the state.³¹⁹ Hazael died during the reign of Esarhaddon, and was succeeded by his son, variously called Ya'lu and Yata'.

In the reign of Esarhaddon there was felt for the first time in all its keenness the danger of an overflow of the land by great Indo-European immigrations. Long before this time these peoples, living in what is now southern Russia, had begun to spread southward. The Medes formed one great wave of their migration. They had, however, turned eastward, had settled in the mountains northeast of Assyria, and beyond Elam, and had not disturbed the Assyrian empire. Greater migrations than that of the Medes were now becoming severely threatening. One wave swept down from the northern shores of the Black Sea, and met with the first Asiatic power in Armenia. Armenia was not now the power it once had been, but it was, nevertheless, strong enough to separate the Indo-European horde as by a wedge. One great mass moved westward into Asia Minor. The other and much less formidable went westward and southward into the outlying Assyrian provinces. The name of a leader in this second stream of migration has come down to us in the form of Ishpakai, who is called an Ashguzaeon, which may be the same as the biblical Ashkenaz.³²⁰ This man, leading his horde of Indo-European barbarians, came as far as Lake Urumiyeh. Here he found the people of Man,³²¹ who had felt the Assyrian power and had paid their annual tribute like their neighbors. They had, however, been entirely undisturbed for a long time, as Sennacherib had not invaded their territory at all during his reign. In the migration of the Indo-Europeans they saw a hope of securing aid by which all allegiance to Assyria might perhaps be thrown off. It was a plan of folly, for the new lords which they would thus secure were not likely to be any better than the old ones whom they put off. Esarhaddon, learning of this alliance, invaded the country and conquered Ishpakai, apparently without much trouble.³²² It was the easy victory of discipline over disorder. Esarhaddon may have satisfied his own mind with the thought that he had removed a great danger, but in reality his victory was of very slight consequence. He had indeed broken down this alliance, but he had not disposed of the hordes of men who formed the migration. Their leaders were ever seeking some new method of harassing his outposts and plundering his tributary states. Some, like Kashtariti, even threatened the very existence of the commonwealth, for he attempted to form a great coalition of the Mannai, the Cimmerians, and the Chaldeans. It fell to pieces from mutual jealousies, but not without sending Esarhaddon in dread to consult still further the oracles of the sun god.³²³

While there were shrewd men like Kashtariti among these immigrants, who needed to be treated with consideration and firmness, the greater mass were like dumb, driven cattle. The Indo-Europeans, indeed, were not an organized body aiming at a definite conquest of Assyrian territory. They were rather hordes of semi-barbaric and hungry men pushed from old homes and seeking new ones. Many of them settled in Man, and cared not if they did have to join in the annual payment of an Assyrian tribute. The great bulk of the migration moved on into the Assyrian province of Parsua, which was quietly and irresistibly overflowed and filled with a new population. Then spreading yet farther, they went on into Media. Here

was already settled a population of closely related stock who had migrated thither at an earlier day, and had, as we have seen, offered but a feeble resistance to the Assyrian kings who were engaged in plundering raids. They were unable to keep out the newcomers who quietly settled among them. Some of the Median princes appealed to Esarhaddon for aid in keeping out the unwelcome immigrants. The Medes had formed as yet no central government. They had not been genuinely engrafted into the Assyrian empire, and they were unable in any united way to oppose the new migration. If there had been less centralized government in Assyria and no standing army, the very soil of the ancient Assyria would undoubtedly have been overrun. Only the disciplined forces which were ready to oppose them wherever they appeared diverted the barbarians who had passed eastward from Urartu into Media.

Among the Median princes who begged Esarhaddon for help against the engulfing wave were Uppis of Partakka, Sanasana of Partukka, and Ramateya of Urakazabarna.³²⁴ Esarhaddon was probably glad of the invitation to interfere. He had reason to be, for he was threatened in a twofold manner by this migration on his eastern borders. In the very beginning he was being deprived of control in provinces from which much tribute had been brought, and without the payment of tribute the standing army which had made Assyria powerful could not be kept up. Assyrian merchants would never pay taxes for its maintenance. He was further in fear lest these new Indo-Europeans engrafted on the old stock might make a new state with a government of its own, central in position, ample in authority, and strong enough to threaten its neighbors no less than to maintain its own integrity. When that came to pass Assyria would have on the east an enemy more dangerous than Chaldia had been on the north. Esarhaddon's campaign to help these Median princes amounted to nothing in its results, and we are, of course, not told how much the army suffered in losses before it was withdrawn.

Another expedition with similar purposes was directed against the country of Patusharra, which Esarhaddon carefully locates between the Bikni mountains (Demavend) and the desert, which must be the salt desert of northern Persia. Here he took prisoners two Medo-Persian princes named Shitir-parna and Eparna.³²⁵ There was no valuable result from this expedition also, or we had had it set forth with much earnestness and enthusiasm by Esarhaddon. That he was alarmed by these easterly migrations is beyond doubt.

The nomads could not pierce the ancient land nor approach to Nineveh itself; the armies were too strong and the fortified outposts too numerous for that. They were, however, quickly over spreading a rich and valuable country which the Assyrians had tried to conquer, and had partially succeeded in conquering, and had undoubtedly hoped to fit fully into the empire. But the nomads were making this forever impossible. The Assyrians armies might conquer them here and there, but it was only along the edges of the slow moving current. The great volume pressed behind, and the tide advanced again. Esarhaddon was at last compelled to accept the inevitable, and watched fearfully while the people who had been nomads as it seemed but yesterday were settled in the valleys, engaged in agriculture, and making the first steps toward the organization of a new state. In these days the provinces which had been first overrun and plundered by the Assyrians, and then organized and colonized, were taken from Assyria forever. Herein was enacted the same drama which centuries later took place in Italy, as the northern barbarians came southward over the mountains and seized the plains of Lombardy. Rome could make

only a feeble resistance, and a little later even the capital went down before them. The parallel goes even that far also, for Nineveh likewise was done to destruction through the help of these same barbarians who now settled in her outlying provinces.

We have traced from its first diversion in Urartu the eastern branch of the Indo-European migration until its settlement in the northeastern Assyrian provinces and in Media. The western branch was vastly more formidable in numbers and power. While the eastern branch has no distinctive general name applied to the entire body, the western is known under the name of the Cimmerians. From Urartu they went westward, passing through the provinces of Assyria which had formed the kingdom of Urartu. Assyria was undoubtedly fearful of the issue. If the head of the stream should be diverted southward ever so little, it would be pressed by the following masses into Mesopotamia, and no man was farsighted enough to know the result of a situation like that. The end of the Assyrian empire might even now be at hand. Esarhaddon must strike the moving body a blow strong enough to sweep it farther northward and make certain its diversion into the land of Asia Minor, and not into Syria. He did deliver his stroke against the Cimmerians at a place called Khubushna, in northern Cilicia. He boasts that he conquered Teuspa, a Cimmerian, a Manda--that is, a nomad or Scythian.³²⁶ There is very little to be said of the victory, and the probability is that Esarhaddon had not assaulted the main body at all, which was moving rather northwesterly, but only one portion which had turned southward. However that may be, the chief object of Esarhaddon's concern was achieved. The Cimmerians moved on into Kappadokia, entering Asia Minor rather than Mesopotamia. The little kingdoms of Meshech and Tabal fell before the tide of migration. Assyria lost by it some fine provinces in the northwest, as we have seen that it did in the northeast, through the invasion of the other branch of emigrants. With the exception of these losses Assyria suffered little. It is, however, not to be doubted that no such danger had ever before assailed the Assyrian empire. Esarhaddon had saved it. A weak king at this juncture would have lost all, and Assyria, a barbarism in the robes of civilization, would have been engulfed. It is idle to speculate on the possibilities had such been the end of the invasion. The passing of the headship of the Semitic races from Assyria must have had momentous consequences. The passing of the leadership in western Asia from Semitic to Indo-European hands was clearly impending, but it was now postponed through the energy, the foresight, and ability of Esarhaddon. Even if his name had not been enrolled among the greatest of Assyrian kings by the conquest and annexation of Egypt, he would have deserved the position by the deliverance from the Cimmerians and their eastern fellows in these very threatening days.

The ill arrangement and the fragmentary character of the Esarhaddon texts leave us much in doubt concerning the latest events of his reign. He took the city of Arzania, in the Syrian desert,³²⁷ in one of his later campaigns, though we do not know just what led to the attack.

In 669 a rebellion of some kind broke out in Assyria. We have no knowledge of its cause or purpose, but it was put down with a strong hand, Esarhaddon promptly causing the death of the chief men concerned in it.³²⁸ A man of his temperament was not likely to be lenient in such matters.

In 668 he undertook a campaign into Egypt. We are not well informed as to the cause of this, for our knowledge of it rests not on any of Esarhaddon's own inscriptions, but only on the brief mention of the Babylonian Chronicle.³²⁹ It is probable that there had already begun in Egypt the Situation which demanded the strenuous efforts of Esarhaddon's successor.

Before he set out on this expedition he must have felt some premonitory symptoms which made him doubt the long continuance of his life, for he took steps to provide for his successor. In this he may have been influenced by a desire to spare the people, if possible, such a chapter of difficulties as confronted him in the beginning of his own reign. In the month of Iyyar, 668, at the great festival of Gula, he caused to be published a proclamation commanding all the inhabitants of Assyria, both great and small, from the upper to the lower sea, to honor and acknowledge his son Assurbanapal as the crown prince and future king. This was the deed of a wise and prudent man. Unhappily he coupled with it another provision, which was fraught with the most awful consequences, and can only be characterized as an act of folly. In Babylon at the same time he caused his son Shamash-shum-ukin to be proclaimed as king of Babylon. If Assurbanapal was to rule as king in Assyria, and another brother was to be king in Babylon, no matter what regulations of power or agreements of authority were arranged between them, there was inevitably a reopening of the old difficulty, the old jealousy and strife, between Assyria and Babylonia. Sennacherib had felt this so severely that he had tried to terminate all disputes by the destruction of Babylon. Esarhaddon had undone that wrong by rebuilding the city--a colossal enterprise now nearly finished--and from the very beginning of that great work until this proclamation of Shamash-shum-ukin he had secured peace and at least a measure of contentment in Babylonia. There was now strong reason to hope that by rapid and easy intercourse between the two great sections of the Semitic race all ancient animosities and jealousies might die out and the countries really become one. This could only be brought about by the possession of power in the hands of one king, by centralization, in which, while Assyria held chief place, Babylonia should yet receive the honor due her, because of her venerable antiquity and her great culture. Instead of a wise provision for the continuance of the order by which Esarhaddon was king of Assyria and *shakkanak* of Babylon³³⁰--an order that for now twelve long years had produced and maintained peace--Esarhaddon had provided for the return of an old order, often tried and always a failure. Babylonia would get a taste of semi-independence and would at once yearn for something more. The ruler set over her, be he never so faithful to his father and to Assyria, would be forced inevitably into rebellion or lose his head and his throne altogether. In this decision Esarhaddon was following old oriental precedents, which have also often been imitated since his day. He was dividing his kingdom, and there would be shedding of blood ere the reuniting, if, indeed, it were possible ever to achieve it.

The forebodings of Esarhaddon had been well founded. On his way to Egypt he fell sick, and on the tenth day of Marcheshwan, in the year 668, he died.

He had had sore trials and great difficulties. He had endured grievous defeats and sustained severe losses, but he had, nevertheless, had a glorious reign. That the provinces which once paid great tribute were lost to the Indo-Europeans upon the northeast and northwest was less his fault than his misfortune. No king could well have done more than he, and it is to the credit of his ability that he did not lose much

more, even the whole of Mesopotamia or even Assyria, for no army, however well led, was of permanent value against a moving mass of men with unknowing and unthinking thousands pressing from the rear. These losses were far more than compensated by the gaining of the fertile and beautiful valley of the Nile. With this added, even though much was lost, Esarhaddon left the Assyrian empire larger and greater than it had ever been before. In battle and in siege, in war against the most highly civilized peoples and in war upon barbarians, Esarhaddon had been so successful that he must rank with Sargon and Tiglathpileser III, and must be placed far in advance of his father, Sennacherib. In him, in spite of mercy shown a number of times, there raged a fierceness and a thirst for blood and revenge that remind us forcefully of Assurnazirpal. His racial inheritance had overcome his personal mildness.

In works of peace no less than in war he was great and successful. In the city of Nineveh he restored and entirely rebuilt a great arsenal and treasure-house which had already been restored by Sennacherib.³³¹ At Tarbis he began the erection, probably somewhat late in his reign, of a great palace intended for the occupation of his son Assurbanapal. At Calah he also began an immense palace, which remained unfinished when he died. The excavated ruins reveal a ground plan of vast extent, and the fragmentary sculptures show that the building was richly decorated and beautified.

All these constructions, though they were numerous enough and great enough to have lent distinction to the reign of almost any of the kings who had reigned before him, were comparatively insignificant by the side of the rebuilding of Babylon. In spite of the inscriptions and the fragments which are devoted to the celebration of this work it is impossible to form any adequate idea of so colossal an undertaking. He saw the city reinhabited and beginning again a glorious career, where, at the beginning of his reign, there had been a swamp and a desert.

The last reign of great achievements in both war and peace was over in Assyria. The morrow would bring change and confusion. A man who had mingled mildness and severity in unusual degree had gone out from among men, and his sons would never be able to exhibit such qualities in union.

CHAPTER X

THE REIGN OF ASSHURBANAPAL

WHEN Esarhaddon was dead there was no war of succession and no difficulty about the passing to his son of all his powers and titles. Assurbanapal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks and the Latins, and the Asnapper³³² of the Old Testament, became king in Nineveh, and his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, was likewise everywhere received as king of Babylon. The dual control in the Assyrian empire began with great promise of success, though exposed to the difficulties and dangers already enumerated.

Of this reign we have much historical material.³³³ Assurbanapal was devoted to the collection of books, and equally interested in their production. He took pains that his deeds and his wars, his buildings and his very thoughts and hopes, should be carefully written down. No inscriptions of any previous reign are

so beautifully written as his. None are so smooth in their phrases, so glowing in their pictures, so sweeping in their style. But the care as to form was carried so far as to obscure at times the sense, and one wishes for the bald directness of the older monuments. Furthermore, to our present great discomfiture, the inscriptions are not written in annalistic form, with the events of every year carefully blocked out by themselves. We are therefore often at a loss to determine exactly in what year an important event took place. The events are set forth in campaigns, and as the campaigns are not coterminous with the years, it is impossible accurately to date events. To add to the difficulty the Babylonian Chronicle does not help us any longer with its brief notes of events and their exact location in time.³³⁴ The only dates of his reign which have come down to us beyond all doubt are, first, the very central event of the reign, the result of the inevitable conflict with his brother, and, secondly, the date of his death. We are therefore deprived of any guide to the chronology of the events, and are compelled to view them all as Assurbanapal has arranged them for us, in the form of campaigns. This is the more unsatisfactory, as we have, at least in one instance, clear proof that the order of the campaigns is logical rather than chronological. Assurbanapal, or rather his historiographer, has grouped them according to a scheme along which they seemed to his mind to develop. That this order was artificial rather than natural is shown by one brief hint in the Babylonian Chronicle concerning an expedition to Kirbit, a district of Elam. From Kirbit plundering hordes of men had been sweeping down into Emutbal, which was the original home land of Eri-Aku before he entered upon rule at Larsa. Emutbal now belonged to Babylonia, and Assurbanapal must defend it if possible. To discharge this obligation he either led or sent an army against it which soon devastated the land, "dyed the rivers with blood as one dyes wool"--the phrase is Assurbanapal's--and plundered the country. This expedition, according to the Chronicles,³³⁵ took place in 667, the first full year of Assurbanapal's reign, and was therefore the first expedition actually begun and ended by him. In his inscriptions,³³⁶ however, it figures as the fifth and not as the first campaign. It was, however, of little consequence, and the momentous events of the long and brilliant reign begin with the expeditions to Egypt.

Esarhaddon had died on the way to Egypt, and left the necessary expedition as a part of the inheritance to his son. When he made his brilliant campaign in Egypt he had met with but slight resistance; Tirhaqa had not fought at all, but had fled to Nubia. Esarhaddon did not pursue him thither, but reorganized the administration of the country, and left Tirhaqa to rest in his own home land. But Tirhaga waited but a short time to gain accessions of strength, and then entered Egypt again, which he speedily reconquered. The Assyrian officers, petty princes, and civil servants were unceremoniously driven from the land. Memphis was retaken, and there Tirhaga set up his court. Egypt was in reality completely torn from Assyrian hands, and the wonderful work of Esarhaddon undone. It was these untoward events which caused the third Egyptian invasion by Esarhaddon, during which he died. All these events are narrated in the inscriptions of Assurbanapal as though they had taken place in his own reign, and not in the last year of his father's. He has some excuse for this, apart from the desire of further glory for himself. He probably considered himself as the real king from the twelfth day of Iyyar, 668, when he was proclaimed as crown prince.

Assurbanapal, as soon as he became king, probably ordered the army, which had already set out for Egypt under the leadership of his father, to proceed. Whether he himself actually took the head or sent it

on under command of a Tartan is doubtful. The narrative is, as usual, in the first person, and this does not prove the king's actual presence. Before Egypt was entered Asshurbanapal received gifts and protestations of loyalty from twenty-two princes of the seacoast, who joined forces with him. He had not far to march before the army of Tirhaqa was met at Karbanit, in the eastern or central part of the Delta, where it was defeated. Tirhaqa had remained in Memphis, and as soon as he heard of the defeat fled to Thebes. Memphis was occupied by the Assyrians without opposition, and there were received all the princes, prefects, and officers whom Esarhaddon had set in authority in Egypt, but who had fled from their posts on the return of Tirhaga. They were all reinstated and the Assyrian rule firmly established. Then, laden with heavy plunder from the richest country of the world, the army returned to Assyria. Whether the leaders of the army were suspicious of the restored princes or not, or whether they had received some hint of a conspiracy, we do not know, but they held themselves in readiness for a recall, and did not proceed directly home.

As soon as the faithless governors thought that the Assyrian forces were withdrawn three of them, Sharludari of Pelusium, Pakrurn of Pisept, and Necho of Memphis and Sais, began to plot against the Assyrian overlordship. They sent messenger to Tirhaqa asking him to join with them. The Assyrian generals were on the watch and caught the bearers of the traitorous dispatches. With this clear evidence in hand Sharludari and Necho were suddenly arrested, and only Pakruru escaped. Three rebellious cities, Sais, Mendes, and Tanis, all in the Delta, were taken, apparently without the striking of a blow. The inhabitants were slain; some were flayed alive and their skins were spread on the city walls, while the bodies of others were impaled upon stakes about the city. So returned again in the literary days of Asshurbanapal the hideous atrocities of the days of Asshurnazirpal. It may well be asked, What had the centuries of progress done for the Assyrian people? Ferocity and thirst for blood were here found in as full measure as ever. The leaders of the rebellion, however, were much better treated. They were carried in chains to Nineveh, where it is hardly likely that they would be tortured to death. Two are mentioned no more, and one was handsomely forgiven. Necho must have been a man of forceful character, in whom Asshurbanapal recognized a servant too valuable to be lost. In spite of his serious breach of faith he was laden with costly and beautiful presents and returned to his rule at Sais, while his son, Nabushezib-anni,³³⁷ whose Assyrian name bears witness to his father's devotion to Assyria, was set to rule over the satrapy of Athribis, also in the Delta north of Memphis.

These events began in 668; they were probably entirely completed in 667, the first official year of the reign of Asshurbanapal. Egypt was once more pacified by force, and there was some hope that this peace might continue. Tirhaqa withdrew again to Nubia. He had long held out against Assyria, and his heart was still hostile. Others might accept Assyrian presents and occupy Assyrian posts, for him there was only a longing for the revenge that never came. Death hurried him away before there was any opportunity for another rebellion against the arch enemy of all the west.³³⁸

When he was gone from the world of action his policy and his hopes, nevertheless, lived on. Shabaka had left a son, Tanut-Amon, whom the Assyrians call Tandamani.³³⁹ He had now come to man's estate and succeeded to such rights and titles as the unfortunate Tirhaqa, his stepfather, had to leave. With the army of Tirhaqa, and accompanied, undoubtedly, by the good wishes of much of Egypt, he came up

from Nubia and seized Thebes. That this was so easily accomplished is only another evidence that the real power of Assyria was concentrated in the Delta and could hardly be said to extend much beyond Memphis. With Thebes as a basis Tandamani advanced northward and gained foothold in On, or Heliopolis. How long he might have held this place in spite of attacks from the Assyrian governors in Egypt is doubtful, but when he learned of the advance of the Assyrian army to relieve the city he abandoned it and fell back to Thebes. The Assyrian army then moved on in pursuit, and of the next event there are two variant accounts. According to one, Tandamani fled from the city on the approach of the army, and was overtaken and beaten at Kipkip.³⁴⁰ According to the other version, he was conquered at Thebes, which he attempted to hold.³⁴¹

The campaign was probably short as well as decisive. By it Assurbanapal had greatly strengthened the Assyrian hold upon Egypt, but he, nevertheless, came far short of making it at all permanent. In fact, the Assyrians could not hope to hold Egypt so long as a spark of national feeling survived. To accomplish so great a feat, one or the other, and perhaps both, of two expedients would be necessary. The first was colonization upon a scale more extensive than had ever yet been attempted. If tens of thousands of native-born Assyrians could have been transported over distances so great and so exhausting and settled in the country, these might gradually have permeated it with new ideas of trade and commerce so thoroughly that the old national ideas of culture and religious devotion would have given way to a pursuit of wealth. By this means national feeling, and with it desire for the ancient independence, would have slowly burned out. The second expedient was a great army of occupation well distributed over the whole country, commanded not by native princes, but by Assyrians of undoubted loyalty, but, nevertheless, frequently changed to avoid possible entanglements in local intrigues or incitements to overweening personal ambition. Assurbanapal appears not to have seriously attempted the former plan. The latter was tried on a small scale, but as soon as the great civil war began, which was even now brewing in Babylonia, the troops had to be withdrawn. Necho remained a faithful vassal to his death, but his son, Psammetichus, who succeeded him, declared himself independent even before the year 660. The taking of Egypt had been the most brilliant event in the reign of Esarhaddon. From it the Assyrians had drawn great treasure, on which the standing army had been partially maintained. In spite of trials so great a king such as Sargon or Esarhaddon would probably have held it, but Assurbanapal was cast in a different mold. It was the first great loss of his reign; others less startling were to follow. The decline of the Assyrian empire had begun.

From his father Assurbanapal had also inherited a campaign against Tyre as he had one against Egypt. We have already seen how Esarhaddon had besieged the city on the land side, leaving open the sea approach. The siege was maintained steadily, but was long without result, as it was always possible to introduce abundant provisions from the sea. But slowly the cutting off of the land approach choked the commerce of the sea, and Tyre fell by degrees into dire need. At last Baal deemed it the wiser plan to yield, probably soon after the beginning of Assurbanapal's reign. The manner of the surrender was characteristic of all the previous history of Tyre. He would buy the favor and pardon of the new king. As a token of his entire submission to Assyrian suzerainty he sent one of his daughters and a number of his nieces to adorn the harem of Assurbanapal, and his own son, Yal li-melek, to be reared at the court, probably with the idea that he should be thoroughly educated in Assyrian ideas. Assurbanapal sent the

son back, but retained the women and the presents which had been sent with them. The fall of Tyre is described as the third campaign³⁴² of Asshurbanapal, but the city must have yielded as early as 668, since we find Baal contributing troops to the expedition against Egypt.³⁴³ At the same time Yakinlu, king of Arvad, sent his daughter to the harem with gifts, and so indicated his submission to the new tyrant. In like manner, also, Mukallu, a prince of Tabal, and Sandasharme of Cicilia indicated their adherence to the empire.

In close connection with these submissions the historiographer of Asshurbanapal narrates with unction a curious double episode. The first part of it represents Gyges, king of Lydia, in far-off Asia Minor, dangerously pressed by the Cimmerians and dreaming that Asshurbanapal could and would save him. Forthwith he dispatched an embassy to the great king praying his assistance. When the border of Assyria was reached the leader of the horsemen was greeted with the Assyrian question, "Who then, art thou, stranger, thou from whose land no courier has yet made his way?" Unable to speak Assyrian, the ambassadors could make known their mission only by signs, but were at last conducted to Nineveh. After much search a man was found who could unravel the mystery and interpret the story of the dream.³⁴⁴ Asshurbanapal sent no help in visible form, but was contented with beseeching Asshur and Ishtar to help Gyges against his adversaries. Thus assisted, Gyges attacked the on-moving hordes, gained a great victory, and sent two captured chiefs to Assyria as proof of the work wrought by the gods of Assyria. There needed only that the converse should be proven, and the king's faith in his gods would be well fortified. The opportunity for this demonstration arose a little later when Psammetichus of Egypt had declared his independence. Gyges gave him support, and so broke his compact of friendship with Assyria. Asshurbanapal prayed again to his gods, and this time not for, but against, the faithless Gyges; whereupon the Cimmerians, whom he had easily conquered before, but were now led by Dugdamme and thoroughly disciplined, fell on him and possessed his entire land, while his dead body was cast out in the way before them. His son, who inherited a broken kingdom, asked the help of the Assyrians and their permission to occupy his heritage.³⁴⁵

The fourth campaign was directed against the land of Man, where Akhsheri was king. The circumstances which led to the invasion are not clearly set forth, but there had probably been a rebellion against the monotonous tribute. The land had undoubtedly received many new inhabitants through the Indo-European invasion, and these were not likely to bear the tribute which the previous inhabitants had borne. The Assyrian army soon reduced the province to subjection, and the rebellious Akhsheri was numbered among the slain. His son, Ualli, succeeded to the throne, and upon him was laid a heavier tribute, to be paid in horses.³⁴⁶

At the same time Asshurbanapal made a raid upon Biris-Khadri, a Median prince, and upon Sarati and Parikhia, sons of Gagi,³⁴⁷ prince of Sakhi. It ended with the taking of a few fortified cities and the deportation of the inhabitants.³⁴⁸ By such raids as this the Medes were being taught to hate the Assyrians, as the west had long since learned to hate them.

Again in the first half of his reign had Assurbanapal to do with Elam. For a long time there had been peace between the two countries. As we have seen, the people of Elam had laid aside the old-time hostility to the Assyrians and had given over assisting their enemies. Ummanaldash had not received Merodach-baladan when he fled to him for refuge. And, as was still more remarkable, the Assyrians had shown great friendship and charity toward their erstwhile enemies. When a famine arose in Elam, Esarhaddon, displaying again his merciful side, suffered the Elamites who were in hunger to seek refuge in Babylonian territory and permitted the export of grain to others who remained in Elam. When the famine was past he gave a final and remarkable proof of his friendly purposes by arranging for the return to Elam of the temporary exiles. Such peace as this was too good for long continuance, and now was suddenly and rudely broken. We are not informed exactly as to the causes which induced Urtaki, king of Elam, to break the compact of friendship by a hostile invasion of Babylonia. Assurbanapal did not at once repel the invaders, but delayed until they had reached Babylon itself, when he drove them not only from Babylon, but also over the borders into Elam.³⁴⁹ Urtaki soon after died, and as a natural oriental consequence there were disturbances in his kingdom immediately afterward. His brother, Teumman, seized the throne, dispossessing both a son of Urtaki and another of the former king, Ummanaldash. These he tried to assassinate, but they, with seventy relatives, made their way to the court of Assurbanapal, who gave them refuge and refused to deliver them up when demanded by Teumman. Teumman certainly had boldness fortified twice over, for he entered northern Babylonia and threatened the country to induce Assurbanapal to deliver up the fugitives. Assurbanapal, who was now celebrating some religious festivals in Assyria, instead of directly attacking and repulsing the invader, sent an army to Durilu, the old outpost against Elam. This move cut off the direct retreat of Teumman and compelled him to return to his capital, Susa, by a road below the river Uлай (modern Karun). The Assyrian army then pursued, and overtaking him before Susa, administered a telling defeat. Teumman was taken soon afterward and killed. The remaining districts of Elam then capitulated, and Assurbanapal made Ummanigash, one of the fugitives to his court, king; while his brother Tammaritu was set over one of the Assyrian provinces.

During the progress of these two campaigns the tribe of Gambuli was in a state of insurrection. Bel-igisha was dead, and his sons, Dunanu and Sam'agunu, had succeeded him. These as well as Nabu-naid and Bel-etri, sons of Nabu-shum-eresh, had not given in their allegiance to Assyria. On the return from Elam the victorious Assyrian army marched through their land and destroyed Shapi-Bel, the capital city of the Gambuli. The four chiefs were carried in chains to Nineveh.

This series of campaigns against Egypt, the west, and the east filled about fifteen years of the reign of Assurbanapal. They are a doleful catalogue of plundering raids and of attempts to crush frequent rebellions. Assurbanapal was holding with extreme difficulty the empire which his fathers had built up. There were ominous cracks in the structure, for Egypt was likely to fall away at any time, while the Medes were already beginning to appreciate their own strength and to understand the weakness of Assyria. In no part of his great borders had Assurbanapal made any important gain to Assyrian territory. He had introduced no new policy, and was now barely holding his own, surrounded by dangers which menaced the continuance of the empire.

A danger greater than any other was now ready to come to the surface. During all these years there had been an external peace and calm in Babylonia. Shamash-shum-ukin had been acknowledged as king, in accordance with his father's will, and in his hands were now the internal affairs of Babylonia. This arrangement in the very nature of things could not endure, for the temper of the Babylonian people was utterly foreign to it. It might from certain points of view appear like an almost ideal arrangement. It gave freedom in all matters of local concern, and made it possible for the Babylonians to devote themselves to art, literature, and science, as they had always desired. But the Babylonian people could not be brought to any such devotion of their talents. They remembered the days of old when theirs was the world's chief city, and when the most sacred and solemn rites of religion were closely knit into the framework of their civil administration. How changed was all this! Their present ruler was the son of an Assyrian king, and, in the opinion of their priesthood, was no properly sanctified king at all. He was indeed no king for another reason. Assurbanapal was a man of such intense personality, of such overweening pride, that there could be no king beside him. Shamash-shum-ukin could only be an underlord in charge of the internal affairs of a province. He was not paying tribute as similar princes in other provinces, but in every other particular his rule was that of a petty prince. This division of responsibilities between the two brothers had gone on well for fifteen years. There had been unusual peace and prosperity in Babylonia. There was entire freedom in Assyria for the continuance of war upon rebels, and there was no reason why the arrangement should not be continued as far as Assyria was concerned. Let only Shamash-shum-ukin continue to play the lesser part and all would be well.

But Shamash-shum-ukin was ambitious.³⁵⁰ There was king's blood in him no less than in his elder brother, and he aspired to be the independent king of an independent kingdom. He saw that this could never be attained by Babylonia acting alone. He must have aid in some form from other states, and he had nothing to offer for their assistance. He began plotting such a series of rebellions against Assyria as would weaken the empire and hence leave him free from all danger of attack. The plan had elements of possible success. He could not get succor in a bold campaign against his brother unless he could offer gold or territory in return for the aid which he received. But by this method he might stir up Assyrian provinces to rebel, declaring that so they might easily win their independence. If a sufficient number of these rebellions could be started at one time, Assyria could not possibly put them down. Beaten on every side, Assurbanapal must inevitably permit Shamash-shum-ukin to set up an independent kingdom. The aid received from the other states through their rebellions would be indirect only, and they would have compensation enough in their own freedom from the oppressor.

The weakness of the plan, however, far exceeded its strength. It was, in the first place, a plan that could not be carried on in secret, and secrecy alone could give it a chance of success. He might easily approach a people who thought that their present interests were rather with Assyria, and would therefore promptly reveal the plot. Once revealed, the Assyrians might readily evidence once more their virtue of promptness and over-whelm the traitorous Babylonians, as they had done before in the days of Merodach-baladan. Still further was the plan weak in that it took no account of the consequences which might follow the breaking up of the Assyrian empire. Assyria had more than once saved Babylonia from Aramaeans or Chaldeans who threatened to engulf the whole land. If the martial arm was now broken, Babylonia would become the instant prey of the Chaldeans. It is difficult to believe that a plot so

fraught with dangerous consequences, involving the possible ruin of the land, could have been hatched in a sane mind. It is charitable to suppose that Shamash-shum-ukin had been utterly carried away by ambition and by national pride, and had not fully weighed the dangers which he was calling into action.

The states which he decided to attempt to draw into rebellion almost completely hemmed in Assyria. The first of them was Accad, the portion of Babylonia, outside of Babylon, which still remained under Assyrian rule. The second was the Chaldean state in the far south-the old enemy not merely of Assyria, but also of Babylonia-and below this also the country of the Sea Lands. To these were added the Aramaean communities in Babylonia, Elam, and Gutium, under which last was now comprised a great stretch of territory above the Mesopotamian valley, populated by the Indo-Europeans who had entered it in the great migration. Finally he roused all the west land, Syria, Palestine, and Melukhkha. Egypt was already independent, pursuing its own way without Assyrian let or hindrance, and therefore could not be drawn into any such confederation.

As might have been expected in the beginning, Assurbanapal had knowledge of the plot long before it was ready for execution. He did not, however, take steps for its destruction as promptly as might have been expected. Whether he was only playing a part or did in reality so feel, he at least spent many words in describing his brother's faithlessness as a breach of gratitude. He claims to have done all manner of good deeds for him, and even declares that it was he who gave him the throne, though we have already seen that this act of folly was really done by Esarhaddon. His words have an air of solemn sincerity, and are characteristic of the general tenor of the records of his reign: "In those days Shamash-shum-ukin, a faithless brother, to whom I had done good, whom I had established in the kingship over Babylon, for whom . . . the insignia of royalty I had made and presented; warriors, horses, chariots had I brought together and placed in his hands; cities, fields, gardens, and they who dwelt in them . . . had I given him.

But he forgot the grace I had wrought for him. . . ." ³⁵¹ It is a curious plaint for a king. It might have been expected that Assurbanapal would have made even the suspicion of a plot excuse sufficient for an invasion of Babylonia and a severe castigation of his brother. He waited, however, until the breach of peace should come from the brother, hoping thereby, probably, to justify himself to the Babylonians as the maker of peace, and not its breaker, when the civil war was over.

Shamash-shum-ukin struck the first blow, being probably driven to it by the discovery of the plot. He first seized Ur and Uruk, which had Assyrian governors and were directly under the control of Assurbanapal. He assumed the titles king of Sumer and Accad and king of Amnanu. He added to this high-handed breach of allegiance a notice to Assurbanapal that he must no longer offer in Babylon and Borsippa the annual sacrifices which he had been giving as the suzerain of Babylon. He must not offer in Sippar to the god Shamash, nor in Kutha to the god Nergal. These cities were then seized, as Ur and Uruk had been, and fortified. Still Assurbanapal did not attack, waiting now until he should receive from the gods some favorable omen. The omen came in the night, when it was far spent. He saw in a dream the moon bearing an inscription wherein was threatened all manner of famine, wrath, and death against anyone who should plot against Assurbanapal. He need no longer delay. The army is set in motion and the border crossed. Shamashshum-ukin dare not meet that army in open battle; his only hope was successful defense in the siege which soon must come. He had doubtless hoped for aid from some

of his fellow-conspirators, but all failed him but one. This was Ummanigash, king of Elam, who was won over by a present. His act was an act of ingratitude as well as of hostility, for he owed his throne to Asshurbanapal's appointment. The absence of Ummanigash in Babylonia gave the favorable opportunity for a rebellion in Elam, in which his family was driven out and his brother, Tammaritu, seized the throne. This was a favorable move for Assyria, as it compelled the withdrawal from Babylonia of the Elamite troops. Tammaritu, however, was also no friend of Assyria, and desired rather to make himself an ally of Babylonia. As soon, therefore, as he felt himself secure he likewise sent help to Shamashshum-ukin.³⁵² At once the old swing of the pendulum began in Elam. Another rebellion broke out, Tammaritu was driven from the country, and Indabigash became king of Elam.³⁵³ Tammaritu, as Teumman before him, sought refuge in Assyria, and Indabigash refused to have any share in the insurrection of Shamashshum-ukin. The quickness with which these two Elamite rebellions had followed each other, and the manner in which they had finally played into the hands of Asshurbanapal, induce us to believe that he was the real cause of the second at least, if not also of the first.

The withdrawal of the Elamite support left Shamashshum-ukin in a sorry plight. He had, indeed, a few troops sent from Arabia, but these were of slight weight. From the west there was no help at all, nor did the Aramaeans of Babylonia or the Chaldeans give aid. Shamashshum-ukin held out as long as possible when besieged. At last he was conquered by hunger and disease. So awful was the suffering in Babylon that human flesh was used for food. When despair depressed all minds Shamashshum-ukin committed suicide by causing himself to be burned³⁵⁴ as a sacrifice to the people who had suffered so much for his folly. When the gates were opened and Asshurbanapal entered the rebellious cities there was enacted an orgy of wrath and ferocity. Soldiers who had fought under the orders of Shamashshum-ukin were adjudged to have spoken against Asshur and the great king of Assyria whom he had set up. Their tongues were torn from their mouths, and the bodies of their fellows who had died in the siege were cast out, to be devoured by wild beasts and carrion-eating birds. To supply the places of those in Babylon who were given over to horrible deaths men were brought from Kutha and Sippar.

Asshurbanapal had pacified the land of Babylonia as his ancestors would have done; he had given to it the silence of death. There remained only that he should devise now some method by which it could be governed. He decided to have no more government which might tend to a rupture between the two kingdoms, and so had himself proclaimed king under the name of Kandalanu,³⁵⁵ adopting for Babylonia a different name, as Tiglathpileser III and Shalmaneser IV had done before him. The first year of his reign in Babylonia, according to the Canon of Ptolemy, was 647 B. C.³⁵⁶

As soon as these matters were arranged he invaded the south and punished the Chaldeans, the Aramaeans, and the people of the Sea Lands who had given in their pledge to Shamashshum-ukin to join in a general rebellion against Assyria. The yoke of bondage was put upon them, Assyrian governors set over them, and they were commanded to pay a regular annual tribute. In this Asshurbanapal gained a distinct advantage, for the territory was now more fully in his hands than it had been since the beginning of his reign.³⁵⁷

Now that all Babylonia as far south as the Persian Gulf was entirely in a state of peace and no more uprisings were to be feared, Assurbanapal determined likewise to punish Elam for having twice assisted the Babylonians in their rebellion. It is true that Indabigash had kept the peace until now with Assyria, but the country must suffer for the madness of its former kings. Another rebellion had broken out in Elam in which Indabigash had fallen and in his place Ummanaldash, son of Attumetu, had become king. There is no certain proof that this Attumetu was the same person as he who led a part of the army which Ummanigash had sent to the assistance of Shamash-shum-ukin, but the names are the same and the time fits the identity. If they are the same, we may perhaps see in Ummanaldash a man who was made king by the party which sympathized with the Babylonians, and was therefore hostile to Indabigash, who had been pro-Assyrian in his acts, until just before the end of his reign. He had then offended Assurbanapal by harboring Nabu-bel-shume, a descendant of Merodach-baladan. The latter was in the true line of his family in giving much trouble to the Assyrians. He had received from Assurbanapal some Assyrian troops to protect his country-the Sea Lands-from Elamite invasion during the war with Shamashshum-ukin. Nabu-bel-shume had at first played the part of a devoted friend of Assyria, and at the same time had laid his plans to destroy the faithfulness of his Assyrian guard, win them over to himself, and with this added force prepare to seize what advantage he could when Shamash-shumukin won his independence. The issue did not fall out that way, and he was compelled to flee his country and seek refuge in Elam, whither Merodach-baladan had fled before him.

Before the death of Indabigash Assurbanapal had demanded of him the surrender of the fugitive Nabu-bel-shume and his renegade Assyrians. Indabigash refused, and Assurbanapal threatened war. Before he reached Elam with his armies Indabigash was dead and Ummanaldash was on the throne.³⁵⁸ With him the case was no better. If he was not actually made king, because of his hostility to Assyria, as suggested above, he was in any case as unfriendly as the anti-Assyrian party could desire. In spite, therefore, of the change of rulers in Elam Assurbanapal pressed on and took Bitlilnbi, a fortification on the borders. Ummanaldash was too new to the throne to be able to turn attention to an invasion, and needed his strength to ward off another possible insurrection at home, in which he might lose his life, as had his predecessors. He therefore forsook his chief city; Madaktu, and fled into the mountains, to a place known as Dur-Undasi, before which flowed the river Ididi (probably the Disful). The river formed a natural defense, and here Ummanaldash fortified himself as best he might. Assurbanapal followed, taking the cities one by one as he went, that no dangers might be left in the rear. At last Madaktu fell, and with the other cities between it and the Ididi was thrown down and burned. When the Ididi was reached the river was at flood, and there was a strong reluctance in the army to attempt it. Their fears were overcome by a dream granted to the whole army, in which Ishtar of Arbela spoke and said, "I go before Assurbanapal, the king, whom mine hands have created." It is interesting to observe how frequently omens, visions, and dreams figure in the records of this latter-day Assyrian king, and how very infrequent they are before his day. Thus encouraged, the troops crossed and Dur-Undasi was taken, but Ummanaldash escaped into the mountains. Thereupon the whole land was devastated. Susa, the ancient capital, was taken, and in its palace Assurbanapal began a work of pillage which it would be difficult to parallel in all the earlier records. From the treasuries were brought forth the gold and silver which the kings of Elam, following Assyrian exemplars, had plundered in raids into Babylonia and elsewhere. Precious stones and costly woolen stuffs, chariots and wagons, horses and animals of various

kinds, were sent away to Assyria. The temple, honored and endowed for ages, was broken open and the gods and goddesses with all their treasures were added to the moving mass of plunder. Thirty-two statues of kings wrought in gold, silver, and copper were carried away to Assyria to be added to the glories of the great conquest. Then the mausoleum of the kings was violated in order that even the bones of dead monarchs who vexed Assyria might be carried into the land which they had hated. In the end, when all that might add wealth to Assyria had been taken away, the entire land was left a smoking ruin, from which, in the very phrases of the ruthless destroyer, had been taken away "the voice of men, the tread of cattle and sheep, and the sound of happy music." Such is the record of a campaign led by a civilized monarch, who prided himself on his love of learning. The savagery of Assyria was not dead, but in full vigor; dormant at times it had been, and the acts of some kings had seemed to promise amendment and a serious desire to build up rather than to destroy. These purposes were more clearly shown in Tiglathpileser III and in Esarhaddon than in any other kings, but even they are limited by their base racial instincts. In Assurbanapal's campaign the worst elements had again come to the surface. ³⁵⁹

It is difficult to see how any national life could survive a ruin such as this, but Elam was not yet quite dead. Ummanaldash returned to Madaktu when the Assyrians had withdrawn, and sat down amid the ruins. To the last he remained faithful to Nabu-bel-shume, who had continued with him. Learning that they were together, Assurbanapal sent an embassy to demand his surrender. Nabubel-shume, thus hounded to death, and looking over a land which had been ruined at least partly for his sake, ordered his armor-bearer to run him through. Worn out with fruitless opposition, Ummanaldash sent the body of the dead man and the head of the armor-bearer who had slain him to Assurbanapal. Again the brutality of the man was shown. He cut off the head from the dead body and suspended it about the neck of one of Shamash-shum-ukin's followers, and commanded that the poor body should not receive even the honor of a burial. ³⁶⁰

In the western part of Elam Pa'e had attempted to gain a position and set up a new kingdom, to control a part of the now ruined land. But an army dispatched against him brought him quickly to his senses. He came to Assyria and offered his allegiance and submission to Assurbanapal. Soon afterward Ummanaldash lost the throne and was captured by the Assyrians.

So ended the dealings of King Assurbanapal with the neighboring states, whose civilization was at least as old as that of Assyria, and whose treatment of other nations was not so bad. He did not attempt to supply the land with a new government and with the blessings of good administration, as Tiglathpileser III would have done. He was content to have deprived it of all possible opportunity of interfering with his own plans by further alliance with rebels in Babylonia. The policy was singularly deficient in farsightedness; it is indeed to be properly characterized as folly. A castigation of Elam may have been necessary from the Assyrian point of view, but its obliteration was stupidity. It formed a good buffer state against the Indo-European population of Media, and should have been made an ally against the new power which must soon become an important factor in the politics of western Asia. Instead of this Assurbanapal had only opened a way over which the destroyers might march when their hour should come.

In close connection with the Elamite campaigns, and perhaps at the same time, Assurbanapal undertook the punishment of the Arabians for the assistance, direct and indirect, which they had given to Shamash-shum-ukin. In the extreme northern part of the Arabian peninsula was the kingdom of Aribi, which has often before appeared in the Assyrian story. Yauta, son of Hazael, who ruled in it along with Queen Adiya, had doubly aided Shamash-shum-ukin. He had, according to compact, seized an entire independence for his little kingdom, and with that had also captured a number of localities in Arabia, Edom, Yabrud, Beth-Ammon, the Hauran, Moab, Sa'arri, Khargi, and Subiti.³⁶¹ In these places he had settled some of his Arabic hordes who were clamoring for space for expansion beyond his own narrow borders. This movement was an indirect aid to Shamash-shum-ukin of the greatest value, and if similar movements had taken place elsewhere as planned, the empire must have fallen to pieces under the combined assault. Furthermore, Yauta had rendered direct help of first-rate importance by sending an army of Kedarenes (Assyrian, Kadri or Kidri) under the command of two sheikhs, Abiyate and Ayamu. These Kedarenes were driven from Babylonia, and at least one of their leaders was taken. The Arabian settlers were in every case overwhelmed by the local Assyrian troops. The help had indeed availed little for Shamash-shum-ukin, but only because there had been no help from other points whence it had been expected. Yauta fled into the small kingdom of Nabatheans, and Uaite, a nephew of his, gained the throne in Aribi. He dared oppose the Assyrians who came to take revenge for the assistance which his predecessor had given to the Babylonian rebellion. He was captured, bound in chains like a dog, placed in a cage, and carried to Assyria to be set at a door as one might set a watchdog.³⁶² To such petty and disgusting forms of punishment had an Assyrian king descended.

As a part of the same campaign Assurbanapal took vengeance also upon Ammuladi, a sheikh of the Kedarenes, because they had been the men sent to Babylonia by the former king of Aribi, on whom they were dependent. Ammuladi had sought refuge in Palestine, where he was conquered and taken. Adiya, the queen of Aribi, was also taken, and Abiyate made king of Aribi.

Abiyate held this post but a short time. The events which led to his removal are not quite clear, but it seems probable that he made some arrangement with Uaite, the son of Bir-Dadda, who had declared himself king of Aribi, for later Abiyate appears as sheikh of the Kedarenes.

A new alliance against Assurbanapal was soon formed, composed of Natnu, king of the Nabatheans; Uaite, king of Aribi; and Abiyate, prince of the Kedarenes. The union of these three was a matter of no mean concern, and Assurbanapal may well have been stirred by it. He led an army into the wilds of Arabia, but did not penetrate into the territory of the Nabatheans. All the conspirators save Natnu were captured and taken to Assyria.

On the return from this campaign the cities of Ushu, belonging to the territory of Sidon, and Akko, which had joined in a rebellion, were severely punished.³⁶³

One more word only concerning the external relations of Assyria stands written in the records of Assurbanapal, and it is of peace and not of war. King Sarduris of Urartu sent to Assurbanapal

messengers bearing presents and words of friendliness.³⁶⁴ Urartu was once more strong enough to maintain some sort of independence. Assyria had abandoned its attempts to wreck the little kingdom, and the two were friendly neighbors. They needed so to be, for each required the help of the other in warding off the Indo-European invasion that could riot much longer be postponed. Urartu must soon fall a victim, and the danger to Assyria was scarcely less great.

The Cimmerian swarms who had overwhelmed Gyges, and then possessed the fertile plains and valleys of Asia Minor as far as Sardes, returned later upon their course and harassed the borders of the weakened empire of Asshurbanapal. When Dugdamma³⁶⁵ was dead his son, Sandakshatra, was still able to control and discipline his followers and hurl them against the Assyrian outposts. Their menace lasted unto the very end of the great king's days.³⁶⁶

The closing years of Asshurbanapal's long and laborious reign were largely spent in works of peace. Even during the stormy years he had had great interest in the erection of buildings and the collection and copying of books for his library. In such congenial tasks his later days were chiefly spent.

It is not possible to determine in every case where the buildings were located which lie rebuilt or otherwise beautified. The temple of E-kur-galkurra, in Nineveh, he adorned magnificently and supplied with a new statue of the god. The temple of E-sagila, in Babylon, which Sennacherib had destroyed and Esarhaddon partially rebuilt, lie completed. and restored to it with elaborate pomp and ceremony the god Marduk and his consort Zarpanit, whom Sennacherib had carried into Assyria. The temple of E-zida, in Borsippa, also received new ornaments. Long lists of colossal works elsewhere in Babylon, in Arbela, in many a lesser place, which be carried on, have come down to us. Above all these works stood the reconstruction of the vast palace in Nineveh, occupied during his life by Sennacherib. From the foundation stone to the roof was this rebuilt in a style of magnificence never seen before.³⁶⁷

In this palace he lived when war did not call him, and here he slowly gathered his great library -the chief pride of his life. The two kingdoms were ransacked for the clay books which had been written in days gone by. Works of grammar, of lexicography, of poetry, history, science, and religion were brought from ancient libraries in Babylonia. They were carefully copied in the Assyrian style, with notes descriptive, chronological, or explanatory, by the scholars of the court, and the copies were preserved in the palace, while the originals went back to the place whence they were borrowed. The library thus formed numbered many thousands of books. In it the scholars, whom Asshurbanapal patronized so well, worked carefully on in the writing of new books on all the range of learning of the day. Out of an atmosphere like that came the records of Asshurbanapal's own reign. Small wonder is it that under such conditions his historical inscriptions should be couched in a style finished, elegant, and rhythmical, with which the bare records of fact of previous reigns may not be compared at all.

In the year 626 Asshurbanapal died, and the kingdom which he left was very unlike the kingdom which he had received of his father. It was, indeed, still the chief power of western Asia, but it was not the only power. The day of its unparalleled glory and honor was past. Its borders had shrunk sadly, for Egypt was

lost, Urartu was independent, Syria and Palestine were almost at liberty, and the northeastern provinces were slowly but surely casting in their lot with the Manda. The reign of Assurbanapal had been one of unexampled glory in the arts and vocations of peace. The temples were larger, more beautiful, more rich in storied liturgy. Science, whether astronomy or mathematics, had reached a higher point than in the history of man before. The literature of Assyria, though laden with a cumbrous system of writing and a monumental style which was inherited from the age when slabs of stone were the only writing material, had, nevertheless, under royal patronage taken on a marvelous development. Books of song and story, of religion and of law, of grammar and of lexicography, were produced in extraordinary numbers and of remarkable style and execution. The pride of the Assyrians swelled as they looked on all these things, and saw beside them the marvelous material prosperity which likewise had exceeded all the old bounds. The Assyrian trader was in all lands, and his wealth was growing apace. In all these things Assurbanapal had marched in advance of his predecessors.

In war only had he failed. But by the sword the kingdom of Assyria had been founded, by the sword it had added kingdom unto kingdom until it had become a world empire. By the sword it had cleared the way for the advance of its trader, and opened up to civilization great territories, some of which, like Urartu, had even adopted its method of writing. It had held all the vast empire together by the sword, and not by beneficent and unselfish rule. Even unto this very reign barbaric treatment of men who yearned for liberty had been the rule and not the exception. That which had been founded by the sword and maintained by the sword would not survive if the sword lost its keenness or the arm which wielded it lost its strength or readiness. This had happened in the days of Assurbanapal. He had conquered but little new territory, made scarcely any advance, as most of the kings who preceded him had done. He had not only not made distinct advances, he had actually beaten a retreat, and the empire was smaller. Worse than even this, he had weakened the borders which remained, and had not erected fortresses, as had Sargon and Esarhaddon and even Sennacherib, for the defense of the frontier against aggression. He had gained no new allies, and had shown no consideration or friendship for any people who might have been won to join hands with Assyria when the hour of struggle between the Semites and the Indo-Europeans should come. On the contrary, his brutality, singularly unsuited to his period and his position of growing weakness, his bloodthirstiness, his destructive raids into the territories of his neighbors, had increased the hatred of Assyria into a passion. All these things threatened the end of Assyrian prestige, if not the entire collapse of the empire.

The culture which Assurbanapal had nurtured and disseminated was but a cloak to cover the nakedness of Assyrian savagery. It never became a part of the life of the people. It contributed not to national patriotism, but only to national enervation. Luxury had usurped the place of simplicity and weakness had conquered strength. The most brilliant color of all Assyrian history was only overlaid on the palace and temple walls. The shadows were growing long and deep, and the night of Assyria was approaching.

CHAPTER XI

THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

ASSHURBANAPAL had maintained internal peace in his empire, and the prosperity which Nineveh had enjoyed was conducive to a quiet passing of the succession. He was followed by his son, Asshur-etil-ili-ukinni, who is also known by the shortened form of his name as Asshur-etil-ili. Of his reign we possess only two inscriptions. The first occurs in a number of copies, and reads only, "I am Asshur-etil-ili, king of Kisshati, king of Assyria, son of Asshurbanapal, king of Kisshati, king of Assyria. I caused bricks to be made for the building of E-zida in Calah, for the life of my soul I caused them to be made."³⁶⁸ The second gives his titles and genealogy in the same manner, and adds a note concerning the beginning of his reign, but it is not now legible. Besides these two texts there remain only a few tablets found at Nippur dated in the second and the fourth years of his reign.³⁶⁹ These latter show that as late as the fourth year of his reign he still held the title of king of Sumer and Accad, and therefore continued to rule over a large portion of Babylonia, if not over the city of Babylon itself.

The ruined remains of his palace at Calah have been found, and it forms a strange contrast to the imposing work of Sargon. Its rooms are small and their ceilings low; the wainscoting, instead of fine alabaster richly carved, was formed only of slabs of roughly cut limestone, and it bears every mark of hasty construction.³⁷⁰

We have no other remains of his reign, nor do we know how long it continued. Assyrian records terminate suddenly in the reign of Asshurbanapal, in which we reach at once the summit and the end of Assyrian carefulness in recording the events of reigns and the passage of time. It is, of course, possible that there may be buried somewhere some records yet unfound of this reign, but it is certain that they must be few and unimportant, else would they have been found in the thoroughly explored chambers in which so many royal historical inscriptions have been discovered. It may seem strange at first that an abundant mass of inscription material for this reign should not have been produced; that, in other words, a period of extraordinary literary activity should be suddenly followed by a period in which scarcely anything beyond bare titles should be written. But this is not a correct statement of the case. The literary productivity did not cease with Asshur-etil-iliukinni. It had already ceased while Asshurbanapal was still reigning. The story, as above set forth, shows that we have no knowledge of the later years of his reign. The reign of Asshur-etil-iliukinni only continued the dearth of record which the later years of Asshurbanapal had begun. As in some other periods of Assyrian history, there was indeed but little to tell. In his later days Asshurbanapal had remained quietly in Nineveh, interested more in luxury and in his tablets or books than in the salvation of his empire. In quietness somewhat similar the reign of his successor probably passed away. He had no enthusiasm and no ability for any new conquests. He could not really defend that which he already had. The air must have been filled with rumors of rebellion and with murmurs of dread concerning the future. The future was out of his power, and he could only await, and not avert, the fate of Assyria. It did not come in his reign, and the helpless empire was handed on to his successor.

There is doubt as to who the next king of Assyria may have been. Mention is found of a certain king whose name was Sin-shum-lishir, who must have reigned during this period, and perhaps it was he who followed the son of Asshurbanapal upon the throne. Whether that be true or not, we have no word of his doings.

The next king of Assyria known to us was Sinshar-ishkun. He had come to the throne in sorry times, and that he managed for some years to keep some sort of hold upon the falling empire is at least surprising. No historical inscription, in the proper sense of the word, has come down to us from his reign. One badly broken cylinder,³⁷¹ for which there are some fragmentary duplicates, has been found in which there are the titles and some words of empty boasting concerning the king's deeds. Besides this we have only three brief business documents found in Babylonia.³⁷² These are, however, very interesting because they are dated two of them in Sippar and the third in Uruk. The former belong to the second year of the king's reign and the latter to the seventh year. From this interesting discovery it appears that for seven years at least Sin-shar-ishkun was acknowledged as king over a portion of Babylonia, though the city of Babylon was not included in this district.

We have no knowledge of the events of his reign based on a careful record, as we have had before, and what little we do know is learned chiefly from the Babylonian inscriptions. The Greeks and Latins contradict each other so sharply, and are so commonly at variance with facts, amply substantiated in Babylonian documents, that very little can be made out of them. It is a fair inference from the records of Nabonidus, whose historiographers have written carefully of this period, that Sin-shar-ishkun was a man of greater force than his predecessor. He already possessed a part of Babylonia, and desired to make his dominion more strong and compact, and also wished to increase it by taking from the new Chaldean empire, of which there is much to be told later, some of its fairest portions. Nabopolassar was now king of Babylon, and Sin-shar-ishkun invaded the territory of Babylonia when Nabopolassar was absent from his capital city carrying on some kind of campaign in northern Mesopotamia directed against the Subaru. This cut off the return of Nabopolassar, and brought even Babylon itself into danger. What was to be done in order to save his capital but secure allies from some quarter who could assist in driving out the Assyrians? The campaign of Nabopolassar had won for him the title of king of Kisshati, which he uses in 609, at which time he was in possession of northern Mesopotamia. It was probably this year or the year before (610 or 609) that Sin-shar-ishkun attacked the Babylonian provinces. Nabopolassar found it very difficult to secure an ally who would give aid without exacting too heavy a price. If Elam had still been a strong country, it would have formed the natural ally, as it had been traditionally the friend of the Chaldeans. But Elam was a waste land. The only possible hope was in the north and west. To the Umman-Manda must he go for help. At the time of Nabopolassar, and also as late as Nabonidus, the word Manda was used generally as a term for the nomadic peoples of Kurdistan and the far northeastern lands. The Babylonians, indeed, knew very little of these peoples. The Assyrians had come very closely into touch with them at several times since the days of Esarhaddon. They had felt the danger which was threatened by the growth of a new power on their borders, and they had suffered the loss of a number of fine provinces through it. This new power was Indo-European, and the people who founded and led it are confused by the Greek historians of a later day with the Medes. To appeal to the Manda for help in driving out the Assyrians from Babylonia was nothing short of madness. There were many points of approach between Babylonia and Assyria, there were many between Assyria and Chaldea. There was no good reason why these two peoples should not unite in friendship and prepare to oppose the further extension of the power of the Manda. The Assyrians certainly knew that the Manda coveted Assyria and the great Mesopotamian valley, and the Babylonians might easily have learned this if they did not

already know it.

But Nabopolassar either did not know of the plans and hopes of the Manda, or, knowing them, hoped to divert them from himself against Assyria, and he ventured to invite their assistance. They came not for the profit of Nabopolassar, the Chaldeans, and Babylonia, but for their own aggrandizement. Sin-shar-ishkun and his Assyrian army were driven back from northern Babylonia into Assyria, and Nabopolassar at once possessed himself of the new provinces. The Manda pushed on after the Assyrians, retreating toward Nineveh. Between them there could only be the deepest hostility. In the forces of the Manda or Scythians³⁷³ there must be inhabitants of provinces which had been ruthlessly ravaged by Assyrian conquerors. They had certainly old grievances to revenge, and were likely to spare not. There is evidence in abundance that Assyria was hated all over western Asia, and probably also in Egypt. For ages she had plundered all peoples within the range of her possible influence. Everywhere that her name was known it was execrated. The voice of the Phoenician cities is not heard as it is lifted in wrath and hatred against the great city of Nineveh, but a Hebrew prophet, Nahum, utters the undoubted feeling of the whole Western world when, in speaking of the ruin of Assyria, he says,¹¹ All that hear the bruit of thee [the report of thy fall] clap the hands over thee: for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?"³⁷⁴

Nabopolassar did not join with the Manda in the pursuit of the Assyrians, for he was anxious to settle and fix his own throne and attend to the reorganization of the provinces which were now added to the empire. If the Manda had needed help, they might easily have obtained it, for many a small or great people would gladly have joined in the undoing of Nineveh for hatred's sake or for the sake of the vast plunder which must have been stored in the city. For centuries the whole civilized world had paid unwilling tribute to the great city, and the treasure thus poured into it had not all been spent in the maintenance of the standing army. Plunder beyond dreams of avarice was there heaped up awaiting the despoiler. The Manda would be willing to dare single-handed an attack on a city which thus promised to enrich the successful. The Babylonians, or rather the Chaldeans, had given up the race, content to secure what might fall to them when Assyria was broken by the onslaught of the Manda. It will later appear in this narrative that Egypt was anxious to share in the division of the spoil of Assyria, and actually dispatched an expedition northward. This step was, however, taken too late, and the Egyptians were not on the ground until the last great scene was over. The unwillingness of Nabopolassar and the hesitancy or delay of other states left the Manda alone to take vengeance upon Assyria. Whether the fleeing Assyrians made a stand at any point before falling back upon the capital or not we do not know. If they did, they were defeated and at last were compelled to take refuge in the capital city. The Manda began a siege. The memory which the Greeks and Latins handed down from that day represented the Assyrians as so weak that they would fall an easy prey to any people. This was certainly erroneous. There is a basis of truth for the story of weakness, for there were evident signs of decay during the reign of Assurbanapal. These had, however, not gone so far as to make the power of Assyria contemptible. Weakened though the empire had been by the loss of the northern provinces through the great migrations, and weakened though it had been by the loss of Egypt, and weakened though it had been by the terrible civil war between Assurbanapal and Shamash-shum-ukin, it was still the greatest single power in the world. It had, indeed, lost the power of aggression which had swept over mountain and

valley, but in defense it would still be a dangerous antagonist.

When the Scythian forces came up to the walls of Nineveh they found before them a city better prepared for defense³⁷⁵ than any had probably ever been in the world before. The vast walls might seem to defy any engines that the semi-barbaric hordes of the new power could bring to bear. Within was the remnant of an army which had won a thousand fields. If the army was well managed and the city had had some warning of the approaching siege, it would be safe to predict that the contest must be long and bloody. The people of Nineveh must feel that not only the supremacy of western Asia, but their very existence as an independent people, was at stake. The Assyrians would certainly fight with the intensity of despair. We do not know, unfortunately, the story of that memorable siege. A people civilized for centuries was walled in by the forces of a new people fresh, strong, invincible. Then, as often in later days, civilization went down before barbarism. Nineveh fell into the hands of the Scythians. Later times preserved a memory that Sin-shar-ishkun perished in the flames of his palace, to which he had committed himself when he foresaw the end.³⁷⁶

The city was plundered of everything of value which it contained, and then given to the torch. The houses of the poor, built probably of unburnt bricks, would soon be a ruin. The great palaces, when the cedar beams which supported the upper stories had been burnt off, fell in heaps. Their great, thick walls, built of unburnt bricks with the outer covering of beautiful burnt bricks, cracked open, and when the rains descended the unburnt bricks soon dissolved away into the clay of which they had been made. The inhabitants had fled to the four winds of heaven and returned no more to inhabit the ruins. A Hebrew prophet, Zephaniah, a contemporary of the great event, has described this desolation as none other: "And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like the wilderness. And herds shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapters thereof: their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds: for he hath laid bare the cedar work. This is the joyous city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none else beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! everyone that passeth by her shall hiss, and wag his hand."³⁷⁷ Nineveh fell in the year 607 or 606, and the waters out of heaven, or from the overflowing river made the soft clay into a covering over the great palaces and their records. The winds bore seeds into the mass, and a carpet of grass covered the mounds, and stunted trees grew out of them. Year by year the mound bore less and less resemblance to the site of a city, until no trace remained above ground of the magnificence that once had been. In 401 B. C. a cultivated Greek³⁷⁸ leading homeward the fragment of his gallant army of ten thousand men passed by the mounds and never knew that beneath them lay the palaces of the great Assyrian kings. In later ages the Parthians built a fortress on the spot, which they, called Ninus, and other communities settled either above the ruins or near to them.³⁷⁹ Men must have homes, and the ground bore no trace of the great city upon which dire and irreparable vengeance had fallen. But, though cities might be built upon the soil and men congregate where the Assyrian cities had been, there was in reality no healing of the wound which the Manda had given. The Assyrian empire had come to a final end. As they had done unto others so had it been done unto them. For more than a thousand years of time the Assyrian empire had. endured. During nearly all of this vast

period it had been building and increasing. The best of the resources of the world had been poured into it. The leadership of the Semitic race had belonged to it, and this was now yielded up to the Chaldeans, who had become the heirs of the Babylonians, from whom the Assyrians had taken it.

It remained only to parcel out, along with the rest of the plunder, the Assyrian territory. The Manda secured at this one stroke the old territory of Assyria, together with all the northern provinces as far west as the river Halys, in Asia Minor. To the Chaldeans, who were now masters in Babylonia, there came the Mesopotamian possessions and, as we shall later see, the Syro-phoenician likewise. By this change of ownership the Semites retained the larger part of the territory over which they had long been masters, but the Indo-Europeans had made great gains. A life-and-death struggle would soon begin between them for the possession of western Asia.

BOOK IV

THE HISTORY OF THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF NABOPOLASSAR

WHEN Assurbanapal died, in 626, he left, as we have already seen, an empire sadly weakened and far departed from its ancient glory. He had, in deed, held together the main body of it, but the outer provinces had mostly fallen away. He had left in the world many enemies of Assyria and sadly few friends. He had held Babylonia to the empire after displaying such fierceness in the punishment of its rebels as made them unable to rise again during his lifetime. Up to his death he reigned as king in Assyria under the name of Assurbanapal, and in Babylon as Kandalanu.³⁸⁰ The hour of his death was the signal for the preparation of a new revolt in Babylonia. This was inevitable. The Babylonians had hated Assyrian rule since the conciliatory policy of Esarhaddon had ceased, and were ready for any attempt which might promise to restore to them the prestige they once possessed and to their city the primacy of the world. To achieve such marvels of history there was no further strength in themselves. We have seen long since the decay of the real Babylonian people, who had early ceased to be Semites of pure blood. But the very intermixing of other fresh blood had kept them alive as an entity, though it had almost entirely destroyed their identity. The reinforcement of life which came to them from the Kassites had kept awake in them a national separateness, when without it they would almost certainly have been swallowed up and lost, as other peoples had been before them. They were, however, steadily decaying and diminishing, and could only be kept further alive by a new influx of fresh blood from some source. The Assyrian kings had repeatedly settled colonists in various parts of Babylonia, from the days of Tiglathpileser III onward. These lost their national identity and became Babylonians to all intents and purposes.

It is a striking evidence that the Babylonians still possessed a certain distinctive influence, that they were

able to absorb alien elements in this manner. Even with the accession of strength which came from these colonizations the Babylonian people would not have possessed enough vitality to make any insurrection against Assyria. They might join in one, but the motive force must be supplied by a nation which had in it fresher life and greater vitality. A people possessing the necessary force was at hand, and the insurrection would soon and speedily become a revolution. When Asshur-etil-ili-u.kinni was crowned king of Assyria he could also claim to be king of Babylon, for the hour of open rebellion was not yet come.³⁸¹ As we have seen, the Assyrians continued during his entire reign to hold a considerable portion of Babylonia, and even so late as the seventh year of his successor, Sin-shar-ishkun,³⁸² they still retained much. The city of Babylon was apparently lost in the very beginning, and Nabopolassar gradually gained in power and influence through a successful revolution. It was spontaneous, but had been slowly maturing for years. The Babylonian people did not profit by it as a people, but were, on the contrary, engulfed in it and practically disappeared from history. They were able to push forward again, and even supplied later a king to the empire which resulted from the revolution. The old influence in the world, however, never returned, and they were soon absorbed into a later population and are heard of no more. That another people should be able first to gain leadership over the Babylonians, who had founded a mighty empire and had stood with the Egyptians as the leading nations of civilization, and then to overwhelm them and take their place in the world's history, is indeed an event of moment. We shall need to give heed to the people who could accomplish a feat so great. They must belong to the world's greatest races, and behind them must have been a period during which they had been prepared for their momentous destiny.

The people who wrought this revolution were the Chaldeans, whom we have already met as bitter enemies of the Assyrians. They were not less enemies of the Babylonians, as we have also seen, and a union of feeling between Babylonia and Assyria was brought about in the time of Merodach-baladan, when the Babylonians looked upon the Assyrians as their natural defenders against these unwelcome invaders. The Assyrians had, however, done no more than drive them southward or hold them in check. They had not driven them from the country entirely, but left them to become slowly attached to the soil, and a genuine portion of the population. The origin of the Chaldeans is obscure, but some facts concerning them may be considered as fairly well known. They invaded Babylonia from the south, coming from the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. Whence they had come into the Sea Lands at that point is nearly as well known by a process of elimination. They could not have come from Elam, and they must therefore be settlers from Arabia. From what part of that old home land of Semites they had come is not known. It is, however, clear that they were Semites. They bore Semitic names, as far as any of their names are known to us, and they readily adapted themselves to Semitic customs, whether of religion, government, or social life. Their appearance in Babylonia was at an early date, and they had gradually spread in scattered communities over a considerable portion of the country, both north and south. In this they form a close parallel to the Aramaeans, who belonged, indeed, to the same general wave of migration as themselves, and had early proved dangerous neighbors to the Assyrians.

The chief stronghold of the Chaldeans was the territory known as the Sea Lands. This country was somewhat larger than the alluvial lands about the mouths of the rivers, as it apparently included a strip of territory of unknown extent along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. It had a government and a

history of its own, running back through the centuries, of which, however, only fragments are known to us. That part of its history which is known is little more than a story of a half nomad, half-agricultural and pastoral people who kept up a running fire of efforts to possess themselves of the rich lands and wealthy cities of their more fortunate Babylonian neighbors. The other Chaldean communities have left even less mark of their individuality upon history. They formed, indeed, principalities, which the boastfulness of Assyrian kings has elevated into large kingdoms and endowed with great armies, and with forces which could only be overcome by the might of the great god Asshur. Like their more numerous fellows in the Sea Lands, these also were anxious chiefly to find a leader who could give into their hands the possessions of the Babylonians. Any prince of one of these small states or communities who could win battles over the native Babylonians was sure of a following of Chaldeans generally, and not merely of the men of his own community. This was the surest way of coming out of the limitations of a petty principality in Bit-Yakin, or in the Sea Lands, and of becoming the king of Kaldi Land. A man who could gain the title of king of Babylon or of king of Sumer and Accad would stand so much above his fellow-princes among the Chaldeans that he might well be called by the lesser title of king of Kaldi. This fact goes far to explain the constant attempts of Chaldean princes upon Babylon. They were not moved by a sentimental appreciation of the glories of Babylon and its ancient royal titles, as were Tiglathpileser III and Sargon. They thirsted for power over the Babylonians because it brought wealth and ease, and with these headship among their own Chaldean peoples. This leadership among the Chaldeans had, however, more than once wrecked their hopes, when by contact with Babylonians they had learned more of the beauty and dignity of Babylonian civilization and come to recognize in the title an expression not so much of wealth as of honor, a headship in civilization. From such ideas they were dragged down by the Chaldean population, who thirsted after the wealth and demanded that they should receive the well-cultivated lands and the city property. These demands had been measurably granted by Merodach-baladan, and as a direct consequence of this compliance his new rule was promptly shattered by the Assyrians, and Chaldean supremacy was postponed.

As we have already said, however, the Chaldeans had not disappeared during the period of the Assyrian supremacy over Babylonia. They existed in great numbers in Babylonia, and were only awaiting the day when they should be able to produce the man strong enough to seize or to create a favorable opportunity, as Merodach-baladan had done, by which they might again rule. Of the Chaldean communities which had not been absorbed by the Babylonians the kingdom or principality of the Sea Lands was at this time still the largest and strongest. North of it were a number of Chaldean tribes, among which Bit-Silani, Bit-Sa'alli, and Bit-Sala had long been the most prominent, for their names find mention in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III. Indeed, were it not for his records and the Annals of the later Assyrian kings, we should know even less than we do of the Chaldeans. The Babylonian inscriptions, devoted to temples, palaces, and canals, ignore their very existence, and when they came to dominion themselves they acted in all things as Babylonians. Above these tribes going northward were the communities of Bit-Amukkani, out of which came Ukin-zer, and of Bit-Adini, which lay just south of the city of Babylon. Even here the line of Chaldean communities did not cease, for the tribe of the Bit-Dakkuri was established north of the great capital city. These Chaldean communities, though they were Semites, were, nevertheless, alien communities. They did not, as a rule, intermingle readily with the Babylonians, or they would all long since have been absorbed. Though settled in a land which had been tilled for many centuries, they still remained half nomads. The land was not overpopulated, and if they had

desired to settle down as quiet and peaceable agriculturists, there would have been plenty of room for them. They did not accept this opportunity, but over and over again had been disturbers of the peace, eager to gain the complete control, and desirous not of making a destiny for themselves, but wishing to rob the Babylonians of that which the industry of ages had accumulated by slow and painful steps. In the attainment of this purpose they had been defeated before by the Assyrians. There was now a larger hope, for Assyrian vitality was gone and the whole vast empire was falling to pieces. As has already been said, Babylonian vitality was also at the lowest ebb, and could offer no effectual resistance to any sharp blow delivered by a strong arm. But, though the Chaldeans must have known of the evident decay of Assyria, they were too wily to rise again in rebellion at an inopportune time. They could not be sure that Assurbanapal did not possess resources which might be directed against them with crushing force, and they well knew that no movement of his was tempered with mercy.

When Assurbanapal died the time had come to make a fresh attempt for Chaldean independence of Assyria and Chaldean dominance over Babylonia. Immediately after the death of Assurbanapal we find Nabopolassar (Nabu-aplu-usur) king of Babylon. We do not know what his origin was. It has been supposed that he might be a son of Kandalanu; and this supposition would explain the readiness and quickness with which he secured the throne. There is, however, not a shadow of evidence for the view. If it were the case, it would certainly seem natural for him to have spoken of his royal origin in one or the other of the few inscriptions³⁸³ which have come down to us. On the other hand, it is not possible to prove that he was either of pure Babylonian or of Chaldean origin. The kingdom which he founded was, however, plainly Chaldean. The king's supporters were Chaldeans, and as the years went on the Babylonian influence quite gave way to Chaldean, so that the Babylonians may be considered as also losing their historic identity when Nineveh fell. The change of rulers from Assurbanapal to Nabopolassar was momentous in consequences. With that change the headship of Assyria over the Semitic peoples of Asia came to an end forever, and leadership among them passed to the Chaldeans, whose Semitic blood was probably almost, if not quite, as pure as that of the Assyrians. They had apparently not suffered so great an intermixture with other peoples as had the Babylonians. With this change of rulers there was founded not merely a new dynasty, but also a new kingdom. It is indeed possible to consider this new monarchy as a reestablishment of the old Babylonian empire, but it is more in accordance with the facts to look on it as a new Chaldean empire succeeding to the wealth and position of the ancient Babylonian empire. As the monarchy which he founded was so plainly Chaldean, it lies near to the other facts to consider Nabopolassar himself a Chaldean. This view is not inconsistent with the fragmentary and unsatisfactory allusions of Abydenus, who represents Nabopolassar as a general in the army of Sarakos³⁸⁴ (Sin-shar-ishkun), which is probably only a form of saying that Nabopolassar was as king of Babylon subject to the suzerainty of Assyria-the Babylonian king hence occupying a place subordinate to the Assyrian.

In this account of Abydefus, which may perhaps rest on some good Babylonian source, we have a probable hint as to the manner in which the new empire was founded. Nabopolassar gained the throne with Chaldean assistance, and at first was willing to hold his rule under the nominal overlordship of Assyria. This he might do while still nourishing the hope that he might speedily be able to cast off altogether the suzerainty of Assyria. We have, however, no Chaldean or Babylonian documents which

give any account of the foundation of the new kingdom, though in one text Nabopolassar calls himself the "one who laid the foundation of the land."

We have only three historical inscriptions of the reign of Nabopolassar, and these, after the manner of Babylonian inscriptions almost from the very beginning, are devoted only to the works of peace--to building and repairing. In the first of the inscriptions³⁸⁵ he describes in the usual way the rebuilding of a great Marduk temple in Babylon, which was in a ruinous condition. In this inscription he does not call himself king of Babylon, but *shakkanak*, as though he would not yet claim to be wholly free from Assyrian influence, nor be above the holding of a title more or less subordinate, though he does call himself king of Sumer and Accad. In the second³⁸⁶ of three inscriptions he adopts the title of king of Babylon, and we are therefore safe in the supposition that this text belongs to a somewhat later period, when all semblance of dependence upon Assyria had been thrown off and Nabopolassar was king indeed in his own right and by sufferance of his people. In this inscription he records the construction of a canal at Sippar. The Euphrates had made a new course away from the city, and the king now built a canal by which the water was again to be brought to the city walls. In this construction of a canal Nabopolassar was following the ancient precedents of Babylonian kings from the days of Hammurabi onward. In the third of these inscriptions³⁸⁷ he is called both king of Babylon and king of Sumer and Accad, and in it he gives an account of the rebuilding of a temple of Belit at Sippar. The reign of Nabopolassar was not so peaceful as these fragments might seem to indicate. He was not so absorbed in the building of temples and canals during the whole of his reign. He had indeed a delicate and difficult game of politics to play, in order that he should not be wheedled out of his gains by the quick-witted Assyrians, nor unseated from the tottering throne by a crafty prince of some Chaldean tribe. He had also to fight a severe fight against Egypt in order to save the borders of his empire.

Egypt had now again become one of the world's chief powers. The methods pursued by Psammetichus I by which he had carried Egypt to a position almost as lofty as that occupied in the glorious days of Thutmosis III and Rameses II were carried still further by his son and successor, Necho II. But a short time had elapsed since Egypt was governed by Assyrians, but now the Egyptians began to hope to participate in the division of Assyrian plunder which must soon come. In 609 it was already plain to Necho that Assyria could endure but a short time. We must often remind ourselves that the flight of news from kingdom to kingdom or from land to land was exceedingly rapid in the ancient Orient. Kingdoms were not separated by miles of territory over which no sound was heard, and across which no rumor came flying on the wings of the wind. Necho knew of the sorry plight of the last Assyrian king. This was surely his opportunity to regain not merely all Palestine and Assyria, but even perhaps the great plains to the Euphrates which had once been Hittite, In 609, or perhaps in 608, he left Egypt, with an army, determined to press on to Assyria to participate in the first distribution of booty, confident that on his return he could readily reduce to subjection any Syrian or Palestinian prince who might think it safe to rebel against possible Egyptian tyranny, when relieved of the long-time oppression of Assyria.

Necho marched by land, and the city of Gaza, which was first approached, offered some resistance. It was, however, speedily taken, and Necho went on. No further opposition was made to his advance until he turned from the coast into the plain of Esdraelon. Nineveh had not yet fallen, but it was long since the

great city had disturbed the west. The Syro-Phoenician cities were, and had been, practically independent. They were, however, too dispirited to offer battle to any new conqueror who appeared, hoping to suffer less through oppression when they blindly yielded than they would through a hopeless resistance. Alone had the kingdom of Judah the courage to dare a resistance. Judah had enjoyed the period of peaceful independence too much to think of falling lightly into a new condition of servitude. Josiah was king, and in him an intense national spirit ruled. He had severed the ties which bound Judah to neighboring nations in their religion, and his proclamation of Deuteronomy had widened the breach. He would dare to attack Necho if no others had the courage.³⁸⁸ We do not know exactly his course from Jerusalem, but the place of the battle would seem to indicate that he intended to attack the flank or rear of Necho's army, which was moving northward and had passed by Judah. The two armies met at Megiddo, a place glorious in the annals of Egypt, for there, nearly a thousand years before, Thutmosis III had conquered the combined forces of the Syro-Phoenician states. Necho was victorious, and Josiah fell upon the field.³⁸⁹ The army of Judah returned in terror to Jerusalem, and made Jehoahaz, younger son of Josiah, king, apparently passing over the elder son, Eliakim, because he was disposed to submit to Necho. After the battle of Megiddo, Necho went on northward, meeting with no further opposition, and halted at Riblah, in Coele-Syria. Here he thought over the appointment of Jehoahaz as king of Judah, and was dissatisfied with the choice. He now considered himself the real master of Judah, after the victory at Megiddo, and ordered Jehoahaz to come to Riblah, where he was cast into chains, while his brother Eliakim was made king in his stead, under the name Jehoiakim. Upon Judah was laid a fine of one talent of gold and one hundred talents of silver, which Jehoiakim managed to pay. Jehoahaz was taken to Egypt, where he soon afterward died. Necho II was now absolute master of all the Syro-Phoenician states and of the erstwhile provinces of Assyria as far as the Euphrates.

While Necho II was stripping from Assyria the western provinces, and Nabopolassar was adding to his new empire the portion of northern Babylonia which Sin-shar-ishkun had previously held, the Manda took the city of Nineveh.³⁹⁰ In one mighty crash the great empire fell in fragments, and for a time Nabopolassar was busy in securing complete control of the Babylonian and Mesopotamian territory which had fallen into his hands. Necho II, assured of the possession of Palestine and Syria, had returned to Egypt with the captive Jehoahaz. He determined, however, to again go to the north and east to see if he could extend his borders beyond the Euphrates into the northern parts of Mesopotamia, which had now fallen to Nabopolassar.

From Egypt he led out an immense army, greater than any put in the field for a long time. Besides the native troops he had bodies of Libyans, Ethiopians, and other allies. He reached Carchemish, on the Euphrates, without opposition, and was probably about to cross the river when he was met by a Chaldean army. Nabopolassar was in failing health, and unable to leave his capital, but aware of the danger which confronted his empire, had despatched his son, Nebuchadrezzar, with a large army. Nebuchadrezzar gave battle at Carchemish, and won a crushing victory.³⁹¹ The Egyptians fled in confusion, and did not dare to make a stand until they had reached Egypt. Nebuchadrezzar pursued, and not one of the Syro-Phoenician states raised an arm against him. He did not cross the territory of Judah, but passed round by the seacoast and reached Pelusium unopposed. Jerusalem was in terror lest he

should attack it, and all Egypt was in an agony of fear. The slaughter of Carchemish had undone Necho, and there was no heart in Egypt to face Nebuchadrezzar in battle. In those hours the fate of Egypt wavered in the balance. If Nebuchadrezzar went on over the Egyptian border, there was every probability that Egypt would be as easily overrun as it had been by Esarhaddon. He had won Syria and Palestine for the new Chaldean empire after but a very short Egyptian regime. If he could now win Egypt, the Chaldean empire would have become in twenty years of history the world's chief power. At this juncture he was suddenly apprised of the death at Babylon of his father, Nabopolassar. He was compelled to drop all designs on Egypt and return with speed to his capital, to receive the government. No man could prophesy what might happen in the transfer of the crown in times so troublous. An outbreak of rebellion might easily occur, and another seize the throne before the rightful heir could appear.

The reign of Nabopolassar had been important in its achievements. He had wrought much for the wealth and advantage of his land by canals and by great buildings. He had been successful in diplomacy, for his winning of the Manda to his aid had not been attended by any unfortunate results. He had in war, both in his own person and in the victories of his son, reached a wonderful success, by which in twenty years he had built an empire of colossal proportions around the small territory which he had alone possessed in the beginning. It may easily be said that the greatness of this work is diminished by the undoubted fact that the time for it was ripe. Assyria was weak at just the moment when Nabopolassar was ready to begin empire building. Had he become king of Babylon a little earlier, he would not so readily have made an empire; of this there can be no doubt. But while the opportunity was at hand, there was no less a signal display of ability in its seizing. The name of Nabopolassar must be added to the list of the greatest kings who had ruled in Babylonia. The new Chaldean empire had begun well. If now he were able to hand over to a son or heir the power which he had seized so suddenly, there was hope for a brilliant future. The son was ready, a son as great as his father in plan, and even greater in action.

CHAPTER II

THE REIGN OF NEBUCHADREZZAR

WHEN Nebuchadrezzar stood at the borders of Egypt and a messenger advised him of his father's death in far-away Babylonia, a crisis had come in the history of a new empire. But for that death Nebuchadrezzar would almost certainly have added Egypt to his laurels, and that were a thrilling possibility. But a danger fully as stirring lay also before him. If he had failed to reach Babylonia before the discordant elements in the new world empire were able to gather unity and force, all that his father had built might readily be destroyed. The day cried for a man of decision and of quick movement.

Nebuchadrezzar reached Babylon from the borders of Egypt in season to prevent any outbreak in favor of a usurper, if any such were intended. He was received as king of Babylon without a sign of any trouble. So began one of the longest and most brilliant reigns (604-562 B. C.) of human history. Nebuchadrezzar has not left the world without written witnesses of his great deeds. In his inscriptions, however, he follows the common Babylonian custom of omitting all reference to wars, sieges,

campaigns, and battles. Only in a very few instances is there a single reference to any of these. The great burden of all the inscriptions is building. In Babylon was centered his chief pride, and of temples and palaces, and not of battles and sieges, were his boasts. As we are therefore deprived of first-hand information from Babylonian or Chaldean sources, we are forced to turn elsewhere for information of the achievements of Nebuchadrezzar as an organizer of armies and a planner and conductor of campaigns. The knowledge thus obtained from other peoples is fragmentary, because each writer was more concerned about his own people than about the Chaldeans. The best help of this kind is obtained from the Hebrews, with whom Nebuchadrezzar had the first difficulties of his reign, and against whom his first operations were directed.

Jehoiakim, king of Judah, had paid his tribute regularly for three years³⁹² after Nebuchadrezzar left Palestine on his hasty journey to Babylon to assume the throne. He was, however, harassed by a patriotic party determined to compel him to throw off the Chaldean yoke. The only clear voice raised against such stupendous folly was that of Jeremiah, who, like Isaiah in a similar crisis, warned the nation against its suicidal folly. But the more Jeremiah denounced the greater his unpopularity and the more certain the triumph of the popular party. At last Jehoiakim omitted the payment of the tribute, and the issue was fairly joined. Nebuchadrezzar did not invade the land at once, either because he held the rebellion in contempt and supposed it would be easily overcome, or because he was still too greatly absorbed in duties at home. His first move was to encourage Judah's neighbors to ravage the country in connection with Chaldean guerrilla bands. The Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites were very willing to join in such attacks on their old enemy. This haphazard warfare, however, came to nothing, and Nebuchadrezzar was compelled to more strenuous measures. In 597 he dispatched an army to besiege Jerusalem, and soon after its appearance before the walls he arrived to take charge of it in person. With such forces as he could muster there could be no doubt of the ultimate issue, but Jehoiakim was spared the sight of his country's ruin, by a sudden death. His successor, a lad of eighteen years of age, Jehoiachin, known also as Jeconiah,³⁹³ inherited only trouble, and saw himself hemmed in by a force which must soon carry the city by storming or by starvation. Jehoiachin, realizing the hopelessness of the situation, and perhaps relying somewhat on the mercy of his conqueror, decided to surrender before an active assault should be undertaken. He was compelled to appear at Nebuchadrezzar's headquarters, with his mother and his entire court, to be carried into captivity. Besides this Nebuchadrezzar demanded the surrender of seven thousand men capable of bearing arms, and one thousand workers in iron. These with their families were carried away to Babylonia, where they were settled in one great block by the river Chebar, a canal near Nippur.³⁹⁴ In the place of Jehoiachin, Mattaniah, another son of Josiah, was made king, under the name of Zedekiah.³⁹⁵ He was but twenty-one years of age, and was probably considered by Nebuchadrezzar a man who could safely be trusted to rule over the remnant of the people who were suffered to remain when the better part of the inhabitants had been carried away. The choice was unfortunate, viewed from any point. Zedekiah was morally incapable of faithfulness to the Babylonians, and that, if for nothing else, because he was too weak to resist popular clamor and a mad patriotism. He was not wise enough to make himself and his state leaders in the counsels of the Syro-Phoenician states, nor strong enough to make any concert that might be reached a power in troublous times. The policy he embraced was alike fatal to all who joined in it. It was, however, apparently not of his own devising. He fell a prey to other schemers bent on their own purposes. The real wellspring of the movements now to be described is to be

found in Egypt.

Necho had failed in his great plans, large enough though they were to do credit to his imagination. His reign was over, and in his room was Hophra (Apries). Soon after his accession (589) he determined to try to save for Egypt some of the fragments of Necho's great dreams. There was no chance whatever that he might get possession of any of the closer linked portions of the old Assyrian empire. These were all irrevocably possessed by others. The new Chaldean power now regnant in Babylon had shown its power too strongly in conquest to be weak in defense. But there were Syria and Palestine; they had been Egypt's during many a long day; why should they not be restored? It was worth the attempt, and the method of its undertaking might easily be copied from Necho. Hophra simply roused these states to a concerted rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, and this was very probably accomplished by secret agents. It has been seen in former pages that these Syro-Phoenician states had blunderingly missed many a good opportunity for opposing the progress of Assyrian conquest in earlier days; and it has been equally clear that they were no less unfortunate in choosing for their uprisings many a moment most unsuitable. In this latter they now again erred. What moment less auspicious for a rebellion could they have chosen than this, in which Egypt again spurred them on? Nebuchadrezzar had already been in Palestine. He and his armies knew the way thither. He was surely established on his father's throne, and had no fear of civil disturbances in his own kingdom. His power and his severity were known abroad, and there was scant chance of any large uprising in the lands of the upper Euphrates. The hour was ill chosen, but Egypt had chosen it and men were found in the foolish states to follow Egypt's lead. In spite of its sore sufferings Judah was still of weight and importance, but Egypt did not approach it directly. The aid of others was first secured, and these were sent to rouse Judah to revolt.

Our first knowledge of all these movements is derived from Hebrew sources, and especially from the book of the prophet Jeremiah, himself an actor of commanding stature in the whole sad drama. From his book it appears that the states first planning to revolt were Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon.³⁹⁶ They had already determined upon revolt, and had gone far enough in their preliminaries to have joined in a deliberate unity before Judah was approached at all. Whether this long delay in asking the cooperation of Judah indicates that this state was now counted of little or of great moment does not appear. The delay would admit of either interpretation. At last came an embassy to Judah, in which all had united, to persuade Zedekiah to join in a rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar. This embassy found a situation not altogether to its satisfaction. It found, however, very much that was exactly ready for its labors. Jerusalem had, of course, a strong and numerous patriotic party that hated the very name of Babylonian, and believed that the destiny of the Hebrew people must carry them free of any allegiance to any such power. This party had no vision for the signs of the times, no memory for the events of the last few years, and plainly not even the slightest glimpse into the future. Its only idea was that Jehovah was with the Hebrews, no matter what their devotion to him alight be.³⁹⁷ He had, indeed, suffered the Babylonian to lay a heavy hand upon his people, and many had gone into captivity. But Jehovah's temple still stood in Jerusalem, and there his presence still was. The superstitious trust of their ancestors in the presence of the ark in battle at Aphek³⁹⁸ was not greater than their present belief in Jehovah, even when his true prophets spoke all the other way. This party had the ears of all Jerusalem. It was ever shouting patriotism. Public opinion seemed all with it, and always with it, when the embassy came to

urge another struggle against the new power. But there was another force in the city, not represented, perhaps, in so many followers, but potent yet, and with all the moral support of recognized wisdom.

Jeremiah, prophet and statesman, took the unpopular side, and advocated a policy of unvarying yielding to Babylonia. In words weighty of prescience he urged the people of Jerusalem to accept the inevitable as of God's doing, and to put their necks submissively under the yoke which he had imposed upon them. This advice, once decisively taken, would certainly have postponed the destruction to which Judah was madly hastening, if it did not save the monuments of Judah's greatness from the ruthless hand of the destroyer of that age. But it was not decisively taken. It was, indeed, too influential to be wholly disregarded, and the embassy went away without a decisive word of adhesion to its mad plans. But Jeremiah could not control the enraged populace. The air was full of rebellion, of recrimination, of false patriotism. Even the exiles in Babylonia joined in the excited bandying of words.³⁹⁹ The hour was a bad one for a wise and cautious man. Jeremiah soon lost control; the king was weak, and could not hold in check the populace which thirsted in foolhardiness for a chance at its oppressors. Soon it became clear that Egypt was to be relied upon for help in the effort. The very name of Egypt was a word to conjure with, and its greatness seemed even yet to fill the whole earth. Rebellion was declared; and now the end had almost come for liberty in the west land. The new rebellion seemed to Nebuchadrezzar a matter of small moment. He did not come at once in person, but sent an army, which appeared before the walls of Jerusalem in 587. The city was so situated and so defended by walls that its reduction was no easy task. To carry it by assault was quite impossible, and Nebuchadrezzar, as Titus in later days, determined to surround the walls and starve it into submission. The sight of the Babylonian forces drawing a tight cord about the city walls might have been expected to strike sudden terror into the hearts of the war party which had driven the nation to this pass. In this the expected did not happen. The people of Jerusalem were mad in their folly, but they were not cowards, and they began a vigorous resistance to the great king. The walls of Jerusalem were strong enough to afford defense for a long time, and Nebuchadrezzar was not provided in the beginning with artillery strong enough to break them down and so take the city by assault. It could apparently be taken only by a siege in which famine should aid force.

There was terror in the city, but determination, and the spirit was admirable, when the odds are considered, even at so great a distance from the events as this. It was probably chiefly the hope of help from Egypt that strengthened the hearts and hands of the besieged. This help was not to fail utterly, for while the siege was yet in its early progress the army of Pharaoh Hophra entered Palestine with the direct purpose of offering help to the besieged, and of so raising the siege, and of ultimately driving back the Babylonians. This was partly accomplished. The Babylonian army withdrew from the gates and went southward to meet the new and formidable foe. What a reaction of joy was produced by this sudden reversal of fortune will perhaps never be fully known. The party that had brought on the war must have felt that its hour of justification had fully come. The false prophets, as Jeremiah had stigmatized them, who had prophesied that in a short time the Chaldean power would come to a sudden and violent end, must have pointed to the withdrawing hosts as the first sign of the impending fulfillment of their predictions. Amid all this rejoicing Jeremiah alone maintained his serenity of mind and his clearness of vision. He could not deny that a change bad indeed come; that was plain to any eye, but it was only temporary. Amid jubilation his word sounds solemn and disquieting: "Thus saith the Lord: Deceive not

yourselves, saying, The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us: for they shall not depart. For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire."⁴⁰⁰ To those who trusted in Hophra his word was no less definite: "Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land. And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall take it, and burn it with fire."⁴⁰¹ It could not be expected that a message of that tenor in an hour of apparent triumph and of real hope would be welcomed. It was, of course, not believed. Every indication of the hour was against faith in it. Hatred of Jeremiah and doubt of his loyalty grew apace. He essayed to leave the city to care for his property in Benjamin. It was at once suspected that he intended to desert to the foe, and give his aid and counsel to the Chaldeans. He was therefore apprehended and thrown into prison, there to await the ruin which he had foreseen.⁴⁰²

Such were the scenes of joy and the emotions of doubt which had sway in the city. What were the opinions of the Babylonians we have scant means for judging. It is not improbable that the.)counted the taking of Jerusalem as a matter of importance to their newly founded empire. The history of Assyria was not wholly unknown to these new agitators, and they must have understood how troublesome a thorn Jerusalem had been in the western side of the empire of the Sargonides. They now wished to end this difficulty at the beginning of their own plans. But they seem not to have thought highly of the prowess in war of the nations of Syria. If they had estimated highly the other states of Tyre and Sidon, they would hardly have pushed by them to attack Jerusalem, while they were left free to attack the flank or rear. Furthermore, they would not have left Jerusalem itself without a guard to hold it in check and prevent an attack, while they were engaged with the Egyptians. It is a pity that the historiographers of the Chaldean empire were so completely given to the description of various buildings and restoring operations as not to have left for us an account of this campaign from their point of view. That it would ring loud with boasts of victory might be expected. Between its lines, however, could perhaps be read the real motives and the true purposes and intent of some of these movements. Without such records we may only follow the events further as the Hebrews have preserved memory of them.

The army of the Babylonians met the Egyptian army at some unknown point south of Jerusalem. and drove it back to Egypt, apparently without great difficulty.⁴⁰³ But it did not follow up the advantage thus gained. As affairs then were in Egypt, Nebuchadrezzar, with a good army, might have overrun the whole land, as Esarhaddon had done before him, and have perhaps made it a part of his new empire. But, as we shall see later, Nebuchadrezzar was not in person at the head of his army; the army was probably not large, and so great an extension of its operations, leaving states and people unconquered behind, would have been precarious. At this time the Babylonians had done all that was desired for present purposes in compelling Hophra's return to Egypt, where he was suffered to reign in peace for several years longer. He would not again endeavor to help his allies in Syria and Palestine. They would be left to their fate. Egypt was again proved a broken reed on which to lean.⁴⁰⁴

As soon as the menace of the Egyptian army of deliverance from Jerusalem had been removed the army of beleaguers returned to the sacred city. With increased energy and determination was the siege

prosecuted, but the defense continued bold and brave. Within the city there was, however, no disciplined and well-armed body of men capable of making a successful sally against the veterans whom Nebuchadrezzar had collected from many provinces. If this could have been done, and fresh supplies thus introduced, the siege might have been indefinitely prolonged. Famine⁴⁰⁵ lent aid to the army of the siege, and the defense grew weaker. When the way was clear for the successful assault the Babylonian general in command ordered it, and a breach was made in the walls. On the ninth day of the fourth month (July), in the year 586, the Chaldeans, furious with delay, poured through the walls of Hezekiah into the city. Zedekiah fled at night, leaving all behind him. The courage which had sustained the siege was plainly not his; his only idea was to save himself by flight, probably into the wilds beyond Jordan, for in that direction his fleeing steps were turned, and then later, when the Babylonian army had withdrawn, to return and save something from the wreck.⁴⁰⁶ The Babylonians were too shrewd to permit so transparent a scheme to reach fulfillment, and gave pursuit. So long as the king, lawfully so appointed, was free there was some chance of a fresh rebellion, as soon as the necessities of their growing empire should give call to the armies elsewhere. Zedekiah was overtaken in the plains of Jericho and captured.⁴⁰⁷ His captors did not return him to Jerusalem, but carried him off to Riblah, in Syria, to present him before the person of Nebuchadrezzar. It now appears that Nebuchadrezzar was not present at the siege of Jerusalem at all, but retained personal command at Riblah, and very probably of a larger body of troops than was utilized in the investment of the Jewish capital. Whether the body of troops under his command was actively engaged against other Syro-Phoenician states at this time is not clearly known. Nebuchadrezzar would not be likely to hold a large body of men in idleness for a long time, even if it were a military possibility. On the other hand, we have no sign in the materials now accessible to us of any great movements⁴⁰⁸ of his while the siege of Jerusalem was in progress. That he did not attack Tyre nor Sidon until after Jerusalem was taken seems clear, and we know of no other people sufficiently strong to resist a large army, who were now in rebellion. It may therefore well be that Nebuchadrezzar with his forces had been chiefly occupied in widely extended plundering raids. So soon as Zedekiah was presented before Nebuchadrezzar the judgment was given against him. His sons were slain before his eyes, and he was then blinded-that his last sight of earth might be one of horror. It is not surprising that condign punishment should be his, when the circumstances are considered. When made king by the Chaldeans he had sworn faithfulness to them in the name of his own God, Yahwe.⁴⁰⁹ He had broken that oath-the most solemn oath which could have been placed before him. But the savage form of his punishment is for the moment interesting. That shows a new hand in the dominion of Babylonia. Such savagery⁴¹⁰ would be expected in an Assyrian king. It was rather unusual in a Babylonian king, and its appearance now is in connection with a Chaldean. In that is there a showing forth of a new people. It seems a promise that the Chaldean would not be merciful, as the Babylonian had so often been in the past.

While Zedekiah was in flight the army of the Babylonians had entered the city. The breach in the walls was made in the eleventh year of his reign⁴¹¹ (586), after a siege lasting about one and a half years. The patience of the conquerors was exhausted. They had tried before to secure a stable condition of affairs, which the people of Jerusalem had ruthlessly broken. They had spent this long period in a wearisome

siege. They would now end all possibility of a future like the past by utterly destroying the offending city. It was first plundered for the enrichment of the successful army, and the gold, silver, and brass of the temple decorations, with all the vessels of its service, were removed to be dedicated to Marduk in Babylon. Nothing of value was forgotten, that Yahwe might pay full tribute to the conquering Marduk. Then the torch was applied, and the temple, center of such affection and hope, became a mass of blackened ruins. Then the rich parts of the city were likewise destroyed, and its walls of defense, which had rendered such valiant service, were razed to the ground. It was an act of barbarism, like unto the oft-repeated deeds of the Assyrians and unlike the custom of the Babylonians.⁴¹² Like the punishment of Zedekiah, this also displayed the new hand in the affairs of men-the hand of the Chaldean.

Of the population of the ruined city a large number-how large we do not know-were carried away captive to Babylonia.⁴¹³ The captives, as before, were chosen from the richest and best of the population. The poor,⁴¹⁴ the weak, were left behind, and a wise and generous provision was made for them. They were to receive land for the cultivation of the vine, and were to be left to the unhindered pursuit of their religion. A descendant of the house of David, by name Gedaliah, was appointed governor,⁴¹⁵ and to him the person of Jeremiah was intrusted. The prophet was to be left free to go and to do as he willed, and was evidently regarded by the Chaldeans not as a Hebrew patriot, but rather as a Chaldean sympathizer. It was probably the purpose of the Chaldeans to give the land a stable government and a full opportunity for the development of its resources. Under favorable conditions it would doubtless soon be able to pay a good tribute and so add to the wealth of the empire. This purpose, however, failed of early accomplishment, for the few and feeble folk left under the rule of Gedaliah were not able to maintain any sure defense of their present position. Another descendant of the Davidic house, with the surprising name of Ishmael, plotted against Gedaliah. Ishmael found a helper in the Ammonites, who may have feared that the people of Judah would again form a strong state, and were anxious to nip the effort in the bud. Ishmael slew Gedaliah and many of his helpers,⁴¹⁶ and so destroyed the last hope of the national cohesion. The paltry few who now remain are in terror before Nebuchadrezzar and in fear of their neighbors. There is no hope for them in the land, and they determine to emigrate to Egypt. With them Jeremiah cast in his lot, and into another land the poor remains of a once powerful kingdom departed.⁴¹⁷

So ended the campaign of Nebuchadrezzar against Judah. The province was left stripped of its inhabitants, wasted by armies, and burned in flames. A more ruinous end of a campaign has rarely been seen in human history. Even from the Chaldean point of view the punishment of Zedekiah and of his people was greatly overdone. If the new Babylon was to become rich, it could gain wealth as the Assyrians had done, not only by plunder, but by carefully gathered annual tributes. From Judah in the state to which it was now come no tribute could be expected. From it no levies of men of war to fight for the extension of Chaldean power could be drawn. It was a wasted land, and in it a great opportunity had been lost through savage hate and perhaps through fear of future Egyptian intrigue.

In this destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation of another portion of its inhabitants is found the culmination of a long series of efforts directed against the Hebrews by the peoples of Babylonia and Assyria. From the days of Hammurabi down to this dark end again and again have Babylonian kings

plundered and punished and at times administered in this land and among this people. Early in their career of conquest the Assyrian kings began the same process. For them it was reserved to blot out the northern kingdom of the Hebrews in the days of Shalmaneser and Sargon. The early Babylonians, however, never achieved a permanent victory over them. To the Chaldeans, their heirs, was this given. Wherein all his predecessors had failed Nebuchadrezzar had succeeded. The success was lamentable, though the final issue of it all was better than this hour presaged. Many a people had been swallowed up in the advance of Assyrian and Babylonian power and forever lost. Even empires once distinguished for power and civilization had so thoroughly disappeared in the vortex as to leave scarcely a distinguishable sign of their former existence. This was not to be true in the case of Judah. The Hebrew had ideas that could not be quenched, and these carried his person into a life that would not die among men. The Chaldean had destroyed the state, but the people lived on in activity. The songs of Zion might not be sung,⁴¹⁸ but the words of Zion might be spoken. The Hebrew would not now pay tribute in the land of Judah, but would take tribute even of his captors as he pushed successfully forward into business in his new home. His wise leader, Jeremiah, had counseled him to make the new land his home in the fullest sense: "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and multiply ye there, and be not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace."⁴¹⁹ The advice was followed.⁴²⁰ Nebuchadrezzar had gained a new factor in his composite population, though he had lost a rich province.

As soon as the war against Judah was ended Nebuchadrezzar turned his arms against Tyre. The great commercial city had joined with Sidon in the embassy which induced Judah to rebel against him.⁴²¹ Tyre was probably the chief sinner, after Egypt, in this whole matter. It had more at stake in its overland commerce to the east, upon which its seagoing commerce was dependent, than any of the others. Tyre would fain make another attempt to gain back the commerce of which the Assyrians had gone far to deprive it, and for which they had struggled so long. Tyre would now be brought to answer for its new attempt at rebellion. In the case of Tyre, however, Nebuchadrezzar had an entirely different problem from that which he had successfully met in Judah. Its people indeed were not more brave than the people of Jerusalem; on the contrary, their whole history would show that they were much less so. Not in person but in position did they possess a preeminence over their fellow-conspirators. Jerusalem was surrounded by hills, and, though well fortified, as its resistance showed, it was approachable on every side. Tyre, on the other hand, was founded upon the sea, and it was impossible for a land force alone to besiege it successfully. No matter how completely it was invested by land, provisions could always be introduced from the sea. The Chaldeans were no more familiar with the sea than the Assyrians or Babylonians⁴²² had been, and were no more able or willing to venture upon it. Nebuchadrezzar had no seaport on the Mediterranean in complete possession, from which he could send forth a fleet to besiege Tyre from the sea, and he had no fleet with which to do this even if he had had the port of departure. The issue of the attempt which Nebuchadrezzar was now to make was problematical indeed. But Tyre must be punished or his empire might be assailed again in a twelvemonth, even though Judah had been so terribly handled. In 585 Nebuchadrezzar led his army against Tyre and began a siege. It was a long and

tedious enterprise. For thirteen years⁴²³ the Chaldeans held on their investment (585-573) unable to take the city. Unfortunately there is no account of this siege in any of Nebuchadrezzar's own inscriptions, and we must gain such insight into the affair as is possible from the fragmentary pieces of information at second or third hand which have come down from other sources.⁴²⁴ From these it is quite clear that the city was not taken by the Babylonians at all. An end to the long contest was finally made by a capitulation similar to those which Tyre had made before in the case of the Assyrians. The people of Tyre were not careful for national pride. They desired most of all to be let alone, for the continuing of their peaceful pursuit of trade. Ethobal II was now king of Tyre, and he was willing to make terms with Nebuchadrezzar, which involved, probably, the payment of a tribute, and little more.⁴²⁵ Ethobal continued to rule his city under a sort of Assyrian tutelage. Tyre was not given to the sword, burned, or plundered, and Nebuchadrezzar had but little to pride himself upon in this campaign, years of time though it had cost.

While the siege of Tyre still dragged its weary length along Nebuchadrezzar began another and even more important undertaking, and this against Egypt. It was Egypt which had caused all this loss of time and men and treasure to Nebuchadrezzar. So long as Egypt was suffered to remain as it was, or permitted to increase in power, so long would Palestine and Syria remain open to sudden raid or to slow-maturing intrigue. Egypt must be punished for past intrigues, for the army sent to help Zedekiah, and must at the same time be deprived of the power of making any similar trouble for some time to come.

Nebuchadrezzar had driven Hophra and his army back into Egypt, but he did not pursue, as we have already seen, his advantage any further at this time. Whether he made any further assaults between that event and the thirty-seventh year of his reign is not known to us, as our sources of information are silent on the matter. Whether he did or did not Egypt remained quiet until his time for retribution had come. In 567 Nebuchadrezzar invaded Egypt, determined to make an end of its meddling in Syria. He had opportunely chosen the moment of his campaign. Hophra had suffered a terrible defeat in Libya, out of which had come dynastic difficulties.⁴²⁶ He had even been compelled to associate on the throne with himself as coregent Amasis, as a representative of the national Egyptian party. After a defeat in arms against another power, and after some sort of civil strife in which the land received a second king, Egypt was in nowise prepared for the invasion. Nebuchadrezzar met with no serious opposition at the borders, and pressed into the heart of the Nile valley. How far he penetrated into the country is entirely unknown to us. The Chaldeans appear to have had a tradition⁴²⁷ that he turned Egypt into a Babylonian province, after he had conquered Amasis. We have, however, no definite information which would lead us to believe that he wrought so great a revolution. To repeat the Assyrian exploit of Esarhaddon was hardly to be expected of Nebuchadrezzar.

He had undoubtedly plundered largely, and was now ready to return laden with booty. He had further shown his power to the people of Egypt, as he went unopposed along the whole course of their former possessions in Syria, and they would not be easily led into a violation of his territory. Nebuchadrezzar attempted nothing more in Egypt. He did not go on to make it a part of his empire, as Esarhaddon had done, nor does he appear to have in any way interfered with the native rulers. If his reign had continued

longer, it is altogether probable that Egypt would have again been the scene of his operations, to plunder and perhaps attempt to rule.

The campaign against Egypt was probably the last which Nebuchadrezzar undertook against any people. The attempt has been made to show that he also made a campaign against Elam. This is based only upon the passage in Jeremiah's prophecies⁴²⁸ in which he predicts a day of wrath and destruction for this people. He does not, however, mention the name of the king who was to accomplish this punishment of Elam. There is not known to us any reason which should have induced Nebuchadrezzar to undertake such a campaign, neither do we find a chronological position for it in his reign. It is, from present knowledge, improbable that he did make war against his neighbor. The campaigns of Nebuchadrezzar appear few and small as we look at them in comparison with those of Tiglathpileser III, Sargon, and Esarhaddon. Other campaigns, yet unknown to us, he probably waged, for he could otherwise hardly have held and extended the empire of Nabopolassar. But whether he waged others or not, his title to rank among the greatest warriors who ever ruled in Babylonia or Assyria can hardly be denied. His exploits are not so well known; his own inscriptions have not spread them before us in such elaboration of detail as did those of former kings, and this absence of a fully rounded picture makes them seem less important than they really are. If judged not only by what we know of them, but also by the results which we can see did actually accrue from them, they must be ranked high indeed. He accomplished by force of arms the complete pacification of the long-troubled Syro-Phoenician states—a pacification that long continued even though his hand was removed. He carried war into the land of Egypt, and that when the land was not weak, as it once had been, but immediately after a great increase of strength. He defeated and drove back in confusion two great Egyptian kings, first Necho II and then Hophra. He began the work of consolidating a vast new empire, and carried it to brilliant success by sheer force of despotic power. There were no civil wars and no further rebellion, because none dared raise a head or hand against a personal power like his.

Yet great though Nebuchadrezzar was in the organization and the use of an army, great in the choice of commanders and in their employment, he bases all his claim to posterity's honor not upon war and its glories, but upon the quiet acts of peace. His long and elaborately written inscriptions⁴²⁹ have only a boastful line or two of conquest, while their long periods are heavy with the descriptions of extraordinary building operations. From his father he may have inherited this inclination, if not skill in its accomplishment. When he ascended the throne Babylon was already showing the result of Nabopolassar's building, but it must have looked almost a ruin in its very incompleteness. The great works which Nabopolassar had undertaken were in considerable part left unfinished. To these Nebuchadrezzar first addressed his labors. The chief of them all were the walls of Babylon, which Nabopolassar had intended to rebuild, and at the same time to enlarge. He had perhaps accomplished about two thirds of his plans when the work was left to his greater son. The inner wall of Babylon, the *Imgur-Bet*, was completely finished, and the outer wall, the *Nimitti-Bel*, likewise, their thickness being increased and the ditches which belonged to them being lined with brick. In connection with this he reconstructed the great city gates, which were not of solid metal, but were of cedar wood covered with strips of decorated bronze. At the thresholds he set up bronze colossi, probably of the usual half human, half-animal form. For the age in which these walls were built they were probably almost impregnable,

for they far exceeded the walls of Jerusalem and of Tyre, which had so well resisted Nebuchadrezzar's own assaults. But even with this result Nebuchadrezzar was far from satisfied. He would finish all that his father had planned and then go far beyond him. Not, only should the inner wall be impregnable, the outer wall should be so strong that no force should ever be able to reach the inner wall, and then to cap the curious climax he would even, on some sides, make it impossible even to reach the outer wall. On the southern side the city needed no further defense, for upon it lay the land of Chaldea, loyal to incorruptibility, and strong enough to prevent any force from passing through its borders to attack the capital. It remained, therefore, only to strengthen the walls upon three sides. This was done in the following manner: Upon the east of the city, at a distance of four thousand cubits from the outer wall, he built another massive wall. Before this was a vast moat, basin-shaped, deep, and walled round with bricks like a quay. The outworks on the west were similar, but not so strong, and this was natural, for the desert formed a natural barrier. The works on the north were entirely different in construction and apparently in purpose. Between the two city walls, and between the Euphrates and the Ishtar gate, Nebuchadrezzar reared a great artificial platform of brick laid in bitumen. Upon this elevated plateau was then erected a citadel, which was connected with his royal palace. While this construction did not act as the former in keeping a hostile army from reaching even the outer wall, it did make the outer wall at that point practically a solid construction back to the inner wall, and so made it impossible that it should be either broken down or even breached. At the same time the lofty citadel made a watchtower whence the level country for miles could be commanded, and from which a destructive shower of missiles could be rained on the heads of any attacking party.

With these works Nebuchadrezzar had made the taking of Babylon, if any defense were made within, an impossibility in that age. The compass of the walls was so vast that no single power, and perhaps scarcely a combination of powers, could hope to accomplish an investment that would reduce the city by famine; while, on the other hand, wall after wall must be broken down, under almost impossible conditions, if the city was to be taken from without by assault. The enemies of Babylon must lay their plans to gain the city, in its state of defense, only from within by treachery.⁴³⁰

When the defenses were fully accomplished it was natural that Nebuchadrezzar should turn to the beautifying and increasing of the city from within. Nabopolassar had built a great street, Ai-ibur-shabu, which Nebuchadrezzar now increased in height, leveled, and repaved; to this he joined a new and handsome street called Nanasakipat-tebi-sha. The repaving of these streets, at increased elevation, made necessary two other great works. The points at which they passed through the inner and outer walls were marked by great gateways, which had now become too low. They were therefore completely torn down to water level and rebuilt in astonishing magnificence, the massive cedar doors covered with bronze plates, while before the thresholds were placed great colossi of animals and dragons. Yet another necessity was brought about by this same elevation of the street surfaces. The doors of the palace, which Nabopolassar had rebuilt, must be changed, and with this, for greater display, came the rebuilding of the entire palace. This was a work of colossal proportions, though less than that of the work upon the walls. Nebuchadrezzar is careful to state that for this reconstruction he began at the earth's surface, and laid afresh the foundations in brick and bitumen. To this he adds further the statement that he brought great cedar beams from the Lebanon for the work. That word alone suggests a comment upon the vastness of

the undertaking, when one considers the distance by land from the Lebanon to the Euphrates over which these beams must in some manner be carried, and then the long rafting down the river.

From such buildings of war and of residence Nebuchadrezzar turned to temples-the homes of his gods. Upon E-sagila⁴³¹ he seems not to have expended any great labor, but he made its vast entrance doorway to shine as the sun. But the hall of the oracles, Du-azag, was decorated with gold, in the place of its former silver, while the great temple E-kua was redecorated, and this also with "red gold." In his own story these temple works are passed over in a few lines, and here may have only a passing word, but we must not fail to make due allowance for them when imagination sets in array before us the works of this one king. To his gods Nebuchadrezzar paid a full measure of faith,⁴³² as every inscription testifies in words. To them he was not likely to give less of works when he rebuilt his imperial city. Beneath the few lines of his hasty allusion lies the great fact of immense and costly works for the praise of the gods of Babylon. One more work was done for Babylon itself, and that a work deemed always praiseworthy in a king of Babylonia. Canal restoration was constantly necessary, and since the day when Hammurabi built his first canal at the very founding of his realm king after king had rebuilt these indispensable public works. The eastern canal of Babylon, by name Libil-Khigalla, had fallen into a state of ruin. The clay from its banks had slipped down into its channel until, in places at least, its very course could not be traced. Nebuchadrezzar had it redug, and then walled up from the bottom. This canal, in its rebuilding, was carried beneath the great street of Ai-ibur-shabu, and that made necessary a bridge to carry the street over the sluggish waters. It would be interesting to know the construction and the material of the bridge, but the record is silent thereon. Nebuchadrezzar himself plainly considered this canal work as worthy of especial note; to it he gave an entire inscription,⁴³³ as he did not even to his great wall, temple, and palace erections and adornments. Babylonia was still a rainless land, and the builders of canals were its chief benefactors.

The construction of temple, palace, canal, and defenses of Babylon must have been spread over a long series of years, though perhaps little was done in regard to them until the chief of his wars were over. Had Nebuchadrezzar done nothing more for his kingdom than thus to make his capital great, powerful, and beautiful, his claim to fame in Babylonia would, from all oriental standards, have been good. It was of the very nature of oriental monarchs in the ancient world to plunder the whole kingdom that the capital might be rich and worthy. This Nebuchadrezzar had done, but he had not left undone great works for the other chief cities of his empire. Over Babylon he had watched with especial pride. He may well have felt and spoken as the Hebrew sacred book represents: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?"⁴³⁴

Over Borsippa, also, did he turn his gaze and make his boast, and to it he also gave works of reconstruction. In Borsippa the pyramidal temple of E-ur-imin-an-ki, "the house of the seven quarters of the Heavens and the Earth," had fallen into partial ruin. It had been originally intended when it was built to make it consist of seven stages from earth to its topmost pinnacle. The final stage had, however, not been added at all, according to Nebuchadrezzar's statement on the subject. That alone would have tempted the building king to a work of completion. But besides this the building was now in bad repair.

The account of it which Nebuchadrezzar gives is very instructive as showing the process and the cause of decay in Babylonian constructions.⁴³⁵ He says that the water drains were out of order, and that therefore the rains had broken down its walls, and the outer covering of burnt bricks had burst open. Though Babylonia was a rainless land in the sense that it had no regular rains of value to the husbandman, it was subject to torrential downpours of water. If this was not rapidly and completely carried off, it soaked in between the burnt facing and the unburnt filling of the walls and caused a bulging, which was liable to end in a downfall of the wall. To such pass had this building come. Nebuchadrezzar now rebuilt the structure, supplying new strength to it without taking it down to its foundations, as he had done repeatedly in other cases. When thus restored he capped it with the new story to bring it to the required symmetrical height. In like manner he rebuilt or restored the remaining temples of the city. To these works of peace he added a work of preparation for defense in war by rebuilding the walls of Borsippa on the same general scale and plan as those of Babylon.

In the reconstruction and adornment of the temples of E-sagila at Babylon and of E-zida at Borsippa Nebuchadrezzar had honored the most ancient and most venerated of all the shrines of the Babylonian people. Other temples might and did possess great renown in this or that city; these were honored wherever the name of Babylonia went, and wherever its people had joys or sorrows. In these temples the king worshiped. He had now made them worthy of the gods who had made him great. But he likewise owed debts to other gods and to the citizens of other cities. He therefore carried on restorations of temples in other cities, among which he especially enumerates Sippar, Larsa, Ur, Dilbat, Baz, and Uruk.⁴³⁶ On the bricks which he laid in every temple he stamped his name and royal titles, and from every ruin in Babylonia which these later days have opened and explored, however lightly, bricks have come bearing the stamp of this king. It would appear that not only in the city in which he dwelt, and in the few which he especially enumerates, but in every other city, small or great, in his own land, he had either built or restored. Like unto him in this particular no king his equal had ever reigned in Babylonia.

In the year 562 Nebuchadrezzar died. Of his last years we know nothing but continued building, and of his last days and the final cause of his death we have no Babylonian record. The story of the book of Daniel⁴³⁷ that his great pride had a deep fall, and that his reason was lost, and that he was left to suffer of a madness which made him conceive himself a beast of the field, finds no mention in any record of his own race.⁴³⁸ It might well be a day of mourning in all Babylon when the great king died. Unto the very ends of the earth he had made the name of Babylon great.

Enough has already been said concerning his merits and success as a man of war. In taking a view of his whole personality there are to be added to this several other points of weight. His building operations were so extensive that in this particular he outranks all who preceded him, whether in Assyria or in Babylonia. For the most part these works were beneficent, though the execution of them must have cost much human life and terrible suffering of fatigue and oppression. That he added to this love for the constructively beautiful an interest in the arts and the sciences is clear enough from the books which have come down to us out of the great collections in his own and other cities. These are evidences also enough that he was a patron of letters and science, worthy to be compared with that great Assyrian

founder of libraries, Assurbanapal. A man of blood and iron it has been already sufficiently shown that he was. His punishment of Zedekiah is to be placed with the very worst instances of savagery in all that history. But it is just to remember that Zedekiah had broken an oath, and so may be considered as having offended against the great god Marduk, and that in a most vital point. Further than this there is no other instance of great cruelty known to us; and it is especially worthy of notice that we find no case of cruelty practiced solely from bloodthirstiness, and in repulsive fashions, as was so often the case in the reigns of certain Assyrian kings like Assurnazirpal.

To all his virtues and all his faults Nebuchadrezzar added deep piety. He was a polytheist, worshiping especially Marduk, god of the mighty temple of E-sagila in Babylon, and Nabu, god of the great temple E-zida in Borsippa. He was, however, careful to pay due homage to gods many and lords many in different cities of his empire, and to these, as we have seen, he likewise dedicated temples.

When he died there died also the real power to live and grow in his empire. He left no son like himself, and the Chaldean people were unable to produce another man worthy to sit upon his throne and sway his scepter.

CHAPTER III

THE LAST YEARS OF THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

THE throne of Babylon, which Nebuchadrezzar had made so potent a force in the world, was occupied at once upon his death by Amil-Marduk, the biblical Evil-merodach⁴³⁹ (man or servant of Marduk), the son of Nebuchadrezzar (561-560 B. C.). So strong had been Nebuchadrezzar's hold upon the people that there was no attempt at disturbances in the transfer of power to his son.

Of his reign we know almost nothing, for no inscriptions of his own have been found. Two allusions from the outside give our only possible view of his brief-reign. The first of these comes, as so much of our information of his father's reign, from the Hebrews. The writer of the Second Book of Kings⁴⁴⁰ states that in the first year of his reign, and thirty-seven years after the captivity of Jehoiachin, he took the Hebrew exile out of prison. From that time Jehoiachin enjoyed the fare of a king and wore the garments of royalty in exchange for the prison garb which he had worn so long. Of this act of mercy, which is, however, not inconsistent with the remaining facts concerning this king, there is no other record. To Berossos⁴⁴¹ we owe the remaining reference to this reign. He says that Evil-merodach ruled unlawfully and tyrannically. It may be that the release of Jehoiachin was one expression of unlawful rule, and that it was the priestly or the national party whose feeling toward the king Berossos expresses.⁴⁴² Such men would naturally bate a king who showed any feeling of sympathy or help for the accursed people who had cost Babylon so dear in lives and treasure for their subduing. For this or some other cause Evil-merodach lost the loyalty of enough of his subjects to make successful a plot against his life. In the second full year of his reign he was assassinated. His reign left no mark upon his country's history, but

the violent end of his life was an ominous portent of the desperate days that were in the future. The assassination of a king makes the dark periods of Assyrian history cry out a warning to the Chaldeans.

The plan for the slaying of Amil-Marduk had been devised by Nergal-shar-user (Neriglissor--that is, "Nergal, protect the king"), and had probably been executed by him or upon his order. He now became king of Babylon, and had likewise a brief reign (559-556 B. C.). He was an influential man long before the death of Nebuchadrezzar. He it was, probably, who appeared at Jerusalem during the war of Nebuchadrezzar,⁴⁴³ holding the office of *rab-mag*, and engaging in important diplomatic duties. His family was influential in business affairs, as the numerous contract tablets⁴⁴⁴ from that period abundantly testify. Whatever his origin may have been, he had at least the station, or the power, to gain the hand of Nebuchadrezzar's daughter in marriage. In his most important inscription⁴⁴⁵ he calls his father Bel-shum-ishkun, of whom nothing is known. So far as his ability would permit he followed in all things the example of the great king who had made the empire; his inscriptions even being in a similar style. His pride, likewise, was in the adornment and the increase of Babylon, and his first concern was to beautify the temple E-sagila. Before its doors had stood great bronze dragons, to warn away the evil; these he covered with silver. The temple E-zida of Borsippa he also decorated and beautified. In these works he honored the gods who had brought him from the world of commerce even to the rule of an empire, and to them he pays the tribute of words of passionate devotion, heaping word upon word of prayer and of praise. It remained only now that he should accomplish some work for the canal system of Babylon. In this his first care was to regulate the course of the canal upon which the city was built, this being a channel of the Euphrates itself, which was now changed so that, as in former times, it should pass directly by the temple of E-sagila. The eastern arm of the canal was also walled up, that its current might flow with sweet water, unmixed with sand.

The residence of Nergal-char-usur was in the same palace as that of Nebuchadrezzar, and in this he carried on extensive alterations and improvements. The first of them concerned its foundations, which the canal had made unsafe, and the last of them were put upon the lofty summit of the building. In these works the chief part was played by the ever-present brick, but mention is made also of the cedar beams, which came, as before, from the Lebanon.

There is no mention in the life of Nergal-sharusur of any wars throughout his empire. It is, however, scarcely probable that he could have reigned without any disturbances requiring for their suppression the force of arms. It was the custom of the Babylonian kings to say nothing of war; in this he followed the former usage. Whether a warrior himself or not, he kept his empire intact, and the Chaldean power suffered no loss from that which Nebuchadrezzar had won. Better even than was to be expected did the empire sustain itself.

The oft-repeated prayer⁴⁴⁶ of Nergal-shar-usur for a long reign was not granted. In 556 his life ended, and his son succeeded him. Labashi-Marduk, whose name puzzled even Berossos and the Greeks in general, who represent it as Labassarachos, or Labarosoarchodos, was but a youth⁴⁴⁷ when he became king. At once he became the subject of a conspiracy, directed against him, says tradition, because he

displayed evil traits of character. That this reason was a mere excuse for a deep plot of the priesthood to wrest the throne from his hands there can be little doubt. Labashi-Marduk reigned but nine months (556), and was then killed. His successor was not a Chaldean at all, but a native Babylonian not related to the reigning house, and this increases the probability that beneath these events lay schemes which were slowly working out toward ruin. Plot and counterplot would not add strength to the empire, and assassination boded ill to a stable government.

As soon as Labashi-Marduk was dead the conspirators chose as king a man who had participated in the revolution, for such it undoubtedly was. The man chosen to ascend the throne was Nabonidus (Nabunaidu, the god "Nabu is glorious"), a man of distinguished position. His father was Nabu-balatsu-igbi,⁴⁴⁸ to whom is given the same title as Nergal-shar-usur had added to his father's name. Nabonidus was a man of piety, beyond even the example of the Chaldeans who had preceded him. He was a builder of temples and a restorer of them, and this appears to have absorbed his chief energies. This work he carried on in a different and in a more thorough way than either Nebuchadrezzar or Nergal-shar-usur. These had been content to take down a ruined temple to its foundations upon the earth's surface, and then to rebuild it of a size and a magnificence surpassing that which it had been. Not so this new servant of the gods. He was not content to reach merely the earth's surface as he began the reconstruction of a temple. His workmen must burrow in the earth until the original foundation stones of the temple's first builder were found. This was often no easy task. As we have seen before, the temples of Babylonia were constantly in decay, and this led to repeated restorations. These restorations must often have left the work of previous builders covered with debris and difficult to find. In many rebuildings the site even of the temple was partly or wholly changed. Amid all these difficulties and discouragements his work went on. In almost every case the foundation stones were found at last, and the king's name who had caused the first stone to be laid was then read, and a careful record made of the fact. The finding of these names of ancient kings led to a study of the historical records of the past, which the royal libraries still preserved. Out of the study of these ancient inscriptions the historiographers of the court of Nabonidus gradually learned the dates of past events of importance and the order of the events themselves.

The next step in this interesting development was to state, in the inscriptions of Nabonidus, that such and such a king's name had been found, and that the king had reigned so many years before the king who was now renewing their fallen works. These notices in the inscriptions of Nabonidus make his inscriptions of surpassing value to the student of the past.⁴⁴⁹ No longer are building inscriptions dreary wastes of boasting words; out of them come names buried otherwise in the mists of the past. These names also have their proper perspective, for the royal scribe has written with them the number of years before Nabonidus they had lived. But for these notices many a definitely known king whose own inscriptions have later greeted the explorer's spade could not be assigned his proper place in the development of his country's political history. His own texts bear no allusion, at times, to his ancestors, and no hint as to his chronological position. But the scribes of Nabonidus had lists of kings, now lost, and were able at once to locate these monarchs in their proper place. Whether consciously or not, Nabonidus thus became a patron of letters and history, and made all his race debtor to him for his archaeological researches among ruined palaces and temples. Former monarchs who held possession of Babylon had been eager to have researches pursued into the history of the past, but only that their own

names might be connected with real or supposed ancestors of renown.⁴⁵⁰ To this weakness there is no analogy in Nabonidus. His inscriptions are burdened more with the names of gods than of men, and with no hero of the past does he attempt to connect his own lineage.

These archaeological researches were interesting to Nabonidus and the scholars of his court, but they appear to have worked ill for the state. The king must have given himself to them to the loss of time, energy, and enthusiasm for the duties of kingship, to which he appears to have given little heed. He did not reside in Babylon at all, but at Tema,⁴⁵¹ probably an insignificant place, with no other influence in history. There he spent his time absorbed in great plans of building and of restoration, entrapped in the work of his scholars, who were disentangling the threads that led away into the dawn of human history, and devoted to prayers and good works before the gods. Imagination conceives him not as busied with concerns of state in the capital or at the head of an army seeking new territory or defending old, but rather as going about his lands watching the progress of work upon a temple, or stepping down into excavations to look upon the inscribed name of some old king which no eye had seen for thousands of years. Though there is no clear statement in his records to this effect, it seems almost certain that the great concerns of state were left to his son, Bel-shar-usur ("Bel protect the king," the biblical Belshazzar), who was a sort of regent during probably a large part of the reign. That the position of Bel-shar-usur was unusual appears quite clearly from the manner of the allusions to him in Nabonidus's inscriptions. At the end of some of them his name is coupled in the prayers with that of Nabonidus, and blessings are especially invoked upon him.⁴⁵² No such usage as this appears in any other text, and there must be a specific reason for it, which it is simplest to find in his regency. This is supported, likewise, by the otherwise inexplicable conduct of Nabonidus during the most threatening situation in all the history of Babylon. When the army of Cyrus, as will be shown later, was approaching the city he remained in retirement at Tema, and gave over the control and leadership completely to Bel-shar-usur. By this regency of Belshazzar is also explained the origin of the Jewish tradition preserved in the book of Daniel, which makes Belshazzar,⁴⁵³ and not Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. That it had a historic basis there is reason to believe.

As we have no historic accounts of events in the earlier part of the reign of Nabonidus, it will be necessary to reconstruct those years from the slight notices which are given them in his own inscriptions—and these notices are naturally concerned primarily with building. At the beginning of every inscription after his title of king of Babylon Nabonidus is careful always to add the words, "Preserver of E-sagila and E-zida," thus connecting his name continually with the greatest shrines of his race. It was not, however, in these two temples that his chiefest interest centered. It was perhaps useful for reasons of state that he should thus appear as their patron, but he did not show to either a reverence more real than words. He did not even pay to E-sagila the annual New Year's visit, which was an act sacredly followed by the kings who had ruled before him. His devotion was paid the more to other shrines, in other cities. For this there was some justification to be found in their almost complete neglect by recent generations. None the less is this custom of Nabonidus surprising in a Babylonian king.

Perhaps the chief work of Nabonidus was the restoration, the rebuilding, indeed, of the temple of the

sun, E-babbara, in the ancient city of Sippar. Forty-five years before, Nebuchadrezzar had restored this temple, probably to honor the people of Sippar and attach them loyally to his person. Its walls were now fallen, and in this we see a curious comment either upon the carelessness of Nebuchadrezzar's workmen or the partial character of his restoration. No such work as that would satisfy the careful Nabonidus. The sun god Shamash was first supplied with temporary quarters for his occupancy. Then the temple was razed to the ground, and the foundations examined for the name of the first builder. Nebuchadrezzar had not found it when his restorations were made, and it was not found now until the excavations had been carried far beneath the surface. Then at last appeared the old corner stone, and upon it the name of Naram-Sin, who had caused it to be laid three thousand two hundred years before.⁴⁵⁴ The finding of this stone so filled Nabonidus with delight that he is moved to say that Shamash himself had shown it to him. In such words would an Assyrian king have celebrated a bloody victory over men who died to save their own firesides! Then exactly upon that same site, moving an inch neither this way nor that, the stone was laid again, with all splendor of ceremony and of honor. Above it rose the new temple more splendid than the old. For its roof no less than five thousand cedar beams were required, while still more of the precious wood had to be used for its great doors. So the new temple was finished, and into it was the god Shamash led by the hand of Nabonidus, with rejoicing, with display of all devotion, and with prayers to Shamash that his care might be about the king who had thus honored him.

At about the same time, and perhaps immediately afterward, Nabonidus began the restoration of the temple E-ulbar, the shrine of the goddess Anunit, in the city of Sippar-Anunit. In the same manner as before he sought the foundation stone, but this time without such intense earnestness, and also without success. He was satisfied with the discovery of the foundation stone of Shagarakti-Buriash,⁴⁵⁵ upon which he laid anew the foundations, and then reerected the temple. To this new home the goddess was introduced with gifts and with prayers. Not for himself only were these prayers offered, but also for the future. It was the desire of Nabonidus that in the days to come other kings might be raised up to rebuild the temple when his work should have outlived its days and the temple again be in decay.

But there were other great works yet to be done, and the plans of the king for building not empires, but temples, had full sway in his active mind. His thoughts were continually turning far away from Babylon and its neighboring cities to a great city in the far north. Harran, a name once great in the history of the peoples of the Euphrates and the Tigris, had for centuries been of little moment. The Manda had ruined its streets and buildings, and destroyed its commercial importance. The great temple of Sin, the holiest shrine in all the north country, a temple bound by ancient ties to the great temple of Sin in Ur of the south land, was in ruins. The Manda had passed by, and as in their hearts there 'was no reverence for Sin, his temple fell before their destructive wave, and lay a ghastly heap of ruins, its bricks melting away into mud. To the eye of reason it might seem as though the power of Sin were small that he could not even defend his own house from such despoilers. But not so to the faith of Nabonidus, for to his thought Sin had been angry and had suffered the Manda-nay, had caused them-to break down his house. How better could he punish his worshipers, if that were his will, than to take away from their hearts the solace of worship in his temple?

At the very beginning of the reign of Nabonidus he dreamed a dream. Before him, as in a vision, stood

the great gods Marduk and Sin. Then spoke Marduk and said, "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, with the horses of thy wagons, bring bricks, build E-Khulkul, and let Sin, the great lord, have his dwelling therein." In fear answered Nabonidus, "The temple, which thou hast commanded me to build, the Manda surround it, and widespread are his forces." But answered Marduk, "The Manda, of whom thou speakest, they, their country, and the kings their allies are no more." Before the great god had commanded the rebuilding of this temple he had arranged to remove the obstacle of a warlike force. It was well that he had. An Assyrian king would have attacked any force about an honored god's temple, driven it away, and then rebuilt; so would the old Babylonians, but this new apostle of building would have none of war. Even upon the god's assurance that the Manda were no more about Harran, Nabonidus shrank in fear from the task. At last duty drove him on, and he essayed the great work. Upon all his vast empire he laid a levy for men for the work. From Gaza, on the borders of Egypt, from far beyond the Euphrates, from the eastern limits of his empire they came-governors, princes, kings-to help with the work. It was not long since the temple had last been rebuilt, for Assurbanapal (668-625 B. C.) had rebuilt it upon the foundations which Shalmaneser II (859-825 B. C.) had laid. Stronger than before arose the great new walls. Upon them, for the roof, were placed great cedar beams from the Amanus, while doors of sweet-smelling cedar swung to and fro upon their fastenings. So great was the glory of the new temple that the whole city of Harran shone "like the new moon."⁴⁵⁶ In this new home, with prayer and joyful ceremony, was Sin, with his companions, brought, and another work of duty and honor had been added to the glories of the reign of Nabonidus. But in all this there is no word of the affairs of state. The gods were honored, but what of men? The day of judgment was slowly moving on. While Nabonidus built temples, remained away from Babylon, and looked not upon his army, another people of a fresh and almost untried race were husbanding old and seeking new strength for the undoing of all this splendor. The hour of their triumph had almost come.

The beginnings of new powers in the world's history are usually obscure, and for later ages difficult to trace out. So is it with the beginnings of that power which had slowly been preparing to engulf Babylonia. Some steps in its progress may now be regarded as reasonably clear, and these must not be followed. When Nineveh fell it was not at the behest of Babylonia only. A new power, fresh from a long rest and not wasted by civilization's insidious pressure, had contributed to that overthrow. This new people was the Manda, and in the years that followed the Manda had not been idle. To them had fallen in the partition of the Assyrian empire the whole of the old land of Assyria, with northern Babylonia. The very ownership of such territory as this was itself a call to the making of an empire. To this the Manda had set themselves, and with extraordinary and rapid success. While Nebuchadrezzar lived they maintained peace with him and offered no threats against Babylonia. To the north and west their forces spread. These movements we cannot trace in detail. From the Manda, who were men of action, and not writers of books, there have come to us no stories of conquest. From the events which follow, of which we have Babylonian accounts, we can trace with reasonable certainty, even though broadly, their progress. As early as 560 B. C. their border had been extended as far west as the river Halys, which served as the boundary between them and the kingdom of Lydia, over which Croesus, of proverbial memory, was now king (560-546 B. C.). If no violent end came to a victorious people such as the Manda now were, it could not be long before the rich plains, the wealthy cities, and the great waterways of Babylonia would tempt them southward and the great clash would come. If to such brute force of conquest as they had already abundantly shown they should add gifts for organization and

administration, there was no reason why all their possessions should not be welded again into a great empire, as the Assyrians had done before with a large part of them. Their king was now Astyages,⁴⁵⁷ or, as the Babylonian inscriptions name him, Ishtuvegu.⁴⁵⁸ Our knowledge of him is too scant to admit of a judgment as to his character. A man of war of extraordinary capacity he certainly was, but perhaps little else. However that may be, he was not to accomplish the ruin of Nabonidus. What he had gained was to be used to that end by another, and he was now preparing.

In Anshan, a province in the land of Elam, a great man had arisen. From Elam for centuries no impulse had been given in the world's history. The people had rested. Kings had ruled over them, indeed, but their influence had been little beyond their own borders. When Cyrus was born, son of Kambyses, a place was ready for him, and greatness soon found it. Cyrus, king of Anshan--the title had no high sound, and to it were added no other titles of rule in other lands. But in Cyrus the primary power of conquest was strong. He began at once a career of almost unparalleled conquest, and later displayed in extraordinary degree the power so to organize the result of one victory as to make it contributory to the next. His first foe was naturally Astyages, king of the Manda, whose attention he had attracted. We do not know what deeds of Cyrus led Astyages to determine upon attacking him, whether he had made reprisals upon the borders of the empire of the Manda, or had shown elsewhere ability which might later prove dangerous to the aspirations of the Manda. In 553 B. C. Astyages led an army against this new Asiatic conqueror. All the advantages seemed to lie upon the side of Astyages. He had victories behind him, he had the levies of an empire already vast on which to draw. But these and all other advantages were overturned by treachery. His own troops rebelled against him and delivered him into the hands of Cyrus,⁴⁵⁹ and that bound as a prisoner. Cyrus then took Ecbatana, sacked it,⁴⁶⁰ and overwhelmed the state. In an hour he had leaped from the position of king of Anshan, a rank hardly greater than petty prince, to the proud position of king of the Manda. A whole empire already made was his. Well might he assume a new title and call himself king of the Parsu--out of which has come to us the word "Persians." King of the Persians--in that new title of Cyrus was gathered all the impetus of a new and terrible force in the world. For his coming the day of judgment had waited. The day of great Semitic conquerors was waning, a new conqueror of the great unknown Indo-European races had arisen, and a new day had thus dawned. What did it mean for humanity--for civilization?

The sudden victory of Cyrus over the empire of the Manda filled the whole western world with alarm. The empire of Cyrus now extended to the Halys, and beyond that river was Lydia. How soon Cyrus would cross it none knew. He was probably only waiting until he could assimilate the forces of the Manda with his own; for such a man could be content with no dominion that was less than world-wide. Croesus determined to strike the first blow himself, but not single-handed. He formed a confederation in the spring of 546, and almost every power of significance in the whole west joined it. Amasis, king of Egypt; Nabonidus, king of Babylon;⁴⁶¹ Croesus, king of Lydia, and even his friendly allies, the Spartans⁴⁶²--these formed an array that must be invincible. The leader was Croesus, and that he should fail seemed impossible. Behind him was an army that had never known defeat, beneath him were the sure oracles of Delphi. But the confidence of Croesus was too great; he would not even wait for the expected contributions of men from his allies; with trust in his gods and in his own army he started out

to meet Cyrus, and entered Kappadokia. Cyrus met him with all his forces. The unexpected, the impossible, happened, and Croesus was defeated. Cyrus pursued, and again Croesus gave battle, in the valley of Hermos. In the army of Cyrus were bodies of men mounted on camels;⁴⁶³ before them stood the Lydian cavalry. It was the barbarous east mounted upon its uncanny and clumsy animal of the desert opposed to the civilization of the west with its clean-limbed horses. But the barbarians on camels threw the cavalry into confusion, and again was Croesus beaten, and this time overwhelmed. He retreated to the citadel of Sardes, and sent messengers to his allies begging for assistance, which, naturally enough, never came. In fourteen days Sardes fell, and Croesus was in the hands of Cyrus.⁴⁶⁴ The Lydian empire was also swallowed up in Persia. Croesus was taken in the autumn of 546, and before the end of 545 the entire peninsula of Asia Minor was a part of the Persian empire, divided into satrapies and administered with a strong hand. Even the isles of the sea were giving submission to the power that had arisen out of the wilds of Asia, ghostlike in a night, whose ruler was but a year before unknown in name even to the Greeks of the mainland, who had now become his subjects.

Cyrus had now fully prepared the way for the absorption of Babylonia, with its valuable Syro-Phoenician states reaching even to the Mediterranean. During all these years Nabonidus had been building temples and searching out interesting bits of ancient history. If he had been consolidating his defenses and preparing to hold his empire against this wave of barbarians, the course of human history might have been widely different. Even Greece might have been spared the need of its heroic sacrifice in the defense of all the west had gained, from the hordes, full-blooded and strong, out of the mountains of Elam. But Nabonidus had not prepared for war or for defense, and it was now too late. In the year 549, when the Lydian king was making ready to fight to the bitter end, Nabonidus was in Tema, as the Chronicle⁴⁶⁵ shows. Of 548 we know nothing,⁴⁶⁶ but there is no risk in supposing that he was still absorbed in temples and their repairs. In 547, so hurried the years along, he was still in Tema, and did not even enter Babylon to pay reverence at the great shrine of the gods or to attend to the pressing business of state. On the fifth day of the month of Nisan the king's mother died at Dur-Karasu, on the Euphrates, above Sippar. For her great mourning was made, and still there is no word of setting Babylon or the land in preparation. Yet in this same year-and the Babylonian Chronicle is the witness for it-the threat of Cyrus against Babylon was made in no uncertain manner. On the fifteenth day of the same month of Nisan he crossed the Tigris below Arbela and entered Assyria. Here he took possession of part of the land which appears to have been partly or wholly independent of Nabonidus. The name which Cyrus gave to the land is broken off in the Chronicle,⁴⁶⁷ but we shall probably not go far astray if we conjecture that some petty prince⁴⁶⁸ had here set up a little kingdom.

Babylonian soil was now possessed by Cyrus. It was the beginning of the end. The next year opens with the same melancholy record that the king was in Tema.⁴⁶⁹ His son, Bel-shar-usur, was with the army in Accad.⁴⁷⁰ From this time on it is proper to say that he was easily the chief actor, on the Babylonian side, in the tragedy. Of him we know little indeed. To the Jews his name was an object of hatred, for he had shown contempt for them and the God of whom they would teach the world. But from the Babylonian point of view he shines forth in all that we know of him as a man intensely national, able, earnest in

defense of his native land. That he helped greatly to postpone the now impending ruin is highly probable. But he had no support from his father--the man of books. In this year (546), on the twenty-first day of Sivan, there was some difficulty with Elamites in Babylonia.⁴⁷¹ We do not know its meaning or its results; for the Chronicle is broken off and leaves us in tantalizing fashion. But that this was only another move in the same general plan is at least probable. After this year the Babylonian Chronicle again breaks off abruptly, and for six years we know nothing of the progress of events. Into these years probably went some of the building operations which have already been described. Nabonidus cared, or seemed to care, little for his country. It was his gods only that filled the horizon for him.⁴⁷²

When next the chronicler resumes his story the seventeenth year of the king's reign has come. It is the year 539. The army of Cyrus is somewhere in northern Babylonia. The great Persian empire is now ready to complete and round out its borders by the addition of Babylonia, with even its imperial capital. The opening lines of the year's annals are broken off, but if they were still preserved, we should probably not find in them the fateful words, "The king was in Tema." He was now fully aroused to the gravity of the situation, and was active in measures of preparation. It seems almost irony to say that these measures were not for practical defense against a terrible foe; they were not for a prolonged siege. Such preparations would have been both natural and in a sense easy of accomplishment. Nebuchadrezzar had made Babylon the strongest fortress in all the world. Even a small force of brave men could have held it for years against any force which Cyrus could muster; and that there were brave men still in Babylon's army there is every reason to believe. But the preparations of Nabonidus were not for national safety and independence, they were not for the safety of men at all. In the crucial hour of his country's history his whole thought was of gods, and not of men. He would save gods, men might save themselves as best they might. From every part of the land of Babylonia the statues of the gods were hastily removed from the temples which Nabonidus had built with such exaggeration of painstaking care, as well as from other temples upon which he had laid no hand of restoration-if, indeed, there were any such. From Marad and from Kish came gods of whose worth or power the history of Babylonia has heard little; from Kharsag-kalama came Belit and her goddesses. By the end of the month Elul all the gods and goddesses had been brought to Babylon. Nabonidus appears to have himself remained in Sippar, perhaps to avoid the danger of capture and death in the capital, whose ultimate fall into the hands of Cyrus he must have foreseen, or rather, perhaps, that he might in the hour of his distress lean heavily on the arm of Shamash, whom he had so signally honored in the magnificent temple of E-babbara.

While gods were hastening thus to be crowded into the spaces of Babylon's temples the army of Cyrus was slowly marching on, and apparently without resistance. Would all Babylonia be his without one single blow? It were a disgrace indeed, and the land was spared that final ignominy. When Cyrus reached the city of Upi the army of Accad opposed his advance,⁴⁷³ but whether Belshar-usur, who had commanded it, was now in the van does not appear. The opposition was in vain, and Cyrus drove it before him and moved southward resistlessly. Sippar was taken, without a blow, on the fourteenth day of Tairmuz, and Nabonidus fled. Two days later the van of the army of Cyrus entered Babylon, as the gates swung open without resistance⁴⁷⁴ to admit it. Cyrus himself was not in command, but had remained in the background while Ugbaru (Gobryas), governor of Gutium, led the advance. Nabonidus

was taken in the city, whither he had fled from Sippar.

The fall of Babylon in this fashion is one of the surprises of history. That a city which had bred warriors enough to rule the whole civilized world should at last lay down its arms and tamely submit--it is impossible, and yet it is true. Nay, more is true: Ugbaru had indeed entered the city without the use of force, but there is no word that his presence was welcome. He must surely have been received with many a surly look, with mutterings of hate, with ill-concealed disgust. But on the third day of Marcheshwan Cyrus held entry into the city. It was a triumphal entrance, and all Babylon greeted him with plaudits and hailed him as a deliverer. So fickle was the populace, so ready to say, "The king is dead; long live the king."

Babylon was now in the possession of an entirely new race of men. The Indo-Europeans, silent for centuries, had come at last to dominion. Nineveh, the greatest center for the pure Semitic stock, had fallen first; it was now Babylon's hour, and Babylon likewise was fallen. The fall of a city which had long wielded a power almost world-wide would at any period be a matter of great moment. But this fall of Babylon was even more than this. Babylon was now the representative city not merely of a world-wide power, it was the representative of Semitic power. The Semites had built the first empire of commanding rank in the world when Hammurabi conquered Sumer and Accad and made Babylon capital of several kingdoms at once. Out of this center had gone the colonists who had built another and, after a time, a great empire at Nineveh. For centuries two Semitic centers of power had vied with each other for the dominion of the world. Both had held it, each in his turn. For nearly a century Nineveh had been in the hands of another race, and the Semitic civilization had been supplanted there. Babylon had been made the center of a new world power by the Chaldean people, but they also were Semites. This branch of the Semitic people had had a short lease of power indeed. The power was now taken from them as the representatives of the Semitic race. Never from that hour until the age of Islam was a Semitic power to command a world-wide empire. The power of the Semite seemed hopelessly broken in that day, and that alone makes the peaceful fall of Babylon a momentous event.

But Babylon stood for more than mere Semitic power. It stood in a large sense for Semitic civilization. As has been so often pointed out before in these pages, Assyria represented far more than Babylonia the prowess of the Semite upon fields of battle. Babylon had stood for Semitic civilization, largely intermixed with many elements, yet Semitic after all. Here were the great libraries of the Semitic race. Here were the scholars who copied so painstakingly every little omen or legend that had come down to them out of the hoary past. Here were the men who calculated eclipses, watched the moon's changes, and looked nightly from observatories upon the stately march of constellations over the sky. Here were the priests who preserved knowledge of the ancient Sumerian language, that its sad plaints and solemn prayers might be kept for use in temple worship. Much of all this was worthy of preservation--if not for any large usefulness, certainly for its record of human progress upward. All this was now fallen into alien hands. Would it be preserved? Would it be ruthlessly or carelessly destroyed? The greatest thoughts of the Semitic mind and the greatest emotions of its heart were not, indeed, Babylonian, and even if they were, they could not die. Not for many centuries would the Semite be able to found another such center. It was indeed a solemn hour of human history.

The glory of Babylon is ended. The long procession of princes, priests, and kings has passed by. No city so vast had stood on the world before it. No city with a history so long has even yet appeared. From the beginnings of human history it had stood. It was in other hands now, and it would soon be a shapeless mass of ruins, standing alone in a sad, untilled desert.

APPENDIX A

LITERATURE

THE references given in footnotes indicate with sufficient clearness the bibliography of the subject, but for convenience of reference the titles of books dealing directly with the history are here assembled, accompanied by brief comments to facilitate their use.

1. EXCAVATIONS AND DECIPHERMENT

KAULEN, FR. Assyrien and Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen, 5th ed. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899.

[The account of excavations and discoveries is on pp. 18-41 and 74-150. It is well presented, but pays little attention to the work of early travelers, and takes but slight notice of the most recent work, except that of the University of Pennsylvania, which is well handled.]

HOMMEL, FR. Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyriens. Berlin, 1885.

[The sections relating to discovery and decipherment are on pp. 58-134, and are more detailed than those of Kaulen.]

EVETTS, B. T. A. New Light on the Holy Land. London, 1891. [Contains on pp. 79-129 a very useful narrative of discoveries and decipherment, with much attention to early travelers.]

DIENANT, JOACHIM. Les Langues perdues de la Perse et de l'Assyrie. Paris, 1885.

2. HISTORY

(a) *Babylonia and Assyria.*

HOMMEL, FR. Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyriens. Berlin, 1885. Articles on "Babylonia" and "Assyria," Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Hastings, vol. i. New York, 1898.

KING, LEONARD WILLIAM. Articles "Babylonia" and "Assyria" in Encyclopaedia Biblica, edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black, vol. i. New York, 1899. [Very valuable outlines of the

history, supplemented also by separate articles on important reigns, such as that of Assurbanapal.]

MUERDTER UND DELITZCH. Geschichte von Babylonien and Assyrien, 2. Aufl. Calw and Stuttgart, 1891.

ROGERS, ROBERT W. Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia. Leipzig, 1895. [Now largely replaced by the present work.]

SAYCE, A. H. A Primer of Assyriology. New York, 1895. [Useful introductory outline.]

SMITH, GEORGE. The History of Babylonia, edited and brought up to date by the Rev. A. H. Sayce. London and New York, 1895. [A brief and useful little book, but already needing revision. A similar volume by George Smith on Assyria, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh, has not been revised.]

TIELE, C. P. Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte. Gotha, 1886. [A work of great ability and distinction, and, though superseded in parts by more recent work, still indispensable for the advanced student.]

WINCKLER, HUGO. Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyriens. Leipzig, 1892. [An important book to be used in supplement of Tiele. Very suggestive.]

Die Volker Vorderasiens (Der Alte Orient, 1. Jahrgang, Heft 1). Leipzig, 1899.

Die Politische Entwicklung Babyloniens and Assyriens (Der Alte Orient, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 1). Leipzig, 1900. [Contains in but thirty-one pages an illuminating sketch of the development of Babylonian and Assyrian history.]

(b) *General Histories.*

The following books, while treating the history of Babylonia and Assyria only as part of the general history of the Orient, are, nevertheless, important as discussing phases of the history supplementary to the special histories, or as being written by Assyriologists who have given special emphasis to Assyria and Babylonia

HELMOLT, HANS F. Weltgeschichte. Leipzig, 1899. [Vol. iii, part 1, contains Das Alte West Asien, pp. 1-248, by Dr. Hugo Winckler, and is important not only because it is attractively written, but also because it sometimes gives a newer view of events than is given in the author's more detailed history mentioned above.]

HOMMEL, FR. Abriss der Geschichte des alten Orients bis auf die Zeit der Perserkriege (in Iwan v. Muller, Handbuch der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, Bd. iii), 2. Aufl. 1895.

-- Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes (Sammlung Goschen, No. 43). Stuttgart, 1895. Translated into English as: The Civilization of the East [Temple Primers]. London, 1900.

KRALL, JAKOB. Grundriss der Altorientalischen Geschichte. Erster Theil: Bis auf Kyros. Wien, 1899. [A valuable reference book, not so written as to be easily read.]

MASPERO, G. The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldoea. Edited by A. H. Sayce, translated by M. L. McClure. New York, 1894.

The Struggle of the Nations, Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Edited by A. H. Sayce, translated by M. L. McClure. New York, 1897.

The Passing of the Empires, 850 to 330 B. C. Edited by A. H. Sayce, translated by M. L. McClure. New York, 1900. [These three volumes supersede Professor Maspero's former treatises. They are magnificently illustrated, well translated, and are admirably supplied with references to the literature of every question relating to the history.]

MCCURDY, JAMES FREDERICK. History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, or Israel and the Nations. Vol. i. To the Downfall of Samaria. New York, 1894. Vol. i. To the Fall of Nineveh. New York, 1896. Vol. iii, completing the work, promised soon.

MEYER, EDUARD. Geschichte des Alterthums. I Band: Geschichte des Orients his zur Begrundung des Perserreiches. Stuttgart, 1884. H Band: Geschichte des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege. Stuttgart, 1893.

SAYCE, A. H. Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations. New York, 1899. [Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 199-264. This interesting sketch supplements Smith's History of Babylonia and Sayce's Primer of Assyriology.]

This list might be much extended if works of popular character were added to it. It is, however, intentionally restricted to works of scientific importance, based upon original sources.

For more extended bibliography of Babylonia and Assyria, comprising not merely the political history, but also religion, literature, and social life, the following books may be consulted:

BEZOLD, CARL. Kurzgefasster Ueberblick fiber die Babylonisch Assyrische Literatur. Leipzig, 1886.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Assyrian Grammar. London, 1889. (Litteratura, pp. 55 *-78.*)

JASTROW, MORRIS, JR. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Boston, 1898. (Bibliography, pp. 705-738.) [An exhaustive and accurate conspectus of the literature up to 1898.]

KAULEN, FR. Assyrien and Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen, 5th ed. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899. (Litteratur, pp. 284-304). [This bibliography is arranged chronologically, and is exceedingly valuable from 1620 to 1880, though many additions ought even in those years to be made. After 1880 it falls off very much in completeness, and extends only to 1889. It is a pity that recent editions should not have extended it.]

LINCKE, A. Bericht fiber die Fortschritte der Assyriologie in den Jahren 1886-1893. Leipzig, 1894.

The current bibliography is to be sought in the following:

American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Continuing Hebraica). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [This journal is published quarterly and contains an accurate and exhaustive bibliography by w. Muss-Arnolt.]

Orientalische Bibliographic, bearbeitet and herausgegeben von Dr. Lucian Scherman. Berlin. [Semiannual.]

Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung, herausgegeben von F. E. Peiser. Berlin. [Monthly. Contains a very valuable review of the journals and proceedings of learned societies. (*Aus gelehrten Gesellschaften and Zeitschriftensehau*).]

Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale. Publ. sous la dir. de J. Oppert, E. Ledrain et Leon Heuzey. Paris. [Appears at irregular intervals.]

Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie, and verwandte Gebrete, in verbindung mit J. Oppert in Paris, Eb. Schrader in Berlin, and anderen herausgegeben von Carl Bezold in Heidelberg. Berlin. [Quarterly.]

APPENDIX B

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB'S ARMY

THE following is the Egyptian tradition of the great pestilence as Herodotus has reproduced it:

"The next king, I was told, was a priest of Vulcan, called Sethos. This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of the Egyptians, as though he did not need their services. Among other indignities which he offered them he took from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior. Afterward, therefore, when Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors one and all refused to come to his aid. On this the monarch, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he

himself would send those who should help him. Sethos, then, relying on the dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans, and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, which commands the entrance into Egypt, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay here opposite one another there came in the night a multitude of field mice, which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the enemy and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they commenced their flight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day in the temple of Vulcan a stone statue of Sethos, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: ° Look on me and learn to reverence the gods."⁴⁷⁵

In explanation of this narrative it must be remembered that the mouse was a symbol of pestilence (1 Sam. vi, 5), and that Apollo, as the plague-dealer, is called Smintheus, mouse-god.

APPENDIX C

THE DEFENSES OF BABYLON

THE investigations of the last few years have thrown considerable light upon the walls of the city of Babylon, and the excavations already begun by the German expedition on the site⁴⁷⁶ are likely to set at rest some long-standing subjects of controversy. It is not the province of this book to discuss questions of topography, but the narrative of Nebuchadrezzar's elaborate reconstruction of the defenses of Babylon may perhaps be made more clear by a comparison with the two chief sources of our knowledge which are here given in translation.

The following is the description given by Herodotus:

"Assyria⁴⁷⁷ possesses a vast number of great cities, whereof the most renowned and strongest at this time was Babylon, whither, after the fall of Nineveh, the seat of government had been removed. The following is a description of the place: The city stands on a broad plain, and is an exact square, a hundred and twenty furlongs in length each way,⁴⁷⁸ so that the entire circuit is four hundred and eighty furlongs.⁴⁷⁹ while such is its size, in magnificence there is no other city that approaches it. It is surrounded, in the first place, by a broad and deep moat, full of water, behind which rises a wall fifty royal cubits in width and two hundred in height.⁴⁸⁰ (The royal cubit is longer by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.)

"And here I may not omit to tell the use to which the mold dug out of the great moat was turned, nor the manner wherein the wall was wrought. As fast as they dug the moat the soil which they got from the cutting was made into bricks, and when a sufficient number were completed they baked the bricks in kilns. Then they set to building, and began with bricking the borders of the moat, after which they proceeded to construct the wall itself, using throughout for their cement hot bitumen, and interposing a layer of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of the bricks. On the top, along the edges of the wall, they constructed buildings of a single chamber facing one another, leaving between them room for a four-horse chariot to turn. In the circuit of the wall are a hundred gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side posts. The bitumen used in the work was brought to Babylon from the Is, a small stream which flows into the Euphrates at the point where the city of the same name stands,⁴⁸¹ eight days' journey from Babylon. Lumps of bituman are found in great abundance in this river.

"The city is divided into two portions by the river which runs through the midst of it. This river is the Euphrates, a broad, deep, swift stream, which rises in Armenia and empties itself into the Erythraean Sea. The city wall is brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream; thence, from the corners of the wall, there is carried along each bank of the river a fence of burnt bricks. The houses are mostly three and four stories high; the streets all run in straight lines, not only those parallel to the river, but also the cross streets, which lead down to the water side. At the river end of these cross streets are low gates in the fence that skirts the stream, which are like the great gates in the outer wall, of brass, and open on the water.

"The outer wall is the main defense of the city. There is, however, a second inner ⁴⁸² wall, of less thickness than the first, but very little inferior to it in strength. The center of each division of the town was occupied by a fortress. In the one stood the palace of the kings, surrounded by a wall of great strength and size; in the other was the sacred precinct of Jupiter Belus, a square inclosure two furlongs each way, with gates of solid brass; which was also remaining in my time. In the middle of the precinct there was a tower of solid masonry, a furlong in length and breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about halfway up one finds a resting place and seats, where persons are wont to sit sometime on their way to the summit. On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side. There is no statue of any kind set up in the place, nor is the chamber occupied of nights by anyone but a single native woman, who, as the Chaldeans, the priests of this god, affirm, is chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women of the land."⁴⁸³

In addition to this description of the city's defenses Herodotus has also given an account of the supposed works of Semiramis and Nitocris,⁴⁸⁴ but this is much less valuable than the passage quoted above.

It is evident that Herodotus knew only of two walls, one of which had already disappeared in his day, and that he had no knowledge of the outer defense wall beyond Nimitti-Bel, which was begun by Nabopolassar and finished by Nebuchadrezzar. We should therefore have a false impression of the outer defense of the city were we wholly dependent on his witness. He has indeed obviously mingled what he saw by his own eyes with what he was told by his cicerone, and it is no longer possible to differentiate them clearly.⁴⁸⁵

The badly preserved fragments of Berossos⁴⁸⁶ show that he had originally written of a threefold defense wall of the city, and this is confirmed fully by the passages from the text of Nebuchadrezzar which follows. This is translated with as close adhesion to the original-as possible, in order to facilitate reference to the Babylonian text or to the transliterations of it, to which reference is given in the notes.

EAST INDIA HOUSE INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR.⁴⁸⁷

Col. IV.	66	Imgur-Bel
		and Nimitti-Bel

		the great ramparts of Babylon
		which Nabopolassar,
	70	king of Babylon, the father who begot me,
		had made, but not finished
		their erection;
Col. V.	1	their moat had he dug,
		and two strong embankments
		with bitumen and burnt
		brick he constructed as its border;
	5	the embankments of the Arakhtu
		he had made, and
		walls of brick
		along the bank of the Euphrates
		had constructed, and
	10	had not finished the rest;
		from Du-azag,
		the place of those that decide destinies,
		the shrine of the Fates,
	15	unto Ai-ibur-shabu,
		the street of Babylon,
		before the gate of Beltis,
		with . . . bricks,
		for the procession of the great lord Marduk

	20	he beautified the road.
		As for me, his firstborn son,
		the darling of his heart,
		Imgur-Bel
		and Nimitti-Bel,
	25	the great ramparts of Babylon,
		I finished;
		the sides of the embankment of its moat,
		the two strong embankments,
		with bitumen and burnt brick I built, and
	30	with the embankment, (which) my father had constructed,
		I joined (them), and
		the city, for defense,
		I carried (them) round.
		A wall of brick,
	35	on the western side
		the fortress of Babylon
		I threw around.
		Ai-ibur-shabu
		the street of Babylon
	40	for the procession of the great lord Marduk
		with a high top-covering
		I filled, and

		with . . . bricks
		and stone from the mountains,
	45	Ai-ibur-shabu
		From . . . gate
		to.....
		àà..
		for the procession of his godhead
	50	I made fair, and
		with what my father had built
		I joined (it), and
		I beautified
		the road
	55	àà
		àà
		Of Imgur-Bel
		and Nimitti-Bel
		the portals
	60	through the top-covering
		of the street of Babylon
		too low had become
		their entrances.
		These portals
		I tore down, and

Col. VI.	1	at water level their foundation
		with bitumen and brick
		I firmly laid, and
		with burnt brick and ., .
	5	of which bulls and huge serpents
		they make, the interior of them
		tastefully I constructed.
		Strong cedar beams
		for their roofing
	10	I laid over them.
		Doors of cedar
		(with) plating of copper;
		lintels and hinges (?),
		of bronze, round its gates
	15	I set up.
		Strong bulls of bronze,
		and great serpents,
		by their thresholds
		I set up: those portals
	20	for the astonishment of multitudes of people
		with beauty I adorned.
		In order that the battle-storm to Imgur-Bel
		the wall of Babylon, might not reach;

		what no king before me had done;
	25	for four thousand cubits of ground
		on the sides of Babylon
		far away, so that they should not come near,
		a mighty rampart on the east,
		Babylon I threw around.
	30	Its moat I dug, and the bank of it
		with bitumen and brick
		I bound together, and
		a mighty rampart on its bank
		mountain high I built.
	35	Its broad portals
		I constructed, and
		the doors of cedar, with plating of copper,
		I set up.
		That foes
	40	the sides of Babylon might not approach;
		great waters,
		like the volume of seas,
		I conducted round the land, and
		the crossing of them
	45	(was) like the crossing of the great sea,
		of salt water.

		A breaking forth of them
		in order not to permit,
		with a bank of earth
	50	I embanked them, and
		walls of burnt brick
		I placed around them.
		The defenses skillfully
		did I strengthen, and
	55	the city of Babylon
		I made fit for defense.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The date rests upon a statement in the inscriptions of Tialathpileser I. See above, vol. i, p. 326.

² There is a little inscription of Shamsbi-Adad II, published I R. 6, No. 1, and republished by Winckler, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, plate iii., No. 9, translated by Schrader in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, p. 2.

³ I R. 6, No. 2; Winckler, *ibid.*, No. 10.

⁴ Whatever may be thought of Esarhaddon's statements concerning Belbani there is at least evidence that a king of this name actually existed, for Scheil has found a tablet dated in the reign of Bel-bani and written in archaic Babylonian script (*Recueil de Travaux*, xix, p. 59).

⁵ It is quite probable that our ignorance of this period is due simply to the fact that excavations hitherto made in Assyria have been chiefly upon sites, such as Kuyunjik and Khorsabad, famous rather in the later than in the earlier periods of Assyrian history. When Kal'ah Shergat, the site of ancient Asshur, is explored we may perhaps be able to fill out some of the *lacunae* in the earliest times.

⁶ Hatshepsowet, Thutmosis II, and Thutmosis III reigned together from about 1516 to 1449. It was in the twenty-second year that the advance began upon Syria, Thutmosis III being then sole ruler of Egypt. See Petrie, *Mistory of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, 3d ed., 1899, and Steindorff, *Die Blidezeit des Pharaonen Reichs*. Leipzig, 1900.

⁷ Hommel (*Dictionary of Bible*, ed. Hastings, i, p. 180) places this tribute paying in the reign of Asshur-belnisbeshu or Puzur-Asshur, but this is scarcely probable. The question is purely chronological, and differences of opinion are particularly allowable.

⁸ The quotation is from the Annals of Thutmosis III. See translation in Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁹ Synchronistic Hist., col. i, lines 1-4, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 194, 195. See further above, vol. i, p. 414.

¹⁰ Col. i, lines 5-7.

¹¹ Amenophis IV ruled 1383-1365 B. C. (Petrie); according to Steindorff, 1392-1374.

¹² No letter of his to Egypt has been preserved, but Asshur-uballit mentions the correspondence. Letter No. 9, lines 19-21. in Winckler's edition. For translation see *Tell-el-Anzarna Letters*, part i, p. 31.

¹³ See above, vol. i, p. 419.

¹⁴ See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 234, 235, and compare Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 498.

¹⁵ Published by Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund van El-Amarna*, No. 9, translated in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, v, part 1, pp. 29, 30.

¹⁶ The official name of Amenophis IV, representing the Egyptian NEFERKHEPRU-RA.

¹⁷ IV R. 44, line 24; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, p. 7.

¹⁸ Synchronistic History, col. i, lines 5-7.

¹⁹ *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 2-5.

²⁰ Inscription of Adad-nirari I, col. i, lines 16-18.

²¹ It is, however, to be noted that Assyrian colonists were settled in distant countries at a very early date. The Kappadokian tablets would seem to show that Assyrians were settled near Kaisariyeh as early as 1400 B. C.

²² See *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iv, p. 347.

²³ Published IV R. p. 39, translated by Peiser in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 5, ff.

²⁴ Inscription of Adad-nirari, col. i, 3, 4.

²⁵ Synchronistic History, col. i, lines 24-31.

²⁶ Scheil, *Recueil*, xix, p. 46.

²⁷ Published I R. 6, No. Iv., translated by Schrader, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 8, 9. The second is published by Lenormant, *Choix de textes*, p. 170, No. 73, and by Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, p. 313, and plate No. 7.

²⁸ Especially by Assurnazirpal (I R. 28, and III R. 4, No. 1). See Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossaer*, pp. 10, ff.; Hommel, *Geschichte*, pp. 437, ff.

²⁹ See above, vol. i, pp. 297, 298.

³⁰ These facts come from a thirteen-line fragmentary inscription of Sennacherib 111, R. 4, No. 2, translated by Smith, *Records of the Past*, First Series, v, pp. 85, 86. Comp. Bezold, *Uebersicht*, pp. 15, 16. See above, vol. i, pp. 325, 326.

³¹ P., col. iv, 12.

³² This is Winckler's solution of the difficulty. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 136.

³³ Prism inscription of Tiglathpileser I, col. vii, line 54.

³⁴ He is mentioned by Tiglathpileser I (Prism inscription, col. vii, lines 45-18) and has left us a brief inscription (George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 142, 251).

³⁵ *Annals of Tiglathpileser*, vii, 42-44, published I R. 15.

³⁶ The chief source of knowledge of the reign of Tiglathpileser is found in the eight-sided prism, four copies of which were found at Kalah Shergat, two in excellent preservation and two in fragments. The text is substantially the same in all the copies and is published I R. 9-16, and in Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, i, plates 1-25. It is transliterated and translated in Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I*, Leipzig, 1880, and also by Winckler, in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 14-47. There is an English translation by Professor Sayce, with useful geographical notes, in *Records of the Past*, New Series, i, 92-121. This was the text used by the Royal Asiatic Society to demonstrate the correctness of the method of decipherment. See above, vol. i, pp. 194-197. Besides this fine prism there have also been preserved some fragmentary annals of the first ten years of his reign erroneously ascribed originally to Asshur-ish-ishi and published III R. 5, Nos. 1-6, and by Winckler, *Sammlung*, pp. 26-29. Notes upon portions of them are given by Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 194, and by Bruno Messnier, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix, pp. 101, ff. The names and titles of the king are given in two brief texts found at the so-called grotto of Sebeneh-Su (III R. 4, No. 6; Schrader, *Die Keilschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte des Sebeneh-Su*, Berlin, 1885; Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 48, 49), and at Kalah Shergat (I R. 6, No. V; Winckler, *Sammlung*, p. 81).

[37](#) I R. 9, 1-14.

[38](#) Herodotus, iii, 94; vii, 78.

[39](#) Gen. x, 2; Ezek, xxvii, 13; xxxviii, 2.

[40](#) Tiglathpileser Prism inscription, i, 62-88. The phrase quoted is in line 79. Translation in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, p. 19.

[41](#) "A land eastward of Diarbekir, along the northern bank of the Tigris," so Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. i, p. 96, note 3.

[42](#) The figure belongs to the annals of Tiglathpileser.

[43](#) Tiglathpileser, col. iii, i, 34-35.

[44](#) *Ibid.*, lines 36-38.

[45](#) Tiele (*Geschichte*, p. 159, Anm. 2) has joined Kbaria with Lullume, but on insufficient grounds. Streck (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xiv, 160, 161) would locate it in the mountains of Bohtan, east of Birkhu, and this, seems to fit the general situation well.

[46](#) See the admirable collection of references to this territory in Streck, K., *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaft Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xiii, pp. 67, ff.

[47](#) Tiglathpileser, iv, 43; v, 21.

[48](#) Dayaeni, known in the Chaldian inscriptions as the kingdom "of the son of Diaus," is located along the Murad-chai near Melasgerd. See Sayce, "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiv, p. 399; *Records of the Past*, New Series, i, p. 106, footnote 6.

[49](#) This land lay in the northwest, beyond the Euphrates, and extended southward from about Malatiyeh toward the Mediterranean. Its conquest introduced Tiglathpileser to the plains of Syria.

[50](#) Qumani is the district Comana in Cataonia (Delattre, *L'Asie occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, pp. 65, 66).

[51](#) The location of the Upper Sea is still an undecided problem. It is identified with the Black Sea (Eduard Meyer, Tiele), with Lake Van (Schrader, Sayce), with the Gulf of Issus (George Rawlinson, Hommel), and with the Caspian (Menant).

[52](#) Col. ii, lines 14-24.

[53](#) Tiglathpileser VII, 1-35 (thereby imitating Thutmosis III).

[54](#) I R. 28, 2. Comp. translation by Peiser, in *Keilinschrift. Bibl*, i, 124. While sailing the king slew a *nakhiru*, but we do not know what the word signifies. Sayce suggests "dolphin." *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, p. 218.

[55](#) This follows from an inscription of Asshur-bel-kala which was found at Kuyunjik--that is, Nineveh--which comes from a *palace* of the king. It is published I R. 6, No. V, and republished more correctly, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1892, and again translated by S. A. Strong, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, pp. 76-79.

[56](#) So Professor Sayce, *ibid.*, p. 78, footnote.

[57](#) King List A, col. iii.

[58](#) Chronicle B, 1.

[59](#) Babylonian Chronicle V., lines 2 and 3.

[60](#) Inscription of Nabu-apal-Iddin, col. i. See translation by Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, p. 177.

[61](#) Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 113.

[62](#) The whole question of this king's personality and date is exceedingly obscure. If he is the first king of the eighth dynasty, he must have reigned for thirty-six years, for that numeral appears clearly in Knudtzon's copy in place of the thirteen years previously given. (Comp. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, i, 60, with Schrader in *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Ak. der Wiss.*, 1887, pp. 579-607, 947-951.) Of his name there is no doubt, for he is mentioned on the curious boundary stone of Ninib.kudurusur (British Museum, No. 102), published by Belser, *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, ii, 171, ff. As Peiser has correctly pointed out in his translation (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv, 82, ff.), the stone has on it writing of different dates, and this, of course, adds to the difficulty. Peiser's difficulty about the number of years of reign assigned to Nabu-ukin-abli is removed if the incorrect 13 of the older publications of the King List be corrected into 36, in accordance with Knudtzon's excellent copy.

[63](#) Nun. xxii, 5; Deut. xxiii, 4.

[64](#) I See a fresh and vigorous statement of the Canaanite situation in Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 11, pp. 33-38.

[65](#) Assurnazirpal III in his hunting inscription (col. ii, lines 4, ff.) alludes to Erba-Adad and Asshur-nakin-akhe. See the translations by Peiser in *Keilinschrift, Bibl*, i, p. 127.

- ⁶⁶ Shalmaneser, *Monolith*, ii, 37. On this text comp. especially Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 22, 23, footnote 6, and *Geschichte*, p. 332, note 38 (to page 181).
- ⁶⁷ Shalmaneser, Balawat, ii, 3. Comp. also Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 22, 23 footnote 6.
- ⁶⁸ No inscription of Tiglathpileser II has been preserved, and we owe these facts to the inscription of Adad-nirari II (*Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 311; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 48, 49).
- ⁶⁹ See the same inscription of Adad-nirari II.
- ⁷⁰ Published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 311, and translated by him in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 48, 49.
- ⁷¹ This fine monolith, discovered by Layard at Nimroud, was first published by him (*Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, plates 1-11) in a very fragmentary manner. It is republished I R. 17-26. The first English translation by Rodwell (*Records of the Past*, First Series, pp. 37-80) is well supplanted by the new translation by Sayce, with numerous valuable Reographical and historical notes (*Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, pp. 128-177). There is a very valuable translation of col. i, lines 1-99, with notes, by Lhotzky (*Die Annalen Assurnazirpal's*, Munchen, 1884), but this was unfortunately never carried further. The entire text is translated by Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, 1, pp. 50-119.
- ⁷² The most important of the lesser inscriptions are the following: (a) III R. 4, No. 8, translated by Peiser, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 122, 123; (b) I R. 91. A hunting inscription to which belongs also III R. 4, No. 1 (comp. Delitzsch, *Die Kossaer*, p. 10), translated by Peiser, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 122-129.
- ⁷³ So Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, p. 138, note 2. Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 14, footnote 1) would localize it still more closely in the "cazas of Varto and Boulanik in the sandjak of Mush." Its capital, Gubbe (Sayce reads Libe), he would provisionally identify with Gop (Vital Quinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, pp. 588, 589).
- ⁷⁴ There is much dispute about the location of the Kurruri. The narrative of Assurnazirpal's progress makes it plain that they were close to the Numme, or Nimme. Delattre (*Encore un mot sur la Geographie Ass.*, p. 10, note 4) is therefore certainly wrong in locating them near the sources of the Tigris. See, further, Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, pp. 16, ff.
- ⁷⁵ Billerbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 20, f., and comp. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 15, footnote.
- ⁷⁶ Annals of Assurnazirpal, i, 42-69, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 59, ff.; *Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, pp. 188, ff.
- ⁷⁷ The location is certain. See Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2d ed., i, p. 205, and ii, p. 84, and Hommel, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien*, pp. 557, 558. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 230-242) found the

remains of a palace on the site, which had been decorated with has reliefs and guarded with lions and winged bulls.

[78](#) Assurnazirpal I, 81.

[79](#) The possession of so much wealth and of so many artistic objects is an instructive commentary upon the age and extent of this civilization.

[80](#) Their territory lay along the Euphrates and probably a little to the south of the Suru.

[81](#) Sayce (*Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, p. 144, note 2) doubtfully suggests that Khindanu may be "the Giddan of classical geography, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates."

[82](#) Or Khalzi-dipkha. Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 19, note 2) would locate it in the district of Severek.

[83](#) So Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, p. 146, note 1.

[84](#) Site uncertain. Rawlinson ("Assyrian Discovery," *The Athenaeum*, 1868, vol. i, p. 228) would locate it at Kurkh, near the Tigris, east of Diarbekir. At this place was found a monolith of Assurnazirpal, and this proves that he was in some way identified with the place. There is, however, no real proof that it was Tuskha.

[85](#) The location of the Zamua is easily determined. See Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, pp. 18, 39, ff., etc.

[86](#) Assurnazirpal, ii, 23-49. See translations by Sayce, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, ff., and by Peiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, ff.

[87](#) The location is quite unknown. Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 26, note 1) would identify it with the modern Kerkuk. Billerbeck (*Das Sandschak*, etc., p. 36) would place it farther to the southeast, "west of Segirme and Chalchalan-dagh."

[88](#) Annals, col. ii, line 49, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 78, 79.

[89](#) Rassam in making excavations at Abu Habba found a piece of asphalt pavement, beneath which "an inscribed earthenware casket, with a lid, was discovered. . .about three feet below the surface. Inside it was a stone tablet eleven and one half inches long by seven inches wide" (Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 402). It is inscribed minutely on both sides with three columns of writing, and on the obverse at the top is a small bas-relief representing religious ceremonies before the figure of the sun god (see illustrations in Rassam, *ibid.*, or in Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 596). Pinches announced its discovery (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iii, pp. 109, ff.), and later published part of it (*ibid.*, viii, pp. 164, ff.). The entire text is published V R. 60, 61, and it is translated by Job. Jeremias, *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, i, 268, ff., and by Peiser, *Keillinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 1, pp. 174, ff.

[90](#) There is no indication of the location of either of these Assyrian strongholds. Maspero (*The Passing of the*

Empires, p. 30, note 4) has this suggestion to make: "A study of the map shows that the Assyrians could not become masters of the country without occupying the passes of the Euphrates; I am inclined to think that Kar-Assur-nazir-pal is El-Zalebiyeh, and Nibarti-assur, Zalebiyeh, the Zenobia of Roman times. For the ruins of these towns, compare Sachau, *Reise in Syrien and Mesop.*, pp. 266-269, and Peters, *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, vol. i, pp. 109-114."

⁹¹ Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 30, note 5) makes this definite statement: "Bit-Adini appears to have occupied, on the right bank of the Euphrates, a part of the cazas of Ain Tab, Rum-Kaleh, and Birejik, that of Suruji, minus the Nakhiyeh of Harra,n, the larger part of the cazas of Membij and of Rakkah, and part of the Gaza of Mr, the cazas being those represented on the maps of Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. ii."

⁹² Assurnazirpal (col. iii, line 51, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, p. 103) picturesquely describes Kap-rabi thus: "The city was very strong, like a cloud suspended from heaven."

⁹³ On the eighth day of Iyyar (col. iii, line 56).

⁹⁴ Carchemish stood on the west bank of the Euphrates, above the mouth of the Sajur. The modern name is variously given by different travelers as Jerablus (Skene, Wilson, Sayce) or Jerabis (Sachau, Schrader, Delitzsch). The latter is preferable.

⁹⁵ See Schrader, *Keilinschriften uucl Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 214-221, and Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 3, ff.

⁹⁶ "Twenty talents of silver, one talent of gold, one hundred talents of lead, one hundred talents of iron, one thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep, one thousand garments, variegated and linen . . . as his tribute I received." Assurnazirpal, col. iii, 73-77 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 106, 107).

⁹⁷ The exact location of Aribua has not been found (Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, p. 5).

⁹⁸ In Assurnazirpal's account three cities are mentioned: Makhallat, Maiz, and Kaiz (Annals, col. iii, 86). Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 282) makes it probable that these three formed Tripolis, and Sayce apparently agrees (*Records of the Past*, New Series, ii, p. 172, note 1).

⁹⁹ Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, i, pp. 62, ff. See picture and plan in Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, pp. 222, ff.

¹⁰⁰ Monolith inscription, i, 5-9, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 118, 119. For the modern remains see Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, i, pp. 80, 81; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 525-527.

¹⁰¹ Black Obelisk, text published in Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Characters*, 87-98. It has often been translated in whole or part. The best of the recent translations are by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 128-151, and by Scheil, *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv, pp. 39, sqq., the latter with numerous corrections by Sayce.

[102](#) III R. 7, 8, translations by Craig, *Hebraica*, iii, 1887; Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, vol. i, pp. 150-175; and Scheil, *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv, pp. 55, sqq.

[103](#) The gate inscriptions were secured in the mounds of Balawat by Hormuzd Rassam in 1877. They have been published and translated by Pinches in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii, pp. 83, sqq., and by Amiaud et Scheil, *Inscriptions de Salmanasar I*, Paris, 1890, and also *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv, pp. 74, sqq.

[104](#) Obelisk, lines 26-32, 32-35, 35-45. Monolith i, 12-29; ii, 1-13, 1330, 30-35.

[105](#) Que is that part of Cilicia between the Amanus and the mountains of the Ketis (see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 238-242). Winckler's conjecture (*Alttestament Uvctemuchungen*, pp. 168, ff.), which would place it in 1 Kings x, 28, is almost certainly correct. See further Benzinger and Kittel on the passage.

[106](#) Monolith inscription ii, lines 78-102. The parallel passage in the Qbelisk inscription (lines 64-66) is brief and colorless. See Rogers, "Assyria's First Contact with Israel," *Methodist Review*, March-April, 1896, pp. 207-222.

[107](#) Its exact location is unknown. Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 70, note 4) suggests that it "corresponds to the present Kalaat-el-Mudiq, the ancient Apamaea of Lebanon."

[108](#) Col. ii, lines 97 and 98.

[109](#) Obelisk, lines 66, 66.

[110](#) Bull inscription, No. 1, line 18. On these discrepancies see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 47.

[111](#) The abrupt ending of the Monolith narrative is significant.

[112](#) 2 Kings viii, 7-15.

[113](#) Deut. iii, 9, comp. Driver on the passage, and Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, p. 41.

[114](#) Obelisk, lines 97-99 and Fragmentary Text, III R. 6, No. 6, 40-66. See translations by Rogers, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221.

[115](#) Obelisk, lines 102-104

[116](#) The date is certain. It is correctly given as 860 by Tiele, *Geschichte*, i, p. 187, but erroneously as 858 by Scheil, *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv, p. 56, note 3.

[117](#) Incorrectly given as 856 by Scheil, *ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 63, note 1.

- [118](#) Obelisk, lines 35-45; Monolith, ii, 30-66.
- [119](#) Obelisk, lines 85-87.
- [120](#) Obelisk, lines 141-146.
- [121](#) Obelisk, lines 174-190.
- [122](#) Obelisk, line 9.
- [123](#) Yanzu is used in the Assyrian texts as a proper name, but Delitzsch (*Lie Sprache der Kossaer*, pp. 25, 29-38) has shown that it is the title of kings in the Kossaeen dialects.
- [124](#) Obelisk, lines 93-97.
- [125](#) Obelisk, lines 110-126.
- [126](#) It is called Minni in Jer. li, 27. See especially Sayce, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, xiv, pp. 388-400, and Belek, "*Das Reich der Mannoeer*," in the *Verhandlungen der Berl. anthrolog. Gesellschaft*, 1896, p. 480.
- [127](#) Obelisk, lines 159-174.
- [128](#) Obelisk, lines 174-190.
- [129](#) Synchronistic History, col. iii, 22-25.
- [130](#) Synchronistic History, col. iii, 25-iv, 14; Obelisk, lines 73-84; Balawat, iv, i-vi, 8.
- [131](#) Inscription of Shamshi-Adad (I R. 29-31), col. i, 39-53. See translation by Abel in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 174-187.
- [132](#) Inscription of Shamshi-Adad (I R. 29-31), col. ii, 7-15.
- [133](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 16-34.
- [134](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 34-iii, 24.
- [135](#) *Ibid.*, col. iv, 1-24.

[136](#) "The land of Omri" is the usual Assyrian expression for the land of Israel, during a long period. Omri made so deep an impression upon his neighbors that his country was named after him.

[137](#) I R. 35, No. 2, Abel-Winckler, *Neilschrifttexte*, p. 14. Two specimens of the Nabu statue with the same inscription are in the British Museum.

[138](#) Tiele (*Geschichte*, pp. 212, 213) holds Sammuramat to be the mother rather than the wife, and Hommel (*Geschichte*, pp. 630, ff.) follows this view, giving his reasons for its holding. On the other hand, Winckler (*Geschichte*, p. 120, 1) holds to the view that she was the king's wife.

[139](#) *æ*, Ptol. vi, 1, 2.

[140](#) Annals, lines 19; clay tablet, line 26 (II R. 67).

[141](#) The chief inscription material of the reign of Tiglathpileser III is the following: (a) The Annals, badly defaced by Esarhaddon, the most legible portions of which are published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Char.*, plates 34a, etc., and afterward much more accurately by Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*, vol. ii, plates i-xviii. He has also carefully arranged and translated them into German, *ibid.*, i, pp. 2-41. (b) The Slabs of Nimroud, published first by Layard, *op. cit.*, plates 17, 18, and Rost, i, plates xxix-xxxiii. They are well translated by Rost, i, pp. 42-53, and by Schrader, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 2-9. (c) The clay tablets are as follows: 1. British Museum, K. 3751, published II R. 67, and Rost, ii, plates xxxv-xxxviii, and translated by him, i, pp. 54-77. 2. British Museum, DT. 3, a duplicate of B. 3751, published by Schrader, *Abh. Preuss. Ak. d. W.*, 1879, No. viii, plate i and accompanying photograph, and also by Rost, ii, plate xxxiv. There is an English translation of K. 3751 by S. Arthur Strong in *Records of the Past*, New Series, v, pp. 115, ff. (d) The smaller inscriptions, which contain simply lists of places conquered, are: 1. III R. 10, No. 2, and Rost, ii, plate xxvii, translated i, pp. 84, 85, and 2. British Museum, B. 2649, Rost, ii, plate xxiv, C., transliterated i, p. 86.

[142](#) Some Assyriologists (for example, Tiele, *Geschichte*, pp. 217, 218; Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*, i, pp. 13, 14) have held that Tiglathpileser was considered an enemy, but the expressions in his texts seem to me to point to a pacific reception. So also Hommel (*Geschichte*, pp. 651, 652) and Winckler (*Geschichte*, pp. 121-123, 222, 223).

[143](#) Annals, lines 1-25; clay tablet, 1-13.

[144](#) Comp. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III* (Leipzig, 1893), i, p. 7, note 1.

[145](#) Annals, line 36.

[146](#) Annals, lines 26-55.

[147](#) Annals, lines 157, ff.

[148](#) See the great historical inscription of Argistis, translated by Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iv,

pp. 117, ff.

[149](#) Annals, lines 59-73. See Rost, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 12-15, and, for the parallel accounts, also pp. 50-53, and 66-69.

[150](#) See above, pp. 78-80.

[151](#) See p. 83.

[152](#) Sarduris was not strong enough to leave his mountain passes. His relation to all these attacks of the Assyrians has been finely treated in detail by Belek and Lehmann ("Chaldische Forschungen" in *Verhandlungen der Berl. anthrop. Gesell.*, 1896, pp. 326-336).

[153](#) Comp. Toxkins (*Bab. and Orient. Record*, iii, 6) for identification of Ungi with Amq, and see Rost (*Tiglathpileser*, i, p. xxi, note 1) for the extent of Unqi.

[154](#) Annals, lines 92-101.

[155](#) Kings xv, 19, 20.

[156](#) Isa. x, 9, and Amos vi, 2. The exact location is unknown.

[157](#) Annals, lines 134-160.

[158](#) The inscription material for this campaign is badly preserved. The chief source is III R. No. 2, lines 5-11. See, for valuable discussion of the order of the campaign, Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, i, pp. xxviii, ff.

[159](#) 2 Kings xvi, 10, and comp. 2 Kings xxiii, 12. (There is a textual difficulty in the latter passage. See Benzinger, *Commentar*, on the verse.)

[160](#) 2 Kings xvi, 6.

[161](#) 2 Kings xvi, 7, ff.

[162](#) 2 Kings xv, 29.

[163](#) 2 Kings xv, 30.

[164](#) 2 Kings xvi, 9. A broken tablet alluding to the death of Rezin was discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson ("Assyrian Discovery," *Athenaeum*, 1862, ii, p. 246), but it has since disappeared.

[165](#) See above, vol. i, pp. 333, 345.

[166](#) II R. 67, lines 16-17.

[167](#) *Ibid.*, lines 19-22.

[168](#) *Ibid.*, lines 22-26.

[169](#) II R. 67, lines 26-28.

[170](#) Eponym Canon. See *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, i, pp. 514, 215. The last Assyrian king who had taken the hands of Marduk was Tukulti-Ninib, about 1290 B. C. See above, page 14.

[171](#) Babylonian Chronicle, col. i, line 24; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 276, 277.

[172](#) Babylonian Chronicle, i, 27.

[173](#) The only records of the reign are, 1. A weight with the king's name and legend in Assyrian and Aramwan, published by Norris in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvi (1856), p. 220, No. 5. Translations are given in Schrader, *Cuneiform Ins. and the O. T.*, i, 127, ff., and by the same in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, p. 33. 2. A contract tablet in the British Museum (K. 407), translated by Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, p, 109, 3.

[174](#) Ezek. xlvi, 16. Halevy would identify Sibraim with the biblical Sepharvaim.

[175](#) In the Massoretic text of 2 Kings xvii, 4, the ally of Hoshea is called So (ס), but the word ought probably be punctuated Sewe (סו). In the inscriptions of Sargon he is called Shabi, and was formerly identified with Shabaka (so Oppert and Rawlinson). Stade was the first to suggest that he was one of the Delta kings, and Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 92-94, 106-108) produced strong arguments in its favor. He has, however, latterly changed his mind and considers him a general of the north Arabian land of Musri (*Mittheilungen der Vorderas. Gesell.*, 1898, i, p. 6). The argument seems to me insufficient. Winckler's suggestions concerning Musri are exceedingly fruitful, and many are undoubtedly correct, but he has carried the matter too far in attempting to eliminate Egypt almost entirely and supplant it with Musri.

[176](#) Kings xviii, 9, 10.

[177](#) Josephus, ix, 14, 2. Comp. Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 333, note 51.

[178](#) The death of Shalmaneser Iv took place in 722, which became Sargon's accession year; but the Assyrians counted 721 as the first year of his reign, full years only being counted.

[179](#) The following are the chief inscriptions of Sargon's reign: (a) The *Annals*, published first by Botta, *Le Monument de Ninive*, plates 63-92, 105-120, 155-160, and with corrections and amendments by Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, ii. They are translated into English by Jules Oppert, *Records of the Past*, First Series, viii, pp. 21-56, but this version is now somewhat antiquated. There is a good German translation by Winckler, *op.*

cit., i, pp. 2-95. The Annals have come down to us in four recensions, in a fragmentary condition, and the relations between the recension and between parts of the fragments are sometimes obscure. For details Winckler must be consulted, but allusions to some of the problems will be found below. (b) *General Inscription* (*Inscription des Fastes, Prunk Inschrift*), published by Botta, *op. cit.*, plates 93-104, 121-154, 181, and by Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii, plates 30-36, and translated by him, *ibid.*, i, pp. 96-135, and into English by Oppert, "The Great Inscription in the Palace of Khorsabad," in the *Records of the Past*, First Series, iv, pp. 1-20. (c) *The Inscriptions on the Gateway Pavement*, published by Botta, *op. cit.*, plates 1-21, and by Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii, plates 36-40, and translated by him, i, pp. 136-163, (d) *Inscription on the Back of the Slabs*, published by Botta, *op. cit.*, plates 184, ff., and by Winckler, *op. cit.*, ii, plate 40, and translated by him, i, pp. 164-167. (e) *Nimroud Inscription*, published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, plates 33, 34, and translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 168-173, and by Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 34-39. (f) *The Stele Inscription*, published III R. 11, and translated (in part) by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-185. (g) *Bull Inscription*, published by Botta, *op. cit.*, plates 22-62, and by Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, plates 13-19, and translated by him, pp. 40-47. (h) *Cylinder Inscription*, published I R. 36, and by Lyon, *op. cit.*, plates 1-12, and translated by him, pp. 30-39.

[180](#) "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria" (2 Kings xvii, 6). It is to be noted that in verses 4 and 5 the same phrase, "king of Assyria," is used, applying there to Shalmaneser IV, and no hint is given that a change of rulers had taken place. Comp. Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 193.

[181](#) See above, p. 75, ff.

[182](#) See above, p. 135.

[183](#) Babylonian Chronicle, col. i, line 32. *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, 276, 277. Sargon succeeded to the throne about three months earlier.

[184](#) Annals, lines 18-23. These lines are badly broken, and it is difficult to make much of them. In the Cylinder inscription (line 17, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 40, 41, Sargon thus speaks of himself: "The brave hero who met Khumbanigash of Elam at Durilu and accomplished his defeat." On the other hand, the Babylonian Chronicle (col. i, lines 33, 34, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 276, 277) asserts that Khumbanigash was victorious over Sargon.

[185](#) He is named Ya'ubi'di in the General Inscription, 33 (Winckler, *Die Keilsekrifttexte Sargon's I*, pp. 102, 103), and Nimroud, 8 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 36, 37). He is called Ilubidi in the Annals (line 23, Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 6, 7).

[186](#) Annals, lines 27-31 (Winckler, *op. cit.* i, pp. 6, 7). Comp. General Inscription, lines 25, 26 (Winckler, *ibid.*, pp. 100, 101).

[187](#) Zikirtu (or Zikirtu) are to be identified with the Sagartians (Herodotus, i, cxxv).

[188](#) Annals, lines 32-39 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9).

- [189](#) Annals, lines 40-41 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 8, 9).
- [190](#) Tun is probably Tyana, the modern Biz Hisar, at the northern foot of the Taurus, in southern Kappadokia.
- [191](#) Annals, lines 42-45 (Winckler, *ibid.*).
- [192](#) "Shar mat Bhatti," Nimroud, line 10, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 38, 39.
- [193](#) Annals, lines 46-50 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 10, 11).
- [194](#) Annals, lines 50-52 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 10, 11).
- [195](#) Ezra iv, 3; Ecclus. i, 25, 26; Luke ix, 52, 53; John iv, 9.
- [196](#) He is called Rusa in Sargon's Annals, lines 58 and 75 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13, 16, 17). This is Rusas I of Chaldia. See Belck and Lehmann, "Ein Neuer Herrscher von Chaldia," *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ix, 82, ff., 339, ff.
- [197](#) Annals, lines 58, 59 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 12, 13).
- [198](#) Annals, lines 60, 61, General Inscription, 41 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13, 104, 105).
- [199](#) Annals, lines 55-57.
- [200](#) Annals, line 58.
- [201](#) Annals, lines 59, 60.
- [202](#) Annals, line 58.
- [203](#) Annals, lines 61-64.
- [204](#) Annals, line 74 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 16, 17).
- [205](#) Annals, lines 74-77.
- [206](#) Annals, lines 78.
- [207](#) Annals, lines 83-89; General Inscription, lines 64-67 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 60, 61). A comparison of these two passages shows a discrepancy in the figures, the former giving the number of Median princes at twenty-two, the latter thirty-four.

[208](#) Annals, lines 92-94, 100.

[209](#) See Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographic Arabiens*, ii, 261, 2; and comp. Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 243.

[210](#) Annals, lines 97-99.

[211](#) Sargon's historian (Annals, line 109, Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 22, 23) says of Rusas, "He mounted a mare and fled into his mountains." Flight upon a mare's back made him an object of ridicule.

[212](#) Annals, lines, 123-133; General Inscription, lines 72-76.

[213](#) Annals, line 139.

[214](#) In Annals, line 168, he is called Ambaridi, but in line 176 Ambaris.

[215](#) General Inscription, line 30.

[216](#) Annals, lines 175-178.

[217](#) Annals, lines 183-187; General Inscription, lines 79-81.

[218](#) Annals, lines 194, 195.

[219](#) Annals, line 189.

[220](#) The variation Yaman, Yatnani, is the same as that found in the name of the island of Cyprus and the Cypriotes. It is therefore natural to suppose that Yaman here is a race, rather than a personal name, the leader being a Greek mercenary from Cyprus (so Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's I*, xxx, note 2). Winckler has, however, since come to think that this man was an Arab, a man from Yemen (Musri *Meluhha, Ma'in*, p. 26, note 1). The former view is preferable.

[221](#) Isa. xx, 1.

[222](#) Annals, lines 215-217; General Inscription, 90-110.

[223](#) Annals, lines 359-364, Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 58-61.

[224](#) Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, i, p. xxxii.

- [225](#) Annals, lines 264-271 and 271-277.
- [226](#) So the Assyrians write the name, which in Elmaite is Shutrük-nakhunta.
- [227](#) Annals, lines 289-294.
- [228](#) Annals, lines 294-296.
- [229](#) Annals, lines 299-300.
- [230](#) Annals, lines 302-304.
- [231](#) Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 127.
- [232](#) Annals, lines 347-359.
- [233](#) Annals, lines 366, 367, 369.
- [234](#) Annals, lines 371-373; General Inscription, lines 150-153.
- [235](#) Annals, lines 383-388; General Inscription, lines 145, 146; Stele, col. ii.
- [236](#) Annals, lines 392-401; General Inscription, lines 113-117. See page 176, above.
- [237](#) Annals, lines 402-413, Winckler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 68-71; General Inscription, lines 117, 121, *ibid.*, pp. 118-121.
- [238](#) II R. 69, d.
- [239](#) II R. 69, d. See Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, i, p. xiv.
- [240](#) The principal authorities for the reign of Sennacherib are: (a) The Taylor Prism (usually called Cylinder), published I R. i, 37-42, and also Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 17-21. It has been translated into German by Horning, *Das Sechseitige Prisma des Sanherib in transscribirtem Grundtext and Uebersetzung*, and by Bezold, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 80, ff., and into English by Rogers, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, pp. 83-101. (b) The Bellino Cylinder, British Museum, K. 1680, a kind of duplicate of the former, published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, plates 63, 64. Portions of it are translated into German by Bezold (see above) and into English by Fox Talbot, *Records of the Past*, First Series, i, pp. 23-32. (c) The Bavian Stele, published III R. 14, translated into French by Pognon, *L'Inscription de Bavian, Texte, traduction et commentaire philologique*, Paris, 1879-80, and into English by Pinches, *Records of the Past*, First Series, ix, pp. 21-28. (d) The Neby Yunus Inscription, published I R. 43, and partially translated by Bezold, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 118, 119.

[241](#) See above, vol. i, p. 334.

[242](#) See Pinches, "The Babylonian Kings of the Second Period," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vi, col. iv, line 13.

[243](#) 2 Kings xx, 12-19. There has been some doubt as to the time when this embassy was sent. It has been assigned to the first reign of Merodach-baladan under Sargon (so Lenormant, pommel, *Geschichte*, p. 704; Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, i, 1). xxxi, note 2), and also to his second reign (so Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, ii, 28, 29; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i, p. 466; Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 129; Miirdter-Delitzsch, *Geschichte*, 2d ed., p. 197; Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 276. The latter view seems to me to fit the Assyrian situation better.

[244](#) Taylor Prism, col. i, lines 19-23, Rogers, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, p. 84.

[245](#) K. 1644. See Bezold, *Neilinschrift*. Bibl., ii, p. 84.

[246](#) Taylor Prism, i, lines 34, 35.

[247](#) Alexander Polybistor says *six* months.

[248](#) The Taylor Cylinder, Annals of Sennacherib, i, 19-62 (1 R. 37). Comp. translation by Rogers, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, pp. 83, ff.

[249](#) Taylor Prism, i, 63 to ii, 33, Rowers, *op. cit.*, vi, pp. 86-88.

[250](#) 2 Kings xviii, 8.

[251](#) 2 Kings xx, 20. Comp. 2 Chron. xxxii, 5.

[252](#) See Isa. xxx, 1-4, and xxxi, 1.

[253](#) Our authorities for Sennacherib's campaign in the west are the following: 1. Assyrian. (a) I R. 7, No. viii, I. Rogers, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, p. 83. Sennachcrib's bas-relief, representing his victory at Lachish. (b) The Taylor Prism, col. ii, line 34-col. iii, line 41. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-91. 2. Hebrew. (a) 2 Kings xviii, 13-19, 37. (b) Isa. xxxvi, 1-xxxvii, 37. The passage in Isaiah is the same as that in Kings, with the single great exception that it does not contain 2 Kings xviii, 14-16—a positive proof that this passage is not original in its present setting. Stade has shown (*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 172, ff.) that it consists of three narratives, the first of which is 2 Kings xviii, 13, 17-37, 19, 1-9a; the second, 2 Kings xviii, 14-16; and the third, 2 Kings xix, 9b-37. (See also Benzinger and Kittel on the passage.) This analysis is now generally accepted.

[254](#) Taylor Prism, ii, 69, Rogers, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 89.

[255](#) Hezekiah, having conquered Philistia, was now regarded as a sort of overlord, and hence was asked to receive Padi.

[256](#) It is certainly not Samaria, as was once thought by Talbot, Norris, and George Smith.

[257](#) *Gu-ub-la-ai*, that is, "of Gebal," the ancient name of Byblos.

[258](#) Taylor Prism, ii, 34-57, Rogers, op. cit., vi, pp. 88, 89.

[259](#) Beni-berak, Josh. xix, 45.

[260](#) Taylor Prism, ii, 73.

[261](#) Eltekeh, Josh. xix, 44. The exact location is doubtful. See G. A. Smith, *Hisl. Geog. of Holy Land*, p. 236.

[262](#) Taylor Prism, iii, 1-7.

[263](#) "Aber wenn nun . . . Schrader behauptet, die Bedrohung Jerusalems bedeute nur eine nebensächliche Episode im Verlaufe des ganzen Heerzuges, so glaube ich, dass ganz abgesehen von den biblischen Erzählungen man doch zu dem Urtheil wird kommen müssen, der Zug gegen Jerusalem sei Endziel and Schluss des Ganzen. Denn die so ganz besonders starke Bestrafung Hizkias, die Verwüstung von 46 Städten, Abtrennung grosser Gebietsteile, die Aufzählung der sehr grossen Beute, welche uns hier in langer Reihe vorgeführt wird, führen zu dem Schluss, dass Sanherib den Hizkia als besonders gefährlichen Gegner angesehen and bestraft hat." Meinhold, *Die Jesajaerzählungen*, Göttingen, 1898, p. 96.

[264](#) Taylor Prism, col. iii, line 17. These inhabitants were not carried away into captivity. They were marched out (*ushesa*) from their cities and compelled to give allegiance to Assyria. The usual Assyrian expression (*ashlul*) for taking away into captivity is not used here. See Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896, pp. 108, 109.

[265](#) Taylor Prism, iii, 34, Rogers, op. cit., p. 91.

[266](#) 2 Kings xviii, 14. Brandis (*Munzwesen*, p. 98) has attempted to show that the three hundred Hebrew talents=eight hundred Assyrian, and this is now generally accepted.

[267](#) The surrender of Padi to the Assyrians is mentioned in Sennacherib's Annals (Taylor Prism, iii, 8-10) before the treaty with Hezekiah. The reason for this is that Sennacherib is there telling of the punishment of Ekron, and goes on to show how it was to be governed in the future. The narrative does not follow strict chronological order, but this episode is rounded out and then the chronological scheme is again resumed. This is the usual form in Assyrian narrative. See Winckler, *Altestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 31.

[268](#) Taylor Prism, col. iii, line 20.

[269](#) The statement of Sennacherib's Annals (col. iii, lines 21, 22) does not properly bear the construction that he had laid siege to the city in a formal manner. His phrase is: "Intrenchments I fortified against him, (and) whosoever came out of the gates of the city I turned back." This is not the expression used elsewhere for a real investment of the city. It was a blockade, and the implication is that the forces of the Rabshakeh were encamped around the city, but at a distance, which also is supported by the place at which negotiations were carried on, for this must have been between the two forces and not within the Assyrian lines. Comp. 2 Kings xix, 32: "Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it" See on the passage Kittel, *Handkommentar*, p. 289.

[270](#) Isa. xxii, 9, 10.

[271](#) 2 Kings xviii, 17.

[272](#) Published I R. 7, No. viii, I (Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 83). The pictures are reproduced in Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 191, 193.

[273](#) 2 Kings xix, 7, 9.

[274](#) 2 Kings xix, 9-14.

[275](#) Pelusium is given as the place of the catastrophe by Herodotus (ii, 141, see further below), and this is supported by Hieronymus (*Commentaries in Isaiam*, lib. xi, cap. xxxvii, *Patrologice Latince*, tomus xxiv, pp. 398, 399). "Pugnasse autem Sennacherib regem Assyriorum contra Egyptios et obsedis Pelusium jamque extractis aggeribus urbi capiendee, venisse Taracham regem tEthiopum in auxilium, et una nocte juxta Jerusalem centum octaginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse narrat Herodotus, et plenissime Berosus, Chaldaicee scriptor historia-, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est." There appears to be good reason for holding that this statement of Hieronymus comes from Berossos, and is therefore, in origin, independent of Herodotus.

[276](#) See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 157-159.

[277](#) 2 Kings xix, 32-35.

[278](#) Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 45a, pp. 66, 67.

[279](#) Herodotus, ii, 141. See below, Appendix B.

[280](#) Winckler (*Alttestamentlichen Untersuchungen*, pp. 27, ff.) has attempted to show that the narrative in 2 Kings xviii, 13-xix. 37, relates not to one but to two campaigns of Sennacherib. According to this view Sennacherib invaded Palestine in 701, and again, after the year 691, when making an expedition against Arabia, he assailed Palestine and Egypt. The view, attractive for several reasons, has convinced Benzinger (*Die Bucher der Konige*, pp. 177, ff.), Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 204), and Hommel (*Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Hastings, i,

p. 188, col. 2). It is, on the other hand, not accepted by Kittel (*Die Richer der Konige*, p. 291), Maspero (*The Passing of the Empires*, p. 293), McCurdy (*History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, ii, pp. 300, ff., 428-431), and Meinhold (*Die Jesajaerzahlungen* and *Jesaja and seine Zeit*). The objections to Winckler's rearrangement into two campaigns are, briefly, these 1. There is no mention anywhere of a second attack on Jerusalem by Sennacherib. 2. The passage 2 Kings xix, 7, has to be rejected without any other reason than to make the passage fit the theory. 3. It involves a complete overturning of the Hebrew traditions, as represented in the book of Rings, and supported by the prophetic passages in the book of Isaiah. See further a most incisive and convincing criticism of this theory of Winckler by Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, pp. 234, 235.

[281](#) Lachish is the modern Tel-el-Hesy, and Libnah must be sought in the immediate neighborhood. According to Eusebius it belonged at a later time to the district of Eleutheropolis (modern Beit Jibrin).

[282](#) Taylor Prism, iii, lines 42-65, Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92.

[283](#) Muller-Didot, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, ii, p. 604.

[284](#) Taylor Prism, iv, line 26.

[285](#) *Ibid.*, lines 29-33.

[286](#) Babylonian Chronicle, ii, 42, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 278, 279.

[287](#) Babylonian Chronicle, ii, 42.

[288](#) *Ibid.*, iii, 4, 5.

[289](#) *Ibid.*, 9. In the Babylonian Chronicle the name is abbreviated into Kudur.

[290](#) Taylor Prism, iv, 43-80.

[291](#) *Ibid.*, v, line 3, Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[292](#) Taylor Prism, v, 43.

[293](#) *Ibid.*, 45-47.

[294](#) Billerbeck (*Geographische Untersuchungen*, p. 11, note 1; Susa, p. 90) locates Khalule on the left bank of the Diyala, perhaps on the site where Hebbel now stands.

[295](#) See Haupt, "The Battle of Halule," *Andover Review*, 1887, pp. 542, ff.

[296](#) The Babylonian Chronicle (col. iii, lines 16-18) claims the victory for Elam.

- [297](#) Bavian Inscription, lines 43-50, Bezold, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 116-119.
- [298](#) Esarhaddon, Prism (A & C), cot. ii, 55-5S, Abel, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 130, 131.
- [299](#) 2 Kings xix, 36, 37; Babylonian Chronicle, iii, 34, where only *one* son is mentioned as the assassin.
- [300](#) The chief authorities for the reign of Esarhaddon are the following: (a) *The Cylinders A, B, C*, published I R. 45-47, and III R. 15, 16, and Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, 25, 26, translated into English by R. F. Harper, Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions, transliterated and translated, with Textual Notes, from the Original Copy in the British Museum, republished from *Hebraica*, 1887, 1888; and into German by Ludwig Abel and Hugo Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 124-151. (b) *The Black Stone*, published I R. 49, 50, and translated into German by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 120-125. (c) *The Stele of Zenjirli*, published by von Luschan, *Ausyrabungen in Sendschirli*, i, pp. 11-29 and plates i-iv, and translated by Schrader, *ibid.*, pp. 29-43. (d) *Prayers to the Sun God*, published and translated into German by J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnen Gott*, i, ii, pp. 72-264. The chief inscriptions are transliterated and translated in Budge, *The History of Esarhaddon*, London, 1880.
- [301](#) Babylonian Chronicle, iii, 36, 37.
- [302](#) 2 Kings xix, 37.
- [303](#) Cylinder, col. i, lines 1-26, Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 140-143.
- [304](#) *Ibid.*, lines 18-21.
- [305](#) Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddon's, Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, iii, pp. 189-362, with plates.
- [306](#) Babylonian Chronicle, iii, 39-42; Cylinders A and C, ii, lines 32-41; Cylinder B, ii, 1-26.
- [307](#) Babylonian Chronicle, iv, 9, 10.
- [308](#) Cylinder A and C, ii, 42-54, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, 128-131; Cylinder B, iii, 19-27.
- [309](#) Cylinder A and C, iii, 53-iv, 7.
- [310](#) Kundu is Kuinda (Strabo, xiv, v, 10), located on the Gulf of Antioch.
- [311](#) Sizu is Sis, in the Cilician mountains.
- [312](#) Cylinders A and C, col. i, lines 10-54; Cylinder B, col. i, lines 27-30; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 124-127, 144, 145.

[313](#) The Stele of Zinjirli. See von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli*. Berlin, 1893.

[314](#) Sennacherib had certainly planned to invade Egypt. See above, pp. 197, 198, and compare, "I have digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt" (Isa. xxxvii, 2G).

[315](#) Esarhaddon had previously consulted the oracle of the sun god and had received a favorable answer. See Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete u. sw.*, ii, p. 177.

[316](#) Stele of Zinjirli, lines 39, 40.

[317](#) For details of the campaign see the Stele already referred to, K. 3082 (Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 97-99); Rogers, *Two Texts of Esarhaddon* in *Haverford College Studies* No. 2 (with autograph facsimile of the text); and Bu. 91-2-9, 218 (Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii, pp. 21-23).

[318](#) Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 358) makes her simply the wife of Hazael, and says nothing of the expression in Cylinder A and C, iii, 14, in which dominion over the country is expressly attributed to her.

[319](#) Winckler, *Geschichte*, p. 267.

[320](#) Jer. li, 27.

[321](#) Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, ii, p. 130.

[322](#) Cylinders A and C., ii, 27-31; B, col. iii, 16-18.

[323](#) Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, ii, pp. 72-82.

[324](#) Cylinders A and C, iv, 19-37, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 132-136.

[325](#) Cylinders A and C, iv, 8-18; B, iv, 3-9.

[326](#) Cylinder A and C, ii, 6-9.

[327](#) Cylinder A and C, i, 55, 66.

[328](#) Babylonian Chronicle, iv, 29.

[329](#) *Ibid.*, 30.

[330](#) Babylonian Chronicle, iv, 31, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 254, 235.

[331](#) Cylinders A and C, iv, 49-59.

[332](#) Ezra iv, 10, R. V., Osnappar () better Asenappar.

[333](#) It is quite impossible to give any useful survey of the inscriptions of this reign. The most important is the splendidly preserved Bassani Prism, containing 1,803 lines of writing on ten sides, published V R. 1-10 (with numerous variants from other texts). It is translated into German by P. Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, 152-237. In addition to the translation of this particular text Jensen has also translated certain parallel and supplemental passages from other inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp. 236-269), in which most of the matter needed for historical purposes is contained. For more complete lists of the inscriptions belonging to the reign the following may be consulted: Bezold, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, pp. 108-121; George Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, London, 1871; Samuel Alden Smith, *Die Keilsehrifttexte Assurbanipal's Königs von Assyrien (678-626 v. chr.) nach dem selbst in London copierten Grundtext, mit Transcription, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigen Glossar*. Leipzig, 1887-89. There are discussions of some important questions concerning the Assurbanipal texts in Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, especially i, pp. 244-253, 474-483. In the narrative below references are given to other inscriptions and to detailed investigations concerning them.

[334](#) The Babylonian Chronicle ends at the very beginning of Assurbanipal's reign, with a notice of the campaign in Kirbit, mentioned below.

[335](#) Chronicle, iv, 37 (*Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, 284, 285). This date is confirmed by K. 2846 (Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 474, ff.).

[336](#) K 2675, Rev. 6-12, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 174, 175.

[337](#) His name had been Psammeticus.

[338](#) See, for an assembling of the inscription material relating to this Egyptian campaign, Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 101, ff., and especially Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 478, ff.

[339](#) The name was formerly read Urdamani (for example, by Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, if, p. 167), and Urdamani was then identified with Red-Amon or Rud-Amen. The correct reading, Tandamani, and identification with Tanut-Amon (*Tnwt-imn*, Tenotamon) were demonstrated by Steindorff ("Die Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe Aegyptischer Eigennamen," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i, 356-359).

[340](#) Rassam Cylinder, ii, 36, 37, Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 168, 169.

[341](#) B. 2675, Obv. 72, Rev. 5, lines 72-74, Jensen, *ibid.*, footnote No. 1.

- [342](#) Rassam Cylinder, ii, 49-62, Jensen, *Keiliwehrfl. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 169-170.
- [343](#) Rm. 3, line 24, S. A. Smith, *Die Keilschrifttexte A, surbanipals*, ii, pp. 26, 27.
- [344](#) The story of the ambassador's visit is told in Cylinder E, 1-12, G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 76, 77; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 172, 173.
- [345](#) Rassam Cylinder, ii, 35-125, Jensen, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 172-177.
- [346](#) Rassam Cylinder, ii, 126-iii, 26.
- [347](#) Gagi has been often identified with Gog, Ezek. xxxviii, 2; for example, by Schrader *Keilinschriften and Geschichtsforschung*, p. 159, note, and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 247, but this is hardly probable. An identification of Gog with Gyges, king of Lydia, is more likely. See E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i, p. 558; Sayce, *sub voce*, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Hastings, ii, p. 224.
- [348](#) Cylinder B, iii, 192-iv, 14, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181.
- [349](#) Cylinder B, iv, 15-83, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-247.
- [350](#) The inscriptions belonging to the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin have been published, translated, and explained in a masterly manner in C. F. Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin, König von Babylon, inschriftliches Material über den Beginn seiner Regierung, grossentheils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, Übersetzt and erläutert. Leipzig, 1892.*
- [351](#) Rassam Cylinder, col. iii, 70-78, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-185.
- [352](#) Rassam Cylinder, iv, 3-7, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189.
- [353](#) *Ibid.*, col. iv, 11.
- [354](#) Rassam Cylinder, iv, 50-53, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 191.
- [355](#) See Schrader, "Kineladan und Asurbanipal," *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, i, pp. 222-232; Pinches, "Some Recent Discoveries," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v, p. 6 (1882-83).
- [356](#) See above, vol. i, p. 334.
- [357](#) Rassam Cylinder, iv, 97-109, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195.
- [358](#) Cylinder B, vii, 72-87, and C, 88-115, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-269.

- [359](#) For the history of the campaign see Rassam Cylinder, v, 63-vii, 81, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-215, and compare Billerbeck, Susa, pp. 112-118.
- [360](#) Rassam Cylinder, vii, 38-41. The sense of the passage is incorrectly given in Jensen's excellent translation in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, p. 213. Comp. Meissner in the *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, x, 83.
- [361](#) Probably Zobah, 2 Sam. x, 6, 8; 1 Kings xi, 23, etc.
- [362](#) Rassam Cylinder, ix, 95-109, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-229.
- [363](#) Rassam Cylinder, ix, 115-128, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 229.
- [364](#) Rassam Cylinder, x, 40-50, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 231.
- [365](#) Dugdamma has been correctly identified by Sayce (Academy, 1893, p. 277) with Lygdamis (Strabo, i, iii, ° 21), whose name must now be read instead of .
- [366](#) See Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 492-496.
- [367](#) Rassam Cylinder, x, 51-113, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-235.
- [368](#) Published I R. 8, No. 3, translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 268, 269.
- [369](#) Hilprecht, "Keilinschriftliche Funde," in *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 164, ff. See also Messerschmidt, Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's, p. 12, note 1.
- [370](#) Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, pp. 38, 39; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 558.
- [371](#) I R. 8, 6, translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, pp. 270, 271.
- [372](#) Evetts in Strassmaier's *Babylonische Texte*, vi, B., p. 90; Winckler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 18 May, 1889, col. 636, footnote, and King, "Sin-shar-ishkun and His Rule in Babylonia," *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ix, pp. 396, ff.
- [373](#) The name Manda in the Babylonian texts applies to the same peoples that are called Sakae or Scythians by the Greeks. See Delattre, *Le Peuple et l'Empire des Medes*, p. 190; Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 112, 124, 125.
- [374](#) Nah. iii, 19.
- [375](#) See Billerbeck and Jeremias, "Der Untergang Nineveh's and die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch," *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, iii, pp. 87-188.

[376](#) Abydenus, Frag. 7. Muller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iv, pp. 282, 283, narrates that Saracos so met his end, and it is now generally believed that he is Sin-shar-ishkun.

[377](#) Zeph. ii, 13-15.

[378](#) Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iii, iv, 1) in passing between Larissa and Mespila went close by the ruins.

[379](#) For the later history of the site see Lincke, "Continuance of the Names of Assyria and Nineveh after 607-606 B. C.," in the *Memoirs of the IX Oriental Congress* at London, 1891, and *Assyria und Nineveh in Geschichte und Sage der Mittelmeervölker* (nach 607-606), 1894.

[380](#) I It had come to be established as almost a usual rule for the Assyrian king who reigned in Babylon to have another name than that used in Assyria, as witness Tiglathpileser III and Shalmaneser IV. George Smith first suggested (*History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 323, 324) that Kandalanu and Assurbanapal were the same person, and Schrader ("Kineladan and Asurbanipal" in *Zeitschrift für Seilschriftforschung*, i, pp. 222-232) attempted to demonstrate it. Oppert was not convinced by the argument ("La Vraie Personalite et les dates du roi Chinaladan," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, i, pp. 1-11), and Sayce agrees with him. On the other hand, Assyriologists generally accept the identity of Assurbanapal and Kandalanu (Tiele, *Bab. assyr. Gesch.*, pp. 412-414; Winckler, *Geschichte*, pp. 135, 282, 289; King, art. "Babylonia" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, col. 451). Hommel (art. "Assyria" in Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, i, p. 189) thinks that the evidence is indecisive, and leaves the question open.

[381](#) There has been found at Nippur a tablet dated in the fourth year of Asshuretililani (see Hilprecht, "Keilinschriftliche Funde in Niffer," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, p. 167), which shows that he was acknowledged as king of Babylonia in Nippur as late as 621 B. C.

[382](#) The relationship of Sin-shar-ishkun to Asshuretililani is made clear in a tablet published by Scheil ("Sin-shar-ishkun, fils d'Assurbanipal," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xi, pp. 47, ff.). A contract tablet from Uruk dated in the seventh year of Sin-shar-ishkun (King, "Sin-shar-ishkun and His Rule in Babylonia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix, pp. 396-400) would seem to show that his rule was officially recognized in Uruk at about 612 B. C. Tablets also exist (Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Laborosoarchod*, pp. 90, 91; Winckler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 18 May, 1889, col. 636, footnote) dated at Sippara in the second year of Sin-shar-ishkun.

[383](#) His inscriptions, dealing almost exclusively with building operations, give unsatisfactory views of the political and military history. The chief texts are the following: (a) *The Merodach-Temple Inscription*, published and translated by Strassmaier, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, 106, ff., and also translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 2-7. (b) *The Sippar-Canal Inscription*, published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 11, 69, ff., and translated by him in *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 6-9. (c) *The Belit-Temple Inscription*, published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, 145, 172, and translated by him, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 8, 9.

[384](#) According to Abydenus (Fragment 7, in Muller-Didot, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.*, iv, p. 282), Saracos (that is, Sin-shar-ishkun) sent Bussalossoros (that is, Nabopolassar) to defend Cbaldea.

- [385](#) Published by Strassmaier, *Zeitschrift fir Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 106-113, 129-136. Translated also by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 3-7.
- [386](#) Published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 69-75, and translated by him, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 7-9.
- [387](#) Published by Winckler, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 144-147, 172, and translated by him, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, p. 9.
- [388](#) The chronicler (2 Chron. xxxv, 20-22) has preserved an interesting reminiscence of Necho's intercourse with Josiah: Necho "sent ambassadors to him [Josiah], saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; and God bath commanded me to make baste: forbear thee from *meddling with God*, who is with me, that he destroy thee not."
- [389](#) 2 Kings xxiii, 29. Herodotus, ii, clix, refers to a defeat of the Syrians at Magdolos, undoubtedly the same event. But see Benzinger and Kittel.
- [390](#) See above, p. 292.
- [391](#) Jer. xlvi, 2; comp. also 2 Kings xxiv, 7.
- [392](#) 2 Kings xxiv, 1.
- [393](#) The name occurs in three forms; see 2 Kings xxiv, 8; Jer. xxii, 24; xxiv, 1; xxvii, 20; Ezek. i, 2.
- [394](#) *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, ix, plate 50, No. 84, line 2. The text here cited finally disposes of the question of the location of the Chebar.
- [395](#) 2 Kings xxiv, 17; Jer. xxxvii, 1.
- [396](#) Jer. xxvii, 1-3. This chapter begins in the Massoretic text, "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah." It is, however, clear from verses 2, 12, and 20 that the text is corrupt. We must either read Zedekiah instead of Jehoiakim, or, as is much better, omit the verse altogether, as the LXX have done. See Giesebrecht on the passage.
- [397](#) The character of this blind faith is shown in Jeremiah's taunt uttered afterward: "where now are your prophets which prophesied unto you, saying, The kinä of Babylon shall not come against you, nor against this land?" Jer. xxxvii, 19.
- [398](#) 1 Sam. iv, 1-11.

[399](#) Jer. xxvii, xxix.

[400](#) Jer. xxxvii, 9, 10.

[401](#) Jer. xxxvii, 7, 8.

[402](#) Jer. xxxvii, 11-15.

[403](#) Josephus, (Antiquities, x, 7, 3) declares that the Egyptians were defeated, but Jeremiah (xxxvii, 7), on whom he was doubtless leaning, says nothing of a defeat.

[404](#) Isa. xxxvi, 6.

[405](#) Presumably pestilence likewise added to the terror of the situation. Comp. Jer. xxxviii, 2.

[406](#) The explanation of Zedekiah's purposes is due to a conjecture of Tiele, *Geschichte*, ii, 431.

[407](#) 2 Kings xxv, 4, 6.

[408](#) It was probably at this time that Nebuchadrezzar cut cedar beams in the Lebanon and reduced the inhabitants to subjection. See Pognon, *Les Inscriptions Babylonniennes du Wadi Brissa*, especially pp. 20-22, 120-126. Comp. also Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i, pp. 504-506, and Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, New York, 1900, p. 543, footnote.

[409](#) Ezek. xvii, 11-21.

[410](#) Our modern judgments are not based on the same premises as the ancient. The Assyrians would undoubtedly have put Zedekiah to death after horrible torture or by mutilation. It is possible that we ought to consider this blinding to be merciful punishment, when we remember that even modern orientals do not estimate vision so highly as occidentals. Egyptian fellahin blinded themselves to avoid conscription under Mohammed Ali.

[411](#) Jer. xxxix, 2.

[412](#) The Babylonians did not even share in the destruction of the hated city of Nineveh, which had so sorely punished Babylon itself in earlier days.

[413](#) It is interesting to speculate upon the number of the Judeeans who were exiled in all the invasions of Nebuchadrezzar. The latest computation is by Gutbe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 236, 237), who reckons the total number at thirty-six thousand to forty-eight thousand, which he counts as a quarter or an eighth of the total population.

[414](#) "But Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen."

Jer. lii, 16.

[415](#) 2 Kings xxv, 22; Jer. xl, 5-7.

[416](#) Jer. xl, 13-xli, 15.

[417](#) 2 Kings xxv, 26; Jer. xli, 16-18; xlii; xliii, 1-7.

[418](#) Psa. exxxvii, 4.

[419](#) Jer. xxix, 5-7.

[420](#) The discoveries of the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur have shown how largely Jews entered into the business life of Babylonia. See *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, edited by H. V. Hilprecht, vol. ix, and compare the review by Jensen, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, xiii, pp. 329-336.

[421](#) See above, pp. 321, 322.

[422](#) It is not intended to assert that the Babylonians had no ships, but simply that they were not *seamen*. Herodotus (i, 194) and Sennacherib (Taylor Cylinder, col. iii, lines 55, 56, *Records of the Past*, New Series, vi, p. 92) witness to their possession and use of ships. The English versions of Isa. xliii, 14, "the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships" (A. V.), and "the Chaldeans, in the ships of their rejoicing" (R. V.), give a totally false impression, if they seem to make the Chaldeans a seafaring folk, for so the passage is often quoted. The text is quite likely corrupt. See Cheyne and especially Marti (*Das Buch Jesaija*, p. 297) on the passage.

[423](#) Josephus, *Arch.*, xi, 11, 1, and *Con. Ap.*, i, 2, 1.

[424](#) Comp. Tiele, *Geschichte*, ii, p. 433, n. In a contract tablet dated in Tyre "month Tammuz, day 22d, year 40th Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon," there is evidence of Babylonian supremacy over Tyre. See *Records of the Past*, New Series, iv, pp. 99-100, and Sayce in *Expository Times*, June, 1899, p. 430. Nothing can be made out of Eusebius, *Chron.*, i, 51; Justin, xviii, 3; and Strabo, xv, 1, 6.

[425](#) Menander, Frag. 2, in Muller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iv, p. 447.

[426](#) Herodotus, iv, cl-clxi.

[427](#) Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, x, 9, 7; 11, 1. The authority for the view of Josephus was Berossos, but we do not know how much Berossos may have suffered in the process of transmission.

[428](#) Jer. xlix, 34-38. As to the question of the interpolation of this passage see Giesebrecht.

[429](#) The chief inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar are the following: (a) The East India House Inscription, I R. 53-64, translated into English by Ball, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, x, pp. 87-129, and into German by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 10-31. (b) The Philipps (or Grotfend) Cylinder, I R. 65, 66, translated into English by Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-230, and into German by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 3239. (c) Inscription describing wall constructions at Babylon and Borsippa, V R. 34, with corrections by Winckler, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 142, 144, translated by Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 3845. (d) Inscription describing various building operations, published in Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 33-38, and translated by Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-368, and by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-53. (e) The Borsippa Inscription, I R. 51, No. 1, translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55. (f) Wall Inscription, I R. 52, No. 3, translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 5459. (g) Larsa Inscription, I R. 51, No. 2, translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61. (h) The Inscriptions of Wady Brissa, published and translated into French in Pognon, *Les Inscriptions Babylonniennes du Wadi Brissa*. (j) The Canal Inscription, I R. 52, No. 4, translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 61. In addition to these several minor inscriptions are enumerated in Bezold, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick*, and are also translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-71. See further, David W. McGee, "Zur Topographic Babylons auf Grund der Urkunden Nabopolassars and Nebukadnezars," *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, iii, 524-560.

[430](#) Herodotus (i, clxxviii, clxxix) has given a most elaborate description of these defenses. As to the value of his testimony see above, vol. i, pp. 263, 264. For Nebuchadrezzar's own account see East India House Inscription, col. iv, 66-73; v, 1-65; vi, 1-55. Comp. Appendix C.

[431](#) East India House Inscription, col. ii, 40-65; col. iii, 1-10, Winckler, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 14, 15.

[432](#) See Rogers, "The Words of Nebuchadnezzar Concerning Himself," *Sunday School Times*, Dec. 3, 1898, pp. 802, 803.

[433](#) This inscription is published I R. 52, No. 4, and translated by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 61.

[434](#) Dan. iv, 30.

[435](#) The Borsippa Inscription, I R. 51, No. 1, Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55.

[436](#) See the texts enumerated above.

[437](#) Dan. iv, 31, ff.

[438](#) Josephus has reported a similar tradition in these words: "Nebuchadrezzar falling into a state of weakness, altered his (manner of) life when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son, Evil-merodach, obtained the kingdom" (Apion, i, 20). Eusebius also has a curious story of Nebuchadrezzar's end: "On a certain occasion the king went up to the roof of his palace, and, after prophesying of the coming of the Persian Cyrus and his conquest of Babylon, suddenly disappeared" (*Proep.*, ix, 41, *Chron.*, i, 59). See Schrader, "Die Sage vom wahnsinn Nebukadnezars," *Jahrb. fur Prot. Theologie*, vii, pp. 629, ff., and comp. Prince, *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, pp. 32-35.

[439](#) 2 Kings xxv, 27; Jer. iii, 31; Lxx reads , and Berossos has the form '. See Haupt, "Ueber den Halbvocal u im

Assyrischen," *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 266, 284, ff.

[440](#) 2 Kings xxv, 27-30; comp. Jer. Iii, 31-34.

[441](#) Berossos, Frag. 14, in Muller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ii, p. 507 (comp. Eusebius, *Chron.*, 49, 22, ff.), says of Evil-merodach, . This is supported by the Stele of Nabonidus (see *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's*, von L. Dlesserschmidt, pp. 18, 30), which represents this king and Labashi-Marduk as lawbreakers (see col. v, lines 33, 34).

[442](#) Tiele (*Geschichte*, ii, pp. 457, 464) argues that the restoration of Jehoiachin does not fit the character of Evil-merodach nor the other chronological indications, and therefore proposes to ascribe it to Neriglissor. The point is, however, not well taken.

[443](#) Jer. xxxix, 3.

[444](#) See, for example, Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, Konig von Babylon*, No. 83, p. 53 (translated by Peiser, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iv, p. 187, No. x); No. 266, pp. 159, 160 (translated by Peiser, *op. cit.*, p. 195, No. xxiv).

[445](#) The Ripley Cylinder, published by Budge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, x, part 3 (translated by Bezold, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, ii, part 2, 77, ff.).

[446](#) So, for example, "O Marduk, great lord, lord of the gods, glorious, light of the gods, I pray thee; may I, according to thy exalted unchangeable command, enjoy the glory of the house which I have built, may I attain unto old age in it" (Cambridge Cylinder, col. ii, lines 31-34).

[447](#) Berossos calls him (Frag. 14, Muller-Didot, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 507), and this is confirmed by the Nabonidus Stele, cols. iv and v. See Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[448](#) Abu Habba Cylinder, col. i, line 6, v R. 64, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, p. 97.

[449](#) See above, book i, chap. xii, vol. i, pp. 312, ff.

[450](#) So, for example, Esarhaddon. See above, pp. 3, 4.

[451](#) Pinches (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii, 171) has most improbably sought to connect the place with a certain Tu-ma. See further Hagen, *Beitrag zur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 236, footnote.

[452](#) So, for example: "From sin against thy exalted godhead guard me, and grant me, as a gift, life for many days, and in the heart of Belshazzar, my firstborn son, the offspring of my body, establish reverence for thy great godhead. May he not incline to sin, but enjoy the fullness of life" (small inscription of Ur, col. ii, lines 20-31).

- [453](#) Dan. v, 1, 30, 31.
- [454](#) See above, vol. i, p. 318.
- [455](#) See above, vol. i, p. 318.
- [456](#) Nabonidus, the Great Cylinder of Abu-Habba, col. ii, line 25. Comp. *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, p. 103.
- [457](#) see Frag. 29, Muller-Didot, *Ctesioe Cnidii Fragmenta*, p. 45.
- [458](#) Nabonidus, the Great Cylinder of Abu-Habba, Col. i, line 32, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 98, 99.
- [459](#) Annals of Nabonidus, Col. ii, lines 1, 2. See Hagen, "Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus," *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, ii, pp. 218, 219.
- [460](#) *Ibid.*, Col. ii, lines 3, 4.
- [461](#) Herodotus, i, lxxvii.
- [462](#) *Ibid.*, i, lxix.
- [463](#) *Ibid.*, i, lxxx; Xenophon, *Cyropoedia*, vii. i, 48; Aelian, *Hist. Animal*, iii, 7.
- [464](#) According to a story preserved by Herodotus (i, lxxxv-lxxxvii), Crceus, seeing the end of his fortunes near, prepared a great funeral pyre and assembled upon it with himself, also his family, his nobles, and his choicest possessions; when the fire was started Zeus put out the fire and Apollo bore the aged king with his daughters away into the Hyperborean country. On the other hand, we are told that Crceus lived on as the friend of Cyrus and accepted from him the fief of Barene in Media (Ktesias, Frag. 29, 4, in Muller-Didot, *Ctesioe Cnidii Fragmenta*, p. 46).
- [465](#) Col. ii, line 6 (Hagen, *Beitrage zur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 219; Schrader, *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, p. 131).
- [466](#) This was the eighth year of Nabonidus, and on his Chronicle tablet nothing is said at all of this year, but a blank space of about two lines is left. See Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
- [467](#) Col. ii, line 16. Hagen says that there were remains of *two* signs, and the first seemed to be *su*. Was not the second probably *ri*?--the name Assyria. An allusion to this movement is preserved in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii, 4, 7-12.
- [468](#) The "king" of the country was killed, but his name is not given. See the text of Hagen, col. ii, line 17.
- [469](#) *Ibid.*, col. ii, line 19.

[470](#) *Ibid.*

[471](#) *Ibid.*, col. ii, line 22.

[472](#) That so little military preparation was made by Belshazzar or others in authority is partially to be explained by the fact that Cyrus was long regarded as an ally of Nabonidus (see the Nabonidus Chronicle, i, 28-33). It was the Lydian victory that opened Chaldean eyes to the true situation.

[473](#) Nabonidus Chronicle, iii, lines 12, 13; Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 223; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.*, iii, part 2, pp. 133-135.

[474](#) The phrase (Nabonidus Chronicle, iii, line 15) is *bala saltum*, "without battle." It is a sorry end after all Nebuchadrezzar's efforts to make Babylon impregnable.

[475](#) Herodotus, ii, chap. 141 (*History of Herodotus*, by George Rawlinson, London, 1880, vol. ii, pp. 219, 220).

[476](#) See above, vol. i, pp. 247, 248.

[477](#) Assyria as used in this passage manifestly is extended so as to include all Babylonia. See above, vol. i, p. 269.

[478](#) This outer wall corresponds to Nimitti-Bel in the descriptions of Nebuchadrezzar, and Herodotus could not have seen it, for it had been destroyed by Darius.

[479](#) Four hundred and eighty stadia would be fifty-five and one quarter miles, which is impossible. The modern ruins, so far as can be ascertained, extend from north to south a distance of about five miles only.

[480](#) The proportion of width to height is impossible. The interior of these walls was composed of sun-dried bricks, the outside was made of burnt bricks. Such a wall could not be raised to so great a height (about one hundred and five meters) on a base so narrow (about twenty-six meters); long before it could be reached the whole mass would collapse. The necessary proportions would be about a width of one third to two thirds of the height. See A. Billerbeck, *Der Festungsbau im Alten Orient*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 6.

[481](#) The modern Hit. See above, vol. i, p. 287.

[482](#) This is the wall called Imgur-Bel by Nebuchadrezzar. See below and comp. above, p. 343.

[483](#) I, 178-181 (*History of Herodotus*, by George Rawlinson, London, 1880, vol. i, pp. 297-302).

[484](#) I, 184-187.

[485](#) Comp. Baumstark, sub voce Babylon in Pauly-wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Wissenschaft*, ii.

[486](#) See the assembled fragments in Muller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ii, pp. 495, ff.

[487](#) For references to text and translations see above, p. 342, note 1. The translation here given owes much to Ball's excellent English version, but differs from it in adhering a little more closely to the original in some places, and in the total omission of a few phrases (indicated by dotted lines) the meaning of which is either unknown or extremely doubtful.