

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

"The graven image, and the molten image."—*NAHUM* i. 14.

THE religion of the Assyrians so nearly resembled—at least in its external aspect, in which alone we can contemplate it—the religion of the primitive Chaldæans, that it will be unnecessary, after the full treatment which that subject received in an earlier portion of this work,¹ to do much more than notice in the present place certain peculiarities by which it would appear that the cult of Assyria was distinguished from that of the neighboring and closely connected country. With the exception that the first god in the Babylonian Pantheon was replaced by a distinct and thoroughly national deity in the Pantheon of Assyria, and that certain deities whose position was prominent in the one occupied a subordinate position in the other, the two religious systems may be pronounced, not similar merely but identical. Each of them, without any real monotheism,² commences with the same pre-eminence of a single deity, which is followed by the same groupings of identically the same divinities;³ and after that, by a multitudinous polytheism, which is chiefly of a local character. Each country, so far as we can see, has nearly the same worship—temples, altars, and ceremonies of the same type—the same religious emblems—the same ideas. The only difference here is, that in Assyria ample evidence exists of what was material in the religious system, more abundant representations of the objects and modes of worship; so that it will be possible to give, by means of illustrations, a more graphic portraiture of the externals of the religion of the Assyrians than the scantiness of the remains permitted in the case of the primitive Chaldæans.

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood the "great god," Ashur. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of the Gods," "he who rules supreme over the Gods."⁴ Sometimes he is called "the Father of the Gods," though that is a title which is more properly assigned to Belus.⁵ His place is always first in invocations. He is regarded throughout all the Assyrian inscriptions as the especial tutelary deity both of the kings and of the country. He places the monarchs upon their

throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their heart, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons and their sons' sons, to a remote posterity. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is "Asshur, my lord." They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and teach the people his laws and his worship.

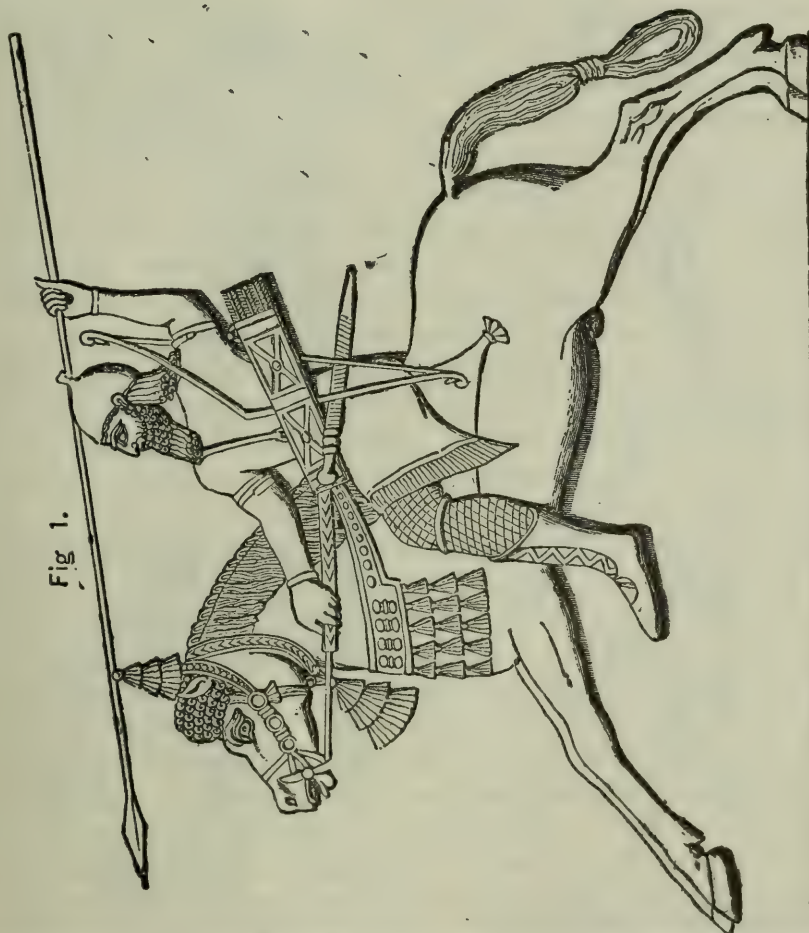
The tutelage of Asshur over Assyria is strongly marked by the identity of his name with that of the country, which in the original is complete.⁶ It is also indicated by the curious fact that, unlike the other gods, Asshur had no notorious temple or shrine in any particular city of Assyria, a sign that his worship was spread equally throughout the whole land, and not to any extent localized. As the national deity, he had given name to the original capital;⁷ but even at Asshur (*Kileh-Sherghat*) it may be doubted whether there was any building which was specially his.⁸ Therefore it is a reasonable conjecture⁹ that all the shrines throughout Assyria were open to his worship, to whatever minor god they might happen to be dedicated.

In the inscriptions the Assyrians are constantly described as "the servants of Asshur," and their enemies as "the enemies of Asshur." The Assyrian religion is "the worship of Asshur." No similar phrases are used with respect to any of the other gods of the Pantheon.

We can scarcely doubt that originally the god Asshur was the great progenitor of the race, Asshur, the son of Shem,¹⁰ deified. It was not long, however, before this notion was lost, and Asshur came to be viewed simply as a celestial being—the first and highest of all the divine agents who ruled over heaven and earth. It is indicative of the (comparatively speaking) elevated character of Assyrian polytheism that this exalted and awful deity continued from first to last the main object of worship, and was not superseded in the thoughts of men by the lower and more intelligible divinities, such as Shamas and Sin, the Sun and Moon, Nergal the God of War, Nin the God of Hunting, or Vul the wielder of the thunderbolt.¹¹

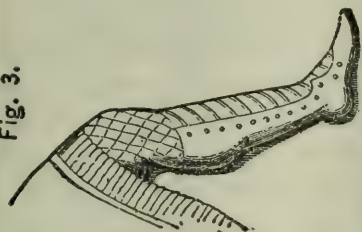
The favorite emblem under which the Assyrians appear to

Fig 1.



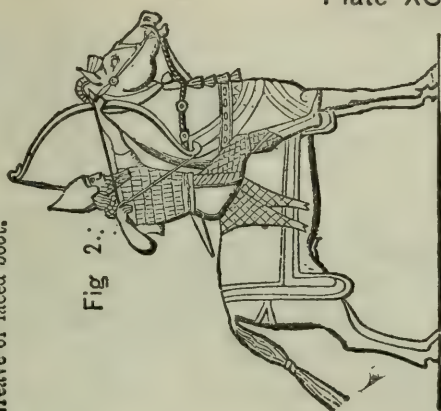
Mounted Spearman of the time of Sargon.

Fig. 3.



Greave or laced boot.

Fig 2.



Horse archer of the latest period.

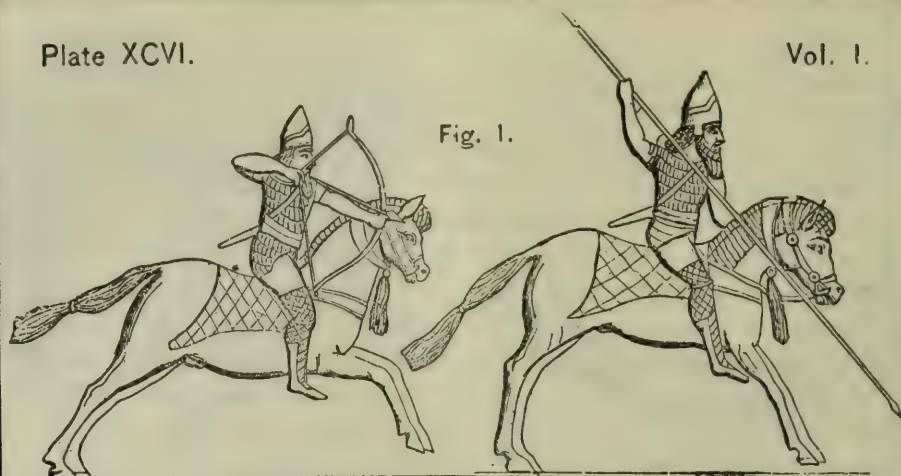
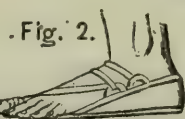


Fig. 1.

Cavalry soldiers of the time of Sennacherib.



Ordinary Sandal of the first period



Convex Shield of the first period (Nimrud)



Fig. 3.

Foot archers of the lightest equipment. (Time of Sargon.)



Foot Spearman of the first period, with wicker shield (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



Foot Archer, with Attendant—first period (Nimrud).

have represented Asshur in their works of art was the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow (Fig. I.), sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies (Fig. II.). This emblem has been variously explained;¹² but the most probable conjecture would seem to be that the circle typifies eternity, while the wings express omnipresence, and the human figure symbolizes wisdom or intelligence. The emblem appears under many varieties. Sometimes the figure which issues from it has no bow, and is represented as simply extending the right hand (Fig. III.); occasionally both hands are extended, and the left holds a ring or chaplet (Fig. IV.). [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 1.] In one instance we see a very remarkable variation: for the complete human figure is substituted a mere pair of hands, which seem to come from behind the winged disk, the right open and exhibiting the palm, the left closed and holding a bow.¹³ [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 2.] In a large number of cases all sign of a person is dispensed with,¹⁴ the winged circle appearing alone, with the disk either plain or ornamented. On the other hand, there are one or two instances where the emblem exhibits three human heads instead of one—the central figure having on either side of it, a head, which seems to rest upon the feathers of the wing.¹⁵ [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 3.]

It is the opinion of some critics, based upon this form of the emblem, that the supreme deity of the Assyrians, whom the winged circle seems always to represent, was in reality a triune god.¹⁶ Now certainly the triple human form is very remarkable, and lends a color to this conjecture; but, as there is absolutely nothing, either in the statements of ancient writers, or in the Assyrian inscriptions, so far as they have been deciphered, to confirm the supposition, it can hardly be accepted as the true explanation of the phenomenon. The doctrine of the Trinity, scarcely apprehended with any distinctness even by the ancient Jews, does not appear to have been one of those which primeval revelation made known throughout the heathen world. It is a fanciful mysticism which finds a Trinity in the Eicton, Cneph, and Phtha of the Egyptians, the Oromasdes, Mithras, and Arimanius of the Persians, and the Monas, Logos, and Psyche of Pythagoras and Plato.¹⁷ There are abundant Triads in ancient mythology, but no real Trinity. The case of Asshur is, however, one of simple unity. He is not even regularly included in any Triad. It is possible, however, that the triple figure shows him to us in temporary combination with

two other gods, who may be exceptionally represented in this way rather than by their usual emblems. Or the three heads may be merely an exaggeration of that principle of repetition which gives rise so often to a double representation of a king or a god,¹⁸ and which is seen at Bavian in the threefold repetition of another sacred emblem, the horned cap.

It is observable that in the sculptures the winged circle is seldom found except in immediate connection with the monarch.¹⁹ The great King wears it embroidered upon his robes,²⁰ carries it engraved upon his cylinder,²¹ represents it above his head in the rock-tablets on which he carves his image,²² stands or kneels in adoration before it,²³ fights under its shadow,²⁴ under its protection returns victorious,²⁵ places it conspicuously in the scenes where he himself is represented on his obelisks.²⁶ And in these various representations he makes the emblem in a great measure conform to the circumstances in which he himself is engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur too has his arrow on the string, and points it against the king's adversaries. Where he is returning from victory, with the disused bow in the left hand and the right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur takes the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular arts, the divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and wings without the human figure.

An emblem found in such frequent connection with the symbol of Asshur as to warrant the belief that it was attached in a special way to his worship, is the sacred or symbolical tree. Like the winged circle, this emblem has various forms. The simplest consists of a short pillar springing from a single pair of rams' horns, and surmounted by a capital composed of two pairs of rams' horns separated by one, two, or three horizontal bands; above which there is, first, a scroll resembling that which commonly surmounts the winged circle, and then a flower, very much like the "honeysuckle ornament" of the Greeks.²⁷ More advanced specimens show the pillar elongated with a capital in the middle in addition to the capital at the top, while the blossom above the upper capital, and generally the stem likewise, throw out a number of similar smaller blossoms, which are sometimes replaced by fir-cones or pomegranates. [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 4.] Where the tree is most elaborately portrayed, we see, besides the stem and the blossoms, a complicated network of branches, which after interlacing with

one another form a sort of arch surrounding the tree itself as with a frame. [Pl. CXLII., Fig.1.]

It is a subject of curious speculation, whether this sacred tree does not stand connected with the *Ashêrah* of the Phœnicians, which was certainly not a "grove," in the sense in which we commonly understand that word. The *Ashêrah* which the Jews adopted from the idolatrous nations with whom they came in contact, was an artificial structure, originally of wood,²⁸ but in the later times probably of metal,²⁹ capable of being "set" in the temple at Jerusalem by one king,³⁰ and "brought out" by another.³¹ It was a structure for which "hangings" could be made,³² to cover and protect it, while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could be properly said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished.³³ The name itself seems to imply something which stood straight up;³⁴ and the conjecture is reasonable that its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree,"³⁵ though whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks³⁶ is (to say the least) extremely uncertain. We have no distinct evidence that the Assyrian sacred tree was a real tangible object: it may have been, as Mr. Layard supposes,³⁷ a mere type. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely to have been an actual object;³⁸ in which case we cannot but suspect that it stood in the Assyrian system in much the same position as the *Ashêrah* in the Phœnician, being closely connected with the worship of the supreme god,³⁹ and having certainly a symbolic character, though of what exact kind it may not be easy to determine.

An analogy has been suggested between this Assyrian emblem and the Scriptural "tree of life," which is thought to be variously reflected in the multiform mythology of the East.⁴⁰ Are not such speculations somewhat over-fanciful? There is perhaps, in the emblem itself, which combines the horns of the ram—an animal noted for procreative power—with the image of a fruit or flower-producing tree, ground for supposing that some allusion is intended to the prolific or generative energy in nature; but more than this can scarcely be said without venturing upon mere speculation. The time will perhaps ere long arrive when, by the interpretation of the mythological tablets of the Assyrians, their real notions on this and other kindred subjects may become known to us. Till then, it is best to remain content with such facts as are

ascertainable, without seeking to penetrate mysteries at which we can but guess, and where, even if we guess aright, we cannot know that we do so.

The gods worshipped in Assyria in the next degree to Asshur appear to have been, in the early times, Anu and Vul; in the later, Bel, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Nin or Ninip, and Nergal. Gula, Ishtar, and Beltis were favorite goddesses. Hoa, Nebo, and Merodach, though occasional objects of worship, more especially under the later empire, were in far less repute in Assyria than in Babylonia; and the two last-named may almost be said to have been introduced into the former country from the latter during the historical period.⁴¹

For the special characteristics of these various gods—common objects of worship to the Assyrians and the Babylonians from a very remote epoch—the reader is referred to the first part of this volume, where their several attributes and their position in the Chaldæan Pantheon have been noted.⁴² The general resemblance of the two religious systems is such, that almost everything which has been stated with respect to the gods of the First Empire may be taken as applying equally to those of the Second; and the reader is requested to make this application in all cases, except where some shade of difference, more or less strongly marked, shall be pointed out. In the following pages, without repeating what has been said in the first part of this volume, some account will be given of the worship of the principal gods *in Assyria* and of the chief temples dedicated to their service.

ANU.

The worship of Anu seems to have been introduced into Assyria from Babylonia during the times of Chaldæan supremacy which preceded the establishment of the independent Assyrian kingdom. Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, king of Chaldæa, built a temple to Anu and Vul at Asshur, which was then the Assyrian capital, about B.C. 1820. An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. states that this temple lasted for 621 years, when, having fallen into decay, it was taken down by Asshur-dayan, his own great-grandfather.⁴³ Its site remained vacant for sixty years. Then Tiglath-Pileser I., in the beginning of his reign, rebuilt the temple more magnificently than before;⁴⁴ and from that time it seems to have remained among the principal shrines in Assyria. It was from a tradition connected with this ancient temple of Shamas-Vul, that

Asshur in later times acquired the name of Telané, or "the Mound of Anu," which it bears in Stephen.⁴⁵

Anu's place among the "Great Gods" of Assyria is not so well marked as that of many other divinities. His name does not occur as an element in the names of kings or of other important personages. He is omitted altogether from many solemn invocations.⁴⁶ It is doubtful whether he is one of the gods whose emblems were worn by the king and inscribed upon the rock-tablets.⁴⁷ But, on the other hand, where he occurs in lists, he is invariably placed directly after Asshur;⁴⁸ and he is often coupled with that deity in a way which is strongly indicative of his exalted character. Tiglath-Pileser I., though omitting him from his opening invocation, speaks of him in the latter part of his great Inscription, as his lord and protector in the next place to Asshur. Asshur-izir-pal uses expressions as if he were Anu's special votary, calling himself "him who honors Anu," or "him who honors Anu and Dagan."⁴⁹ His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns him the second place in the invocation of thirteen gods with which he begins his record.⁵⁰ The kings of the Lower Dynasty do not generally hold him in much repute; Sargon, however, is an exception, perhaps because his own name closely resembled that of a god mentioned as one of Anu's sons.⁵¹ Sargon not unfrequently glorifies Anu, coupling him with Bel or Bil, the second god of the first Triad. He even made Anu the tutelary god of one of the gates of his new city, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad), joining him in this capacity with the goddess Ishtar.

Anu had but few temples in Assyria. He seems to have had none at either Nineveh or Calah, and none of any importance in all Assyria, except that at Asshur. There is, however, reason, to believe that he was occasionally honored with a shrine in a temple dedicated to another deity.⁵²

BIL, OR BEL.

The classical writers represent Bel as especially a Babylonian god, and scarcely mention his worship by the Assyrians;⁵³ but the monuments show that the true Bel (called in the first part of this volume Bel-Nimrod) was worshipped at least as much in the northern as in the southern country. Indeed, as early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrians, as a nation, were especially entitled by their monarchs "the people of Belus;"⁵⁴

and the same periphrasis was in use during the period of the Lower Empire.⁵⁵ According to some authorities, a particular quarter of the city of Nineveh was denominated "the city of Belus;"⁵⁶ which would imply that it was in a peculiar way under his protection. The word Bel does not occur very frequently as an element in royal names; it was borne, however, by at least three early Assyrian kings;⁵⁷ and there is evidence that in later times it entered as an element into the names of leading personages, with almost as much frequency as Asshur.⁵⁸

The high rank of Bel in Assyria is very strongly marked. In the invocations his place is either the third or the second. The former is his proper position, but occasionally Anu is omitted, and the name of Bel follows immediately on that of Asshur.⁵⁹ In one or two places he is made third, notwithstanding that Anu is omitted, Shamas, the Sun-god, being advanced over his head;⁶⁰ but this is very unusual.

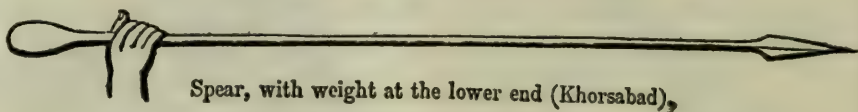
The worship of Bel in the earliest Assyrian times is marked by the royal names of Bel-sumili-kapi and Bel-lush, borne by two of the most ancient kings.⁶¹ He had a temple at Asshur in conjunction with Il or Ra, which must have been of great antiquity, for by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130) it had fallen to decay and required a complete restoration, which it received from that monarch.⁶² He had another temple at Calah; besides which he had four "arks" or "tabernacles," the emplacement of which is uncertain.⁶³ Among the latter kings, Sargon especially paid him honor. Besides coupling him with Anu in his royal titles, he dedicated to him—in conjunction with Beltis, his wife—one of the gates of his city, and in many passages he ascribes his royal authority to the favor of Bel and Merodach.⁶⁴ He also calls Bel, in the dedication of the eastern gate at Khorsabad, "the establisher of the foundations of his city."⁶⁵

It may be suspected that the horned cap, which was no doubt a general emblem of divinity, was also in an especial way the symbol of this god. Esarhaddon states that he set up over "the image of his majesty the emblems of Asshur, the Sun, Bel, Nin, and Ishtar."⁶⁶ The other kings always include Bel among the chief objects of their worship. We should thus expect to find his emblem among those which the kings specially affected; and as all the other common emblems are assigned to distinct gods with tolerable certainty, the horned cap alone remaining doubtful, the most reasonable conjecture seems to be that it was Bel's symbol.⁶⁷

It has been assumed in some quarters that the Bel of the Assyrians was identical with the Phœnician Dagon.⁶⁸ A word which reads *Da-gan* is found in the native lists of divinities, and in one place the explanation attached seems to show that the term was among the titles of Bel.⁶⁹ But this verbal resemblance between the name Dagon and one of Bel's titles is probably a mere accident, and affords no ground for assuming any connection between the two gods, who have nothing in common one with the other. The Bel of the Assyrians was certainly not their Fish-god; nor had his epithet *Da-gan* any real connection with the word *dag*, דג, "a fish." To speak of "Bel-Dagon" is thus to mislead the ordinary reader, who naturally supposes from the term that he is to identify the great god Belus, the second deity of the first Triad, with the fish forms upon the sculptures.

HEA, OR HOA.

Hea, or Hoa, the third god of the first Triad, was not a prominent object of worship in Assyria. Asshur-izir-pal mentions him as having allotted to the four thousand deities of heaven and earth the senses of hearing, seeing, and understanding; and then, stating that the four thousand deities had transferred all these senses to himself, proceeds to take Hoa's titles, and, as it were, to identify himself with the god.⁷⁰ His son, Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, gives Hoa his proper place in his opening invocation, mentioning him between Bel and Sin. Sargon puts one of the gates of his new city under Hoa's care, joining him with Bilat Ili—"the mistress of the gods"—who is, perhaps, the Sun-goddess, Gula. Sennacherib, after a successful expedition across a portion of the Persian Gulf, offers sacrifice to Hoa on the seashore, presenting him with a golden boat, a golden fish, and a golden coffer. But these are exceptional instances; and on the whole it is evident that in Assyria Hoa was not a favorite god. The serpent, which is his emblem, though found on the black stones recording benefactions, and frequent on the Babylonian cylinder-seals, is not adopted by the Assyrian kings among the divine symbols which they wear, or among those which they inscribe above their effigies. The word Hoa does not enter as an element into Assyrian names. The kings rarely invoke him. So far as we can tell, he had but two temples in Assyria, one at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat) and the other at Calah



Spear, with weight at the lower end (Khorsabad),

Fig. 3.



Foot Archers of the second class.
(Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 4.



Sling
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Fig. 5.



Foot Archer of the Heavy Equipment,
with Attendant. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Belts and head-dress of a foot archer of the
third class. (Time of Sennacherib.)

built a temple at Khorsabad,⁷⁹ and to whom he assigned the second place among the tutelary deities of his city.⁸⁰

The Assyrian monarchs appear to have had a curious belief in the special antiquity of the Moon-god. When they wished to mark a very remote period, they used the expression "from the origin of the god Sin."⁸¹ This is perhaps a trace of the ancient connection of Assyria with Babylonia, where the earliest capital, Ur, was under the Moon-god's protection, and the most primeval temple was dedicated to his honor.⁸²

Only two temples are known to have been erected to Sin in Assyria. One is that already mentioned as dedicated by Sargon at Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) to the Sun and Moon in conjunction. The other was at Calah, and in that Sin had no associate.

SHAMAS.

Shamas, the Sun-god, though in rank inferior to Sin, seems to have been a still more favorite and more universal object of worship. From many passages we should have gathered that he was second only to Asshur in the estimation of the Assyrian monarchs, who sometimes actually place him above Bel in their lists.⁸³ His emblem, the four-rayed orb, is worn by the king upon his neck,⁸⁴ and seen more commonly than almost any other upon the cylinder-seals. It is even in some instances united with that of Asshur, the central circle of Asshur's emblem being marked by the fourfold rays of Shamas.⁸⁵

The worship of Shamas was ancient in Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I. not only names him in his invocation, but represents himself as ruling especially under his auspices.⁸⁶ Asshur-izir-pal mentions Asshur and Shamas as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his various wars.⁸⁷ His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns to Shamas his proper place among the gods whose favor he invokes at the commencement of his long Inscription.⁸⁸ The kings of the Lower Empire were even more devoted to him than their predecessors. Sargon dedicated to him the north gate of his city, in conjunction with Vul, the god of the air, built a temple to him at Khorsabad in conjunction with Sin, and assigned him the third place among the tutelary deities of his new town.⁸⁹ Sennacherib and Esarhaddon mention his name next to Asshur's in passages where they enumerate the gods whom they regard as their chief protectors.

Excepting at Khorsabad, where he had a temple (as above mentioned) in conjunction with Sin, Shamas does not appear to have had any special buildings dedicated to his honor.⁹⁰ His images are, however, often noticed in the lists of idols, and it is probable therefore that he received worship in temples dedicated to other deities. His emblem is generally found conjoined with that of the moon, the two being placed side by side, or the one directly under the other. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 3.]

VUL, OR IVA.

This god, whose name is still so uncertain,⁹¹ was known in Assyria from times anterior to the independence, a temple having been raised in his sole honor at Asshur,⁹² the original Assyrian capital, by Shamas-Vul, the son of the Chaldæan king Ismi-Dagon, besides the temple (already mentioned)⁹³ which the same monarch dedicated to him in conjunction with Anu. These buildings having fallen to ruin by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., were by him rebuilt from their base; and Vul, who was worshipped in both, appears to have been regarded by that monarch as one of his special "guardian deities."⁹⁴ In the Black-Obelisk invocation Vul holds the place intermediate between Sin and Shamas, and on the same monument is recorded the fact that the king who erected it held, on one occasion, a festival to Vul in conjunction with Asshur.⁹⁵ Sargon names Vul in the fourth place among the tutelary deities of his city,⁹⁶ and dedicates to him the north gate in conjunction with the Sun-god, Shamas.⁹⁷ Sennacherib speaks of hurling thunder on his enemies like Vul,⁹⁸ and other kings use similar expressions.⁹⁹ The term Vul was frequently employed as an element in royal and other names;¹⁰⁰ and the emblem which seems to have symbolized him—the double or triple bolt¹⁰¹—appears constantly among those worn by the kings,¹⁰² and engraved above their heads on the rock-tablets.¹⁰³ [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 4.]

Vul had a temple at Calah¹⁰⁴ besides the two temples in which he received worship at Asshur. It was dedicated to him in conjunction with the goddess Shala, who appears to have been regarded as his wife.

It is not quite certain whether we can recognize any representations of Vul in the Assyrian remains. Perhaps the figure with four wings and a horned cap,¹⁰⁵ who wields a thunderbolt in either hand, and attacks therewith the monster, half lion,

half eagle, which is known to us from the Nimrod sculptures, may be intended for this deity. If so, it will be reasonable also to recognize him in the figure with uplifted foot, sometimes perched upon an ox, and bearing, like the other, one or two thunderbolts, which occasionally occurs upon the cylinders.¹⁰⁶ It is uncertain, however, whether the former of these figures is not one of the many different representations of Nin, the Assyrian Hercules; and, should that prove the true explanation in the one case, no very great confidence could be felt in the suggested identification in the other.

GULA.

Gula, the Sun-goddess, does not occupy a very high position among the deities of Assyria. Her emblem, indeed, the eight-rayed disk, is borne, together with her husband's, by the Assyrian monarchs,¹⁰⁷ and is inscribed on the rock-tablets, on the stones recording benefactions, and on the cylinder-seals, with remarkable frequency. But her name occurs rarely in the inscriptions, and, where it is found, appears low down in the lists. In the Black-Obelisk invocation, out of thirteen deities named, she is the twelfth.¹⁰⁸ Elsewhere she scarcely appears, unless in inscriptions of a purely religious character. Perhaps she was commonly regarded as so much one with her husband that a separate and distinct mention of her seemed not to be requisite.

Gula is known to have had at least two temples in Assyria. One of these was at Asshur, where she was worshipped in combination with ten other deities, of whom one only, Ishtar, was of high rank.¹⁰⁹ The other was at Calah, where her husband had also a temple.¹¹⁰ She is perhaps to be identified with *Bilat-Ili*, "the mistress of the gods," to whom Sargon dedicated one of his gates in conjunction with Hoa.¹¹¹

NINIP, OR NIN.

Among the gods of the second order, there is none whom the Assyrians worshipped with more devotion than Nin, or Ninip. In traditions which are probably ancient, the race of their kings was derived from him,¹¹² and after him was called the mighty city which ultimately became their capital. As early as the thirteenth century B.C. the name of Nin was used as an element in royal appellations;¹¹³ and the first king who has left us an historical inscription regarded himself as being in

an especial way under Nin's guardianship. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the illustrious prince whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart."¹¹⁴ He speaks of Nin sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with Asshur, as his "guardian deity."¹¹⁵ Nin and Nergal make his weapons sharp for him, and under Nin's auspices the fiercest beasts of the field fall beneath them.¹¹⁶ Asshur-izir-pal built him a magnificent temple at Nimrud (Calah).¹¹⁷ Shamas-Vul, the grandson of this king, dedicated to him the obelisk which he set up at that place in commemoration of his victories.¹¹⁸ Sargon placed his newly-built city in part under his protection,¹¹⁹ and specially invoked him to guard his magnificent palace.¹²⁰ The ornamentation of that edifice indicated in a very striking way the reverence of the builder for this god, whose symbol, the winged bull,¹²¹ guarded all its main gateways, and who seems to have been actually represented by the figure strangling a lion, so conspicuous on the *Hareem* portal facing the great court.¹²² Nor did Sargon regard Nin as his protector only in peace. He ascribed to his influence the successful issue of his wars; and it is probably to indicate the belief which he entertained on this point that he occasionally placed Nin's emblems on the sculptures representing his expeditions.¹²³ Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, appears to have had much the same feelings towards Nin as his father, since in his buildings he gave the same prominence to the winged bull and to the figure strangling the lion; placing the former at almost all his doorways, and giving the latter a conspicuous position on the grand façade of his chief palace.¹²⁴ Esarhaddon relates that he continued in the worship of Nin, setting up his emblem over his own royal effigy, together with those of Asshur, Shamas, Bel, and Ishtar.¹²⁵

It appears at first sight as if, notwithstanding the general prominence of Nin in the Assyrian religious system, there was one respect in which he stood below a considerable number of the gods. We seldom find his name used openly as an element in the royal appellations. In the list of kings three only will be found with names into which the term Nin enters.¹²⁶ But there is reason to believe that, in the case of this god, it was usual to speak of him under a periphrasis;¹²⁷ and this periphrasis entered into names in lieu of the god's proper designation. Five kings (if this be admitted) may be regarded as named after him, which is as large a number as we find named after any god but Vul and Asshur.

The principal temples known to have been dedicated to Nin in Assyria were at Calah, the modern Nimrud. There the vast structure at the north-western angle of the great mound, including the pyramidal eminence which is the most striking feature of the ruins, was a temple dedicated to the honor of Nin by Asshur-izir-pal, the builder of the North-West Palace. We can have little doubt that this building represents the "busta Nini" of the classical writers, the place where Ninus (Nin or Nin-ip), who was regarded by the Greeks as the hero-founder of the nation, was interred and specially worshipped. Nin had also a second temple in this town, which bore the name of *Bit-kura* (or Beth-kura), as the other one did of *Bit-zira* (or Beth-zira).¹²⁸ It seems to have been from the fane of Beth-zira that Nin had the title *Pal-zira*, which forms a substitute for Nin, as already noticed,¹²⁹ in one of the royal names.

MERODACH.

Most of the early kings of Assyria mention Merodach in their opening invocations, and we sometimes find an allusion in their inscriptions, which seems to imply that he was viewed as a god of great power.¹³⁰ But he is decidedly not a favorite object of worship in Assyria until a comparatively recent period. Vul-lush III. indeed claims to have been the first to give him a prominent place in the Assyrian Pantheon;¹³¹ and it may be conjectured that the Babylonian expeditions of this monarch furnished the impulse which led to a modification in this respect of the Assyrian religious system. The later kings, Sargon and his successors, maintain the worship introduced by Vul-lush. Sargon habitually regards his power as conferred upon him by the combined favor of Merodach and Asshur,¹³² while Esarhaddon sculpts Merodach's emblem, together with that of Asshur, over the images of foreign gods brought to him by a suppliant prince.¹³³ No temple to Merodach, is, however, known to have existed in Assyria, even under the later kings. His name, however, was not infrequently used as an element in the appellations of Assyrians.¹³⁴

NERGAL.

Among the Minor gods, Nergal is one whom the Assyrians seem to have regarded with extraordinary reverence. He was the divine ancestor from whom the monarchs loved to

boast that they derived their descent—the line being traceable, according to Sargon, through three hundred and fifty generations.¹³⁵ They symbolized him by the winged lion with a human head,¹³⁶ or possibly sometimes by the mere natural lion;¹³⁷ and it was to mark their confident dependence on his protection that they made his emblems so conspicuous in their palaces. Nin and Nergal—the gods of war and hunting, the occupations in which the Assyrian monarchs passed their lives—were tutelary divinities of the race, the life, and the homes of the kings, who associate the two equally in their inscriptions and their sculptures.

Nergal, though thus honored by the frequent mention of his name and erection of his emblem, did not (so far as appears) often receive the tribute of a temple. Sennacherib dedicated one to him at Tarbisi (now Sherif-khan), near Khorsabad;¹³⁸ and he may have had another at Calah (Nimrud), of which he is said to have been one of the “resident gods.”¹³⁹ But generally it would seem that the Assyrians were content to pay him honor in other ways¹⁴⁰ without constructing special buildings devoted exclusively to his worship.

ISHTAR.

Ishtar was very generally worshipped by the Assyrian monarchs, who called her “their lady,” and sometimes in their invocations coupled her with the supreme god Asshur.¹⁴¹ She had a very ancient temple at Asshur, the primeval capital, which Tiglath-Pileser I. repaired and beautified.¹⁴² Asshur-izir-pal built her a second temple at Nineveh,¹⁴³ and she had a third at Arbela, which Asshur-bani-pal states that he restored.¹⁴⁴ Sargon placed under her protection, conjointly with Anu, the western gate of his city; and his son, Sennacherib, seems to have viewed Asshur and Ishtar as the special guardians of his progeny.¹⁴⁵ Asshur-bani-pal, the great hunting king, was a devotee of the goddess, whom he regarded as presiding over his special diversion, the chase.

What is most remarkable in the Assyrian worship of Ishtar is the local character assigned to her. The Ishtar of Nineveh is distinguished from the Ishtar of Arbela, and both from the Ishtar of Babylon, separate addresses being made to them in one and the same invocation.¹⁴⁶ It would appear that in this case there was, more decidedly than in any other, an identification of the divinity with her idols, from which resulted the multiplication of one goddess into many.

The name of Ishtar appears to have been rarely used in Assyria in royal or other appellations. It is difficult to account for this fact, which is the more remarkable, since in Phœnicia Astarte, which corresponds closely to Ishtar, is found repeatedly as an element in the royal titles.¹⁴⁷

NEBO.

Nebo must have been acknowledged as a god by the Assyrians from very ancient times, for his name occurs as an element in a royal appellation as early as the twelfth century B.C.¹⁴⁸ He seems, however, to have been very little worshipped till the time of Vul-lush III., who first brought him prominently forward in the Pantheon of Assyria after an expedition which he conducted into Babylonia, where Nebo had always been in high favor. Vul-lush set up two statues to Nebo at Calah¹⁴⁹ and probably built him the temple there which was known as Bit-Saggil, or Beth-Saggil, from whence the god derived one of his appellations.¹⁵⁰ He did not receive much honor from Sargon; but both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon held him in considerable reverence, the latter even placing him above Merodach in an important invocation.¹⁵¹ Asshur-bani-pal also paid him considerable respect, mentioning him and his wife Warmita, as the deities under whose auspices he undertook certain literary labors.¹⁵²

It is curious that Nebo, though he may thus almost be called a late importation into Assyria, became under the Later Dynasty (apparently) one of most popular of the gods. In the latter portion of the list of Eponyms obtained from the celebrated "Canon," we find Nebo an element in the names as frequently as any other god excepting Asshur. Regarding this as a test of popularity we should say that Asshur held the first place; but that his supremacy was closely contested by Bel and Nebo, who were held in nearly equal repute, both being far in advance of any other deity.

Besides these principal gods, the Assyrians acknowledged and worshipped a vast number of minor divinities, of whom, however, some few only appear to deserve special mention. It may be noticed in the first place, as a remarkable feature of this people's mythological system, that each important god was closely associated with a goddess, who is commonly called his wife, but who yet does not take rank in the Pantheon at all in accordance with the dignity of her husband.¹⁵³ Some of

these goddesses have been already mentioned, as Beltis, the feminine counterpart of Bel; Gula, the Sun-goddess, the wife of Shamas; and Ishtar, who is sometimes represented as the wife of Nebo.¹⁵⁴ To the same class belong Sheruha, the wife of Asshur; Anata or Anuta, the wife of Anu; Dav-Kina, the wife of Hea or Hoa; Shala, the wife of Vul or Iva; Zir-banit, the wife of Merodach; and Laz, the wife of Nergal. Nin, the Assyrian Hercules, and Sin, the Moon-god, have also wives, whose proper names are unknown, but who are entitled respectively "the Queen of the Land" and "the great Lady."¹⁵⁵ Nebo's wife, according to most of the Inscriptions, is Warmita; but occasionally, as above remarked,¹⁵⁶ this name is replaced by that of Ishtar. A tabular view of the gods and goddesses, thus far, will probably be found of use by the reader towards obtaining a clear conception of the Assyrian Pantheon:—

TABLE of the Chief ASSYRIAN DEITIES, arranged in their proper order.

Gods.	Correspondent Goddesses.	Chief Seat of Worship (if any).
Asshur .	Sheruha.	
Anu . . .	Anuta	Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat).
Bel . . .	Beltis	Asshur, Calah (Nimrud).
Noa. . .	Dav-Kina.	Asshur, Calah.
Sin . . .	"The Great Lady" . .	Calah, Bit-Sargina (Khor-sabad).
Shamas .	Gula.	Bit-Sargina.
Vul. . .	Shala	Asshur, Calah.
Nin. . . .	"The Queen of the Land,"	Calah, Nineveh.
Merodach	Zir-Banit.	
Nergal. .	Laz	Tarbisi (Sherif-Khan).
Nebo . .	Warmita (Ishtar ?) . .	Calah.

It appears to have been the general Assyrian practice to unite together in the same worship, under the same roof, the female and the male principle.¹⁵⁷ The female deities had in fact, for the most part, an unsubstantial character; they were ordinarily the mere reflex image of the male, and consequently could not stand alone, but required the support of the stronger sex to give them something of substance and reality. This was the general rule; but at the same time it was not without certain exceptions. Ishtar appears almost always as an independent and unattached divinity;¹⁵⁸ while Beltis and Gula are

presented to us in colors as strong and a form as distinct as their husbands, Bel and Shamas. Again, there are minor goddesses, such as Telita, the goddess of the great marshes near Babylon,¹⁵⁹ who stand alone, unaccompanied by any male. The minor male divinities are also, it would seem, very generally without female counterparts.¹⁶⁰

Of these minor male divinities the most noticeable are Martu, a son of Anu, who is called "the minister of the deep," and seems to correspond to the Greek Erebus;¹⁶¹ Sargana, another son of Anu, from whom Sargon is thought by some to have derived his name;¹⁶² Idak, god of the Tigris; Supulat, lord of the Euphrates;¹⁶³ and Il or Ra, who seems to be the Babylonian chief god transferred to Assyria, and there placed in a humble position.¹⁶⁴ Besides these, cuneiform scholars recognize in the Inscriptions some scores of divine names, of more or less doubtful etymology, some of which are thought to designate distinct gods, while others may be names of deities known familiarly to us under a different appellation.¹⁶⁵ Into this branch of the subject it is not proposed to enter in the present work, which addresses itself to the general reader.

It is probable that, besides gods, the Assyrians acknowledged the existence of a number of genii, some of whom they regarded as powers of good, others as powers of evil. The winged figure wearing the horned cap, which is so constantly represented as attending upon the monarch when he is employed in any sacred function,¹⁶⁶ would seem to be his tutelary genius—a benignant spirit who watches over him, and protects him from the spirits of darkness. This figure commonly bears in the right hand either a pomegranate or a pine-cone, while the left is either free or else supports a sort of plaited bag or basket. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 6.] Where the pine-cone is carried, it is invariably pointed towards the monarch, as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which grace and power passed from the genius to the mortal whom he had undertaken to guard. Why the pine-cone was chosen for this purpose it is difficult to form a conjecture. Perhaps it had originally become a sacred emblem merely as a symbol of productiveness,¹⁶⁷ after which it was made to subserve a further purpose, without much regard to its old symbolical meaning.

The sacred basket, held in the left hand, is of still more dubious interpretation. It is an object of great elegance, always elaborately and sometimes very tastefully ornamented.¹⁶⁸ Pos-

sibly it may represent the receptacle in which the divine gifts are stored, and from which they can be taken by the genius at his discretion, to be bestowed upon the mortal under his care.

Another good genius would seem to be represented by the hawk-headed figure, which is likewise found in attendance upon the monarch, attentively watching his proceedings. This figure has been called that of a god, and has been supposed to represent the Nisroch of Holy Scripture;¹⁶⁹ but the only ground for such an identification is the conjectural derivation of Nisroch from a root *nisr*, which in some Semitic languages signifies a "hawk" or "falcon." As *nisr*, however, has not been found with any such meaning in Assyrian, and as the word "Nisroch" nowhere appears in the Inscriptions,¹⁷⁰ it must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful whether there is any real connection between the hawk-headed figure and the god in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 5.] The various readings of the Septuagint version¹⁷¹ make it extremely uncertain what was the name actually written in the original Hebrew text. Nisroch, which is utterly unlike any divine name hitherto found in the Assyrian records, is most probable a corruption. At any rate there are no sufficient grounds for identifying the god mentioned, whatever the true reading of his name may be, with the hawk-headed figure, which has the appearance of an attendant genius rather than that of a god, and which was certainly not included among the main deities of Assyria.¹⁷²

Representations of evil genii are comparatively infrequent; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding as either an evil genius, or a representation of the evil principle, the monster—half lion, half eagle—which in the Nimrud sculptures¹⁷³ retreats from the attacks of a god, probably Vul,¹⁷⁴ who assails him with thunderbolts. [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 1.] Again, in the case of certain grotesque statuettes found at Khorsabad, one of which has already been represented,¹⁷⁵ where a human figure has the head of a lion with the ears of an ass, the most natural explanation seems to be that an evil genius is intended. In another instance, where we see two monsters with heads like the statuette just mentioned, placed on human bodies, the legs of which terminate in eagles' claws—both of them armed with daggers and maces, and engaged in a struggle with one another¹⁷⁶—we seem to have a symbolical representation of the tendency of evil to turn upon itself, and reduce itself to feebleness by internal quarrel and disorder.¹⁷⁷ A considerable

number of instances occur in which a human figure, with the head of a hawk or eagle, threatens a winged human-headed lion—the emblem of Nergal—with a strap or mace.¹⁷⁸ In these we may have a spirit of evil assailing a god, or possibly one god opposing another—the hawk-headed god or genius driving Nergal (*i.e.*, War) beyond the Assyrian borders.

If we pass from the objects to the mode of worship in Assyria, we must notice at the outset the strongly idolatrous character of the religion. Not only were images of the gods worshipped set up, as a matter of course, in every temple dedicated to their honor, but the gods were sometimes so identified with their images as to be multiplied in popular estimation when they had several famous temples, in each of which was a famous image. Thus we hear of the Ishtar of Arbela, the Ishtar of Nineveh, and the Ishtar of Babylon, and find these goddesses invoked separately, as distinct divinities, by one and the same king in one and the same Inscription.¹⁷⁹ In other cases, without this multiplication, we observe expressions which imply a similar identification of the actual god with the mere image. Tiglath-Pileser I. boasts that he has set Anu and Vul (*i.e.*, their images) up in their places.¹⁸⁰ He identifies repeatedly the images which he carries off from foreign countries with the gods of those countries.¹⁸¹ In a similar spirit Sennacherib asks, by the mouth of Rabshakeh, "*Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?*"¹⁸²—and again unable to rise to the conception of a purely spiritual deity, supposes that, because Hezekiah has destroyed all the images throughout Judæa,¹⁸³ he has left his people without any divine protection.¹⁸⁴ The carrying off of the idols from conquered countries, which we find universally practised, was not perhaps intended as a mere sign of the power of the conqueror, and of the superiority of his gods to those of his enemies; it was probably designed further to weaken those enemies by depriving them of their celestial protectors; and it may even have been viewed as strengthening the conqueror by multiplying his divine guardians. It was certainly usual to remove the images in a reverential manner;¹⁸⁵ and it was the custom to deposit them in some of the principal temples of Assyria.¹⁸⁶ We may presume that there lay at the root of this practice a real belief in the supernatural power of the images themselves, and a notion that, with the possession of the images, this power likewise changed sides and passed over from the conquered to the conquerors

Assyrian idols were in stone, baked clay, or metal. Some images of Nebo and of Ishtar have been obtained from the ruins. Those of Nebo are standing figures, of a larger size than the human, though not greatly exceeding it. They have been much injured by time, and it is difficult to pronounce decidedly on their original workmanship; but, judging by what appears, it would seem to have been of a ruder and coarser character than that of the slabs or of the royal statues. The Nebo images are heavy, formal, inexpressive, and not over well-proportioned; but they are not wanting in a certain quiet dignity which impresses the beholder.¹⁸⁷ They are unfortunately disfigured, like so many of the lions and bulls, by several lines of cuneiform writing inscribed round their bodies; but this artistic defect is pardoned by the antiquarian, who learns from the inscribed lines the fact that the statues represent Nebo, and the time and circumstances of their dedication.

Clay idols are very frequent. They are generally in a good material, and are of various sizes, yet never approaching to the full stature of humanity. Generally they are mere statuettes, less than a foot in height. Specimens have been selected for representation in the preceding volume, from which a general idea of their character is obtainable.¹⁸⁸ They are, like the stone idols, formal and inexpressive in style, while they are even ruder and coarser than those figures in workmanship. We must regard them as intended chiefly for private use among the mass of the population,¹⁸⁹ while we must view the stone idols as the objects of public worship in the shrines and temples.

Idols in metal have not hitherto appeared among the objects recovered from the Assyrian cities. We may conclude, however, from the passage of Nahum prefixed to this chapter,¹⁹⁰ as well as from general probability, that they were known and used by the Assyrians, who seem to have even admitted them—no less than stone statues—into their temples. The ordinary metal used was no doubt bronze; but in Assyria, as in Babylonia,¹⁹¹ silver, and perhaps in some few instances gold, may have been employed for idols, in cases where they were intended as proofs to the world at large of the wealth and magnificence of a monarch.

The Assyrians worshipped their gods chiefly with sacrifices and offerings. Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that he offered sacrifice to Anu and Vul on completing the repairs of their temple.¹⁹² Asshur-izir-pal says that he sacrificed to the gods after

embarking on the Mediterranean.¹⁹³ Vul-lush IV. sacrificed to Bel-Merodach, Nebo, and Nergal, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha.¹⁹⁴ Sennacherib offered sacrifices to Hoa on the sea-shore after an expedition in the Persian Gulf.¹⁹⁵ Esarhaddon "slew great and costly sacrifices" at Nineveh upon completing his great palace in that capital.¹⁹⁶ Sacrifice was clearly regarded as a duty by the kings generally, and was the ordinary mode by which they propitiated the favor of the national deities.

With respect to the mode of sacrifice we have only a small amount of information, derived from a very few bas-reliefs. These unite in representing the bull as the special sacrificial animal.¹⁹⁷ In one¹⁹⁸ we simply see a bull brought up to a temple by the king; but in another,¹⁹⁹ which is more elaborate, we seem to have the whole of a sacrificial scene fairly, if not exactly, brought before us. [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 1.] Towards the front of the temple, where the god, recognizable by his horned cap, appears seated upon a throne, with an attendant priest, who is beardless, paying adoration to him, advances a procession consisting of the king and six priests, one of whom carries a cup, while the other five are employed about the animal. The king pours a libation over a large bowl, fixed in a stand, immediately in front of a tall fire-altar, from which flames are rising. Close behind this stands the priest with a cup, from which we may suppose that the monarch will pour a second libation. Next we observe a bearded priest directly in front of the bull, checking the advance of the animal, which is not to be offered till the libation is over. The bull is also held by a pair of priests, who walk behind him and restrain him with a rope attached to one of his fore-legs a little above the hoof. Another pair of priests, following closely on the footsteps of the first pair, completes the procession: the four seem, from the position of their heads and arms, to be engaged in a solemn chant. It is probable, from the flame upon the altar,²⁰⁰ that there is to be some burning of the sacrifice; while it is evident, from the altar being of such a small size, that only certain parts of the animal can be consumed upon it. We may conclude therefore that the Assyrian sacrifices resembled those of the classical nations,²⁰¹ consisting not of whole burnt offerings, but of a selection of choice parts, regarded as specially pleasing to the gods, which were placed upon the altar and burnt, while the remainder of the victim was consumed by priest or people.

Assyrian altars were of various shapes and sizes. One type was square, and of no great height; it had its top ornamented with gradines, below which the sides were either plain or fluted.²⁰² Another which was also of moderate height, was triangular, but with a circular top, consisting of a single flat stone, perfectly plain, except that it was sometimes inscribed round the edge.²⁰³ [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 2.] A third type is that represented in the sacrificial scene. [Pl. CXLIV.] This is a sort of portable stand—narrow, but of considerable height, reaching nearly to a man's chin. Altars of this kind seem to have been carried about by the Assyrians in their expeditions: we see them occasionally in the entrenched camps,²⁰⁴ and observe priests officiating at them in their dress of office. [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 3.]

Besides their sacrifices of animals, the Assyrian kings were accustomed to deposit in the temples of their gods, as thank-offerings, many precious products from the countries which they overran in their expeditions. Stones and marbles of various kinds, rare metals, and images of foreign deities, are particularly mentioned;²⁰⁵ but it would seem to be most probable that some portion of all the more valuable articles was thus dedicated. Silver and gold were certainly used largely in the adornment of the temples, which are sometimes said to have been made "as splendid as the sun," by reason of the profuse employment upon them of these precious metals.²⁰⁶

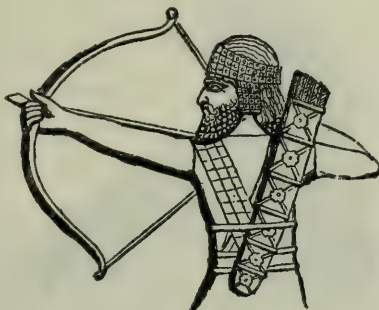
It is difficult to determine how the ordinary worship of the gods was conducted. The sculptures are for the most part monuments erected by kings; and when these have a religious character, they represent the performance by the kings of their own religious duties, from which little can be concluded as to the religious observances of the people. The kings seem to have united the priestly with the regal character; and in the religious scenes representing their acts of worship, no priest ever intervenes between them and the god, or appears to assume any but a very subordinate position. The king himself stands and worships in close proximity to the holy tree; with his own hand he pours libations; and it is not unlikely that he was entitled with his own arm to sacrifice victims.²⁰⁷ But we can scarcely suppose that the people had these privileges. Sacerdotal ideas have prevailed in almost all Oriental monarchies, and it is notorious that they had a strong hold upon the neighboring and nearly connected kingdom of Baby-

Fig. 1.



Foot Archers of the lightest equipment. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 2.



Mode of carrying the Quiver. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 3.



Foot spearman of the time of Sennacherib.



Wicker shield of spearmen. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 5



Wicker shield or targe. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 5.



2



3



4



5



6



Assyrian crested helmets, from the bas-reliefs.

Fig. 3.

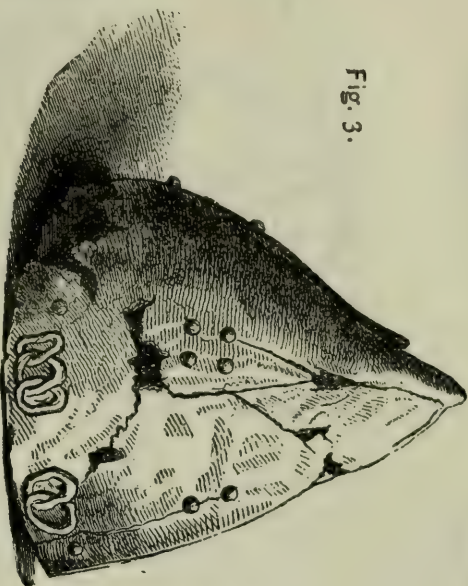


Fig. 4.



Pointed Helmet
with curtain of
scales (Nimrud)

Fig. 1.



Metal Shield of the
latest period.

Fig. 2.



Slinger. (Tyne of
Asshur-bani-pal.)

Iron Helmet (from Koyunjik)

lon. The Assyrians generally, it is probable, approached the gods through their priests; and it would seem to be these priests who are represented upon the cylinders as introducing worshippers to the gods, dressed themselves in long robes, and with a curious mitre upon their heads. The worshipper seldom comes empty-handed. He carries commonly in his arms an antelope or young goat,²⁰⁸ which we may presume to be an offering intended to propitiate the deity. [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 2.]

It is remarkable that the priests in the sculptures are generally, if not invariably, beardless.²⁰⁹ It is scarcely probable that they were eunuchs, since mutilation is in the East always regarded as a species of degradation. Perhaps they merely shaved the beard for greater cleanliness, like the priests of the Egyptians;²¹⁰ and possibly it was a custom only obligatory on the upper grades of the priesthood.²¹¹

We have no evidence of the establishment of set festivals in Assyria. Apparently the monarchs decided, of their own will, when a feast should be held to any god;²¹² and, proclamation being made, the feast was held accordingly. Vast numbers, especially of the chief men, were assembled on such occasions; numerous sacrifices were offered, and the festivities lasted for several days. A considerable proportion of the worshippers were accommodated in the royal palace, to which the temple was ordinarily a mere adjunct, being fed at the king's cost, and lodged in the halls and other apartments.²¹³

The Assyrians made occasionally a religious use of fasting. The evidence on this point is confined to the Book of Jonah,²¹⁴ which, however, distinctly shows both the fact and the nature of the usage. When a fast was proclaimed, the king, the nobles, and the people exchanged their ordinary apparel for sackcloth, sprinkled ashes upon their heads, and abstained alike from food and drink until the fast was over. The animals also that were within the walls of the city where the fast was commanded, had sackcloth placed upon them;²¹⁵ and the same abstinence was enforced upon them as was enjoined on the inhabitants. Ordinary business was suspended, and the whole population united in prayer to Asshur, the supreme god, whose pardon they entreated, and whose favor they sought to propitiate. These proceedings were not merely formal. On the occasion mentioned in the book of Jonah, the repentance of the Ninevites seems to have been sincere. "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented

of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them: and he did it not." ²¹⁶

The religious sentiment appears, on the whole, to have been strong and deep-seated among the Assyrians. Although religion had not the prominence in Assyria which it possessed in Egypt, or even in Greece—although the temple was subordinated to the palace, ²¹⁷ and the most imposing of the representations of the gods ²¹⁸ were degraded to mere architectural ornaments—yet the Assyrians appear to have been really, nay, even earnestly, religious. Their religion, it must be admitted, was of a sensuous character. They not only practised image-worship, but believed in the actual power of the idols to give protection or work mischief; nor could they rise to the conception of a purely spiritual and immaterial deity. Their ordinary worship was less one of prayer than one by means of sacrifices and offerings. They could, however, we know, in the time of trouble, utter sincere prayers; and we are bound therefore to credit them with an honest purpose in respect of the many solemn addresses and invocations which occur both in their public and their private documents. The numerous mythological tablets ²¹⁹ testify to the large amount of attention which was paid to religious subjects by the learned; while the general character of their names, and the practice of inscribing sacred figures and emblems upon their signets, which was almost universal, seem to indicate a spirit of piety on the part of the mass of the people.

The sensuous cast of the religion naturally led to a pompous ceremonial, a fondness for processional display, and the use of magnificent vestments. These last are represented with great minuteness in the Nimrud sculptures. ²²⁰ The dresses of those engaged in sacred functions seem to have been elaborately embroidered, for the most part with religious figures and emblems, such as the winged circle, the pine-cone, the pomegranate, the sacred tree, the human-headed lion, and the like. Armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and earrings were worn by the officiating priests, whose heads were either encircled with a richly-ornamented fillet, ²²¹ or covered with a mitre or high cap of imposing appearance. ²²² Musicians had a place in the processions, and accompanied the religious ceremonies with playing or chanting, or, in some instances, possibly with both.

It is remarkable that the religious emblems of the Assyrians are almost always free from that character of grossness which,

in the classical works of art, so often offends modern delicacy. The sculptured remains present us with no representations at all parallel to the phallic emblems of the Greeks. Still we are perhaps not entitled to conclude, from this comparative purity, that the Assyrian religion was really exempt from that worst feature of idolatrous systems—a licensed religious sensualism. According to Herodotus the Babylonian worship of Beltis was disgraced by a practice which even he, heathen as he was, regarded as “most shameful.”²²³ Women were required once in their lives to repair to the temple of this goddess, and there offer themselves to the embrace of the first man who desired their company. In the Apocryphal Book of Baruch we find a clear allusion to the same custom,²²⁴ so that there can be little doubt of its having really obtained in Babylonia; but if so, it would seem to follow, almost as a matter of course, that the worship of the same identical goddess in the adjoining country included a similar usage. It may be to this practice that the prophet Nahum alludes, where he denounces Nineveh as a “well-favored harlot,” the multitude of whose harlotries was notorious.²²⁵

Such then was the general character of the Assyrian religion. We have no means of determining whether the cosmogony of the Chaldæans formed any part of the Assyrian system, or was confined to the lower country. No ancient writer tells us anything of the Assyrian notions on this subject, nor has the decipherment of the monuments thrown as yet any light upon it. It would be idle therefore to prolong the present chapter by speculating upon a matter concerning which we have at present no authentic data.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

Τὰ παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὖρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεύσα.—
THUCID. i. 20.

THE chronology of the Assyrian kingdom has long exercised, and divided, the judgments of the learned. On the one hand, Ctesias and his numerous followers—including, among the ancients, Cephailion, Castor, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolas of Da-

mascus, Trogus Pompeius, Velleius Paterculus, Josephus, Eusebius, and Moses of Chorêné; among the moderns, Freret, Rollin, and Clinton—have given the kingdom a duration of between thirteen and fourteen hundred years, and carried back its antiquity to a time almost coeval with the founding of Babylon; on the other, Herodotus, Volney, Heeren, B. G. Niebuhr, Brandis, and many others, have preferred a chronology which limits the duration of the kingdom to about six centuries and a half, and places the commencement in the thirteenth century B.C., when a flourishing empire had already existed in Chaldæa, or Babylonia, for a thousand years, or more. The questions thus mooted remain still, despite of the volumes which have been written upon them,¹ so far undecided, that it will be necessary to entertain and discuss them at some length in this place, before entering on the historical sketch which is needed to complete our account of the Second Monarchy.

The duration of a single unbroken empire continuously for 1306 (or 1360) years,² which is the time assigned to the Assyrian Monarchy by Ctesias, must be admitted to be a thing hard of belief, if not actually incredible. The Roman State, with all its elements of strength, had (we are told), as kingdom, commonwealth, and empire, a duration of no more than twelve centuries.³ The Chaldæan Monarchy lasted, as we have seen,⁴ about a thousand years, from the time of the Elamite conquest. The duration of the Parthian was about five centuries;⁵ of the first Persian, less than two and a half;⁶ of the Median, at the utmost, one and a half;⁷ of the later Babylonian, less than one.⁸ The only monarchy existing under conditions at all similar to Assyria, whereto an equally long—or rather a still longer—duration has been assigned with some show of reason, is Egypt.⁹ But there it is admitted that the continuity was interrupted by the long foreign domination of the Hyksos, and by at least one other foreign conquest—that of the Ethiopian Sabacos or Shebeks. According to Ctesias, one and the same dynasty occupied the Assyrian throne during the whole period of thirteen hundred years, Sardanapalus, the last king in his list, being the descendant and legitimate successor of Ninus.¹⁰

There can be no doubt that a monarchy lasting about six centuries and a half, and ruled by at least two or three different dynasties, is *per se* a thing far more probable than one ruled by one and the same dynasty for more than thirteen

centuries. And therefore, if the historical evidence in the two cases is at all equal—or rather, if that which supports the more improbable account does not greatly preponderate—we ought to give credence to the more moderate and probable of the two statements.

Now, putting aside authors who merely re-echo the statements of others, there seem to be, in the present case, two and two only distinct original authorities—Herodotus and Ctesias. Of these two, Herodotus is the earlier. He writes within two centuries of the termination of the Assyrian rule,¹¹ whereas Ctesias writes at least thirty years later.¹² He is of unimpeachable honesty, and may be thoroughly trusted to have reported only what he had heard.¹³ He had travelled in the East, and had done his best to obtain accurate information upon Oriental matters, consulting on the subject, among others, the Chaldæans of Babylon.¹⁴ He had, moreover, taken special pains to inform himself upon all that related to Assyria, which he designed to make the subject of an elaborate work distinct from his general history.¹⁵

Ctesias, like Herodotus, had had the advantage of visiting the East. It may be argued that he possessed even better opportunities than the earlier writer for becoming acquainted with the views which the Orientals entertained of their own past. Herodotus probably devoted but a few months, or at most a year or two, to his Oriental travels; Ctesias passed seventeen years at the Court of Persia.¹⁶ Herodotus was merely an ordinary traveller, and had no peculiar facilities for acquiring information in the East; Ctesias was court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon,¹⁷ and was thus likely to gain access to any archives which the Persian kings might have in their keeping.¹⁸ But these advantages seem to have been more than neutralized by the temper and spirit of the man. He commenced his work with the broad assertion that Herodotus was “a liar,”¹⁹ and was therefore bound to differ from him when he treated of the same periods or nations. He does differ from him, and also from Thucydides,²⁰ whenever they handle the same transactions; but in scarcely a single instance where he differs from either writer does his narrative seem to be worthy of credit. The cuneiform monuments, while they generally confirm Herodotus, contradict Ctesias perpetually.²¹ He is at variance with Manetho on Egyptian, with Ptolemy on Babylonian, chronology.²² No independent writer confirms him on any important point. His

Oriental history is quite incompatible with the narrative of Scripture.²³ On every ground, the judgment of Aristotle, of Plutarch, of Arrian, of Scaliger,²⁴ and of almost all the best critics of modern times,²⁵ with respect to the credibility of Ctesias, is to be maintained, and his authority is to be regarded as of the very slightest value in determining any controverted matter.

The chronology of Herodotus, which is on all accounts to be preferred, assigns the commencement of the Assyrian Empire to about B.C. 1250, or a little earlier,²⁶ and gives the monarchy a duration of nearly 650 years from that time. The Assyrians, according to him, held the undisputed supremacy of Western Asia for 520 years, or from about B.C. 1250 to about B.C. 730—after which they maintained themselves in an independent but less exalted position for about 130 years longer, till nearly the close of the seventh century before our era. These dates are not indeed to be accepted without reserve; but they are approximate to the truth, and are, at any rate, greatly preferable to those of Ctesias.

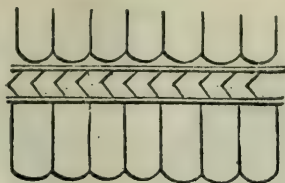
The chronology of Berosus was, apparently, not very different from that of Herodotus. There can be no reasonable doubt that his sixth Babylonian dynasty represents the line of kings which ruled in Babylon during the period known as that of the Old Empire in Assyria. Now this line, which was Semitic, appears to have been placed upon the throne by the Assyrians, and to have been among the first results of that conquering energy which the Assyrians at this time began to develop. Its commencement should therefore synchronize with the foundation of an Assyrian Empire. The views of Berosus on this latter subject may be gathered from what he says of the former. Now the scheme of Berosus gave as the date of the establishment of this dynasty about the year B.C. 1300; and as Berosus undoubtedly placed the fall of the Assyrian Empire in B.C. 625, it may be concluded, and with a near approach to certainty, that he would have assigned the Empire a duration of about 675 years, making it commence with the beginning of the thirteenth century before our era, and terminate midway in the latter half of the seventh.

If this be a true account of the ideas of Berosus, his scheme of Assyrian chronology would have differed only slightly from that of Herodotus; as will be seen if we place the two schemes side by side.

Fig 5

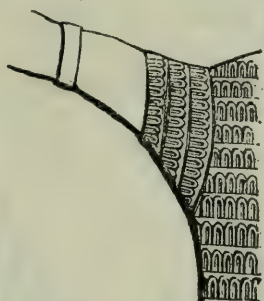


Soldier undermining a wall, sheltered by *gerrhon*.



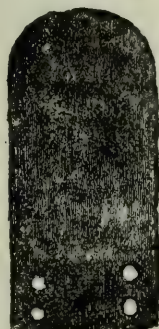
Arrangement of Scales in Assyrian Scale-armour of the second period (Khorsabad)

Fig. 3.



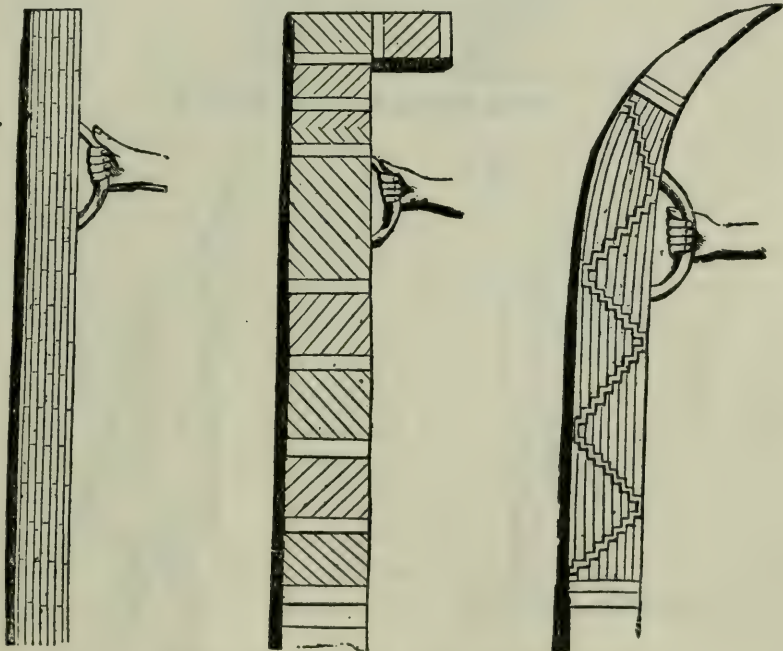
Sleeve of a coat of mail—scale-armour of the first period (Nimrud).

Fig. 1



Scale (Egyptian).

Fig. 4.

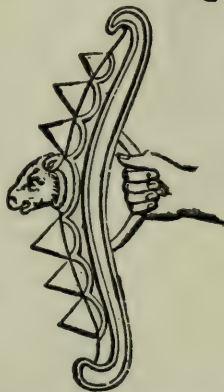
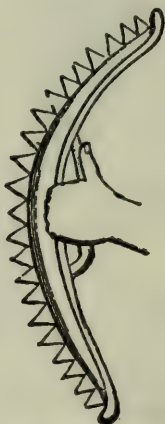


Assyrian *Gerrha*, or large wicker Shields.



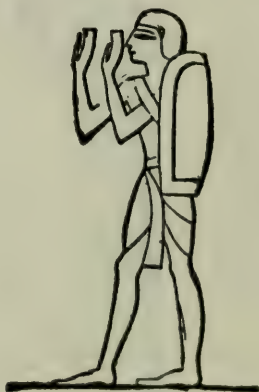
Round Shields or Targes, patterned (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



Convex Shields with teeth (Nimrud)

Fig. 3.



Egyptian convex shield, worn on back.

Assyrian ditto (Koyunjik.)

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.		ACCORDING TO BEROSUS.	
	ab. B.C. ab. B.C.		ab. B.C. ab. B.C.
Great Empire, lasting 520 yrs.	1250 to 730	Assyrian Dynasty of 45 kings	
		in Babylon (526 years)	1301 to 775
Revolt of Medes	730	Reign of Pul (about 28 years)	775 to 747
Curtailed Kingdom, lasting		Assyrian kings from Pul to Sa-	
130 years.	730 to 600	racus (122 years)	747 to 625
Destruction of Nineveh	600	Destruction of Nineveh	625

In the case of a history so ancient as that of Assyria, we might well be content if our chronology were vague merely to the extent of the variations here indicated. The parade of exact dates with reference to very early times is generally fallacious, unless it be understood as adopted simply for the sake of convenience. In the history of Assyria, however, we may make a nearer approach to exactness than in most others of the same antiquity, owing to the existence of two chronological documents of first-rate importance. One of these is the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which, though it is directly a Babylonian record, has important bearings on the chronology of Assyria. The other is an Assyrian Canon, discovered and edited by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1862,²⁷ which gives the succession of the kings for 251 years, commencing (as is thought) B.C. 911 and terminating B.C. 660, eight years after the accession of the son and successor of Esarhaddon. These two documents, which harmonize admirably, carry up an *exact* Assyrian chronology almost from the close of the Empire to the tenth century before our era. For the period anterior to this we have, in the Assyrian records, one or two isolated dates, dates fixed in later times with more or less of exactness; and of these we might have been inclined to think little, but that they harmonize remarkably with the statements of Berosus and Herodotus, which place the commencement of the Empire about B.C. 1300, or a little later. We have, further, certain lists of kings, forming continuous lines of descent from father to son, by means of which we may fill up the blanks that would otherwise remain in our chronological scheme with approximate dates calculated from an estimate of generations. From these various sources the subjoined scheme has been composed, the sources being indicated at the side, and the fixed dates being carefully distinguished from those which are uncertain or approximate.

It will be observed that in this list the chronology of Assyria is carried back to a period nearly a century and a half ante-

KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

B.C.	B.C.		
-	-	Bel-sumili-kapi * * * *	Called the founder of the kingdom on a genealogical tablet.
-	-	Irba-vul. * * * *	Mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I. as a former king. A very archaic tablet in the British Museum is dated in his reign.
-	-	Asshur-iddin-akhi * * * *	Mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser as a former king.
Ab. 1440 to 1420	Asshur-bil-nisi-su	}	Mentioned on a synchronistic tablet, which connects them with the time of Purna-puriyas, the Chaldæan king. Asshur-upallit mentioned on Kileh-Sherghat bricks.
- 1420 to 1400	Buzur-Asshur (successor)		
- 1400 to 1380	Asshur-upallit (successor)		
- 1380 to 1360	Bel-lush (his son)	}	Names and succession found on Kileh-Sherghat bricks, vases, etc. Shalmaneser mentioned also on a genealogical slab and in the standard inscription of Nimrud.
- 1360 to 1340	Pud-il (his son)		
- 1340 to 1320	Vul-lush I. (his son)		
- 1320 to 1300	Shalmaneser I. (his son)		
- 1300 to 1280	Tiglathi-Nin (his son) * * * *		Mentioned on a genealogical tablet. Called "the conqueror of Babylon," and placed by Sennacherib 600 yrs. before his own capture of Babylon in B.C. 703.
- 1230 to 1210	Bel-kudur-uzur		Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet as the predecessor of Nin-pala-zira.
- 1210 to 1190	Nin-pala-zira (successor)	}	Names and relationship given in cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I. Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet above spoken of. Date of Tiglath-Pileser I. fixed by the Bavian inscription. Dates of the other kings calculated from his at 20 years to a generation. Mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II.
- 1190 to 1170	Asshur-dayan I. (his son)		
- 1170 to 1150	Mutaggil-Nebo (his son)		
- 1150 to 1130	Asshur-ris-ilim (his son)		
- 1130 to 1110	Tiglath-Pileser I. (his son)		
- 1110 to 1090	Asshur-bil-kala (his son)		
- 1090 to 1070	Shamas-Vul I. (his brother) * * * *		
	Asshur-mazur * * * *		
- 930 to 911	Asshur-dayan II.		The kings from Asshur-dayan II. to Vul-lush III. are proved to have been in direct succession by the Kileh-Sherghat and Nimrud monuments. The last nine reigns are given in the Assyrian Canon. The Canon is the sole authority for the last three. The dates of the whole series are determined from the Canon of Ptolemy by calculating back from B.C. 680, his date for the accession of Esar-haddon (Aridanus). They might also be fixed from the year of the great eclipse.
911 to 889	Vul-lush II. (his son)		
889 to 883	Tiglathi-Nin II. (his son)		
883 to 858	Asshur-izir-pal (his son)		
858 to 823	Shalmaneser II. (his son)		
823 to 810	Shamas-Vul II. (his son)		
810 to 781	Vul-lush III. (his son)		
781 to 771	Shalmaneser III.		
771 to 753	Asshur-dayan III.		
753 to 745	Asshur-lush		
745 to 727	Tiglath-Pileser II.		The years of these kings, from Esar-haddon upwards, are taken from the Assyrian Canon. The dates accord strictly with the Canon of Ptolemy. The last year of Asshur-bani-pal is to some extent conjectural.
727 to 722	Shalmaneser IV.		
722 to 705	Sargon		
705 to 681	Sennacherib (his son)		
681 to 668	Esar-haddon (his son)		
668 to 626(?)	Asshur-bani-pal (his son)		
626(?) to 625	Asshur-emid-ilin		

Early Kingdom.

Great Empire of Herodotus.
526 years of Berosus.Later Kingdom
of Herodotus
and Berosus.

rrior to B.C. 1300, the approximate date, according to Herodotus and Berosus, of the establishment of the "Empire." It might have been concluded, from the mere statement of Herodotus, that Assyria existed before the time of which he spoke, since an empire can only be formed by a people already flourishing. Assyria as an independent kingdom is the natural antecedent of Assyria as an Imperial power; and this earlier phase of her existence might reasonably have been presumed from the later.²⁸ The monuments furnish distinct evidence of the time in question in the fourth, fifth, and sixth kings of the above list, who reigned while the Chaldæan empire was still flourishing in Lower Mesopotamia.²⁹ Chronological and other considerations induce a belief that the four kings who follow likewise belonged to it; and that the "Empire" commenced with Tiglathi-Nin I., who is the first great conqueror.

The date assigned to the accession of this king, B.C. 1300, which accords so nearly with Berosus's date for the commencement of his 526 years, is obtained from the monuments in the following manner. First, Sennacherib, in an inscription set up in or about his tenth year (which was B.C. 694), states that he recovered from Babylon certain images of gods, which had been carried thither by Merodach-idbin-akhi, king of Babylon, who had obtained them in his war with Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, 418 years previously.³⁰ This gives for the date of the war with Tiglath-Pileser the year B.C. 1112. As that monarch does not mention the Babylonian war in the annals which relate the events of his early years,³¹ we must suppose his defeat to have taken place towards the close of his reign, and assign him the space from B.C. 1130 to B.C. 1110, as, approximately, that during which he is likely to have held the throne. Allowing then to the six monumental kings who preceded Tiglath-Pileser average reigns of twenty years each, which is the actual average furnished by the lines of direct descent in Assyria, where the length of each reign is known,³² and allowing fifty years for the break between Tiglathi-Nin and Bel-kudur-uzur, we are brought to (1130+120+50) B.C. 1300 for the accession of the first Tiglathi-Nin, who took Babylon, and is the first king of whom extensive conquests are recorded.³³ Secondly, Sennacherib in another inscription reckons 600 years from his first conquest of Babylon (B.C. 703) to a year in the reign of this monarch. This "six hundred" may be used as a round number; but as Sennacherib considered that he had the means of calculating exactly, he would probably not have used a round

number, unless it was tolerably near to the truth. Six hundred years before B.C. 703 brings us to B.C. 1303.

The chief uncertainty which attaches to the numbers in this part of the list arises from the fact that the nine kings from Tiglathi-Nin downwards do not form a single direct line. The inscriptions fail to connect Bel-kudur-uzur with Tiglathi-Nin, and there is thus a probable interval between the two reigns, the length of which can only be conjectured.

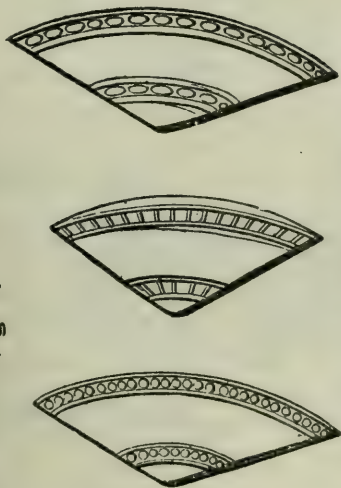
The dates assigned to the later kings, from Vul-lush II. to Esarhaddon inclusive, are derived from the Assyrian Canon taken in combination with the famous Canon of Ptolemy. The agreement between these documents, and between the latter and the Assyrian records generally, is exact;³⁴ and a confirmation is thus afforded to Ptolemy which is of no small importance. The dates from the accession of Vul-lush II. (B.C. 911) to the death of Esarhaddon (B.C. 668) would seem to have the same degree of accuracy and certainty which has been generally admitted to attach to the numbers of Ptolemy. They have been confirmed by the notice of a great eclipse in the eighth year of Asshur-dayan III., which is undoubtedly that of June 15, B.C. 763.³⁵

The reign of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, which commenced B.C. 668, is carried down to B.C. 626 on the combined authority of Berosus, Ptolemy, and the monuments. The monuments show that Asshur-bani-pal proclaimed himself king of Babylon after the death of Saül-mugina, whose last year was (according to Ptolemy) B.C. 647; and that from the date of this proclamation he reigned over Babylon at least twenty years. Polyhistor, who reports Berosus, has left us statements which are in close accordance, and from which we gather that the exact length of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal over Babylon was twenty-one years.³⁶ Hence, B.C. 626 is obtained as the year of his death. As Nineveh appears to have been destroyed B.C. 625 or 624, two years only are left for Asshur-bani-pal's son and successor, Asshur-emid-illin, the Saracus of Abydenus.

The framework of Assyrian chronology being thus approximately, and, to some extent, provisionally settled, we may proceed to arrange upon it the facts, so far as they have come down to us, of Assyrian history.

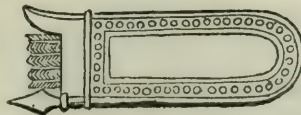
In the first place, then, if we ask ourselves where the Assyrians came from, and at what time they settled in the country which thenceforth bore their name, we seem to have an answer,

Fig. 1.



Assyrian convex shield, resembling the Greek (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



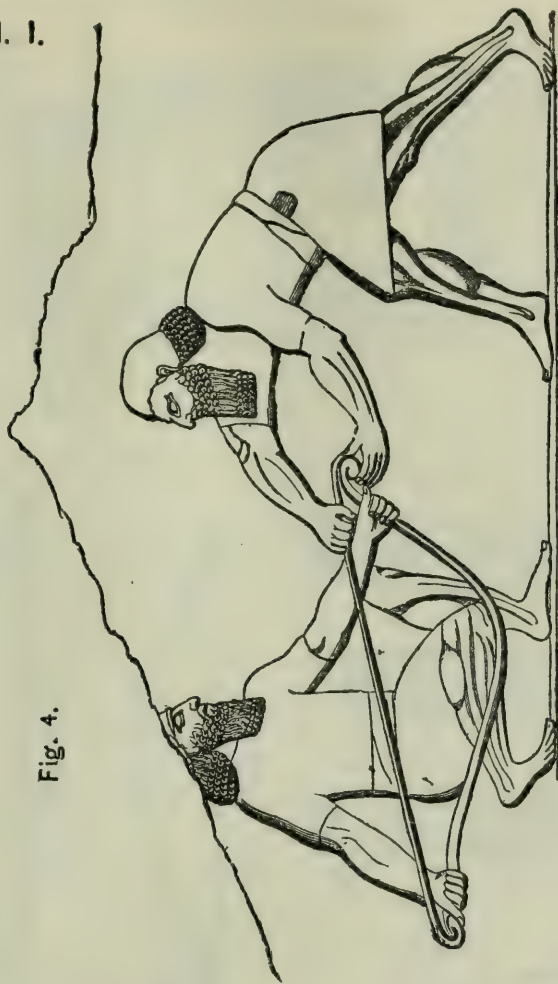
Quiver, with arrows and javelin (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



Ornamented End of Bow (Khorsabad).

Fig. 4.



Stringing the bow (Koyunjik).

contented with its condition. Again, it may have taken place by a single great movement, like that of the Tartar tribes, who transferred their allegiance from Russia to China in the reign of the Empress Catherine, and emigrated in a body from the banks of the Don to the eastern limits of Mongolia;⁴⁵ or it may have been a gradual and protracted change, covering a long term of years, like most of the migrations whereof we read in history. On the whole, there is perhaps some reason to believe that a spirit of enterprise about this time possessed the Semitic inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia, who voluntarily proceeded northwards in the hope of bettering their condition. Terah conducted one body from Ur to Harra; ⁴⁶ another removed itself from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean; ⁴⁷ while probably a third, larger than either of these two, ascended the course of the Tigris, occupied Adiabêné, with the adjacent regions, and, giving its own tribal name of Asshur to its chief city and territory, became known to its neighbors first as a distinct, and then as an independent and powerful people.

The Assyrians for some time after their change of abode were probably governed by Babylonian rulers, who held their office under the Chaldæan Emperor. Bricks of a Babylonian character have been found at Kileh-Sherghat, the original Assyrian capital, which are thought to be of greater antiquity than any of the purely Assyrian remains, and which may have been stamped by these provincial governors.⁴⁸ Ere long, however, the yoke was thrown off, and the Assyrians established a separate monarchy of their own in the upper country, while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing under native monarchs of the old ethnic type in the regions nearer to the sea. The special evidence which we possess of the co-existence side by side of these two kingdoms is furnished by a broken tablet of a considerably later date,⁴⁹ which seems to have contained, when complete, a brief but continuous sketch of the synchronous history of Babylonia and Assyria, and of the various transactions in which the monarchs of the two countries had been engaged one with another, from the most ancient times. This tablet has preserved to us the names of three very early Assyrian kings—Asshur-bil-nisi-su, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-upallit, of whom the two former are recorded to have made treaties of peace with the contemporary kings of Babylon;⁵⁰ while the last-named intervened in the domestic affairs of the country, depriving an usurping monarch of the throne, and

restoring it to the legitimate claimant, who was his own relation. Intermarriages, it appears, took place at this early date between the royal families of Assyria and Chaldæa; and Asshur-upallit, the third of the three kings, had united one of his daughters to Purna-puriyas, a Chaldæan monarch who has received notice in the preceding volume.⁵¹ On the death of Purna-puriyas, Kara-khar-das, the issue of this marriage, ascended the throne; but he had not reigned long before his subjects rebelled against his authority. A struggle ensued, in which he was slain, whereupon a certain Nazi-bugas, an usurper, became king, [the line of Purna-puriyas being set aside. Asshur-upallit, upon this, interposed. Marching an army into Babylonia, he defeated and slew the usurper, after which he placed on the throne another son of Purna-puriyas, the Kurri-galzu⁵² already mentioned in the account of the kings of Chaldæa.

What is most remarkable in the glimpse of history which this tablet opens to us is the power of Assyria, and the apparent terms of equality on which she stands with her neighbor. Not only does she treat as an equal with the great Southern Empire—not only is her royal house deemed worthy of furnishing wives to its princes—but when dynastic troubles arise there, she exercises a predominant influence over the fortunes of the contending parties, and secures victory to the side whose cause she espouses. Jealous as all nations are of foreign interposition in their affairs, we may be sure that Babylonia would not have succumbed on this occasion to Assyria's influence, had not her weight been such that, added to one side in a civil struggle, it produced a preponderance which defied resistance.

After this one short lift,⁵³ the curtain again drops over the history of Assyria for a space of about sixty years, during which our records tell us nothing but the mere names of the kings. It appears from the bricks of Kileh-Sherghat that Asshur-upallit was succeeded upon the throne by his son,⁵⁴ Bel-lush, or Bellikhus (Belochus?), who was in his turn followed by his son, Pudil, his grandson, Vul-lush, and his great-grandson, Shalmaneser, the first of the name. Of Bel-lush, Pudil, and Vul-lush I., we know only that they raised or repaired important buildings in their city of Asshur (now Kileh-Sherghat), which in their time, and for some centuries later, was the capital of the monarchy.

This place was not very favorably situated, being on the right bank of the Tigris, which is a far less fertile region than

the left, and not being naturally a place of any great strength. The Assyrian territory did not at this time, it is probable, extend very far to the north: at any rate, no need was as yet felt for a second city higher up the Tigris valley, much less for a transfer of the seat of government in that direction. Calah was certainly, and Nineveh probably, not yet built;⁵⁵ but still the kingdom had obtained a name among the nations; the term Assyria was applied geographically to the whole valley of the middle Tigris;⁵⁶ and a prophetic eye could see in the hitherto quiescent power the nation fated to send expeditions into Palestine, and to bear off its inhabitants into captivity.⁵⁷

Shalmaneser I. (ab. B.C. 1320) is chiefly known in Assyrian history as the founder of Calah (Nimrud),⁵⁸ the second, apparently, of those great cities which the Assyrian monarchs delighted to build and embellish. This foundation would of itself be sufficient to imply the growth of Assyria in his time towards the north, and would also mark its full establishment as the dominant power on the left as well as the right bank of the Tigris. Calah was very advantageously situated in a region of great fertility and of much natural strength, being protected on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the Shor-Derreh torrent, while the Greater Zab further defended it at the distance of a few miles on the south and south-east, and the Khazr or Ghazr-Su on the north-east.⁵⁹ Its settlement must have secured to the Assyrians the undisturbed possession of the fruitful and important district between the Tigris and the mountains, the Aturia or Assyria Proper of later times,⁶⁰ which ultimately became the great metropolitan region in which almost all the chief towns were situated.

It is quite in accordance with this erection of a sort of second capital, further to the north than the old one, to find, as we do, by the inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal, that Shalmaneser undertook expeditions against the tribes on the upper Tigris, and even founded cities in those parts, which he colonized with settlers brought from a distance. We do not know what the exact bounds of Assyria towards the north were before his time, but there can be no doubt that he advanced them; and he is thus entitled to the distinction of being the first known Assyrian conqueror.

With Tiglathi-Nin, the son and successor of Shalmaneser I., the spirit of conquest displayed itself in a more signal and striking manner. The probable date of this monarch has al-

ready been shown to synchronize closely with the time assigned by Berosus to the commencement of his sixth Babylonian dynasty, and by Herodotus to the beginning of his "Assyrian Empire."⁶¹ Now Tiglathi-Nin appears in the Inscriptions as the prince who first aspired to transfer to Assyria the supremacy hitherto exercised, or at any rate claimed, by Babylon. He made war upon the southern kingdom, and with such success that he felt himself entitled to claim its conquest, and to inscribe upon his signet-seal the proud title of "Conqueror of Babylonia."⁶² This signet-seal, left by him (as is probable) at Babylon, and recovered about six hundred years later by Sennacherib, shows to us that he reigned for some time in person at the southern capital,⁶³ where it would seem that he afterwards established an Assyrian dynasty—a branch perhaps of his own family. This is probably the exact event of which Berosus spoke as occurring 526 years before Phul or Pul, and which Herodotus regarded as marking the commencement of the Assyrian "Empire." We must not, however, suppose that Babylonia was from this time really subject continuously to the Court of Nineveh. The subjection may have been maintained for a little less than a century; but about that time we find evidence that the yoke of Assyria had been shaken off, and that the Babylonian monarchs, who have Semitic names, and are probably Assyrians by descent, had become hostile to the Ninevite kings, and were engaged in frequent wars with them.⁶⁴ No real permanent subjection of the Lower country to the Upper was effected till the time of Sargon; and even under the Sargonid dynasty revolts were frequent; nor were the Babylonians reconciled to the Assyrian sway till Esarhaddon united the two crowns in his own person, and reigned alternately at the two capitals. Still, it is probable that, from the time of Tiglathi-Nin, the Upper country was recognized as the superior of the two: it had shown its might by a conquest and the imposition of a dynasty—proofs of power which were far from counterbalanced by a few retaliatory raids adventured upon under favorable circumstances by the Babylonian princes. Its influence was therefore felt, even while its yoke was refused; and the Semitizing of the Chaldæans, commenced under Tiglathi-Nin, continued during the whole time of Assyrian preponderance; no effectual Turanian reaction ever set in; the Babylonian rulers, whether submissive to Assyria or engaged in hostilities against her, have equally Semitic names; and it does not appear that

any effort was at any time made to recover to the Turanian element of the population its early supremacy.

The line of direct descent, which has been traced in uninterrupted succession through eight monarchs, beginning with Asshur-bel-nisi-su, here terminates; and an interval occurs which can only be roughly estimated as probably not exceeding fifty years. Another consecutive series of eight kings follows, known to us chiefly through the famous Tiglath-Pileser cylinder (which gives the succession of five of them), but completed from the combined evidence of several other documents.⁶⁵ These monarchs, it is probable, reigned from about B.C. 1230 to B.C. 1070.

Bel-kudur-uzur, the first monarch of this second series, is known to us wholly through his unfortunate war with the contemporary king of Babylon. It seems that the Semitic line of kings, which the Assyrians had established in Babylon, was not content to remain very long in a subject position. In the time of Bel-kudur-uzur, Vul-baladan, the Babylonian vassal monarch, revolted; and a war followed between him and his Assyrian suzerain, which terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, who fell in a great battle, about B.C. 1210.

Nin-pala-zira succeeded. It is uncertain whether he was any relation to his predecessor, but clear that he avenged him. He is called "the king who organized the country of Assyria, and established the troops of Assyria in authority."⁶⁶ It appears that shortly after his accession, Vul-baladan of Babylon, elated by his previous successes, made an expedition against the Assyrian capital, and a battle was fought under the walls of Asshur, in which Nin-pala-zira was completely successful. The Babylonians fled, and left Assyria in peace during the remainder of the reign of this monarch.

Asshur-dayan, the third king of the series, had a long and prosperous reign.⁶⁷ He made a successful inroad into Babylonia, and returned into his own land with a rich and valuable booty. He likewise took down the temple which Shamas Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, had erected to the gods Asshur and Vul at Asshur, the Assyrian capital, because it was in a ruinous condition, and required to be destroyed or rebuilt. Asshur-dayan seems to have shrunk from the task of restoring so great a work, and therefore demolished the structure, which was not rebuilt for the space of sixty years from its demolition.⁶⁸ He was succeeded upon the throne by his son Mutaggil-Nebo.

Mutaggil-Nebo reigned probably from about B.C. 1170 to B.C. 1150. We are informed that "Asshur, the great Lord, aided him according to the wishes of his heart, and established him in strength in the government of Assyria."⁶⁹ Perhaps these expressions allude to internal troubles at the commencement of his reign, over which he was so fortunate as to triumph. We have no further particulars of this monarch.

Asshur-ris-ilim, the fourth king of the series, the son and successor of Mutaggil-Nebo, whose reign may be placed between B.C. 1150 and B.C. 1130, is a monarch of greater pretensions than most of his predecessors. In his son's Inscription he is called "the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed."⁷⁰ These expressions are so broad, that we must conclude from them, not merely that Asshur-ris-ilim, unlike the previous kings of the line, engaged in foreign wars, but that his expeditions had a great success, and paved the way for the extensive conquests of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser. Probably he turned his arms in various directions, like that monarch. Certainly he carried them southwards into Babylonia, where, as we learn from the synchronistic tablet of Babylonian and Assyrian history, he was engaged for some time in a war with Nebuchadnezzar (*Nabuk-udur-uzur*), the first known king of that name. It has been conjectured that he likewise carried them into Southern Syria and Palestine;⁷¹ and that, in fact, he is the monarch designated in the book of Judges by the name of Chushan-ris-athaim,⁷² who is called "the king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim)," and is said to have exercised dominion over the Israelites for eight years. This identification, however, is too uncertain to be assumed without further proof. The probable date of Chushan-ris-athaim is some two (or three) centuries earlier; and his title, "king of Mesopotamia," is one which is not elsewhere applied to Assyrians monarchs.

A few details have come down to us with respect to the Babylonian war of Asshur-ris-ilim. It appears that Nebuchadnezzar was the assailant. He began the war by a march up the Diyaleh and an advance on Assyria along the outlying Zegros hills, the route afterwards taken by the great Persian road described by Herodotus. Asshur-ris-ilim went out to meet him in person, engaged him in the mountain region, and repulsed his attack. Upon this the Babylonian monarch retired, and after an interval, the duration of which

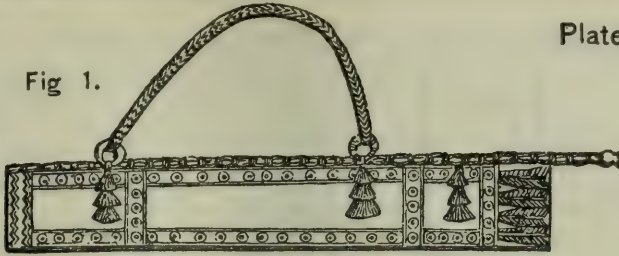
is unknown, advanced a second time against Assyria, but took now the direct line across the plain. Asshur-ris-ilim on this occasion was content to employ a general against the invader. He "sent" his chariots and his soldiers towards his southern border, and was again successful, gaining a second victory over his antagonist, who fled away, leaving in his hands forty chariots and a banner.

Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-ilim about B.C. 1130, is the first Assyrian monarch of whose history we possess copious details which can be set forth at some length. This is owing to the preservation and recovery of a lengthy document belonging to his reign—in which are recorded the events of his first five years.⁷³ As this document is the chief evidence we possess of the condition of Assyria,⁷⁴ the character and tone of thought of the kings, and indeed of the general state of the Eastern world, at the period in question—which synchronizes certainly with some portion of the dominion of the Judges over Israel, and probably with the early conquests of the Dorians in Greece⁷⁵—it is thought advisable to give in this place such an account of it, and such a number of extracts as shall enable the reader to form his own judgment on these several points.

The document opens with an enumeration and glorification of the "great gods" who "rule over heaven and earth," and are "the guardians of the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser." These are "Asshur, the great Lord, ruling supreme over the gods; Bel, the lord, father of the gods, lord of the world; Sin, the leader(?), the lord of empire(?); Shamas, the establisher of heaven and earth; Vul, he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands; Nin, the champion who subdues evil spirits and enemies; and Ishtar, the source of the gods, the queen of victory, she who arranges battles." These deities, who (it is declared) have placed Tiglath-Pileser upon the throne, have "made him firm, have confided to him the supreme crown, have appointed him in might to the sovereignty of the people of Bel, and have granted him pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power," are invoked to make the "duration of his empire continue forever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of Kharris-Matira."⁷⁶

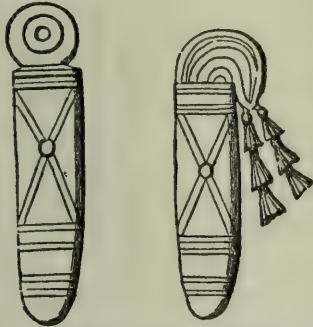
In the next section the king glorifies himself, enumerating his royal titles as follows: "Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king, king of the people of various tongues; king of the four regions; king of all kings; lord of lords; the supreme (?); monarch of

Fig 1.



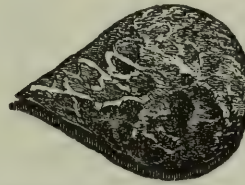
Quiver with projecting rod (Khorsabad).

Fig 2.



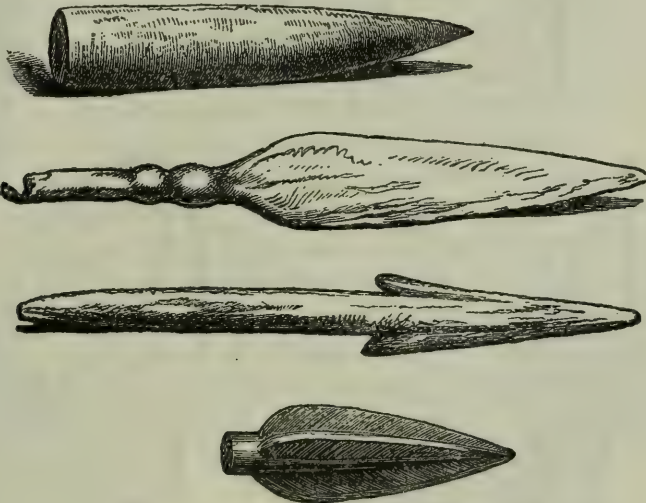
Assyrian covered Quivers
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Flint arrow-head (Nimrud).

Fig. 4



Bronze arrow-heads (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

Fig. 5



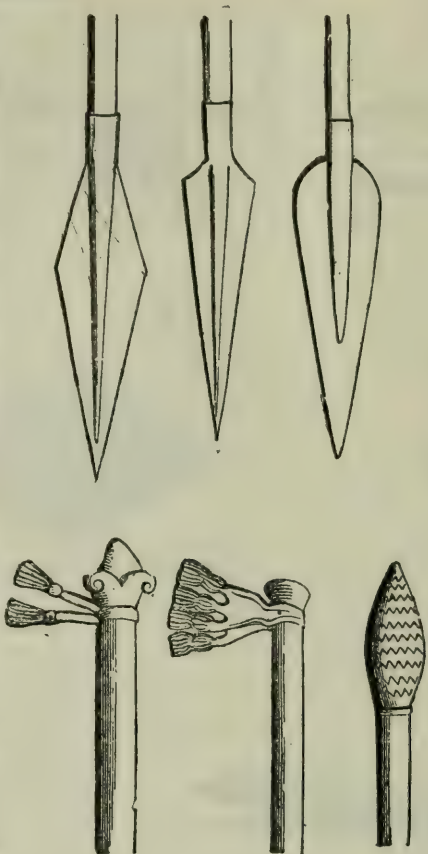
Assyrian Arrow.

Fig. 3.



Bronze spear-head from Nimrud.

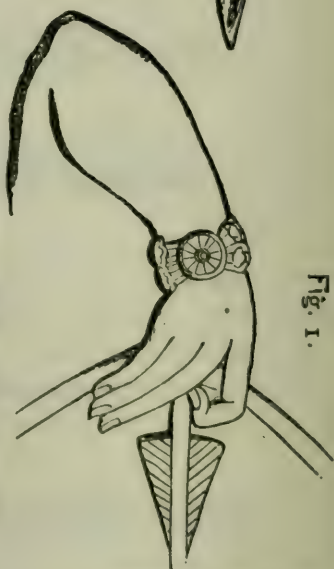
Fig. 4.



Spear-heads, from the Sculptures.

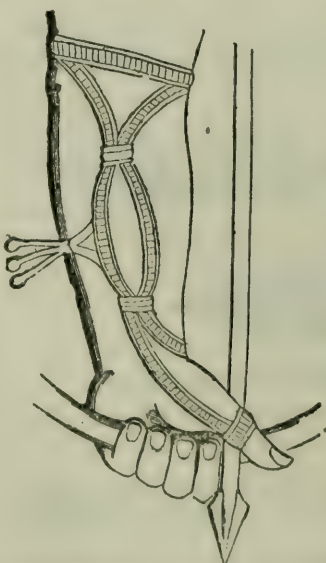
Ornamented Ends of Spear-shafts
(Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Mode of drawing the Bow (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Guard worn by an archer (Koyunjik).

monarchs; the illustrious chief, who, under the auspices of the Sun-god, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel; the mighty prince, whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions, and whose name he has made celebrated to posterity; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower country; the victorious hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions; the bright constellation who, as he wished, has warred against foreign countries, and under the auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Asshur.”⁷⁷

The royal historian, after this introduction, proceeds to narrate his actions—first in general terms declaring that he has subdued all the lands and the peoples round about, and then proceeding to particularize the various campaigns which he had conducted during the first five years of his reign. The earliest of these was against the Muskai, or Moschians, who are probably identical with the Meshech of Holy Scripture⁷⁸—a people governed (it is said) by five kings, and inhabiting the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, parts (apparently) of Taurus or Niphates.⁷⁹ These Moschians are said to have neglected for fifty years to pay the tribute due from them to the Assyrians, from which it would appear that they had revolted during the reign of Asshur-dayan, having previously been subject to Assyria.⁸⁰ At this time, with a force amounting to 20,000 men, they had invaded the neighboring district of Qummukh (Commagêné),⁸¹ an Assyrian dependency, and had made themselves masters of it. Tiglath-Pileser attacked them in this newly-conquered country, and completely defeated their army. He then reduced Commagêné, despite the assistance which the inhabitants received from some of their neighbors. He burnt the cities, plundered the temples, ravaged the open country, and carried off, either in the shape of plunder or of tribute, vast quantities of cattle and treasure.⁸²

The character of the warfare is indicated by such a passage as the following:—

“The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 men and their five kings, in the country of Qummukh I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of

their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants, and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves.”⁸⁸

The second campaign was partly in the same region and with the same people. The Moschians, who were still loth to pay tribute, were again attacked and reduced.⁸⁴ Commagêné was completely overrun, and the territory was attached to the Assyrian empire.⁸⁵ The neighboring tribes were assailed in their fastnesses, their cities burnt, and their territories ravaged.⁸⁶ At the same time war was made upon several other peoples or nations. Among these the most remarkable are the Khatti (Hittites), two of whose tribes, the Kaskians and Urumians,⁸⁷ had committed an aggression on the Assyrian territory: for this they were chastised by an invasion which they did not venture to resist, by the plundering of their valuables, and the carrying off of 120 of their chariots.⁸⁸ In another direction the Lower Zab was crossed, and the Assyrian arms were carried into the mountain region of Zagros, where certain strongholds were reduced and a good deal of treasure taken.⁸⁹

The third campaign was against the numerous tribes of the Naïri,⁹⁰ who seem to have dwelt at this time partly to the east of the Euphrates, but partly also in the mountain country west of the stream from Sumeîsat to the Gulf of Iskenderun.⁹¹ These tribes, it is said, had never previously made their submission to the Assyrians.⁹² They were governed by a number of petty chiefs or “kings,” of whom no fewer than twenty-three are particularized. The tribes east of the Euphrates seem to have been reduced with little resistance, while those who dwelt west of the river, on the contrary, collected their troops together, gave battle to the invaders, and made a prolonged and desperate defence. All, however, was in vain. The Assyrian monarch gained a great victory, taking 120 chariots, and then pursued the vanquished Naïri and their allies as far as “the Upper Sea,” *i.e.*, the Mediterranean. The usual ravage and destruction followed, with the peculiarity that the lives of the “kings” were spared, and that the country was put to a moderate tribute, *viz.*, 1200 horses and 200 head of cattle.⁹³

In the fourth campaign the Aramæans or Syrians were attacked by the ambitious monarch. They occupied at this time the valley of the Euphrates, from the borders of the Tsukhi, or Shuhites,⁹⁴ who held the river from about Anah to

Hit), as high up as Carchemish, the frontier town and chief stronghold of the Khatti or Hittites. Carchemish was not, as has commonly been supposed, Circesium, at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates,⁹⁵ but was considerably higher up the stream, certainly near to, perhaps on the very site of, the later city of Mabog or Hierapolis.⁹⁶ Thus the Aramæans had a territory of no great width, but 250 miles long between its north-western and its south-eastern extremities. Tiglath-Pileser smote this region, as he tells us, "at one blow."⁹⁷ First attacking and plundering the eastern or left bank of the river, he then crossed the stream in boats covered with skins, took and burned six cities on the right bank, and returned in safety with an immense plunder.

The fifth and last campaign was against the country of Musr or Muzr, by which some Orientalists have understood Lower Egypt.⁹⁸ This, however, appears to be a mistake. The Assyrian Inscriptions designate two countries by the name of Musr or Muzr, one of them being Egypt, and the other a portion of Upper Kurdistan. The expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I. was against the eastern Musr, a highly mountainous country, consisting (apparently) of the outlying ranges of Zagros between the greater Zab and the Eastern Khabour. Notwithstanding its natural strength and the resistance of the inhabitants, this country was completely overrun in an incredibly short space. The armies which defended it were defeated, the cities burnt, the strongholds taken. Arin, the capital, submitted, and was spared, after which a set tribute was imposed on the entire region, the amount of which is not mentioned. The Assyrian arms were then turned against a neighboring district, the country of the Comani. The Comani, though Assyrian subjects, had lent assistance to the people of Musr, and it was to punish this insolence that Tiglath-Pileser resolved to invade their territory. Having defeated their main army, consisting of 20,000 men, he proceeded to the attack of the various castles and towns, some of which were stormed, while others surrendered at discretion. In both cases alike the fortifications were broken down and destroyed, the cities which surrendered being spared, while those taken by storm were burnt with fire. Ere long the whole of the "far-spreading country of the Comani" was reduced to subjection, and a tribute was imposed exceeding that which had previously been required from the people.⁹⁹

After this account of the fifth campaign, the whole result of the wars is thus briefly summed up:—"There fell into my

hands altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-two countries with their kings, from the banks of the river Zab to the banks of the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings." ¹⁰⁰

From describing his military achievements, the monarch turns to an account of his exploits in the chase. In the country of the Hittites he boasts that he had slain "four wild bulls, strong and fierce," with his arrows; while in the neighborhood of Harran, on the banks of the river Khabour, he had killed ten large wild buffaloes (?), and taken four alive.¹⁰¹ These captured animals he had carried with him on his return to Asshur, his capital city, together with the horns and skins of the slain beasts. The lions which he had destroyed in his various journeys he estimates at 920. All these successes he ascribes to the powerful protection of Nin and Nergal.¹⁰²

The royal historiographer proceeds, after this, to give an account of his domestic administration, of the buildings which he had erected, and the various improvements which he had introduced. Among the former he mentions temples to Ishtar, Martu, Bel, Il or Ra, and the presiding deities of the city of Asshur, palaces for his own use, and castles for the protection of his territory. Among the latter he enumerates the construction of works of irrigation, the introduction into Assyria of foreign cattle and of numerous beasts of chase, the naturalization of foreign vegetable products, the multiplication of chariots, the extension of the territory, and the augmentation of the population of the country.¹⁰³

A more particular account is then given of the restoration by the monarch of two very ancient and venerable temples in the great city of Asshur. This account is preceded by a formal statement of the particulars of the monarch's descent from Nin-pala-zira,¹⁰⁴ the king who seems to be regarded as the founder of the dynasty—which breaks the thread of the narrative somewhat strangely and awkwardly. Perhaps the occasion of its introduction was, in the mind of the writer, the necessary mention, in connection with one of the two temples, of Asshur-dayan, the great-grandfather of the monarch. It appears that in the reign of Asshur-dayan, this temple, which, having stood for 641 years, was in a very ruinous condition, had been taken down, while no fresh building had been raised in its room. The site remained vacant for sixty years, till Tiglath-Pileser,

Fig.



Ornamental Handle of short sword
(Khorsabad).

Fig 2.



Ornamented handle of longer sword
(Nimrud).

Fig. -3.



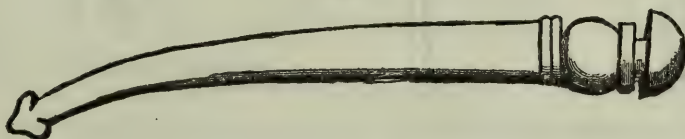
Sheathed sword (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4



Scythian Battleaxe.

Fig: 5.



Assyrian curved sword (Khorsabad).

Fig. 6.



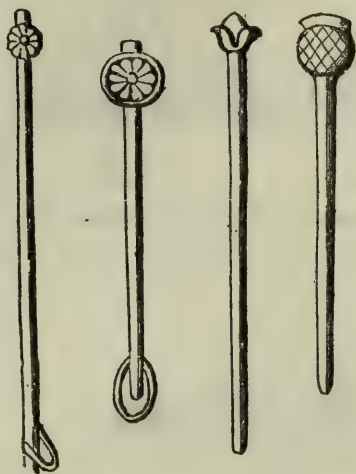
Ornamented handles of daggers (Nimrud).

Fig. 7.

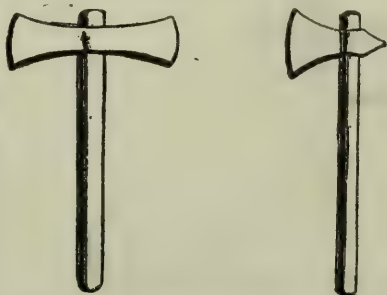


Handle of dagger, with
chain (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.

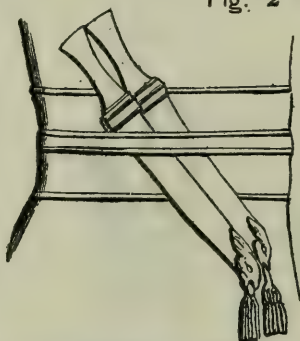


Maces, from the Sculptures.



Assyrian Battleaxes (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2



Sheaths of Daggers (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Head of Royal Mace (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3



Assyrian Standard (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Soldier swimming a River (Koyunjik).

having lately ascended the throne, determined to erect on the spot a new temple to the old gods, who were Anu and Vul, probably the tutelary deities of the city. His own account of the circumstances of the building and dedication is as follows:—

“In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth; I took its dimensions (?); I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place, throughout its whole extent, I paved with bricks in set order (?); fifty feet deep I prepared the ground; and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundations to its roof I built it up better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers (?) in honor of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned everything with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars (?), and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine(?) for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. Anu and Vul, the great gods, I glorified inside the shrine. I set them up in their honored purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted.”¹⁰⁵

The other restoration mentioned is that of a temple to Vul only, which, like that to Anu and Vul conjointly, had been originally built by Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon. This building had likewise fallen into decay, but had not been taken down like the other. Tiglath-Pileser states that he “levelled its site,” and then rebuilt it “from its foundations to its roofs,” enlarging it beyond its former limits, and adorning it. Inside of it he “sacrificed precious victims to his lord, Vul.” He also deposited in the temple a number of rare stones or marbles, which he had obtained in the country of the Naïri in the course of his expeditions.¹⁰⁶

The inscription then terminates with the following long invocation:—

“Since a holy place, a noble hall, I have thus consecrated for the use of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and have laid down an adytum for their special worship, and have finished it successfully, and have delighted the hearts of their noble god

ships, may Anu and Vul preserve me in power! May they support the men of my government! May they establish the authority of my officers! May they bring the rain, the joy of the year, on the cultivated land and the desert, during my time! In war and in battle may they preserve me victorious! Many foreign countries, turbulent nations, and hostile kings I have reduced under my yoke: to my children and my descendants, may they keep them in firm allegiance! I will lead my steps" (or, "may they establish my feet"), "firm as the mountains, to the last days, before Asshur and their noble godships!

"The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to Asshur, which Anu and Vul have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed, [to remain] to the last days, in the temple of my lords, Anu and Vul. And I have made clean (?) the tablets of Shamas-Vul, my ancestor; I have made sacrifices, and sacrificed victims before them, and have set them up in their places. In after times, and in the latter days . . . if the temple of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and these shrines should become old and fall into decay, may the Prince who comes after me repair the ruins! May he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name! As Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust!

"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off from my tablets, may Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, my lords, consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessities of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish!"¹⁰⁷

The document is then dated—"In the month Kuzalla

(Chisleu), on the 29th day, in the year presided over by Inaliya-pallik, the Rabbi-Turi." ¹⁰⁸

Perhaps the most striking feature of this inscription, when it is compared with other historical documents of the same kind belonging to other ages and nations, is its intensely religious character. The long and solemn invocation of the Great Gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of royal successes, whether in war or in the chase; the pervading idea that the wars were undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the establishment in an ever-widening circle of the worship of Asshur; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples, and the dedication of offerings; and the striking final prayer—all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people.¹⁰⁹ It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip-service, not a conventional piety, but a real, hearty earnest religious faith—a faith bordering on fanaticism—a spirit akin to that with which the Jews were possessed in their warfare with the nations of Canaan, or which the soldiers of Mahomet breathed forth when they fleshed their maiden swords upon the infidels. The king glorifies himself much; but he glorifies the gods more. He fights, in part, for his own credit, and for the extension of his territory; but he fights also for the honor of the gods, whom the surrounding nations reject, and for the diffusion of their worship far and wide throughout all known regions. His wars are religious wars, at least as much as wars of conquest; his buildings, or, at any rate, those on whose construction he dwells with most complacency, are religious buildings; the whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious; besides formal acknowledgments, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are "in all his thoughts," ¹¹⁰ and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life. The religious spirit displayed is, as might have been expected, in the highest degree exclusive and intolerant; but it is earnest, constant, and all-pervading.

In the next place, we cannot fail to be struck with the energetic character of the monarch, so different from the temper which Ctesias ascribes, in the broadest and most sweeping

terms, to all the successors of Ninus.¹¹¹ Within the first five years of his reign the indefatigable prince conducts in person expeditions into almost every country upon his borders; attacks and reduces six important nations,¹¹² besides numerous petty tribes;¹¹³ receiving the submission of forty-two kings;¹¹⁴ traversing the most difficult mountain regions; defeating armies, besieging towns, destroying forts and strongholds, ravaging territories; never allowing himself a moment of repose; when he is not engaged in military operations, devoting himself to the chase, contending with the wild bull and the lion, proving himself (like the first Mesopotamian king) in every deed "a mighty hunter,"¹¹⁵ since he counts his victims by hundreds;¹¹⁶ and all the while having regard also to the material welfare of his country, adorning it with buildings, enriching it with the products of other lands, both animal and vegetable, fertilizing it by means of works of irrigation, and in every way "improving the condition of the people, and obtaining for them abundance and security."¹¹⁷

With respect to the general condition of Assyria, it may be noted, in the first place, that the capital is still Asshur, and that no mention is made of any other native city.¹¹⁸ The king calls himself "king of the four regions."¹¹⁹ which would seem to imply a division of the territory into districts, like that which certainly obtained in later times.¹²⁰ The mention of "*four*" districts is curious, since the same number was from the first affected by the Chaldæans,¹²¹ while we have also evidence that, at least after the time of Sargon, there was a pre-eminence of four great cities in Assyria.¹²² The limits of the territory at the time of the Inscription are not very clearly marked; but they do not seem to extend beyond the outer ranges¹²³ of Zagros on the east, Niphates on the north, and the Euphrates upon the west. The southern boundary at the time was probably the commencement of the alluvium; but this cannot be gathered from the Inscription, which contains no notice of any expedition in the direction of Babylonia. The internal condition of Assyria is evidently flourishing. Wealth flows in from the plunder of the neighboring countries; labor is cheapened by the introduction of enslaved captives;¹²⁴ irrigation is cared for; new fruits and animals are introduced; fortifications are repaired, palaces renovated, and temples beautified or rebuilt.

The countries adjoining upon Assyria on the west, the north, and the east, in which are carried on the wars of the period,

present indications of great political weakness. They are divided up among a vast number of peoples, nations, and tribes, whereof the most powerful is only able to bring into the field a force of 20,000 men.¹²⁵ The peoples and nations possess but little unity. Each consists of various separate communities, ruled by their own kings, who in war unite their troops against the common enemy; but are so jealous of each other, that they do not seem even to appoint a generalissimo. On the Euphrates, between Hit and Carchemish, are, first, the Tsukhi or Shuhites, of whom no particulars are given; and, next, the Aramæans or Syrians, who occupy both banks of the river, and possess a number of cities, no one of which is of much strength. Above the Aramæans are the Khatti or Hittites, whose chief city, Carchemish, is an important place; they are divided into tribes, and, like the Aramæans, occupy both banks of the great stream. North and north-west of their country, probably beyond the mountain-range of Amanus, are the Muskai (Moschi), an aggressive people, who were seeking to extend their territory eastward into the land of the Qummukh or people of Commagêné. These Qummukh hold the mountain country on both sides of the Upper Tigris, and have a number of strongholds, chiefly on the right bank. To the east they adjoin on the Kirkhi, who must have inhabited the skirts of Niphates, while to the south they touch the Naïri, who stretch from Lake Van, along the line of the Tigris, to the tract known as Commagêné to the Romans. The Naïri have, at the least, twenty-three kings,¹²⁶ each of whom governs his own tribe or city. South of the more eastern Naïri is the country of Muzr—a mountain tract well peopled and full of castles, probably the region about Amadiyeh and Rowandiz. Adjoining Muzr to the east or north-east, are the *Quwanu* or Comani,¹²⁷ who are among the most powerful of Assyria's neighbors, being able, like the Moschi, to bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. At this time they are close allies of the people of Muzr—finally, across the lower Zab, on the skirts of Zagros, are various petty tribes of small account, who offer but little resistance to the arms of the invader.

Such was the position of Assyria among her neighbors in the latter part of the twelfth century before Christ. She was a compact and powerful kingdom, centralized under a single monarch, and with a single great capital, in the midst of wild tribes which clung to a separate independence, each in its own valley or village. At the approach of a

great danger, these tribes might consent to coalesce and to form alliances, or even confederations; but the federal tie, never one of much tenacity, and rarely capable of holding its ground in the presence of monarchic vigor, was here especially weak. After one defeat of their joint forces by the Assyrian troops, the confederates commonly dispersed, each flying to the defence of his own city or territory, with a short-sighted selfishness which deserved and ensured defeat. In one direction only was Assyria confronted by a rival state possessing a power and organization in character not unlike her own, though scarcely of equal strength. On her southern frontier, in the broad flat plain intervening between the Mesopotamian upland and the sea—the kingdom of Babylon was still existing; its Semitic kings, though originally established upon the throne by Assyrian influence,¹²⁸ had dissolved all connection with their old protectors, and asserted their thorough independence. Here, then, was a considerable state, as much centralized as Assyria herself, and not greatly inferior either in extent of territory or in population,¹²⁹ existing side by side with her, and constituting a species of check, whereby something like a balance of power was still maintained in Western Asia, and Assyria was prevented from feeling herself the absolute mistress of the East, and the uncontrolled arbitress of the world's destinies.

Besides the great cylinder inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., there exist five more years of his annals in fragments, from which we learn that he continued his aggressive expeditions during this space, chiefly towards the north-west, subduing the Lulumi in Northern Syria, attacking and taking Carchemish, and pursuing the inhabitants across the Euphrates in boats.

No mention is made during this time of any collision between Assyria and her great rival, Babylon. The result of the wars waged by Asshur-ris-ilim against Nebuchadnezzar I.¹³⁰ had, apparently, been to produce in the belligerents a feeling of mutual respect; and Tiglath-Pileser, in his earlier years, neither trespassed on the Babylonian territory in his aggressive raids, nor found himself called upon to meet and repel any invasion of his own dominions by his southern neighbors. Before the close of his reign, however, active hostilities broke out between the two powers. Either provoked by some border ravage or actuated simply by lust of conquest, Tiglath-Pileser marched his troops into Babylonia. For two consecutive years he

wasted with fire and sword the "upper" or northern provinces, taking the cities of Kurri-Galzu—now Akkerkuf—Sippara of the Sun, and Sippara of Anunit (the Sepharvaim or "two Sipparas" of the Hebrews), and Hupa or Opis, on the Tigris; and finally capturing Babylon itself, which, strong as it was, proved unable to resist the invader. On his return he passed up the valley of the Euphrates, and took several cities from the Tsukhi. But here, it would seem that he suffered a reverse. Merodach-iddin-akhi, his opponent, if he did not actually defeat his army, must, at any rate, have greatly harassed it on its retreat; for he captured an important part of its baggage. Indulging a superstition common in ancient times,¹³¹ Tiglath-Pileser had carried with him in his expedition certain images of gods, whose presence would, it was thought, secure victory to his arms. Merodach-iddin-akhi obtained possession of these idols, and succeeded in carrying them off to Babylon, where they were preserved for more than 400 years, and considered as mementoes of victory.¹³²

The latter days of this great Assyrian prince were thus, unhappily, clouded by disaster. Neither he, nor his descendants, nor any Assyrian monarch for four centuries succeeded in recovering the lost idols, and replacing them in the shrines from which they were taken. A hostile and jealous spirit appears henceforth in the relations between Assyria and Babylon; we find no more intermarriages of the one royal house with the other; wars are frequent—almost constant—nearly every Assyrian monarch, whose history is known to us in any detail, conducting at least one expedition into Babylonia.

A work still remains, belonging to the reign of this king, from which it appears that the peculiar character of Assyrian mimetic art was already fixed in his time, the style of representation being exactly such as prevailed at the most flourishing period, and the workmanship, apparently, not very inferior. In a cavern from which the Tsupnat river or eastern branch of the Tigris rises, close to a village called Korkhar, and about fifty or sixty miles north of Diarbekr, is a bas-relief sculptured on the natural rock, which has been smoothed for the purpose, consisting of a figure of the king in his sacerdotal dress with the right arm extended and the left hand grasping the sacrificial mace,¹³³ accompanied by an inscription which is read as follows:—"By the grace of Asshur, Shamas, and Vul, the Great Gods, I, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, son of Asshur ris-ilim, king of Assyria, who was the son of Mutaggil-Nebo,

king of Assyria, marching from the great sea of Akhiri" (the Mediterranean) "to the sea of Naïri" (Lake of Van) "for the third time have invaded the country of Naïri." ¹⁸⁴ [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3.]

The fact of his having warred in Lower Mesopotamia is almost the whole that is known of Tiglath-Pileser's son and successor, Asshur-bil-kala. A contest in which he was engaged with the Babylonian prince, Merodach-shapik-ziri (who seems to have been the successor of Merodach-iddin-akhi), is recorded on the famous synchronistic tablet, in conjunction with the Babylonian wars of his father and grandfather; but the tablet is so injured in this place that no particulars can be gathered from it. From a monument of Asshur-bil-kala's own time—one of the earliest Assyrian sculptures that has come down to us—we may perhaps further conclude that he inherited something of the religious spirit of his father, and gave a portion of his attention to the adornment of temples, and the setting up of images. ¹⁸⁵

The probable date of the reign of Asshur-bil-kala is about B.C. 1110-1090. He appears to have been succeeded on the throne by his younger brother, Shamas-Vul, of whom nothing is known, but that he built, or repaired, a temple at Nineveh. His reign probably occupied the interval between B.C. 1090 and 1070. He would thus seem to have been contemporary with *Smendes* in Egypt and with Samuel or Saul in Israel. ¹⁸⁶ So apparently insignificant an event as the establishment of a kingdom in Palestine was not likely to disturb the thoughts, even if it came to the knowledge, of an Assyrian monarch. Shamas-Vul would no doubt have regarded with utter contempt the petty sovereign of so small a territory as Palestine, and would have looked upon the new kingdom as scarcely more worthy of his notice than any other of the ten thousand little principalities which lay on or near his borders. Could he, however, have possessed for a few moments the prophetic foresight vouchsafed some centuries earlier to one who may almost be called his countryman, ¹⁸⁷ he would have been astonished to recognize in the humble kingdom just lifting its head in the far West, and struggling to hold its own against Philistine cruelty and oppression, ¹⁸⁸ a power which in little more than fifty years would stand forth before the world as the equal, if not the superior, of his own state. The imperial splendor of the kingdom of David and Solomon did, in fact, eclipse for awhile the more ancient glories of Assyria. ¹⁸⁹ It

is a notable circumstance that, exactly at the time when a great and powerful monarchy grew up in the tract between Egypt and the Euphrates, Assyria passed under a cloud. The history of the country is almost a blank for two centuries between the reigns of Shamas-Vul and the second Tiglathi Nin, whose accession is fixed by the Assyrian Canon to B.C. 889. During more than three-fourths of this time, from about B.C. 1070 to B.C. 930, the very names of the monarchs are almost wholly unknown to us.¹⁴⁰ It seems as if there was not room in Western Asia for two first-class monarchies to exist and flourish at the same time; and so, although there was no contention, or even contact, between the two empires of Judæa and Assyria,¹⁴¹ yet the rise of the one to greatness could only take place under the condition of a coincident weakness of the other.

It is very remarkable that exactly in this interval of darkness, when Assyria would seem, from the failure both of buildings and records, to have been especially and exceptionally weak,¹⁴² occurs the first appearance of her having extended her influence beyond Syria into the great and ancient monarchy of Egypt. In the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, which began with Sheshonk I., or Shishak, the contemporary of Solomon, about B.C. 990, Assyrian names appear for the first time in the Egyptian dynastic lists. It has been supposed from this circumstance that the entire twenty-second dynasty, together with that which succeeded it, was Assyrian; but the condition of Assyria at the time renders such a hypothesis most improbable. The true explanation would seem to be that the Egyptian kings of this period sometimes married Assyrian wives, who naturally gave Assyrian names to some of their children. These wives were perhaps members of the Assyrian royal family; or perhaps they were the daughters of the Assyrian nobles who from time to time were appointed as viceroys of the towns and small states which the Ninevite monarchs conquered on the skirts of their empire. Either of these suppositions is more probable than the establishment in Egypt of a dynasty really Assyrian at a time of extraordinary weakness and depression.

When at the close of this long period of obscurity, Assyria once more comes into sight, we have at first only a dim and indistinct view of her through the mists which still enfold and shroud her form. We observe that her capital is still fixed at Kileh-Sherghat, where a new series of kings, bearing names

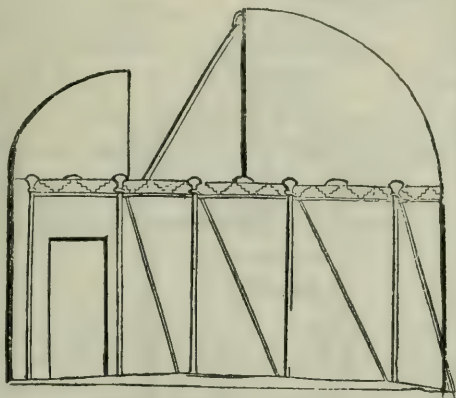
which, for the most part, resemble those of the earlier period, are found employing themselves in the repair and enlargement of public buildings, in connection with which they obtain honorable mention in an inscription of a later monarch. Asshur-dayan, the first monarch of this group, probably ascended the throne about B.C. 930, shortly after the separation of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. He appears to have reigned from about B.C. 930 to B.C. 911. He was succeeded in B.C. 911 by his son, ¹⁴³ Vul-lush II., who held the throne from B.C. 911 to B.C. 889. Nothing is known at present of the history of these two monarchs. No historical inscriptions belonging to their reigns have been recovered; no exploits are recorded of them in the inscriptions of later sovereigns.¹⁴⁴ They stand up before us the mere "shadows of mighty names"—proofs of the uncertainty of posthumous fame, which is almost as often the award of chance as the deserved recompense of superior merit.

Of Tiglathi-Nin, the second monarch of the name, and the third king of the group which we are considering, one important historical notice, contained in an inscription of his son, has come down to us. In the annals of the great Asshur-izir-pal inscribed on the Nimrud monolith, that prince, while commemorating his warlike exploits, informs us that he set up his sculptures at the sources of the Tsupnat river alongside of sculptures previously set up by his ancestors Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglathi-Nin.¹⁴⁵ That Tiglathi-Nin should have made so distant an expedition is the more remarkable from the brevity of his reign, which only lasted for six years. According to the Canon, he ascended the throne in the year B.C. 889; he was succeeded in B.C. 883 by his son Asshur-izir-pal.

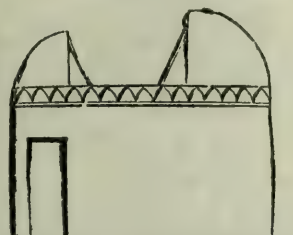
With Asshur-izir-pal commences one of the most flourishing periods of the Empire. During the twenty-five years of his active and laborious reign, Assyria enlarged her bounds and increased her influence in almost every direction, while, at the same time, she advanced rapidly in wealth and in the arts; in the latter respect leaping suddenly to an eminence which (so far as we know) had not previously been reached by human genius. The size and magnificence of Asshur-izir-pal's buildings, the artistic excellence of their ornamentation, the pomp and splendor which they set before us as familiar to the king who raised them, the skill in various useful arts which they display or imply, have excited the admiration of Europe, which has seen with astonishment that many of its inventions



Interior of Tent (Koyunjik).

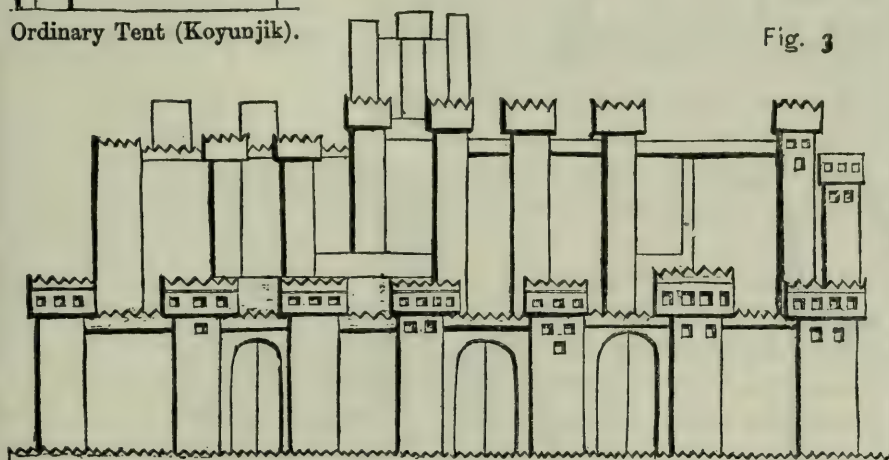


Royal Tent (Koyunjik).



Ordinary Tent (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3

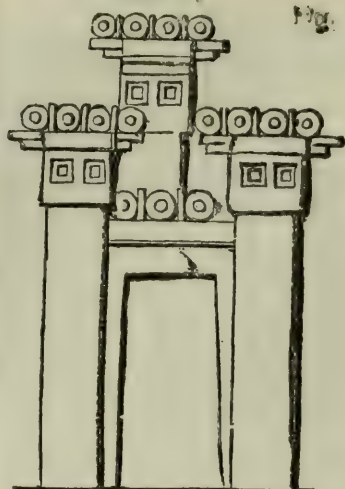


Fortified Place belonging to an enemy of the Assyrians (Nimrud).

Fig. 2



King walking in a mountainous country—chariot following supported by men (from an Obelisk in the British Museum).



Gateway of Castle (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2.



Crowbar.

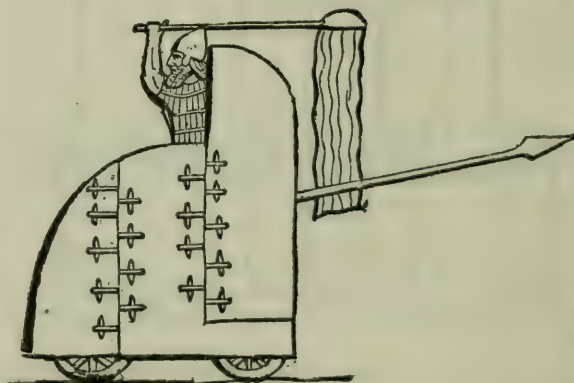


Mining the Wall (Koyunjik).

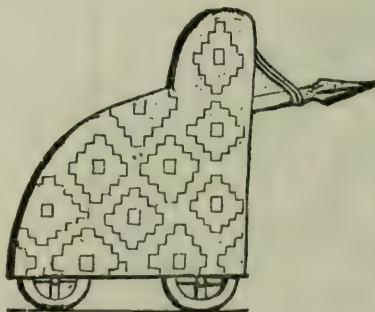
Fig. 3.



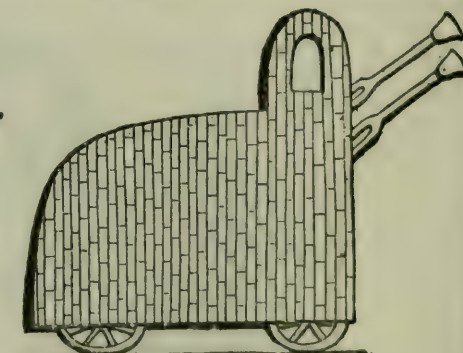
No. I.



No. II.



No. III.



No. IV.

Battering-rams.

were anticipated, and that its luxury was almost equalled, by an Asiatic people nine centuries before the Christian era. It will be our pleasing task at this point of the history, after briefly sketching Asshur-izir-pal's wars, to give such an account of the great works which he constructed as will convey to the reader at least a general idea of the civilization and refinement of the Assyrians at the period to which we are now come.

Asshur-izir-pal's first campaign was in north-western Kurdistan and in the adjoining parts of Armenia. It does not present any very remarkable features, though he claims to have penetrated to a region "never approached by the kings his fathers." His enemies are the Numi or Elami¹⁴⁶ (*i.e.*, the mountaineers) and the Kirkhi, who seem to have left their name in the modern Kurkh.¹⁴⁷ Neither people appears to have been able to make much head against him; no battle was fought: the natives merely sought to defend their fortified places; but these were mostly taken and destroyed by the invader. One chief, who was made prisoner, received very barbarous treatment; he was carried to Arbela, and there flayed and hung up upon the town wall.

The second expedition of Asshur-izir-pal, which took place in the same year as his first, was directed against the regions to the west and north-west of Assyria. Traversing the country of Qummukh,¹⁴⁸ and receiving its tribute, as well as that of Serki¹⁴⁹ and Sidikan (Arban¹⁵⁰), he advanced against the Laki, who seem to have been at this time the chief people of Central Mesopotamia, extending from the vicinity of Hatra as far as, or even beyond, the middle Euphrates. Here the people of a city called Assura had rebelled, murdered their governor, and called in a foreigner to rule over them. Asshur-izir-pal marched hastily against the rebels, who submitted at his approach, delivering up to his mercy both their city and their new king. The latter he bound with fetters and carried with him to Nineveh; the former he treated with almost unexampled severity.¹⁵¹ Having first plundered the whole place, he gave up the houses of the chief men to his own officers, established an Assyrian governor in the palace, and then, selecting from the inhabitants the most guilty, he crucified some, burnt others, and punished the remainder by cutting off their ears or their noses. We can feel no surprise when we are informed that, while he was thus "arranging" these matters, the remaining kings of the Laki submissively sent in their tribute to the

conqueror, paying it with apparent cheerfulness, though it was "a heavy and much increased burden."

In his third expedition, which was in his second year, Asshur-izir-pal turned his arms to the north, and marched towards the Upper Tigris, where he forced the kings of the Naïri, who had, it appears, regained their independence, to give in their submission, and appointed them an annual tribute in gold, silver, horses, cattle, and other commodities. It was in the course of this expedition that, having ascended to the sources of the Tsupnat river, or Eastern Tigris,¹⁵² Asshur-izir-pal set up his memorial side by side with monuments previously erected on the same site by Tiglath-Pileser and by the first or second Tiglath-Nin.¹⁵³

Asshur-izir-pal's fourth campaign was towards the south-east. He crossed the Lesser Zab, and, entering the Zagros range, carried fire and sword through its fruitful valleys—pushing his arms further than any of his ancestors, capturing some scores of towns, and accepting or extorting tribute from a dozen petty kings. The furthest extent of his march was probably the district of Zohab across the Shirwan branch of the Diyaleh, to which he gives the name of Edisa.¹⁵⁴ On his return he built, or rather rebuilt, a city, which a Babylonian king called Tsibir had destroyed at a remote period, and gave to his new foundation the name of Dur-Asshur, in grateful acknowledgment of the protection vouchsafed him by "the chief of the gods."

In his fifth campaign the warlike monarch once more directed his steps towards the north. Passing through the country of the Qummukh, and receiving their tribute, he proceeded to war in the eastern portion of the Mons Masius, where he took the cities of Matyat (now Mediyat) and Kapranisa. He then appears to have crossed the Tigris and warred on the flanks of Niphates, where his chief enemy was the people of Kasiyara. Returning thence, he entered the territory of the Naïri, where he declares that he overthrew and destroyed 250 strong walled cities, and put to death a considerable number of the princes.

The sixth campaign of Asshur-izir-pal was in a westerly direction. Starting from Calah or Nimrud, he crossed the Tigris, and, marching through the middle of Mesopotamia a little to the north of the Sinjar range, took tribute from a number of subject towns along the courses of the rivers Jeruher,¹⁵⁵ Khabour, and Euphrates, among which the most important were Sidikan (now Arban), Sirki, and Anat (now Anah). From Anat, apparently his frontier-town in this

direction, he invaded the country of the Tsukhi (Shuhites), captured their city Tsur,¹⁵⁶ and forced them, notwithstanding the assistance which they received from their neighbors the Babylonians,¹⁵⁷ to surrender themselves. He then entered Chaldæa, and chastised the Chaldæans, after which he returned in triumph to his own country.

His seventh campaign was also against the Shuhites. Released from the immediate pressure of his arms, they had rebelled, and had even ventured to invade the Assyrian Empire. The Laki, whose territory adjoined that of the Shuhites towards the north and east, assisted them. The combined army which the allies were able to bring into the field amounted probably to 20,000 men,¹⁵⁸ including a large number of warriors who fought in chariots. Asshur-izir-pal first attacked the cities on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had felt his might on the former occasion; and, having reduced these and punished their rebellion with great severity,¹⁵⁹ he crossed the river on rafts, and fought a battle with the main army of the enemy. In this engagement he was completely victorious, defeating the Tsukhi and their allies with great slaughter, and driving their routed forces headlong into the Euphrates, where great numbers perished by drowning. Six thousand five hundred of the rebels fell in the battle; and the entire country on the right bank of the river, which had escaped invasion in the former campaign, was ravaged furiously with fire and sword by the incensed monarch. The cities and castles were burnt, the males put to the sword, the women, children, and cattle carried off. Two kings of the Laki are mentioned, of whom one escaped, while the other was made prisoner, and conveyed to Assyria by the conqueror. A rate of tribute was then imposed on the land considerably in advance of that to which it had previously been liable. Besides this, to strengthen his hold on the country, the conqueror built two new cities, one on either bank of the Euphrates, naming the city on the left bank after himself, and that on the right bank after the god Asshur. Both of these places were no doubt left well garrisoned with Assyrian soldiers, on whom the conqueror could place entire reliance.

Asshur-izir-pal's eighth campaign was nearly in the same quarter; but its exact scene lay, apparently, somewhat higher up the Euphrates. Hazilu, the king of the Laki, who escaped capture in the preceding expedition, had owed his safety to the refuge given him by the people of Beth-Adina. Asshur-

izir-pal, who seems to have regarded their conduct on this occasion as an insult to himself, and was resolved to punish their presumption, made his eighth expedition solely against this bold but weak people. Unable to meet his forces in the field, they shut themselves up in their chief city, Kabrabi (?), which was immediately besieged, and soon taken and burnt by the Assyrians. The country of Beth-Adina, which lay on the left or east bank of the Euphrates, in the vicinity of the modern Balis, was overrun and added to the empire.¹⁶⁰ Two thousand five hundred prisoners were carried off and settled at Calah.

The most interesting of Asshur-izir-pal's campaigns is the ninth, which was against Syria. Marching across Upper Mesopotamia, and receiving various tributes upon his way, the Assyrian monarch passed the Euphrates on rafts, and, entering the city of Carchemish, received the submission of Sangara, the Hittite prince, who ruled in that town, and of various other chiefs, "who came reverently and kissed his sceptre." He then "gave command to advance towards Lebanon." Entering the territory of the Patena,¹⁶¹ who adjoined upon the northern Hittites, and held the country about Antioch and Aleppo, he occupied the capital, Kinalua, which was between the Abri (or Afrin) and the Orontes; alarmed the rebel king, Lubarna, so that he submitted, and consented to pay a tribute; and then, crossing the Orontes and destroying certain cities of the Patena, passed along the northern flank of Lebanon, and reached the Mediterranean. Here he erected altars and offered sacrifices to the gods, after which he received the submission of the principal Phœnician states, among which Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus may be distinctly recognized. He then proceeded inland, and visited the mountain range of Amanus, where he cut timber, set up a sculptured memorial, and offered sacrifice. After this he returned to Assyria, carrying with him, besides other plunder, a quantity of wooden beams, probably cedar, which he carefully conveyed to Nineveh, to be used in his public buildings.

The tenth campaign of Asshur-izir-pal, and the last which is recorded, was in the region of the Upper Tigris. The geographical details here are difficult to follow. We can only say that, as usual, the Assyrian monarch claims to have overpowered all resistance, to have defeated armies, burnt cities, and carried off vast numbers of prisoners. The "royal city" of the monarch chiefly attacked, was Amidi, now Diarbekr,

which sufficiently marks the main locality of the expedition.¹⁶²

While engaged in these important wars, which were all included within his first six years, Asshur-izir-pal, like his great predecessor, Tiglath-Pileser, occasionally so far unbent as to indulge in the recreation of hunting. He interrupts the account of his military achievements to record, for the benefit of posterity, that on one occasion he slew fifty large wild bulls on the left bank of the Euphrates, and captured eight of the same animals; while, on another, he killed twenty ostriches (?), and took captive the same number. We may conclude, from the example of Tiglath-Pileser,¹⁶³ and from other inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal himself, that the captured animals were conveyed to Assyria either as curiosities, or, more probably, as objects of chase. Asshur-izir-pal's sculptures show that the pursuit of the wild bull was one of his favorite occupations;¹⁶⁴ and as the animals were scarce in Assyria, he may have found it expedient to import them.

Asshur-izir-pal appears, however, to have possessed a menagerie park in the neighborhood of Nineveh, in which were maintained a variety of strange and curious animals. Animals called *pagúts* or *pagáts*—perhaps elephants—were received as tribute from the Phœnicians during his reign, on at least one occasion, and placed in this enclosure, where (he tells us) they throve and bred. So well was his taste for such curiosities known, that even neighboring sovereigns sought to gratify it; and the king of Egypt, a Pharaoh probably of the twenty-second dynasty, sent him a present of strange animals when he was in Southern Syria, as a compliment likely to be appreciated. His love of the chase, which he no doubt indulged to some extent at home, found in Syria, and in the country on the Upper Tigris, its amplest and most varied exercise. In an obelisk inscription, designed especially to commemorate a great hunting expedition into these regions, he tells us that, besides antelopes of all sorts, which he took and sent to Asshur, he captured and destroyed the following animals:—lions, wild sheep, red deer, fallow-deer, wild goats or ibexes, leopards large and small, bears, wolves, jackals, wild boars, ostriches, foxes, hyænas, wild asses, and a few kinds which have not been identified.¹⁶⁵ From another inscription we learn that, in the course of another expedition, which seems to have been in the Mesopotamian desert, he destroyed 360 large lions, 257 large wild cattle, and thirty buffaloes,

while he took and sent to Calah fifteen full-grown lions, fifty young lions, some leopards, several pairs of wild buffaloes and wild cattle, together with ostriches, wolves, red deer, bears, cheetas, and hyænas.¹⁶⁶ Thus in his peaceful hours he was still actively employed, and in the chase of many dangerous beasts was able to exercise the same qualities of courage, coolness, and skill in the use of weapons which procured him in his wars such frequent and such great successes.

Thus distinguished, both as a hunter and as a warrior, Asshur-izir-pal, nevertheless, excelled his predecessors most remarkably in the grandeur of his public buildings and the free use which he made of the mimetic and other arts in their ornamentation. The constructions of the earlier kings at Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat), whatever merit they may have had, were beyond a doubt far inferior to those which, from the time of Asshur-izir-pal, were raised in rapid succession at Calah, Nineveh, and Beth-Sargina by that monarch and his successors upon the throne. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded no bas-reliefs, nor do they show any traces of buildings on the scale of those which, at Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, provoke the admiration of the traveller. The great palace of Asshur-izir-pal was at Calah, which he first raised from a provincial town to be the metropolis of the empire. [Pl. CXLV., Fig. 1.] It was a building 360 feet long by 300 broad, consisting of seven or eight large halls, and a far greater number of small chambers, grouped round a central court 130 feet long and nearly 100 wide. The longest of the halls, which faced towards the north, and was the first room entered by one who approached from the town, was in length 154 and in breadth 33 feet. The others varied between a size little short of this, and a length of 65 with a breadth of less than 20 feet. The chambers were generally square, or nearly so, and in their greatest dimensions rarely exceeded ten yards. The whole palace was raised upon a lofty platform, made of sun-burnt brick, but externally cased on every side with hewn stone. There were two grand façades, one facing the north, on which side there was an ascent to the platform from the town; and the other facing the Tigris,¹⁶⁷ which anciently flowed at the foot of the platform towards the west. On the northern front two or three gateways,¹⁶⁸ flanked with andro-sphinxes,¹⁶⁹ gave direct access to the principal hall or audience chamber, a noble apartment, but too narrow for its length, lined throughout with sculptured slabs representing the vari-

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Fig. 2.



Soldiers destroying Date-palms (Koyunjik).

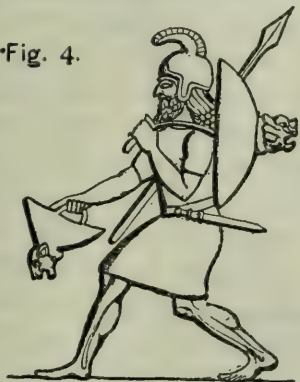
Fig. 3.

Plate CXI.



Scribes taking account of the spoil (Khorsabad).

Fig. 4.



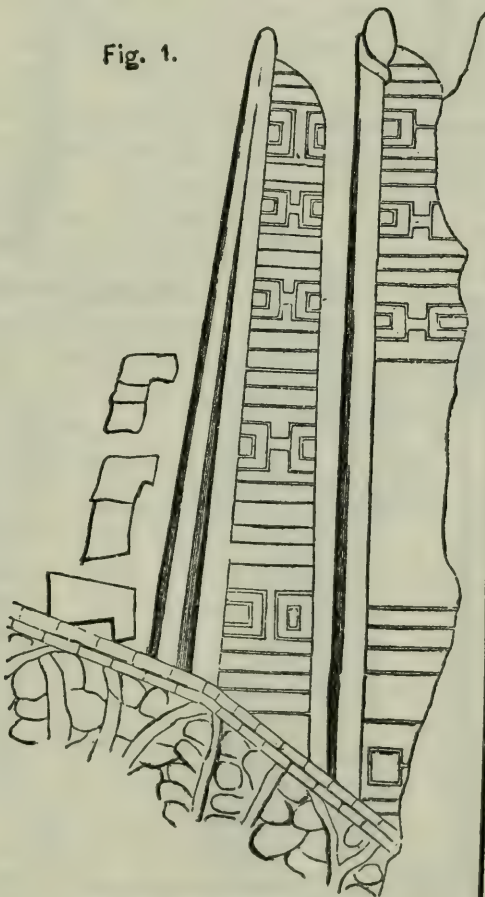
Soldier carrying off Spoil from a Temple (Khorsabad).

Fig. 5.



Mace-bearer, with attendant, executing a prisoner (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Assyrian Balistæ (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.

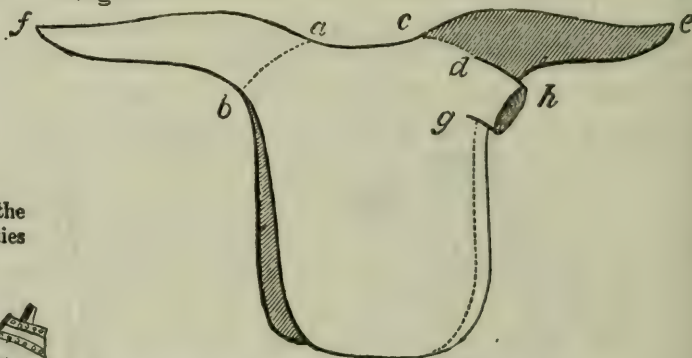


Implement used in the destruction of cities (Khorsabad).



Female Captives, with Children (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Chasuble, or Outer Garment of the King.

Fig. 5.



King in his robes.



Swordsman Decapitating a Prisoner (Koyunjik).

ous actions of the king, and containing at the upper or eastern end a raised stone platform cut into steps, which, it is probable, was intended to support at a proper elevation the carved throne of the monarch.¹⁷⁰ A grand portal in the southern wall of the chamber, guarded on either side by winged human-headed bulls in yellow limestone, conducted into a second hall considerably smaller than the first, and having less variety of ornament,¹⁷¹ which communicated with the central court by a handsome gateway towards the south; and, towards the east, was connected with a third hall, one of the most remarkable in the palace. This chamber was a better-proportioned room than most, being about ninety feet long by twenty-six wide; it ran along the eastern side of the great court, with which it communicated by two gateways, and, internally, it was adorned with sculptures of a more finished and elaborate character than any other room in the building.¹⁷² Behind this eastern hall was another opening into it, of somewhat greater length, but only twenty feet wide; and this led to five small chambers, which here bounded the palace. South of the Great Court were, again, two halls communicating with each other; but they were of inferior size to those on the north and west, and were far less richly ornamented. It is conjectured that there were also two or three halls on the west side of the court between it and the river;¹⁷³ but of this there was no very clear evidence, and it may be doubted whether the court towards the west was not, at least partially, open to the river. Almost every hall had one or two small chambers attached to it, which were most usually at the ends of the halls, and connected with them by large doorways.

Such was the general plan of the palace of Asshur-izir-pal. Its great halls, so narrow for their length, were probably roofed with beams stretching across them from side to side, and lighted by small *louvres* in their roofs after the manner already described elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ Its square chambers may have been domed,¹⁷⁵ and perhaps were not lighted at all, or only by lamps and torches. They were generally without ornamentation.¹⁷⁶ The grand halls, on the contrary, and some of the narrower chambers, were decorated on every side, first with sculptures to the height of nine or ten feet, and then with enamelled bricks, or patterns painted in fresco, to the height, probably, of seven or eight feet more. The entire height of the rooms was thus from sixteen to seventeen or eighteen feet.

The character of Asshur-izir-pal's sculptures has been sufficiently described in an earlier chapter.¹⁷⁷ They have great spirit, boldness, and force; occasionally they show real merit in the design; but they are clumsy in the drawing and somewhat coarse in the execution. What chiefly surprises us in regard to them is the suddenness with which the art they manifest appears to have sprung up, without going through the usual stages of rudeness and imperfection. Setting aside one mutilated statue, of very poor execution,¹⁷⁸ and a single rock tablet,¹⁷⁹ we have no specimens remaining of Assyrian mimetic art more ancient than this monarch.¹⁸⁰ That art almost seems to start in Assyria, like Minerva from the head of Jove, full-grown. Asshur-izir-pal had undoubtedly some constructions of former monarchs to copy from, both in his palatial and in his sacred edifices; the old palaces and temples at Kileh-Sherghat must have had a certain grandeur; and in his architecture this monarch may have merely amplified and improved upon the models left him by his predecessors; but his ornamentation, so far as appears, was his own. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded bricks in abundance, but not a single fragment of a sculptured slab.¹⁸¹ We cannot prove that ornamental bas-reliefs did not exist before the time of Asshur-izir-pal; indeed the rock tablets which earlier monarchs set up were sculptures of this character; but to Asshur-izir-pal seems at any rate to belong the merit of having first adopted bas-reliefs on an extensive scale as an architectural ornament, and of having employed them so as to represent by their means all the public life of the monarch.

The other arts employed by this king in the adornment of his buildings were those of enamelling bricks and painting in fresco upon a plaster. Both involve considerable skill in the preparation of colors, and the former especially implies much dexterity in the management of several very delicate processes.¹⁸²

The sculptures of Asshur-izir-pal, besides proving directly the high condition of mimetic art in Assyria at this time, furnish indirect evidence of the wonderful progress which had been made in various important manufactures. The metallurgy which produced the swords, sword-sheaths, daggers, earrings, necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of this period,¹⁸³ must have been of a very advanced description. The coach-building which constructed the chariots, the saddlery which made the harness of the horses, the embroidery which orna-

mented the robes,¹⁸⁴ must, similarly, have been of a superior character. The evidence of the sculptures alone is quite sufficient to show that, in the time of Asshur-izir-pal, the Assyrians were already a great and luxurious people, that most of the useful arts not only existed among them, but were cultivated to a high pitch, and that in dress, furniture, jewelry, etc., they were not very much behind the moderns.

Besides the magnificent palace which he built at Calah, Asshur-izir-pal is known also to have erected a certain number of temples. The most important of these have been already described.¹⁸⁵ They stood at the north-western corner of the Nimrud platform, and consisted of two edifices, one exactly at the angle, comprising the higher tower or *ziggurat*,¹⁸⁶ which stood out as a sort of corner buttress from the great mound, and a shrine with chambers at the tower's base; the other, a little further to the east, consisting of a shrine and chambers without a tower. These temples were richly ornamented both within and without; and in front of the larger one was an erection which seems to show that the Assyrian monarchs, either during their lifetime, or at any rate after their decease, received divine honors from their subjects. On a plain square pedestal about two feet in height was raised a solid block of limestone cut into the shape of an arched frame, and within this frame was carved the monarch in his sacerdotal dress, and with the sacred collar round his neck, while the five principal divine emblems were represented above his head.¹⁸⁷ In front of this figure, marking (apparently) the object of its erection,¹⁸⁸ was a triangular altar with a circular top, very much resembling the tripod of the Greeks.¹⁸⁹ Here we may presume were laid the offerings with which the credulous and the servile propitiated the new god,—many a gift, not improbably, being intercepted on its way to the deity of the temple. [Pl. CXLV., Fig. 2.]

Another temple built by this monarch was one dedicated to Beltis at Nineveh. It was perhaps for the ornamentation of this edifice that he cut "great trees" in Amanus and elsewhere during his Syrian expedition, and had them conveyed across Mesopotamia to Assyria. It is expressly stated that these beams were carried, not to Calah, where Asshur-izir-pal usually resided, but to Nineveh.

A remarkable work, probably erected by this monarch, and set up as a memorial of his reign at the same city, is an obelisk in white stone, now in the British Museum. On this

monument, which was covered on all its four sides with sculptures and inscriptions, now nearly obliterated, Asshur-izir-pal commemorated his wars and hunting exploits in various countries. The obelisk is a monolith, about twelve or thirteen feet high, and two feet broad at the base.¹⁹⁰ It tapers slightly, and, like the Black Obelisk erected by this monarch's son,¹⁹¹ is crowned at the summit by three steps or gradines. This thoroughly Assyrian ornamentation¹⁹² seems to show that the idea of the obelisk was not derived from Egypt, where the pyramidal apex was universally used, being regarded as essential to this class of ornaments.¹⁹³ If we must seek a foreign origin for the invention, we may perhaps find it in the pillars (*στήλαι* or *κίονες*) which the Phœnicians employed, as ornaments or memorials, from a remote antiquity,¹⁹⁴ objects possibly seen by the monarch who took tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Byblus, and most of the maritime Syrian cities.¹⁹⁵

Another most important work of this great monarch was the tunnel and canal already described at length,¹⁹⁶ by which at a vast expenditure of money and labor he brought the water of the Greater Zab to Calah. Asshur-izir-pal mentions this great work as his in his annals; and he was likewise commemorated as its author in the tablet set up in the tunnel by Sennacherib, when, two centuries later, he repaired it and brought it once more into use.

It is evident that Asshur-izir-pal, though he adorned and beautified both the old capital, Asshur, and the now rising city of Nineveh, regarded the town of Calah with more favor than any other, making it the ordinary residence of his court, and bestowing on it his chief care and attention. It would seem that the Assyrian dominion had by this time spread so far to the north that the situation of Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat) was no longer sufficiently central for the capital. The seat of government was consequently moved forty miles further up the river. At the same time it was transferred from the west bank to the east, and placed in the fertile region of Adiabêné,¹⁹⁷ near the junction of the Greater Zab with the Tigris. Here, in a strong and healthy position, on a low spur from the Jebel Maklub, protected on either side by a deep river, the new capital grew to greatness. Palace after palace rose on its lofty platform, rich with carved woodwork, gilding, painting, sculpture, and enamel, each aiming to outshine its predecessors; while stone lions, sphinxes, obelisks, shrines,

and temple-towers embellished the scene, breaking its monotonous sameness by variety. The lofty *ziggurat* attached to the temple of Nin or Hercules, dominating over the whole, gave unity to the vast mass of palatial and sacred edifices. The Tigris, skirting the entire western base of the mound, glassed the whole in its waves, and, doubling the apparent height, rendered less observable the chief weakness of the architecture. When the setting sun lighted up the view with the gorgeous hues seen only under an eastern sky, Calah must have seemed to the traveller who beheld it for the first time like a vision from fairy-land.

After reigning gloriously for twenty-five years, from B.C. 883 to B.C. 858, this great prince—"the conqueror" (as he styles himself), "from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authority all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same"¹⁹⁸—died, probably at no very advanced age,¹⁹⁹ and left his throne to his son, who bore the name of Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser II., the son of Asshur-izir-pal, who may probably have been trained to arms under his father, seems to have inherited to the full his military spirit, and to have warred with at least as much success against his neighbors. His reign was extended to the unusual length of thirty-five years,²⁰⁰ during which time he conducted in person no fewer than twenty-three military expeditions, besides entrusting three or four others to a favorite general. It would be a wearisome task to follow out in detail these numerous and generally uninteresting campaigns, where invasion, battle, flight, siege, submission, and triumphant return succeeded one another with monotonous uniformity. The style of the court historians of Assyria does not improve as time goes on. Nothing can well be more dry and commonplace than the historical literature of this period,²⁰¹ which recalls the early efforts of the Greeks in this department,²⁰² and exhibits a decided inferiority to the compositions of Stowe and Holinshed. The historiographer of Tiglath-Pileser I.,²⁰³ between two and three centuries earlier, is much superior, as a writer, to those of the period to which we are come, who eschew all graces of style, contenting themselves with the curtest and driest of phrases, and with sentences modelled on a single unvarying type.

Instead, therefore, of following in the direct track of the annalist whom Shalmaneser employed to record his exploits, and proceeding to analyze his account of the twenty-seven cam-

paings belonging to this reign, I shall simply present the reader with the general result in a few words, and then draw his special attention to a few of the expeditions which are of more than common importance.

It appears, then, that Shalmaneser, during the first twenty-seven years of his reign, led in person twenty-three expeditions into the territories of his neighbors, attacking in the course of these inroads, besides petty tribes, the following nations and countries:—Babylonia, Chaldæa, Media, the Zimri, Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia, the country about the head-streams of the Tigris, the Hittites, the Patena, the Tibareni, the Hamathites, and the Syrians of Damascus. He took tribute during the same time from the Phœnician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, from the Tsukhi or Shuhites, from the people of Muzr, from the Bartsu or Partsu, who are almost certainly the Persians, and from the Israelites. He thus traversed in person the entire country between the Persian Gulf on the south and Mount Niphates upon the north, and between the Zagros range (or perhaps the Persian desert) eastward, and, westward, the shores of the Mediterranean. Over the whole of this region he made his power felt, and even beyond it the nations feared him and gladly placed themselves under his protection. During the later years of his reign, when he was becoming less fit for warlike toils, he seems in general to have deputed the command of his armies to a subject in whom he had great confidence, a noble named Dayan-Asshur. This chief, who held an important office as early as Shalmaneser's fifth year,²⁰⁴ was in his twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, thirtieth, and thirty-first employed as commander-in-chief, and sent out, at the head of the main army of Assyria, to conduct campaigns against the Armenians, against the revolted Patena, and against the inhabitants of the modern Kurdistan. It is uncertain whether the king himself took any part in the campaigns of these years. In the native record the first and third persons are continually interchanged,²⁰⁵ some of the actions related being ascribed to the monarch and others to the general; but on the whole the impression left by the narrative is that the king, in the spirit of a well-known legal maxim,²⁰⁶ assumes as his own the acts which he has accomplished through his representative. In his twenty-ninth year, however, Shalmaneser seems to have led an expedition in person into Khirki (the Niphates country), where he "overturned, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire the towns, swept the country with his

troops, and impressed on the inhabitants the fear of his presence."

The campaigns of Shalmaneser which have the greatest interest are those of his sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-first years. Two of these were directed against Babylonia, three against Ben-hadad of Damascus, and two against Khazail (Hazeal) of Damascus.

In his eighth year Shalmaneser took advantage of a civil war in Babylonia between King Merodach-sum-adin and a younger brother, Merodach-bel-usati (?), whose power was about evenly balanced, to interfere in the affairs of that country, and under pretence of helping the legitimate monarch, to make himself master of several towns. In the following year he was still more fortunate. Having engaged, defeated, and slain the pretender to the Babylonian crown, he marched on to Babylon itself, where he was probably welcomed as a deliverer, and from thence proceeded into Chaldæa, or the tract upon the coast, which was at this time independent of Babylon, and forced its kings to become his tributaries. "The power of his army," he tells us, "struck terror as far as the sea."

The wars of Shalmaneser in Southern Syria commenced as early as his ninth year. He had succeeded to a dominion in Northern Syria which extended over the Patena, and probably over most of the northern Hittites;²⁰⁷ and this made his territories conterminous with those of the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the southern Hittites, and perhaps the Syrians of Damascus.²⁰⁸ At any rate the last named people felt themselves threatened by the growing power on or near their borders, and, convinced that they would soon be attacked, prepared for resistance by entering into a close league with their neighbors. The king of Damascus, who was the great Ben-hadad, Tsakhulena, king of Hamath, Ahab, king of Israel, the kings of the southern Hittites, those of the Phœnician cities on the coast, and others, formed an alliance, and, uniting their forces,²⁰⁹ went out boldly to meet Shalmaneser, offering him battle. Despite, however, of this confidence, or perhaps in consequence of it, the allies suffered a defeat. Twenty thousand men fell in the battle. Many chariots and much of the material of war were captured by the Assyrians. But still no conquest was effected. Shalmaneser does not assert that he either received submission or imposed a tribute; and the fact that he did not venture to renew the war for five years seems

to show that the resistance which he had encountered made him hesitate about continuing the struggle.

Five years, however, having elapsed, and the power of Assyria being increased by her successes in Lower Mesopotamia,²¹⁰ Shalmaneser, in the eleventh year of his reign, advanced a second time against Hamath and the southern Hittites. Entering their territories unexpectedly, he was at first unopposed, and succeeded in taking a large number of their towns. But the troops of Ben-hadad soon appeared in the field. Phœnicia, apparently, stood aloof, and Hamath was occupied with her own difficulties; but Ben-hadad, having joined the Hittites, again gave Shalmaneser battle; and though that monarch, as usual, claims the victory, it is evident that he gained no important advantage by his success. He had once more to return to his own land without having extended his sway, and this time (as it would seem) without even any trophies of conquest.

Three years later, he made another desperate effort. Collecting his people "in multitudes that were not to be counted," he crossed the Euphrates with above a hundred thousand men.²¹¹ Marching southwards, he soon encountered a large army of the allies, Damascenes, Hamathites, Hittites, and perhaps Phœnicians,²¹² the first-named still commanded by the undaunted Ben-hadad. This time the success of the Assyrians is beyond dispute. Not only were the allies put to flight, not only did they lose most of their chariots and implements of war, but they appear to have lost hope, and, formally or tacitly, to have forthwith dissolved their confederacy. The Hittites and Hamathites probably submitted to the conqueror; the Phœnicians withdrew to their own towns, and Damascus was left without allies, to defend herself as she best might, when the tide of conquest should once more flow in this direction.

In the fourth year the flow of the tide came. Shalmaneser, once more advancing southward, found the Syrians of Damascus strongly posted in the fastnesses of the Anti-Lebanon. Since his last invasion they had changed their ruler. The brave and experienced Ben-hadad had perished by the treachery of an ambitious subject,²¹³ and his assassin, the infamous Hazael, held the throne. Left to his own resources by the dissolution of the old league, this monarch had exerted himself to the utmost in order to repel the attack which he knew was impending. He had collected a very large army, including

above eleven hundred chariots, and, determined to leave nothing to chance, had carefully taken up a very strong position in the mountain range which separated his territory from the neighboring kingdom of Hamath, or valley of Coele-Syria. Here he was attacked by Shalmaneser, and completely defeated, with the loss of 16,000 of his troops, 1121 of his chariots, a quantity of his war material, and his camp. This blow apparently prostrated him; and when, three years later, Shalmaneser invaded his territory, Hazael brought no army into the field, but let his towns, one after another, be taken and plundered by the Assyrian.²¹⁴

It was probably upon this last occasion, when the spirit of Damascus was cowed, and the Phœnician cities, trembling at the thought of their own rashness in having assisted Hazael and Ben-hadad, hastened to make their submission and to resume the rank of Assyrian tributaries, that the sovereign of another Syrian country, taking warning from the fate of his neighbors, determined to anticipate the subjection which he could not avoid, and, making a virtue of necessity, to place himself under the Assyrian yoke. Jehu, "son of Omri," as he is termed in the Inscription—*i.e.*, successor and supposed descendant of the great Omri who built Samaria²¹⁵—sent as tribute to Shalmaneser a quantity of gold and silver in bullion, together with a number of manufactured articles in the more precious of the two metals. In the sculptures which represent the Israelitish ambassadors presenting this tribute to the great king,²¹⁶ these articles appear carried in the hands, or on the shoulders, of the envoys, but they are in general too indistinctly traced for us to pronounce with any confidence upon their character. [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 1.]

Shalmaneser had the same taste as his father for architecture and the other arts. He completed the *ziggurat* of the Great Temple of Nin at Calah, which his father had left unfinished, and not content with the palace of that monarch, built for himself a new and (probably) more magnificent residence on the same lofty platform, at the distance of about 150 yards.²¹⁷ This edifice was found by Mr. Layard in so ruined a condition, through the violence which it had suffered, apparently at the hands of Esarhaddon,²¹⁸ that it was impossible either to trace its plan or to form a clear notion of its ornamentation.²¹⁹ Two gigantic winged bulls, partly destroyed, served to show that the grand portals of the chambers were similar in character and design to those of the earlier monarch, while

from a number of sculptured fragments it was sufficiently plain that the walls had been adorned with bas-reliefs of the style used in Asshur-izir-pal's edifice. The only difference observable was in the size and subjects of the sculptures, which seemed to have been on a grander scale and more generally mythological than those of the North-West palace.²²⁰

The monument of Shalmaneser which has attracted most attention in this country is an obelisk in black marble, similar in shape and general arrangement to that of Asshur-izir-pal, already described, but of a handsomer and better material. This work of art was discovered in a prostrate position under the *débris* which covered up Shalmaneser's palace. It contained bas-reliefs in twenty compartments, five on each of its four sides; the space above, between, and below them being covered with cuneiform writing, sharply inscribed in a minute character. The whole was in most excellent preservation.²²¹ The bas-reliefs represent the monarch, accompanied by his vizier and other chief officers, receiving the tribute of five nations, whose envoys are ushered into the royal presence by officers of the court, and prostrate themselves at the Great King's feet ere they present their offerings. The gifts brought are, in part, objects carried in the hand—gold, silver, copper in bars and cubes, goblets, elephants' tusks, tissues, and the like—in part, animals such as horses, camels, monkeys and baboons of different kinds, stags, lions, wild bulls, antelopes, and—strangest of all—the rhinoceros and the elephant. One of the nations, as already mentioned,²²² is that of the Israelites. The others are, first, the people of Kirzan, a country bordering on Armenia,²²³ who present gold, silver, copper, horses, and camels, and fill the four highest compartments²²⁴ with a train of nine envoys; secondly, the Muzri, or people of Muzr, a country nearly in the same quarter,²²⁵ who are represented in the four central compartments, with six envoys conducting various wild animals; thirdly, the Tsukhi, or Shuhites, from the Euphrates, to whom belong the four compartments below the Muzri, which are filled by a train of thirteen envoys, bringing two lions, a stag, and various precious articles, among which bars of metal, elephants' tusks, and shawls or tissues are conspicuous; and lastly, the Patena, from the Orontes, who fill three of the lowest compartments with a train of twelve envoys bearing gifts like those of the Israelites.

Besides this interesting monument, there are very few remains of art which can be ascribed to Shalmaneser's time

with any confidence.²²⁶ The sculptures found on the site of his palace belonged to a later monarch,²²⁷ who restored and embellished it. His own bas-reliefs were torn from their places by Esarhaddon, and by him defaced and used as materials in the construction of a new palace. We are thus left almost without materials for judging of the progress made by art during Shalmaneser's reign. Architecture, it may be conjectured, was modified to a certain extent, precious woods being employed more frequently and more largely than before; a fact of which we seem to have an indication in the frequent expeditions made by Shalmaneser into Syria, for the single purpose of cutting timber in its forests.²²⁸ Sculpture, to judge from the obelisk, made no advance. The same formality, the same heaviness of outline, the same rigid adherence to the profile in all representations both of man and beast, characterize the reliefs of both reigns equally, so far as we have any means of judging.

Shalmaneser seems to have held his court ordinarily at Calah, where he built his palace and set up his obelisk; but sometimes he would reside for a time at Nineveh or at Asshur.²²⁹ He does not appear to have built any important edifice at either of these two cities, but at the latter he left a monument which possesses some interest. This is the stone statue, now in a mutilated condition, representing a king seated, which was found by Mr. Layard at Kileh-Sherghat, and of which some notice has already been taken.²³⁰ Its proportions are better than those of the small statue of the monarch's father, standing in his sacrificial dress, which was found at Nimrud;²³¹ and it is superior to that work of art, in being of the size of life; but either its execution was originally very rude, or it must have suffered grievously by exposure, for it is now wholly rough and unpolished.

The later years of Shalmaneser appear to have been troubled by a dangerous rebellion.²³² The infirmities of age were probably creeping upon him. He had ceased to go out with his armies; and had handed over a portion of his authority to the favorite general who was entrusted with the command of his forces year after year.²³³ The favor thus shown may have provoked jealousy and even alarm. It may have been thought that the legitimate successor was imperilled by the exaltation of a subject whose position would enable him to ingratiate himself with the troops, and who might be expected, on the death of his patron, to make an effort to place the

crown on his own head. Fears of this kind may very probably have so worked on the mind of the heir apparent as to determine him not to await his father's demise, but rather to raise the standard of revolt during his lifetime, and to endeavor, by an unexpected *coup-de-main*, to anticipate and ruin his rival. Or, possibly, Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of Shalmaneser, like too many royal youths, may have been impatient of the long life of his father, and have conceived the guilty desire, with which our fourth Henry is said to have taxed his first-born, a "hunger for the empty chair" of which the aged monarch,²³⁴ still held possession. At any rate, whatever may have been the motive that urged him on, it is certain that Asshur-danin-pal rebelled against his sire's authority, and, raising the standard of revolt, succeeded in carrying with him a great part of the kingdom. At Asshur, the old metropolis, which may have hoped to lure back the Court by its subservience, at Arbela in the Zab region, at Amidi on the Upper Tigris, at Tel-Apni near the site of Orfa, and at more than twenty other fortified places, Asshur-danin-pal was proclaimed king, and accepted by the inhabitants for their sovereign. Shalmaneser must have felt himself in imminent peril of losing his crown. Under these circumstances he called to his assistance his second son Shamas-Vul, and placing him at the head of such of his troops as remained firm to their allegiance, invested him with full power to act as he thought best in the existing emergency. Shamas-Vul at once took the field, attacked and reduced the rebellious cities one after another, and in a little time completely crushed the revolt and re-established peace throughout the empire. Asshur-danin-pal, the arch conspirator, was probably put to death; his life was justly forfeit; and neither Shamas-Vul nor his father is likely to have been withheld by any inconvenient tenderness from punishing treason in a near relative, as they would have punished it in any other person. The suppressor of the revolt became the heir of the kingdom; and when, shortly afterwards,²³⁵ Shalmaneser died, the piety or prudence of his faithful son was rewarded by the rich inheritance of the Assyrian Empire.

Shalmaneser reigned, in all, thirty-five years, from B.C. 858 to B.C. 823. His successor, Shamas-Vul, held the throne for thirteen years, from B.C. 823 to B.C. 810. Before entering upon the consideration of this latter monarch's reign, it will be well to cast your eyes once more over the Assyrian Empire,



Tiara of the later period
(Koyunjik).



Tiara of the earlier period
(Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Fillet worn by the King (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



Royal sandal (time of Sargon).

Fig. 4.



Royal Shoe (time of
Sennacherib).

Fig. 5.



Royal sandal (time of
Sardanapalus I.).

Fig. 6.



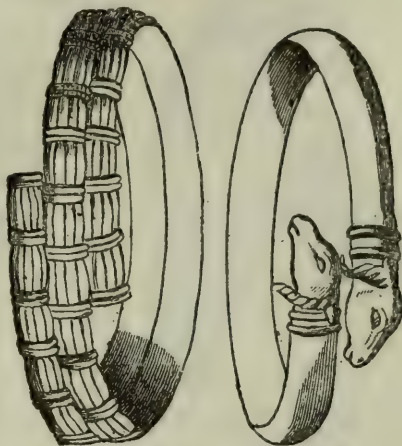
Royal necklace (Nimrud).

Fig. 7.



Royal collar (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Royal Armlets (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



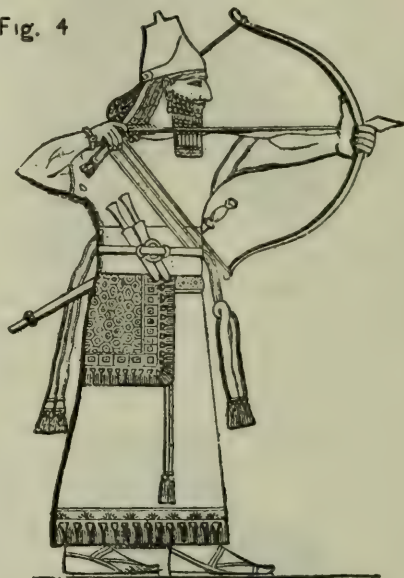
Royal Earrings (Nimrud)

Fig. 3.

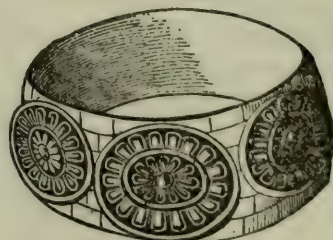


Royal Bracelets
(Khorsabad and Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



Early King in his War-costume
(Nimrud).



Royal Bracelet
(Khorsabad).

such as it has now become, and over the nations with which its growth had brought it into contact. Considerable changes had occurred since the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrian boundaries having been advanced in several directions, while either this progress, or the movements of races beyond the frontier, had brought into view many new and some very important nations.

The chief advance which the "Terminus" of the Assyrians had made was towards the west and the north-west. Instead of their dominion in this quarter being bounded by the Euphrates, they had established their authority over the whole of Upper Syria, over Phœnicia, Hamath, and Samaria, or the kingdom of the Israelites. These countries were not indeed reduced to the form of provinces; on the contrary, they still retained their own laws, administration, and native princes; but they were henceforth really subject to Assyria, acknowledging her suzerainty, paying her an annual tribute, and giving a free passage to her armies through their territories. The limit of the Assyrian Empire towards the west was consequently at this time the Mediterranean, from the Gulf of Iskanderun to Cape Carmel, or perhaps we should say to Joppa.²³⁶ Their north-western boundary was the range of Taurus next beyond Amanus, the tract between the two belonging to the Tibareni (Tubal), who had submitted to become tributaries.²³⁷ Northwards, little if any progress had been made. The chain of Niphates—"the high grounds over the affluents of the Tigris and Euphrates"—where Shalmaneser set up "an image of his majesty,"²³⁸ seems still to be the furthest limit. In other words, Armenia is unconquered,²³⁹ the strength of the region and the valor of its inhabitants still protecting it from the Assyrian arms. Towards the east some territory seems to have been gained, more especially in the central Zagros region, the district between the Lower Zab and Holwan, which at this period bore the name of Hupuska;²⁴⁰ but the tribes north and south of this tract were still for the most part unsubdued.²⁴¹ The southern frontier may be regarded as wholly unchanged; for although Shalmaneser warred in Babylonia, and even took tribute on one occasion from the petty kings of the Chaldæan towns, he seems to have made no permanent impression in this quarter. The Tsukhi or Shuhites are still the most southern of his subjects.²⁴²

The principal changes which time and conquest had made among the neighbors of Assyria were the following. Towards

the west she was brought into contact with the kingdom of Damascus, and, through her tributary Samaria, with Judæa. On the north-west she had new enemies in the *Quin*,²⁴² (Coans?) who dwelt on the further side of Amanus, near the Tibareni, in a part of the country afterwards called Cilicia, and the Cilicians themselves, who are now first mentioned. The Moschi seem to have withdrawn a little from this neighborhood, since they no longer appear either among Assyria's enemies or her tributaries. On the north all minor powers had disappeared; and the Armenians (*Urarda*) were now Assyria's sole neighbors. Towards the east she had come into contact with the *Mannai*, or Minni, about Lake Urumiyeh, with the Kharkhar in the Van region and in north-western Kurdistan, with the Bartsu or Persians²⁴⁴ and the Mada or Medes in the country east of Zagros, the modern province of Ardelan, and with the Tsimri, or Zimri,²⁴⁵ in Upper Luristan. Among all her fresh enemies, she had not, however, as yet found one calculated to inspire any serious fear. No new organized monarchy presented itself. The tribes and nations upon her borders were still either weak in numbers or powerless from their intestine divisions; and there was thus every reason to expect a long continuance of the success which had naturally attended a large centralized state in her contests with small kingdoms or loosely-united confederacies. Names celebrated in the after history of the world, as those of the Medes and Persians, are now indeed for the first time emerging into light from the complete obscurity which has shrouded them hitherto; and tinged as they are with the radiance of their later glories, they show brightly among the many insignificant tribes and nations with which Assyria has been warring for centuries; but it would be a mistake to suppose that these names have any present importance in the narrative, or represent powers capable as yet of contending on equal terms with the Assyrian Empire, or even of seriously checking the progress of her successes. The Medes and Persians are at this period no more powerful than the Zimri, the Minni, the *Urarda*,²⁴⁶ or than half a dozen others of the border nations, whose appellations sound strange in the ears even of the advanced student. Neither of the two great Arian peoples had as yet a capital city, neither was united under a king; separated into numerous tribes, each under its chief, dispersed in scattered towns and villages, poorly fortified or not fortified at all, they were in the same condition as the

Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.

King, Queen, and Attendants (Koyunjik).

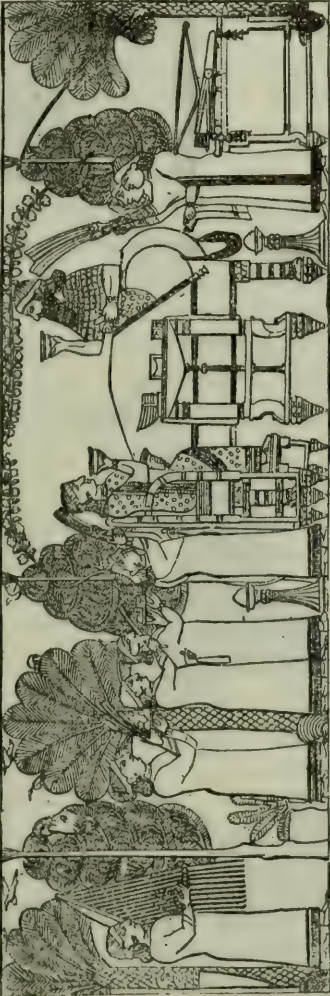


Fig. 3.



Enlarged figure of the queen (Koyunjik).

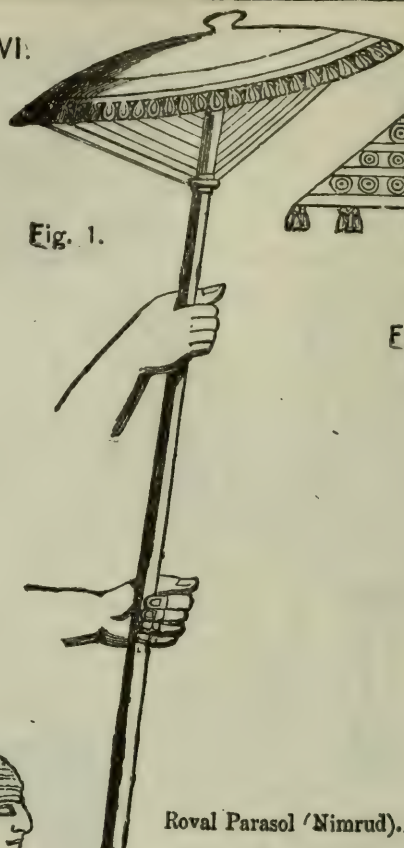


Fig. 1.

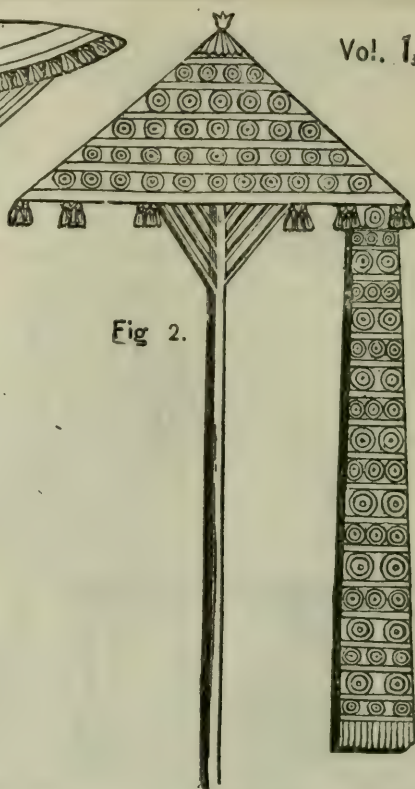


Fig. 2.

Royal Parasol (Nimrud).

Royal parasol (Koyunjik).



Fig. 3.

The chief Eunuch (?)-Nimrud.



Fig. 4.

Head-dress of the Vizier (Khorsabad).

Nairi, the Qummukh, the Patena, the Hittites, and the other border races whose relative weakness Assyria had abundantly proved in a long course of wars wherein she had uniformly been the victor.

The short reign of Shamas-Vul II. presents but little that calls for remark. Like Shalmaneser II., he resided chiefly at Calah, where, following the example of his father and grandfather, he set up an obelisk (or rather a stele) in commemoration of his various exploits. This monument, which is covered on three sides with an inscription in the hieratic or cursive character,²⁴⁷ contains an opening invocation to Nin or Hercules, conceived in the ordinary terms, the genealogy and titles of the king, an account of the rebellion of Asshur-daninpal, together with its suppression,²⁴⁸ and Shamas-Vul's own annals for the first four years of his reign. From these we learn that he displayed the same active spirit as his two predecessors, carrying his arms against the Nairi on the north, against Media and Arazias on the east, and against Babylonia on the south. The people of Hupuska, the Minni, and the Persians (Bartsu) paid him tribute. His principal success was that of his fourth campaign, which was against Babylon. He entered the country by a route often used,²⁴⁹ which skirted the Zagros mountain range for some distance, and then crossed the flat, probably along the course of the Diyaleh, to the southern capital. The Babylonians, alarmed at his advance, occupied a strongly fortified place on his line of route, which he besieged and took after a vigorous resistance, wherein the blood of the garrison was shed like water. Eighteen thousand were slain; three thousand were made prisoners; the city itself was plundered and burnt, and Shamas-Vul pressed forward against the flying enemy. Hereupon the Babylonian monarch, Merodach-belatzu-ikbi, collecting his own troops and those of his allies, the Chaldæans, the Aramæans or Syrians, and the Zimri—a vast host—met the invader on the river Daban²⁵⁰—perhaps a branch of the Euphrates—and fought a great battle in defence of his city. He was, however, defeated by the Assyrians, with the loss of 5000 killed, 2000 prisoners, 100 chariots, 200 tents, and the royal standard and pavilion. What further military or political results the victory may have had is uncertain. Shamas-Vul's annals terminate abruptly at this point,²⁵¹ and we are left to conjecture the consequences of the campaign and battle. It is possible that they were in the highest degree important;

for we find, in the next reign, that Babylonia, which has so long been a separate and independent kingdom, is reduced to the condition of a tributary, while we have no account of its reduction by the succeeding monarch, whose relations with the Babylonians, so far as we know, were of a purely peaceful character.

The stele of Shamas-Vul contains one allusion to a hunting exploit, by which we learn that this monarch inherited his grandfather's partiality for the chase. He found wild bulls at the foot of Zagros when he was marching to invade Babylonia, and delaying his advance to hunt them, was so fortunate as to kill several.

We know nothing of Shamas-Vul as a builder, and but little of him as a patron of art. He seems to have been content with the palaces of his father and grandfather, and to have been devoid of any wish to outshine them by raising edifices which should throw theirs into the shade. In his stele he shows no originality; for it is the mere reproduction of a monument well known to his predecessors, and of which we have several specimens from the time of Asshur-izir-pal downwards. It consists of a single figure in relief—a figure representing the king dressed in his priestly robes, and wearing the sacred emblems round his neck, standing with the right arm upraised, and enclosed in the customary arched frame. This figure, which is somewhat larger than life, is cut on a single solid block of stone, and then placed on another broader block, which serves as a pedestal. It closely resembles the figure of Asshur-izir-pal, whereof a representation has been already given.²⁵²

The successor of Shamas-Vul was his son Vul-lush, the third monarch of that name, who ascended the throne B.C. 810, and held it for twenty-nine years, from B.C. 810 to B.C. 781. The memorials which we possess of this king's reign are but scanty. They consist of one or two slabs found at Nimrud, of a short dedicatory inscription on duplicate statues of the god Nebo brought from the same place, of some brick inscriptions from the mound of Nebbi Yunus, and of the briefest possible notices of the quarters in which he carried on war, contained in one copy of the Canon. As none of these records are in the shape of annals except the last, and as only these and the slab notices are historical, it is impossible to give any detailed account of this long and apparently important reign. We can only say that Vul-lush III. was as warlike a monarch

as any of his predecessors, and that his efforts seem to have extended the Assyrian dominion in almost every quarter. He made seven expeditions across the Zagros range into Media, two into the Van country, and three into Syria. He tells us that in one of these expeditions he succeeded in making himself master of the great city of Damascus, whose kings had defied (as we have seen) the repeated attacks of Shalmaneser. He reckons as his tributaries in these parts, besides Damascus, the cities of Tyre and Sidon, and the countries of Khumri or Samaria, of Palestine or Philistia, and of Hudum (Idumæa or Edom). On the north and east he received tokens of submission from the Naïri, the Minni, the Medes, and the Partsu, or Persians. On the south, he exercised a power, which seems like that of a sovereign, in Babylonia; where homage was paid him by the Chaldæans, and where, in the great cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha (or Tiggaba), he was allowed to offer sacrifice to the gods Bel, Nebo, and Nergal.²⁵³ There is, further, some reason to suspect that, before quitting Babylonia, he established one of his sons as viceroy over the country; since he seems to style himself in one place "the king to whose son Asshur, the chief of the gods, has granted the kingdom of Babylon."

It thus appears that by the time of Vul-lush III., or early in the eighth century B.C., Assyria had with one hand grasped Babylonia, while with the other she had laid hold of Philistia and Edom. She thus touched the Persian Gulf on the one side, while on the other she was brought into contact with Egypt. At the same time she had received the submission of at least some portion of the great nation of the Medes, who were now probably moving southwards from Azerbaijan and gradually occupying the territory which was regarded as Media Proper by the Greeks and Romans. She held Southern Armenia, from Lake Van to the sources of the Tigris; she possessed all Upper Syria, including Commagêné and Amanus; she had tributaries even on the further side of that mountain range; she bore sway over the whole Syrian coast from Issus to Gaza; her authority was acknowledged, probably, by all the tribes and kingdoms between the coast and the desert,²⁵⁴ certainly by the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the Patena, the Hittites, the Syrians of Damascus, the people of Israel, and the Idumæans, or people of Edom. On the east she had reduced almost all the valleys of Zagros, and had tributaries in the great upland on the eastern side of the range. On the

south, if she had not absorbed Babylonia, she had at least made her influence paramount there. The full height of her greatness was not indeed attained till a century later; but already the "tall cedar" was "exalted above all the trees of the field; his boughs were multiplied; his branches had become long; and under his shadow dwelt great nations."²⁵⁵

Not much is known of Vul-lush III. as a builder, or as a patron of art. He calls himself the "restorer of noble buildings which had gone to decay," an expression which would seem to imply that he aimed rather at maintaining former edifices in repair than at constructing new ones. He seems, however, to have built some chambers on the mound of Nimrud, between the north-western and the south-western palaces, and also to have had a palace at Nineveh on the mound now called Nebbi Yunus. The Nimrud chambers were of small size and poorly ornamented; they contained no sculptures; the walls were plastered and then painted in fresco with a variety of patterns.²⁵⁶ They may have been merely guard-rooms, since they appear to have formed a portion of a high tower.²⁵⁷ The palace at Nebbi Yunus was probably a more important work; but the superstitious regard of the natives for the supposed tomb of Jonah has hitherto frustrated all attempts made by Europeans to explore that mass of ruins.²⁵⁸

Among all the monuments recovered by recent researches, the only works of art assignable to the reign of Vul-lush are two rude statues of the god Nebo, almost exactly resembling one another.²⁵⁹ From the representation of one of them, given on a former page of this volume,²⁶⁰ the reader will see that the figures in question have scarcely any artistic merit. The head is disproportionately large, the features, so far as they can be traced, are coarse and heavy, the arms and hands are poorly modelled, and the lower part is more like a pillar than the figure of a man. We cannot suppose that Assyrian art was incapable, under the third Vul-lush, of a higher flight than these statues indicate; we must therefore regard them as conventional forms, reproduced from old models, which the artist was bound to follow. It would seem, indeed, that while in the representation of animals and of men of inferior rank, Assyrian artists were untrammelled by precedent, and might aim at the highest possible perfection, in religious subjects, and in the representation of kings and nobles, they were limited, by law or custom, to certain ancient forms and

modes of expression, which we find repeated from the earliest to the latest times with monotonous uniformity.

If these statues, however, are valueless as works of art, they have yet a peculiar interest for the historian, as containing the only mention which the disentombed remains have furnished of one of the most celebrated names of antiquity—a name which for many ages vindicated to itself a leading place, not only in the history of Assyria, but in that of the world.²⁶¹ To the Greeks and Romans Semiramis was the foremost of women, the greatest queen who had ever held a sceptre, the most extraordinary conqueror that the East had ever produced. Beautiful as Helen or Cleopatra, brave as Tomyris, lustful as Messalina, she had the virtues and vices of a man rather than a woman, and performed deeds scarcely inferior to those of Cyrus or Alexander the Great. It is an ungrateful task to dispel illusions, more especially such as are at once harmless and venerable for their antiquity; but truth requires the historian to obliterate from the pages of the past this well-known image, and to substitute in its place a very dull and prosaic figure—a Semiramis no longer decked with the prismatic hues of fancy, but clothed instead in the sober garments of fact. The Nebo idols are dedicated, by the Assyrian officer who had them executed, “to his lord Vul-lush and his lady *Sammuramit*;²⁶² from whence it would appear to be certain, in the first place, that that monarch was married to a princess who bore this world-renowned name, and, secondly, that she held a position superior to that which is usually allowed in the East to a queen-consort. An inveterate Oriental prejudice requires the rigid seclusion of women; and the Assyrian monuments, thoroughly in accord with the predominant tone of Eastern manners, throw a veil in general over all that concerns the weaker sex, neither representing to us the forms of the Assyrian women in the sculptures, nor so much as mentioning their existence in the inscriptions.²⁶³ Very rarely is there an exception to this all but universal reticence. In the present instance, and in about two others, the silence usually kept is broken; and a native woman comes upon the scene to tantalize us by her momentary apparition. The glimpse that we here obtain does not reveal much. Beyond the fact that the principal queen of Vul-lush III. was named Semiramis, and the further fact, implied in her being mentioned at all, that she had a recognized position of authority in the country, we can only conclude, conjecturally, from the exact parallelism of the phrases

used, that she bore sway conjointly with her husband, either over the whole or over a part of his dominions. Such a view explains, to some extent, the wonderful tale of the Ninian Semiramis, which was foisted into history by Ctesias; for it shows that he had a slight basis of fact to go upon. It also harmonizes, or may be made to harmonize, with the story of Semiramis as told by Herodotus, who says that she was a Babylonian queen, and reigned five generations before Nitocris,²⁶⁴ or about B.C. 755.²⁶⁵ For it is quite possible that the Sammuramit married to Vul-lush III. was a Babylonian princess, the last descendant of a long line of kings, whom the Assyrian monarch wedded to confirm through her his title to the southern provinces; in which case a portion of his subjects would regard her as their legitimate sovereign, and only recognize his authority as secondary and dependent upon hers. The exaggeration in which Orientals indulge, with a freedom that astonishes the sober nations of the West, would seize upon the unusual circumstance of a female having possessed a conjoint sovereignty, and would gradually group round the name a host of mythic details,²⁶⁶ which at last accumulated to such an extent that, to prevent the fiction from becoming glaring, the queen had to be thrown back into mythic times, with which such details were in harmony. The Babylonian wife of Vul-lush III., who gave him his title to the regions of the south, and reigned conjointly with him both in Babylonia and Assyria, became first a queen of Babylon, ruling independently and alone,²⁶⁷ and then an Assyrian empress, the conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia,²⁶⁸ the invader of the distant India,²⁶⁹ the builder of Babylon,²⁷⁰ and the constructor of all the great works which were anywhere to be found in Western Asia.²⁷¹ The grand figure thus produced imposed upon the uncritical ancients, and was accepted even by the moderns for many centuries. At length the school of Heeren²⁷² and Niebuhr,²⁷³ calling common sense to their aid, pronounced the figure a myth. It remained for the patient explorers of the field of Assyrian antiquity in our own day to discover the slight basis of fact on which the myth was founded, and to substitute for the shadowy marvel of Ctesias a very prosaic and commonplace princess, who, like Atossa or Elizabeth of York, strengthened her husband's title to his crown, but who never really made herself conspicuous by either great works or by exploits.

With Vul-lush III. the glories of the Nimrud line of mon-

archs come to a close, and Assyrian history is once more shrouded in a partial darkness for a space of nearly forty years, from B.C. 781 to B.C. 745. The Assyrian Canon shows us that three monarchs bore sway during this interval—Shalmaneser III., who reigned from B.C. 781 to B.C. 771, Asshur-dayan III., who reigned from B.C. 771 to B.C. 753, and Asshur-lush, who held the throne from the last-mentioned date to B.C. 745, when he was succeeded by the second Tiglath-Pileser. The brevity of these reigns, which average only twelve years apiece, is indicative of troublous times, and of a disputed, or, at any rate, a disturbed succession. The fact that none of the three monarchs left buildings of any importance, or, so far as appears, memorials of any kind, marks a period of comparative decline, during which there was a pause in the magnificent course of Assyrian conquests, which had scarcely known a check for above a century.²⁷⁴ The causes of the temporary inaction and apparent decline of a power which had so long been steadily advancing, would form an interesting subject of speculation to the political philosopher; but they are too obscure to be investigated here, where our space only allows us to touch rapidly on the chief known facts of the Assyrian history.

One important difficulty presents itself at this point of the narrative, in an apparent contradiction between the native records of the Assyrians and the casual notices of their history contained in the Second Book of Kings. The Biblical Pul—the “king of Assyria” who came up against the land of Israel and received from Menahem a thousand talents of silver, “that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand,”²⁷⁵ is unnoticed in the native inscriptions, and even seems to be excluded from the royal lists by the absence of any name at all resembling his in the proper place in the famous Canon.²⁷⁶ Pul appears in Scripture to be the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser. At any rate, as his expedition against Menahem is followed within (at the utmost) thirty-two years²⁷⁷ by an expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against Pekah, his last year (if he was indeed a king of Assyria) cannot have fallen earlier than thirty-two years before Tiglath-Pileser’s first. In other words, if the Hebrew numbers are historical some portion of Pul’s reign must necessarily fall into the interval assigned by the Canon to the kings for which it is the sole authority—Shalmaneser III., Asshur-dayan III., and Asshur-lush. But these names are so wholly unlike the name of Pul

that no one of them can possibly be regarded as its equivalent, or even as the original from which it was corrupted. Thus the Assyrian records do not merely omit Pul, but exclude him; and we have to inquire how this can be accounted for, and who the Biblical Pul is, if he is not a regular and recognized Assyrian monarch.

Various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested. Some would regard Pul as a general of Tiglath-Pileser (or of some earlier Assyrian king), mistaken by the Jews for the actual monarch. Others would identify him with Tiglath-Pileser himself.²⁷⁸ But perhaps the most probable supposition is, that he was a pretender to the Assyrian crown, never acknowledged at Nineveh, but established in the western (and southern²⁷⁹) provinces so firmly, that he could venture to conduct an expedition into Lower Syria, and to claim there the fealty of Assyria's vassals. Or possibly he may have been a Babylonian monarch, who in the troublous times that had now evidently come upon the northern empire, possessed himself of the Euphrates valley, and thence descended upon Syria and Palestine. Berosus, it must be remembered, represented Pul as a *Chaldean* king;²⁸⁰ and the name itself, which is wholly alien to the ordinary Assyrian type,²⁸¹ has at least one counterpart among known Babylonian names.²⁸²

The time of Pul's invasion may be fixed by combining the Assyrian and the Hebrew chronologies within very narrow limits. Tiglath-Pileser relates that he took tribute from Menahem in a war which lasted from his fourth to his eighth year, or from B.C. 742 to B.C. 738. As Menahem only reigned ten years, the earliest date that can be assigned to Pul's expedition will be B.C. 752,²⁸³ while the latest possible date will be B.C. 746, the year before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser. In any case the expedition falls within the eight years assigned by the Assyrian Canon to the reign of Asshur-lush, Tiglath-Pileser's immediate predecessor.

It is remarkable that into this interval falls also the famous era of Nabonassar,²⁸⁴ which must have marked some important change, dynastic or other, at Babylon. The nature of this change will be considered more at length in the Babylonian section. At present it is sufficient to observe that, in the declining condition of Assyria under the kings who followed Vul-lush III., there was naturally a growth of power and independence among the border countries. Babylon, repenting of the submission which she had made either to Vul-lush III.

or to his father, Shamas-Vul II., once more vindicated her right to freedom, and resumed the position of a separate and hostile monarchy. Samaria, Damascus, Judæa, ceased to pay tribute. Enterprising kings, like Jeroboam II. and Menahem, taking advantage of Assyria's weakness, did not content themselves with merely throwing off her yoke, but proceeded to enlarge their dominions at the expense of her feudatories.²⁸⁵ Judging of the unknown from the known, we may assume that on the north and east there were similar defections to those on the west and south—that the tribes of Armenia and of the Zagros range rose in revolt, and that the Assyrian boundaries were thus contracted in every quarter.²⁸⁶

At the same time, within the limits of what was regarded as the settled Empire, revolts began to occur. In the reign of Asshur-dayan III. (B.C. 771-753), no fewer than three important insurrections are recorded—one at a city called Libzu, another at Arapkha, the chief town of Arrapachitis, and a third at Gozan, the chief city of Gauzanitis or Mygdonia. Attempts were made to suppress these revolts; but it may be doubted whether they were successful. The military spirit had declined; the monarchs had ceased to lead out their armies regularly year by year, preferring to pass their time in inglorious ease at their rich and luxurious capitals. Asshur-dayan III., during nine years of his eighteen, remained at home, undertaking no warlike enterprise. Asshur-lush, his successor, displayed even less of military vigor. During the eight years of his reign he took the field twice only, passing six years in complete inaction. At the end of this time, Calah, the second city in the kingdom, revolted; and the revolution was brought about which ushered in the splendid period of the Lower Empire.

It was probably during the continuance of the time of depression,²⁸⁷ when an unwarlike monarch was living in inglorious ease amid the luxuries and refinements of Nineveh, and the people, sunk in repose, gave themselves up to vicious indulgences more hateful in the eye of God than even the pride and cruelty which they were wont to exhibit in war, that the great capital was suddenly startled by a voice of warning in the streets—a voice which sounded everywhere, through corridor, and lane, and square, bazaar and caravanseraï, one shrill monotonous cry—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown."²⁸⁸ A strange wild man, clothed in a rough garment of skin,²⁸⁹ moving from place to place, announced to the

inhabitants their doom. None knew who he was or whence he had come; none had ever beheld him before; pale, haggard, travel-stained, he moved before them like a visitant from another sphere; and his lips still framed the fearful words—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Had the cry fallen on them in the prosperous time, when each year brought its tale of victories, and every nation upon their borders trembled at the approach of their arms, it would probably have been heard with apathy or ridicule, and would have failed to move the heart of the nation. But coming, as it did, when their glory had declined; when their enemies, having been allowed a breathing space, had taken courage and were acting on the offensive in many quarters; when it was thus perhaps quite within the range of probability that some one of their numerous foes might shortly appear in arms before the place, it struck them with fear and consternation. The alarm communicated itself from the city to the palace; and his trembling attendants "came and told the king of Nineveh," who was seated on his royal throne in the great audience-chamber, surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence of his court. No sooner did he hear, than the heart of the king was touched, like that of his people; and he "arose from his throne, and laid aside his robe from him, and covered himself with sackcloth and sat in ashes."²⁹⁰ Hastily summoning his nobles, he had a decree framed, and "caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast²⁹¹ be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands."²⁹² Then the fast was proclaimed, and the people of Nineveh, fearful of God's wrath, put on sackcloth "from the greatest of them even to the least of them."²⁹³ The joy and merriment, the revelry and feasting of that great city were changed into mourning and lamentation; the sins that had provoked the anger of the Most High ceased; the people humbled themselves; they "turned from their evil way,"²⁹⁴ and by a repentance, which, if not deep and enduring, was still real and unfeigned, they appeased for the present the Divine wrath. Vainly the prophet sat without the city, on its eastern side, under his booth woven of boughs,²⁹⁵ watching, waiting, hoping (apparently) that the doom which he had announced would

Fig. 1.



Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Sennacherib.)



Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Asshur-idanni-pal.)

Fig 2.



Prisoners presented by the Chief Eunuch (Nimrud obelisk).

Fig. 1.



Fans or fly-flappers (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

King killing a Lion (Nimrud).



King, with attendants, spearing a lion (Koyunjik).

come, in spite of the people's repentance. God was more merciful than man. He had pity on the "great city," with its "six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left,"²⁹⁶ and, sparing the penitents, left their town to stand unharmed for more than another century.

The circumstances under which Tiglath-Pileser II. ascended the throne in the year B.C. 745 are unknown to us. No confidence can be placed in the statement of Bion²⁹⁷ and Polyhistor,²⁹⁸ which seems to have been intended to refer to this monarch, whom they called Belêtaras—a corruption perhaps of the latter half of the name²⁹⁹—that he was, previously to his elevation to the royal dignity, a mere vine-dresser, whose occupation was to keep in order the gardens of the king. Similar tales of the low origin of self-raised and usurping monarchs are too common in the East, and are too often contradicted by the facts, when they become known to us,³⁰⁰ for much credit to attach to the story told by these late writers, the earlier of whom must have written five or six hundred years after Tiglath-Pileser's time.³⁰¹ We might, however, conclude, without much chance of mistake, from such a story being told, that the king intended acquired the throne irregularly; that either he was not of the blood royal, or that, being so, he was at any rate not the legitimate heir. And the conclusion at which we should thus arrive is confirmed by the monarch's inscriptions; for though he speaks repeatedly of "the kings his fathers," and even calls the royal buildings at Calah "the palaces of his fathers," yet he never mentions his actual father's name in any record that has come down to us. Such a silence is so contrary to the ordinary practice of Assyrian monarchs, who glory in their descent and parade it on every possible occasion, that, where it occurs, we are justified in concluding the monarch to have been an usurper, deriving his title to the crown, not from his ancestry or from any law of succession, but from a successful revolution, in which he played the principal part. It matters little that such a monarch, when he is settled upon the throne, claims, in a vague and general way, connection with the kings of former times. The claim may often have a basis of truth; for in monarchies where polygamy prevails, and the kings have numerous daughters to dispose of, almost all the nobility can boast that they are of the blood royal. Where the claim is in no sense true, it will still be made; for it flatters the vanity of the monarch, and there is no one to gainsay it.

Only in such cases we are sure to find a prudent vagueness—an assertion of the fact of the connection, expressed in general terms, without any specification of the particulars on which the supposed fact rests.

On obtaining the crown—whatever the circumstances under which he obtained it—Tiglath-Pileser immediately proceeded to attempt the restoration of the Empire by engaging in a series of wars, now upon one, now upon another frontier, seeking by his unwearied activity and energy to recover the losses suffered through the weakness of his predecessors, and to compensate for their laches by a vigorous discharge of all the duties of the kingly office. The order of these wars, which formerly it was impossible to determine, is now fixed by means of the Assyrian Canon, and we may follow the course of the expeditions conducted by Tiglath-Pileser II. with as much confidence and certainty as those of Tiglath-Pileser I., Asshur-izir-pal, or the second Shalmaneser. It is scarcely necessary, however, to detain the reader by going through the entire series. The interest of Tiglath-Pileser's military operations attaches especially to his campaigns in Babylonia and in Syria, where he is brought into contact with persons otherwise known to us. His other wars are comparatively unimportant. Under these circumstances it is proposed to consider in detail only the Babylonian and Syrian expeditions, and to dismiss the others with a few general remarks on the results which were accomplished by them.

Tiglath-Pileser's expeditions against Babylon were in his first and in his fifteenth years, B.C. 745 and 731. No sooner did he find himself settled upon the throne, than he levied an army, and marched against Southern Mesopotamia,³⁰² which appears to have been in a divided and unsettled condition. According to the Canon of Ptolemy, Nabonassar then ruled in Babylon. Tiglath-Pileser's annals confuse the accounts of his two campaigns; but the general impression which we gather from them is that, even in B.C. 745, the country was divided up into a number of small principalities, the sea-coast being under the dominion of Merodach-Baladan, who held his court in his father's city of Bit-Yakin;³⁰³ while in the upper region there were a number of petty princes, apparently independent, among whom may be recognized names which seem to occur later in Ptolemy's list,³⁰⁴ among the kings of Babylon to whom he assigns short reigns in the interval between Nabonassar and Mardocempalus (Merodach-Baladan). Tiglath-Pile

ser attacked and defeated several of these princes, taking the towns of Kur-Galzu (now Akkerkuf), and Sippara or Sepharvaim, together with many other places of less consequence in the lower portion of the country, after which he received the submission of Merodach-Baladan, who acknowledged him for suzerain, and consented to pay an annual tribute. Tiglath-Pileser upon this assumed the title of "King of Babylon" (B.C. 729), and offered sacrifice to the Babylonian gods in all the principal cities.³⁰⁵

The first Syrian war of Tiglath-Pileser was undertaken in his third year (B.C. 743), and lasted from that year to his eighth. In the course of it he reduced to subjection Damascus, which had regained its independence,³⁰⁶ and was under the government of Rezin; Samaria, where Menahem, the adversary of Pul, was still reigning; Tyre, which was under a monarch bearing the familiar name of Hiram;³⁰⁷ Hamath, Gebal, and the Arabs bordering upon Egypt, who were ruled by a queen³⁰⁸ called Khabiba. He likewise met and defeated a vast army under Azariah (or Uziah), king of Judah, but did not succeed in inducing him to make his submission. It would appear by this that Tiglath-Pileser at this time penetrated deep into Palestine, probably to a point which no Assyrian king but Vul-lush III. had reached previously. But it would seem, at the same time, that his conquests were very incomplete; they did not include Judæa or Philistia, Idumæa, or the tribes of the Hauran; and they left untouched the greater number of the Phœnician cities. It causes us, therefore, no surprise to find that in a short time, B.C. 734, he renewed his efforts in this quarter, commencing by an attack on Samaria, where Pekah was now king, and taking "Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carrying them captive to Assyria,"³⁰⁹ thus "lightly afflicting the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,"³¹⁰ or the more northern portion of the Holy Land, about Lake Merom, and from that to the Sea of Gennesareth.

This attack was followed shortly (B.C. 733) by the most important of Tiglath-Pileser's Syrian wars. It appears that the common danger, which had formerly united the Hittites, Hamathites, and Damascenes in a close alliance,³¹¹ now caused a league to be formed between Damascus and Samaria, the sovereigns of which—Pekah and Rezin—made an attempt to add Judæa to their confederation, by declaring war against

Ahaz, attacking his territory, and threatening to substitute in his place as king of Jerusalem a creature of their own, "the son of Tabeal."³¹² Hard pressed by his enemies, Ahaz applied to Assyria, offering to become Tiglath-Pileser's "servant"—*i.e.*, his vassal and tributary—if he would send troops to his assistance, and save him from the impending danger.³¹³ Tiglath-Pileser was not slow to obey this call. Entering Syria at the head of an army, he fell first upon Rezin, who was defeated, and fled to Damascus, where Tiglath-Pileser besieged him for two years, at the end of which time he was taken and slain.³¹⁴ Next he attacked Pekah, entering his country on the north-east, where it bordered upon the Damascene territory, and overrunning the whole of the Trans-Jordanic provinces, together (apparently) with some portion of the Cis-Jordanic region. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who had possessed the country between the Jordan and the desert from the time of Moses, were seized and carried away captive by the conqueror, who placed them in Upper Mesopotamia, on the affluents of the Bilikh and the Khabour,³¹⁵ from about Harran to Nisibis.³¹⁶ Some cities situated on the right bank of the Jordan, in the territory of Issachar, but belonging to Manasseh, were at the same time seized and occupied. Among these, Megiddo in the great plain of Esdraelon, and Dur or Dor upon the coast,³¹⁷ some way below Tyre, were the most important. Dur was even thought of sufficient consequence to receive an Assyrian governor at the same time with the other principal cities of Southern Syria.³¹⁸

After thus chastising Samaria, Tiglath-Pileser appears to have passed on to the south, where he reduced the Philistines and the Arab tribes, who inhabited the Sinaitic desert as far as the borders of Egypt. Over these last he set, in lieu of their native queen, an Assyrian governor. He then returned towards Damascus, where he held a court, and invited the neighboring states and tribes to send in their submission. The states and tribes responded to his invitation. Tiglath-Pileser, before quitting Syria, received submission and tribute not only from Ahaz, king of Judah,³¹⁹ but also from Mit'enna,³²⁰ king of Tyre; Pekah, king of Samaria; Khanun, king of Gaza; and Mitinti, king of Ascalon; from the Moabites, the Ammonites, the people of Arvad or Aradus, and the Idumæans. He thus completely re-established the power of Assyria in this quarter,³²¹ once more recovering to the Empire the entire tract between

the coast and the desert from Mount Amanus on the north to the Red Sea and the confines of Egypt.

One further expedition was led or sent by Tiglath-Pileser into Syria, probably in his last year. Disturbances having occurred from the revolt of Mit'enna of Tyre and the murder of Pekah of Israel by Hoshea, an Assyrian army marched westward, in B.C. 728, to put them down. The Tyrian monarch at once submitted; and Hoshea, having entered into negotiations, agreed to receive investiture into his kingdom at the hands of the Assyrians, and to hold it as an Assyrian territory. On these terms peace was re-established, and the army of Tiglath-Pileser retired and recrossed the Euphrates.

Besides conducting these various campaigns, Tiglath-Pileser employed himself in the construction of some important works at Calah, which was his usual and favorite residence. He repaired and adorned the palace of Shalmaneser II., in the centre of the Nimrud mound; and he built a new edifice at the south-eastern corner of the platform, which seems to have been the most magnificent of his erections. Unfortunately, in neither case were his works allowed to remain as he left them. The sculptures with which he adorned Shalmaneser's palace were violently torn from their places by Esar-haddon, and, after barbarous ill-usage,³²² were applied to the embellishment of his own residence by that monarch. The palace which he built at the south-eastern corner of the Nimrud mound was first ruined by some invader, and then built upon by the last Assyrian king. Thus the monuments of Tiglath-Pileser II. come to us in a defaced and unsatisfactory condition, rendering it difficult for us to do full justice either to his architectural conceptions or to his taste in ornamentation. We can see, however, by the ground plan of the building which Mr. Loftus uncovered beneath the ruins of Mr. Layard's south-east palace,³²³ that the great edifice of Tiglath-Pileser was on a scale of grandeur little inferior to that of the ancient palaces, and on a plan very nearly similar. The same arrangement of courts and halls and chambers, the same absence of curved lines or angles other than right angles, the same narrowness of rooms in comparison with their length, which have been noted in the earlier buildings,³²⁴ prevailed also in those of this king. With regard to the sculptures with which, after the example of the former monarchs, he ornamented their walls, we can only say they seem to have been characterized by simplicity of treatment—the absence of all

ornamentation, except fringes, from the dresses, the total omission of backgrounds, and (with few exceptions) the limitation of the markings to the mere outlines of forms. The drawing is rather freer and more spirited than that of the sculptures of Asshur-izir-pal; animal forms, as camels, oxen, sheep, and goats, are more largely introduced, and there is somewhat less formality in the handling.³²⁵ But the change is in no respect very decided, or such as to indicate an era in the progress of art.

Tiglath-Pileser appears, by the Assyrian Canon, to have had a reign of eighteen years. He ascended the throne in B.C. 745, and was succeeded in B.C. 727 by Shalmaneser, the fourth monarch who had borne that appellation.

It is uncertain whether Shalmaneser IV. was related to Tiglath-Pileser or not. As, however, there is no trace of the succession having been irregular or disputed, it is most probable that he was his son. He ascended the throne in B.C. 727, and ceased to reign in B.C. 722, thus holding the royal power for less than six years. It was probably very soon after his accession, that, suspecting the fidelity of Samaria, he "came up" against Hoshea, king of Israel, and, threatening him with condign punishment, so terrified him that he made immediate submission.³²⁶ The arrears of tribute were rendered, and the homage due from a vassal to his lord was paid; and Shalmaneser either returned into his own country or turned his attention to other enterprises.³²⁷ But shortly afterward he learnt that Hoshea, in spite of his submission and engagements, was again contemplating defection; and, conscious of his own weakness, was endeavoring to obtain a promise of support from an enterprising monarch who ruled in the neighboring country of Egypt.³²⁸ The Assyrian conquests in this quarter had long been tending to bring them into collision with the great power of Eastern Africa, which had once held,³²⁹ and always coveted,³³⁰ the dominion of Syria. Hitherto such relations as they had had with the Egyptians appear to have been friendly. The weak and unwarlike Pharaohs who about this time bore sway in Egypt had sought the favor of the neighboring Asiatic power by demanding Assyrian princesses in marriage and affecting Assyrian names for their offspring.³³¹ But recently an important change had occurred.³³² A brave Ethiopian prince had descended the valley of the Nile at the head of a swarthy host, had defeated the Egyptian levies, had driven the reigning

monarch into the marshes of the Delta, or put him to a cruel death,³³³ and had established his own dominion firmly, at any rate over the upper country. Shebek the First bore sway in Memphis in lieu of the blind Bocchoris;³³⁴ and Hoshea, seeing in this bold and enterprising king the natural foe of the Assyrians,³³⁵ and therefore his own natural ally and friend, "sent messengers" with proposals, which appear to have been accepted; for on their return Hoshea revolted openly, withheld his tribute, and declared himself independent. Shalmaneser, upon this, came up against Samaria for the second time, determined now to punish his vassal's perfidy with due severity. Apparently, he was unresisted; at any rate, Hoshea fell into his power, and was seized, bound, and shut up in prison. A year or two later³³⁶ Shalmaneser made his third and last expedition into Syria. What was the provocation given him, we are not told; but this time, he "came up *throughout all the land*,"³³⁷ and, being met with resistance, he laid formal siege to the capital. The siege commenced in Shalmaneser's fourth year, B.C. 724, and was protracted to his sixth, either by the efforts of the Egyptians, or by the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants. At last, in B.C. 722, the town surrendered, or was taken by storm;³³⁸ but before this consummation had been reached, Shalmaneser's reign would seem to have come to an end in consequence of a successful revolution.

While he was conducting these operations against Samaria, either in person or by means of his generals, Shalmaneser appears to have been also engaged in hostilities with the Phœnician towns. Like Samaria, they had revolted at the death of Tiglath-Pileser; and Shalmaneser, consequently, marched into Phœnicia at the beginning of his reign, probably in his first year, overran the entire country,³³⁹ and forced all the cities to resume their position of dependence. The island Tyre, however, shortly afterwards shook off the yoke. Hereupon Shalmaneser "returned"³⁴⁰ into these parts, and collecting a fleet from Sidon, Palæ-Tyrus, and Akko, the three most important of the Phœnician towns after Tyre, proceeded to the attack of the revolted place. His vessels were sixty in number, and were manned by eight hundred Phœnician rowers, co-operating with probably, a smaller number of unskilled Assyrians.³⁴¹ Against this fleet the Tyrians, confiding in their maritime skill, sent out a force of twelve vessels only, which proved, however, quite equal to the occasion; for the assailants were dispersed and driven off, with the loss of 500 prisoners.

Shalmaneser, upon this defeat, retired, and gave up all active operations, contenting himself with leaving a body of troops on the mainland, over against the city, to cut off the Tyrians from the supplies of water which they were in the habit of drawing from the river Litany, and from certain aqueducts which conducted the precious fluid from springs in the mountains. The Tyrians, it is said, held out against this pressure for five years, satisfying their thirst with rain water, which they collected in reservoirs. Whether they then submitted, or whether the attempt to subdue them was given up, is uncertain, since the quotation from Menander, which is our sole authority for this passage of history, here breaks off abruptly.³⁴²

The short reign of Shalmaneser IV. was, it is evident, sufficiently occupied by the two enterprises of which accounts have now been given—the complete subjugation of Samaria, and the attempt to reduce the island Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that neither enterprise had been conducted when a dynastic revolution, caused by the ambition of a subject, brought the unhappy monarch's reign to an untimely end. The conquest of Samaria is claimed by Sargon as an event of his first year; and the resistance of the Tyrians, if it really continued during the full space assigned to it by Menander, must have extended beyond the term of Shalmaneser's reign, into the first or second year of his successor.³⁴³ It was probably the prolonged absence of the Assyrian monarch from his capital, caused by the obstinacy of the two cities which he was attacking, that encouraged a rival to come forward and seize the throne; just as in the Persian history we shall find the prolonged absence of Cambyses in Egypt produce a revolution and change of dynasty at Susa. In the East, where the monarch is not merely the chief but the sole power in the state, the moving spring whose action must be continually exerted to prevent the machinery of government from standing still, it is always dangerous for the reigning prince to be long away from his metropolis. The Orientals do not use the language of mere unmeaning compliment when they compare their sovereigns with the sun,³⁴⁴ and speak of them as imparting light and life to the country and people over which they rule. In the king's absence all languishes; the course of justice is suspended; public works are stopped; the expenditure of the Court, on which the prosperity of the capital mainly depends, being withdrawn, trade stagnates, the highest branches

Fig. 1.



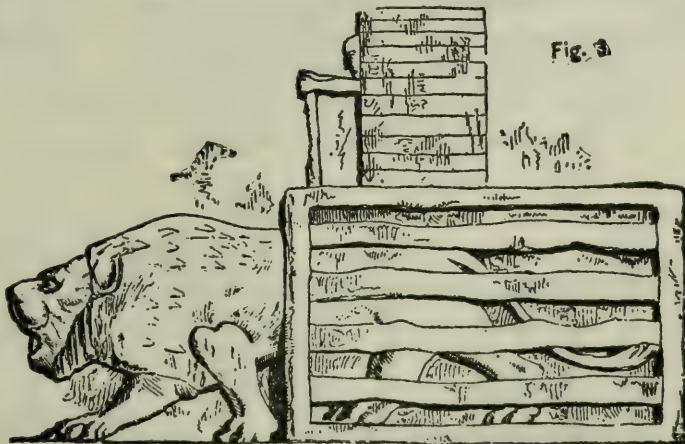
Hound held in leash (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



King, with attendant, stabbing a lion (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Lion let out of trap (Koyunjik).



Fig. 1.

Wounded Lioness (Koyunjik).



Fig. 2.

Fight of Lion and Bull (Nimrud).



Fig. 3.

King hunting the Wild Bull (Nimrud).



Fig. 4.

King pouring Libation over four Dead Lions (Koyunjik).

suffering most; artists are left without employment; workmen are discharged; wages fall; every industry is more or less deranged, and those engaged in it suffer accordingly; nor is there any hope of a return of prosperity until the king comes home. Under these circumstances a general discontent prevails; and the people, anxious for better times, are ready to welcome any pretender who will come forward, and, on any pretext whatever, declare the throne vacant, and claim to be its proper occupant. If Shalmaneser continued to direct in person the siege of Samaria during the three years of its continuance, we cannot be surprised that the patience of the Ninevites was exhausted, and that in the third year they accepted the rule of the usurper who boldly proclaimed himself king.

What right the new monarch put forward, what position he had previously held, what special circumstances, beyond the mere absence of the rightful king, facilitated his attempts, are matters on which the monuments throw no light, and on which we must therefore be content to be ignorant. All that we can see is, that either personal merit or official rank and position must have enabled him to establish himself; for he certainly did not derive any assistance from his birth, which must have been mediocre, if not actually obscure. It is the custom of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings to glory in their ancestry, and when the father has occupied a decently high position, the son declares his sire's name and rank at the commencement of each inscription;³⁴⁵ but Sargon never, in any record, names his father, nor makes the slightest allusion to his birth and descent, unless it be in vague phrases, wherein he calls the former kings of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia, his ancestors.³⁴⁶ Such expressions seem to be mere words of course, having no historical value: and it would be a mistake even to conclude from them that the new king intended seriously to claim the connection of kindred with the monarchs of former times.

It has been thought, indeed, that Sargon, instead of cloaking his usurpation under some decent plea of right, took a pride in boldly avowing it. The name Sargon has been supposed to be one which he adopted as his royal title at the time of his establishment upon the throne, intending by the adoption to make it generally known that he had acquired the crown, not by birth or just claim, but by his own will and the consent of the people. Sargon, or Sar-gina, as the native name is read,³⁴⁷ means "the firm" or "well-established king," and (it has been

argued) "shows the usurper."³⁴⁸ The name is certainly unlike the general run of Assyria royal titles;³⁴⁹ but still, as it is one which is found to have been previously borne by at least one private person in Assyria,³⁵⁰ it is perhaps best to suppose that it was the monarch's real original appellation, and not assumed when he came to the throne; in which case no argument can be founded upon it.

Military success is the best means of confirming a doubtful title to the leadership of a warlike nation. No sooner, therefore, was Sargon accepted by the Ninevites as king than he commenced a series of expeditions, which at once furnished employment to unquiet spirits, and gave the prestige of military glory to his own name. He warred successively in Susiana, in Syria, on the borders of Egypt, in the tract beyond Amanus, in Melitêné and southern Armenia, in Kurdistan, in Media, and in Babylonia. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the space which his annals cover,³⁵¹ he kept his subjects employed in a continual series of important expeditions, never giving himself, nor allowing them, a single year of repose. Immediately upon his accession he marched into Susiana, where he defeated Humanigas, the Elamitic king, and Merodach-Baladan, the old adversary of Tiglath-Pileser, who had revolted and established himself as king over Babylonia. Neither monarch was, however, reduced to subjection, though an important victory was gained, and many captives taken, who were transported into the country of the Hittites. In the same year, B.C. 722, he received the submission of Samaria, which surrendered, probably, to his generals, after it had been besieged two full years. He punished the city by depriving it of the qualified independence which it had enjoyed hitherto, appointing instead of a native king an Assyrian officer to be its governor, and further carrying off as slaves 27,280 of the inhabitants. On the remainder, however, he contented himself with re-imposing the rate of tribute to which the town had been liable before its revolt.³⁵² The next year, B.C. 721, he was forced to march in person into Syria in order to meet and quell a dangerous revolt. Yahu-bid (or Ilu-bid), king of Hamath—a usurper, like Sargon himself—had rebelled, and had persuaded the cities of Arpad, Zimira,³⁵³ Damascus, and Samaria to cast in their lot with his, and to form a confederacy, by which it was imagined that an effectual resistance might be offered to the Assyrian arms. Not content merely to stand on the defensive in their several towns, the allies took the field; and a battle was fought at Kar-

kar or Gargar (perhaps one of the many Aroers³⁵⁴), where the superiority of the Assyrian troops was once more proved, and Sargon gained a complete victory over his enemies. Yahu-bid himself was taken and beheaded; and the chiefs of the revolt in the other towns were also put to death.

Having thus crushed the rebellion and re-established tranquillity throughout Syria, Sargon turned his arms towards the extreme south, and attacked Gaza, which was a dependency of Egypt. The exact condition of Egypt at this time is open to some doubt. According to Manetho's numbers, the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty had not yet begun to reign.³⁵⁵ Bocchoris the Saite occupied the throne, a humane but weak prince, of a contemptible presence, and perhaps afflicted with blindness.³⁵⁶ No doubt such a prince would tempt the attack of a powerful neighbor; and, so far, probability might seem to be in favor of the Manethonian dates. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Egypt had lately taken an aggressive attitude, incompatible with a time of weakness; she had intermeddled between the Assyrian crown and its vassals, by entering into a league with Hoshea; and she had extended her dominion over a portion of Philistia,³⁵⁷ thereby provoking a collision with the Great Power of the East. Again, it is worthy of note that the name of the Pharaoh who had dealings with Hoshea, if it does not seem at first sight very closely to resemble the Egyptian Shebek, is, at any rate, a possible representative of that word,³⁵⁸ while no etymological skill can force it into agreement with any other name in this portion of the Egyptian lists. Further, it is to be remarked that at this point of the Assyrian annals, a Shebek appears in them,³⁵⁹ holding a position of great authority in Egypt, though not dignified with the title of king. These facts furnish strong grounds for believing that the Manethonian chronology, which can be proved to be in many points incorrect,³⁶⁰ has placed the accession of the Ethiopians somewhat too late, and that that event occurred really as early as B.C. 725 or B.C. 730.

At the same time, it must be allowed that all difficulty is not removed by this supposition. The Shebek (*Sibahé* or *Sibaki*) of the Assyrian record bears an inferior title, and not that of king.³⁶¹ He is also, apparently, contemporary with another authority in Egypt, who is recognized by Sargon as the true "Pharaoh," or native ruler.³⁶² Further, it is not till eight or nine years later that any mention is made of Ethiopia as having an authority over Egypt, or as in any way brought into

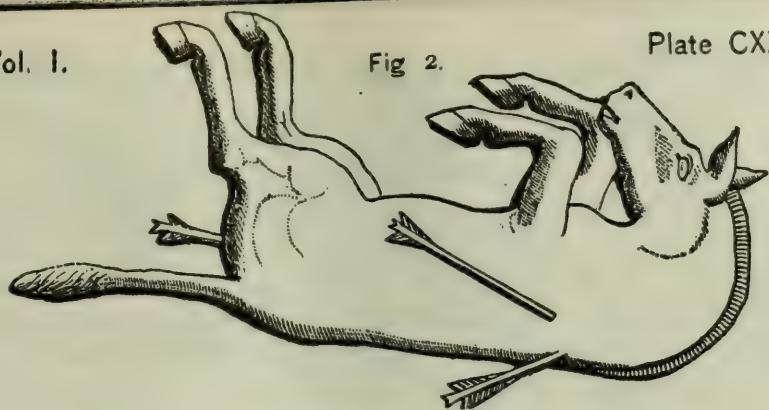
contact with Sargon. The proper conclusion from these facts seems to be that the Ethiopians established themselves gradually; that in B.C. 720, Shebek or Sabaco, though master of a portion of Egypt, had not assumed the royal title, which was still borne by a native prince of little power—Bocchoris, or Sethos—who held his court somewhere in the Delta; and that it was not till about the year B.C. 712 that this shadowy kingdom passed away, that the Ethiopian rule was extended over the whole of Egypt, and that Sabaco assumed the full rank of an independent monarch.

If this be the true solution of the difficulty which has here presented itself, we must conclude that the first actual collision between the powers of Egypt and Assyria took place at a time very unfavorable to the former. Egypt was, in fact, divided against itself, the fertile tract of the Delta being under one king, the long valley of the Nile under another. If war was not actually going on, jealousy and suspicion, at any rate, must have held the two sovereigns apart; and the Assyrian monarch, coming at such a time of intestine feud, must have found it comparatively easy to gain a triumph in this quarter.

The armies of the two great powers met at the city of Rapikh, which seems to be the Raphia of the Greeks and Romans,³⁶³ and consequently the modern *Refah*—a position upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, about half-way between Gaza and the Wady-el-Arish, or “River of Egypt.” Here the forces of the Philistines, under Khanun, king of Gaza, and those of Shebek, the Tar-dan (or perhaps the Sultan³⁶⁴) of Egypt, had effected a junction, and awaited the approach of the invader. Sargon, having arrived, immediately engaged the allied army, and succeeded in defeating it completely, capturing Khanun, and forcing Shebek to seek safety in flight. Khanun was deprived of his crown and carried off to Assyria by the conqueror.³⁶⁵

Such was the result of the first combat between the two great powers of Asia and Africa. It was an omen of the future, though it was scarcely a fair trial of strength. The battle of Raphia foreshadowed truly enough the position which Egypt would hold among the nations from the time that she ceased to be isolated, and was forced to enter into the struggle for pre-eminence, and even for existence, with the great kingdoms of the neighboring continent. With rare and brief exceptions, Egypt has from the time of Sargon succumbed to the superior might of whatever power has been dominant in Western Asia, owning it for lord, and submitting, with a good or bad grace,

Fig 2.



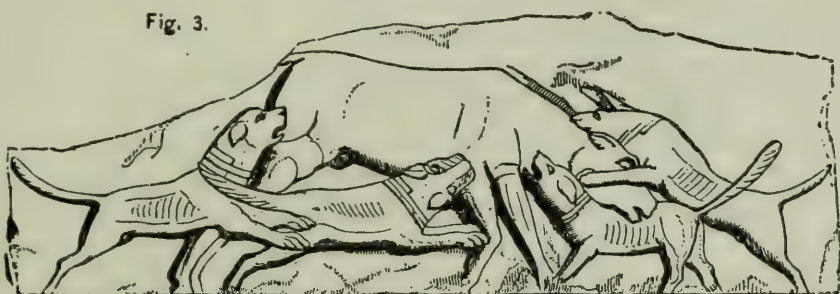
Dead wild ass (Koyunjik).

Fig. I



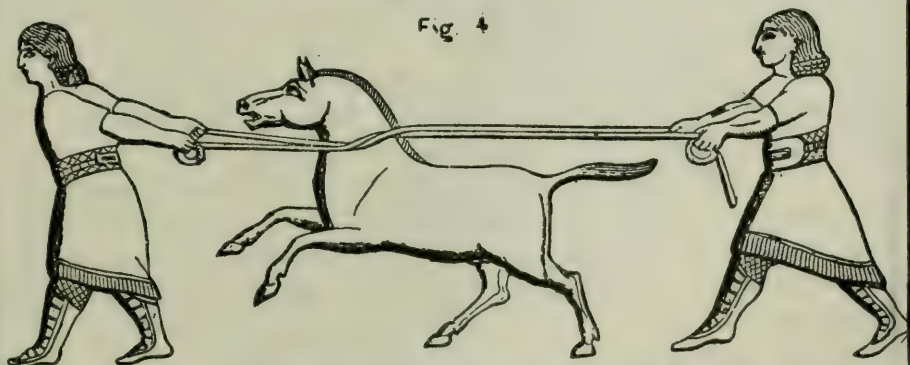
Hound chasing a wild ass colt (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Hounds pulling down a Wild Ass (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4



Wild Ass taken with a Rope (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Hound chasing a doe (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Hunted Stag taking the Water (Koyunjik).

to a position involving a greater or less degree of dependence. Tributary to the later Assyrian princes, and again, probably, to Nebuchadnezzar, she had scarcely recovered her independence when she fell under the dominion of Persia. Never successful, notwithstanding all her struggles, in thoroughly shaking off this hated yoke, she did but exchange her Persian for Greek masters, when the empire of Cyrus perished. Since then, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks have, each in their turn, been masters of the Egyptian race, which has paid the usual penalty of precocity in the early exhaustion of its powers.

After the victories of Aroer and Raphia, the Assyrian monarch appears to have been engaged for some years in wars of comparatively slight interest towards the north and the north-east. It was not till B.C. 715, five years after his first fight with the Egyptians, that he again made an expedition towards the south-west, and so came once more into contact with nations to whose fortunes we are not wholly indifferent. His chief efforts on this occasion were directed against the peninsula of Arabia. The wandering tribes of the desert, tempted by the weak condition to which the Assyrian conquest had reduced Samaria, made raids, it appears, into the territory at their pleasure, and carried off plunder. Sargon determined to chastise these predatory bands, and made an expedition into the interior, where "he subdued the uncultivated plains of the remote Arabia, which had never before given tribute to Assyria," and brought under subjection the Thamudites,³⁶⁶ and several other Arab tribes, carrying off a certain number and settling them in Samaria itself, which thenceforth contained an Arab element in its population.³⁶⁷ Such an effect was produced on the surrounding nations by the success of this inroad, that their princes hastened to propitiate Sargon's favor by sending embassies, and excepting the position of Assyrian tributaries. The reigning Pharaoh, whoever he may have been, It-hamar, king of the Sabæans, and Tsamsi,³⁶⁸ queen of the Arabs, thus humbled themselves, sending presents,³⁶⁹ and probably entering into engagements which bound them for the future.

Four years later (B.C. 711) Sargon led a third expedition into these parts, regarding it as important to punish the misconduct of the people of Ashdod. Ashdod had probably submitted after the battle of Raphia, and had been allowed to retain its native prince, Azuri. This prince, after awhile, revolted, withheld his tribute, and proceeded to foment rebellion against Assyria

among the neighboring monarchs; whereupon Sargon deposed him, and made his brother Akhimit king in his place. The people of Ashdod, however, rejected the authority of Akhimit, and chose a certain Yaman, or Yavan, to rule over them, who strengthened himself by alliances with the other Philistine cities, with Judæa, and with Edom. Immediately upon learning this, Sargon assembled his army, and proceeded to Ashdod to punish the rebels; but, before his arrival, Yaman had fled away, and "escaped to the dependencies of Egypt, which" (it is said) "were under the rule of Ethiopia."³⁷⁰ Ashdod itself, trusting in the strength from which it derived its name,³⁷¹ resisted; but Sargon laid siege to it and in a little time forced it to surrender.³⁷² Yaman fled to Egypt, but his wife and children were captured and, together with the bulk of the inhabitants, were transported into Assyria, while their place was supplied by a number of persons who had been made prisoners in Sargon's eastern wars. An Assyrian governor was set over the town.

The submission of Ethiopia followed. Ashdod, like Samaria, had probably been encouraged to revolt by promises of foreign aid. Sargon's old antagonist, Shebek, had recently brought the whole of Egypt under his authority, and perhaps thought the time had come when he might venture once more to measure his strength against the Assyrians. But Sargon's rapid movements and easy capture of the strong Ashdod terrified him, and produced a change of his intentions. Instead of marching into Philistia and fighting a battle, he sent a suppliant embassy, surrendered Yaman, and deprecated Sargon's wrath.³⁷³ The Assyrian monarch boasts that the king of Meroë, who dwelt in the desert, and had never sent ambassadors to any of the kings his predecessors, was led by the fear of his majesty to direct his steps towards Assyria and humbly bow down before him.

At the opposite extremity of his empire, Sargon soon afterwards gained victories which were of equal or greater importance. Having completely reduced Syria, humiliated Egypt, and struck terror into the tribes of the north and east, he determined on a great expedition against Babylon. Merodach-Baladan had now been twelve years in quiet possession of the kingdom.³⁷⁴ He had established his court at Babylon, and, suspecting that the ambition of Sargon would lead him to attempt the conquest of the south he had made preparations for resistance by entering into close alliance with the Susianians

under Sutruk-Nakhunta on the one hand, and with the Aramæan tribes above Babylonia on the other. Still, when Sargon advanced against him, instead of giving him battle, or even awaiting him behind the walls of the capital, he at once took to flight.³⁷⁵ Leaving garrisons in the more important of the inland towns, and committing their defence to his generals, he himself hastened down to his own city of Beth-Yakin,³⁷⁶ which was on the Euphrates, near its mouth, and, summoning the Aramæans to his assistance,³⁷⁷ prepared for a vigorous resistance in the immediate vicinity of his native place. Posting himself in the plain in front of the city, and protecting his front and left flank with a deep ditch, which he filled with water from the Euphrates, he awaited the advance of Sargon, who soon appeared at the head of his troops, and lost no time in beginning the attack. We cannot follow with any precision the exact operations of the battle, but it appears that Sargon fell upon the Babylonian troops, defeated them, and drove them into their own dyke, in which many of them were drowned, at the same time separating them from their allies, who, on seeing the disaster, took to flight, and succeeded in making their escape. Merodach-Baladan, abandoning his camp, threw himself with the poor remains of his army into Beth-Yakin, which Sargon then besieged and took. The Babylonian monarch fell into the hands of his rival, who plundered his palace and burnt his city, but generously spared his life. He was not, however, allowed to retain his kingdom, the government of which was assumed by Sargon himself, who is the Arceanus of Ptolemy's Canon.³⁷⁸

The submission of Babylonia was followed by the reduction of the Aramæans, and the conquest of at least a portion of Susiana. To the Susianian territory Sargon transported the Commukha from the Upper Tigris, placing the mixed population under a governor, whom he made dependent on the viceroy of Babylon.³⁷⁹

The Assyrian dominion was thus firmly established on the shores of the Persian Gulf. The power of Babylon was broken. Henceforth the Assyrian rule is maintained over the whole of Chaldæa and Babylonia, with few and brief interruptions, to the close of the Empire. The reluctant victim struggles in his captor's grasp, and now and then for a short space shakes it off; but only to be seized again with a fiercer gripe, until at length his struggles cease, and he resigns himself to a fate which he has come to regard as inevitable. During the last

fifty years of the Empire, from B.C. 680 to B.C. 625, the province of Babylon was almost as tranquil as any other.

The pride of Sargon received at this time a gratification which he is not able to conceal, in the homage which was paid to him by sovereigns who had only heard of his fame, and who were safe from the attacks of his armies. While he held his court at Babylon, in the year B.C. 708 or 707, he gave audience to two embassies from two opposite quarters, both sent by islanders dwelling (as he expresses it) "*in the middle of the seas*" that washed the outer skirts of his dominions.³⁸⁰ Upir, king of Asmun, who ruled over an island in the Persian Gulf, —Khareg, perhaps, or Bahrein,—sent messengers, who bore to the Great King the tribute of the far East. Seven Cyprian monarchs, chiefs of a country which lay "at the distance of seven days from the coast, in the sea of the setting sun," offered him by their envoys the treasures of the West.³⁸¹ The very act of bringing presents implied submission; and the Cypriots not only thus admitted his suzerainty, but consented to receive at his hands and to bear back to their country a more evident token of subjection. This was an effigy of the Great King carved in the usual form, and accompanied with an inscription recording his name and titles, which was set up at Idalium, nearly in the centre of the island, and made known to the Cypriots the form and appearance of the sovereign whom it was not likely that they would ever see.³⁸²

The expeditions of Sargon to the north and north-east had results less splendid than those which he undertook to the south-west and the south; but it may be doubted whether they did not more severely try his military skill and the valor of his soldiers. The mountain tribes of Zagros, Taurus, and Niphates,—Medes, Armenians, Tibareni, Moschi, etc.,—were probably far braver men and far better soldiers than the levies of Egypt, Susiana, and Babylon. Experience, moreover, had by this time taught the tribes the wisdom of uniting against the common foe, and we find Ambris the Tibarenian in alliance with Mita the Moschian, and Urza the Armenian, when he ventures to revolt against Sargon. The submission of the northern tribes was with difficulty obtained by a long and fierce struggle, which—so far as one belligerent was concerned—terminated in a compromise. Ambris was deposed,³⁸³ and his country placed under an Assyrian governor; Mita³⁸⁴ consented, after many years of resistance, to pay a tribute; Urza was defeated, and committed suicide, but the general pacifica-

tion of the north was not effected until a treaty was made with the king of Van, and his good-will purchased by the cession to him of a considerable tract of country which the Assyrians had previously taken from Urza.³⁸⁵

On the side of Media the resistance offered to the arms of Sargon seems to have been slighter, and he was consequently able to obtain a far more complete success. Having rapidly overrun the country, he seized a number of the towns and "annexed them to Assyria,"³⁸⁶ or, in other words, reduced a great portion of Media into the form of a province. He also built in one part of the country a number of fortified posts. He then imposed a tribute on the natives, consisting entirely of horses, which were perhaps required to be of the famous Nisæan breed.³⁸⁷

After his fourteenth year, B.C. 708, Sargon ceased to lead out his troops in person, employing instead the services of his generals. In the year B.C. 707 a disputed succession gave him an opportunity of interference in Illib, a small country bordering on Susiana. Nibi, one of the two pretenders to the throne, had applied for aid to Sutruk-Nakhunta, king of Elam, who held his court at Susa,³⁸⁸ and had received the promise of his favor and protection. Upon this, the other claimant, who was named Ispabara, made application to Sargon, and was readily received into alliance. Sargon sent to his assistance "seven captains with seven armies," who engaged the troops of Sutruk-Nakhunta, defeated them, and established Ispabara on the throne.³⁸⁹ In the following year, however, Sutruk-Nakhunta recovered his laurels, invading Assyria in his turn, and capturing cities which he added to the kingdom of Susiana.

In all his wars Sargon largely employed the system of wholesale deportation. The Israelites were removed from Samaria, and planted partly in Gozan or Mygdonia, and partly in the cities recently taken from the Medes.³⁹⁰ Hamath and Damascus were peopled with captives from Armenia and other regions of the north. A portion of the Tibareni were carried captive to Assyria, and Assyrians were established in the Tibarenian country. Vast numbers of the inhabitants of the Zagros range were also transported to Assyria; Babylonians, Cuthæans, Sepharvites, Arabians, and others, were placed in Samaria; men from the extreme east (perhaps Media) in Ashdod. The Commukha were removed from the extreme north to Susiana; and Chaldæans were brought from the extreme south to supply their place. Everywhere Sargon "changed

the abodes" of his subjects,³⁹¹ his aim being, as it would seem, to weaken the stronger races by dispersion, and to destroy the spirit of the weaker ones by severing at a blow all the links which attach a patriotic people to the country it has long inhabited. The practice had not been unknown to previous monarchs,³⁹² but it had never been employed by any so generally or on so grand a scale as it was by this king.

From this sketch of Sargon's wars, we may now proceed to a brief consideration of his great works. The magnificent palace which he erected at Khorsabad was by far the most important of his constructions. Compared with the later, and even with the earlier buildings of a similar kind erected by other kings, it was not remarkable for its size. But its ornamentation was unsurpassed by that of any Assyrian edifice, with the single exception of the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. Covered with sculptures, both internally and externally, generally in two lines, one over the other, and, above this, adorned with enamelled bricks, arranged in elegant and tasteful patterns; approached by noble flights of steps and through splendid propylæa; having the advantage, moreover, of standing by itself, and of not being interfered with by any other edifice, it had peculiar beauties of its own, and may be pronounced in many respects the most interesting of the Assyrian buildings. United to this palace was a town enclosed by strong walls, which formed a square two thousand yards each way. Allowing fifty square yards to each individual, this space would have been capable of accommodating 80,000 persons. The town, like the palace, seems to have been entirely built by Sargon, who imposed on it his own name, an appellation which it retained beyond the time of the Arab conquest.³⁹³

It is not easy to understand the exact object of Sargon in building himself this new residence. Dur-Sargina was not the Windsor or Versailles of Assyria—a place to which the sovereign could retire for country air and amusements from the bustle and heat of the metropolis. It was, as we have said, a town, and a town of considerable size, being very little less than half as large as Nineveh itself. It is true that it possessed the advantage of a nearer vicinity to the mountains than Nineveh; and had Sargon been, like several of his predecessors, "a mighty hunter," we might have supposed that the greater facility of obtaining sport in the woods and valleys of the Zagros chain formed the attraction which led him to prefer the region where he built his town to the banks of the Tigris.

But all the evidence that we possess seems to show that this monarch was destitute of any love for the chase;³⁹⁴ and seemingly we must attribute his change of abode either to mere caprice, or to a desire to be near the mountains for the sake of cooler water, purer air, and more varied scenery. It is no doubt true, as M. Oppert observes,³⁹⁵ that the royal palace at Nineveh was at this time in a ruinous state; but it could not have been more difficult or more expensive to repair it than to construct a new palace, a new mound, and a new town, on a fresh site.

Previously to the construction of the Khorsabad palace, Sargon resided at Caleh.³⁹⁶ He there repaired and renovated the great palace of Asshur-izir-pal, which had been allowed to fall to decay.³⁹⁷ At Nineveh he repaired the walls of the town, which were ruined in many places, and built a temple to Nebo and Merodach; while in Babylonia he improved the condition of the embankments, by which the distribution of the waters was directed and controlled.³⁹⁸ He appears to have been to a certain extent a patron of science, since a large number of the Assyrian scientific tablets are proved by the dates upon them to have been written in his day.³⁹⁹

The progress of mimetic art under Sargon is not striking; but there are indications of an advance in several branches of industry, and of an improved taste in design and in ornamentation. Transparent glass seems now to have been first brought into use,⁴⁰⁰ and intaglios to have been first cut upon hard stones.⁴⁰¹ The furniture of the period is greatly superior in design to any previously represented,⁴⁰² and the modelling of sword-hilts, maces, armlets, and other ornaments is peculiarly good.⁴⁰³ The enamelling of bricks was carried under Sargon to its greatest perfection; and the shape of vases, goblets, and boats shows a marked improvement upon the works of former times.⁴⁰⁴ The advance in animal forms, traceable in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser II., continues; and the drawing of horses' heads, in particular, leaves little to desire.⁴⁰⁵

After reigning gloriously over Assyria for seventeen years, and for the last five of them over Babylonia also, Sargon died, leaving his crown to the most celebrated of all the Assyrian monarchs, his son Sennacherib, who began to reign B.C. 705. The long notices which we possess of this monarch in the books of the Old Testament, his intimate connection with the Jews, the fact that he was the object of a preternatural exhibition of the Divine displeasure, and the remarkable circumstance that

this miraculous interposition appears under a thin disguise in the records of the Greeks, have always attached an interest to his name which the kings of this remote period and distant region very rarely awaken. It has also happened, curiously enough, that the recent Mesopotamian researches have tended to give to Sennacherib a special prominence over other Assyrian monarchs, more particularly in this country, our great excavator having devoted his chief efforts to the disinterment of a palace of this king's construction, which has supplied to our National Collection almost one-half of its treasures. The result is, that while the other sovereigns who bore sway in Assyria are generally either wholly unknown, or float before the mind's eye as dim and shadowy forms, Sennacherib stands out to our apprehension as a living and breathing man, the impersonation of all that pride and greatness which we assign to the Ninevite kings, the living embodiment of Assyrian haughtiness, Assyrian violence, and Assyrian power. The task of setting forth the life and actions of this prince, which the course of the history now imposes on its compiler, if increased in interest, is augmented also in difficulty, by the grandeur of the ideal figure which has possession of men's minds.

The reign of Sennacherib lasted twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to B.C. 681. The materials which we possess for his history consist of a record written in his fifteenth⁴⁰⁶ year, describing his military expeditions and his buildings up to that time;⁴⁰⁷ of the Scriptural notices to which reference has already been made;⁴⁰⁸ of some fragments of Polyhistor preserved by Eusebius;⁴⁰⁹ and of the well-known passage of Herodotus which contains a mention of his name.⁴¹⁰ From these documents we shall be able to make out in some detail the chief actions of the earlier portion of his reign, but they fail to supply any account of his later years, unless we may assign to that portion of his life some facts mentioned by Polyhistor, to which there is no allusion in the native records.

It seems probable that troubles both abroad and at home greeted the new reign. The Canon of Ptolemy shows a two years' interregnum at Babylon (from B.C. 704 to B.C. 702) exactly coinciding⁴¹¹ with the first two years of Sennacherib. This would imply a revolt of Babylon from Assyria soon after his accession, and either a period of anarchy or a rapid succession of pretenders, none of whom held the throne for so long a time as a twelvemonth.⁴¹² Polyhistor gives us certain details,

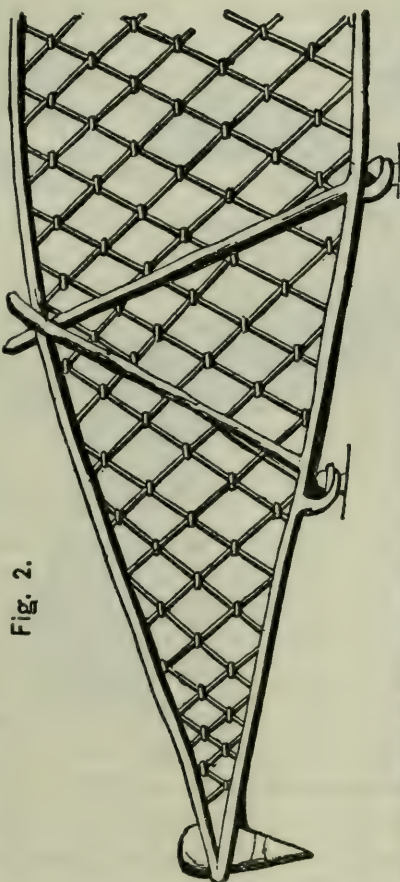
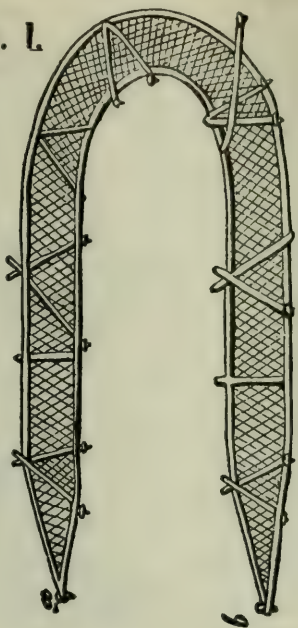


Fig. 2.

No. II. Portion of net, showing the arrangement of the meshes and the pegs (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



No. I. Net spread to take deer (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



No. II.—Ibex transixed with Arrow—falling.



No. I.—Hunted Ibex flying at full speed.

Fig. 1.



Sportsman carrying a gazelle (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



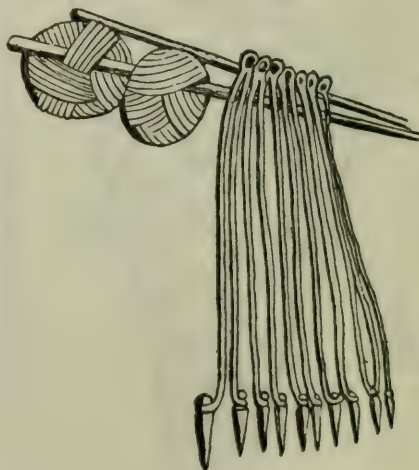
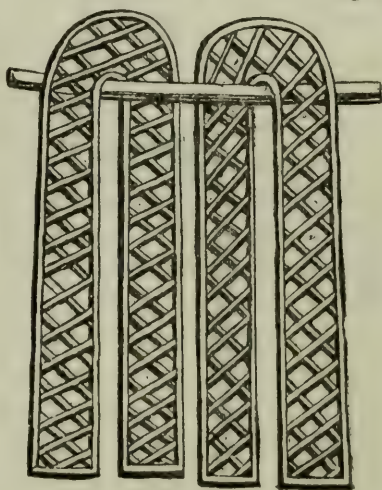
Sportsman shooting (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Greyhound and Hare, from a bronze bowl (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



Nets, pegs, and balls of string, (Koyunjik).

from which we gather that there were at least three monarchs in the interval left blank by the Canon⁴¹³—first, a brother of Sennacherib, whose name is not given; secondly, a certain Hagisa, who wore the crown only a month; and, thirdly, Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity, and, having murdered Hagisa, resumed the throne of which Sargon had deprived him six or seven years before.⁴¹⁴ Sennacherib must apparently have been so much engaged with his domestic affairs that he could not devote his attention to these Babylonian matters till the second year after his accession.⁴¹⁵ In B.C. 703 he descended on the lower country and engaged the troops of Merodach-Baladan, which consisted in part of native Babylonians, in part of Susianians, sent to his assistance by the king of Elam.⁴¹⁶ Over this army Sennacherib gained a complete victory near the city of Kis, after which he took Babylon, and overran the whole of Chaldæa, plundering (according to his own account) seventy-six large towns and 420 villages.⁴¹⁷ Merodach-Baladan once more made his escape, flying probably to Susiana, where we afterwards find his sons living as refugees.⁴¹⁸ Sennacherib, before quitting Babylon, appointed as tributary king an Assyrian named Belipni, who seems to be the Belibus of Ptolemy's Canon, and the Elibus of Polyhistor.⁴¹⁹ On his return from Babylonia he invaded and ravaged the territory of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates—the Tumuna, Ruhua, Gambulu, Khindaru, and Pukudu⁴²⁰ (Pekod?), the Nabatu or Nabathæans, the Hagaranu or Hagarenes,⁴²¹ and others, carrying into captivity more than 200,000 of the inhabitants, besides great numbers of horses, camels, asses, oxen, and sheep.⁴²²

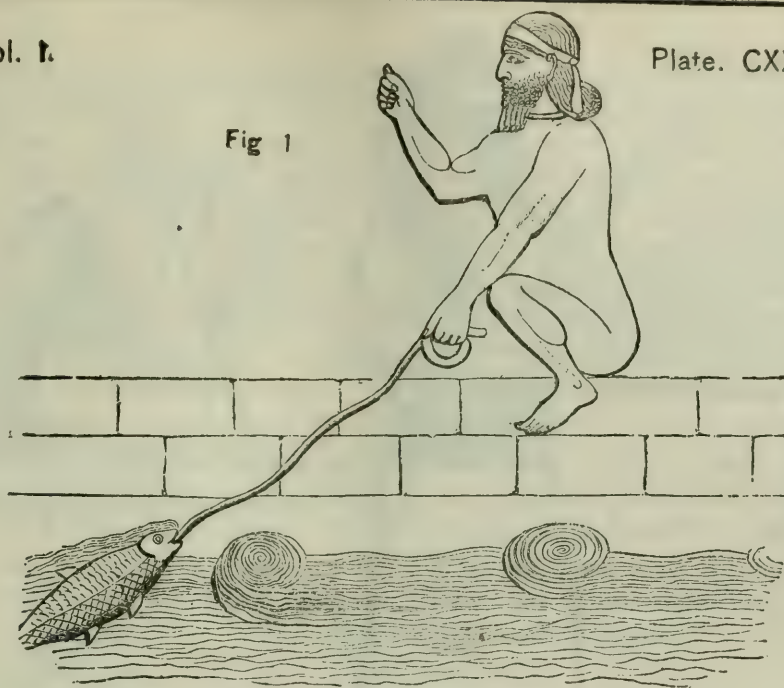
In the following year, B.C. 702, Sennacherib made war on the tribes in Zagros, forcing Ispabara, whom Sargon had established in power,⁴²³ to fly from his country, and conquering many cities and districts, which he attached to Assyria, and placed under the government of Assyrian officers.⁴²⁴

The most important of all the expeditions contained in Sennacherib's records is that of his fourth year, B.C. 701, in which he attacked Luliya king of Sidon, and made his first expedition against Hezekiah king of Judah. Invading Syria with a great host, he made Phœnicia the first object of his attack. There Luliya—who seems to be the Elulæus of Menander,⁴²⁵ though certainly not the Elulæus of Ptolemy's Canon,⁴²⁶—had evidently raised the standard of revolt, probably during the early years of Sennacherib, when domestic troubles seem to

have occupied his attention. Luliya had, apparently, established his dominion over the greater part of Phœnicia, being lord not only of Sidon, or, as it is expressed in the inscription, of Sidon the greater and Sidon the less, but also of Tyre, Ecdippa, Akko, Sarepta, and other cities. However, he did not venture to await Sennacherib's attack, but, as soon as he found the expedition was directed against himself, he took to flight, quitting the continent and retiring to an island in the middle of the sea—perhaps the island Tyre, or more probably Cyprus. Sennacherib did not attempt any pursuit, but was content to receive the submission of the various cities over which Luliya had ruled, and to establish in his place, as tributary monarch, a prince named Tubal. He then received the tributes of the other petty monarchs of these parts, among whom are mentioned Abdilihat king of Arvad, Hurus-milki king of Byblus, Mitinti king of Ashdod,⁴²⁷ Puduel king of Beth-Ammon, a king of Moab, a king of Edom, and (according to some writers⁴²⁸) a “Menahem king of Samaria.” After this Sennacherib marched southwards to Ascalon, where the king, Sidka, resisted him, but was captured, together with his city, his wife, his children, his brothers, and the other members of his family. Here again a fresh prince was established in power, while the rebel monarch was kept a prisoner and transported into Assyria. Four towns dependent upon Ascalon, viz., Hazor, Joppa, Beneberak, and Beth-Dagon,⁴²⁹ were soon afterwards taken and plundered.

Sennacherib now pressed on against Egypt. The Philistine city of Ekron had not only revolted from Assyria, expelling its king, Padi, who was opposed to the rebellion, but had entered into negotiations with Ethiopia and Egypt, and had obtained a promise of support from them. The king of Ethiopia was probably the second Shebek (or Sabaco) who is called Sevechus by Manetho, and is said to have reigned either twelve or fourteen years.⁴³⁰ The condition of Egypt at the time was peculiar. The Ethiopian monarch seems to have exercised the real sovereign power; but native princes were established under him who were allowed the title of king, and exercised a real though delegated authority over their several cities and districts.⁴³¹ On the call of Ekron both princes and sovereign had hastened to its assistance, bringing with them an army consisting of chariots, horsemen, and archers, so numerous that Sennacherib calls it “a host that could not be numbered.” The second great battle⁴³² between the Assyrians and the

Fig 1



No. I.—Man Fishing (Nimrud).

Fig 2.



No. II. Man fishing (Koyunjik).

of Kings, who writes from a religious point of view, and is chiefly concerned at the desecration of holy things to which the imminent peril of his city and people forced the Jewish monarch to submit. It is interesting to compare with this account the narrative of Sennacherib himself, who records the features of the expedition most important in his eyes, the number of the towns taken and of the prisoners carried into captivity, the measures employed to compel submission, and the nature and amount of the spoil which he took with him to Nineveh.

"Because Hezekiah, king of Judah," says the Assyrian monarch,⁴⁴⁰ "would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power."

It appears then that Sennacherib, after punishing the people of Ekron, broke up from before that city, and entering Judæa proceeded towards Jerusalem, spreading his army over a wide space, and capturing on his way a vast number of small towns and villages,⁴⁴¹ whose inhabitants he enslaved and carried off to the number of 200,000.⁴⁴² Having reached Jerusalem, he commenced the siege in the usual way, erecting towers around the city, from which stones and arrows were discharged against the defenders of the fortifications, and "casting banks" against the walls and gates.⁴⁴³ Jerusalem seems to have been at this time very imperfectly fortified. The "breaches of the city of David" had recently been "many;" and the inhabitants had hastily pulled down the houses in the vicinity of the wall to fortify it.⁴⁴⁴ It was felt that the holy

place was in the greatest danger. We may learn from the conduct of the people, as described by one of themselves, what were the feelings generally of the cities threatened with destruction by the Assyrian armies. Jerusalem was at first "full of stirs and tumult;" the people rushed to the housetops to see if they were indeed invested, and beheld "the choicest valleys full of chariots, and the horsemen set in array at the gates."⁴⁴⁵ Then came "a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity"—a day of "breaking down the walls and of crying to the mountains."⁴⁴⁶ Amidst this general alarm and mourning there were, however, found some whom a wild despair made reckless, and drove to a ghastly and ill-timed merriment. When God by His judgments gave an evident "call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth—behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine—'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.'"⁴⁴⁷ Hezekiah after a time came to the conclusion that resistance would be vain, and offered to surrender upon terms, an offer which Sennacherib, seeing the great strength of the place, and perhaps distressed for water,⁴⁴⁸ readily granted. It was agreed that Hezekiah should undertake the payment of an annual tribute, to consist of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver, and that he should further yield up the chief treasures of the place as a "present" to the Great King. Hezekiah, in order to obtain at once a sufficient supply of gold, was forced to strip the walls and pillars of the Temple, which were overlaid in parts with this precious metal.⁴⁴⁹ He yielded up all the silver from the royal treasury and from the treasury of the Temple; and this amounted to five hundred talents more than the fixed rate of tribute. In addition to these sacrifices, the Jewish monarch was required to surrender Padi, his Ekronite prisoner, and was mulcted in certain portions of his dominions, which were attached by the conqueror to the territories of neighboring kings.⁴⁵⁰

Sennacherib, after this triumph, returned to Nineveh, but did not remain long in repose. The course of events summoned him in the ensuing year—B.C. 700—to Babylonia, where Merodach-Baladan, assisted by a certain Susub, a Chaldæan prince, was again in arms against his authority. Sennacherib first defeated Susub, and then, directing his march upon Beth-Yakin, forced Merodach-Baladan once more to quit the country and betake himself to one of the islands of the Persian Gulf,

abandoning to Sennacherib's mercy his brothers and his other partisans.⁴⁵¹ It would appear that the Babylonian viceroy Belibus, who three years previously had been set over the country by Sennacherib, was either actively implicated in this revolt, or was regarded as having contributed towards it by a neglect of proper precautions. Sennacherib, on his return from the sea-coast, superseded him, placing upon the throne his own eldest son, Asshur-inadi-su, who appears to be the Asordanes of Polyhistor,⁴⁵² and the Aparanadius or Assaranadius⁴⁵³ of Ptolemy's Canon.

The remaining events of Sennacherib's reign may be arranged in chronological order without much difficulty, but few of them can be dated with exactness. We lose at this point the invaluable aid of Ptolemy's Canon, which contains no notice of any event recorded in Sennacherib's inscriptions of later date than the appointment of Assaranadius.

It is probable⁴⁵⁴ that in the year B.C. 699 Sennacherib conducted his second expedition into Palestine. Hezekiah, after his enforced submission two years earlier, had entered into negotiations with the Egyptians,⁴⁵⁵ and looking to receive important succors from this quarter, had again thrown off his allegiance. Sennacherib, understanding that the real enemy whom he had to fear on his south-western frontier was not Judæa, but Egypt, marched his army through Palestine—probably by the coast route—and without stopping to chastise Jerusalem, pressed southwards to Libnah and Lachish,⁴⁵⁶ which were at the extreme verge of the Holy Land, and were probably at this time subject to Egypt. He first commenced the siege of Lachish “with all his power;”⁴⁵⁷ and while engaged in this operation, finding that Hezekiah was not alarmed by his proximity, and did not send in his submission, he detached a body of troops⁴⁵⁸ from his main force, and sent it under a Tartan or general, supported by two high officers of the court—the Rabshakeh or Chief Cupbearer, and the Rab-saris or Chief Eunuch—to summon the rebellious city to surrender. Hezekiah was willing to treat, and sent out to the Assyrian camp, which was pitched just outside the walls, three high officials of his own to open negotiations. But the Assyrian envoys had not come to debate or even to offer terms, but to require the unconditional submission of both king and people. The Rabshakeh or cupbearer, who was familiar with the Hebrew language,⁴⁵⁹ took the word and delivered his message in insulting phrase, laughing at the simplicity which could trust in

Egypt, and the superstitious folly which could expect a divine deliverance, and defying Hezekiah to produce so many as two thousand trained soldiers capable of serving as cavalry. When requested to use a foreign rather than the native dialect, lest the people who were upon the walls should hear, the bold envoy, with an entire disregard of diplomatic forms, raised his voice and made a direct appeal to the popular fears and hopes thinking to produce a tumultuary surrender of the place, or at least an outbreak of which his troops might have taken advantage. His expectations, however, were disappointed; the people made no response to his appeal, but listened in profound silence; and the ambassadors, finding that they could obtain nothing from the fears of either king or people, and regarding the force that they had brought with them as insufficient for a siege, returned to their master with the intelligence of their ill-success.⁴⁶⁰ The Assyrian monarch had either taken Lachish or raised its siege, and was gone on to Libnah, where the envoys found him. On receiving their report, he determined to make still another effort to overcome Hezekiah's obstinacy; and accordingly he despatched fresh messengers with a letter to the Jewish king, in which he was reminded of the fate of various other kingdoms and peoples which had resisted the Assyrians, and once more urged to submit himself.⁴⁶¹ It was this letter—perhaps a royal autograph—which Hezekiah took into the temple and there “spread it before the Lord,” praying God to “bow down his ear and hear”—to “open his eyes and see, and hear the words of Sennacherib, which had sent to reproach the living God.”⁴⁶² Upon this Isaiah was commissioned to declare to his afflicted sovereign that the kings of Assyria were mere instruments in God's hands to destroy such nations as He pleased, and that none of Sennacherib's threats against Jerusalem should be accomplished. God, Isaiah told him, would “put his hook in Sennacherib's nose, and his bridle in his lips, and turn him back by the way by which he came.” The Lord had said, concerning the king of Assyria, “He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city. For I will defend this city, to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake.”⁴⁶³

Meanwhile it is probable that Sennacherib, having received the submission of Libnah, had advanced upon Egypt. It was

important to crush an Egyptian army which had been collected against him by a certain Sethos, one of the many native princes who at this time ruled in the Lower country,⁴⁶⁴ before the great Ethiopian monarch Tehrak or Tirhakah, who was known to be on his march,⁴⁶⁵ should effect a junction with the troops of this minor potentate. Sethos, with his army, was at Pelusium;⁴⁶⁶ and Sennacherib, advancing to attack him, had arrived within sight of the Egyptian host, and pitched his camp over against the camp of the enemy, just at the time⁴⁶⁷ when Hezekiah received his letter and made the prayer to which Isaiah was instructed to respond. The two hosts lay down at night in their respective stations, the Egyptians and their king full of anxious alarm, Sennacherib and his Assyrians proudly confident, intending on the morrow to advance to the combat and repeat the lesson taught at Raphia and Altaku.⁴⁶⁸ But no morrow was to break on the great mass of those who took their rest in the tents of the Assyrians. The divine fiat had gone forth. In the night, as they slept, destruction fell upon them. "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." A miracle, like the destruction of the first-born,⁴⁶⁹ had been wrought, but this time on the enemies of the Egyptians, who naturally ascribed their deliverance to the interposition of their own gods;⁴⁷⁰ and seeing the enemy in confusion and retreat, pressed hastily after him, distressed his flying columns, and cut off his stragglers.⁴⁷¹ The Assyrian king returned home to Nineveh, shorn of his glory, with the shattered remains of his great host, and cast that proud capital into a state of despair and grief, which the genius of an Æschylus might have rejoiced to depict,⁴⁷² but which no less powerful pen could adequately portray.

It is difficult to say how soon Assyria recovered from this terrible blow. The annals of Sennacherib, as might have been expected, omit it altogether, and represent the Assyrian monarch as engaged in a continuous series of successful campaigns, which seem to extend uninterruptedly from his third to his tenth year.⁴⁷³ It is possible that while the Assyrian expedition was in progress, under the eye of Sennacherib himself, a successful war was being conducted by one of his generals in the mountains of Armenia, and that Sennacherib was thus enabled, without absolutely falsifying history, to parade as his own certain victories gained by this leader in the very year of

his own reverse. It is even conceivable that the power of Assyria was not so injured by the loss of a single great army, as to make it necessary for her to stop even for one year in the course of her aggressive warfare; and thus the expeditions of Sennacherib may form an uninterrupted series, the eight campaigns which are assigned to him occupying eight consecutive years. But on the other hand it is quite as probable that there are gaps in the history, some years having been omitted altogether. The Taylor Cylinder records but eight campaigns, yet it was certainly written as late as Sennacherib's fifteenth year.⁴⁷⁴ It contains no notice of any events in Sennacherib's first or second year; and it may consequently make other omissions covering equal or larger intervals. Thus the destruction of the Assyrian army at Pelusium may have been followed by a pause of some years' duration in the usual aggressive expeditions; and it may very probably have encouraged the Babylonians in the attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke, which they certainly made towards the middle of Sennacherib's reign.

But while it appears to be probable that consequences of some importance followed on the Pelusiac calamity, it is tolerably certain that no such tremendous results flowed from it as some writers have imagined. The murder of the disgraced Sennacherib "within fifty-five days" of his return to Nineveh,⁴⁷⁵ seems to be an invention of the Alexandrian Jew who wrote the Book of Tobit. The total destruction of the empire in consequence of the blow, is an exaggeration of Josephus,⁴⁷⁶ rashly credited by some moderns.⁴⁷⁷ Sennacherib did not die till B.C. 681, seventeen years after his misfortune;⁴⁷⁸ and the Empire suffered so little that we find Esar-haddon, a few years later, in full possession of all the territory that any king before him had ever held, ruling from Babylonia to Egypt, or (as he himself expresses it) "from the rising up of the sun to the going down of the same."⁴⁷⁹ Even Sennacherib himself was not prevented by his calamity from undertaking important wars during the latter part of his reign. We shall see shortly that he recovered Babylon, chastised Susiana, and invaded Cilicia, in the course of the seventeen years which intervened between his flight from Pelusium and his decease. Moreover, there is evidence that he employed himself during this part of his reign in the consolidation of the Western provinces, which first appear about his twelfth year as integral portions of the Empire, furnishing eponyms in their turn,⁴⁸⁰ and thus taking

equal rank with the ancient provinces of Assyria Proper, Adiabêné, and Mesopotamia.

The fifth campaign of Sennacherib, according to his own annals, was partly in a mountainous country which he calls Nipur or Nibur—probably the most northern portion of the Zagros range⁴⁸¹ where it abuts on Ararat. He there took a number of small towns, after which he proceeded westward and contended with a certain Maniya king of Dayan, which was a part of Taurus bordering on Cilicia.⁴⁸² He boasts that he penetrated further into this region than any king before him; and the boast is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names which appear are almost entirely new to us.⁴⁸³ The expedition was a plundering raid, not an attempt at conquest. Sennacherib ravaged the country, burnt the towns, and carried away with him all the valuables, the flocks and herds, and the inhabitants.

After this it appears that for at least three years he was engaged in a fierce struggle with the combined Babylonians and Susianians. The troubles recommenced by an attempt of the Chaldæans of Beth-Yakin to withdraw themselves from the Assyrian territory, and to transfer their allegiance to the Elymæan king. Carrying with them their gods and their treasures, they embarked in their ships, and crossing “the Great Sea of the Rising Sun”—i.e., the Persian Gulf—landed on the Elamitic coast, where they were kindly received and allowed to take up their abode. Such voluntary removals are not uncommon in the East;⁴⁸⁴ and they constantly give rise to complaints and reclamations, which not unfrequently terminate in an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Sennacherib does not inform us whether he made any attempt to recover his lost subjects by diplomatic representations at the court of Susa. If he did, they were unsuccessful; and in order to obtain redress, he was compelled to resort to force, and to undertake an expedition into the Elamitic territory. It is remarkable that he determined to make his invasion by sea. Their frequent wars on the Syrian coasts had by this time familiarized the Assyrians with the idea, if not with the practice, of navigation; and as their suzerainty over Phœnicia placed at their disposal a large body of skilled shipwrights, and a number of the best sailors in the world, it was natural that they should resolve to employ naval as well as military force to advance their dominion. We have seen that, as early as the time of Shalmaneser, the Assyrians ventured them-

Fig. 1.



Later Assyrian harps and harpers (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Lyre with ten strings (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2



Fig. 3.

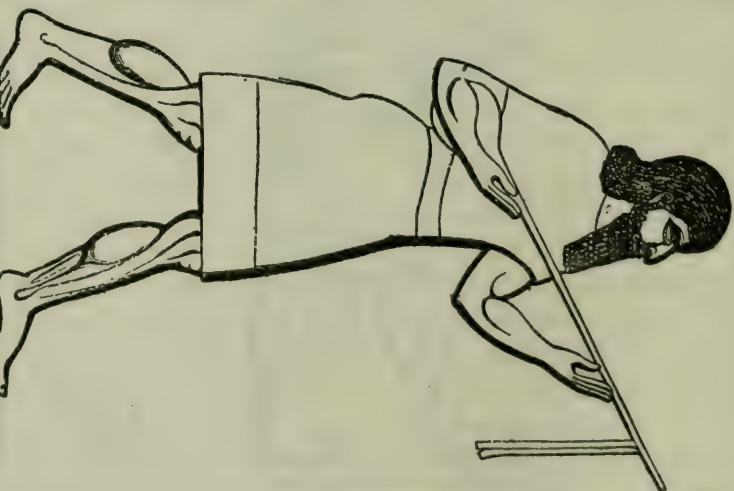


Lyres with Five and Seven Strings
(Koyunjik)

Fig. 1.



Player on the double pipe (Koyunjik)



Guitar or tamboura (Koyunjik).

selves in ships, and, in conjunction with the Phœnicians of the mainland, engaged the vessels of the Island Tyre.⁴⁸⁵ It is probable that the precedent thus set was followed by later kings, and that both Sargon and Sennacherib had had the permanent, or occasional, services of a fleet on the Mediterranean. But there was a wide difference between such an employment of the navies belonging to their subjects on the sea to which they were accustomed, and the transfer to the opposite extremity of the empire of the naval strength hitherto confined to the Mediterranean. This thought—certainly not an obvious one—seems to have first occurred to Sennacherib. He conceived the idea of having a navy on both the seas that washed his dominions; and, possessing on his western coast only an adequate supply of skilled shipwrights and sailors,⁴⁸⁶ he resolved on transporting from his western to his eastern shores such a body of Phœnicians as would enable him to accomplish his purpose. The shipwrights of Tyre and Sidon were carried across Mesopotamia to the Tigris, where they constructed for the Assyrian monarch a fleet of ships like their own galleys,⁴⁸⁷ which descended the river to its mouth, and astonished the populations bordering on the Persian Gulf with a spectacle never before seen in those waters. Though the Chaldæans had for centuries navigated this inland sea, and may have occasionally ventured beyond its limits, yet neither as sailors nor as ship-builders was their skill to compare with that of the Phœnicians. The masts and sails, the double tiers of oars, the sharp beaks of the Phœnician ships, were (it is probable) novelties to the nations of these parts, who saw now, for the first time, a fleet debouche from the Tigris, with which their own vessels were quite incapable of contending.

When his fleet was ready Sennacherib put to sea, and crossed in his Phœnician ships from the mouth of the Tigris to the tract occupied by the emigrant Chaldæans, where he landed and destroyed the newly-built city, captured the inhabitants, ravaged the neighborhood, and burnt a number of Susianian towns, finally re-embarking with his captives—Chaldæan and Susianian—whom he transported across the gulf to the Chaldæan coast, and then took with him into Assyria. This whole expedition seems to have taken the Susianians by surprise. They had probably expected an invasion by land, and had collected their forces towards the north-western frontier, so that when the troops of Sennacherib landed far in their rear, there were no forces in the neighbor-

hood to resist them. However, the departure of the Assyrians on an expedition regarded as extremely perilous, was the signal for a general revolt of the Babylonians, who once more set up a native king in the person of Susub,⁴⁸⁸ and collected an army with which they made ready to give the Assyrians battle on their return. Perhaps they cherished the hope that the fleet which had tempted the dangers of an unknown sea would be seen no more, or expected that, at the best, it would bring back the shattered remnants of a defeated army. If so, they were disappointed. The Assyrian troops landed on their coast flushed with success, and finding the Babylonians in revolt, proceeded to chastise them; defeated their forces in a great battle; captured their king, Susub; and when the Susianians came, somewhat tardily, to their succor, attacked and routed their army. A vast number of prisoners, and among them Susub himself, were carried off by the victors and conveyed to Nineveh.⁴⁸⁹

Shortly after this successful campaign, possibly in the very next year, Sennacherib resolved to break the power of Susiana by a great expedition directed solely against that country. The Susianians had, as already related,⁴⁹⁰ been strong enough in the reign of Sargon to deprive Assyria of a portion of her territory; and Kudur-Nakhunta,⁴⁹¹ the Elymæan king, still held two cities, Beth-Kahiri and Raza, which were regarded by Sennacherib as a part of his paternal inheritance. The first object of the war was the recovery of these two towns, which were taken without any difficulty and reattached to the Assyrian Empire.⁴⁹² Sennacherib then pressed on into the heart of Susiana, taking and destroying thirty-four large cities, whose names he mentions, together with a still greater number of villages, all of which he gave to the flames. Wasting and destroying in this way he drew near to Vadakat or Badaca,⁴⁹³ the second city of the kingdom, where Kudur-Nakhunta had for the time fixed his residence. The Elamitic king, hearing of his rapid approach, took fright, and, hastily quitting Badaca, fled away to a city called Khidala, at the foot of the mountains, where alone he could feel himself in safety. Sennacherib then advanced to Badaca, besieged it, and took it by assault; after which affairs seem to have required his presence at Nineveh, and, leaving his conquest incomplete, he returned home with a large booty.

A third campaign in these parts, the most important of all, followed. Susub, the Chaldaean prince whom Sennacherib

had carried off to Assyria, in the year of his naval expedition,⁴⁹⁴ escaped from his confinement, and, returning to Babylon, was once more hailed as king by the inhabitants. Aware of his inability to maintain himself on the throne against the will of the Assyrians, unless he were assisted by the arms of a powerful ally, he resolved to obtain, if possible, the immediate aid of the neighboring Elamitic monarch. Kudur-Nakhunta, the late antagonist of Sennacherib, was dead, having survived his disgraceful flight from Badaca only three months;⁴⁹⁵ and Ummanminan, his younger brother, held the throne. Susub, bent on contracting an alliance with this prince, did not scruple at an act of sacrilege to obtain his end. He broke open the treasury of the great temple of Bel at Babylon, and seizing the gold and silver belonging to the god, sent it as a present to Ummanminan, with an urgent entreaty that he would instantly collect his troops and march to his aid.⁴⁹⁶ The Elamitic monarch, yielding to a request thus powerfully backed, and perhaps sufficiently wise to see that the interests of Susiana required an independent Babylon, set his troops in motion without any delay, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris. At the same time a number of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates, which Sennacherib had reduced in his third year,⁴⁹⁷ revolted, and sent their forces to swell the army of Susub. A great battle was fought at Khaluli, a town on the lower Tigris, between the troops of Sennacherib and this allied host; the combat was long and bloody, but at last the Assyrians conquered. Susub and his Elamitic ally took to flight and made their escape. Nebosumiskun, a son of Mero-dach-Baladan, and many other chiefs of high rank, were captured. The army was completely routed and broken up.⁴⁹⁸ Babylon submitted, and was severely punished; the fortifications were destroyed, the temples plundered and burnt, and the images of the gods broken to pieces. Perhaps the rebel city now received for viceroy Regibelus or Mesesimordachus, whom the Canon of Ptolemy, which is silent about Susub, makes contemporary with the middle portion of Sennacherib's reign.⁴⁹⁹

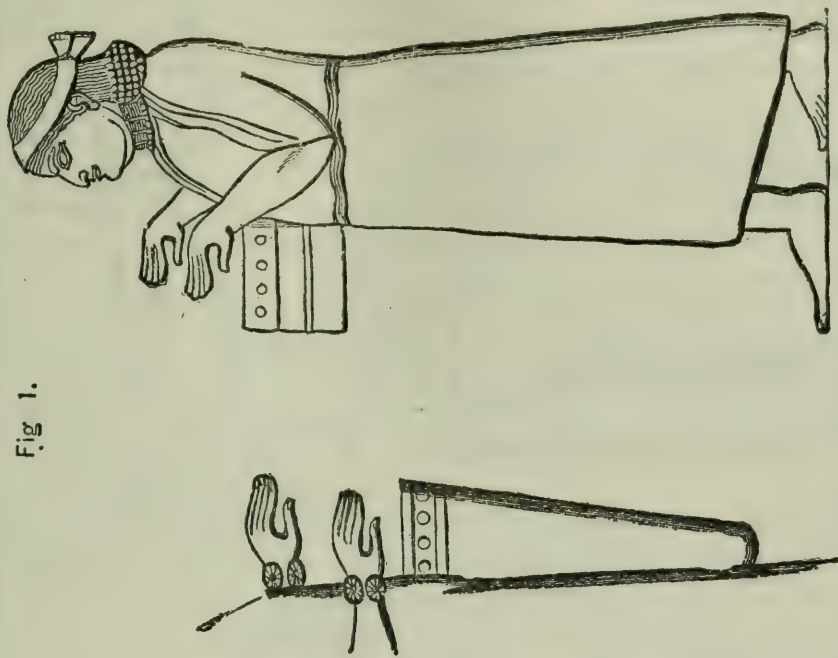
The only other expedition which can be assigned, on important evidence, to the reign of Sennacherib, is one against Cilicia, in which he is said to have been opposed by Greeks.⁵⁰⁰ According to Abydenus, a Greek fleet guarded the Cilician shore, which the vessels of Sennacherib engaged and defeated. Polyhistor seems to say that the Greeks also suffered

a defeat by land in Cilicia itself, after which Sennacherib took possession of the country, and built Tarsus there on the model of Babylon.⁵⁰¹ The prominence here given to Greeks by Greek writers is undoubtedly remarkable, and it throws a certain amount of suspicion over the whole story. Still, as the Greek element in Cyprus was certainly important at this time,⁵⁰² and as the occupation of Cilicia by the Assyrians may have appeared to the Cyprian Greeks to endanger their independence, it is conceivable that they lent some assistance to the natives of the country, who were a hardy race, fond of freedom, and never very easily brought into subjection.⁵⁰³ The admission of a double defeat makes it evident that the tale is not the invention of Greek national vanity. Abydenus and Polyhistor probably derive it from Berossus, who must also have made the statement that Tarsus was now founded by Sennacherib, and constructed after the pattern of Babylon. The occupation of newly conquered countries, by the establishment in them of large cities in which foreign colonists were placed by the conquerors, was a practice commenced by Sargon,⁵⁰⁴ which his son is not unlikely to have followed. Tarsus was always regarded by the Greeks as an Assyrian town;⁵⁰⁵ and although they gave different accounts of the time of its foundation, their disagreement in this respect does not invalidate their evidence as to the main fact itself, which is intrinsically probable. The evidence of Polyhistor and Abydenus as to the date of the foundation, representing, as it must, the testimony of Berossus upon the point, is to be preferred; and we may accept it as a fact, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the native city of St. Paul derived, if not its origin, yet, at any rate, its later splendor and magnificence, from the antagonist of Hezekiah.⁵⁰⁶

That this Cilician war occurred late in the reign of Sennacherib, appears to follow from the absence of any account of it from his general annals.⁵⁰⁷ These, it is probable, extend no further than his sixteenth year, B.C. 689, thus leaving blank his last eight years, from B.C. 689 to 681. The defeat of the Greeks, the occupation of Cilicia, and the founding of Tarsus, may well have fallen into this interval. To the same time may have belonged Sennacherib's conquest of Edom.⁵⁰⁸

There is reason to suspect that these successes of Sennacherib on the western limits of his empire were more than counterbalanced by a contemporaneous loss at the extreme south-east. The Canon of Ptolemy marks the year B.C. 688 as the

Fig. 1.



Assyrian Tubbals, or Drums (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Tambourine Player, and other Musicians (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2



No. 1. Roman Trumpet (Column of Trajan).



No. II. Assyrian Trumpet (Layard).



No. III. Portion of an Assyrian Trumpet.

Fig. 1.



Eunuch playing on the cymbals
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Musician playing the dulcimer (Koyunjik).

first of an interregnum at Babylon which continues from that date till the accession of Esar-haddon in B.C. 680. Interregna in this document—*ἐξ η βασιλευῖα*, as they are termed—indicate periods of extreme disturbance, when pretender succeeded to pretender, or when the country was split up into a number of petty kingdoms. The Assyrian yoke, in either case, must have been rejected; and Babylonia must have succeeded at this time in maintaining, for the space of eight years, a separate and independent existence, albeit troubled and precarious. The fact that she continued free so long, while she again succumbed at the very commencement of the reign of Esar-haddon, may lead us to suspect that she owed this spell of liberty to the increasing years of the Assyrian monarch, who, as the infirmities of age crept upon him, felt a disinclination towards distant expeditions.

The military glory of Sennacherib was thus in some degree tarnished; first, by the terrible disaster which befell his host on the borders of Egypt; and, secondly, by his failure to maintain the authority which, in the earlier part of his reign, he had established over Babylon. Still, notwithstanding these misfortunes, he must be pronounced one of the most successful of Assyria's warrior kings, and altogether one of the greatest princes that ever sat on the Assyrian throne. His victories of Eltekeh and Khaluli seem to have been among the most important battles that Assyria ever gained. By the one Egypt and Ethiopia, by the other Susiana and Babylon, were taught that, even united, they were no match for the Assyrian hosts. Sennacherib thus wholesomely impressed his most formidable enemies with the dread of his arms, while at the same time he enlarged, in various directions, the limits of his dominions. He warred in regions to which no earlier Assyrian monarch had ever penetrated; and he adopted modes of warfare on which none of them had previously ventured. His defeat of a Greek fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, and his employment of Phoenicians in the Persian Gulf, show an enterprise and versatility which we observe in few Orientals. His selection of Tarsus for the site of a great city indicates a keen appreciation of the merits of a locality.⁵⁰⁹ If he was proud, haughty, and self-confident, beyond all former Assyrian kings,⁵¹⁰ it would seem to have been because he felt that he had resources within himself—that he possessed a firm will, a bold heart, and a fertile invention. Most men would have laid aside the sword and given themselves wholly to

peaceful pursuits, after such a disaster as that of Pelusium. Sennacherib accepted the judgment as a warning to attempt no further conquests in those parts, but did not allow the calamity to reduce him to inaction. He wisely turned his sword against other enemies, and was rewarded by important successes upon all his other frontiers.

But if, as a warrior, Sennacherib deserves to be placed in the foremost rank of the Assyrian kings, as a builder and a patron of art he is still more eminent. The great palace which he raised at Nineveh surpassed in size and splendor all earlier edifices, and was never excelled in any respect except by one later building. The palace of Asshur-bani-pal, built on the same platform by the grandson of Sennacherib, was, it must be allowed, more exquisite in its ornamentation; but even this edifice did not equal the great work of Sennacherib in the number of its apartments, or the grandeur of its dimensions. Sennacherib's palace covered an area of above eight acres. It consisted of a number of grand halls and smaller chambers, arranged round at least three courts or quadrangles. These courts were respectively 154 feet by 125, 124 feet by 90, and probably a square of about 90 feet.⁵¹¹ Round the smallest of the courts were grouped apartments of no great size, which, it may be suspected, belonged to the seraglio of the king. The seraglio seems to have been reached through a single narrow passage,⁵¹² leading out of a long gallery—218 feet by 25⁵¹³—which was approached only through two other passages, one leading from each of the two main courts. The principal halls were immediately within the two chief entrances—one on the north-east, the other on the opposite or south-west front of the palace. Neither of these two rooms has been completely explored; but the one appears to have been more than 150 and the other⁵¹⁴ was probably 180 feet in length, while the width of each was a little more than 40 feet. Besides these two great halls and the grand gallery already described, the palace contained about twenty rooms of a considerable size, and at least forty or fifty smaller chambers, mostly square, or nearly so, opening out of some hall or large apartment. The actual number of the rooms explored is about sixty;⁵¹⁵ but as in many parts the examination of the building is still incomplete, we may fairly conjecture that the entire number was not less than seventy or eighty.

The palace of Sennacherib preserved all the main features of Assyrian architecture. It was elevated on a platform, eighty

or ninety feet above the plain, artificially constructed, and covered with a pavement of bricks. It had probably three grand façades—one on the north-east, where it was ordinarily approached from the town,⁵¹⁶ and the two others on the south-east and the south-west, where it was carried nearly to the edge of the platform, and overhung the two streams of the Khosr-su and the Tigris. Its principal apartment was that which was first entered by the visitor. All the walls ran in straight lines, and all the angles of the rooms and passages were right angles. There were more passages in the building than usual;⁵¹⁷ but still the apartments very frequently opened into one another; and almost one-half of the rooms were passage-rooms. The doorways were mostly placed without any regard to regularity, seldom opposite one another, and generally towards the corners of the apartments. There was the curious feature, common in Assyrian edifices, of a room being entered from a court, or from another room, by two or three doorways,⁵¹⁸ which is best explained by supposing that the rank of the person determined the door by which he might enter. Squared recesses in the sides of the rooms were common. The thickness of the walls was great. The apartments, though wider than in other palaces, were still narrow for their length, never much exceeding forty feet; while the courts were much better proportioned.

It was in the size and the number of his rooms, in his use of passages, and in certain features of his ornamentation, that Sennacherib chiefly differed from former builders. He increased the width of the principal state apartments by one-third, which seems to imply the employment of some new mode or material for roofing.⁵¹⁹ In their length he made less alteration, only advancing from 150 to 180 feet, evidently because he aimed, not merely at increasing the size of his rooms, but at improving their proportions. In one instance alone—that of a gallery or passage-room, leading (apparently) from the more public part of the palace to the *hareem* or private apartments—did he exceed this length, uniting the two portions of the palace by a noble corridor, 218 feet long by 25 feet wide. Into this corridor he brought passages from the two public courts, which he also united together by a third passage, thus greatly facilitating communication between the various blocks of buildings which composed his vast palatial edifice.

The most striking characteristic of Sennacherib's ornamentation is its strong and marked realism. It was under Senna-

cherib that the practice first obtained of completing each scene by a background,⁵²⁰ such as actually existed as the time and place of its occurrence. Mountains, rocks, trees, roads, rivers, lakes, were regularly portrayed, an attempt being made to represent the locality, whatever it might be, as truthfully as the artist's skill and the character of his material rendered possible. Nor was this endeavor limited to the broad and general features of the scene only. The wish evidently was to include all the little accessories which the observant eye of an artist might have noted if he had made his drawing with the scene before him. The species of trees is distinguished in Sennacherib's bas-reliefs; gardens, fields, ponds, reeds, are carefully represented; wild animals are introduced, as stags, boars, and antelopes; birds fly from tree to tree, or stand over their nests feeding the young who stretch up to them; fish disport themselves in the waters; fishermen ply their craft; boatmen and agricultural laborers pursue their avocations; the scene is, as it were, photographed, with all its features—the least and the most important—equally marked, and without any attempt at selection, or any effort after artistic unity.

In the same spirit of realism Sennacherib chooses for artistic representation scenes of a commonplace and every-day character. The trains of attendants who daily enter his palace with game and locusts for his dinner, and cakes and fruit for his dessert, appear on the walls of his passages,⁵²¹ exactly as they walked through his courts, bearing the delicacies in which he delighted. Elsewhere he puts before us the entire process of carving and transporting a colossal bull, from the first removal of the huge stone in its rough state from the quarry, to its final elevation on a palace mound as part of the great gateway of a royal residence. We see the trackers dragging the rough block, supported on a low flat-bottomed boat, along the course of a river, disposed in gangs, and working under taskmasters who use their rods upon the slightest provocation. The whole scene must be represented, and so the trackers are all there, to the number of three hundred, costumed according to their nations, and each delineated with as much care as if he were not the exact image of ninety-nine others. We then observe the block transferred to land, and carved into the rough semblance of a bull, in which form it is placed on a rude sledge and conveyed along level ground by gangs of laborers, arranged nearly as before, to the foot of the mound at whose top it has to be placed. The construction of the mound is most

elaborately represented. Brickmakers are seen moulding the bricks at its base, while workmen, with baskets at their backs, full of earth, bricks, stones, or rubbish, toil up the ascent—for the mound is already half raised—and empty their burdens out upon the summit. The bull, still lying on its sledge, is then drawn up an inclined plane to the top by four gangs of laborers, in the presence of the monarch and his attendants. After this the carving is completed, and the colossus, having been raised into an upright position, is conveyed along the surface of the platform to the exact site which it is to occupy.⁵²² This portion of the operation has been represented in one of the illustrations in an earlier part of this volume.⁵²³ From the representation there given the reader may form a notion of the minuteness and elaboration of this entire series of bas-reliefs.

Besides constructing this new palace at Nineveh, Sennacherib seems also to have restored the ancient residence of the kings at the same place,⁵²⁴ a building which will probably be found whenever the mound of Nebbi-Yunus is submitted to careful examination. He confined the Tigris to its channel by an embankment of bricks.⁵²⁵ He constructed a number of canals or aqueducts for the purpose of bringing good water to the capital.⁵²⁶ He improved the defences of Nineveh, erecting towers of a vast size at some of the gates.⁵²⁷ And, finally, he built a temple to the god Nergal at Tarbisi (now Sherif Khan), about three miles from Nineveh, up the Tigris.

In the construction of these great works he made use, chiefly, of the forced labor with which his triumphant expeditions into foreign countries had so abundantly supplied him. Chaldæans, Aramæans, Armenians, Cilicians,⁵²⁸ and probably also Egyptians, Ethiopians, Elamites, and Jews, were employed by thousands in the formation of the vast mounds, in the transport and elevation of the colossal bulls, in the moulding of the bricks, and the erection of the walls of the various edifices, in the excavation of the canals, and the construction of the embankments. They wrought in gangs, each gang having a costume peculiar to it,⁵²⁹ which probably marked its nation. Over each was placed a number of taskmasters, armed with staves, who urged on the work with blows,⁵³⁰ and severely punished any neglect or remissness. Assyrian foremen had the general direction of the works, and were entrusted with all such portions as required skill or judgment.⁵³¹ The forced laborers often worked in fetters, which were sometimes supported by a bar fastened to the waist, while sometimes they

consisted merely of shackles round the ankles. The king himself often witnessed the labors, standing in his chariot, which on these occasions was drawn by some of his attendants.⁵³²

The Assyrian monuments throw but little light on the circumstances which led to the assassination of Sennacherib; and we are reduced to conjecture the causes of so strange an event. Our various sources of information make it clear that he had a large family of sons. The eldest of them, Asshur-inadi-su, had been entrusted by Sennacherib with the government of Babylon,⁵³³ and might reasonably have expected to succeed him on the throne of Assyria; but it is probable that he died before his father, either by a natural death, or by violence, during one of the many Babylonian revolts. It may be suspected that Sennacherib had a second son, of whose name Nergal was the first element;⁵³⁴ and it is certain that he had three others, Adrammelech (or Ardumuzanes),⁵³⁵ Sharezer, and Esar-haddon. Perhaps, upon the death of Asshur-inadi-su, disputes arose about the succession. Adrammelech and Sharezer, anxious to obtain the throne for themselves, plotted against the life of their father, and having slain him in a temple as he was worshipping,⁵³⁶ proceeded further to remove their brother Nergilus, who claimed the crown and wore it for a brief space after Sennacherib's death.⁵³⁷ Having murdered him, they expected to obtain the throne without further difficulty; but Esar-haddon, who at the time commanded the army which watched the Armenian frontier, now came forward, assumed the title of King, and prepared to march upon Nineveh. It was winter, and the inclemency of the weather precluded immediate movement. For some months probably the two assassins were recognized as monarchs at the capital, while the northern army regarded Esar-haddon as the rightful successor of his father. Thus died the great Sennacherib, a victim to the ambition of his sons.

It was a sad end to a reign which, on the whole, had been so glorious; and it was a sign that the empire was now verging on that decline which sooner or later overtakes all kingdoms, and indeed all things sublunary. Against plots from without, arising from the ambition of subjects who see, or think they see, at any particular juncture, an opportunity of seizing the great prize of supreme dominion, it is impossible, even in the most vigorous empire, to provide any complete security. But during the period of vigor, harmony exists within the palace, and confidence in each other inspires and unites all the mem-



Captives playing on lyres

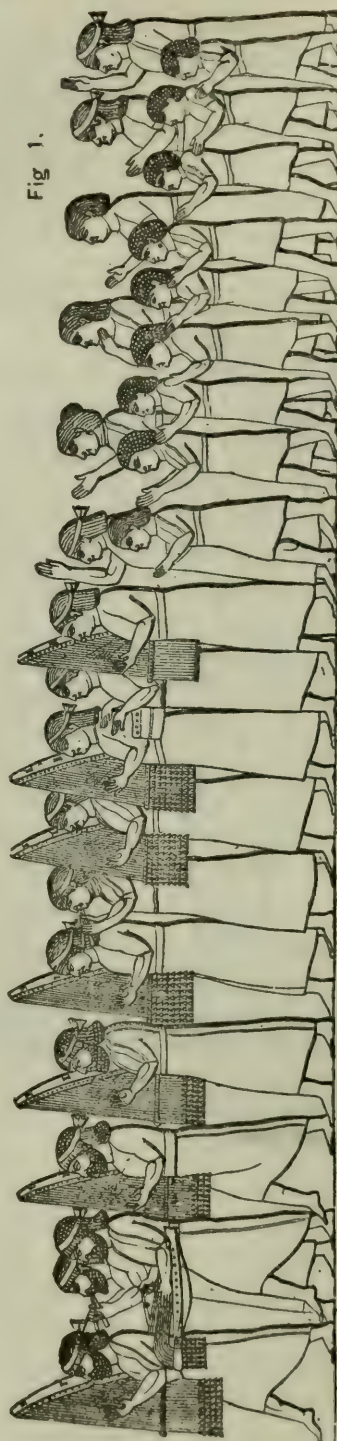


Fig. 1.

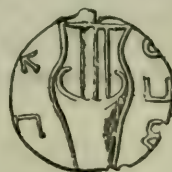
Band of musicians.

Fig. 2.



Time-keepers (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3



Lyre on Hebrew coin.

bers of the royal house. When discord has once entered inside the gates, when the family no longer holds together, when suspicion and jealousy have replaced the trust and affection of a happier time, the empire has passed into the declining stage, and has already begun the descent which conducts, by quick or slow degrees, to destruction. The murder of Sennacherib, if it was, as perhaps it was, a judgment on the individual,⁵³⁸ was, at least equally, a judgment on the nation. When, in an absolute monarchy, the palace becomes the scene of the worst crimes, the doom of the kingdom is sealed—it totters to its fall—and requires but a touch from without to collapse into a heap of ruins.

Esar-haddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, is proved by the Assyrian Canon to have ascended the throne of Assyria in B.C. 681—the year immediately previous to that which the Canon of Ptolemy makes his first year in Babylon,⁵³⁹ viz., B.C. 680. He was succeeded by his son Asshur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus, in B.C. 668, and thus held the crown no more than thirteen years. Esar-haddon's inscriptions show that he was engaged for some time after his accession in a war with his half-brothers, who, at the head of a large body of troops, disputed his right to the crown.⁵⁴⁰ Esar-haddon marched from the Armenian frontier, where (as already observed) he was stationed at the time of his father's death, against this army, defeated it in the country of Khanirabbat (north-west of Nineveh), and proceeding to the capital, was universally acknowledged king. According to Abydenus, Adrammelech fell in the battle;⁵⁴¹ but better authorities state that both he and his brother, Sharezer, escaped into Armenia,⁵⁴² where they were kindly treated by the reigning monarch, who gave them lands, which long continued in the possession of their posterity.⁵⁴³

The chief record which we possess of Esar-haddon is a cylinder inscription, existing in duplicate,⁵⁴⁴ which describes about nine campaigns, and may probably have been composed in or about his tenth year. A memorial which he set up at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, and a cylinder of his son's, add some important information with respect to the latter part of his reign.⁵⁴⁵ One or two notices in the Old Testament connect him with the history of the Jews.⁵⁴⁶ And Abydenus, besides the passage already quoted, has an allusion to some of his foreign conquests.⁵⁴⁷ Such are the chief materials from which the modern inquirer has to reconstruct the history of this great king.⁵⁴⁸

It appears that the first expedition of Esar-haddon was into Phœnicia.⁵⁴⁹ Abdi-Milkut king of Sidon, and Sandu-arra king of the adjoining part of Lebanon, had formed an alliance and revolted from the Assyrians, probably during the troubles which ensued on Sennacherib's death. Esar-haddon attacked Sidon first, and soon took the city ; but Abdi-Milkut made his escape to an island—Aradus or Cyprus—where, perhaps, he thought himself secure. Esar-haddon, however, determined on pursuit. He traversed the sea “like a fish,”⁵⁵⁰ and made Abdi-Milkut⁵⁵¹ prisoner; after which he turned his arms against Sandu-arra, attacked him in the fastnesses of his mountains, defeated his troops, and possessed himself of his person. The rebellion of the two captive kings was punished by their execution ; the walls of Sidon were destroyed ; its inhabitants, and those of the whole tract of coast in the neighborhood, were carried off into Assyria, and thence scattered among the provinces ; a new town was built, which was named after Esar-haddon, and was intended to take the place of Sidon as the chief city of these parts ; and colonists were brought from Chaldæa and Susiana to occupy the new capital and the adjoining region. An Assyrian governor was appointed to administer the conquered province.⁵⁵²

Esar-haddon's next campaign seems to have been in Armenia. He took a city called Arza * *, which, he says, was in the neighborhood of Muzr,⁵⁵³ and carried off the inhabitants, together with a number of mountain animals, placing the former in a position “beyond the eastern gate of Nineveh.” At the same time he received the submission of Tiuspa the Cimmerian.⁵⁵⁴

His third campaign was in Cilicia and the adjoining regions. The Cilicians, whom Sennacherib had so recently subdued,⁵⁵⁵ re-asserted their independence at his death, and allied themselves with the Tibareni, or people of Tubal, who possessed the high mountain tract about the junction of Amanus and Taurus. Esar-haddon inflicted a defeat on the Cilicians, and then invaded a mountain region, where he took twenty-one towns and a larger number of villages, all of which he plundered and burnt. The inhabitants he carried away captive, as usual ; but he made no attempt to hold the ravaged districts by means of new cities or fresh colonists.⁵⁵⁶

This expedition was followed by one or two petty wars in the north-west and the north-east ;⁵⁵⁷ after which Esar-haddon, probably about his sixth year, B.C. 675, made an expedition

into Chaldæa. It appears that a son of Merodach-Baladan, Nebo-zirzi-sidi⁵⁵⁸ by name, had re-established himself on the Chaldæan coast, by the help of the Susianians; while his brother, Nahid-Marduk, had thought it more prudent to court the favor of the great Assyrian monarch, and had quitted his refuge in Susiana to present himself before Esar-haddon's footstool at Nineveh. This judicious step had all the success that he could have expected or desired. Esar-haddon, having conquered the ill-judging Nebo-zirzi-sidi, made over to the more clear-sighted Nahid-Marduk the whole of the maritime region that had been ruled by his brother. At the same time the Assyrian monarch deposed a Chaldæan prince who had established his authority over a small town in the neighborhood of Babylon, and set up another in his place,⁵⁵⁹ thus pursuing the same system of division in Babylonia which we shall hereafter find that he pursued in Egypt.⁵⁶⁰

Esar-haddon after this was engaged in a war with Edom. He there took a city which bore the same name as the country—a city previously, he tells us, taken by his father⁵⁶¹—and transported the inhabitants into Assyria, at the same time carrying off certain images of the Edomite gods. Hereupon the king, who was named Hazael, sent an embassy to Nineveh, to make submission and offer presents, while at the same time he supplicated Esar-haddon to restore his gods and allow them to be conveyed back to their own proper country.⁵⁶² Esar-haddon granted the request, and restored the images to the envoy; but as a compensation for this boon, he demanded an increase of the annual tribute, which was augmented in consequence by sixty-five camels. He also nominated to the Edomite throne, either in succession or in joint sovereignty, a female named Tabua, who had been born and brought up in his own palace.⁵⁶³

The expedition next mentioned on Esar-haddon's principal cylinder is one presenting some difficulty. The scene of it is a country called Bazu, which is said to be "remote, on the extreme confines of the earth, on the other side of the desert."⁵⁶⁴ It was reached by traversing a hundred and forty *farsakhs* (490 miles) of sandy desert, then twenty *farsakhs* (70 miles) of fertile land, and beyond that a stony region.⁵⁶⁵ None of the kings of Assyria, down to the time of Esar-haddon, had ever penetrated so far. Bazu lay beyond Khazu, which was the name of the stony tract, and Bazu had for its chief town a city called Yedih, which was under the rule of a king named Lailé,

It is thought, from the combination of these names,⁵⁶⁶ and from the general description of the region—of its remoteness and of the way in which it was reached—that it was probably the district of Arabia beyond Nedjif which lies along the Jebel Shammer, and corresponds closely with the modern Arab kingdom of Hira. Esar-haddon boasts that he marched into the middle of the territory, that he slew eight of its sovereigns, and carried into Assyria their gods, their treasures, and their subjects; and that, though Lailé escaped him, he too lost his gods, which were seized and conveyed to Nineveh. Then Lailé, like the Idumæan monarch above mentioned, felt it necessary to humble himself. He went in person to the Assyrian capital, prostrated himself before the royal footstool, and entreated for the restoration of his gods; which Esar-haddon consented to give back, but solely on the condition that Lailé became thenceforth one of his tributaries.⁵⁶⁷

If this expedition was really carried into the quarter here supposed, Esar-haddon performed a feat never paralleled in history, excepting by Augustus⁵⁶⁸ and Nushirvan.⁵⁶⁹ He led an army across the deserts which everywhere guard Arabia on the land side, and penetrated to the more fertile tracts beyond them, a region of settled inhabitants and of cities. He there took and spoiled several towns; and he returned to his own country without suffering disaster. Considering the physical perils of the desert itself, and the warlike character of its inhabitants, whom no conqueror has ever really subdued, this was a most remarkable success. The dangers of the simoom may have been exaggerated, and the total aridity of the northern region may have been overstated by many writers;⁵⁷⁰ but the difficulty of carrying water and provisions for a large army, and the peril of a plunge into the wilderness with a small one, can scarcely be stated in too strong terms, and have proved sufficient to deter most Eastern conquerors from even the thoughts of an Arabian expedition. Alexander would, perhaps, had he lived, have attempted an invasion from the side of the Persian Gulf;⁵⁷¹ and Trajan actually succeeded in bringing under the Roman yoke an outlying portion of the country—the district between Damascus and the Red Sea; but Arabia has been deeply penetrated thrice only in the history of the world; and Esar-haddon is the sole monarch who ever ventured to conduct in person such an attack.

From the arid regions of the great peninsula Esar-haddon proceeded, probably in another year, to the invasion of the

Fig. 3

Steering Oar. (Time of Asshur-izir-pal.)

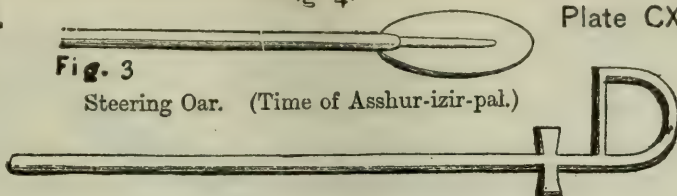


Fig. 2.

Common Oar. (Time of Sennacherib.)



No. I. Early Long-boat (Nimrud).



No. II. Later Long-boat (Khorsabad).

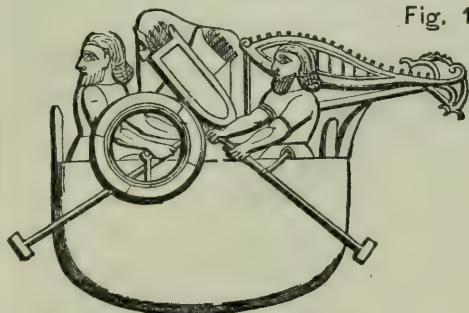
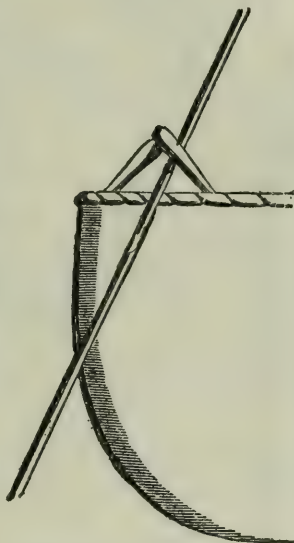


Fig. 1.

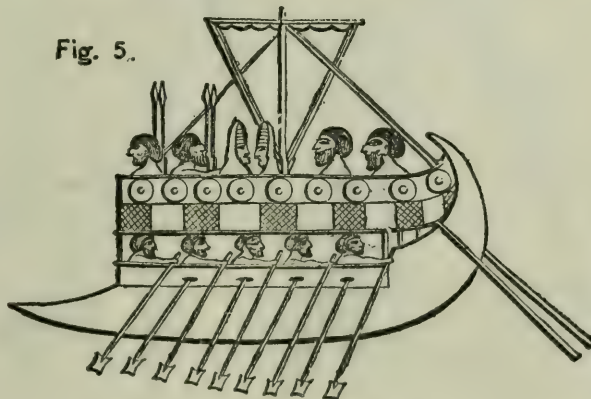
Assyrian comcle (Nimrud).

Fig. 6.



Oar kept in place by pegs
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 5.



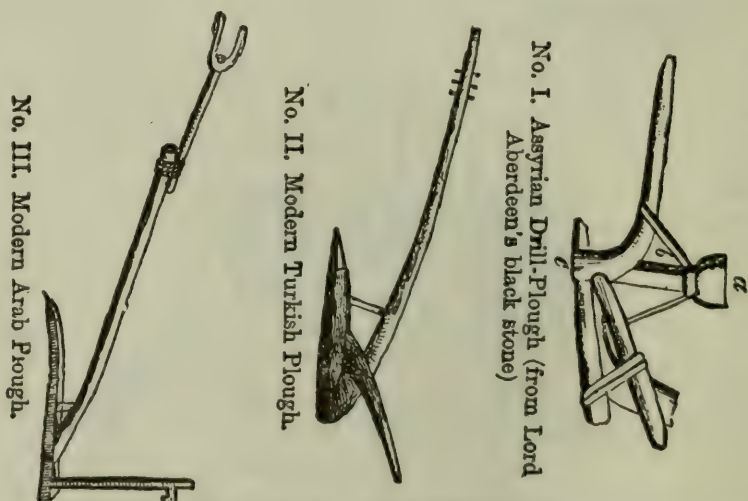
Phoenician bireme (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Chart of the District about Nimrud, showing the Course of the Ancient Canal and Conduit.

Fig. 2.



marsh-country on the Euphrates, where the Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu⁵⁷² had their habitations, dwelling (he tells us) "like fish, in the midst of the waters"⁵⁷³—doubtless much after the fashion of the modern Khuzeyl and Affej Arabs,⁵⁷⁴ the latter of whom inhabit nearly the same tract. The sheikh of this tribe had revolted; but on the approach of the Assyrians he submitted himself, bringing in person the arrears of his tribute and a present of buffaloes (?),⁵⁷⁵ whereby he sought to propitiate the wrath of his suzerain. Esar-haddon states that he forgave him; that he strengthened his capital with fresh works, placed a garrison in it, and made it a stronghold to protect the territory against the attacks of the Susianians.

The last expedition mentioned on the cylinder, which seems not to have been conducted by the king in person, was against the country of Bikni, or Bikan, one of the more remote regions of Media—perhaps Azerbaijan.⁵⁷⁶ No Assyrian monarch before Esar-haddon had ever invaded this region. It was under the government of a number of chiefs—the Arian character of whose names is unmistakable⁵⁷⁷—each of whom ruled over his own town and the adjacent district. Esar-haddon seized two of the chiefs and carried them off to Assyria, whereupon several others made their submission, consenting to pay a tribute and to divide their authority with Assyrian officers.⁵⁷⁸

It is probable that these various expeditions occupied Esar-haddon from B.C. 681, the year of his accession, to B.C. 671, when it is likely that they were recorded on the existing cylinder. The expeditions are ten in number, directed against countries remote from one another; and each may well have occupied an entire year. There would thus remain only three more years of the king's reign, after the termination of the chief native record, during which his history has to be learnt from other sources. Into this space falls, almost certainly, the greatest of Esar-haddon's exploits—the conquest of Egypt; and, probably, one of the most interesting episodes of his reign—the punishment and pardon of Manasseh. With the consideration of these two events the military history of his reign will terminate.

The conquest of Egypt by Esar-haddon, though concealed from Herodotus, and not known even to Diodorus, was no secret to the more learned Greeks, who probably found an account of the expedition in the great work of Berosus.⁵⁷⁹ All that we know of its circumstances is derived from an imperfect transcript of the Nahr-el-Kelb tablet, and a short notice in the

annals of Esar-haddon's son and successor, Asshur-bani-pal, who finds it necessary to make an allusion to the former doings of his father in Egypt, in order to render intelligible the state of affairs when he himself invades the country. According to these notices, it would appear that Esar-haddon, having entered Egypt with a large army, probably in B.C. 670, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, and took Memphis, the city where the Ethiopian held his court, after which he proceeded southwards, and conquered the whole of the Nile valley as far as the southern boundary of the Theban district. Thebes itself was taken;⁵⁸⁰ and Tirhakah retreated into Ethiopia. Esar-haddon thus became master of all Egypt, at least as far as Thebes or Diospolis, the No or No-Amon of Scripture.⁵⁸¹ He then broke up the country into twenty governments, appointing in each town a ruler who bore the title of king, but placing all the others to a certain extent under the authority of the prince who reigned at Memphis. This was Neco, the father of Psammetichus (Psamatik I.)—a native Egyptian of whom we have some mention both in Herodotus⁵⁸² and in the fragments of Manetho.⁵⁸³ The remaining rulers were likewise, for the most part, native Egyptians; though in two or three instances the governments appear to have been committed to Assyrian officers.⁵⁸⁴ Esar-haddon, having made these arrangements, and having set up his tablet at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb side by side with that of Rameses II., returned to his own country, and proceeded to introduce sphinxes into the ornamentation of his palaces,⁵⁸⁵ while, at the same time, he attached to his former titles an additional clause, in which he declared himself to be "king of the kings of Egypt, and conqueror of Ethiopia."⁵⁸⁶

The revolt of Manasseh king of Judah may have happened shortly before or shortly after the conquest of Egypt. It was not regarded as of sufficient importance to call for the personal intervention of the Assyrian monarch. The "captains of the host of the king of Assyria" were entrusted with the task of Manasseh's subjection; and, proceeding into Judæa, they "took him, and bound him with chains, and carried him to Babylon,"⁵⁸⁷ where Esar-haddon had built himself a palace, and often held his court.⁵⁸⁸ The Great King at first treated his prisoner severely; and the "affliction" which he thus suffered is said to have broken his pride and caused him to humble himself before God,⁵⁸⁹ and to repent of all the cruelties and idolatries which had brought this judgment upon him. Then God "was en-

treated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back again to Jerusalem into his kingdom." ⁵⁹⁰ The crime of defection was overlooked by the Assyrian monarch; ⁵⁹¹ Manasseh was pardoned, and sent back to Jerusalem; where he was allowed to resume the reins of government, but on the condition, if we may judge by the usual practice of the Assyrians in such cases, of paying an increased tribute. ⁵⁹²

It may have been in connection with this restoration of Manasseh to his throne—an act of doubtful policy from an Assyrian point of view—that Esar-haddon determined on a project by which the hold of Assyria upon Palestine was considerably strengthened. Sargon, as has been already observed, ⁵⁹³ when he removed the Israelites from Samaria, supplied their place by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Sippara, Ava, Hamath, ⁵⁹⁴ and Arabia; ⁵⁹⁵ thus planting a foreign garrison in the region which would be likely to preserve its fidelity. Esar-haddon resolved to strengthen this element. He gathered men ⁵⁹⁶ from Babylon, Orchoë, Susa, Elymais, Persia, and other neighboring regions, and entrusting them to an officer of high rank—"the great and noble Asnapper"—had them conveyed to Palestine and settled over the whole country, which until this time must have been somewhat thinly peopled. ⁵⁹⁷ The restoration of Manasseh, and the augmentation of this foreign element in Palestine, are thus portions, but counterbalancing portions, of one scheme—a scheme, the sole object of which was the pacification of the empire by whatever means, gentle or severe, seemed best calculated to effect the purpose.

The last years of Esar-haddon were, to some extent, clouded with disaster. He appears to have fallen ill in B.C. 669; and the knowledge of this fact at once produced revolution in Egypt. Tirhakah issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, descended the valley of the Nile, expelled the kings set up by Esar-haddon, and re-established his authority over the whole country. Esar-haddon, unable to take the field, resolved to resign the cares of the empire to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, and to retire into a secondary position. Relinquishing the crown of Assyria, and retaining that of Babylon only, he had Asshur-bani-pal proclaimed king of Assyria, and retired to the southern capital. There he appears to have died in B.C. 668, or early in B.C. 667, leaving Asshur-bani-pal sole sovereign of the entire empire.

Of the architecture of Esar-haddon, and of the state of the arts generally in his time, it is difficult to speak positively. Though he appears to have been one of the most indefatigable

constructors of great works that Assyria produced, having erected during the short period over which his reign extended no fewer than four palaces and above thirty temples,⁵⁹⁸ yet it happens unfortunately that we are not as yet in a condition to pronounce a decisive judgment either on the plan of his buildings or on the merits of their ornamentation. Of his three great palaces, which were situated at Babylon, Calah, and Nineveh, one only—that at Calah or Nimrud—has been to any large extent explored. Even in this case the exploration was far from complete, and the ground-plan of his palace is still very defective. But this is not the worst. The palace itself had never been finished;⁵⁹⁹ its ornamentation had scarcely been begun; and the little of this that was original had been so damaged by a furious conflagration, that it perished almost at the moment of discovery.⁶⁰⁰ We are thus reduced to judge of the sculptures of Esar-haddon by the reports of those who saw them ere they fell to pieces, and by one or two drawings, while we have to form our conception of his buildings from a half-explored fragment of a half-finished palace, which was moreover destroyed by fire before completion.

The palace of Esar-haddon at Calah was built at the southwestern corner of the Nimrud mound, abutting towards the west on the Tigris, and towards the south on the valley formed by the Shor-Derreh torrent. It faced northwards, and was entered on this side from the open space of the platform, through a portal guarded by two winged bulls of the ordinary character. The visitor on entering found himself in a large court, 280 feet by 100,⁶⁰¹ bounded on the north side by a mere wall, but on the other three sides surrounded by buildings. The main building was opposite to him, and was entered from the court by two portals, one directly facing the great northern gate of the court, and the other a little to the left hand, the former guarded by colossal bulls, the latter merely reveted with slabs. These portals both led into the same room—the room already described in an earlier page of this work⁶⁰²—which was designed on the most magnificent scale of all the Assyrian apartments, but was so broken up through the inability of the architect to roof in a wide space without abundant support, that, practically, it formed rather a suite of four moderate-sized chambers than a single grand hall. The plan of this apartment will be seen by referring to Plate XLIII., Fig. 2. Viewed as a single apartment, the room was 165 feet in length by 62 feet in width, and thus contained an area of

10,230 square feet, a space nearly half as large again as that covered by the greatest of the halls of Sennacherib, which was 7200 feet. Viewed as a suite of chambers, the rooms may be described as two long and narrow halls running parallel to one another, and communicating by a grand doorway in the middle, with two smaller chambers placed at the two ends, running at right angles to the principal ones. The small chambers were 62 feet long, and respectively 19 feet and 23 feet wide; the larger ones were 110 feet long, with a width respectively of 20 feet and 28 feet.⁶⁰³ The inner of the two long parallel chambers communicated by a grand doorway, guarded by sphinxes and colossal lions, either with a small court or with a large chamber extending to the southern edge of the mound; and the two end rooms communicated with smaller apartments in the same direction.⁶⁰⁴ The buildings to the right and left of the great court seem to have been entirely separate from those at its southern end: to the left they were wholly unexamined; on the right some explorations were conducted which gave the usual result of several long narrow apartments, with perhaps one or two passages. The extent of the palace westward, southward, and eastward is uncertain: eastward it was unexplored; southward and westward the mound had been eaten into by the Tigris and the Shor-Derreh torrent.⁶⁰⁵

The walls of Esar-haddon's palace were composed, in the usual way, of sun-dried bricks, reveted with slabs of alabaster. Instead, however, of quarrying fresh alabaster slabs for the purpose, the king preferred to make use of those which were already on the summit of the mound, covering the walls of the north-western and central palaces, which, no doubt, had fallen into decay. His workmen tore down these sculptured monuments from their original position, and transferring them to the site of the new palace, arranged them so as to cover the freshly-raised walls, generally placing the carved side against the crude brick, and leaving the back exposed to receive fresh sculptures, but sometimes exposing the old sculpture, which, however, in such cases, it was probably intended to remove by the chisel.⁶⁰⁶ This process was still going on, when either Esar-haddon died and the works were stopped, or the palace was destroyed by fire. Scarcely any of the new sculptures had been executed. The only exceptions were the bulls and lions at the various portals,⁶⁰⁷ a few reliefs in close proximity to them,⁶⁰⁸ and some complete figures of crouching sphinxes,⁶⁰⁹ which had been placed as ornaments, and possibly also as the

bases of supports, within the span of the two widest doorways. There was nothing very remarkable about the bulls; the lions were spirited, and more true to nature than usual; the sphinxes were curious, being Egyptian in idea, but thoroughly Assyrianized, having the horned cap common on bulls, the Assyrian arrangement of hair, Assyrian earrings, and wings nearly like those of the ordinary winged bull or lion. [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 2.] The figures near the lions were mythic, and exhibited somewhat more than usual grotesqueness, as we learn from the representations of them given by Mr. Layard.⁶¹⁰

While the evidence of the actual monuments as to the character of Esar-haddon's buildings and their ornamentation is thus scanty, it happens, curiously, that the Inscriptions furnish a particularly elaborate and detailed account of them. It appears, from the principal record of the time, that the temples which Esar-haddon built in Assyria and Babylonia—thirty-six in number—were richly adorned with plates of silver and gold, which made them (in the words of the Inscription) “as splendid as the day.”⁶¹¹ His palace at Nineveh, a building situated on the mound called Nebbi Yunus, was, we are told, erected upon the site of a former palace of the kings of Assyria. Preparations for its construction were made, as for the great buildings of Solomon,⁶¹² by the collection of materials, in wood, stone, and metal, beforehand: these were furnished by the Phœnician, Syrian, and Cyprian monarchs,⁶¹³ who sent to Nineveh for the purpose great beams of cedar, cypress, and ebony (?), stone statues, and various works in metals of different kinds. The palace itself is said to have exceeded in size all buildings of former kings. It was roofed with carved beams of cedar-wood; it was in part supported by columns of cypress wood, ornamented and strengthened with rings of silver and of iron; the portals were guarded by stone bulls and lions; and the gates were made of ebony and cypress ornamented with iron, silver, and ivory. There was, of course, the usual adornment of the walls by means of sculptured slabs and enamelled bricks. If the prejudices of the Mahometans against the possible disturbance of their dead, and against the violation by infidel hands of the supposed tomb of Jonah, should hereafter be dispelled, and excavations be freely allowed in the Nebbi Yunus mound, we may look to obtain very precious relics of Assyrian art from the palace of Esar-haddon, now lying buried beneath the village or the tombs which share between them this most important site.⁶¹⁴

Of Esar-haddon's Babylonian palace nothing is at present known, beyond the mere fact of its existence; but if the mounds at Hillah should ever be thoroughly explored, we may expect to recover at least its ground-plan, if not its sculptures and other ornaments. The Sherif Khan palace has been examined pretty completely.⁶¹⁵ It was very much inferior to the ordinary palatial edifices of the Assyrians, being in fact only a house which Esar-haddon built as a dwelling for his eldest son during his own lifetime. Like the more imposing buildings of this king, it was probably unfinished at his decease. At any rate its remains add nothing to our knowledge of the state of art in Esar-haddon's time, or to our estimate of that monarch's genius as a builder.

After a reign of thirteen years, Esar-haddon, "king of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Meroë, and Ethiopia," as he styles himself in his later inscriptions, died, leaving his crown to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, whom he had already associated in the government.⁶¹⁶ Asshur-bani-pal ascended the throne in B.C. 668, or very early in B.C. 667; and his first act seems to have been to appoint as viceroy of Babylon his younger brother Saül-Mugina,⁶¹⁷ who appears as Sam-mughes in Polyhistor,⁶¹⁸ and as Saosduchinus in the Canon of Ptolemy.

The first war in which Asshur-bani-pal engaged was most probably with Egypt. Late in the reign of Esar-haddon, Tirhakah (as already stated⁶¹⁹) had descended from the upper country, had recovered Thebes, Memphis, and most of the other Egyptian cities, and expelled from them the princes and governors appointed by Esar-haddon upon his conquest.⁶²⁰ Asshur-bani-pal, shortly after his accession, collected his forces, and marched through Syria into Egypt, where he defeated the army sent against him by Tirhakah in a great battle near the city of Kar-banit. Tirhakah, who was at Memphis, hearing of the disaster that had befallen his army, abandoned Lower Egypt, and sailed up the Nile to Thebes, whither the forces of Asshur-bani-pal followed him; but the nimble Ethiopian retreated still further up the Nile valley, leaving all Egypt from Thebes downwards to his adversary. Asshur-bani-pal, upon this, reinstated in their former governments the various princes and rulers whom his father had originally appointed, and whom Tirhakah had expelled; and then, having rested and refreshed his army by a short stay in Thebes, returned victoriously by way of Syria to Nineveh.

Scarcely was he departed when intrigues began for the resto-

ration of the Ethiopian power. Neco and some of the other Egyptian governors, whom Asshur-bani-pal had just reinstated in their posts, deserted the Assyrian side and went over to the Ethiopians. Attempts were made to suppress the incipient revolt by the governors who continued faithful; Neco and one or two of his copartners in guilt were seized and sent in chains to Assyria; and some of the cities chiefly implicated, as Sais, Mendes, and Tanis (Zoan), were punished. But the efforts at suppression failed. Tirhakah entered Upper Egypt, and having established himself at Thebes, threatened to extend his authority once more over the whole of the Nilotic valley. Thereupon Asshur-bani-pal, having forgiven Neco, sent him, accompanied by a strong force, into Egypt; and Tirhakah was again compelled to quit the lower country and retire to Upper Egypt, where he soon after died. His crown fell to his stepson,⁶²¹ Urdamané, who is perhaps the Rud-Amun of the Hieroglyphics.⁶²² This prince was at first very successful. He descended the Nile valley in force, defeated the Assyrians near Memphis, drove them to take refuge within its walls, besieged and took the city, and recovered Lower Egypt. Upon this Asshur-bani-pal, who was in the city of Asshur when he heard the news, went in person against his new adversary, who retreated as he advanced, flying from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to a city called Kipkip, far up the course of the Nile. Asshur-bani-pal and his army now entered Thebes, and sacked it. The plunder which was taken, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, dyed garments, captives male and female, ivory, ebony, tame animals (such as monkeys and elephants) brought up in the palace, obelisks, etc., was carried off and conveyed to Nineveh. Governors were once more set up in the several cities, Psammetichus being probably among them;⁶²³ and, hostages having been taken to secure their fidelity, the Assyrian monarch returned home with his booty.

Between his first and second expedition into Egypt, Asshur-bani-pal was engaged in warlike operations on the Syrian coast, and in transactions of a different character with Cilicia. Returning from Egypt, he made an attack on Tyre, whose king, Baal, had offended him, and having compelled him to submit, exacted from him a large tribute, which he sent away to Nineveh. About the same time Asshur-bani-pal entered into communication with the Cilician monarch, whose name is not given, and took to wife a daughter of that princely



No. I. Fish-cap of Assyrian Musician (Koyunjik).



No. II. Tall Cap of Assyrian Priest (Koyunjik).



No. III. Cap of the King's Cook (Koyunjik).



Fig. 2.

Ornamental Cross-belt (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



Ornamental Belt or Girdle (Koyunjik).

Fig. 6.

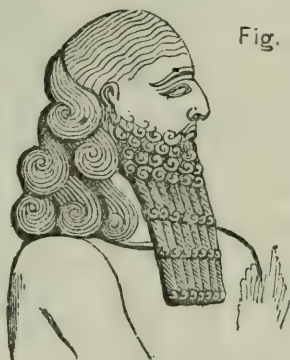
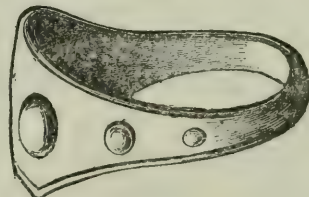
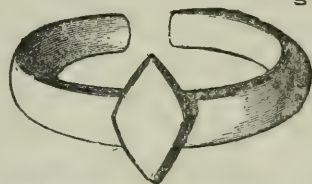


Fig. 5.

Curious mode of arranging the Hair (Koyunjik).



Female seated. (From an ivory in the British Museum.)



Armlets of Assyrian. Grandees (Khorsabad)

Fig. 3



Fig. 1.

Females gathering grapes. (From some ivory fragments in the British Museum.)

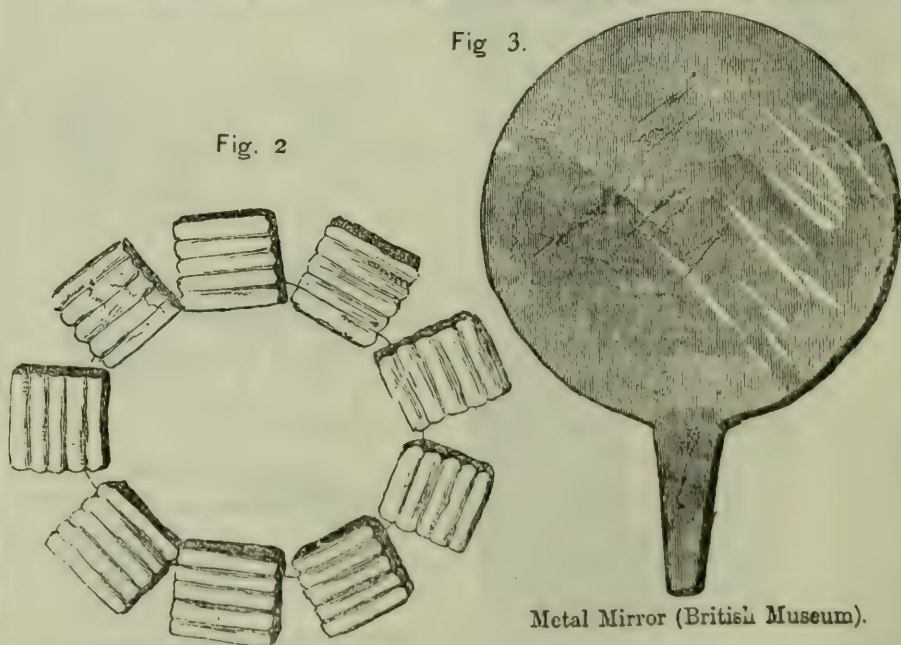
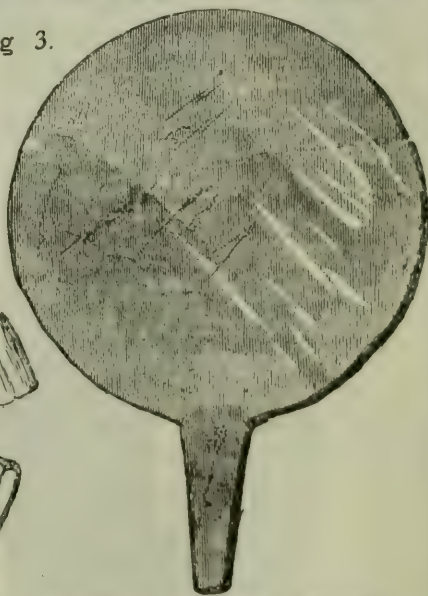


Fig. 2

Necklace of Flat Beads (British Museum).

Fig 3.



Metal Mirror (British Museum).

house, which was already connected with the royal race of the Sargonids.⁶²⁴

Shortly after his second Egyptian expedition, Asshur-bani-pal seems to have invaded Asia Minor. Crossing the Taurus range, he penetrated to a region never before visited by any Assyrian monarch;⁶²⁵ and, having reduced various towns in these parts and returned to Nineveh, he received an embassy of a very unusual character. "Gyges, king of Lydia,"⁶²⁶ he tells us, "a country on the sea-coast, a remote place, of which the kings his ancestors had never even heard the name, had formerly learnt in a dream the fame of his empire, and had sent officers to his presence to perform homage on his behalf." He now sent a second time to Asshur-bani-pal, and told him that since his submission he had been able to defeat the Cimmerians, who had formerly ravaged his land with impunity; and he begged his acceptance of two Cimmerian chiefs,⁶²⁷ whom he had taken in battle, together with other presents, which Asshur-bani-pal regarded as a "tribute." About the same time the Assyrian monarch repulsed the attack of the "king of Kharbat," on a district of Babylonia, and, having taken Kharbat, transported its inhabitants to Egypt.

After thus displaying his power and extending his dominions towards the south-west, the north-west, and the south-east, Asshur-bani-pal turned his arms towards the north-east, and invaded Minni, or Persarmenia—the mountain-country about Lakes Van and Urumiyeh. Akhsheri, the king, having lost his capital, Izirtu, and several other cities, was murdered by his subjects; and his son, Vahalli, found himself compelled to make submission, and sent an embassy to Nineveh to do homage, with tribute, presents, and hostages. Asshur-bani-pal received the envoys graciously, pardoned Vahalli, and maintained him upon the throne, but forced him to pay a heavy tribute. He also in this expedition conquered a tract called Paddiri, which former kings of Assyria had severed from Minni and made independent, but which Asshur-bani-pal now attached to his own empire, and placed under an Assyrian governor.

A war of some duration followed with Elam, or Susiana, the flames of which at one time extended over almost the whole empire. This war was caused by a transfer of allegiance.⁶²⁸ Certain tribes, pressed by a famine, had passed from Susiana into the territories of Asshur-bani-pal, and were allowed to settle there; but when, the famine being over, they wished to

return to their former country, Asshur-bani-pal would not consent to their withdrawal. Urtaki, the Susianian king, took umbrage at this refusal, and, determining to revenge himself, commenced hostilities by an invasion of Babylonia. Belu-bagar, king of the important Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu,⁶²⁹ assisted him; and Saül-Mugina, in alarm, sent to his brother for protection. An Assyrian army was dispatched to his aid, before which Urtaki fled. He was, however, pursued, caught and defeated. With some difficulty he escaped and returned to Susa, where within a year he died, without having made any fresh effort to injure or annoy his antagonist.

His death was a signal for a domestic revolution which proved very advantageous to the Assyrians. Urtaki had driven his elder brother, Umman-aldas, from the throne,⁶³⁰ and, passing over the rights of his sons, had assumed the supreme authority. At his death, his younger brother, Temin-Umman, seized the crown, disregarding not only the rights of the sons of Umman-aldas, but likewise those of the sons of Urtaki.⁶³¹ As the pretensions of those princes were dangerous, Temin-Umman endeavored to seize their persons with the intention of putting them to death; but they, having timely warning of their danger, fled; and, escaping to Nineveh with their relations and adherents, put themselves under the protection of Asshur-bani-pal. It thus happened that in the expedition which now followed, Asshur-bani-pal had a party which favored him in Elam itself. Temin-Umman, however, aware of this internal weakness, made great efforts to compensate for it by the number of his foreign allies. Two descendants of Merodach-Baladan, who had principalities upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, two mountain chiefs, one of them a blood-connection of the Assyrian crown, two sons of Belu-bagar, sheikh of the Gambulu, and several other inferior chieftains, are mentioned as bringing their troops to his assistance, and fighting in his cause against the Assyrians. All, however, was in vain. Asshur-bani-pal defeated the allies in several engagements, and finally took Temin-Umman prisoner, executed him, and exposed his head over one of the gates of Nineveh. He then divided Elam between two of the sons of Urtaki, Umman-ibi and Tammarit, establishing the former in Susa, and the latter at a town called Khidal in Eastern Susiana.⁶³² Great severities were exercised upon the various princes and nobles who had been captured. A son of Temin-Umman was executed with his father. Several grand-

sons of Merodach-Baladan suffered mutilation. A Chaldæan prince and one of the chieftains of the Gambulu had their tongues torn out by the roots. Another of the Gambulu chiefs was decapitated. Two of the Temin-Umman's principal officers were chained and flayed. Palaya, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, was mutilated. Asshur-bani-pal evidently hoped to strike terror into his enemies by these cruel, and now unusual, punishments, which, being inflicted for the most part upon royal personages, must have made a profound impression on the king-reverencing Asiatics.

The impression made was, however, one of horror rather than of alarm. Scarcely had the Assyrians returned to Nineveh, when fresh troubles broke out. Saül-Mugina, discontented with his position, which was one of complete dependence upon his brother, rebelled, and, declaring himself king of Babylon in his own right, sought and obtained a number of important allies among his neighbors. Umman-ibi, though he had received his crown from Asshur-bani-pal, joined him, seduced by a gift of treasure from the various Babylonian temples. Vaiteha, a powerful Arabian prince, and Nebo-belsumi, a surviving grandson of Merodach-Baladan, came into the confederacy; and Saül-Mugina had fair grounds for expecting that he would be able to maintain his independence. But civil discord—the curse of Elam at this period—once more showed itself, and blighted all these fair prospects. Tammarrit, the brother of Umman-ibi, finding that the latter had sent the flower of his army into Babylonia, marched against him, defeated and slew him, and became king of all Elam. Maintaining, however, the policy of his brother, he entered into alliance with Saül-Mugina, and proceeded to put himself at the head of the Elamitic contingent, which was serving in Babylonia. Here a just Nemesis overtook him. Taking advantage of his absence, a certain Inda-bibi⁶³³ (or Inda-bigas), a mountain-chief from the fastnesses of Luristan, raised a revolt in Elam, and succeeded in seating himself upon the throne. The army in Babylonia declining to maintain the cause of Tammarrit, he was forced to fly and conceal himself, while the Elamitic troops returned home. Saül-Mugina thus lost the most important of his allies at the moment of his greatest danger; for his brother had at length marched against him at the head of an immense army, and was overrunning his northern provinces. Without the Elamites it was impossible for Babylon to contend with Assyria in the open field.

All that Saül-Mugina could do was to defend his towns, which Asshur-bani-pal besieged and took, one after another. The rebel fell into his brother's hands, and suffered a punishment more terrible than any that the relentless conqueror had as yet inflicted on his captured enemies. Others had been mutilated, or beheaded; Saül-Mugina was burnt. The tie of blood, which was held to have aggravated the guilt of his rebellion, was not allowed to be pleaded in mitigation of his sentence.

A pause of some years' duration now occurred. The relations between Assyria and Susiana were unfriendly, but not actually hostile. Inda-bibi had given refuge to Nebo-bel-sumi at the time of Saül-Mugina's discomfiture, and Asshur-bani-pal repeatedly but vainly demanded the surrender of the refugee. He did not, however, attempt to enforce his demand by an appeal to arms; and Inda-bibi might have retained his kingdom in peace, had not domestic troubles arisen to disturb him. He was conspired against by the commander of his archers, a second Umman-aldas, who killed him and occupied his throne. Many pretenders, at the same time, arose in different parts of the country; and Asshur-bani-pal, learning how Elam was distracted, determined on a fresh effort to conquer it. He renewed his demand for the surrender of Nebo-bel-sumi, who would have been given up had he not committed suicide. Not content with this success, he (ab. B.C. 645) invaded Elam, besieged and took Bit-Imbi, which had been strongly fortified, and drove Umman-aldas out of the plain country into the mountains. Susa and Badaca, together with twenty-four other cities, fell into his power; and Western Elam being thus at his disposal, he placed it under the government of Tammarit, who, after his flight from Babylonia, had become a refugee at the Assyrian court. Umman-aldas retained the sovereignty of Eastern Elam.

But it was not long before fresh changes occurred. Tammarit, finding himself little more than a puppet-king in the hands of the Assyrians, formed a plot to massacre all the foreign troops left to garrison this country, and so to make himself an independent monarch. His intentions, however, were discovered, and the plot failed. The Assyrians seized him, put him in bonds, and sent him to Nineveh. Western Elam passed under purely military rule, and suffered, it is probable, extreme severities. Under these circumstances, Umman-aldas took heart, and made ready, in the fastnesses to which he had fled, for another and a final effort. Having levied a vast

army, he, in the spring of the next year, made himself once more master of Bit-Imbi, and, establishing himself there, prepared to resist the Assyrians. Their forces shortly appeared; and, unable to hold the place against their assaults, Umman-aldas evacuated it with his troops, and fought a retreating fight all the way back to Susa, holding the various strong towns and rivers⁶³⁴ in succession. Gallant, however, as was his resistance, it proved ineffectual. The lines of defence which he chose were forced, one after another; and finally both Susa and Badaca were taken, and the country once more lay at Asshur-bani-pal's mercy. All the towns made their submission. Asshur-bani-pal, burning with anger at their revolt, plundered the capital of its treasures,⁶³⁵ and gave the other cities up to be spoiled by his soldiers for the space of a month and twenty-three days. He then formally abolished Susianian independence, and attached the country as a province to the Assyrian empire. Thus ended the Susianian war,⁶³⁶ after it had lasted, with brief interruptions, for the space of (probably) twelve years.

The full occupation given to the Assyrian arms by this long struggle encouraged revolt in other quarters. It was probably about the time when Asshur-bani-pal was engaged in the thick of the contest with Umman-ibi and Saül-Mugina that Psammetichus declared himself independent in Egypt, and commenced a war against the princes who remained faithful to their Assyrian suzerain. Gyges, too, in the far north-west, took the opportunity to break with the formidable power with which he had recently thought it prudent to curry favor, and sent aid to the Egyptian rebel, which rendered him effective service.⁶³⁷ Egypt freed herself from the Assyrian yoke, and entered on the prosperous period which is known as that of the twenty-sixth (Saite) dynasty. Gyges was less fortunate. Assailed shortly by a terrible enemy,⁶³⁸ which swept with resistless force over his whole land, he lost his life in the struggle. Assyria was well and quickly avenged; and Ardys, the new monarch, hastened to resume the deferential attitude toward Asshur-bani-pal which his father had unwisely relinquished.

Asshur-bani-pal's next important war was against the Arabs. Some of the desert tribes had, as already mentioned, lent assistance to Saül-Mugina during his revolt against his suzerain, and it was to punish this audacity that Asshur-bani-pal undertook his expedition. His principal enemy was a certain

Vaiteha, who had for allies Natun, or Nathan, king of the Nabathæans, and Ammu-ladin, king of Kedar. The fighting seems to have extended along the whole country bordering the Euphrates valley from the Persian Gulf to Syria,⁶³⁹ and thence southwards by Damascus to Petra. Petra itself, Muhab (or Moab), Hudumimukrab (Edom), Zaharri (perhaps Zoar), and several other cities were taken by the Assyrians. The final battle was fought at a place called Khukhuruna, in the mountains near Damascus, where the Arabians were defeated with great slaughter, and the two chiefs who had led the Arab contingent to the assistance of Saül-Mugina were made prisoners by the Assyrians. Asshur-bani-pal had them conducted to Nineveh, and there publicly executed.

The annals of Asshur-bani-pal here terminate.⁶⁴⁰ They exhibit him to us as a warrior more enterprising and more powerful than any of his predecessors, and as one who enlarged in almost every direction the previous limits of the empire. In Egypt he completed the work which his father Esar-haddon had begun, and established the Assyrian dominion for some years, not only at Sais and at Memphis, but at Thebes. In Asia Minor he carried the Assyrian arms far beyond any former king, conquering large tracts which had never before been invaded, and extending the reputation of his greatness to the extreme western limits of the continent. Against his northern neighbors he contended with unusual success, and towards the close of his reign he reckoned, not only the Minni, but the Urarda, or true Armenians, among his tributaries.⁶⁴¹ Towards the south, he added to the empire the great country of Susiana, never subdued until his reign; and on the west, he signally chastised if he did not actually conquer, the Arabs.

To his military ardor Asshur-bani-pal added a passionate addiction to the pleasure of the chase. Lion-hunting was his especial delight. Sometimes along the banks of reedy streams, sometimes borne mid-channel in his pleasure galley, he sought the king of beasts in his native haunts, roused him by means of hounds and beaters from his lair, and despatched him with his unerring arrows.⁶⁴² Sometimes he enjoyed the sport in his own park of paradise. Large and fierce beasts, brought from a distance, were placed in traps about the grounds,⁶⁴³ and on his approach were set free from their confinement, while he drove among them in his chariot, letting fly his shafts at each with a strong and steady hand, which rarely failed to attain

the mark it aimed at. Aided only by two or three attendants armed with spears, he would encounter the terrific spring of the bolder beasts, who rushed frantically at the royal marksman and endeavored to tear him from the chariot-board. Sometimes he would even voluntarily quit this vantage-ground, and, engaging with the brutes on the same level, without the protection of armor, in his everyday dress, with a mere fillet upon his head, he would dare a close combat, and smite them with sword or spear through the heart.⁶⁴⁴

When the supply of lions fell short, or when he was satiated with this kind of sport, Asshur-bani-pal would vary his occupation, and content himself with game of an inferior description. Wild bulls were probably no longer found in Assyria or the adjacent countries,⁶⁴⁵ so that he was precluded from the sport which, next to the chase of the lion, occupied and delighted the earlier monarchs. He could indulge, however, freely in the chase of the wild ass—still to this day a habitant of the Mesopotamian region;⁶⁴⁶ and he would hunt the stag, the hind, and the ibex or wild goat. In these tamer kinds of sport he seems, however, to have indulged only occasionally—as a light relaxation scarcely worthy of a great king.

Asshur-bani-pal is the only one of the Assyrian monarchs to whom we can ascribe a real taste for learning and literature. The other kings were content to leave behind them some records of the events of their reigns, inscribed on cylinders, slabs, bulls, or lions, and a few dedicatory inscriptions, addresses to the gods whom they especially worshipped. Asshur-bani-pal's literary tastes were far more varied—indeed they were all-embracing. It seems to have been under his direction that the vast collection of clay tablets—a sort of Royal Library—was made at Nineveh, from which the British Museum has derived perhaps the most valuable of its treasures. Comparative vocabularies, lists of deities and their epithets, chronological lists of kings and eponyms, records of astronomical observations, grammars, histories, scientific works of various kinds, seems to have been composed in the reign,⁶⁴⁷ and probably at the bidding, of this prince, who devoted to their preservation certain chambers in the palace of his grandfather, where they were found by Mr. Layard. The clay tablets on which they were inscribed lay here in such multitudes—in some instances entire, but more commonly broken into fragments—that they filled the chambers *to the height of a foot or more from the floor.*⁶⁴⁸ Mr. Layard observes with justice that “the docu-

ments thus discovered at Nineveh probably exceed [in amount of writing] all that has yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt."⁶⁴⁹ They have yielded of late years some most interesting results,⁶⁵⁰ and will probably long continue to be a mine of almost inexhaustible wealth to the cuneiform scholar.

As a builder, Asshur-bani-pal aspired to rival, if not even to excel, the greatest of the monarchs who had preceded him. His palace was built on the mound of Koyunjik, within a few hundred yards of the magnificent erection of his grandfather, with which he was evidently not afraid to challenge comparison. It was built on a plan unlike any adopted by former kings. The main building consisted of three arms branching from a common centre, and thus in its general shape resembled a gigantic **T**. The central point was reached by a long ascending gallery lined with sculptures, which led from a gateway, with rooms attached, at a corner of the great court, first a distance of 190 feet in a direction parallel to the top bar of the T, and then a distance of 80 feet in a direction at right angles to this, which brought it down exactly to the central point whence the arms branched. The entire building was thus a sort of cross, with one long arm projecting from the top towards the left or west. The principal apartments were in the lower limb of the cross. Here was a grand hall, running nearly the whole length of the limb, at least 145 feet long by $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, opening towards the east on a great court, paved chiefly with the exquisite patterned slabs of which a specimen has already been given,⁶⁵¹ and communicating towards the west with a number of smaller rooms, and through them with a second court, which looked towards the south-west and the south. The next largest apartment was in the right or eastern arm of the cross. It was a hall 108 feet long by 24 feet wide, divided by a broad doorway in which were two pillar-bases, into a square antechamber of 24 feet each way, and an inner apartment about 80 feet in length. Neither of the two arms of the cross was completely explored; and it is uncertain whether they extended to the extreme edge of the eastern and western courts, thus dividing each of them into two; or whether they only reached into the courts a certain distance. Assuming the latter view as the more probable, the two courts would have measured respectively 310 and 330 feet from the north-west to the south-east, while they must have been from 230 to 250 feet in the opposite

direction. From the comparative privacy of the buildings,⁶⁵² and from the character of the sculptures,⁶⁵³ it appears probable that the left or western arm of the cross formed the *hareem* of the monarch.

The most remarkable feature in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal was the beauty and elaborate character of the ornamentation. The courts were paved with large slabs elegantly patterned. The doorways had sometimes arched tops beautifully adorned with rosettes, lotuses, etc.⁶⁵⁴ The chambers and passages were throughout lined with alabaster slabs, bearing reliefs designed with wonderful spirit, and executed with the most extraordinary minuteness and delicacy. It was here that were found all those exquisite hunting scenes which have furnished its most interesting illustrations to the present history.⁶⁵⁵ Here, too, were the representations of the private life of the monarch, of the trees and flowers of the palace garden,⁶⁵⁶ of the royal galley with its two banks of oars,⁶⁵⁷ of the libation over four dead lions,⁶⁵⁸ of the temple with pillars supported on lions,⁶⁵⁹ and of various bands of musicians, some of which have been already given.⁶⁶⁰ Combined with these peaceful scenes and others of a similar character, as particularly a long train, with game, nets, and dogs, returning from the chase, which formed the adornment of a portion of the ascending passage, were a number of views of sieges and battles, representing the wars of the monarch in Susiana and elsewhere. Reliefs of a character very similar to these last were found by Mr. Layard in certain chambers of the palace of Sennacherib, which had received their ornamentation from Asshur-bani-pal.⁶⁶¹ They were remarkable for the unusual number and small size of the figures, for the variety and spirit of the attitudes, and for the careful finish of all the little details of the scenes represented upon them. Deficient in grouping, and altogether destitute of any artistic unity, they yet give probably the best representation that has come down to us of the confused *mêlée* of an Assyrian battle, showing us at one view, as they do, all the various phases of the flight and pursuit, the capture and treatment of the prisoners, the gathering of the spoil, and the cutting off the heads of the slain. These reliefs form now a portion of our National Collection. A good idea may be formed of them from Mr. Layard's Second Series of Monuments, where they form the subject of five elaborate engravings.⁶⁶²

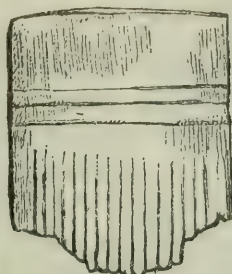
Besides his own great palace at Koyunjik, and his additions to the palace of his grandfather at the same place, Asshur-

bani-pal certainly constructed some building, or buildings, at Nebbi Yunus, where slabs inscribed with his name and an account of his wars have been found.⁶⁶³ If we may regard him as the real monarch whom the Greeks generally intended by their Sardanapalus, we may say that, according to some classical authors, he was the builder of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, and likewise of the neighboring city of Anchialus;⁶⁶⁴ though writers of more authority tells us that Tarsus, at any rate, was built by Sennacherib.⁶⁶⁵ It seems further to have been very generally believed by the Greeks that the tomb of Sardanapalus was in this neighborhood.⁶⁶⁶ They describe it as a monument of some height, crowned by a statue of the monarch, who appeared to be in the act of snapping his fingers. On the stone base was an inscription in Assyrian characters, of which they believed the sense to run as follows:—"Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchialus in one day. Do thou, O stranger, eat, and drink, and amuse thyself; for all the rest of human life is not worth so much as *this*"—"this" meaning the sound which the king was supposed to be making with his fingers. It appears probable that there was some figure of this kind, with an Assyrian inscription below it, near Anchialus; but, as we can scarcely suppose that the Greeks could read the cuneiform writing, the presumed translation of the inscription would seem to be valueless. Indeed, the very different versions of the legend which are given by different writers⁶⁶⁷ sufficiently indicate that they had no real knowledge of its purport. We may conjecture that the monument was in reality a stele containing the king in an arched frame, with the right hand raised above the left, which is the ordinary attitude,⁶⁶⁸ and an inscription below commemorating the occasion of its erection. Whether it was really set up by this king or by one of his predecessors,⁶⁶⁹ we cannot say. The Greeks, who seem to have known more of Asshur-bani-pal than of any other Assyrian monarch, in consequence of his war in Asia Minor and his relations with Gyges and Ardys, are not unlikely to have given his name to any Assyrian monument which they found in these parts, whether in the local tradition it was regarded as his work or no.

Such, then, are the traditions of the Greeks with respect to this monarch. The stories told by Ctesias of a king, to whom he gives the same name, and repeated from him by later writers,⁶⁷⁰ are probably not intended to have any reference to Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon,⁶⁷¹ but rather refer to

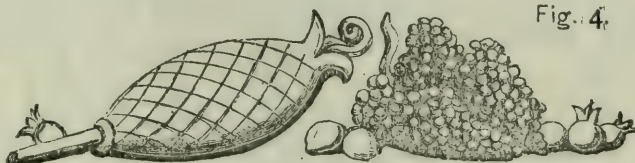


Iron comb.
(British Museum).



Fragment of comb in lapis lazuli.
(British Museum).

Fig. 2



Assyrian Fruits.

(From the Monuments.)

Fig. 4.

Fig. 4



Assyrian joints.

1. Shoulder. 2. Loin,
3. Leg.

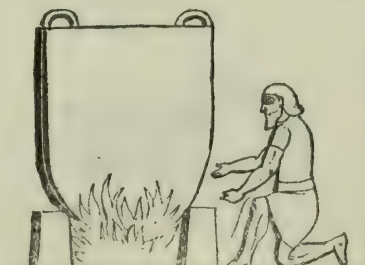
Fig. 3



Frying (Nimrud.)



Killing the sheep (Koyunjik).



Cooking meat in caldron (Koyunjik).



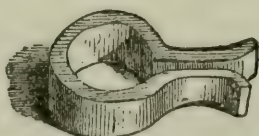
Drinking scene (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



Ornamental wine-cup (Khorsabad).

Fig. 4.



Socket of Hinge (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



Attendant bringing flowers to a banquet (Koyunjik).

his successor, the last king. Even Ctesias could scarcely have ventured to depict to his countrymen the great Asshur-bani-pal, the vanquisher of Tirhakah, the subduer of the tribes beyond the Taurus, the powerful and warlike monarch whose friendship was courted by the rich and prosperous Gyges, king of Lydia,⁶⁷² as a mere voluptuary, who never put his foot outside the palace gates, but dwelt in the seraglio, doing woman's work, and often dressed as a woman. The character of Asshur-bani-pal stands really in the strongest contrast to the description—be it a portrait, or be it a mere sketch from fancy—which Ctesias gives of his Sardanapalus. Asshur-bani-pal was beyond a doubt one of Assyria's greatest kings. He subdued Egypt and Susiana; he held quiet possession of the kingdom of Babylon;⁶⁷³ he carried his arms deep into Armenia; he led his troops across the Taurus, and subdued the barbarous tribes of Asia Minor. When he was not engaged in important wars, he chiefly occupied himself in the chase of the lion, and in the construction and ornamentation of temples⁶⁷⁴ and palaces. His glory was well known to the Greeks. He was no doubt one of the "two kings called Sardanapalus," celebrated by Hellanicus;⁶⁷⁵ he must have been "the warlike Sardanapalus" of Callisthenes;⁶⁷⁶ Herodotus spoke of his great wealth;⁶⁷⁷ and Aristophanes used his name as a by-word for magnificence.⁶⁷⁸ In his reign the Assyrian dominions reached their greatest extent, Assyrian art culminated, and the empire seemed likely to extend itself over the whole of the East. It was then, indeed, that Assyria most completely answered the description of the Prophet—"The Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great; the deep set him up on high with her rivers running about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore 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 the 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*. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him; the fir-trees were not like his boughs; and the chestnut-trees were not like his branches;

nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty."⁶⁷⁹

In one respect, however, Assyria, it is to be feared, had made but little advance beyond the spirit of a comparatively barbarous time. The "lion" still "tore in pieces for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin."⁶⁸⁰ Advancing civilization, more abundant literature, improved art, had not softened the tempers of the Assyrians, nor rendered them more tender and compassionate in their treatment of captured enemies. Sennacherib and Esar-haddon show, indeed, in this respect, some superiority to former kings. They frequently spared their prisoners, even when rebels,⁶⁸¹ and seem seldom to have had recourse to extreme punishments. But Asshur-bani-pal reverted to the antique system⁶⁸² of executions, mutilations, and tortures. We see on his bas-reliefs the unresisting enemy thrust through with the spear, the tongue torn from the mouth of the captive accused of blasphemy, the rebel king beheaded on the field of battle, and the prisoner brought to execution with the head of a friend or brother hung round his neck.⁶⁸³ We see the scourgers preceding the king as his regular attendants, with their whips passed through their girdles;⁶⁸⁴ we behold the operation of flaying performed either upon living or dead men;⁶⁸⁵ we observe those who are about to be executed first struck on the face by the executioner's fist.⁶⁸⁶ Altogether we seem to have evidence, not of mere severity, which may sometimes be a necessary or even a merciful policy, but of a barbarous cruelty, such as could not fail to harden and brutalize alike those who witnessed and those who inflicted it. Nineveh, it is plain, still deserved the epithet of "a bloody city," or "a city of bloods."⁶⁸⁷ Asshur-bani-pal was harsh, vindictive, unsparing, careless of human suffering—nay, glorying in his shame, he not merely practised cruelties, but handed the record of them down to posterity by representing them in all their horrors upon his palace walls.

It has been generally supposed⁶⁸⁸ that Asshur-bani-pal died about B.C. 648 or 647, in which case he would have continued to the end of his life a prosperous and mighty king. But recent discoveries render it probable that his reign was extended to a much greater length—that, in fact, he is to be identified with the Cinneladanus of Ptolemy's Canon, who held the throne of Babylon from B.C. 647 to 626.⁶⁸⁹ If this be so, we must place in the later years of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal

the commencement of Assyria's decline—the change whereby she passed from the assailer to the assailed, from the undisputed primacy of Western Asia to a doubtful and precarious position.

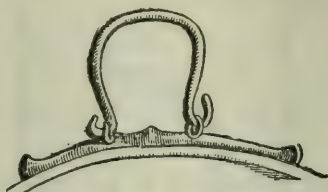
This change was owing, in the first instance, to the rise upon her borders of an important military power in the centralized monarchy, established, about B.C. 640, in the neighboring territory of Media.

The Medes had, it is probable, been for some time growing in strength, owing to the recent arrival in their country of fresh immigrants from the far East. Discarding the old system of separate government and village autonomy, they had joined together and placed themselves under a single monarch; and about the year B.C. 634, when Asshur-bani-pal had been king for thirty-four years, they felt themselves sufficiently strong to undertake an expedition against Nineveh. Their first attack, however, failed utterly. Phraortes, or whoever may have been the real leader of the invading army, was completely defeated by the Assyrians; his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was among the slain.⁶⁹⁰ Still, the very fact that the Medes could now take the offensive and attack Assyria was novel and alarming; it showed a new condition of things in these parts, and foreboded no good to the power which was evidently on the decline and in danger of losing its preponderance. An enterprising warrior would doubtless have followed up the defeat of the invader by attacking him in his own country before he could recover from the severe blow dealt him; but the aged Assyrian monarch appears to have been content with repelling his foe, and made no effort to retaliate. Cyaxares, the successor of the slain Median king, effected at his leisure such arrangements as he thought necessary before repeating his predecessor's attempt.⁶⁹¹ When they were completed—perhaps in B.C. 632—he led his troops into Assyria, defeated the Assyrian forces in the field, and, following up his advantage, appeared before Nineveh and closely invested the town. Nineveh would perhaps have fallen in this year; but suddenly and unexpectedly a strange event recalled the Median monarch to his own country, where a danger threatened him previously unknown in Western Asia.

When at the present day we take a general survey of the world's past history, we see that, by a species of fatality—by a law, that is, whose workings we cannot trace—there issue

from time to time out of the frozen bosom of the North vast hordes of uncouth savages—brave, hungry, countless—who swarm into the fairer southern regions determinedly, irresistibly; like locusts winging their flight into a green land. How such multitudes come to be propagated in countries where life is with difficulty sustained, we do not know; why the impulse suddenly seizes them to quit their old haunts and move steadily in a given direction, we cannot say: but we see that the phenomenon is one of constant recurrence, and we therefore now scarcely regard it as being curious or strange at all. In Asia, Cimmerians, Scythians, Parthians, Mongols, Turks; in Europe, Gauls, Goths, Huns, Avars, Vandals, Burgundians, Lombards, Bulgarians, have successively illustrated the law, and made us familiar with its operation. But there was a time in history before the law had come into force; and its very existence must have been then unsuspected. Even since it began to operate, it has so often undergone prolonged suspension, that the wisest may be excused if, under such circumstances, they cease to bear it in mind, and are as much startled when a fresh illustration of it occurs, as if the like had never happened before. Probably there is seldom an occasion of its coming into play which does not take men more or less by surprise, and rivet their attention by its seeming strangeness and real unexpectedness.

If Western Asia had ever, in the remote ages before the Assyrian monarchy was established, been subject to invasions of this character—which is not improbable⁶⁹²—at any rate so long a period had elapsed since the latest of them, that in the reigns of Asshur-pani-pal and Cyaxares they were wholly forgotten and the South reposed in happy unconsciousness of a danger which might at any time have burst upon it, had the Providence which governs the world so willed. The Asiatic steppes had long teemed with a nomadic population, of a war-like temper, and but slightly attached to its homes, which ignorance of its own strength and of the weakness and wealth of its neighbors had alone prevented from troubling the great empires of the South. Geographic difficulties had at once prolonged the period of ignorance, and acted as obstructions, if ever the idea arose of pushing exploring parties into the southern regions; the Caucasus, the Caspian, the sandy deserts of Khiva and Kharesm, and the great central Asiatic mountain-chains, forming barriers which naturally restrained the northern hordes from progressing in this direction. But a



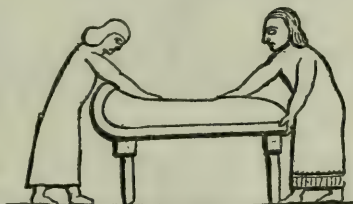
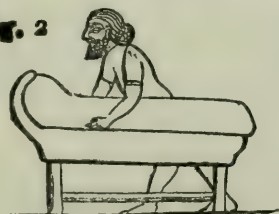
Dish handles (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Assyrians seated on stools (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2



Making the bed (Koyunjik).



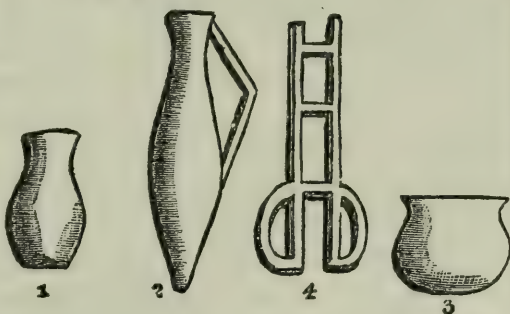
Bronze ladle (Nimrud).

Fig. 5.



Hanging garden (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



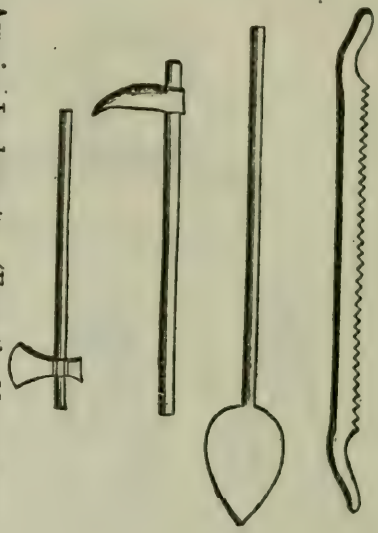
Domestic Utensils.

Fig. 7



Assyrians drawing a hand-cart (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



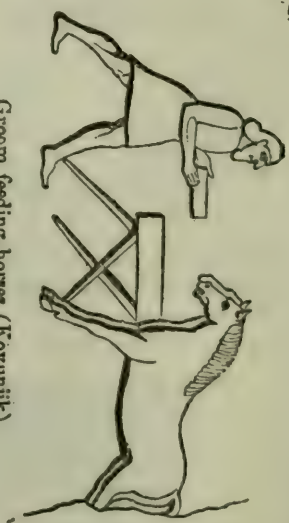
Assyrian Implements. (From the Monuments.)

Fig. 3.



Assyrian close carriage or litter. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

Fig. 2.



Groom feeding horses (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



Groom currying a horse.

time had now arrived when these causes were no longer to operate; the line of demarcation which had so long separated North and South was to be crossed; the flood-gates were to be opened, and the stream of northern emigration was to pour itself in a resistless torrent over the fair and fertile regions from which it had hitherto been barred out. Perhaps population had increased beyond all former precedent; perhaps a spirit of enterprise had arisen; possibly some slight accident—the exploration of a hunter hard pressed for food, the chattering tongue of a merchant, the invitation of a traitor⁶⁹³—may have dispelled the ignorance of earlier times, and brought to the knowledge of the hardy North the fact that beyond the mountains and the seas, which they had always regarded as the extreme limit of the world, there lay a rich prey inviting the coming of the spoiler.

The condition of the northern barbarians, less than two hundred years after this time, has been graphically portrayed by two of the most observant of the Greeks, who themselves visited the Steppe country to learn the character and customs of the people. Where civilization is unknown, changes are so slow and slight, that we may reasonably regard the descriptions of Herodotus and Hippocrates, though drawn in the fifth century before our era, as applying, in all their main points, to the same race two hundred years earlier. These writers describe the Sycthians as a people coarse and gross in their habits, with large fleshy bodies, loose joints, soft swollen bellies, and scanty hair.⁶⁹⁴ They never washed themselves;⁶⁹⁵ their nearest approach to ablution was a vapor-bath,⁶⁹⁶ or the application of a paste to their bodies which left them glossy on its removal.⁶⁹⁷ They lived either in wagons,⁶⁹⁸ or in felt tents of a simple and rude construction;⁶⁹⁹ and subsisted on mare's milk and cheese,⁷⁰⁰ to which the boiled flesh of horses and cattle was added, as a rare delicacy, occasionally.⁷⁰¹ In war their customs were very barbarous. The Scythian who slew an enemy in battle immediately proceeded to drink his blood. He then cut off the head, which he exhibited to his king in order to obtain his share of the spoil; after which he stripped the scalp from the skull and hung it on his bridle-rein as a trophy. Sometimes he flayed his dead enemy's right arm and hand, and used the skin as a covering for his quiver. The upper portion of the skull he commonly made into a drinking-cup.⁷⁰² The greater part of each day he spent on horseback, in attendance on the huge herds of cattle which he

pastured. His favorite weapon was the bow, which he used as he rode, shooting his arrows with great precision.⁷⁰³ He generally carried, besides his bow and arrows, a short spear or javelin, and sometimes bore also a short sword or a battle-axe.⁷⁰⁴ [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 3.]

The nation of the Scythians comprised within it a number of distinct tribes.⁷⁰⁵ At the head of all was a royal tribe, corresponding to the "Golden Horde" of the Mongols, which was braver and more numerous than any other, and regarded all the remaining tribes in the light of slaves. To this belonged the families of the kings, who ruled by hereditary right, and seem to have exercised a very considerable authority.⁷⁰⁶ We often hear of several kings as bearing rule at the same time; but there is generally some indication of disparity, from which we gather that—in times of danger at any rate—the supreme power was really always lodged in the hands of a single man.

The religion of the Scythians was remarkable, and partook of the barbarity which characterized most of their customs. They worshipped the Sun and Moon, Fire, Air, Earth, Water, and a god whom Herodotus calls Hercules.⁷⁰⁷ But their principal religious observance was the worship of the naked sword. The country was parcelled out into districts, and in every district was a huge pile of brushwood, serving as a temple to the neighborhood, at the top of which was planted an antique sword or scimitar.⁷⁰⁸ On a stated day in each year solemn sacrifices, human and animal, were offered at these shrines; and the warm blood of the victims was carried up from below and poured upon the weapon. The human victims—prisoners taken in war—were hewn to pieces at the foot of the mound, and their limbs wildly tossed on high by the votaries, who then retired, leaving the bloody fragments where they chanced to fall. The Scythians seem to have had no priest caste; but they believed in divination; and the diviners formed a distinct class which possessed important powers. They were sent for whenever the king was ill, to declare the cause of his illness, which they usually attributed to the fact that an individual, whom they named, had sworn falsely by the Royal Hearth. Those accused in this way, if found guilty by several bodies of diviners, were beheaded for the offence, and their original accusers received their property.⁷⁰⁹ It must have been important to keep on good terms with persons who wielded such a power as this.

Such were the most striking customs of the Scythians

people, or at any rate of the Scythians of Herodotus, who were the dominant race over a large portion of the Steppe country.⁷¹⁰ Coarse and repulsive in their appearance, fierce in their tempers, savage in their habits, not individually very brave, but powerful by their numbers, and by a mode of warfare which was difficult to meet, and in which long use had given them great expertness, they were an enemy who might well strike alarm even into a nation so strong and warlike as the Medes. Pouring through the passes of the Caucasus—whence coming or what intending none knew⁷¹¹—horde after horde of Scythians blackened the rich plains of the South. On they came, as before observed, like a flight of locusts, countless, irresistible—swarming into Iberia and Upper Media—finding the land before them a garden, and leaving it behind them a howling wilderness. Neither age nor sex would be spared. The inhabitants of the open country and of the villages, if they did not make their escape to high mountain tops or other strongholds, would be ruthlessly massacred by the invaders, or at best, forced to become their slaves.⁷¹² The crops would be consumed, the herds swept off or destroyed, the villages and homesteads burnt, the whole country made a scene of desolation. Their ravages would resemble those of the Huns when they poured into Italy,⁷¹³ or of the Bulgarians when they overran the fairest provinces of the Byzantine Empire.⁷¹⁴ In most instances the strongly fortified towns would resist them, unless they had patience to sit down before their walls and by a prolonged blockade to starve them into submission. Sometimes, before things reached this point, they might consent to receive a tribute and to retire. At other times, convinced that by perseverance they would reap a rich reward, they may have remained till the besieged city fell, when there must have ensued an indescribable scene of havoc, rapine, and bloodshed. According to the broad expression of Herodotus, the Scythians were masters of the whole of Western Asia from the Caucasus to the borders of Egypt for the space of twenty-eight years.⁷¹⁵ This statement is doubtless an exaggeration; but still it would seem to be certain that the great invasion of which he speaks was not confined to Media, but extended to the adjacent countries of Armenia and Assyria, whence it spread to Syria and Palestine. The hordes probably swarmed down from Media through the Zagros passes into the richest portion of Assyria, the flat country between the mountains and the Tigris. Many of the old cities, rich with the

accumulated stores of ages, were besieged, and perhaps taken, and their palaces wantonly burnt, by the barbarous invaders. The tide then swept on. Wandering from district to district, plundering everywhere, settling nowhere, the clouds of horse passed over Mesopotamia, the force of the invasion becoming weaker as it spread itself, until in Syria it reached its term through the policy of the Egyptian king, Psammetichus. This monarch, who was engaged in the siege of Ashdod,⁷¹⁶ no sooner heard of the approach of a great Scythian host, which threatened to overrun Egypt, and had advanced as far as Ascalon, than he sent ambassadors to their leader and prevailed on him by rich gifts to abstain from his enterprise.⁷¹⁷ From this time the power of the invaders seems to have declined. Their strength could not but suffer by the long series of battles, sieges, and skirmishes in which they were engaged year after year against enemies in nowise contemptible; it would likewise deteriorate through their excesses;⁷¹⁸ and it may even have received some injury from intestine quarrels. After awhile, the nations whom they had overrun, whose armies they had defeated, and whose cities they had given to the flames, began to recover themselves. Cyaxares, it is probable, commenced an aggressive war against such of the invaders as had remained within the limits of his dominions, and soon drove them beyond his borders.⁷¹⁹ Other kings may have followed his example. In a little while—long, probably, before the twenty-eight years of Herodotus had expired—the Scythian power was completely broken. Many bands may have returned across the Caucasus into the Steppe country. Others submitted, and took service under the native rulers of Asia.⁷²⁰ Great numbers were slain; and except in a province of Armenia which henceforward became known as Sacasêné,⁷²¹ and perhaps in one Syrian town, which we find called Scythopolis,⁷²² the invaders left no trace of their brief but terrible inroad.

If we have been right in supposing that the Scythian attack fell with as much severity on the Assyrians as on any other Asiatic people, we can scarcely be in error if we ascribe to this cause the rapid and sudden decline of the empire at this period. The country had been ravaged and depopulated, the provinces had been plundered, many of the great towns had been taken and sacked, the palaces of the old kings had been burnt,⁷²³ and all the gold and silver that was not hid away had been carried off. Assyria, when the Scythians quitted her, was but the

Fig. I.



Fig. II.



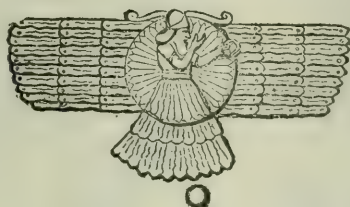
Fig. III.



Fig. 1.

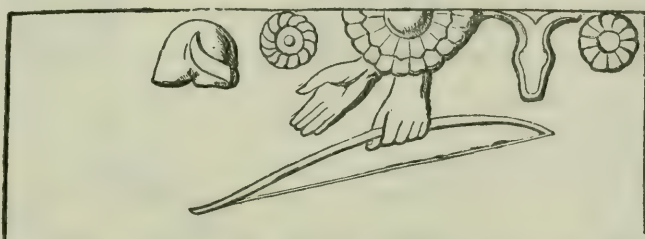
Fig 3

Fig. IV.



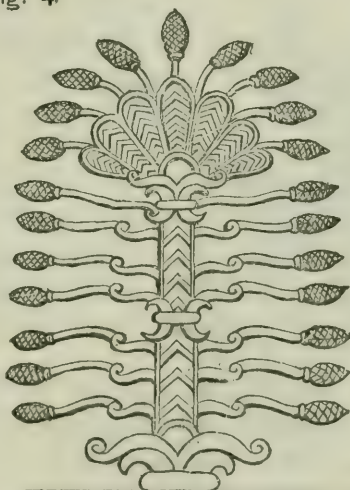
Curious emblem of Asshur.
(From the signet cylinder
of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 2.



Emblems of the principal gods. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

Fig. 4.



Simplest forms of the Sacred Tree (Nimrud).



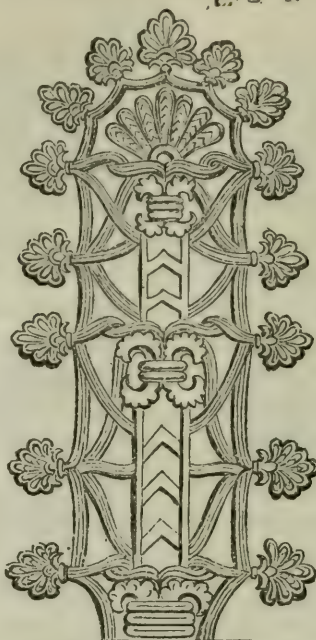
The Moon-god (from a cylinder).



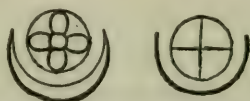
The god of the atmosphere (from a cylinder).



Winged figure in horned cap (Nimrud).



Sacred Tree—final and most elaborate type. (Nimrud.)

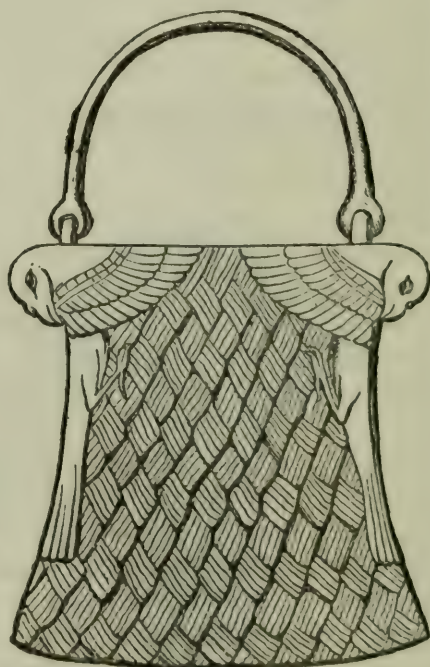


Emblems of the sun and moon (from cylinders).



The hawk-eyed genius. (Khorsabad).

Fig. 6.



The sacrea basket (Khorsabad).

shadow of her former self. Weak and exhausted, she seemed to invite a permanent conqueror. If her limits had not much shrunk, if the provinces still acknowledged her authority, it was from habit rather than from fear, or because they too had suffered greatly from the northern barbarians. We find Babylon subject to Assyria to the very last;⁷²⁴ and we seem to see that Judæa passed from the rule of the Assyrians under that of the Babylonians, without any interval of independence or any need of re-conquest. But if these two powers at the south-eastern and the south-western extremities of the empire continued faithful, the less distant nations could scarcely have thrown off the yoke.

Asshur-bani-pal, then, on the withdrawal of the barbarians, had still an empire to rule, and he may be supposed to have commenced some attempts at re-organizing and re-invigorating the governmental system to which the domination of the Scyths must have given a rude shock. But he had not time to effect much. In B.C. 626 he died, after a reign of forty-two years, and was succeeded by his son, Asshur-emid-ilin, whom the Greeks called Saracus. Of this prince we possess but few native records; and, unless it should be thought that the picture which Ctesias gave of the character and conduct of his last Assyrian king deserves to be regarded as authentic history, and to be attached to this monarch, we must confess to an almost equal dearth of classical notices of his life and actions. Scarcely anything has come down to us from his time but a few legends on bricks,⁷²⁵ from which it appears that he was the builder of the south-east edifice at Nimrud, a construction presenting some remarkable but no very interesting features. The classical notices, apart from the tales which Ctesias originated, are limited to a few sentences in Abydenus,⁷²⁶ and a word or two in Polyhistor.⁷²⁷ Thus nearly the same obscurity which enfolds the earlier portion of the history gathers about the monarch in whose person the empire terminated; and instead of the ample details which have crowded upon us now for many consecutive reigns, we shall be reduced to a meagre outline, partly resting upon conjecture, in our portraiture of this last king.

Saracus, as the monarch may be termed after Abydenus, ascended the throne at a most difficult and dangerous crisis in his country's history. Assyria was exhausted; and perhaps half depopulated by the Scythic ravages. The bands which united the provinces to the sovereign state, though not broken,

had been weakened, and rebellion threatened to break out in various quarters.⁷²⁸ Ruin had overtaken many of the provincial towns; and it would require a vast outlay to restore their public buildings. But the treasury was wellnigh empty, and did not allow the new monarch to adopt in his buildings the grand and magnificent style of former kings. Still Saracus attempted something. At Calah he began the construction of a building which apparently was intended for a palace, but which contrasts most painfully with the palatial erections of former kings. The waning glory of the monarchy was made patent both to the nation and to strangers by an edifice where coarse slabs of common limestone, unsculptured and uninscribed, replaced the alabaster bas-reliefs of former times; and where a simple plaster above the slabs⁷²⁹ was the substitute for the richly-patterned enamelled bricks of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal. A set of small chambers, of which no one exceeded forty-five feet in length and twenty-five feet in its greatest breadth, sufficed for the last Assyrian king, whose shrunken Court could no longer have filled the vast halls of his ancestors. The Nimrud palace of Saracus seems to have covered less than one-half of the space occupied by any former palace upon the mound; it had no grand façade, no magnificent gateway; the rooms, curiously misshapen,⁷³⁰ as if taste had declined with power and wealth, were mostly small and inconvenient, running in suites which opened into one another without any approaches from courts or passages, roughly paved with limestone flags, and composed of sun-dried bricks faced with limestone and plaster. That Saracus should have been reduced even to contemplate residing in this poor and mean dwelling is the strongest possible proof of Assyria's decline and decay at a period preceding the great war which led to her destruction.

It is possible that this edifice may not have been completed at the time of Saracus's death, and in that case we may suppose that its extreme rudeness would have received certain embellishments had he lived to finish the structure. While it was being erected, he must have resided elsewhere. Apparently, he held his court at Nineveh during this period; and it was certainly there that he made his last arrangements for defence,⁷³¹ and his final stand against the enemy, who took advantage of his weak condition to press forward the conquest of the empire.

The Medes, in their strong upland country, abounding in

rocky hills, and running up in places into mountain-chains, had probably suffered much less from the ravages of the Scyths than the Assyrians in their comparatively defenceless plains. Of all the nations exposed to the scourge of the invasion they were evidently the first to recover themselves,⁷³² partly from the local causes here noticed, partly perhaps from their inherent vigor and strength. If Herodotus's date for the original inroad of the Scythians is correct,⁷³³ not many years can have elapsed before the tide of war turned, and the Medes began to make head against their assailants, recovering possession of most parts of their country, and expelling or overpowering the hordes at whose insolent domination they had chafed from the first hour of the invasion. It was probably as early as B.C. 627, five years after the Scyths crossed the Caucasus, according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares, having sufficiently re-established his power in Media, began once more to aspire after foreign conquests. Casting his eyes around upon the neighboring countries, he became aware of the exhaustion of Assyria, and perceived that she was not likely to offer an effectual resistance to a sudden and vigorous attack. He therefore collected a large army and invaded Assyria from the east, while it would seem that the Susianians, with whom he had perhaps made an alliance, attacked her from the south.⁷³⁴

To meet this double danger, Saracus, the Assyrian king, determined on dividing his forces; and, while he entrusted a portion of them to a general, Nabopolassar, who had orders to proceed to Babylon and engage the enemy advancing from the sea, he himself with the remainder made ready to receive the Medes. In idea this was probably a judicious disposition of the troops at his disposal; it was politic to prevent a junction of the two assailing powers, and, as the greater danger was that which threatened from the Medes, it was well for the king to reserve himself with the bulk of his forces to meet this enemy. But the most prudent arrangements may be disconcerted by the treachery of those who are entrusted with their execution; and so it was in the present instance. The faithless Nabopolassar saw in his sovereign's difficulty his own opportunity; and, instead of marching against Assyria's enemies, as his duty required him, he secretly negotiated an arrangement with Cyaxares, agreed to become his ally against the Assyrians, and obtained the Median king's daughter as a bride for Nebuchadnezzar, his eldest son.⁷³⁵ Cyaxares and Nabopo-

lassar then joined their efforts against Nineveh; ⁷³⁶ and Saracus, unable to resist them, took counsel of his despair, and, after all means of resistance were exhausted, burned himself in his palace.⁷³⁷ It is uncertain whether we possess any further historical details of the siege. The narrative of Ctesias may embody a certain number of the facts, as it certainly represented with truth the strange yet not incredible termination.⁷³⁸ But on the other hand, we cannot feel sure, with regard to any statement made solely by that writer, that it has any other source than his imagination. Hence the description of the last siege of Nineveh, as given by Diodorus on the authority of Ctesias, seems undeserving of a place in history, though the attention of the curious may properly be directed to it.⁷³⁹

The empire of the Assyrians thus fell, not so much from any inherent weakness, or from the effect of gradual decay, as by an unfortunate combination of circumstances—the occurrence of a terrible inroad of northern barbarians just at the time when a warlike nation, long settled on the borders of Assyria, and within a short distance of her capital, was increasing, partly by natural and regular causes, partly by accidental and abnormal ones, in greatness and strength. It will be proper, in treating of the history of Media, to trace out, as far as our materials allow, these various causes, and to examine the mode and extent of their operation. But such an inquiry is not suited for this place, since, if fully made, it would lead us too far away from our present subject, which is the history of Assyria; while, if made partially, it would be unsatisfactory. It is therefore deferred to another place. The sketch here attempted of Assyrian history will now be brought to a close by a few observations on the general nature of the monarchy, or its extent in the most flourishing period, and on the character of its civilization.⁷⁴⁰

The independent kingdom of Assyria covered a space of at least a thousand years; but the empire can, at the utmost, be considered to have lasted a period short of seven centuries, from B.C. 1300 to B.C. 625 or 624—the date of the conquest of Cyaxares. In reality, the period of extensive domination seems to have commenced with Asshur-ris-ilim,⁷⁴¹ about B.C. 1150, so that the duration of the true empire did not much exceed five centuries. The limits of the dominion varied considerably within this period, the empire expanding or contracting according to the circumstances of the time and the personal character of the prince by whom the throne was occupied.

The extreme extent appears not to have been reached until almost immediately before the last rapid decline set in, the widest dominion belonging to the time of Asshur-bani-pal, the conqueror of Egypt, of Susiana, and of the Armenians.⁷⁴² In the middle part of this prince's reign Assyria was paramount over the portion of Western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, the Caspian Sea and the great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line, which did not in the most flourishing period extend so far as the northern frontier of Armenia. Besides her Asiatic dominions, Assyria possessed also at this time a portion of Africa, her authority being acknowledged by Egypt as far as the latitude of Thebes. The countries included within the limits thus indicated, and subject during the period in question to Assyrian influence, were chiefly the following: Susiana, Chaldæa, Babylonia, Media, Matiene or the Zagros range, Mesopotamia; parts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia; Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, a portion of Arabia, and almost the whole of Egypt. The island of Cyprus was also, it is probable, a dependency. On the other hand, Persia Proper, Bactria, and Sogdiana, even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north did not on this side reach further than about the neighborhood of Kasvin, and towards the south was confined within the barrier of Zagros. Similarly on the west, Phrygia, Lydia,⁷⁴³ Lycia, even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never, so far as appears, penetrated westward beyond Cilicia or crossed the river Halys.

The nature of the dominion established by the great Mesopotamian monarchy over the countries included within the limits above indicated, will perhaps be best understood if we compare it with the empire of Solomon. Solomon "*reigned over all the kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life.*"⁷⁴⁴ The first and most striking feature of the earliest empires is that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms: the countries over which the dominant state acquires an influence, not only retain their distinct individuality, as is the case in some modern empires,⁷⁴⁵ but remain in all respects such as they were

before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole internal organization and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty which binds them to the performance of certain duties towards the Head of the Empire. These duties, as understood in the earliest times, may be summed up in the two words "homage" and "tribute;" the subject kings "serve" and "bring presents." They are bound to acts of submission; must attend the court of their suzerain when summoned,⁷⁴⁶ unless they have a reasonable excuse; must there salute him as a superior, and otherwise acknowledge his rank;⁷⁴⁷ above all, they must pay him regularly the fixed tribute which has been imposed upon them at the time of their submission or subjection, the unauthorized withholding of which is open and avowed rebellion.⁷⁴⁸ Finally, they must allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion by way of their country on the part of his enemies.⁷⁴⁹ Such are the earliest and most essential obligations on the part of the subject states in an empire of the primitive type like that of Assyria; and these obligations, with the corresponding one on the part of the dominant power of the protection of its dependants against foreign foes, appear to have constituted the sole links⁷⁵⁰ which joined together in one the heterogeneous materials of which that empire consisted.

It is evident that a government of the character here described contains within it elements of constant disunion and disorder. Under favorable circumstances, with an active and energetic prince upon the throne, there is an appearance of strength, and a realization of much magnificence and grandeur. The subject monarchs pay annually their due share of "the regulated tribute of the empire;"⁷⁵¹ and the better to secure the favor of their common sovereign, add to it presents, consisting of the choicest productions of their respective kingdoms.⁷⁵² The material resources of the different countries are placed at the disposal of the dominant power;⁷⁵³ and skilled workmen⁷⁵⁴ are readily lent for the service of the court, who adorn or build the temples and the royal residences, and transplant the luxuries and refinements of their several states to the imperial capital. But no sooner does any untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy, or even an untimely and unexpected

death of the reigning prince, than the inherent weakness of this sort of government at once displays itself—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder—each kingdom re-asserts its independence—tribute ceases to be paid—and the mistress of a hundred states suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition, stripped of the dominion which has been her strength, and thrown entirely upon her own resources. Then the whole task of reconstruction has to be commenced anew—one by one the rebel countries are overrun, and the rebel monarchs chastised—tribute is re-imposed, submission enforced, and in fifteen or twenty years the empire has perhaps recovered itself. Progress is of course slow and uncertain, where the empire has continually to be built up again from its foundations, and where at any time a day may undo the work which it has taken centuries to accomplish.

To discourage and check the chronic disease of rebellion, recourse is had to severe remedies, which diminish the danger to the central power, at the cost of extreme misery and often almost entire ruin to the subject kingdoms. Not only are the lands wasted, the flocks and herds carried off,⁷⁵⁵ the towns pillaged and burnt, or in some cases razed to the ground, the rebel king deposed and his crown transferred to another, the people punished by the execution of hundreds or thousands,⁷⁵⁶ as well as by an augmentation of the tribute money;⁷⁵⁷ but sometimes wholesale deportation of the inhabitants is practised, tens or hundreds of thousands being carried away captive by the conquerors,⁷⁵⁸ and either employed in servile labor at the capital,⁷⁵⁹ or settled as colonists in a distant province. With this practice the history of the Jews, in which it forms so prominent a feature, has made us familiar. It seems to have been known to the Assyrians from very early times,⁷⁶⁰ and to have become by degrees a sort of settled principle in their government. In the most flourishing period of their dominion—the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon—it prevailed most widely, and was carried to the greatest extent. Chaldæans were transported into Armenia,⁷⁶¹ Jews and Israelites into Assyria and Media,⁷⁶² Arabians, Babylonians, Susianians, and Persians into Palestine⁷⁶³—the most distant portions of the empire changed inhabitants, and no sooner did a people become troublesome from its patriotism and love of independence, than it was weakened by dispersion, and its spirit subdued by a severance of all its local associations. Thus rebellion was in some measure kept down, and the posi-

tion of the central or sovereign state was rendered so far more secure; but this comparative security was gained by a great sacrifice of strength, and when foreign invasion came, the subject kingdoms, weakened at once and alienated by the treatment which they had received, were found to have neither the will nor the power to give any effectual aid to their enslaver.⁷⁶⁴

Such, in its broad and general outlines, was the empire of the Assyrians. It embodied the earliest, simplest, and most crude conception which the human mind forms of a widely extended dominion. It was a "kingdom-empire," like the empires of Solomon, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Chedor-laomer,⁷⁶⁵ and probably of Cyaxares, and it the best specimen of its class, being the largest, the longest in duration, and the best known of all such governments that has existed. It exhibits in a marked way both the strength and weakness of this class of monarchies—their strength in the extraordinary magnificence, grandeur, wealth, and refinement of the capital; their weakness in the impoverishment, the exhaustion, and the consequent disaffection of the subject states. Ever falling to pieces, it was perpetually reconstructed by the genius and prowess of a long succession of warrior princes, seconded by the skill and bravery of the people. Fortunate in possessing for a long time no very powerful neighbor,⁷⁶⁶ it found little difficulty in extending itself throughout regions divided and subdivided among hundreds of petty chiefs,⁷⁶⁷ incapable of union, and singly quite unable to contend with the forces of a large and populous country. Frequently endangered by revolts, yet always triumphing over them, it maintained itself for five centuries, gradually advancing its influence, and was only overthrown after a fierce struggle by a new kingdom⁷⁶⁸ formed upon its borders, which, taking advantage of a time of exhaustion, and leagued with the most powerful of the subject states, was enabled to accomplish the destruction of the long-dominant people.

In the curt and dry records of the Assyrian monarchs, while the broad outlines of the government are well marked, it is difficult to distinguish those nicer shades of system and treatment which no doubt existed, and in which the empire of the Assyrians differed probably from others of the same type. One or two such points, however, may perhaps be made out. In the first place, though religious uniformity is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in

many of the wars,⁷⁶⁹ and attempts at any rate seem to be made to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria. Nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" or "altars to the Great Gods." In some instances not only altars but temples are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted. The history of Judæa is, however, enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases.⁷⁷⁰

Secondly, there is an indication that in certain countries immediately bordering on Assyria endeavors were made from time to time to centralize and consolidate the empire, by substituting, on fit occasions, for the native chiefs, Assyrian officers as governors. The persons appointed are of two classes—"collectors" and "treasurers." Their special business is, of course, as their names imply, to gather in the tribute due to the Great King, and secure its safe transmission to the capital; but they seem to have been, at least in some instances, entrusted with the civil government of their respective districts.⁷⁷¹ It does not appear that this system was ever extended very far, Lebanon on the west, and Mount Zagros on the east, may be regarded as the extreme limits of the centralized Assyria. Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, most of Phœnicia,⁷⁷² Palestine, Philistia, retained to the last their native monarchs; and thus Assyria, despite the feature here noticed, kept upon the whole her character of a "kingdom-empire."

The civilization of the Assyrians is a large subject, on which former chapters of this work have, it is hoped, thrown some light, and upon which only a very few remarks will be here offered by way of recapitulation. Deriving originally letters and the elements of learning from Babylonia, the Assyrians appear to have been content with the knowledge thus obtained, and neither in literature nor in science to have progressed much beyond their instructors. The heavy incubus of a dead language⁷⁷³ lay upon all those who desired to devote themselves to scientific pursuits; and, owing to this, knowledge tended to become the exclusive possession of a learned or perhaps a priest class, which did not aim at progress, but was satisfied to hand on the traditions of former ages. To understand the

genius of the Assyrian people we must look to their art and their manufactures. These are in the main probably of native growth; and from them we may best gather an impression of the national character. They show us a patient, laborious, pains-taking people, with more appreciation of the useful than the ornamental, and of the actual than the ideal. Architecture, the only one of the fine arts which is essentially useful, forms their chief glory; sculpture, and still more painting, are subsidiary to it. Again, it is the most useful edifice—the palace or house—whereon attention is concentrated—the temple and the tomb, the interest attaching to which is ideal and spiritual, are secondary, and appear (so far as they appear at all) simply as appendages of the palace. In the sculpture it is the actual—the historically true—which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious, and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from, but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four; the ladders are placed *edgewise* against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to show that they are ladders, and not mere poles; walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in a beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, reminds us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrates strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures, and gives them so great a portion of their value. In conception, in grace, in freedom and correctness of outline, they fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks; but they have a grandeur and a dignity, a boldness, a strength, and an appearance of life, which render them even intrinsically valuable as works of art, and, considering the time at which they were produced, must excite our surprise and admiration. Art, so far as we know, had existed previously only in the stiff and lifeless conventionalism of the Egyptians. It belonged to Assyria to confine the conventional so religion, and to apply art to the vivid representation of the

highest scenes of human life. War in all its forms—the march, the battle, the pursuit, the siege of towns, the passage of rivers and marshes, the submission and treatment of captives, and the “mimic war” of hunting—the chase of the lion, the stag, the antelope, the wild bull, and the wild ass, are the chief subjects treated by the Assyrian sculptors; and in these the conventional is discarded; fresh scenes, new groupings, bold and strange attitudes perpetually appear, and in the animal representations especially there is a continual advance, the latest being the most spirited, the most varied, and the most true to nature, though perhaps lacking somewhat of the majesty and grandeur of the earlier. With no attempt to idealize or go beyond nature, there is a growing power of depicting things as they are—an increased grace and delicacy of execution, showing that Assyrian art was progressive, not stationary, and giving a promise of still higher excellence, had circumstances permitted its development.

The art of Assyria has every appearance of thorough and entire nationality; but it is impossible to feel sure that her manufactures were in the same sense absolutely her own. The practice of borrowing skilled workmen from the conquered states would introduce into Nineveh and the other royal cities the fabrics of every region which acknowledged the Assyrian sway; and plunder, tribute, and commerce would unite to enrich them with the choicest products of all civilized countries. Still, judging by the analogy of modern times, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the manufactured goods consumed in the country would be of home growth. Hence we may fairly assume that the vases, jars, bronzes, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, working implements, etc., which have been found at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Koyunjik, are *mainly* the handiwork of the Assyrians. It has been conjectured that the rich garments represented as worn by the kings and others were the product of Babylon,⁷⁷⁴ always famous for its tissues; but even this is uncertain; and they are perhaps as likely to have been of home manufacture. At any rate the bulk of the ornaments, utensils, etc., may be regarded as native products. They are almost invariably of elegant form, and indicate a considerable knowledge of metallurgy and other arts,⁷⁷⁵ as well as a refined taste. Among them are some which anticipate inventions believed till lately to have been modern. Transparent glass

(which, however, was known also in ancient Egypt) is one of these;⁷⁷⁶ but the most remarkable of all is the lens⁷⁷⁷ discovered at Nimrud, of the use of which as a magnifying agent there is abundant proof.⁷⁷⁸ If it be borne in mind, in addition to all this, that the buildings of the Assyrians show them to have been well acquainted with the principle of the arch, that they constructed tunnels, aqueducts, and drains, that they knew the use of the pulley, the lever, and the roller, that they understood the arts of inlaying, enamelling, and overlaying with metals, and that they cut gems with the greatest skill and finish, it will be apparent that their civilization equalled that of almost any ancient country, and that it did not fall immeasurably behind the boasted achievements of the moderns. With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they were, towards the close of their empire, in all the ordinary arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning—which the records of nations constantly repeat—that the greatest material prosperity may co-exist with the decline—and herald the downfall—of a kingdom

APPENDIX.

A.

OF THE MEANINGS OF THE ASSYRIAN ROYAL NAMES.

THE names of the Assyrians, like those of the Hebrews, seem to have been invariably significant. Each name is a sentence, fully or elliptically expressed, and consists consequently of at least two elements. This number is frequently—indeed, commonly—increased to three, which are usually a noun in the nominative case, a verb active agreeing with it, and a noun in the objective or accusative case governed by the verb. The genius of the language requires that in names of this kind the nominative case should invariably be placed first; but there is no fixed rule as to the order of the two other words; the

verb may be either preceded or followed by the accusative. The number of elements in an Assyrian name amounts in rare cases to four, a maximum reached by some Hebrew names, as Maher-shalal-hash-baz.¹ Only one or two of the royal names comes under this category. No Assyrian name exceeds the number of four elements.²

An example of the simplest form of name is Sar-gon, or Sar-gina, "the established king," *i.e.* "(I am) the established king." The roots are *Sar*, or in the full nominative, *sarru*, the common word for "king" (compare Heb. שר, שרה, etc.), and *kin* (or *gin*),³ "to establish," a root akin to the Hebrew בן.

A name equally simple is Buzur-Asshur, which means either "Asshur is a stronghold," or "Asshur is a treasure;" *buzur* being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew בצר, which has this double signification. (See Gesen. "Lex." p. 155.) A third name of the same simple form is Saül-mugina (Sammughes), which probably means "Saül (is) the establisher," *mugina* being the participial form of the same verb which occurs in Sar-gina or Sargon.⁴

There is another common form of Assyrian name consisting of two elements, the latter of which is the name of a god, while the former is either *shamas* or *shamsi* (Heb. שמש), the common word for "servant," or else a term significative of worship, adoration, reverence, or the like. Of the former kind, there is but one royal name, viz., Shamas-Vul, "the servant of Vul," a name exactly resembling in its formation the Phœnician Abdistartus, the Hebrew Obadiah, Abdiel, etc., and the Arabic Abdallah.⁵ Of the latter kind are the two royal names, Tiglathi-Nin and Mutaggil-Nebo. Tiglathi-Nin is from *tiglat* or *tiklat*, "adoration, reverence" (comp. Chald. הכל, "to trust in"), and Nin or Ninip, the Assyrian Hercules. The meaning is "Adoratio (sit) Herculi"—"Let worship (be given to) Hercules." Mutaggil-Nebo is "confiding in" or "worshipping Nebo"—*mutaggil* being from the same root as *tiglat*, but the participle, instead of the abstract substantive. A name very similar in its construction is that of the Caliph Motawakkil Billah.⁶

With these names compounded of two elements it will be convenient to place one which is compounded of three, viz., Tiglath-Pileser, or *Tiglat-pal-zira*. This name has exactly the same meaning as Tiglathi-Nin—"Be worship given to Hercules;" the only difference being that Nin or Hercules is here designated by a favorite epithet, *Pal-zira*, instead of by any

of his proper names. In *Pal-zira*, the first element is undoubtedly *pal*, "a son;" the other element is obscure;⁷ all that we know of it is that Nin was called "the son of *Zira*," apparently because he had a temple at Calah which was called *Bit-Zira*, or "the house of *Zira*."⁸ M. Oppert believes *Zira* to be "the Zodiac;"⁹ but there seem to be no grounds for this identification.

Names of the common threefold type are Asshur-iddin-akhi, Asshur-izir-pal,¹⁰ Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), and Asshur-bani-pal. Asshur-idden-akhi is "Asshur has given brothers," *iddin* being the third person singular of *nadan*, "to give" (comp. Heb. נָתַן), and *akhi* being the plural of *akhu*, "a brother" (comp. Heb. אחי). Asshur-izir-pal is "Asshur protects (my) son," *izir* (for *inzir*) being derived from a root corresponding to the Hebrew גִּצַּר, "to protect," and *pal* being (as already explained¹¹) the Assyrian equivalent for the Hebrew בֶּן and the Syriac *bar*, "a son." The meaning of Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib) is "Sin (the Moon) has multiplied brethren," *irib* being from *raba* (Heb. רָבָה), "to augment, multiply." Asshur-akh-iddina is "Asshur has given a brother," from roots already explained; and Asshur-bani-pal is "Asshur has formed a son," from *Asshur*, *bani*, and *pal*; *bani* being the participle of *bana*, "to form, make" (comp. Heb. בָּנָה).

Other tri-elemental names are Asshur-ris-ilim, Bel-kudur uzur, Asshur-bil-kala, Nin-pala-zira, and Bel-sumili-kapi. Asshur-ris-ilim either signifies "Asshur (is) the head of the gods," from Asshur, *ris*, which is equivalent to Heb. ראש, "head," and *ilim*, the plural of *il* or *el*, "god;" or perhaps it may mean "Asshur (is) high-headed," from *Asshur*, *ris*, and *elam*, "high," *ris-elim* being equivalent to the *sir-buland* of the modern Persians.¹² Bel-kudur-uzur means "Bel protects my seed," or "Bel protects the youth," as will be explained in the next volume under Nebuchadnezzar. Asshur-bil-kala means probably "Asshur (is) lord altogether," from *Asshur*, *bil*, "a lord" (Heb. בָּצַל), and *kala*, "wholly;" a form connected with the Hebrew כל or כָּל "all," Nin-pala-zira is of course "Nin (Hercules) is the son of *Zira*," as already explained under Tiglath-Pileser.¹³ Bel-sumili-kapi is conjectured to be "Bel of the left hand,"¹⁴ or "Bel (is) left handed," from *Bel*, *sumilu*, an equivalent of שְׂמָאל, "the left," and *kapu* (= כַּ), "a hand."

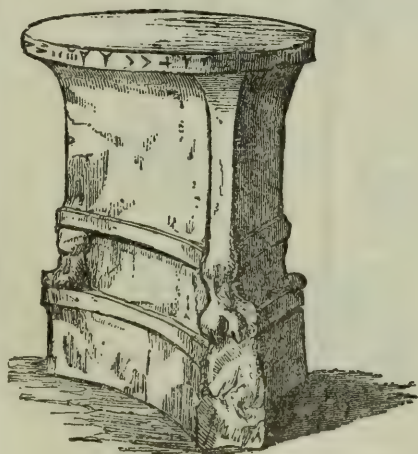
Only two Assyrian names appear to be compounded of

Fig. 1.



Evil genii contending (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



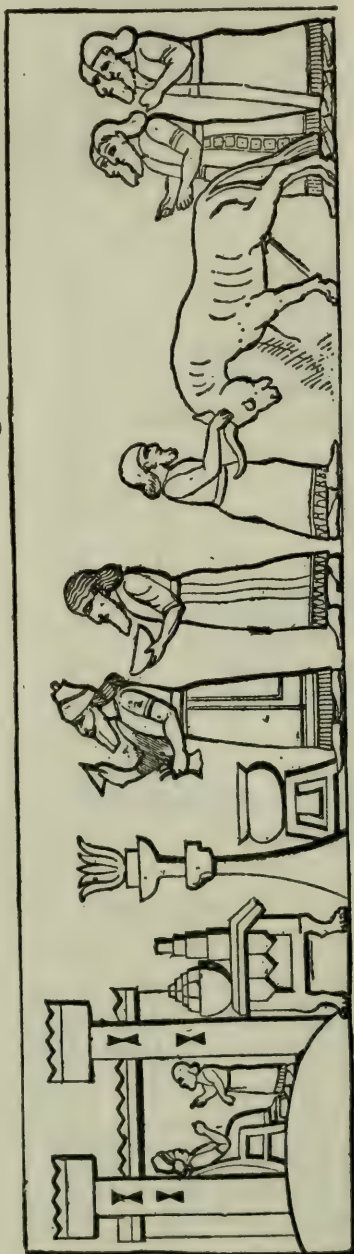
Triangular altar (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Portable altar in an Assyrian camp, with priests offering (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



Sacrificial scene (from an obelisk found at Nimrud).

Fig. 2



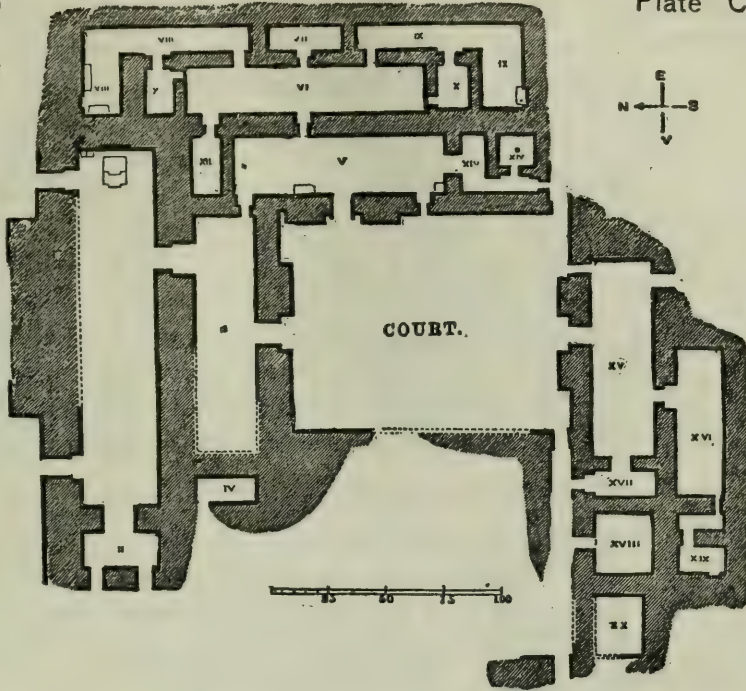
Worshipper bringing an offering (from a cylinder).

Fig. 3.



Figure of Tiglath-Pileser I. (From a rock tablet near Korkhar.)

Fig 1



Plan of Palace of Asshur-idanni-pal,

Fig. 2.



Stele of Asshur-idanni-pal, with altar in front
(Nimrud),



Israelites bringing tribute to Shalmaneser II. (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Assyrian sphinx. (Time of Asshur-bani-pal.)

Fig. 3.



Scythian soldiers, from a vase found in a Scythian tomb.

four elements.¹⁵ These are the first and last of our list, Asshur-bil-nisi-su, and the king commonly called Asshur-emid-ilin, whose complete name was (it is thought) Asshur-emid-ili-kin, or possibly Asshur-kinat-ili-kain. The last king's name is thought to mean "Asshur is the establisher of the power of the gods"—the second element, which is sometimes written as *emid* (comp. צַמַּר), sometimes as *nirik*, being translated in a vocabulary by *kinat*, "power," while the last element (which is omitted on the monarch's bricks) is of course from *kin* (the equivalent of כִּן), which has been explained under Sargon. The name of the other monarch presents no difficulty. Asshur-bil-nisi-su means "Asshur (is) the lord of his people," from *bil* or *bilu*, "lord," *nis*, "a man" (comp. Heb. אִישׁ), and *su*, "his" (= Heb. ה).

To these names of monarchs may be added one or two names of princes, which are mentioned in the records of the Assyrians, or elsewhere; as Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of the great Shalmaneser, and Adrammelech and Sharezer, sons of Senacherib. Asshur-danin-pal seems to be "Asshur strengthens a son," from *Asshur*, *pal*, and *danin*, which has the force of "strengthening" in Assyrian.¹⁶ Adrammelech has been explained as *decus regis*, "the king's glory;"¹⁷ but it would be more consonant with the propositional character of the names generally to translate it "the king (is) glorious," from *adir* (אָדִיר or אִירִי), "great, glorious," and *melek* (מֶלֶךְ), "a king." Or Adrammelech may be from *ediru* (comp. עִיר), a common Assyrian word meaning "the arranger" and *melek*, and may signify "the king arranges," or "the king is the arranger."¹⁸ Sharezer, if that be the true reading, would seem to be "the king protects," from *sar* or *sarru*, "a king" (as in Sargon), and a form, *izir*, from *nazar* or *natsar*,¹⁹ "to guard, protect." The Armenian equivalent, however, for this name, San-asar, may be the proper form; and this would apparently be "The Moon (Sin) protects."

Nothing is more remarkable in this entire catalogue of names than their predominantly religious character. Of the thirty-nine kings and princes which the Assyrian lists furnish, the names of no fewer than thirty-one contain, as one element, either the name or the designation of a god. Of the remaining eight, five have doubtful names,²⁰ so that there remain three only whose names are known to be purely of a secular character.²¹ Thirteen names, one of which was borne by two kings, contain the element Asshur; three, two of which occur

twice, contain the element Nin;²² two, one of which was in such favor as to occur four times,²³ contain the element Vul; three contain the element Bel; one the element Nebo; and one the element Sin.²⁴ The names occasionally express mere facts of the mythology, as Nin-pala-zira, "Nin (is) the son of Zira," Bel-sumili-kapi, "Bel (is) left-handed," and the like. More often the fact enunciated is one in which the glorification of the deity is involved; as, Asshur-bil-nisi-su, "Asshur (is) the lord of his people;" Buzur-Asshur, "a stronghold (is) Asshur;" Asshur-bil-kala, "Asshur (is) lord altogether." Frequently the name seems to imply some special thankfulness to a particular god for the particular child in question, who is viewed as having been his gift, in answer to a vow or to prayer. Of this kind are Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-bani-pal, etc.; where the god named seems to be thanked for the child whom he has caused to be born. Such names as Tiglathi-Nin, Tiglath-Pileser, express this feeling even more strongly, being actual ascriptions of praise by the grateful parent to the deity whom he regards as his benefactor. In a few of the names, as Mutaggil-Nebo and Shamas-Iva, the religious sentiment takes a different turn. Instead of the parent merely expressing his own feelings of gratitude towards this or that god, he dedicates in a way his son to him, assigning to him an appellation which he is to verify in his after-life by a special devotion to the deity of whom in his very name he professes himself the "servant" or the "worshipper."

B.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE NAMES ASSIGNED TO THE ASSYRIAN KINGS
AT DIFFERENT TIMES AND BY DIFFERENT WRITERS.

Sir H. Rawlinson in 1860.	G. Smith in 1870.	Dr. Hincks.	M. Oppert in 1869. ^a
.	Bel-sumili-kapi ?	. . . . .	Bel-kat-irassu.
.	Asshur-bilu-nisi-su	. . . . .	Asur-bel-nisi-su.
.	Buzur-Asshur	. . . . .	Busur-Asur
.	Asshur-upallit	. . . . .	Asur-uballat.
Bel-lush	Bilu-nirari (?)	. . . . .	Bel-likh-khis.
Pud-il	Pudi-el.	. . . . .	Pudi-el.
Vul-lush I. ^b	Vul-nirari I. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis I.
Shalma-Bar ^c	Sallim-manu-uzur I.	Divanu-rish	Salman-asir II.
.	Tukulti-Ninip I.	. . . . .	Tuklat-Ninip I.
.	Vul-nirari II. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis II.
Nin-pala-kura ^d	Nin-pala-zara	Ninip-pal-isri	Ninip-habal-asar.
Asshur-daha-il	Asshur-dayan I.	Assur-dayan	Asur-dayan.
Mutaggil-Nebo	Mutaggil-Nabu.	. . . . .	Mutakkil-Nabu.
Asshur-ris-ilim	Asshur-ris-elim	. . . . .	Asur-ris-isi.
Tiglath-Pileser I.	Tukulti-pal-zara I.	Tiklat-pal-isri I.	Tuklat-habal-asar I.
Asshur-bani-pal I.	Asshur-bil-kala	. . . . .	Asur-iddanna-habal
.	Samsi-Vul I.	. . . . .	. . . . .
.	Asshur-rabu-amar	. . . . .	. . . . .
.	Asshur-muzur	. . . . .	. . . . .
Asshur-adan-akhi	Asshur-iddin-akhi	. . . . .	Asur-iddin-akhe.
Asshur-dan-il	Asshur-dayan II.	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el I.
Vul-lush II.	Vul-nirari III. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis III.
Tiglathi-Ninip	Tukulti-Ninip II.	Samish Bar	Tuklat-Ninip II.
Asshur-idanni-pal	Asshur-nazir-pal ^e	Asshur-yuzhur bal ^f	Asur-nazir-habal.
Shalmanu-sar I.	Sallim-manu-uzur II.	Divanu-Bara	Salman-asir III.
Shamash-Vul	Samsi-Vul II.	Shamsi-Yav	Samas-Bin.
Vul-lush III.	Vul-nirari IV. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis IV.
.	Sallim-manu-uzur III.	. . . . .	Salman-asir IV.
.	Asshur-dayan III.	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el II.
.	Asshur-nirari (?)	. . . . .	Asur-likh-khis.
Tiglath-Pileser II. ^g	Tukulti-pal-zara II.	Tiklat-pal-isri II.	Tuklat-habal-asa II.
Shalmanu-sar II.	Sallim-manu-uzur IV.	. . . . .	Salman-asir V.
Sargina	Sar-gina ^h	Sar-gina	Saryu-kin.
Sennacherib	Sennacherib ⁱ	Tsin-akhi-irib	Sin-akhe-irib.
Esar-haddon	Esar-haddon ⁱ	Asshur-akh-idin	Asur-akh-iddin.
Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-idanna-bal	Asur-bani-habal.
Assur-emit-ili	Asshur-emit-ilin	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el III.

^a In this list I have taken the forms of the names either from M. Oppert's own article in the *Revue archéologique* for 1869, or from the "Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient" of his disciple, M. François Lenormant (5th ed. 1869).

^b This name is composed of three elements, all of which are doubtful. The first is the god of the atmosphere, who has been called Vul, Iva, Yav, Yam, Yem, Ao, Bin, and U or Hu. The second element has been read as *likh*, *zala*, and *erim*; the third as *gab*, *khus*, and *pathir*. Both of them are most uncertain.

^c Or Shalma-ris. This name was originally thought to be different from that of the Black-Obelisk king, but is now regarded as a mere variant, and as equivalent to the Scriptural Shalmaneser. The last element is the same word as the name of the Assyrian Hercules, who has been called Bar, Nin or Ninip, and Ussur, and who possibly bore all these appellations. Sir H. Rawlinson originally called this king Temenbar. ("Commentary," p. 22.)

^d Or Nin-pala-zira. (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," 1st edition.)

^e The middle element of this name was thought to represent the root "to give," and to have the power of *iddin* or *idanni*; but a variant reading in the recently discovered Canon employs the phonetic complement of *ir*, thus showing that the root must be the one ordinarily represented by the character, namely 𒌶𒌵, "to protect," which will form *nazir* in the Benoni, and *izir* (for *inzir*) in the third person of the aorist.

^f Originally Dr. Hincks called this monarch Asshur-*akh*-bal. (Layard's "Nin. and Bab." p. 615.) Mr. Fox Talbot still prefers this reading. ("Athenæum," No. 1839, p. 120.)

^g This, of course, is following the Hebrew literation. The Assyrian is read as Tu-kulti-pal zara.

^h Or, more fully, Sarru-gina.

The Assyrian names of Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, according to Mr. G. Smith, were Sin-akhi-irba and Asshur-akh-iddin.

NOTES TO THE FIRST MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

¹ Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. i. pp. 77, 78, E. T.

² Even the title of Shinar, the earliest known name of the region (Gen. xi. 2), may be no exception; for it is perhaps derived from the Hebrew שִׁנְר, "two," and *ar* or *nahr* (Heb. נָהָר, "a river." The form *ar* belongs to the early Scythic or Cushite Babylonian, and is found in the *Ar-mal-char* of Pliny ("H. N." vi. 26), and the *Ar-macles* of Abydenus—terms used to designate the *Nahr-malcha* (Royal River) of other authors. (See the "Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum," vol. iv. pp. 283, 284.)

³ Herodotus, ii. 5. Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes that Herodotus is mistaken in this instance. The Nile never emptied itself into a gulf, but from the first laid its deposits on ground already raised above the level of the Mediterranean. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 6, note 4.)

⁴ Loftus's "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 282.

⁵ See Strabo, xvi. 1, § 6; Pliny, "H. N." vi. 28; Ptolemy, v. 20; Beros. ap. Syncell. pp. 28, 29.

⁶ See text, pp. 10, 11, etc.

⁷ Ross came to the end of the alluvium and the commencement of the secondary formations in lat. 34°, long. 44°. ("Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 446.) Similarly Captain Lynch found the bed of the Tigris change from pebbles to mere alluvium near Khan Tholiyeh, a little above its confluence with the Adhem. (Ib. p. 472.) For the point where the Euphrates enters on the alluvium, see Fraser's "Assyria and Mesopotamia," p. 27.

⁸ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 282.

⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 186. The increase did not escape the notice of the ancients. It is mentioned and exaggerated by Pliny, who says that Charax of Spasinus was originally built by Alexander the Great at the distance of little more than a mile from the shore, but that in the time of Juba the Mauritanian it was 50 miles from the sea, and in his own day 120 miles! ("Hist. Nat." vi. 27.) This would give for the first period a rate of increase exceeding a mile in seven years, and for the second a rate of about a mile a year; or for the whole period, a rate of a mile in three and one half years.

¹⁰ Loftus, in "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. p. 146.

¹¹ See Clinton's "Fasti Hellenici," vol.

ii. p. 473, where the whole area of European Greece, including Thessaly, Acarnania, Ætolia, Eubœa, and the other littoral islands, is shown to be 22,231 miles.

¹² See text, p. 2.

¹³ Gen. ii. 14, marginal rendering.

¹⁴ See the remark of Mela:—"Occidentem petit, ni Taurus obstet, in nostra maria venturus." ("De Sit. Orb." iii. 8.)

¹⁵ In one part of its course, viz., from Kut-el-Amarah at the mouth of the Shat-el-Hie to Hussun Khan's fort, 50 miles lower down the stream, the direction of the Tigris is even north of east.

¹⁶ From El Khitr to Serut the direct distance is 104 miles, from Serut to Kurnah 110, and from Kurnah to El Khitr 115.

¹⁷ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 38 and 40.

¹⁸ Ibid. vol. i. p. 44.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 15. It only attains this width, however, in the season of the floods. Generally it is at Diarbekr about 100 or 120 yards wide.

²⁰ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 3.

²¹ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 32; compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 92.

²² The *Euphrates* steamer, under Lieutenant Lynch, ascended the Tigris nearly to Nimrud in 1838; but was stopped by an artificial bund or dam thrown across the stream near that place. (Chesney, vol. i. p. 32.) The *Nitocris* in 1846 attempted the ascent, but was unable to proceed far above Tekrit, from a want of sufficient power. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. ch. v. p. 139.)

²³ Chesney, vol. i. pp. 53-57.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 62.

²⁵ Strab. xi. 12, § 4; § 14, § 2, etc.

²⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xv. p. 22. Compare ch. xi. pp. 269, 270.

²⁷ Xenophon, "Anabasis," iv. 3, § 1.

²⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. iii. p. 49. The Bitlis Chai at Til, just above the point of confluence, was found by Mr. Layard to be "about equal in size" to the united Myafarekin and Diarbekr rivers.

²⁹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 308; "Journ. of Geograph. Society," vol. ix. p. 95.

³⁰ "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 59, 60.

³¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxi. p. 475; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 45.

³² Heeren's statement, which is directly the reverse of this ("Asiatic Nations," vol.

ii. p. 131, E. T.), is at once false and self-contradictory. The "deep bed" and "bold shores" of the Tigris are the consequence of the *higher* level of the plain in its vicinity. The fall of the Tigris is much greater than that of the Euphrates in its lower course, and the stream cuts deeper into the alluvium, on the principle of water finding its own level.

³³ Loftus, p. 44.

³⁴ Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 21, 22; Strab. xvi. 1, §§ 11, 12. The "lacus Chaldaici" of Pliny ("Hist. Nat." vi. 27) refer rather to the marshes on the Lower Tigris.

³⁵ Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 7; Plin. "Hist. Nat." l. s. c.

³⁶ Arrian, vii. 21.

³⁷ Herod. i. 193.

³⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 297.

³⁹ See text, page 9.

⁴⁰ Herod. i. 179, 180.

⁴¹ Ibid. i. 189; Xen. "Anab." ii. 4, § 25. The site of Opis is probably marked by the ruins at *Khafaji*. (See the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 326, note ⁸.)

⁴² Sir H. Rawlinson, "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia," p. 77, note.

⁴³ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 112. Some rather considerable changes in the bed of the Tigris are thought to be traceable a little below Samarah. (See "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 472.)

⁴⁴ Shapur Dholactuf, in the fourth century of our era, either cut or reopened this canal. He is said to have intended it as a defence against the Arabs. In Arabian geography it is known as *Khandak Sabur*, or "Shapur's ditch." The present name is *Kerreh Saideh*.

⁴⁵ Justin, xviii. 3, § 2.

⁴⁶ Loftus, p. 50.

⁴⁷ Ibid. l. s. c.

⁴⁸ Gen. x. 10. The sacred historian perhaps further represents the Assyrians as adopting the Babylonian number on their emigration to the more northern regions:—"Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen." (Gen. x. 11, 12.)

⁴⁹ In three out of these four cases, the similarity of the name forms a sufficient ground for the identification. In the fourth case the chief ground of identification is a statement in the Talmud that Nopher was the site of the Calneh of Nimrod.

⁵⁰ Sippara is the Scriptural Sepharvaim. The Hebrew term has a dual ending, because there were two Sipparas, one on either side of the river.

⁵¹ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 185.

⁵² Mr. Taylor in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 260. Sir H. Rawlinson prefers the derivation of *Um-gir*, "the mother of bitumen."

⁵³ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 128.

⁵⁴ Gen. xiv. 1.

⁵⁵ Beros. ap. Syncell., "Chronographia," p. 39.

⁵⁶ Apollod. "Bibliotheca," ii. 4, § 4.

⁵⁷ Loftus, p. 244.

⁵⁸ The LXX translators express the Hebrew אֶרֶץ by Ὀρέχ.

⁵⁹ Strab. xvi. 1, § 6; Ptol. v. 20, p. 137. See also Pliny, "Hist. Nat." vi. 27.

⁶⁰ Loftus, pp. 162-170.

⁶¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxiv. p. 551. Boats smeared with bitumen, and similar to those still in use in Lower Mesopotamia, are said to be occasionally found, beneath the soil, in this ravine.

⁶² Loftus, p. 101.

⁶³ In the early Scythic or Cushite Babylonian the name of the city is represented by the same characters as are used for the god Belus, though of course with a different determinative; and it thus seems highly probable that we have the vernacular pronunciation of the name in the Βίλβη of Ptolemy, which he joins with βάρααια and Διγούα precisely as the inscriptions are joined Borsip, Nipur, and Cutha, or Tiggaba. *Nipur* is given in the bilingual tablets as the Semitic translation of the Scythic *Bilu*.

⁶⁴ See note ⁴⁹ of this chapter.

⁶⁵ Gen. x. 10.

⁶⁶ Isaiah x. 9.

⁶⁷ Rich, "Second Memoir on Babylon," p. 32; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 172; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. p. 379. See also Oppert's map, entitled "Babylon Antiqua," in his "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," Paris, Gide, 1858.

⁶⁸ Berosus, "Fr." 14; Strab. xvi. 1, § 7; Justin, xii. 13; Steph. Byz. ad voc.

⁶⁹ Rich, "First Memoir," p. 34, note.

⁷⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 569. Mr. Loftus suggests that the remains here are of a later date. ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 85.) Sir H. Rawlinson regards the existing buildings at Akkerkuf and Hammam as also of the Parthian age, though occupying the sites of earlier Chaldean cities.

⁷¹ Hammam is thought to be the Gulaba of the cuneiform inscriptions (Loftus, p. 113); but this identification is uncertain.

⁷² See Fraser's "Mesopotamia and Assyria," pp. 150-155; Ainsworth's "Researches in Mesopotamia," p. 127 and p. 177; Ross and Lynch, in "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. pp. 443, et seq.; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," passim; and "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. pp. 133-144.

⁷³ This district has been visited by Mr. Taylor, but its marshy character makes it very difficult to explore at all completely.

⁷⁴ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 251.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 435.

⁷⁶ See text, p. 3.

⁷⁷ See the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 404.

⁷⁸ See the elder Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," pp. 7, 8.

⁷⁹ See text, p. 7.

⁸⁰ Dan. viii. 2.

⁸¹ Æschylus, "Persæ," 123; Herodotus, v. 52.

⁸² Strabo, xv. 3, § 12.

CHAPTER II.

¹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 9.

² Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.

³ Loftus, p. 280. This traveller found the temperature at Mohammrah, in June, 350, to rise often to 124° of Fahrenheit in the shade.

⁴ Ibid. p. 285.

⁵ Loftus, p. 9, note.

⁶ Ibid. p. 241; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 546.

⁷ Loftus, pp. 81, 82.

⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," l. s. c.; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 73; Fraser, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 37 and 47.

⁹ Mr. Loftus tells us that he has seen this effect of the cold.

¹⁰ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 331, note 8; Rich, "First Memoir," p. 13; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 38, 39, and 61, 62.

¹¹ Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. i. p. 18. See, for the fact, Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 549; Loftus, p. 113.

¹² Herodotus, i. 193.

¹³ Theophrast, "Hist. Plant." viii. 7.

¹⁴ Strabo, xvi. 1, § 14. Compare Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, §§ 14-16.

¹⁵ Pliny, "Hist. Nat." xviii. 17.

¹⁶ Herodotus, iii. 92. If we set aside the Indian gold tribute, this was one-ninth of the whole tribute of the empire.

¹⁷ Herodotus, i. 192. This proportion appears excessive. Perhaps Babylonia really supplied one-third of the grain which the court consumed.

¹⁸ Ibid. l. s. c.

¹⁹ Xen. "Anab." ii. 4, § 22.

²⁰ Ibid. § 13. Compare Ainsworth, "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," pp. 105-114. He regards the district intended as that between the Shat-Eidha and the bend of the Tigris, in lat. 34°. I should place it lower down, below Baghdad, near the ruins of Ctesiphon.

²¹ Rich, "First Memoir," p. 12.

²² Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 14.

²³ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 602.

²⁴ Loftus, l. s. c.

²⁵ Berosus, Fr. 1.

²⁶ See text, p. 21.

²⁷ That of Theophrastus, the professed naturalist. See text, p. 21, and note ¹³ of this chapter.

²⁸ "Geograph. Journ." vol. ix. p. 27. Compare Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 134.

²⁹ Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. ii. p. 20, E. T.

³⁰ Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, § 15; Philostrate, "Vit. Apollon. Tyan." i. 21.

³¹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 25.

³² Strabo, xvi. 1, § 14.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Xen. "Anab." l. s. c. "The peasantry in Babylonia now principally subsist on dates pressed into cakes." Rich, "First Memoir," p. 59, note.

³⁵ "Ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλалаγὲς δέ. Xen. "Anab." l. s. c.

³⁶ Hamilton's "Wanderings in North Africa," ch. xiv. pp. 189, 190.

³⁷ Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, § 16.

³⁸ Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 7; p. 66.

³⁹ Ibid. v. 4 and 6.

⁴⁰ Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 7, p. 64; Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.

⁴¹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 127 and p. 277; Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 105.

⁴² Herod. i. 193.

⁴³ Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3; Zosim. iii. pp. 173-9.

⁴⁴ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 186.

⁴⁵ Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 2; p. 53.

⁴⁶ Ibid. ii. 7; p. 64.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 67.

⁴⁸ Berosus, Fr. 1, § 2; Herod. i. 193.

⁴⁹ Rich, "First Memoir," p. 26; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 153; Ainsworth, "Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa," p. 125.

⁵⁰ Ainsworth, "Researches," p. 129; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 553. Mr. Loftus says "12 or 14 feet." ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 105.)

⁵¹ Layard, pp. 522-524.

⁵² Ibid. p. 928.

⁵³ Xenophon states that millstones were supplied to Babylon from a place which he calls Pylæ (Pelujah?) on the middle Euphrates. ("Anab." i. 5, § 5.)

⁵⁴ Rich, "First Memoir," p. 65.

⁵⁵ Thothmes III. brought bitumen from Hit to Egypt about B.C. 1400. (See Sir G. Wilkinson's "Historical Notice of Egypt" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 360.) Herodotus mentions Hit as the great place for bitumen, about B.C. 450 (Herod. i. 179). Isidore of Charax takes notice of its bitumen-springs, about B.C. 150 ("Mans. Parth." p. 5). Shortly afterwards its name was made to include a notice of the bitumen; and thus it is called Ihi-da-kira in the Talmud, Idi-cara in Ptolemy, and Dacira by the historians of Julian—*kier* or *ghier* (قبر) being the Arabic term for bitumen.

⁵⁶ Rich, "First Memoir," pp. 63-4.

⁵⁷ Mr. Layard gives an amusing account of a tame lion which was given him by Osman Pasha, commandant of Hillah ("Nin. and Bab." p. 487). Sir H. Rawlinson

had a tame lion for some years at Baghdad, which was much attached to him, and finally died at his feet, not suffering the attendants to remove him.

⁵⁵ The inhabitants call the maneless lions "true believers," those with manes *ghaours* or "infidels." The former, they say, will spare a Mussulman if he prays, the latter never. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 487, note.) A similar distinction, I learn from Sir Gardner Wilkinson, is made at Cairo between the green and the black crocodile.

⁵⁹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 259.

⁶⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 546.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 567.

⁶² Ainsworth, "Researches," pp. 135, 136; Fraser, "Mesopotamia and Assyria," p. 373.

⁶³ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 108.

⁶⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 56.

CHAPTER III.

¹ Gen. xi. 1-9.

² Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 30; Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 232; Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 6; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 18; Lenormant, "Histoire ancienne de l'Orient," vol. ii. p. 5; etc.

³ Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 12, E. T.

⁴ Ibid. p. 11: "We shall begin with the Assyrians; but with *those of Babylon*; not, like Justin, with those of Nineveh."

⁵ Heeren, "As. Nat." vol. ii. p. 145; Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. p. 568; Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopedia," vol. i. p. 275.

⁶ "Philosophy of Universal History," vol. i. p. 193.

⁷ "Languages of the Seat of War," pp. 24, 25 (first edition).

⁸ Gen. x. 8-10.

⁹ "As. Nat." l. s. c.

¹⁰ The portions of the Old Testament written in the so-called Chaldee are Ezra, iv. 8 to vi. 18, and vii. 12-26; Daniel, ii. 4 to vii. 28; and Jeremiah, x. 10. There is also a Chaldee gloss in Genesis, xxxi. 47.

¹¹ Bunsen, "Philosophy of Universal History," pp. 193 and 201; Müller, "Languages," etc., l. s. c.

¹² See ch. iv. pp. 41-47.

¹³ Herod. i. 177.

¹⁴ Ibid. ch. 106.

¹⁵ Ibid. ch. 7.

¹⁶ Ibid. vi. 53.

¹⁷ Ibid. i. 56.

¹⁸ Ibid. iii. 16.

¹⁹ Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 4 and 5; pp. 17-21; ed. Mai.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. ii. 1, § 7.

²¹ Plin. "H. N." vi. 26.

²² Herod. vii. 63.

²³ Hom. "Od." i. 23, 24—

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι
ἀνδρῶν,

Οἱ μὲν δυσόμενον Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιό-
ντος.

²⁴ Strab. i. 2, § 25.

²⁵ Ibid. § 26.

²⁶ Ibid. §§ 26-31.

²⁷ Hesiod. "Theogon." 984: "Μέμνονα
χαλκοκορυστήν Αἰθιόπων βασιλῆα."

²⁸ Pind. "Nem." iii. 62, 63.

²⁹ Ap. Strab. xv. 3, § 2.

³⁰ Herod. v. 54. Compare Strab. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. ii. 22, § 3.

³¹ Diod. Sic. l. s. c.; Pausan. x. 31, § 2; Cephalion ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 15, § 5.

³² Diod. Sic. ii. 22, § 4.

³³ Euseb. "Chron. Can." ii. p. 278; Syncellus, "Chronograph." p. 151, C. Compare Strab. xvii. 1, § 42; and Plin. "H. N." v. 9.

³⁴ Demetrius ap. Athen. "Deipnosoph." xv. p. 680, A.

³⁵ Herod. v. 53; Strab. xv. 3, § 2, xvii. 1, § 42; Diod. Sic. l. s. c.; Plin. "H. N." l. s. c.

³⁶ Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 111; Plin. "H. N." vi. 30.

³⁷ Pherecyd. Fr. 40.

³⁸ Apollodor. "Bibliothec." ii. § 4.

³⁹ See the Fragments of Polyhistor in Müller's "Fr. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. p. 212; Fr. 3.

⁴⁰ Charax ap. Steph. Byz. s. v. Αἰγυπτος.

⁴¹ Johann. Antiochen. Fr. 6, § 15.

⁴² Herod. iii. 94; vii. 70.

⁴³ Euseb. "Chron. Can." ii. p. 278.

⁴⁴ Hesiod. l. s. c.; Apollod. iii. 12, § 4.

⁴⁵ Mos. Choren. "Geograph." pp. 363-5.

⁴⁶ Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 6; pp. 19, 20.

⁴⁷ Ibid. i. 4; p. 12.

⁴⁸ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 233.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 230.

⁵⁰ "And Cush *begat* Nimrod," Gen. x. 8. Baron Bunsen says in one work, "Nimrod is called a Cushite, which means a man of the land of Cush" ("Philos. of Univ. Hist." vol. i. p. 191), and proceeds to argue that he was only a Cushite "geographically," because he, or the people represented by him, sojourned for some time in Ethiopia. In another ("Egypt's Place," etc. vol. iv. p. 412), he admits that this view contradicts Gen. x. 8, and allows that "the compiler of our present Book of Genesis" must have meant to derive Nimrod by descent from Ham; but this "compiler" was, he thinks, deceived by the resemblance of כִּיֹּשׁ to כִּיֹּשׁ Nimrod was not an Ethiopian, but a Cossian or Cossæan; i.e. (he says) a Turanian who conquered Babylon from the mountain country east of Mesopotamia. Of course, if we are at liberty to regard the "compiler" of Genesis as "mistaken" when

ever his statements conflict with our theories, while at the same time we ignore linguistic facts, we may speculate upon ancient history and ethnography much at our pleasure.

⁶¹ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 442.

⁶² "The Bible mentions but one Kush, Æthiopia; an Asiatic Kush exists only in the imagination of the interpreters, and is the child of their despair." Bunsen, "Philosophy of Univ. Hist." vol. i. p. 191. See on the other hand Sir H. Rawlinson's article in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. art. ii.; and compare especially Ezek. xxxviii. 5.

⁶³ Herod. vii. 70.

⁶⁴ See Prichard's "Physical Hist. of Mankind," vol. ii. p. 44.

⁶⁵ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 202.

⁶⁶ See the Cylinders, *passim*; and compare Herod. i. 195.

⁶⁷ Skeletons have been found in abundance, but they have undergone no scientific examination.

⁶⁸ Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 23. 27; cvi. 22. Egypt is called *Chemî* in the native inscriptions.

⁶⁹ See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 442, note (1st edition).

⁷⁰ See an Essay by the same writer in the fourth volume of the same work, pp. 250-254 (1st edition).

⁷¹ Chedor-lao-mer, by his leadership of the Elamites or Susianians, should be a Cushite; Tidal, king of nations, *i.e.* of the wandering tribes, should be a Scyth, or Turanian; Arioch recalls the term "Arian," while Amraphel is a name cast in a Semitic mould. See a note by Sir H. Rawlinson in the first volume of the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. § 21, note 7 (second edition).

⁷² Berosus, Fr. i. §§ 5, 6, 11, etc.

⁷³ Gesenius, "Comment. in Esaiam," xxiii. 13, and "Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache," pp. 63, 64; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 147; Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 20, note; Winer, "Realwörterbuch," vol. i. p. 218; Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 408, etc. Mr. Vaux ("Dict. of Antiquities," vol. i. p. 601) with good reason questions the common opinion.

⁷⁴ As that Nebuchadnezzar might be the Slavonic sentence *Nebye kad zenur izar* or "De cœlo missus dominus,"—that Merodach might be the Persian *mardak*, "homunculus," etc. (See Prichard's "Phys. Hist. of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564.) A more refined argument was that of Gesenius, "that the construction of the names was according, not to Semitic, but to Medo-Persian principles;" but, being based upon conjectures as to the possible etymology of the words, it was really worthless.

⁷⁵ Isaiah xxiii. 13.

⁷⁶ Habakkuk i. 6-10.

⁷⁷ Job i. 17.

⁶⁸ Gen. xi. 28 and 31.

⁶⁹ Isaiah xlvii. 1 and 5.

⁷⁰ Isaiah xlii. 19.

⁷¹ Ibid. xiv. 6.

⁷² Ibid. xlvii. 5.

⁷³ Ibid. xlii. 19.

⁷⁴ Berosus, Fr. 11 and 12.

⁷⁵ See Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 20, note; and Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564.

⁷⁶ Arist. "Eth. Nic." i. 7, ad fin.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ There is, I believe, a near parallel to this peculiarity in the Ostiak. [It has been compared with our own use of such an expression as "to us-ward;" but here "to" and "ward" are really separate prepositions, both having the same meaning, and the phrase is merely pleonastic. There is no reason to believe that *ki* and *ta* have separately the meaning of "with."]

² The bricks in question were found at Warka, the ancient *Huruk* or *Erech*. (See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 169.)

³ See Oppert's "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," tom. ii. p. 62.

⁴ It has been conjectured that the ideograph for "king," which stands as the first character in the first and second compartments of the second column in the inscription given above (Pl. VI., Fig. 3), is derived from a rude drawing of a bee, the Egyptian emblem of Sovereignty. (See Ménant, "Briques de Babylone," p. 20.)

⁵ Oppert, tom. ii. p. 66.

⁶ See the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 58, where, in speaking of the devices on the tombs of the Lurs, Sir H. Rawlinson notes "the double-toothed comb" as the distinctive mark of the female sex.

⁷ Tools with a triangular point, made in ivory, apparently for employment in cuneiform writing, have been found at Babylon. (See Oppert, tom. ii. p. 63.)

⁸ See text, page 43, where the translation of an inscription is given. Other translations of the brick legends belonging to the same king are the following:—

1. On a brick from *Mugheir* (Ur):—"Uruk, king of Ur, is he who has built the temple of the Moon-God."

2. On a brick from the same:—"The Moon-God, his lord, has caused Uruk, king of Ur, to build a temple to him, and has caused him to build the enceinte of Ur."

3. On a brick from the same:—"The Moon-God, brother's son (?) of Anu, and eldest son of Belus, his lord, has caused Uruk, the pious chief, king of Ur, to build the temple of *Tsingathu* (?), his holy place."

4. On a brick from *Senkareh*:—"The Sun-God, his lord, has caused Uruk, the pious chief, king of Ur, king of the land (?) of the Akkad, to build a temple to him."

5. On a brick from *Niffer*:—"Uruk, king of Ur, and king of the land (?) of the

Akkad, who has built the temple of Belus."

⁹ See Pl. VI., Fig. 3, and Pl. VII., Fig. 1.

¹⁰ The size varies from an inch to four or five inches in length, the width being always less. The envelope is of very thin clay, and does not much add to the bulk.

¹¹ We have only a representation of this inscription, the cylinder itself being lost. The representation will be found in Sir R. Ker Porter's "Travels," vol. ii. plate 79, No. 6.

¹² I am indebted for the translation of this legend to Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum.

¹³ "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xv. pp. 272, 273.

CHAPTER V.

¹ Berosus, Fr. 1, § 3.

² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 554, 555; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 91; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. p. 137.

³ "We were conducted to the *muthif* or reception-hut of the chief, which resembled the other habitations of the place, but was of gigantic size, forty feet long and eighteen feet high. It boasted the almost fabulous age for a reed building (if the Arabs might be credited) of no less than half a century, and appeared likely to last as long again." (Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 92.)

⁴ Stieglitz, quoted in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad VOC. ARCHITECTURE.

⁵ See text, p. 25.

⁶ Gen. xi. 3.

⁷ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 263 and 405.

⁸ This ruin is carefully described by Mr. Loftus in his "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 167-170.

⁹ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 261.

¹⁰ Wyttenbach, "Guide to the Roman Antiquities of Treves," p. 42.

¹¹ Rich, "First Memoir," p. 61.

¹² Loftus, p. 130.

¹³ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 263, 264.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 266.

¹⁵ Loftus, p. 133; "Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c. The "moulded semicircular bricks" found at Warka (Loftus, p. 175) are probably of the Babylonian, not the Chaldæan, period.

¹⁶ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 263.

¹⁷ Herod. i. 179.

¹⁸ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 169.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 168.

²⁰ See this traveller's account of his labors ("Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 167-170).

²¹ The whole building is said to be 100 feet above the surface of the plain; but we are not told what is the height from the plain of the mound or platform upon which the temple stands; nor what height

the fragment of the second story attains. All that can be gathered from Mr. Loftus is that the first story was at least 46 feet high.

²² Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 128. According to Mr. Loftus, this emplacement "is observable in all edifices (temples?) of true Chaldæan origin."

²³ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 129.

²⁴ The proportions of the lower stage are almost exactly as three to two. Those of the upper are as three and one-fifteenth to two.

²⁵ On this side the material used is bitumen. (See Mr. Taylor's article in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 261.)

²⁶ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264.

²⁷ Herod. i. 181.

²⁸ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264, note.

²⁹ See Mr. Taylor's description in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 405-408.

³⁰ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 406, note.

³¹ See ch. viii. p. 109.

³² See ch. i. p. 16.

³³ Mr. Loftus says—"I know of nothing more exciting or impressive than the first sight of one of these great Chaldæan piles, looming in solitary grandeur from the surrounding plains and marshes." ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 113.)

³⁴ See Herod. i. 181, where the stages (*πύργοι*) are carefully distinguished from the temple (*νῆδος*) at the summit.

³⁵ See p. 54.

³⁶ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 407.

³⁷ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 133.

³⁸ "Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. pp. 265, 266.

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 408, 410.

⁴⁰ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 188, 189. The building discovered by Mr. Loftus (from which the representation Pl. X., Fig. 1, is taken) was at Warka, and therefore might perhaps not be Chaldæan. The vast number of similar cones, however, which occur at Abu-Shahreïn ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 411) and other purely Chaldæan ruins, sufficiently indicate the style of ornamentation to belong to the first empire.

⁴¹ Mr. Taylor found remnants of these at Mugheir. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 266.)

⁴² Mr. Loftus believes that Chaldæan buildings were usually roofed in this way. ("Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 182, 183.) Mr. Taylor also believes that some of the chambers which he excavated must have been domed. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 411.)

⁴³ Loftus, p. 182.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 199.

⁴⁵ Loftus, pp. 54 and 65.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 199.

⁴⁷ Position of the relics *in situ*, character of the tomb or coffin, and apparent antiquity, or the reverse, of the enclosed vessels and ornaments, will commonly determine the age without much uncertainty.

⁴⁸ Loftus, p. 134.

⁴⁹ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iii. p. 61.

⁵⁰ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 271-274.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 269.

⁵² Ibid. pp. 413, 414.

⁵³ Ibid. pp. 268, 269.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 272; Loftus, p. 210. Mr. Taylor, however, qualifies this latter statement. "Directly on opening these covers," he says, "were I to attempt to touch the skulls or bones, they would fall into dust almost immediately; but I found, on exposing them for a few days to the air, that they became quite hard, and could be handled with impunity." It is to be regretted that Mr. Taylor did not send any of the skulls, when thus hardened, to England, as their examination would have been important towards determining the ethnic character of the race.

⁵⁵ The vases represented in the first of the cuts (Pl. XIII., Fig. 1), are in a coarse clay, mixed with chopped straw, which sometimes appears upon the surface.

⁵⁶ See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 257.

⁵⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 608, 609; Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 336; Birch's "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 114.

⁵⁹ Sometimes the sides are slightly concave, as in the representation.

⁶⁰ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 271.

⁶¹ Mr. Layard found remains of the bronze in one specimen. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 609.) The representation gives the probable form of the bronze setting.

⁶² "Travels in Georgia, Persia," etc., vol. ii. pl. 79, fig. 6.

⁶³ See Pl. VI., Fig. 3; Pl. VII., Figs. 1. and 3.

⁶⁴ Bangles and rings. (See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 415.)

⁶⁵ This view was taken by Mr. Vaux in a paper read by him before the Society of Antiquaries, January, 1860, which he has kindly put into my hands. It may be questioned, perhaps, whether these clay models are not rather the representatives of real weapons and implements, buried in their stead by relatives too poor to part with the originals.

⁶⁶ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 411.

⁶⁷ As fillets for the head. (Ibid. p. 273.)

⁶⁸ These earrings are given as Chaldæan, because they were found at Niffer among remains thought to be purely Chal-

dæan. At the same time it must be allowed that they very much resemble the Greek "Cupid earrings," of which there are so many in the British Museum.

⁶⁹ See Pls. XV., XVI.

⁷⁰ See the small woodcut on p. 56.

⁷¹ See Pl. IX., Fig. 3, where a representation of this mode of ornamenting walls is given; and for the use of bronze rings, see "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 411.

⁷² Josh. vii. 21.

⁷³ See Pl. XIV., Fig. 2.

⁷⁴ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 271.

⁷⁵ Ibid. l. s. c.

⁷⁶ Arrian. "Exp. Alex." vi. 29; Athenæus, "Deipnosoph." v. p. 197.

⁷⁷ Dan. i. 4.

⁷⁸ This passage has often been referred to, but rarely quoted. Simplicius argues that the earlier Greek writers on astronomy have less value than the later ones:—*διὰ τὸ μήπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκῆψαντος αὐτῷ ἄστωνας διηγείται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐννεακοσίων τριῶν, μέχρι τὸν χρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα σωζομένας.*

⁷⁹ Plin. "H. N." vii. 56. "Epigenes apud Babylonios dccxx annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet."

⁸⁰ See text, p. 52.

⁸¹ This is distinctly asserted of the great temple of Belus by Diodorus (ii. 9, § 4). The careful emplacement of the *earliest* temples makes it probable that they were applied to similar uses.

⁸² Herod. ii. 109.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See the passage prefixed as a motto to this chapter (text, p. 48).

⁸⁵ Isaiah xliii. 14.

⁸⁶ Sir H. Rawlinson in the "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xxvii. p. 185.

⁸⁷ See Heeren's "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 220, E. T.

⁸⁸ See text, p. 56.

⁸⁹ See "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 218; and compare Loftus's "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 256.

⁹⁰ Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. i, p. 5, ed. Mai.

⁹¹ This is the *ner* of Berosus, which was a period of 600 years. Compare with this notation that of the Mexicans (Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Mexico," vol. i. p. 91), where, besides the unit, the only numbers which had distinct signs were 20, 400, and 8000.

CHAPTER V.

¹ See text, pp. 57-60.

² Mr. Loftus makes this comparison ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 257). For representations of the costume see Loftus,

pp. 257, 258, 260; and Rich ("Second Memor.," pl. iii. fig. 13).

³ See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.

⁴ "Asiatic Journal," vol. xv. p. 271.

⁵ Loftus, p. 258. Compare the central standing figure in the cylinder of which a representation is given. (See Pl. XIV., Fig. 2.)

⁶ See the same cylinder, where two of the three standing figures wear the mitre in question.

⁷ Taylor in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272.

⁸ At least this is the position which the signet cylinder always occupies in the tombs. ("Asiatic Journal," vol. xv. p. 271.)

⁹ Ibid. p. 415.

¹⁰ See the sitting figure in the cylinder (Pl. XIV., Fig. 2); and compare "As. Journ.," vol. xv. p. 273.

¹¹ See text, pp. 22-24.

¹² Herod. iv. 71 (Author's Translation, vol. iii. pp. 61-63).

¹³ Ibid. i. 200.

¹⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxiv. p. 567.

¹⁵ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272, note 1.

¹⁶ See the "Fragmenta Hist. Græc." vol. ii. p. 496; Fr. 1, § 2.

¹⁷ Gen. x. 9.

¹⁸ See text, ch. ii. p. 26.

¹⁹ See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.

²⁰ Ibid. ch. xx. p. 259.

²¹ For representations of spearheads, see Pls. XV. and XVI.

²² "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272, note 2.

²³ See Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 21; vol. iii. p. 55; and compare Sophocl. "Antiq." 347, where the invention of nets is united with that of ships, agriculture, and language.

²⁴ See text, p. 56.

²⁵ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264.

²⁶ "Fragm. Hist. Græc." l. s. c. The "Red Sea" of Berosus, like that of Herodotus, is not our Red Sea, but the sea which washes the south of Asia including both the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. (See Herod. i. 1; Author's Translation, vol. i. p. 153, note 2.)

CHAPTER VII.

¹ It appears from Eusebius ("Chron. Can." pars i. c. ii.) and Syncellus ("Chronograph." vol. i. pp. 50-53) that Berosus at any rate gave this turn to the Babylonian mythology. What is commonly reported of Pythagoras, Democritus, and others, who are said to have drawn their philosophies from Chaldæan sources, would seem to show that there was really such an esoteric doctrine as is suggested in the text. We cannot tell, however, which more nearly represented it—the monotheism of the Samian, or the atheism of the Abderite philosopher.

² See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 585; from which most of the views contained in this chapter are taken.

³ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the above-quoted Essay, p. 586.

⁴ It is now generally allowed that a Scythic or Turanian race was the first to people Europe. Of this race we have still remnants in the Basques, Fins, Laps, and Esths or Esthocians upon the Baltic. The Etruscans in Italy are perhaps of the same stock. In Greece they probably blended with the Pelasgi (Arians), as they did also with the Celts in several countries. The "lake-dwellings" of Europe may be with great probability assigned to them; and the flint-weapons in the drift are perhaps traces of their burial-grounds.

⁵ This name is very doubtful. Mr. Fox Talbot renders it by *Yem*; M. Oppert by *Ao* or *Hu*; Dr. Hincks by *Iv* or *Iva*; M. Lenormant by *Bin*.

⁶ These schemes themselves were probably not genealogical at first. In their genealogical shape they were an arrangement given after awhile to separate and independent deities recognized in different places by distinct communities, or even by distinct races. (See Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. iv. p. 66, B. Engl. Transl.)

⁷ See Diod. Sic. ii. 30, § 3, where, however, there is a corrupt reading, the word *Ἥλον* being most absurdly replaced by *Ἥλιον*.

⁸ See his fragments in Müller's "Fragm. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. pp. 567 and 571; Fr. 2, § 14, and Fr. 5.

⁹ Loc. sup. cit. *Ἰδία τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κρόνον ὀνομαζόμενον καλοῦσιν Ἥλου*.

¹⁰ *Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἥλον προσαγορεύουσι, βασιλείων τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνον ἀστερα καθιερωθεῖς, κ.τ.λ.* This, however, professes to be Phœnician and not Babylonian mythology.

¹¹ Fr. 1, § 3, and Fr. 6. Annedôtus (*Ἀννήδωτος*) is (perhaps) "given by Ana," or "given by God." Oannes is probably *Hoa-ana*; or "the god Hoa."

¹² Fr. 5. Anobret (*Ἀνωβρετ*) signifies "beloved by Ana."

¹³ Damasc. "De Princip." 125.

¹⁴ Hesiod. "Theogon." 455-457; Apollod. "Bibliothec." i. 1, §§ 5, 6.

¹⁵ A single wedge | which according to

Chaldæan numeration represents the number 60 (see text, p. 66), is emblematic of the god Ana on the notation tablets; and, as would be expected from this fact,

Ana is one of the phonetic powers of |

Another of its powers is *Dis*; and hence the conclusion is drawn that *Dis* was probably another name of *Ana*. (See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 592.)

¹⁶ Cf. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Τελάνη, πόλις ἀρχαιοτάτη Συρίας (i. e. Ἀσσυρίας) ἣν ᾠκει Νίνος πρὸ τῆς Νίνου κτίσεως.

¹⁷ See note ⁸, ch. iv.

¹⁸ Gen. x. 10. The identification of Niffer with Calneh rests on the authority of the Talmud (see text, pp. 11, 12).

¹⁹ See text, pp. 85-86.

²⁰ "Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 566.

²¹ Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. i. p. 378, E. T.; Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 295.

²² "De Princip." 125.

²³ *Bil* or *Bilu* is "lord" in the Assyrian and the Semitic Babylonian; *Enu* is the corresponding Cushite or Hamitic term.

²⁴ The Jupiter Belus worshipped in the great temple at Babylon seems certainly to have been Merodach, who likewise represents the planet Jupiter. (See text, p. 87.)

²⁵ As by Abydenus (cf. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 12, p. 36, and Mos. Choren. i. 4, p. 13), by Stephen (ad voc. Βαβυλὼν), and, perhaps we may say, by Herodotus (i. 7). Compare also Thallus (Fr. 2) and Mos. Choren. (i. 6, and 9), who absolutely identifies Belus with Nimrod.

²⁶ Abyden. Fr. 8.

²⁷ Gen. x. 10.

²⁸ These walls were known respectively as the *Ingur-Bilu-Nipru*, and the *Nimiti-Bilu-Nipru*. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 596, and vol. ii. p. 586.)

²⁹ Gen. x. 10.

³⁰ See text, pp. 100, 101.

³¹ Hence the *Mylitta* (Μύλιττα) of Herodotus (i. 131, 199), and perhaps the *Molis* (Μόλις) of Nic. Damascenus ("Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). It has been usual to derive these words from the Hebrew מְלִי, "generare;" but no similar root is found in either Assyrian or Babylonian. *Mul* in Hamitic Babylonian is the exact equivalent of *Bil* in Semitic Assyrian. Both signify "lord," while *Bilta* and *Mulita* signify "lady."

³² *Mabog* is "the mother of the gods," from *ma* or *nata*, "mother," and *baga*, "god" (Slavonic *bog*).

³³ Etymologists have been puzzled by the name *Rhea* (Ῥέα)—one of the numerous appellatives of the "Great Goddess"—who is known also as *Ceres*, *Cybele* or *Cybebe*, *Mater Dindymene*, *Magna Mater*, *Bona Dea*, *Dea Phrygia*, *Ops*, *Terra*, and *Tellus*. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the numerical symbol of this goddess, which was 15, pronounced as *Ri* by the Chaldeans.

³⁴ The inscription on the open-mouthed lion, now in the British Museum. (See the

author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 625, note ⁶).

³⁵ "De Princip." l. s. c.

³⁶ Ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." CCLXXXIX. p. 1594.

³⁷ Beros. Fr. 1, § 3. Oannes has been otherwise explained. It has been thought to signify "given by *Ana*."

³⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 600.

³⁹ Cf. Hellad. l. s. c., and Beros. Fr. 1, § 3. The latter writer gave the following account of Oannes—Παραδιδόναι, φησί, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γραμμάτων καὶ μαθημάτων καὶ τεχνῶν παντοδαπῶν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ πόλεων συνοικισμούς, καὶ ἱερῶν ἰδρύσεις, καὶ νόμων εἰσηγήσεις, καὶ γεωμετρίαν διδάσκειν, καὶ σπέρματα καὶ καρπῶν συναγωγὰς ὑποδεικνύναι, καὶ συνόλως πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡμέρῳσιν ἀνθρώπου βίον παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισσὸν εὑρεθῆναι.

⁴⁰ Berosus and Helladius both agree in regarding *Hoa* (Ὠη or Ὠάννης) as the Fish-God; but from the inscriptions it appears that the Fish-God was really *Nin* or *Ninip*. (See text, p. 86.)

⁴¹ So Berosus, l. s. c.

⁴² Gen. iii. 1.

⁴³ Job ix. 9; xxxviii. 31; Amos v. 8. There seem to be no grounds for our translating *Kimah* as "the Pleiades." It is not even a plural.

⁴⁴ It is not perhaps altogether clear *why* the serpent has been so frequently regarded as an emblem of life. Some say, because serpents are long-lived; others, because the animal readily formed a circle, and a circle was the symbol of eternity. But, whatever the reason, the fact cannot be doubted.

⁴⁵ See the passage cited at full length in note ³⁹. According to Assyrian notions, *Hoa* did not confine his presents to men. One of the kings of Assyria says:—"The senses of seeing, hearing, and understanding, which *Hoa* allotted to the whole 4000 gods of heaven and earth, they in the fulness of their hearts granted to me."

⁴⁶ Mans. Parth. p. 5.

⁴⁷ "De Princip." l. s. c. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀου καὶ Δαύκης υἱὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Βῆλον.

⁴⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 601, note ⁸. Movers and Bunsen derive *Δαύκη* from the Heb. דָּוָק, "tundere," and interpret it "strife," comparing the Syriac *daukat*. (See Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. iv. pp. 155, 156.)

⁴⁹ Beros. Fr. 1, § 6.

⁵⁰ *Sin* is used for the moon in Mendæan and Syriac at the present day. It is the name given to the Moon-God in St. James of Seruj's list of the idols of Harran; and

it was the term used for Monday by the Sabæans as late as the ninth century.

⁶¹ As in Daniel iv. 13, 17, and in the Syriac liturgy.

⁶² The term *zuna* may perhaps be connected with the Heb. זון "form." *Zanan* is common in Assyrian for "building."

⁶³ Sin is expressly called "the god of the month Sivan of happy name;" and it may be suspected that his name is a mere contraction of Sivan. The sign used for the month Sivan is also the sign which represents "bricks."

⁶⁴ These forms are taken chiefly from the engravings of cylinders published by the late Mr. Cullimore.

⁶⁵ It is not uncommon for the second syllable in an Assyrian or Babylonian god's name to be dropped as unimportant. We have both *Asshur* and *As*, both *Sansi* and *San*, both *Ninip* and *Nin*, etc. Thus we might expect to find both *Hur* and *Hurki*. It is not perhaps a proof of the connection—but still it is an argument in favor of it—to find that when Ur changed its name to Camarina (Eupolem. ap. Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 3), the new appellation was a derivative from another word (*Kamar*, Arab.) signifying "the moon." (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 616.)

⁶⁶ Nabonidus calls him "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth, the king of the gods, god of gods, he who dwells in the great heavens," etc.

⁶⁷ In Hebrew *shani*, שני, is usually translated "scarlet," but some learned Jews suggest that the true meaning is bright. (See Newman's "Hebrew Lexicon" ad voc, and compare Gesenius.)

⁶⁸ From שטש "ministrare." (See Buxtorf ad voc.)

⁶⁹ Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, etc. The Hebrew form is בֵּית־שֵׁאן, *Beth-shean*, or בֵּית־שָׁן, *Beth-shan*. The

LXX give Βαιθσάν, Βαιθσαάν, Βαιθσείμ, and Βηθσάν. Josephus has Βήθσανα, and Βεθσάνη. The Talmud contrasts the word to *Bisan*, גִּיסָן and the existing name is *Beisán*. As Scythopolis, this city was well known to the Greeks and Romans.

⁷⁰ See the small treatise of Eugesippus, "De Locis," etc., in the folio edition of the Byzantine Historians (vol. xxiii. sub fin.). "Scythopolis civitas, Galilææ metropolis, quæ et Bethsan, id est, domus solis."

⁷¹ It would seem from this name that *Parra* was also a title under which the Sun was known in Chaldæa in the early times. May not this title be connected with the Egyptian *Ph-ra* or *Pi-ra*, "the sun," whence probably the Hebrew *Pharaoh*?

⁷² Abyden. Fr. 1; Syncell. vol. i. p. 70.

⁷³ Winer, "Realwörterbuch," ad. voc.

"Adrammelech." Sir H. Rawlinson allows this derivation to be not improbable (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 611), suggesting, however, another, from *edim*, "the arranger," and *melek* (ibid.).

⁷⁴ 2 Kings xvii. 31.

⁷⁵ *Gula* is rendered by *rabu* in the vocabularies, which is the Hebrew *rab*, רב, "a great one"—and thence "a doctor." It is probably connected with the Abyssinian *guda*, "great;" but not with גרר or at any rate only indirectly. *Ai* may perhaps be the same word as the Agau (Abyssinian) *awi*, "light."

⁷⁶ Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 612.

⁷⁷ In Assyria such a threefold worship of the male Sun is found; but even there we have no triple nomenclature.

⁷⁸ The only place where these two deities are clearly distinguished from *Gula* is in the list of the idols contained in the great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon. But for this notice, the names would certainly have been regarded as nothing more than titles of *Gula*.

⁷⁹ No satisfactory explanation has been given of the word *Anammelech*. If it represents the female power of the sun, we must suppose that *Ana* is an abbreviated form of *Anunit*, and that *melek*, מלך, is for *malcah*, מלכה the Jews

from contempt not caring to be correct in the names of false gods.

⁸⁰ See note ⁵ of this chapter.

⁸¹ Bolts of the kind represented were also used as trophies of victory. Tiglath-Pileser I. made one of copper, and inscribed upon it a record of his conquests. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 609.)

⁸² See text, p. 108.

⁸³ See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 62.

⁸⁴ Hesychius uses the form Σαλαμβῶ, and calls the goddess "the Babylonian Venus." In the Etymologicum Magnum the form used is Σαλάμβας.

⁸⁵ The second element in *Salambo* or *Salambas* is probably *amma* (Heb. אִמָּה), "a mother."

⁸⁶ See Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 13, "Barsamum ob fortissimas res gestas in Deos ascriptum ad longum tempus Syri coluere." ii. 13, "Tigranes in Mesopotamiam descendit, et nactus ibi Barsami statuam, quam ex ebore et beryllo factam argento ornaverant, deportari eam jubet, et in Thordano oppido locari."

⁸⁷ Herodian. iii. 1, § 11.

⁸⁸ Herod. i. 7.

⁸⁹ Lydus, "De Mensibus," iv. 46; Athenag. "Leg. pro Christ." xv. 6; Damasc. "De Princip."

⁹⁰ See the Memoir of M. Raoul Rochette on the Assyrian Hercules in the 17th volume of the "Mém. de l'Institut," where this point is abundantly proved.

⁹¹ Fr. 1. § 3. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον σῶμα ἔχον

ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἄλλην κεφαλὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ ἰχθύος κεφαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου, παραπεφυκotas δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἰχθύος.

⁸² The Fish-god (Ὡάννης) comes out of the Red Sea (Persian Gulf) to instruct the settlers in *Chaldæa*.

⁸³ That the Assyrians commonly used the Hamitic Nin, or Ninip, and not the Semitic Bar, or Barshem, is proved by the traditions concerning Ninus, and by the name of their capital city.

⁸⁴ Tacit. "Ann." xii. 13.

⁸⁵ See text, p. 78.

⁸⁶ Gesenius, "Lexicon Hebraicum," ad voc. "Merodach."

⁸⁷ Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. ii. p. 323.

⁸⁸ This is Ptolemy's name for a district of Babylonia (see his "Geography," v. 20). The Latin translator renders it by *Mar-docæa*.

⁸⁹ So the Phœnicians worshipped Bel as Βελιθάν or בל איה "the old Bel" (Damasc. ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 343); and the Sabæans of Harran called their Bel, "Bel, the grave old man," (Chwolsohn, "Ssabier und Ssabismus," vol. ii. p. 39.)

⁹⁰ The Babylonian kings are fond of including the word *Merodach* in their names. As early as B.C. 1110, we find a *Merodach-iddin-akki*, the son of an *Irba-Merodach*. Afterwards we have *Merodach-Baladan*, *Mesessimordachus*, *Evil-Merodach*, etc.

⁹¹ Herod. i. 181-183. Compare Diod. Sic. ii. 9.

⁹² Apoc. Dan. xiv. 2.

⁹³ Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5: Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἐστηκεν ἦν καὶ διαβεβηκός.

⁹⁴ Ibid. ii. 9, § 6.

⁹⁵ Succoth, "texts," is probably a mis-translation of *Zir*, or *Zirat*, which was confounded with *zarat*, a word having that meaning.

⁹⁶ As Tiglath-Pileser I., about B.C. 1100, and Asshur-izir-pal, about B.C. 850.

⁹⁷ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 632.

⁹⁸ See 2 Kings xvii. 30.

⁹⁹ The Sabæans of Harran, who used generally the Babylonian appellations of the gods, applied the name of *Ares* to the third day of the week—the "dies Martis" of the Romans. (Chwolsohn, "Ssabier und Ssabismus," vol. ii. p. 22.)

¹⁰⁰ 2 Kings xi. 5 and 33. Ashtoreth (אשתרת), "the goddess of the Sidonians"

'Αστάρτη of LXX.), is to be distinguished from Ashtaroth (עשתרת), the plural form

(ταῖς Ἀστάρταις of LXX.), which seems to be a generic word for "false goddesses."

¹⁰¹ 2 Mac. i. 13-15.

¹⁰² The name of *Nani* is given by the Syrian lexicographer Bar-Bahlul as one

of the fifteen titles applied to the planet Venus by the Arabs. The word is also found further east, as in Affghanistan, where many places are called *Bibi Nani*, after "the lady Venus." The same origin may be assigned to the Greek "Νάννιον," the name of a courtesan. (Athen. xiii. p. 576.)

¹⁰³ As Gesenius, Movers, and Fürst. Bunsen's argument against an Iranian derivation of the name of a Semitic god ("Egypt's Place," vol. iv. p. 349, E. T.) is perfectly sound; but his suggestion that the true etymology of Ashtoreth is *has-toreth*, "the seat of the cow," seems scarcely entitled to acceptance.

¹⁰⁴ Compare the Roman notion by which the best throw on the dice was called "Venus," or "jactus Venereus." (Plaut. "Asin." v. ii. 55; Cic. "de Div." ii. 50, etc.)

¹⁰⁵ This is her character in the records of Asshur-sani-pal, the son and successor of Esar-haddon.

¹⁰⁶ Nebuchadnezzar speaks of having "made the way of *Nana*" in Babylon, by which he probably means a way or road to her temple. (See the Standard Inscription, as given in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 586.)

¹⁰⁷ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," ch. xviii. p. 214; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. 7.

¹⁰⁸ The conjunction appears to belong only to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Sir H. Rawlinson observes that, as Nebuchadnezzar never once mentions Varamit, the true wife of Nebo, in his inscriptions, it is evident she was out of favor with him, and that therefore *Nana* "may have been thrust temporarily into her place." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 637.)

¹⁰⁹ The Babylonian form is *Nabiu*, the Assyrian *Nabu*. The word forms the initial element in Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus or Labynetus, Nebuzaradan, and possibly in Laborosoarchod.

¹¹⁰ In the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa there is an interior chamber, which seems to have been a chapel or oratory, all the bricks of which are found to be stamped—in addition to the ordinary legend of Nebuchadnezzar—with the figure of a wedge or arrow-head. It is probably with reference to this symbol that Nebo received the name of *Tir*, which is at once "an arrow," and the name of the planet Mercury in ancient Persian.

¹¹¹ When Nebo first appears in Assyria, it is as a foreign god, whose worship is brought thither from Babylonia. His worship was never common in the more northern country.

¹¹² This is the monarch whose name is read as *Mutaggil-Nebo*, the grandfather of Tiglath-Pileser I., who is mentioned in that monarch's great inscription.

¹¹³ There is a confusion here in Polyhistor both as reported by Eusebius ("Chron. Can." i. 2, pp. 11, 12) and by Syncellus ("Chronograph." vol. i. p. 53), which can scarcely have belonged to his

authority, Berosus. Belus is first made to cut off his own head, and "the other gods" are said to have mixed his blood with earth and formed man; but afterwards the account contained in the text is given. It seems to me that the first account is an interpolation in the legend.

¹¹⁴ I have placed this phrase a little out of its order. It occurs in the passage, which appears to me interpolated, and which is perhaps rather an explanation which Berosus gave of the legend than part of the legend itself. However, Berosus has no doubt here explained the legend rightly.

¹¹⁵ So Niebuhr says ("Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 16, E. T.), but without mentioning to what writers he alludes.

¹¹⁶ Bunsen, "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iv. p. 365, E. T.

¹¹⁷ The Chaldee narrative is extravagant and grotesque; the Mosaic is miraculous, as a true account of creation must be; but it is without unnecessary marvels, and its tone is sublime and solemn.

¹¹⁸ In Genesis the point of view is the divine—"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In the Chaldee legend the point of view is the physical and mundane, God being only brought in after awhile as taking a certain part in creation.

¹¹⁹ "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 17, E. T.

¹²⁰ This is not expressly stated in the legend; but the divine warning to Xisuthrus, and the stress laid by Xisuthrus in his last words on the worship of God, seem to imply such a belief.

¹²¹ Gen. ix. 1.

¹²² So in Syncellus ("Chronograph." p. 54); but in the Armenian Eusebius we read "other birds" ("Chron. Can." i. 3, p. 15).

¹²³ The Armenian translator turns the pilot (*κυβερνήτην*) into the "architect of the ship." M. Bunsen follows him ("Egypt," etc., vol. iv. p. 371).

¹²⁴ This is plainly stated both in the Greek and in the Armenian. M. Bunsen has, "threw himself upon the earth and prayed" (l. s. c.).

¹²⁵ I have inverted the order of this clause and the preceding one, to keep the connection more clear.

¹²⁶ Two separate versions of this legend have descended to us. They came respectively from Abydenus and Polyhistor. We have the words of the authors in Euseb. "Præp. Ev." ix. 14, 15, and Syncell. "Chronograph." vol. i. p. 81. We have also a translation of their words in the Armenian Eusebius ("Chron. Can." i. 4 and 8).

¹²⁷ Gen. vi. 13.

¹²⁸ Ib. 14-16.

¹²⁹ Ib. verse 18.

¹³⁰ Ib. verse 20.

¹³¹ Ib. viii. 7.

¹³² Ib. 9-11.

¹³³ Gen. viii. 12.

¹³⁴ Ib. verse 13; "Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the earth was dry."

¹³⁵ Ib. viii. 20. "And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offering upon the altar."

¹³⁶ Ib. verse 8: "And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat." Ararat is the usual word for Armenia in the Assyrian inscriptions.

¹³⁷ Ib. xi. 2.

¹³⁸ Ib. 4-9.

¹³⁹ The ark is made more than half a mile long, whereas it was really only 300 cubits, which is at the utmost 600 feet, or less than an eighth of a mile.

¹⁴⁰ According to some writers, the principles of naval architecture were not concerned in the building of the ark, since (as they say) "it was not a ship, but a house" (Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 212). But would "a floating house," not shaped shipwise, have been safe amid the winds and currents of so terrible a crisis? The Chaldæans, despite the absurd proportions that they assign it, term the ark "a ship," and give it "a pilot."

¹⁴¹ The expression in Gen. xi. 4, "a tower whose top may reach unto heaven," is a mere common form of Oriental hyperbole, applied to any great height. (See Deut. i. 28, where the spies are said to have brought back word that the cities of the Canaanites were great, and "walled up to heaven.") But in the Chaldee version of the story we are told that the men built the tower "in order that they might mount to heaven" (*ὅπως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῶσι*).

¹⁴² Baron Bunsen observes with reason—"The general contrast between the Biblical and the Chaldee version is very great. What a purely special local character, legendary and fabulous, without ideas, does it display in every point which it does not hold in common with the Hebrew!" ("Egypt's Place," vol. iv. p. 374, E. T.)

CHAPTER VIII.

¹ Simplicius relates ("Comment. in Aristot. de Cælo," ii. p. 123) that Callisthenes, the friend of Alexander, sent to Aristotle from Babylon a series of stellar observations made in that city, which reached back 1903 years before the conquest of the place by Alexander. (B.C. 331 + 1903 = B.C. 2234.) Philo-Byblius, according to Stephen (ad voc. *Βαβυλῶν*), made Babylon to have been built 1002 years before Semiramis, whom he considered contemporary with, or a little anterior to, the Trojan War. ("Fragm. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. p. 563.) We do not know his date for this last event, but supposing it to be that of the Parian Chronicle, B.C. 1218, we should have B.C. 2220 for the building of the city, according to him. Again, Berosus and Critodemus are said

by Pliny ("H. N." vii. 56) to have declared that the Babylonians had recorded their stellar observations upon bricks for 480 years before the era of Phoroneus. At least the passage may be so understood. (See the "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 222.) Now the date of Phoroneus, according to Clinton ("F. H." vol. i. p. 139), is B.C. 1753; and B.C. 1753 + 480 gives B.C. 2233.

² The most authentic account seems to be that which Eusebius copied from Polyhistor ("Chronica," i. 4). Syncellus is far less to be trusted, on account of his elaborate systematizing.

³ This view is taken by Mr. William Palmer in his Appendix on "Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities." (See his "Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. pp. 942, 943.)

⁴ Manetho assigns 24,925 years to the reigns of Gods, Demigods, and Manes, who ruled Egypt before Menes—the first historical king. (See "Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. ii. p. 528.)

⁵ Eusebius and Josephus.

⁶ The 48 years of the third dynasty are not in the text of the Armenian Eusebius, but in the margin only. The text of the same authority assigns 224 years to the second dynasty, but the margin gives 234.

⁷ The Canon mentions five only of these kings, omitting one (Laborosoarchod), because he reigned less than a full year.

⁸ G. Smith in "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache," November, 1868.

⁹ Herod. i. 95; Aristot. "De Cælo," ii. 12, § 3; Simplic. "Comment. ad Aristot. de Cælo," ii. p. 123.

¹⁰ Mr. Bosanquet is almost the only chronologer who still disputes the accuracy of this document. (See his "Messiah the Prince," Appendix, pp. 455-8, 2d edition.)

¹¹ Syncellus gave 225 years to the first Chaldæan dynasty in Babylonia; but it is difficult to say on what basis he went. He admitted seven kings, to whom he gave the names of Evechius, Chomasbelus, Porus, Nechubus, Nabius, Oniballus, and Zinzerus. These names do not much encourage us to view the list as historical. Three of them belong to the late Babylonian period. One only (Chomasbelus, perhaps Shamas-Bel) has at all the air of a name of this early time.

¹² Gen. x. 10.

¹³ Gen. x. 9: "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord."

¹⁴ The Greek forms, Νεβρωδ and Νεβρωθ, serve to connect *Nipru* with נִמְרוֹד. The native root is thought to be *napar*. "to pursue," or "cause to flee." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 597.)

¹⁵ Yacut declares that Nimrod attempted to mount to heaven on the wings of an eagle, and makes Niffer (Calneh) the scene of this occurrence. ("Lex. Geograph." in voc. *Niffer*.) It is supposed that we

have here an allusion to the building of the tower of Babel. The Koran contains a story of Nimrod's casting Abraham into a fiery furnace.

¹⁶ The Arabic "Jabbar" represents the Hebrew גִּבּוֹר, which is the epithet applied to Nimrod in Gen. x. 8. The identification of Nimrod with Orion is noted by Greek writers. (See John of Antioch, Fr. 3; "Pasch. Chron." vol. i. p. 64; John of Malala, p. 17; Cedrenus, vol. i. p. 27; etc.) Orion is a "mighty hunter," even in Homer. (See Odyss. xi. 572-575.)

¹⁷ "Journ. of Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 230.

¹⁸ The great temple of Borsippa is known as the *Birs-i-Nimrud*; and the simple name *Nimrud* is given to probably the most striking heap of ruins in the ancient Assyria.

¹⁹ Gen. x. 11, 12.

²⁰ Herod. i. 1; vii. 89; Strab. xvi. 3, § 4; Justin., xviii. 3, § 2; Plin. "H. N." iv. 22; Dionys. Per. l. 906.

²¹ Gen. xi. 31.

²² This conjectural reading of the name has led to a further conjecture, viz., that in this monumental sovereign we have the real original of the "Orchamus" of Ovid, whom he represents as the seventh successor of Belus in the government of Babylon ("Metaph." iv. 212-13). But the phonetic value of the monograms, in which the names of the early Chaldæan kings are written, is so wholly uncertain that it seems best to abstain from speculations which may have their basis struck from under them at any moment.

²³ See Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 425; and compare text, pp. 35, 43.

²⁴ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 261-263; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 168.

²⁵ As in the Bowariyeh ruin at Warka (Loftus, p. 167).

²⁶ See text, pp. 51, 52.

²⁷ Gen. xiv. 1.

²⁸ Herod. ii. 124, 128; Arist. Pol. vii. 11.

²⁹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 246.

³⁰ See Pl. VI., Fig. 3, and Pl. VII., Fig. 1.

³¹ Compare the slight buttresses, only 13 inches thick, supporting the Mugheir temple, which has a facing of burnt brick to the depth of ten feet, with the strong ones at Warka (where unburnt brick is the material used), which project seven feet and a half from the central mass. (Loftus, pp. 128, 129, and p. 169.)

³² Loftus, p. 128.

³³ See text, p. 71.

³⁴ See text, pp. 67 and 68.

³⁵ At this early period in the world's history, the differences between the great families of human speech were but very partially developed. Language was altogether in an agglutinate, rather than in an inflected, state. The intricacies of Arian—even the lesser intricacies of Semitic grammar—had not been invented.

Languages differed one from another chiefly in their vocabularies. What we observe with respect to the Susianians or Elamites is, that while their vocabulary is mainly Turanian, it also contains numerous words which were continued in the later Arian speech. For instance, *Nakhunta* is beyond a doubt the *Anahita* of the Persians and the *Anaitis* of the Greeks. *Kudur* is the same word as the Persian *chitra*, "sprung from" (compare Zend *chithra*, "seed"). *Mabuk* is, perhaps, *Mabog*, which is formed from the two thoroughly Arian roots, *ma*, "mother," and *bog* (Old Pers. *baga*, Slavon. *bog*, *bogie*), "God."

³⁶ See "Behist. Inscr." col. i. pars. 16, 17; col. ii. pars. 3, 4. The transfer of the Persian capital to Susa, which took place soon after this, was probably in part an acknowledgment of the superior antiquity and dignity of the Elamitic capital.

³⁷ The date of Asshur-bani-pal's conquest of Susa is doubtful. It may have been as early as B.C. 661. (See Mr. G. Smith's paper in the "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache" for Nov. 1868, p. 116.) The conquest of Chaldæa by Kudur-Nakhunta may therefore have fallen as early as B.C. 2296.

³⁸ "Zeitschrift," l. s. c.

³⁹ It was long ago suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson that the etymology of this name is to be sought in the languages of the Semitic rather than in those of the Arian family ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 227, note 2); and that its true meaning is "the seed of Ishtar (Venus)." If so, *Kudar-Nakhunta* would exactly correspond to *Zoro-aster* (or *Ziru-Ishtar*). See note ³⁵ of this chapter.

⁴⁰ Ap. Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 78, B. Compare Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 5. "Zorastrem Magum . . . qui fuit Medorum principium."

⁴¹ By calling his second dynasty "Median," Berosus probably only meant to say that it came from the mountain tract east of Babylonia, which in his own day had been for so many ages the seat of Medo-Persic power. Susiana had in his time been completely absorbed into Persia. (Strabo, xv. 3, § 2.)

⁴² Gen. xiv. 1.

⁴³ For the Tidal (תרעל) of the present Hebrew text, the LXX. have Thargal (Θαργάλ), which implies a reading of תרעל in their copies. Turgal would be significant in early Babylonia, meaning "the great chief." (See Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. TIDAL.)

⁴⁴ Gen. xiv. 2.

⁴⁵ The scene of the battle seems to have been that part of the plain which was afterwards submerged, when the area of the Dead Sea was extended. Compare the expression (Gen. xiv. 3), "All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim which is the salt sea;" and see Mr. Ffoulkes's article on GOMORRAH in Dr.

Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. pp. 709, 710.

⁴⁶ "Twelve years they served Chedor-laomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled." (Gen. xiv. 4.)

⁴⁷ Among the nations chastised by Chedor-laomer on his second invasion we find the Rephaim or "Giants," the Zuzim, the Emim, the Horites, the Amorites, and the Amalekites. (Gen. xiv. 5-7.)

⁴⁸ Gen. xiv. 9-12.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 16.

⁵⁰ May not the tradition, that Abraham was king of Demascus (Nic. Dam. Fr. 30), be connected with this exploit? It could scarcely have been grounded on the mere fact that he had for steward a native of that city. (Gen. xv. 2.)

⁵¹ The expression in verse 17 of the Authorized Version, "the slaughter of Chedor-laomer, and of the kings which were with him," is over strong. The Hebrew phrase מַחֲבֵת does not mean more than "defeat" or "overthrow."

⁵² It is not, perhaps, quite certain that Sinti-shil-khak was a Chaldæan monarch. His name appears only in the inscriptions of his son, Kudur-Mabuk, where he is not given the title of king.

⁵³ *Martu* certainly means either "the West" generally, or Syria in particular, which was the most western country known to the early Babylonians. *Apda* is perhaps connected with the Hebrew root אָפַד, which in the Hiphil has the sense of "destroy" or "ravage."

⁵⁴ The inscriptions of Kudur-Mabuk and Arid-Sin have been found only at Mugheir, the ancient Ur. (See "British Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 2, No. iii., and Pl. 5. No. xvi.)

⁵⁵ It is true that the number 48 occurs only in the margin of the Armenian MS. But the inserter of that number must have had it before him in some copy of Eusebius; for he could not have conjectured it from the number of the kings.

⁵⁶ Compare the rapid succession in the seventh dynasty, which is given (partially) in the Canon of Ptolemy, more fully in the fragments of Berosus and Polyhistor.

⁵⁷ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. p. 433, note 1.

⁵⁸ If Sennacherib's 10th year is B.C. 692, Tiglath-Pileser's defeat must have been in B.C. 1110. His restoration of the temple was certainly earlier, for it was at the very beginning of his reign—say B.C. 1120. Add the sixty years during which the building had been in ruins and the 641 during which it had stood, and we have B.C. 1821 for the building of the original temple by Shamas-Vul. The date of his father's accession should be at least 30 years earlier—or B.C. 1851.

⁵⁹ Three or four tablets of Babylonian satraps have been discovered at Kileh-Sherghat. The titles assumed are said to "belong to the most humble class of dignities." (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 448, note 7.)

⁶⁰ For inscriptions of Gurguna, see "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pl. 2, No. vi. Some doubt has been entertained as to whether this prince was the son or the grandson of Ismi-dagon, but on the whole the verdict of cuneiform scholars has been in favor of the interpretation of these inscriptions which makes him the son.

⁶¹ See text, pp. 58-61.

⁶² Berosus gave no doubt the complete list; but his names have not been preserved to us. The brief Chaldæan list in Syncellus (p. 169) probably came from him; but the names seem to have belonged to the first or mythical dynasty. One might have hoped to obtain some help from Ctesias's Assyrian list, as it went back at least as far as B.C. 2182, when Assyria was a mere province of the Chaldæan Empire. But it presents every appearance of an absolute forgery, being composed of Arian, Semitic, Egyptian, and Greek appellations, with a sprinkling of terms borrowed from geography.

⁶³ "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 7.

⁶⁴ The fact is recorded by Nabonidus—the Labynetus of Herodotus—on the famous Mugheir cylinder. ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 69; col. 2, l. 30.)

⁶⁵ "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 8.

⁶⁶ Sin-Shada seems to have immediately succeeded a queen. He calls himself "son of Bilat**at," which is certainly a female name.

⁶⁷ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," ch. xvi. p. 184.

⁶⁸ See text, pp. 54, 55.

⁶⁹ Rim-Sin has left a very fine inscription on a small black tablet, found at Mugheir. ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 10.)

⁷⁰ As Ptolemy did in his Canon.

⁷¹ Some writers have exaggerated the number of the names to twenty-four or twenty-five. (See Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol. i. p. 276; and compare Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient," vol. ii. pp. 25, 32.) But this is by misunderstanding a tablet on which nine of them occur. M. Lenormant obtains *thirteen* successors to Khammu-rabi (p. 32) by not seeing that the tablet is bilingual, and counting in five *translations* of names which he has already reckoned. M. Oppert does not fall into this error, but unduly enlarges his royal list by counting twelve names from the obverse of the tablet which there is no ground for regarding as royal names at all.

⁷² Eight royal names follow Khammu-rabi on the tablet above mentioned (see last note). It might have been supposed that they would occur in chronological order. But, in fact, Khammu-rabi's successor, his son, Samsu-iluna, is omitted; and Kurri-galzu, the son of Purna-puriyas, who was the third king after his father, is put in the fifth place before him. The order of the names cannot, therefore, be chronological.

⁷³ This inscription is on a white stone in the Museum of the Louvre. It has been published with a comment by M. Ménant ("Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone," Paris, 1863), and has also been translated by M. Oppert in the "Expédition," vol. i. pp. 267, 268. M. Lenormant assumes without reason ("Manuel," vol. ii. p. 31) the identity of the *Nahr-Khammu-rabi* with the *Nahr-Malcha* of Nebuchadnezzar.

⁷⁴ See "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xv.: Inscr. 2 (translated by M. Oppert, "Expédition," vol. i. p. 267); and compare the cylinder of Nabonidus. ("Brit. M. Series," vol. i. Pl. 69, col. ii. l. 1.)

⁷⁵ "Brit. M. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xv. Ins. 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 65.

⁷⁷ The position of the kings, Asshur-bel-nisi-su, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-upallit, in the Assyrian list, has been definitely fixed by Mr. G. Smith's discovery in 1869 of an inscription of Pudiel, in which he states that Asshur-upallit was his grandfather. We have thus now a continuous succession from Asshur-bel-nisi-su to Tiglath-Nin, the conqueror of Babylon; and as this conquest is fixed to about B.C. 1300, we can count back to Asshur-bel-nisi-su by allowing an average of twenty years to a reign, and approximately fix his date as from B.C. 1440 to 1420.

⁷⁸ "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xiii.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Pl. 4, No. xiv.

⁸⁰ The inscription on the seal is read as follows:—"Kurri-galzu, king of son of Purna-puriyas, king of Babylon." (See "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Table of Contents, Pl. 4, No. xiv.)

⁸¹ Ibid. Pl. 69, col. ii. l. 32.

⁸² See text, p. 15. The bricks of Kurri-galzu are not found, however, in the great ruin, which is most probably a Parthian work.

⁸³ Saga-raktiyas is by some regarded as the father of Naram-Sin (Oppert, "Expédition," vol. i. p. 273, note 2; Lenormant, "Manuel," vol. ii. p. 27). But the foundation of this notion is the identification of a temple bearing the name of *Ulmas* at Agana, with a temple of the same name at Sippara. Agana and Sippara must, however, have been distant cities.

⁸⁴ "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 69, col. iii. l. 20.

⁸⁵ See note ⁷² of this chapter.

⁸⁶ Kudur-Nakhunta, and Kudur-Mabuk, who are certainly to be *connected* with the Chedor-laomer (Kudur-Lagamér) of Scripture. (See text, pp. 106, 107.)

⁸⁷ Kudur-Nakhunta and Ismi-dagon. (See text, p. 108.)

⁸⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson says:—"All the kings whose monuments are found in ancient Chaldæa used the same language and the same form of writing; they professed the same religion, inhabited the same cities, and followed the same traditions. Temples built in the earliest times

received the veneration of successive generations, and were repaired and adorned by a long series of monarchs, even down to the time of the Semitic Nabonidus." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. p. 441.)

⁸⁹ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 440.

⁹⁰ See the fragments of this writer preserved by Eusebius ("Chron. Can." pars. i. c. 4).

⁹¹ The words of Polyhistor are reported to us by Eusebius in a work (his "Chronica") the original of which is lost, and which we have only in an Armenian version. Polyhistor himself does not appear to have read the work of Berosus. He derives his knowledge of it from Apollodorus. Thus we have Berosus at fifth hand—through Apollodorus, Polyhistor, Eusebius, and the Armenian translator. Hence the excellent advice of C. Müller—"Igitur cum per tot manus migraverint quæ ad nos perdurarunt fragmenta, haud miraberis variis modis verba Berosi deformata esse, cavendumque ne Beroso imputemus quæ sunt imputanda excerptoribus." ("Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. ii. p. 496.)

⁹² The change of ΑΘ into ΔΘ is one very likely to occur, and has numerous parallels.

⁹³ Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Josh. i. 4.

⁹⁴ The alphabets, as well as the languages, of these various races differ; but, as all assume the wedge as the ultimate element out of which their letters are formed, it seems almost certain that they learnt the art of writing from one another. If so, Chaldæa has on every ground the best claim to be regarded as the teacher of the others.

⁹⁵ Gen. x. 8.

⁹⁶ Ib. verse 9.

⁹⁷ Ib. verse 10.

⁹⁸ In later times, when civilization was more advanced, less fruitful tracts may, by calling forth men's powers, have produced the most puissant races (see Herod. ix. ad fin.); but in the first ages only fertile regions could nurture and develop greatness. Elsewhere man's life was a struggle for bare existence.

⁹⁹ Josephus makes Nimrod the prime mover in the building of the tower ("Ant. Jud." i. 4, § 2). The Targums generally take the same view. Some of the Arabic traditions have been already mentioned. (See note ¹⁵ of this chapter.) The Ar-

menian account will be found in Moses of Chorene, who, identifying Nimrod with Belus, proceeds to describe him as the chief of the Giants, by whom the tower was built, proud and fierce, and of insatiable ambition, engaged in perpetual wars with his neighbors. ("Hist. Armen." i. 6-10.

¹⁰⁰ Gen. xi. 1-9.

¹⁰¹ Nimrod is called "a mighty one in the earth," and "a mighty hunter before the Lord." Many commentators have observed that the phrase in italics is almost always used in a good sense, implying the countenance and favor of God, and his blessing on the work which is said to have been done "before" him, or "in his sight."

¹⁰² Commentators seem generally to have supposed that the building, or attempt to build, described in Gen. xi. 1-9, is the building of Babel ascribed to Nimrod in Gen. x. 10. But this cannot be so; for in Gen. xi. we are told, "they left off to build the city." The truth seems to be that the tenth chapter is parerthetical, and the author in ch. xi. takes up the narrative from ch. ix., going back to a time not long after the Deluge.

¹⁰³ If, that is, the Orchamus of Ovid, is really to be connected with the word now read as Uruk.

¹⁰⁴ See the article on the "Tower of Babel" in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i. pp. 158-160.

¹⁰⁵ See text, p. 102.

¹⁰⁶ The march would necessarily be along the Euphrates to the latitude (nearly) of Aleppo, and then down Syria to the Dead Sea. This is 1200 miles. The direct distance by the desert is not more than 800 miles; but the desert cannot be crossed by an army.

¹⁰⁷ See the "Historical Essay" of Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 341-351.

¹⁰⁸ Compare ch. i. p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ See note ⁵⁹ of this chapter.

¹¹⁰ See text, p. 109.

¹¹¹ Hence Herodotus always regards the Babylonians as Assyrians, and Babylonia as a district of Assyria. (See i. 106, 178, 188, 192, etc.; iii. 92 and 155.)

¹¹² Herod. vii. 63.

¹¹³ Strab. xvi. 1, § 6; Plin. "H. N." vi. 28.

¹¹⁴ Juv. "Sat." vi. 552; x. 94; Tacit. "Ann." ii. 27; iii. 22; vi. 20, etc.; Sueton. "Vit. Vitell." 14; "Vit. Domit." 14.

NOTES TO THE SECOND MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

¹ Herod. i. 106, 192; iii. 92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας.

² Plin. "Hist. Nat." vi. 26. "Mesopotamia tota Assyriorum fuit."

³ Strabo says: "The Assyrians adjoin on Persia and Susiana; for by this name they call Babylonia, and a vast tract of the surrounding country, including Aturia (which contains Nineveh) and Apollonias, and the Elymæans, and the Parætacæ, and the district about Mount Zagros called Chalonitis, and the plain tracts near Nineveh—Dolomené, and Calachené, and Chazené, and Adiabéné—and the Mesopotamian nations about the Gordiæans, and the Mygdonians about Nisibis, as far as the passage of the Euphrates, and a great part of the country beyond the Euphrates (which is in possession of the Arabs), and the people now called by way of distinction Syrians, reaching to Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Judæa, and to the sea over against the sea of Egypt and the gulf of Issus." ("Geograph." xvi. 1, § 1.)

⁴ See text, p. 3.

⁵ See text, p. 7.

⁶ This is the division adopted in the geographical essay, contained in vol. i. of the author's "Herodotus" (p. 569). It was thought most suitable to a general review of the geography of Western Asia; but is less adapted to a special account of the empire of the Assyrians.

⁷ Xenophon, "Anab." i. 5, § 1; Plin. "H. N." v. 24; Strab. xvi. 1, § 26.

⁸ The most important of these is the Khosr, or river of Koyunjik, which, rising from the Ain Sifni hills beyond the Jebel Maklub, forces its way through that range, and after washing Khorsabad, and crossing the great plain, winds round the eastern base of the mound at Koyunjik, and runs on to the Tigris. It is a narrow and sluggish stream, but deep, and only fordable about Koyunjik in a few places. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 77.)

⁹ Layard, p. 222.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 223.

¹¹ Mr. Layard forded the Khabour on his way to Mosul in 1849. The water was above the horses' bellies. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 56.)

¹² Ainsworth, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xi. p. 70. Compare Mr. Layard's large map at the end of his "Nineveh and Babylon."

¹³ Layard, p. 169.

¹⁴ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 24.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 22, note 3.

¹⁶ See the account of its source given by Sir H. Rawlinson, who was the first European to explore this region, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x. p. 31.

¹⁷ Chesney, vol. i. p. 25.

¹⁸ See the map attached to Sir H. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x.

¹⁹ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 35.

²⁰ This region has been traversed by few, and described by fewer, Europeans. The best published account which I have been able to find is that of the elder Niebuhr. (See his "Voyage en Arabie," pp. 300-334.) Some careful MS. notes have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. A. D. Berrington, who has traversed it. On the general fertility of the region, compare Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," pp. 134, 135. Strabo's words are well weighed, and just meet the case: Ἔστι δ' ἡ

μὲν παράρειος ἐνδαίμων ἰκανῶς, xvi. i. § 23.

²¹ Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," pp. 328-334; Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 158-163; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107.

²² Niebuhr, p. 317; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 51.

²³ Isid. Char. p. 3.

²⁴ Aborrihas by Strabo (xvi. i. § 27) and Procopius ("Bel. Pers." ii. 5); Chaboras (Χαβώρας) by Pliny (xxx. 3), and Ptolemy (v. 18). Other forms of the word are Aburas (Ἀβούρας, Isid. Char. p. 5), and Abora (Ἀβώρα, Zosim. iii. 12).

²⁵ Plin. "H. N." v. 24; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 5; Strab. xvi. 1, § 23, etc.

²⁶ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 48.

²⁷ Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 79, note 1.

²⁸ "Ras. el Ain." (Niebuhr, p. 316; Layard, p. 308; Ainsworth, p. 75.)

²⁹ Ainsworth, l. s. c.

³⁰ Layard, p. 304.

³¹ Ibid. p. 51.

³² Ibid. p. 324.

³³ Ibid. pp. 342, 325.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 308. *Koukab* is said to signify "a jet of fire or flame."

³⁵ See Mr. Layard's maps at the end of his "Nineveh and Babylon." For a general description of the lake, compare the same work, p. 324, with G. Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie," p. 316.

³⁶ A long swamp, called the Hol, ex-

tends from the lake to within a short distance of the Khabour (Layard, l. s. c.). This is probably the Holi, or Hauli of some writers, which is represented as a tributary of the Khabour. (See Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 51; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 423, etc.)

³⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 250.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 256. Compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315, note.

³⁹ Layard "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 253-256.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 265.

⁴¹ This is the view of Colonel Chesney. (See his "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 105.)

⁴² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 242, note, and p. 249.

⁴³ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," p. 49.

⁴⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 312.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 240, 241.

⁴⁶ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," pp. 52, 53. The hills in this region are of chalk formation, as is the Abd-el-aziz, according to the same author. (Ibid. p. 105.)

⁴⁷ Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδιον, ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινοθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλᾶμον, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εἰώδη, ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν.

⁴⁸ "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 455.

⁴⁹ Chesney, p. 50.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 51; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315, note.

⁵¹ Strab. xvi. i. § 1.

⁵² The form *Aturia* (Ἀτουρία) is used likewise by Arrian ("Exp. Al." iii. 7), and by Stephen (ad voc. *Nivos*). Dio Cassius writes *Atryia* (Ἀτρυρία), and asserts that the τ was always used for the ς "by the barbarians" (lv. 28). It was certainly so used by the Persians (see the "Behistun Inscription," passim); but the Assyrians themselves, like the Jews and the Greeks, seem to have employed the ς.

⁵³ *Dolomené* is ingeniously connected by Mons. C. Müller with the *Dolba* of Arrian. (Fr. 11. See the "Fragment. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 588.) It is clear that the ethnic *Δολβηνή* (Steph. Byz. ad voc.) would easily pass into *Δολομηνή*. *Dolba*, according to Arrian, was a city in *Adiabéné*.

⁵⁴ Ptol. vi. 1. As Ptolemy, however, places *Calaciné* above *Adiabéné*, he may possibly intend it for *Chalonitis*.

⁵⁵ *Chazené* was indeed mentioned by Arrian in his "Parthica;" and if we possessed that work, we should probably not find much difficulty in locating it. But the fragment in Stephen (ad voc. *Χαζηνή*)

tells us nothing of its exact position. Stephen himself is clearly wrong in placing it on the *Euphrates*. Arrian probably included it in the territory of *Dolba*, which was with him a part of *Adiabéné*. (See above, note ⁸, and compare the fragment of Arrian: Ἐνταύτῃ γὰρ Ὀλβία (leg. *Δολβία* vel *Δολβαία* καὶ τὰ πεδία τῆς *Χαζηνῆς* σατραπείας ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀποτεταμένα.)

⁵⁶ See Strab. xvi. 1, § 1 and § 19; Plin. "H. N." v. 12, vi. 13; Ptol. vi. 1; Arrian, Fr. 11-13; Pomp. Mel. i. 11; Solin. 48; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 20, etc.

⁵⁷ So Ammianus explains the name—"Nos autem id dicimus, quod in his terris amnes sunt duo perpetui, quos et transivimus, Diabas et Adiabas, juncti navalibus pontibus; ideoque intelligi Adiabenam cognominatam, ut a fluminibus maximis Ægyptus, et India, itidemque Hiberia et Bætica." (xxiii. 6.)

⁵⁸ Pliny seems to give to *Adiabéné* this extended signification, when he says,—"Adiabenen Tigris et montium sinus cingunt. At lævâ ejus regio Medorum est." ("H. N." vi. 9; compare ch. vi. 26.)

⁵⁹ Amm. Marc. l. s. c.

⁶⁰ As by Ptolemy ("Geograph." vi. 1).

⁶¹ Strab. xv. 3, § 12; xvi. 1, § 1.

⁶² The position of *Chalonitis* is pretty exactly indicated by Strabo, Polybius, and Isidore of Charax. Strabo calls it τὴν περι τὸ Ζάγρον ὄρος *Χαλωνίτιν* (xvi. 1, § 1). Polybius connects it with the same mountain range (v. 54, § 7). Isidore distinctly places it between *Apolloniatis* and *Media* ("Mans. Parth." p. 5). See also Dionys. Perieg. i. 1015, and Plin. "H. N." vi. 27.

⁶³ Isid. "Mans. Parth." l. s. c. Tacitus probably intends the same city by his "*Halus*" ("Ann." vi. 41), which he couples with *Artemita*. It does not appear to have been identical either with the *Halah* of the Book of Kings, or with the *Calah* of Genesis.

⁶⁴ The ruins of *Holwan* were visited by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1836. For an account of them, and for a notice of the importance of *Holwan* in Mahometan times, see the "Journal of the Geographical Soc." vol. ix. pp. 35-40.

⁶⁵ Strabo identifies *Sittacené* with *Apolloniatis* (xv. 3, § 12); but from Ptolemy (vi. 1) and other geographers we gather that *Sittacené* was further down the river.

⁶⁶ *Sittacé* was first noticed by Hecateus (Fr. 184). It was visited by Xenophon ("Anab." ii. 4, § 13). Strabo omits all mention of it. We have notices of it in Pliny ("H. N." vi. 27), and Stephen (ad voc. *Ψιττακή*).

⁶⁷ Strab. xvi. 1, § 1, te passim; Ptol. vi. 1.

⁶⁸ Ptol. v. 18.

⁶⁹ Strab. xvi. 1, § 1. and § 23.

⁷⁰ Ibid. § 27. *Anthemusia* derived its name from a city *Anthemus*. (Steph. Byz.), or *Anthemusias* (Tacit. Isid.), built by the Macedonians between the *Euphrates* and the *Belik*.

⁷¹ Strab. xvi. 1, § 26. Compare Plin. "H. N." v. 24.

⁷² Ptol. v. 18.

⁷³ 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; xix. 12; 1 Chron. v. 26; Is. xxxvii. 12. The identification does not depend upon the mere resemblance of name; but upon that, combined with the mention of the Habor (or Khabour) as the river of Gozan, and the implied vicinity of Gozan to Haran (Haran) and Halah (Chalcitis).

⁷⁴ See the article on "Gozan" in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 726. The initial *m* (מ) in the word Mygdonia is probably a mere adjectival or participial prefix; while the *d* represents the Semitic *z* (ז), according to an ordinary phonetic variation.

⁷⁵ 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; 1 Chron. v. 26.

⁷⁶ One of the mounds on this stream is still called Gla, or Kalah, by the Arabs. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 312, note.)

⁷⁷ Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2-7, etc. The name is only used in Genesis.

⁷⁸ Stanley, "Sinai and Palestine," p. 128, note 1. It is curious, however, that both *Padan-Aram* and *Aram-Naharaim* recall the names of nations inhabiting these parts in the Assyrian times. The chief inhabitants of the Mons Masius mentioned by the early Assyrian kings are the *Nāiri*; and across the Euphrates, towards Aleppo, there is a tribe called the *Patena*. Probably, however, both coincidences are accidental.

⁷⁹ Dio Cass. xl. 19; lxviii. 18, etc. Arrian, Fr. 2; Herodian, iii. 9, etc.

⁸⁰ Ptolemy bounds Assyria by the Tigris ("Geograph." vi. 1). Pliny identifies *Adiabéné* with Assyria ("H. N." v. 12). If the *Huzzab* of Nahum is really "the Zab region" (Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," sub voc.), that prophet would make the same identification. When Strabo (xvi. 1, § 1) and Arrian ("Exp. Alex." iii. 7) place *Aturia* on the left bank of the Tigris only, they indicate a similar feeling.

⁸¹ See text, p. 122.

⁸² They are less numerous north of the Sinjar. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 252.) Still there are a certain number of ancient mounds in the more northern plain. (Ibid. pp. 334, 335; and compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 311.)

⁸³ At Arban. ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 275, 276.)

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 297-300.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 312, and note.

⁸⁶ The colossal lions at this place, 12 feet long and 7 feet 3 inches high, are unmistakably Assyrian, and must have belonged to some large building. (See Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 114, 115, whence the representation [Pl. XXIII., Fig. 2] is taken.)

⁸⁷ Gen. x. 11, 12.

⁸⁸ In the margin we have *רחבת עיר* translated "the streets of the city," which

is far better than the textual rendering. Had *r'hoboth* been the name of a place, the term *'ir* would scarcely have been added.

⁸⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 314; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 245, 246, 312, 313, etc.; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 303, 304.

⁹⁰ See text, p. 12.

⁹¹ The early Arabian geographers and historians mentioned the forts of *Ninawi* to the east and of *Mosul* to the west of the Tigris. ("As. Soc. Journ." vol. xii. p. 418, note 4.) To prove the continuity of the tradition, it would be necessary to quote all travellers, from Benjamin of Tudela to Mr. Layard, who disputes its value, but does not deny it.

⁹² See Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 2; Ptol. vi. 1; Plin. vi. 13, § 16; Amm. Marc. xviii. 7; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 991.

⁹³ See text, ch. iv.

⁹⁴ So Strabo, xi. 14, § 8; Plin. "H. N." vi. 27; Q. Curt. iv. 9, § 16, etc. There are, however, some difficulties attaching to this etymology. It is Arian, not Semitic—*tigra*, as "an arrow," standing connected with the Sanscrit *tij*, "to sharpen," Armenian *teg*, "a javelin," Persian *tigh*, "a blade," and *tir*, "an arrow." Yet it was used by the Jews, under the slightly

corrupted form of *Dekel* (דקל) as early as Moses (Gen. ii. 14), and by the Assyrians about B.C. 1000. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xiv. p. xc.) It is conjectured that there was a root *dik* in ancient Babylonian, of cognate origin with the Sanscrit *tij*, from which the forms *Dekel*, *Digla*, or *Diglath* were derived.

⁹⁵ Capt. Jones, in the "Journal of the As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 299.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 298.

⁹⁷ So Colonel Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 21.)

⁹⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks agree in reading the ancient name of this city as *Calah*. At the same time it is not to be denied that there are difficulties in the identification. 1. *Nimrud* being only 20 miles from *Nineveh*, it is difficult to find room for *Resen*, a "great city" (Gen. x. 12) between them, not to mention that there are no important ruins in this position. 2. *Calah*, moreover, if it gave name to Ptolemy's *Calaciné*, should be away from the river, for by placing *Calaciné* above *Adiabéné*, he almost certainly meant further from the river.

⁹⁹ "Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 342. At the same time it must be admitted that water from the *Zab* was conducted into the city by a canal and tunnel, of which more will be said in another chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Chesney, l. s. c.

¹⁰¹ Capt. Jones, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. pp. 347-351.

¹⁰² Ibid. vol. xv. p. 347.

¹⁰³ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 656.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. l. s. c.; "As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. pp. 342, 343.

¹⁰⁵ See Mr. Layard's "Plan" in his "Nin-

evenh and Babylon," opp. p. 655. For the present state of the ruins, see his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. opp. p. 331, and compare the chart (*supra*, p. 200), which is reduced from Captain F. Jones's "Survey."

¹⁰⁶ The platform is not quite regular, being broader towards the south than towards the north, as will be seen in the plan.

¹⁰⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654.

¹⁰⁸ See text, chap. vi.

¹⁰⁹ Xenophon describes Calah, which he calls Larissa (compare the Lachisa, *לַחִישָׁא*, of the Samaritan Pentateuch), as "a vast deserted city, formerly inhabited by the Medes; it was," he says, "surrounded by a wall 25 feet broad, 100 feet high, and nearly seven miles in circumference, built of baked brick, with a stone basement to the height of 20 feet." He then observes: "Πὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλέθρων, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλεθρών." ("Anab." iii. 4, § 9.) Ctesias,

with his usual exaggeration, made the width nine stades, and the height eight stades, or nearly a mile! He placed the pyramid at Nineveh, and on the Euphrates! (See Diod. Sic. ii. 7, § 1.) The imposing effect of the structure even now is witnessed to by Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 4); Colonel Rich ("Kurdistan," vol. ii. p. 132); Colonel Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 21); and Captain Jones ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. pp. 348, 349).

¹¹⁰ This is the opinion of Captain Jones ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. p. 349).

¹¹¹ See Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 5, and vol. ii. p. 44.

¹¹² M. Botta purchased and removed this village before he made his great excavations. ("Letters from Nineveh," p. 57, note.)

¹¹³ See Captain Jones's "Survey," sheet I.

¹¹⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 657.

¹¹⁵ The name is formed of two elements, the first meaning city, which would be *Dur* or *Beth*. The second element is the name of a god otherwise unknown to us; and this, being a mere monogram, cannot be represented phonetically.

¹¹⁶ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 351 and 374.

¹¹⁷ The LXX. interpreters have *Δασή* in the place of the Hebrew *רֶסֶן*. The Targums substitute the wholly different name of Tel-Assar (*תֶּל-אַסָר*).

¹¹⁸ Gen. x. 12.

¹¹⁹ Arbil is etymologically "the city of the four gods;" but it is not known which are the deities intended. This place is first mentioned in the reign of Shamas-Vul, the son of the Black-Obelisk king, about B.C. 850.

¹²⁰ "Geograph." vi. 1. Arapkha would

be etymologically "the four fish," a name not very intelligible. It was certainly to the east of the Tigris, and probably not far from Arbela.

¹²¹ "Journal of Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 304.

¹²² Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 245, 246.

¹²³ The name of Haran has not, I believe, been found in the Assyrian inscriptions; but it is mentioned in Kings and Chronicles as an Assyrian city. (2 Kings xix. 12; 1 Chron. v. 26.)

¹²⁴ See Mr. Fox Talbot's "Assyrian Texts Translated," p. 31.

¹²⁵ See 2 Kings, l. s. c.

¹²⁶ See Rich's "Kurdistan," vol. i. pp. 48-192; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 137-219; Ainsworth, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 183-326; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 153-235; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 367-384, and 416-436; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. pp. 26-56, etc.; Fraser, "Travels in Kurdistan," vol. i. pp. 89-195; vol. ii. pp. 179-204.

¹²⁷ Diod. Sic. xix. 21, § 2. Compare Kinneir, "Persian Empire," p. 74; and see also Ainsworth's "Researches," pp. 224, 225.

¹²⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 430; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xvi. p. 49.

¹²⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 6, 7. Compare Strab. xi. 12, § 4.

¹³⁰ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 69; Layard, l. s. c.

¹³¹ Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 2.

¹³² Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 67; Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 150-172.

¹³³ Ainsworth, "Travels and Researches," vol. i. pp. 305-358; Pocock, "Description," etc., vol. ii. p. 155.

¹³⁴ See text, pp. 2-10.

CHAPTER II.

¹ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 299. Eastern Assyria is not, however, entirely free from the "torrid blasts," which are the curse of these countries. Mr. Layard experienced at Koyunjik "the *sherghis*, or burning winds from the south, which occasionally swept over the country, driving in their short-lived fury everything before them." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 364.)

² "Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c.

³ Ainsworth's "Assyria," p. 32.

⁴ See text, pp. 18-20.

⁵ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.

⁶ See Mr. Layard's account of his visit to the Sinjar and the Khabour in 1850 ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 234-336; cf. particularly pp. 246, 269, 273, and 324.)

⁷ Chesney, l. s. c.

⁸ Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 124, vol. ii. p. 54; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 242, 243, and 294, 295; Rich's "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 10.

* Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 294; Jones, "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 360.

¹⁰ Layard, *ibid.* p. 243.

¹¹ Mr. Ainsworth estimates the average elevation at thirteen hundred feet ("Assyria," p. 29).

¹² Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107.

¹³ Colonel Chesney says: "The heat in summer is 110° under a tent." ("Euphrates Expedition," l. s. c.) Mr. Ainsworth says the thermometer reaches 115° in the shade (p. 31).

¹⁴ Humboldt mentions three ways in which trees cool the air, viz., by cooling shade, by evaporation, and by radiation. "Forests," he says, "protect the ground from the direct rays of the sun, evaporate fluids elaborated by the trees themselves, and cool the strata of air in immediate contact with them by the radiation of heat from their appendicular organs or leaves." ("Aspects of Nature," vol. i. p. 127, E. T.)

¹⁵ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.

¹⁶ Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 5.—Ὅν γὰρ ἦν Χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴν ἦν ἅπαντα ἡ χώρα.

¹⁷ Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7.

¹⁸ As bustards, antelopes, and wild asses.

¹⁹ As the ostrich. It is curious that Heeren should regard the wild ass as gone from Mesopotamia, and the ostrich as still occurring. ("As. Nat." vol. i. pp. 132, 133, E. T.) His statement exactly inverts the truth.

²⁰ Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14; Dionys. Perieg. 992-999; Plin. "H. N." vi. 26; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6, etc.

²¹ This peculiarity did not escape Dionysius, a native of Charax, on the Persian Gulf (Plin. "H. N." vi. 27), who speaks feelingly of the "flowery pastures" (νομὸς ἐνάνθεος) of Mesopotamia (l. 1000). Mr. Layard constantly alludes to the wonderful beauty of the spring flowers in the country at the foot of the Sinjar. ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 268, 273, 301, etc.) Mr. Rich notices the same features in the country near Kerkuk ("Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 47). Captain Jones remarks similarly of the tract in the vicinity of Nimrud. ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 372, 373.)

²² Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 70.

²³ Herod. i. 193. Ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ.

²⁴ Layard, *ut supra*, p. 69.

²⁵ Isaiah xl. 7.

²⁶ See text, p. 9.

²⁷ See the account of these works given by Captain Jones in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 310, 311. Compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

²⁸ Herodotus calls it κελωνέιον (i. 193).

²⁹ See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 241.

³⁰ Pliny speaks of the Assyrian dates as used chiefly for fattening pigs and other animals. ("Hist. Nat." xiii. 4, sub fin.)

³¹ As in Chalonitis. (Plin. "H. N." vi. 27.)

³² Strab. xvi. 1, § 24, sub fin.; Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1.

³³ Herod. i. 192. Mr. Layard remarks that the kinds of grain mentioned by Herodotus, sesame, millet, wheat, and barley, still constitute "the principal agricultural produce of Assyria." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.)

³⁴ Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

³⁵ Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i. 5, § 5. See the passage quoted at length in note 7, page 213.

³⁷ Pliny speaks of "Assyrian silk" as a proper dress for women. ("Assyria tamen bombyce adhuc feminis cedimus."—"H. N." xi. 23.)

³⁸ *Ibid.* xi. 22.

³⁹ *Ibid.* xii. 3. "Odore præcellit foliorum quoque, qui transit in vestes una conditus arceatque animalium noxia. Arbor ipsa onnibus horis pomifera est, aliis cadentibus, aliis maturescentibus, aliis verò subnascentibus."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* l. s. c. "Malus Assyria, quam alii Medicam vocant, venenis medetur." Compare Virg. "Georg." ii. 126; Solin. 49, etc.

⁴¹ Plin. "H. N." xii. 3; xvi. 32; Solin. l. s. c.

⁴² Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.

⁴³ Strabo, xvi. 1, § 5; Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.

⁴⁴ Chesney, l. s. c.; Layard, l. s. c.

⁴⁵ Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," p. 323. (Compare his "Description de l'Arabie," p. 128.) Mr. Berrington observed two species of oak in the Jebel Tur, one of which he identified with the Valonia oak.

⁴⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 256 and 312.

⁴⁷ Chesney, p. 108.

⁴⁸ Ainsworth, "Assyria," p. 34.

⁴⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 366. Mr. Berrington found walnuts near Ain Kaf in the Jebel Tur range.

⁵⁰ Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 158 and 163.

⁵¹ It is grown on terraces, like the vine in Switzerland and on the banks of the Rhine. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 254, 255.) Niebuhr speaks of the Sinjar figs as in great request—"fort recherchés." ("Voyage en Arabie," p. 315.)

⁵² Layard, l. s. c. The vine is also cultivated at Bavian (Berrington) and near Kerkuk (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 50).

⁵³ Pocock, vol. ii. p. 158; Niebuhr, p. 318. The vine was at one time cultivated as low down as the commencement of the alluvium. See "Amm. Mar." xxiv. 3 and 6.

⁵⁴ Layard, p. 472; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 5; Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 26.

⁵⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 123, 132.

⁵⁶ Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 76. Wormwood abounds also near Jumeila, in the Kerkuk district (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 41).

⁵⁷ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 216 and 366.

⁵⁸ Chesney, l. s. c.

⁵⁹ Layard, p. 315.

⁶⁰ Chesney, l. s. c.

⁶¹ See for most of these the account of Colonel Chesney (l. s. c.). Lentils are mentioned by Niebuhr ("Voyage en Arabie," p. 295); cucumbers by Mr. Layard ("Nin. and Bab." p. 224).

⁶² Chesney, l. s. c.

⁶³ Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 143. Compare Chesney, "Euphrates Exp." vol. i. p. 123.

⁶⁴ Chesney, l. s. c. Compare Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 128.

⁶⁵ Chesney, p. 124.

⁶⁶ Niebuhr, p. 129.

⁶⁷ Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 316.

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 313, 314. This is the material universally employed for the bas-reliefs.

⁶⁹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 223; vol. ii. p. 415.

⁷⁰ Chesney, vol. i. p. 108.

⁷¹ Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 417-419.

⁷² Mr. Rich observed traces of iron in more places than one. ("Kurdistan," vol. i. pp. 176 and 222.)

⁷³ See Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie," p. 275; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 440-442; Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 31; "First Memoir on Babylon," p. 63.

⁷⁴ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 202; Jones, "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 371. The position of the chief springs is marked in the plan, Pl. XXIV., Fig. 1. There are other naphtha springs near Kifri. (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 29.)

⁷⁵ In his first work Mr. Layard doubted the use of bitumen as a cement in Assyria ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 278, 279); but subsequently he found some traces of its employment ("Nin. and Bab." p. 203, etc.). M. Botta represents the use of it as common both at Khorsabad and Koyunjik ("Letters from Nineveh," p. 43).

⁷⁶ See text, p. 25.

⁷⁷ Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. p. 441.

⁷⁸ Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 27.

⁷⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 256.

⁸⁰ Rich, p. 29.

⁸¹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 48.

⁸² Ibid. l. s. c., note. For its frequency in old times, see "Amm. Marc." xviii. 7.

⁸³ Layard, pp. 428, 429.

⁸⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," p. 431. Compare "Nin. and Bab." pp. 256 and 312.

⁸⁵ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 271.

⁸⁶ Ibid. pp. 296, 297. Beavers are also found in the Zohab river, a tributary of the Diyaleh.

⁸⁷ Heeren's "Asiatic Nations," vol. i. p. 132. E. T.

⁸⁸ "Anab." i. 5, § 2. Xenophon speaks of them as numerous in his day. He calls them "the most common animal" for some distance below the Khabour.

⁸⁹ Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 323, 324; "Nin. and Bab." p. 270; Ainsworth, "Travels," p. 77.

⁹⁰ See Pl. XXVI., Fig. 1.

⁹¹ The deer which the army of Julian found in such numbers on the left bank of the Euphrates, a little above Anah, were probably of this species. ("Amm. Marc." xxiv. 1.)

⁹² See Pl. VI., Fig. 1. Both this and the representation on Pl. XXVII. of a fallow-deer belong to the decorations of Senacherib's palace at Koyunjik. They are given by Mr. Layard in his "Second Series" of the "Monuments of Nineveh," Pl. 12.

⁹³ The representation Pl. XXVIII. is on one of the beautiful bronze plates or dishes which were brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrud, and are now in the British Museum. The dish is represented in the "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 62.

⁹⁴ See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 54, 55, where both Sir. H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks understand the wild bull to be intended. Dr. Hincks reads the word used as *Rim*, which would clearly be identical with the Hebrew דָּרָא, or דָּרִי, translated in our version "unicorn," and sometimes thought to be an antelope, but understood by Gesenius to designate "the wild buffalo." (See his "Lexicon" in voc.)

⁹⁵ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," first series, Pls. 46 and 48.

⁹⁶ Deut. xiv. 5.

⁹⁷ Diodorus speaks of "Babylonian tigers" as among the animals indigenous in Arabia (ii. 50, § 2).

⁹⁸ This animal is now called the *nimr*. The smaller or hunting-leopard (now called *fahad*) is the *nimr* of the Assyrians, an animal of which the inscriptions make frequent mention.

⁹⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson brought a specimen of the larger leopard, which he had tamed, from Baghdad to England, and presented it to the Clifton Zoölogical Gardens. Many visitors will remember *Fahad*, who died in the Gardens in 1858 or 1859.

¹⁰⁰ The authorities for this list are Mr. Berrington, Mr. Layard, and Colonel Chesney. (See the "Euph. Expedition," vol. i. pp. 107, 108; and "Nineveh and Babylon," passim.)

¹⁰¹ See especially the "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 46.

¹⁰² "Anab," l. s. c.

¹⁰³ Ταῖς πτέρυσιν, ἀρασα, ὡς περ ἰστὶν χρωμένη. "Anab." i. 5, § 3.

¹⁰⁴ "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 32.

¹⁰⁵ Botta, "Monumens de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 111.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Pl. 109 to 112.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Pl. 110.

¹⁰⁸ "Anab." l. s. c.

¹⁰⁹ See text, p. 27.

¹¹⁰ Chesney, "Euphrates Exp." vol. i. p. 108; Layard, "Nin. and Babylon," p. 325.

¹¹¹ Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 143.

¹¹² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 265.

¹¹³ The Bactrian camel is, I believe, only represented on the famous Black Obelisk, where it appears among the presents sent to the king from foreign countries.

¹¹⁴ The young colts fetch prices varying from £30 to £150. A thousand pounds is no uncommon price for a well-known mare. Mr. Layard mentions a case where a Sheikh refused for a favorite mare no less a sum than £1200. ("Nin. and Bab." p. 327.)

¹¹⁵ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition." vol. i. p. 108.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. l. s. c.

¹¹⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 246.

¹¹⁸ The horse draws chariots, and not carts. He is never used as a beast of burden.

¹¹⁹ Dogs are constantly represented as engaged in the chase upon the sculptures of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus). A number of his hounds were found modelled in clay at Koyunjik. They have each their name inscribed on them, which is always a term indicative of their hunting prowess.

¹²⁰ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 600, 601.

¹²¹ See text, p. 150.

CHAPTER III.

¹ See Prichard's "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564, where some of the supposed derivations are given.

² Gen. x. 21-31; 1 Chr. 17-23.

³ See this argument urged by Dr. Prichard, "Physical Hist. of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 567, 568.

⁴ The elder Niebuhr was the first to report this fact. (See his "Voyage en Arabie," p. 285.) It was commonly disbelieved till Mr. Ainsworth confirmed the statement.

⁵ See B. G. Niebuhr's "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 12, E. T.; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. iii. p. 403; Bunsen, "Essay on Ethnology" (1847), p. 29.

⁶ Niebuhr went so far as to identify the Assyrians with the Syrians; but here he fell into a mistake. The Aramæans were probably as distinct from the Assyrians as any other Semitic race. Niebuhr was misled by the Greek fancy that the names "Assyrian" and "Syrian" were really identical. (See Herod. vii. 63.) But those names had, in truth, an entirely distinct

origin. Syria (more properly *Tsytia*) was the name given by the Greeks to the country about *Tsur*, or Tyre, **ܐܫܫܘܪ**. Assyria was the correspondent term to Asshur, **ܐܫܫܘܪ**, the native, as well as the Hebrew, name of the tract upon the middle Tigris.

⁷ See Bunsen's "Philosophy of History," vol. iii. pp. 193-216; Max Müller, "Languages of the Seat of War," p. 25, 2d ed.; Oppert, "Éléments de la Grammaire Assyrienne;" etc.

⁸ "Itinéraire," vol. i. p. 421.

⁹ Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Abtheil, iii. Bl. 88.

¹⁰ Rich, "Residence in Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 278.

¹¹ See especially the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder, where such expressions as these occur:—"Under the auspices of Ninip, my guardian deity, I killed four wild bulls, strong and fierce." "Under the auspices of Ninip, 120 lions fell before me" (pp. 54-57).

¹² "As he (Sennacherib) was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god" (2 Kings xix. 37).

¹³ Tiglath-Pileser I. speaks of sacrificing as a part of the kingly office ("Inscription," etc., p. 70).

¹⁴ See text, pp. 86 and 87. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the later inhabitants of the country were far less religious, and confined their pictured and sculptured representations to battles and hunting-pieces. ("Nec enim apud eos pingitur vel fingitur aliud præter varias [bestiarum] cædes et bella," xxiv. 6.)

¹⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 421; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 603-605.

¹⁶ See text, ch. viii.

¹⁷ Isaiah xxxiii. 19.

¹⁸ "Inter arundineta Mesopotamiæ fluminum et fruteta leones vagantur innumeri." "Amm. Marc." xviii. 7. Tiglath-Pileser I. claims to have slain in all 800 lions. ("Inscriptions," etc., p. 56.)

¹⁹ Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 261, 262.

²⁰ Isaiah xxviii. 2.

²¹ Nahum iii. 1: "Woe to the bloody city,"—or, as the margin gives it, "Woe to the city of bloods!" (**רַמִּים חַיִּי**).

²² Probably a reward was given for heads, as has often been the fashion with Orientals. Sometimes scribes are represented as taking account of them. (See Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 184.)

²³ Mr. Layard has, I think, expressed himself too strongly when he says that on the capture of a town "an indiscriminate slaughter appears to have succeeded; and that the prisoners were either empaled or carried away as slaves." ("Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 374.) It appears, by the inscriptions, that towns were frequently spared, and that the bulk of the inhabitants were generally left in the place.

²⁴ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," *Pls.* 88 and 118.

²⁵ *Ibid.* vol. ii. Pl. 120; Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," Second Series, Pl. 47. Is it quite certain that these unfortunates are alive? The Persians and Scythians sometimes flayed men after death, in order to make use of their skins ("Herod." iv. 64; v. 25).

²⁶ Captives are occasionally represented as urged onwards by blows, like tired cattle; and they are sometimes heavily fettered. But in each case the usage is exceptional.

²⁷ See illustration.

²⁸ Isaiah xxxiii. 1.

²⁹ Nahum iii. 1.

³⁰ Mr. Vance Smith renders, "full of treachery and violence;" which is probably the real meaning. But the word used is כְּהִשָּׁ, "mendacium," not כְּהִרָּ, "perfidia."

³¹ See Thucyd. ii. 83.

³² Isaiah xxxiii. 8: "He hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man."

³³ Ezek. xxxi. 10, 11: "Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have therefore delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen; he shall surely deal with him: I have driven him out for his wickedness."

³⁴ Isaiah x. 7-14, xxxvii. 24-28; Ezek. xxxi. 10; Zeph. ii. 15.

³⁵ Some idea of notable luxuriousness attaching to the Assyrians is, perhaps, earlier than Ctesias. (See Aristoph. "Aves," 958, ed. Bothe.) Did it come from the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι of Herodotus?

³⁶ See Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 2.

³⁷ Nahum iii. 4: "Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts, Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord." Idolatry is probably the "whoredom" here intended.

³⁸ Jonah iii. 8.

³⁹ Nahum iii. 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 11-13.

⁴¹ The frequent occurrence of the lion on the monuments, either in the natural form or with a human head, seems to justify these expressions. It must be admitted, however, that the standards bear a different emblem. See text, ch. vii.

⁴² See Bunsen's "Philosophy of History," vol. iii. p. 192; "Egypt," vol. iv. pp. 144, 638, etc.

⁴³ Denon says of Thebes, with equal force and truth:—On est fatigué d'écrire, on est fatigué de lire, on est épouventé de la pensée d'une telle conception; on ne peut croire, même après l'avoir vu, à la réalité de l'existence de tant de constructions réunies sur un même point, à leurs dimensions, à la constance obstinée qu'a exigée leur fabrication, aux dépenses in-

calculables de tant de sumptuosité." ("Egypte," vol. ii. p. 226.)

⁴⁴ Ezek. xxxi. 3-9.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ The local tradition is strikingly marked by the Mahometan belief that on the smaller of the two mounds opposite Mosul is "the tomb of Jonah;" whence the name *Nebbi-Yunus*. The most important of the ancient authorities is Xenophon ("Anab." iii. 4, §§ 10-12).

² See Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 242. Neither passage is correctly represented by Mr. Layard. Ptolemy distinctly places Nineveh—not on the Lycus, as Mr. Layard says—but on the Tigris ("Geograph." vi. 1); and Strabo, though he does not actually do the same, certainly does not anywhere say that it was "near the junction of the two rivers." "He says that the Lycus divided Aturia from Arbelitis, and that Nineveh was situated in the middle of the former district (xvi. 1, § 3).

³ Herod. i. 193; Nic. Dam. Fr. 9; Arrian, "Hist. Ind." 42; Plin. "H. N." vi. 13; Eustath. and Dionys. Perieg. 988; etc. It is perhaps by a slip of the pen that Diodorus places Nineveh on the Euphrates (ii. 3).

⁴ See Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 247.

⁵ Diodorus (l. s. c.) made Nineveh an oblong square 140 stades (18½ miles) long, and 90 stades (11¼ miles) broad. Nimrud is eighteen miles from Koyunjik, and about twelve from Keremles. (Layard, l. s. c.)

⁶ Ch. iii. ver. 3, and ch. iv. ver. 11.

⁷ Book i. ch. 178.

⁸ Gen. x. 11, 12. We must understand the expression "a great city" as qualified by the circumstances under which it is used—a great city according to the size of cities in the primeval times. The city in question may probably have occupied the site of the ruins at Selamiyeh.

⁹ Strab. xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7; Plin. "H. N." v. 12.

¹⁰ See text, p. 129.

¹¹ See the careful surveys of Capt Jones, published by the Royal Asiatic Society. ("Journal," vol. xv.)

¹² See the plans of the ruins at Nimrud and Koyunjik (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 1, and Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 2). Koyunjik, according to the hypothesis, would occupy the north-west angle of the town, and its southern and eastern sides would thus be within the town; but the chief defences are those on the east.

¹³ Diod. Sic. ii. 3.

¹⁴ It has been remarked that "the writer of the book of Jonah nowhere identifies himself with the prophet." (Vance Smith, "Prophecies on Nineveh," p. 252.) "On the contrary, he rather carefully keeps himself distinct, speaking of Jonah always in the third person, and not suggesting, by a single word or implication, that he ever thought of being re-

garded as, at the same time, both writer and subject of the narrative." All this is undoubtedly true, but it does not establish the negative.

¹⁵ The position of the book in the Hebrew Canon, between Amos and Micah, shows that its date was regarded as falling between Uziah (B.C. 808) and Hezekiah (B.C. 697). Nineveh was not destroyed till, at any rate, B.C. 625.

¹⁶ Jonah iii. 3.

¹⁷ Ibid. iv. 11.

¹⁸ See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 326, note ².

¹⁹ Capt. Jones notes that from the N. W. angle of the city to the *centre* of the Koyunjik mound, from that to the *centre* of the Nebbi-Yunus mound, and from the centre of the Nebbi-Yunus mound to the S. W. angle of the city, are exactly equal distances. ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 325.)

²⁰ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

²¹ Ibid. p. 323.

²² Ibid. p. 324.

²³ Diod. Sic. ii. 3, § 2.

²⁴ "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. I assume that the Mespila of Xenophon is identical with the ruins opposite Mosul. There does not seem to be any reasonable doubt of this. (See Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 140; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 332.)

²⁵ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

²⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 660. "The remains still existing of these fortifications almost confirm the statement of Diodorus Siculus, that the walls were a hundred feet high," etc.

²⁷ "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. The excavations have not yet tested this statement of Xenophon's; but as his estimate of twenty feet is *exactly* correct for the stone basement of the walls of Nimrud (Larissa), we may fairly assume that he probably did not much miscalculate here. (Cf. "Anab." iii. 4, § 7, with Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 123, 125.)

²⁸ Δίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου. "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. Mr. Ainsworth remarks that this fossiliferous stone is the common building material at Mosul, but "does not occur far to the north or to the south, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum." ("Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 140.)

²⁹ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 658.

³⁰ Ibid. note.

³¹ Herod. i. 179.

³² Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 120-123.

³³ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

³⁴ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 660, note.

³⁵ See the plan Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 2; and comp. the "Journ. of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 323.

CHAPTER V.

¹ Gen. x. 21-25.

² See Herod. vii. 63, and 140; *Æsch.*

"Pers," 86; Xen. "Cyrop." v. 4, § 51, (11c.; Scylax, "Peripl." p. 80; Dionys. Perieg. 772; Strab. xvi. 1, § 2; Arrian, Fr. 48; Plin. "H. N." v. 12; Mela, i. 11, for the confusion of Assyrians with the Syrians. For the close connection and almost identification of the Babylonians with the Assyrians, see Herod. i. 106, 178; iii. 92; Strab. l. s. c.; etc.

³ Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. p. 568.

⁴ Occasionally the slabs have been purposely defaced and rendered illegible, probably by kings of another dynasty.

⁵ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," p. 144.

⁶ See "First Monarchy," ch. iv. pp. 46, 47, and ch. v. pp. 61, 62.

⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 604, note.

⁸ Ibid. p. 345.

⁹ See the translation by Dr. Hincks in the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853.

¹⁰ "Journ. of Asiatic Soc." vol. xii. p. 441.

¹¹ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 2.

¹² Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 320, § 33.

¹³ Diod. Sic. ii. 32. As Diodorus' sole authority here is the untrustworthy Ctesias, no great dependence can be placed on his statement.

¹⁴ This is not a *mere* negative argument, since statements of the nature of the material used do occur, and accord with the monumental facts. Epigenes, for instance, spoke of the Babylonians recording their astronomical observations upon baked tiles ("coctilibus laterculis," Plin. "H. N." vii. 56), and the historians of Alexander mentioned a stone inscription of Sardanapalus (Arr. "Exp. Al." ii. 5; Strab. xiv. 5, § 9). The eastern tradition that Seth wrote the history and wisdom of antediluvian times on burnt and unburnt brick (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 347, note) has a similar bearing.

¹⁵ Layard, p. 154; Botta, "Letters from Nineveh," p. 27.

¹⁶ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xiv.

¹⁷ "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," tom. ii. livre i. Appendice; Catalogue des signes *les plus usités.*, pp. 107-120.

¹⁸ The vowels must be sounded as in Italian, A as *a* in "vast"—E as *a* in "face"—I as *e* in "me"—O as *o* in "host"—U as *u* in "rude."

¹⁹ The Assyrians confounded the sounds of *m* and *v*, as the Greeks did those of *μ* and *β*. (See Buttmann's "Lexilogus," p. 84, and p. 189, E. T.)

²⁰ There is a character representing the soft breathing; but none, apparently for the rough breathing.

²¹ The nearest approach to an analogy is to be found in those Hebrew nouns which adopt the feminine termination for their plurals, as אב אבות "fathers." But in Assyrian, the mascu-

line plural termination *-ut* is not identical with the feminine, which is *-et* or *ut*.

²² "Éléments, etc." par M. Jules Oppert. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1860.

CHAPTER VI.

¹ Gen. x. 12.

² Mos. Choren. i. 15.

³ Diod. Sic. ii. 3 and 5.

⁴ The plan is borrowed, by permission, from Mr. Fergusson's excellent work, "The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored." Mr. Fergusson remarks that this feature of alternate projection and indentation is found also in the Persepolitan platform (see p. 239).

⁵ See the plan, Pl. XXIV.

⁶ See Pl. XXXVI.

⁷ Mr. Layard calls this court a "hall" ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654); but no one can compare his plan of Esar-haddon's Nimrud palace (No. 3, opp. p. 655) with Mr. Botta's plans of Khorsabad, and his own plans of Koyunjik, without seeing at once that the great space is really an inner court.

⁸ See the woodcut on Pl. XLI.

⁹ As much as four feet of the wall has sometimes been found standing (Fergusson's "Palaces," p. 267).

¹⁰ See the specimens of enamelled bricks in Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Plates 84 to 86.

¹¹ "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 176.

¹² See the plan of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, Pl. XLII., Fig. 2.

¹³ See the plan of the Nimrud platform in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 655. According to it, *all* the palaces on the platform would have their walls parallel to one another and to the sides of the platform; but Captain Jones's survey shows that the platform itself is irregular, so that Mr. Layard's representation appears to be inexact.

¹⁴ The walls of the palace excavated by Mr. Loftus are not parallel with those of the edifice exhumed by Mr. Layard.

¹⁵ Compare the observations of M. Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 64.

¹⁶ See Fergusson's "Palaces," pp. 234, 235.

¹⁷ See text, p. 134.

¹⁸ The Khosr-Su, which runs on this side of the Khorsabad ruins, often overflows its banks, and pours its waters against the palace mound. The gaps north and south of the mound may have been caused by its violence.

¹⁹ See Pl. XLI.

²⁰ These portals were discovered by M. Place, M. Botta's successor at Mosul. I cannot find that any representations of them have been published.

²¹ The widest Assyrian arch actually discovered is carried across a space of about 15 feet (see text, p. 193).

²² Mr. Fergusson argues for the existence of a chamber and a second gateway, from the analogy of the Persepolitan

ruins ("Palaces of Nineveh," p. 246); but this analogy cannot be depended on.

²³ Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 172.

²⁴ See Pl. X.

²⁵ Fergusson, "Handbook," l. s. c.

²⁶ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 48.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 69.

²⁸ "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 259.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 261.

³⁰ In one case the monarch is in the act of driving a spear or javelin into the head of a captive with one hand, while with the other he holds him by a thong attached to a ring passed through his under lip. In another case an executioner flays a captive (or criminal) who is fastened to a wall.

³¹ This hall opened on the north-western terrace, and stood so near its edge that two of its sides have fallen. Internally it was adorned with a single row of sculptures, representing the king receiving prisoners.

³² The sculptures here were all peaceable. The king occurred three times, with the sacred flower in his left hand, receiving presents or tributes.

³³ Fergusson's "Palaces," p. 263.

³⁴ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 53; Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 292; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 130.

³⁵ Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 254; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 646.

³⁶ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 42; and compare the plan, vol. i. Pl. 6.

³⁷ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 650.

³⁸ The inclined passage of Asshur-bani-pal's palace at Koyunjik was not *in* the palace, but led from the level of the city up to it.

³⁹ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 62.

⁴⁰ "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 275.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² That this was one of the objects held in view by the Babylonians when they erected their Temple platforms, is conjectured by M. Fresnel. ("Journal Asiatique," Juin 1853, pp. 528-531.)

⁴³ The parapet wall was observed at most in two places. (See the shaded parts, marked *a a* on the plan, Pl. XLII., Fig. 2.)

⁴⁴ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. pp. 65-67.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 68.

⁴⁶ See text, pp. 204-206.

⁴⁷ "Journal Asiatique," Rapport de M. Mohl pour Août 1853, p. 150; Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 173.

⁴⁸ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. pp. 71, 72.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 72.

⁵⁰ Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 276.

⁵¹ "Monument," etc., vol. v. p. 69.

⁵² "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 262; "Handbook of Architecture," p. 171.

⁵³ "Monument de Ninive," p. 70. Com

pare Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 649, 650. It must further be noted, as throwing considerable doubt on the whole spirit of Mr. Fergusson's Assyrian restorations, that their essence consists in giving a thoroughly columnar character, both internally and externally, to Assyrian buildings, whereas one of the most remarkable features in the remains is the almost entire absence of the column. A glance at the restoration already given from Mr. Fergusson, or at that, by the same ingenious gentleman, which forms the frontispiece to Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," will show the striking difference, and (as it seems to me) the want of harmony in his restorations between the basement story of a palace, which is all that we can reconstruct with any certainty, and the entire remainder of the edifice. Mr. Fergusson supports his view that the column was really thus prominent in Assyrian buildings by the analogy of Susa and Persepolis; but the columnar edifices at those places are on an entirely different plan from that of an Assyrian palace. Those buildings had no solid walls at all (Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 374, 375), but lay entirely open to the air; they were mere groves of pillars supporting a flat roof—convenient summer residences. The evidence of the remains seems to be that there was a strong contrast between Assyrian and Persian architecture, the latter depending almost wholly on the column, and elaborating it as much as possible; the former scarcely allowing the column at all, and leaving it almost in its primitive condition of a mere post. (See Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.)

⁶⁴ Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 269.

⁶⁵ Mr. Fergusson disallows the hypæthral system even here ("True Principles of Beauty," p. 381); but later writers do not seem converted by his arguments. (See the article on *TEMPLE* and Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 1105, 2d edition; and compare Mr. Falkener's "Dædalus," Introduction, pp. 18-20.)

⁶⁶ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 259. Compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 647; and see also the restoration of an Assyrian interior in his "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Pl. 2, from which the illustration Pl. XLVIII. is taken.

⁶⁷ Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 270.

⁶⁸ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 259, 260.

⁶⁹ Such as that represented on Pl. XLVII., Fig. 1.

⁷⁰ Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 179.

⁷¹ See the representation in Mr. Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh Restored," p. 298. This black stone is of the time of Esar-haddon.

⁷² On this point, see Pl. LXI.

⁷³ See Layard's "Monuments of Nine

veh," 2d series, Pl. 51; and compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 298. A similar treatment of divine figures is common upon the Cylinders. (See Cullimore's "Cylinders," Nos. 19, 20, 30, 35, 36, etc.) It is found likewise in Cappadocia. (See Van Lennep's "Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor," vol. ii. p. 118.)

⁷⁴ "Journal Asiatique," Août 1853, p. 150; Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 173.

⁷⁵ Herod. i. 181.

⁷⁶ See the illustration Pl. LIII.

⁷⁷ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xvii. p. 13.

⁷⁸ Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 172. I have been unable to obtain any detailed account of this building.

⁷⁹ See text, p. 133.

⁸⁰ "Nineveh and Babylon," plan opp. p. 123; "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d series, frontispiece. (See Pl. LII., Fig. 2.)

⁸¹ See Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.

⁸² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 129; comp. Diod. Sic. ii. 7.

⁸³ Xenophon and Ctesias both noticed this remarkable edifice. ("Anab." iii. 4, § 9.) Xenophon calls it a "pyramid," but shows that it more resembled a tower by saying that its height (200 ft.) was double its width at the base, which he estimates at 100 ft. He gives no account of the purpose for which it was intended. Ctesias, who enormously exaggerates its size, making it 10 stadia wide and 9 stadia (more than a mile!) high, was the first to give it a sepulchral character. He said that it was built by Semiramis over the body of her husband, Ninus. He placed it, however, if we may believe Diodorus (ii. 7), at Nineveh, and upon the Euphrates! Next to these writers, Amyntas, one of the historians of Alexander, noticed the edifice. He called it the tomb of Sardanapalus; and, like Ctesias, placed it at Nineveh (ap. Athen. "Deipn." xii. 4, § 11). Ovid no doubt intended the same building by his "busta Nini," which however, according to him, lay in the vicinity of Babylon ("Metamorph." iv. 88).

⁸⁴ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 128.

⁸⁵ It may perhaps have had a religious bearing; and similar galleries may perhaps exist under all temple-towers.

⁸⁶ The single slab which filled the recess (*f* in ground-plan No. I., Pl. LIV., Fig. 1) in the greater of the two Nimrud temples, was 21 ft. long, 16 ft. 7 in. broad, and 1 ft. 1 in. thick. It contained thus 375 cubic feet of stone, and must have weighed nearly, if not quite, 30 tons. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 352.)

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 357.

⁸⁸ Note the position of the doorways, *b* and *d* in ground plan No. I.

⁸⁹ See ground plan No. II. (Pl. LIV., Fig. 1) entrance *b*.

⁹⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 359.

⁹¹ The chamber marked *c* in ground

plan No. I. (Pl. LIV.) was 47 ft. long by 31 ft. wide. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 352.)

⁸² Ibid. p. 357.

⁸³ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," Pl. 17. A portion of this village is represented in Pl. LVI., Fig. 1.

⁸⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 112. The representation is of a village in the neighborhood of Aleppo. [Pl. LVI., Fig. 2.]

⁸⁵ See text, pp. 165, 166.

⁸⁶ Supra, ch. iv. note ²⁷

⁸⁷ M. Botta says: "Cette muraille était construite en blocs de pierre calcaire très-dure, venant des montagnes voisines: ces blocs ont la forme de parallépipèdes rectangles d'une coupe régulière, et sont disposés par assises, de manière à présenter alternativement au dehors leur face la plus large et une de leurs extrémités; c'est-à-dire que tous étant posés de champ, l'un tapisse le massif, puis un et quelquefois deux autres continuent l'assise par leurs extrémités, la même alternative se répétant dans toute la longueur de celle-ci. Il en résulte qu'étant tous de même longueur, ceux qui présentent une extrémité au dehors dépassent à l'intérieur la ligne des autres, et s'encastrent dans le massif de briques. Cette disposition avait pour but de lier solidement l'amas terreux intérieur au revêtement extérieur." ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 31.)

⁸⁸ M. Botta makes this comparison. ("Monument de Ninive," l. s. c.) His representation, however, differs in two main points from the ordinary Cyclopiian style: 1, the horizontal course seems to be maintained throughout; and 2, the stones do not fit into each other at all closely or with any exactness.

⁸⁹ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 31.

⁹⁰ See text, pp. 193, 197, 198, etc.

⁹¹ The earliest arches seem to be those of Egypt, which mount at least to the 15th century before our era. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st series, iii. p. 317; Falkener, "Dædalus," App. p. 288.) The Babylonian arches mentioned above (p. 56) cannot be much later than B.C. 1300. The earliest known Assyrian arches would belong to about the 9th century B.C.

⁹² Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 173.

⁹³ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 163.

⁹⁴ See Pl. XLIX.

⁹⁵ See Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 125, 2d edition; and Mr. Falkener's "Dædalus," App. p. 288. Compare the representation Pl. LIX., Fig. 2.

⁹⁶ See Pl. LXII., Fig. 1.

⁹⁷ Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 252.

⁹⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 162 and 165.

⁹⁹ See text, p. 200.

¹⁰⁰ Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 265.

¹⁰¹ See Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 155 and 156; Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Plates 84, 86, and 87; 2d series, Plates 53, 54, and 55.

¹⁰² Supra, note ⁵³. Mr. Fox Talbot supposes that he has found a mention of *columns* in a description given of one of his palaces by Sennacherib. ("Assyrian Texts Translated," p. 8.) But the technical terms in the Assyrian architectural descriptions are of such doubtful meaning that no theory can at present be rested upon them.

¹⁰³ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 103; "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. Plan II. opp. p. 34, and p. 376. Columns may also have been used to support a covered passage across a court. (See text, p. 198.)

¹⁰⁴ See No. V., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.

¹⁰⁵ No. IV., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ See text, p. 180, and Pl. XLI., Fig. 2.

¹⁰⁸ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 64: "La manière de bâtir les édifices est d'autant plus singulière, qu'à Ninive (Khorsabad) au moins la pierre était très-abondante et de bonne qualité, et que rien ne forçait les habitants à se servir de briques." And again, p. 65: "L'abondance des roches, soit calcaires, soit gypseuses, pouvait leur fournir d'excellents, matériaux aussi solides que faciles à travailler."

¹⁰⁹ "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 317.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 311. (See text, p. 166.)

¹¹¹ Ibid. pp. 317 and 323.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 347.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 346. It is very remarkable that Mr. Layard should so entirely have ignored these features of the geology of Assyria in his account of the Assyrian architecture. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. ii. pp. 250-275.) It would be concluded from his account, by a reader not otherwise informed on the subject, that no stone but the delicate alabaster used for the bas-reliefs was accessible to the Assyrian architects.

¹¹⁴ At Nimrud the western cliff is "artificially scarped" to make it a secure defence. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 346.) At Negoub the rock is tunnelled for some distance, and for a longer space "chiselled through a hard sandstone and surface-conglomerate to a depth perhaps of forty feet." (Ibid. p. 311.) At Nineveh the moat is carried "for upwards of two miles, with a breadth of 200 feet, through a peculiarly hard and compact silicious conglomerate." (Ibid. p. 320.) A very hard basalt was used in the palace temple at Khorsabad. (See text, p. 189.)

¹¹⁵ M. Botta winds up his remarks on the strangeness of the Assyrian architecture occurring where it does, by suggesting "que les monumens de Ninive sont postérieurs à ceux de Babylone, et que c'est dans ce dernier pays qu'il faut chercher l'origine de l'art Assyrien" (p. 65).

¹¹⁶ Mr. Fergusson, who has treated of the architecture of the Assyrians with so much knowledge and ingenuity, says but little on the subject of their sculpture. Mr. Layard's review of the subject in his first work (Book II. ch. ii.) is the best which at present exists; but it is of necessity incomplete, owing to the early period in the history of Assyrian discovery at which it was composed. Its views are also occasionally open to dispute.

¹¹⁷ See Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 51, 52.

¹¹⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 361. The statue is also in the British Museum.

¹¹⁹ One of these is figured above, Pl. XXI. The actual statues are both in the British Museum.

¹²⁰ This statue is in the Berlin Museum.

¹²¹ See text, p. 91.

¹²² Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 124.

¹²³ "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 152 to 155.

¹²⁴ Supra, Pls. XXXII. and XXXIII.

¹²⁵ According to Mr. Birch, the colors used were "blue, red, and black," and they were "laid on in a paste" ("Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 125). At present the traces of color on the dogs are very faint.

¹²⁶ The only exceptions are believed to be a few instances of lions' heads, and one human head on the ornamentation of dresses at Nimrud. (See Layard's "Monuments," 1st series, Plates 9 and 50, fig. 7.)

¹²⁷ Pl. XXXV. is also a good specimen of the defective perspective of the Assyrian artists.

¹²⁸ "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Pl. 10.

¹²⁹ Ibid. p. 3.

¹³⁰ See *ibid.* Plates 12, 23, 24, etc.

¹³¹ See particularly, in the same work, Plates 13, 14, 19, 28, and 29.

¹³² The hunt of the wild bull (Plate 11), a pendant to the hunt of the lion above described, resembles it in many respects, but on the whole is decidedly inferior. Several hunting scenes, possessing considerable merit, are represented on the embroidery of dresses. (See Pl. 44, fig. 6; Pl. 48, figs. 4 and 6; Pl. 49, figs. 3 and 4; and Pl. 50, fig. 1.)

¹³³ "Monument de Ninive," Paris, 1849. The descriptive letterpress is by M. Botta. The drawings were executed by M. Flandin, and engraved by MM. Sellier, Péronard, Oury, and others.

¹³⁴ These drawings have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Vaux, of the Antiquities Department.

¹³⁵ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 15, 16, 33, and 39 B.

¹³⁶ Ibid. Plates 13, 14, and 33.

¹³⁷ This is particularly the case in the sculptures of Sennacherib. In those of Sargon, backgrounds are still rather the exception than the rule.

¹³⁸ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Plates 32 to 34; Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 71.

¹³⁹ See the representations on Pls. VI. and XXVIII.

¹⁴⁰ "Mon. of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 40.

¹⁴¹ Supra, Pls. XXX., XXXI., XXXII.

¹⁴² Pages 213, 214.

¹⁴³ No lion-hunt nor bull-hunt has been found in the sculptures of this time. The chase seems confined to hares, gazelles, and birds.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter ix. There is reason to believe that the Eusebian date for Gyges (B.C. 698 to B.C. 662) is more correct than the Herodotean—B.C. 724 to B.C. 686.

¹⁴⁵ These drawings, which are in the British Museum, having been taken when the slabs were freshly exhumed, often preserve features which have disappeared during the transport of the originals and their preparation for exhibition. By the kindness of M. Vaux, the free use of the drawings has been allowed to the author of the present work.

¹⁴⁶ See the illustration (No. V.) Pl. XLIX., which belongs to this time; and compare the trees with those represented supra, Pl. LXVI.

¹⁴⁷ See Pl. LXXI. A representation of the whole scene would have been given, had this work been on a larger scale; but it is impossible to do justice to the highly finished sculptures of this time within the limits of an ordinary octavo. The scene itself may be studied in the British Museum. It occupies a portion of the eastern wall in the underground Assyrian apartment.

¹⁴⁸ See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 300.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 299. Wornum, in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities" (ad voc. PICTURA), goes somewhat further than Wilkinson; but still maintains that the Greeks did not color the flesh of statues.

¹⁵⁰ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 306.

¹⁵¹ See M. Botta's "Monument de Ninive," Plates 12, 14, 43, 53, 61, 62, 63, etc. Compare the general statement, vol. v. p. 178.

¹⁵² See his "Voyage archéologique à Ninive" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July, 1845, p. 106.

¹⁵³ "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Description of the Plates, p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ The opinion of M. Flandin, that an ochre tint covered the flesh and the backgrounds at Khorsabad, seems to have been derived from a particular instance, where, according to M. Botta, the coloring was accidental, and dated from a time subsequent to the ruin of the palace ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 179).

¹⁵⁵ "On the sculptures I have only found black, white, red, and blue," says Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310); "and these colors alone were used in the painted ornaments of the upper chambers at Nimrud. At Khorsabad, green and yellow continually occurred on the bas-reliefs; at Koyunjik, there were no traces whatever of color,"

But, in opposition to the statement in italics, M. Botta, the explorer of Khorsabad, observes, "Nous n'avons trouvé à Khorsabad sur les sculptures d'autres couleurs que le rouge, le bleu, et le noir." ("Monument," vol. v. p. 178.) The green and yellow were confined to the enamelled bricks.

¹⁵⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.

¹⁵⁷ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plates 12, 63, and 113.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. Plate 61.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. Plates 53, 62, 63, etc.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. Plates 43 and 113.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. Plate 14.

¹⁶² Ibid. Plate 43.

¹⁶³ Ibid. Plates 110, 113, and 114.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Plates 110 and 114.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Plates 61 and 65.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Plates 61 and 62.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. Plates 62, 65, and 114.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Plates 12, 14, 62 and 65.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Plate 63.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. Plate 114.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. Plate 53.

¹⁷² Ibid. Plate 81.

¹⁷³ Ibid. Plates 74 and 75.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Plate 63.

¹⁷⁵ See Dr. Percy's note in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 672.

¹⁷⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310; Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 149.

¹⁷⁸ Botta, "Monument," Plates 110, 113, and 114.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Plates 110 and 114.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. Plate 61.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. Plate 62.

¹⁸² Ibid. Plate 14.

¹⁸³ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 312, note.

¹⁸⁴ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127.

¹⁸⁵ Mr. Layard conjectures that it was obtained, as it is in the country to this day, by burning the alabaster or gypsum. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.)

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 312. For instances, see Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 92; Botta, "Monument," Plates 12 and 43.

¹⁸⁷ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 313.

¹⁸⁸ "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Plate 92.

¹⁸⁹ Botta, "Monument," Plate 43.

¹⁹⁰ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 312, note.

¹⁹¹ Birch, l. s. c.

¹⁹² "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.

¹⁹³ Mr. Layard discovered sixteen of these lions in one place. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 128.) They had all rings affixed to their backs, which seemed to show the purpose for which they were intended. The largest of these lions was about a foot in length.

¹⁹⁴ See text, p. 210.

¹⁹⁵ See Layard's "Nineveh and its Re-

mains," vol. ii. p. 301; Botta, "Monument," Plate 19.

¹⁹⁶ Botta, Plate 17. It is uncertain whether the ornaments in this case, and in those referred to in the last note, were cast or embossed, since we have only the representations, not the originals themselves. The throne ornaments, however, were actually found (Layard "Nin. and Bab." pp. 198-200). They were castings in bronze.

¹⁹⁷ Here again we cannot be certain whether the sculptures represent embossed work or castings. In delicate fabrics, like sword-sheaths, the former seems more probable.

¹⁹⁸ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 196.

¹⁹⁹ Supra, Pls. XXVI. and XXVII.

²⁰⁰ Plates 57 to 67. The drawings by Mr. Prentice, now in the British Museum, are still more beautiful than these plates, since they show the wonderful coloring of the bronzes at the time of their arrival.

²⁰¹ Pages 185-190.

²⁰² Mr. Layard calls No. I. a head of Athor ("Nin. and Bab." p. 187); but there are no sufficient grounds for the identification. The head resembles the ordinary mummy type. The head-dress No. II. is the well-known double crown, worn by both kings and gods, representing the sovereignty over both the Upper and the Lower country. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iii. p. 354.)

²⁰³ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 61, b; "Nin. and Bab." p. 187. On the *ank* or *onk*, see Wilkinson, vol. v. p. 283.

²⁰⁴ Isaiah xx. 4.

²⁰⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 192.

²⁰⁶ It is urged that Phœnician characters appear on one of the plates (ibid. p. 188), that the scarab which occurs on so many of them (supra, Pl. LXXXVI., Fig. 1) is "more of a Phœnician than an Egyptian form" (ib. p. 186), and that some silver bowls of the same character, found in Cyprus, are almost certainly Phœnician (ib. p. 192, note). But these last may well be Assyrian, since some Assyrian remains have certainly been brought from the island; and the other points are too doubtful and too minute to set against the strong Assyrian character of the great bulk of the ornaments and figures.

²⁰⁷ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 192.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 191.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 178.

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 191, note.

²¹¹ Mr. Layard found a gold earring adorned with pearls, together with a number of purely Assyrian relics, at Koyunjik ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 595). He has figured it. p. 597.

²¹² Ibid. pp. 595, 596.

²¹³ Ibid. p. 196.

²¹⁴ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 8-10 and p. 205. For other discoveries of ivory objects, see "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 179, 195, and 362.

²¹⁵ "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 89, fig. 8.

²¹⁶ Ibid. Plate 90, figs. 17 and 22.

²¹⁷ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 10.

²¹⁸ See above, Pl. LXXVI. The symbol occurs at the foot of the chairs.

²¹⁹ See Mr. Birch's description in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 11, note.

²²⁰ See text. p. 221.

²²¹ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Plate 62. The hanging sleeve is, however, worn only on one arm.

²²² See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates, 84, 86, and 87.

²²³ Ibid. Plate 84, figs. 9 and 12.

²²⁴ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 166.

²²⁵ There is a curious contrast between the bricks and the sculptures in this respect. In the sculptures there is no yellow, but abundance of red. It is a reasonable conjecture of Mr. Layard's, that in these "some of the red tints which remain were originally laid on to receive gilding." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 313, note.)

²²⁶ "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, figs. 3, 5, and 9. Mr. Layard says he found purple and violet on some of the Nimrud bricks ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310); but he does not represent these colors.

²²⁷ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 84, fig. 2.

²²⁸ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, fig. 3.

²²⁹ Ibid. fig. 2.

²³⁰ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 55, fig. 6.

²³¹ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, figs. 5 and 9.

²³² Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 53, fig. 6.

²³³ Ibid. Plate 53, figs. 3 and 4; Plate 54, figs. 12, 13, and 14.

²³⁴ Ibid. Plate 53, figs. 2 and 5; and Plate 54, fig. 9.

²³⁵ Ibid. Plate 53, fig. 1.

²³⁶ Ibid. Plate 54, fig. 7.

²³⁷ Ibid. Plate 54, fig. 8.

²³⁸ Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 84, figs. 9 and 12.

²³⁹ Fig. 9.

²⁴⁰ "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plate 155, fig. 2.

²⁴¹ Ibid. figs. 5 and 9.

²⁴² Ibid. fig. 3.

²⁴³ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127. The fragment is figured in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 84, fig. 2.

²⁴⁴ Birch, p. 129.

²⁴⁵ Buildings are white, but the battlements and some courses in the stone are touched with yellow. A door in one is colored blue. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 53, fig. 5.)

²⁴⁶ The authorities for these statements are Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 84 and 87; 2d Series, Plates 53, 54, and 55; and Botta's "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155.

²⁴⁷ See the two fore legs of a horse in a fragment figured by Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 54, fig. 14.

²⁴⁸ Ibid. fig. 7.

²⁴⁹ Ibid. fig. 12.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. fig. 14.

²⁵¹ Yellow, white, and a pale blue or green, are the only colors on the dress of the king figured opposite.

²⁵² M. Botta's fragment (figured Plate 155, fig. 2) is a unique specimen. Had it contained the robes of the king as well as his head-dress, we should probably have learnt the real hues of the royal garments.

²⁵³ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 128; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 166, note.

²⁵⁴ Birch, l. s. c.; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 672.

²⁵⁵ This is evidenced by the bricks themselves, where we can often see that the melted enamel has run over and trickled down the sides. (See Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 128.)

²⁵⁶ King's "Ancient Gems," pp. 127-129; Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 602-604.

²⁵⁷ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Plate 69, Nos. 1 to 32.

²⁵⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; King, "Ancient Gems," p. 129.

²⁵⁹ King, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

²⁶⁰ "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 105.

²⁶¹ Ibid. p. 108.

²⁶² Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 215; Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. pp. 12, 13. Hence the complaints of the Israelites when they received "no straw for their bricks" (Ex. v. 7-18).

²⁶³ Birch, p. 132.

²⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 13, and p. 109.

²⁶⁵ Twenty-two inches, according to Mr. Birch (p. 109).

²⁶⁶ The longest are 14½ inches. (See "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 108.)

²⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 107.

²⁶⁸ See text, p. 49.

²⁶⁹ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. pp. 15-18; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 97.

²⁷⁰ Birch, p. 134; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 187.

²⁷¹ Birch, p. 109.

²⁷² Layard, l. s. c.

²⁷³ See text, 167-170.

²⁷⁴ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 113.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 115.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 120.

²⁷⁷ Supra, Pl. XIII.

²⁷⁸ Birch, p. 121.

²⁷⁹ "Nin. and Bab." p. 574.

²⁸⁰ See Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 141 and 162.

²⁸¹ Ibid. vol. ii. Plate 76; and see vol. v. p. 130.

²⁸² See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 85.

²⁸³ Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 120.

²⁸⁴ "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 173.

²⁸⁵ An elaborate account of the process whereby the Assyrian glass has become partially decomposed, and of the effects produced by the decomposition, will be found in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," Appendix, pp. 674-676, contributed to that work by Sir David Brewster.

²⁸⁶ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 88, 89.

²⁸⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ See the description furnished to Mr. Layard by Sir David Brewster. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197, note.)

²⁹⁰ See text, p. 168.

²⁹¹ This is evident from Aristophanes ("Nub." 746-749), where Strepsiades proposes to obliterate his debts from the waxen tablets on which they are inscribed by means of "that transparent stone wherewith fires are lighted." (*τὴν λίθον τὴν διαφανῆ, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ πῦρ ἄπτουσι.*)

Compare also Theophrast. "De Igne," 73.

²⁹² Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Plate 17.

²⁹³ Ibid. Plate 18.

²⁹⁴ In the series from which this representation is taken the figures appear seated in such a way as would imply that the actual seat was level with the dotted line *a b*.

²⁹⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 199.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 198.

²⁹⁷ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 201.

²⁹⁸ See Pl. LXXXIV., Fig. 3.

²⁹⁹ The Greek and Roman ideas on the subject of the Assyrian dress were probably derived from Ctesias, at least mainly. He seems to have ascribed to Sardana-palus, and even to Semiramis, garments of great magnificence and of delicate fabric. (See Diod. Sic. ii. 6, § 6, 23, § 1, and 27, § 3.) But he did not, so far as we know, distinctly speak of these garments as embroidered. It remained for the latter Roman poets to determine that the color of the robes was purple, and that their ornamentation was the work of the needle.

"Perfusam murice vestem
Assyriâ signatur acu."

Claudian, xlv. 86, 87.

These rare Assyrian garments were said to have been adopted by the Medes, and afterwards by the Persians. (Diod. Sic. ii. 6, § 6.) They were probably of silk, which was produced largely in Assyria (Plin. "H. N." xi. 22), whence it was carried to Rome and worn both by men and women (ib. xi. 23).

³⁰⁰ Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24: "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and

brodered work (*תקרה*), and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar, among thy merchandise."

³⁰¹ As in Pls. XLIII., XLV., LXXXIV., etc., of this volume.

³⁰² See Pl. LXIV., Fig. 3.

³⁰³ See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 77; 2d Series, Plate 42. The omission may be from mere carelessness in the artist.

³⁰⁴ The mythological tablets are always in the Akkad or old Chaldean language, and in very few instances are furnished even with a gloss or explanation in Assyrian. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay "On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians," in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 585, note 2.)

³⁰⁵ This series is excellently represented in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Plates 10 to 17.

³⁰⁶ Mr. Layard first imagined that the contrary was the case ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 318); but his Koyunjik discoveries convinced him of his error ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 106, 106).

³⁰⁷ The nineteenth century could make no improvement upon this. Mr. Layard tells us that "*precisely the same* framework was used for moving the great sculptures now in the British Museum." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 112, note.)

³⁰⁸ The "banks" of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 32; Is. xxvii. 33).

³⁰⁹ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Plates 18 and 21.

³¹⁰ The great stones of which the pyramids were built were certainly raised from the alluvial plain to the rocky platform on which they stand in this way. (Herod. ii. 124; compare Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 200, note 6.) Diodorus declares that the pyramids themselves were built by the help of mounds (i. 62, § 6). This, however, is improbable.

³¹¹ It is the most reasonable supposition that the cross-stones at Stonehenge, and the *cromlech* stones so common in Ireland, were placed in the positions where we now find them by means of inclined planes afterwards cleared away.

³¹² See the representation, Pl. XXV.

³¹³ It must be remembered that the Assyrians cut not merely the softer materials, as serpentine and alabaster, but the gems known technically as "hard stones"—agate, jasper, quartz, sienite, amazon stone, and the like. (See King's "Ancient Gems," p. 127.)

³¹⁴ See the summary on this subject in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i.; Essay vii. § 42.

CHAPTER VII.

¹ Gen. xli. 43; Ex. xiv. 7-28; 2 K. xviii. 24; Jer. xlv. 9; etc. Compare Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 335 et seq.

² Hom. "Il." iii. 29; iv. 366, etc. Hes. "Scut. Herc." 306-309; Æsch. "Sept. c. Th." 138, 191, etc.

³ Josh. xvii. 18; Judg. i. 19 and iv. 3.

⁴ 2 Sam. x. 18; 2 K. vi. 14, 15.

⁵ 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12; 1 K. iv. 26; x. 26; xvi. 9; xxii. 34, etc.

⁶ Herod. vii. 40; Æsch. "Pers." 86; Xen. "Anab." i. 8, § 10; Arr. "Exp. Alex." ii. 11; iii. 11.

⁷ Cæs. "De Bell. Gall." iv. 33.

⁸ Tacit. "Agric." § 12, and § 35.

⁹ As the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 5), the Hittites (1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6), the Suisianians or Elamites (Is. xxii. 6) the Lydians (Æsch. "Pers." 45-48), the wild African tribes near Cyrene (Herod. iv. 189; vii. 86), and the Indians of the Punjab region (ibid.; and Arrian, "Exp. Alex." v. 15).

¹⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 349.

¹¹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 343. In the Greek and Roman chariots, on the contrary, the axletree was placed about midway in the body.

¹² See the representations of entire chariots given in Pl. XCII.

¹³ This was the case also with the Greek chariots. The chariots of the Lydians according to Æschylus ("Pers." 45-47), had two and even three poles (*διπρόνμα τε καὶ τριπρόνμα τέλει*). In the Assyrian sculptures there is one representation of what seems to be a chariot with two poles (Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 24): but perhaps the intention was to represent two chariots, one partially concealing the other.

¹⁴ *Σειραιοί, or σεραφόροι*, "ropebearers," from *σειρά*, "a cord or rope." (See Soph. "Electr." 722; Eurip. "Iph. A." 223; "Herc. F." 446; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Nub." 1302; Isid. "Orig." xviii. 35, etc.; and compare the article on CURRUS, in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 379, 2d edition.)

¹⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 350.

¹⁶ Generally the yoke is exhibited with great clearness, being drawn in full, at right angles to the pole, or nearly so, despite the laws of perspective. Sometimes, however, as in Sennacherib's chariot (see Pl. XCII., Fig. 2), we find in the place where we should expect the yoke a mere circle marked out upon the pole, which represents probably one end of the yoke, or possibly the hole through which it passed.

¹⁷ See the pole ending in a horse's head Pl. XC., and compare that to which reference is made in last note.

¹⁸ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 90.

¹⁹ Compare the representation of Sargon's Chariot, Pl. XLV.

²⁰ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 92.

²¹ "Dictionary of Antiquities," vol. i. pp. 101, 379, etc.

²² See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 22.

²³ The earlier belong to the time of Asshur-izir-pal, ab. B.C. 900; the later to the times of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal (Esarhaddon's son), about B.C. 720-660. Sometimes, but very rarely, a chariot of the old type is met with in the second period. (See Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 24.)

²⁴ Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 345.

²⁵ Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," pp. 378, 379, 2d ed.

²⁶ See No. I. (Pl. XCII., Fig. 1), and compare Pl. LXIV. Each quiver held also a small axe or hatchet. The arrangement of the quivers resembles that usual in Egypt (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 346).

²⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 350. Another conjecture is that the ornament in question is really a flap of leather, which extended *horizontally* from the horses' shoulders to the chariot-rim, and served the purpose of the modern splash-board. The artists, unskilled in perspective, would be obliged to substitute the perpendicular for the horizontal position.

²⁸ See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14, 22, and 27.

²⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 352. The feathers of the arrows are sometimes distinctly visible. (See Pl. XCII.)

³⁰ If the white obelisk from Koyunjik now in the British Museum is rightly ascribed to Asshur-izir-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, it would appear that the change from the older to the latter chariot began in his time. The vehicles on that monument are of a *transition* character. They have the thin bar with the loop, and have in most instances wheels with eight spokes; but their proportions are like those of the early chariots, and they have the two transverse quivers. [Pl. XCII., Fig. 3.]

³¹ See Pls. XC. and XCIII.

³² Rosettes in ivory, mother of pearl, and bronze, which may have belonged to the harness of horses, were found in great abundance by Mr. Layard at Nimrud ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 177).

³³ See the representation which forms the ornamental head of a chariot-pole on Pl. XC.

³⁴ This is especially the case in the sculptures of the early period.

³⁵ See Pl. XLV. In one case the rows of tassels amount to seven (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 42.)

³⁶ See text, p. 221.

³⁷ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 28; or his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. opp. p. 350.

³⁸ Mr. Layard speaks of three straps, one of which "passed round the breast" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 355); but the breast-strap to which he alludes has no connection with the clothes, and occurs equally on unclothed horses

of the early period. (See the representation on Pl. XCIII., Fig. 1.)

³⁹ The third strap here is on the back, just above the quarters. It is difficult to see how it could have been of any service.

⁴⁰ See Pl. XCIII. For representations of the ornament in question, see Pls. XLV. and XCV.

⁴¹ Yet sometimes, where there are three horses, we find eight reins (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 13 and 14); and often, where there are but two horses, we see six reins. (See Pl. XLV., Fig. 2, and compare Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 72 and 80; 2d Series, Plates 23, 24, 29, 42, etc.) I have sometimes doubted whether the Assyrians of the later period did not really drive three horses, while the artists economized their labor by only representing two. It is to be noticed that over the two heads there are very often represented three plumes (Botta, "Monument," Pls. 53, 58, 65, etc.; Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 72), and that the practice of economy by the artists is indubitable. For instance, they often show but one, and rarely more than two, of the six reins between the necks and mouths of the chariot-horses, where all six would have been visible; and they sometimes even suppress the second horse in a chariot (supra, Pl. XCIII., Fig. 3; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 47). It is, however, on the whole, perhaps most probable that the three plumes and the six reins are traditional, and held their place in drawings when they had gone out of use in reality. Otherwise we should probably have had some distinct evidence of the continued use of the third horse.

Note that when Sennacherib's horses are being taken from his chariot to cross a river ("Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 41), they are clearly but two in number, and employ but two grooms.

⁴² See Pl. XC.

⁴³ As in figs. 2, 3, and 5, Pl. XCIV.

⁴⁴ As in figs. 1 and 4, Pl. XCIV.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 351.

⁴⁶ See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14, 23, etc.

⁴⁷ Layard, Pl. 72.

⁴⁸ See Pls. XCI. and XCIII.

⁴⁹ On the subject of Egyptian scale-armour, see Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 79; and compare the same writer's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 332.

⁵⁰ See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 18, 20, and 28.

⁵¹ Layard, "Monuments," Pls. 11, 27, etc. The attendants who accompany the monarch have their heads uncovered as a general rule.

⁵² Ibid. Pls. 18 and 28. See Pl. C., Fig. 3.

⁵³ Is. v. 28.

⁵⁴ Ibid. xxxvii. 24. Compare 2 K. xix. 23.

⁵⁵ Nahum ii. 13. The mention of chariots in verse 4 may bear on this point. More probably, however, the chariots in-

tended both in that verse and in iii. 2, are those of Assyria's enemies.

⁵⁶ Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.

⁵⁷ Ibid. ii. 17, § 1. Compare Suidas ad voc. *Σεῦραρις*.

⁵⁸ "De Inst. Cyr." vi. 1, § 30.

⁵⁹ Teutamus was said to have sent 200 chariots with Memnon to Troy (Diod. Sic. ii. 22, § 2). The same number is assigned by Xenophon to the Assyrian adversary of Cyrus ("De Inst. Cyr." ii. 1, § 5).

⁶⁰ Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4, and 17, § 1.

⁶¹ Judith, ii. 15.

⁶² Ezek. xxiii. 6 and 23.

⁶³ See Pls. LXXXIX., XCI., XCII., etc. Compare Pl. XXX.

⁶⁴ See Pl. XXX.

⁶⁵ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 32.

⁶⁶ For a representation see "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 357. Saddles are not absolutely unknown, for on the horse which a mounted attendant leads for the king behind his chariot, we see in every instance a square-cut cloth, fringed and patterned. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 11, 21, 32, and 49, 1.) But no other horse besides the king's is thus caparisoned.

⁶⁷ The square shape (see Pl. XXXI.) is, apparently, reserved for the monarch and his immediate attendants. Ordinary soldiers have the cloth which runs out to a point (see Pl. XCV.) Sometimes, even during this period, there is no saddle. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 87, 88, 94, 99, etc.)

⁶⁸ See the "Head of an Assyrian Horse," Pl. XXX., and the "Groom and Horses," Pl. LXVII.

⁶⁹ A few instances occur where the legs are still naked, more especially in Sargon's sculptures (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 87, 142). But the rule is as stated in the text.

⁷⁰ Sometimes this belt passes over the right shoulder; sometimes it is omitted altogether, and the spearman or archer has no sword.

⁷¹ See Pl. XCV.

⁷² See Pl. XCIII.

⁷³ In settled empires the cavalry rarely amounts to one-fifth of the infantry force. In early Rome the proportion seems to have been one-tenth (Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 97, E. T.); in the imperial legion it was a little more than a twentieth. Among the Persians it was even less than this, being only one-twenty-fifth at Arbela (Arr. "Exp. Al." iii. 8). Alexander the Great, who laid great stress on the cavalry service, made the proportion in his armies one-sixth, or a little more (ibid. i. 11; iii. 12, etc.). It is only when races are in the nomadic condition that the relation of the two arms is inverted. The hordes of Genghis consisted almost entirely of cavalry, and the Scythians attacked by Darius had not a footman among them. (Herod. iv. 46.)

⁷⁴ Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.

⁷⁵ "De Inst. Cyr." ii. 1, § 5.

⁷⁶ Herod. vii. 84-87.

⁷⁷ Judith ii. 5.

⁷⁸ The prophet Isaiah, while seizing such salient points as the "horses' hoofs that are counted like flint," and the chariot "wheels, that are like a whirlwind," to give force to his description, assigns its due place to the Assyrian infantry, of which he says: "They shall come with speed, swiftly; none shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep: neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent." (Is. v. 27, 28.)

⁷⁹ Round shields or targets are also sometimes worn by swordsmen at this time (Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 29); but they are comparatively uncommon.

⁸⁰ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 26.

⁸¹ Swordsmen scarcely appear as a class. They occur only in twos and threes at the sieges, where they exactly resemble the swordsmen of the first period.

⁸² See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 61.

⁸³ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336.

⁸⁴ Botta, Pls. 95 and 98.

⁸⁵ One instance only of such protection is to be found in M. Botta's work. (See vol. i. Pl. 62.)

⁸⁶ See Pl. CII.

⁸⁷ See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 2.

⁸⁸ Botta, "Mon. de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 60.

⁸⁹ Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 77.

⁹⁰ Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 62; vol. ii. Pl. 99.

⁹¹ Two attendants are comparatively uncommon, but they will be seen in M. Botta's work, Pls. 55, 60, and 95; possibly also in Pl. 99.

⁹² Herod. ix. 62; Xen. "Anab." i. 8, § 9. Sometimes the *γέρρον* is straight, sometimes it curves backwards towards the top. (See Pl. CI., Fig. 5.)

⁹³ On the variety in the crests of the Assyrian helmets, see Pl. C., Fig. 5.

⁹⁴ Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 90 and 93.

⁹⁵ See Pl. XCVI., Fig. 1.

⁹⁶ See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316. A slinger is represented among the enemies of the Assyrians in one of the earliest sculptures. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 29.)

⁹⁷ Sometimes the twist of the string is very clearly discernible, as represented in the illustration.

⁹⁸ For the Roman usage see the well-known lines of Virgil,—

"Stridentem fundam, positus Mezentius hastis,
Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena."

"Æn." ix. 586, 587.

For the Egyptian, consult Wilkinson,

"Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316.

⁹⁹ "And David took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag which he had, even in a scrip, and his sling was in his hand," etc. (1 Sam. xvii. 40.)

¹⁰⁰ See a representation in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," s. v. FUNDA.

¹⁰¹ See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 20.

¹⁰² See Pl. XCVI., Fig. 3.

¹⁰³ Sometimes the feet also are bare. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 20.)

¹⁰⁴ This tunic is very incorrectly represented by Mr. Layard's artist in Pl. 20 of the 2d Series of "Monuments." He has omitted almost all the stripes, and has only in one instance sufficiently marked the fall of the tunic behind.

¹⁰⁵ The spear in the accompanying representation is somewhat longer, and the shield somewhat shorter, than usual.

¹⁰⁶ See the representation in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 345.

¹⁰⁷ See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 72 and 80; 2d Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 43.

¹⁰⁸ See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 3.

¹⁰⁹ See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 76.

¹¹⁰ See Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 3.

¹¹¹ See Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 5.

¹¹² A representation of this shield is given on Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4.

¹¹³ See Pl. XCVIII.

¹¹⁴ According to Herodotus, the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes "carried lances, daggers, and wooden clubs knotted with iron" (*ρόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ*. Herod. vii. 63). It is possible that this may be a sort of periphrasis for maces, which were not in use among the Greeks of his day.

¹¹⁵ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 341.

¹¹⁶ For foreign representations, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 65; and for a native one, see the same work, vol. iii. p. 69.

¹¹⁷ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 339. In later times, if we may believe Herodotus, the material of the Assyrian helmets was bronze. (Herod. vii. 63.)

¹¹⁸ The statement of Herodotus (i. 171) that crests were invented by the Carians is not worth very much; but it at least indicates his belief that the crest was adopted by the Greeks from the Asiatics. The first distinct evidence we have of them is in the Egyptian representations of the *Shaietana*, about B.C. 1200. Homer ascribes them to the Greeks in the time of the Trojan War, which was perhaps earlier than this; and they must at any rate have been common in Greece in his own age, which was probably the 9th century B.C. We cannot prove that they

were known to the Assyrians much before B.C. 700.

¹¹⁹ See Pl. CI., Fig. 5, which is taken from the Khorsabad sculptures.

¹²⁰ See "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336.

¹²¹ See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 1.

¹²² Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336, and note.

¹²³ Ibid. vol. i. p. 340; and vol. ii. p. 335.

¹²⁴ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 331. In the Egyptian corselet the plates of the sleeves were not set at right angles to those of the body.

¹²⁵ As in the representation given in Pl. XCVII.

¹²⁶ Herod. vii. 61; ix. 61 and 99. Compare Xen. "Inst. Cyr." i. 2, § 9, etc.

¹²⁷ See illustration, Pl. CI., Fig. 5. The Egyptians supported their large shields with a crutch sometimes. (Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 80, 81.) We have no evidence that the Assyrians did the same.

¹²⁸ See Pls. XCVI. and XCVII.

¹²⁹ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 17, 19, 20.

¹³⁰ The bronze shields found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, one of which is represented in his "Nineveh and Babylon" (p. 193), had a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. If we may trust the sculptures, a smaller size was more common.

¹³¹ See Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4. The Greeks passed their arm through the bar at the centre of the shield, and grasped a leathern thong near the rim with their hand. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 306.)

¹³² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 194.

¹³³ Shields of gold were taken from the servants of Hadadzer, king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 7), by David. Solomon made 800 such shields (1 Kings x. 17). Croesus dedicated a golden shield at the temple of Amphiaräus (Herod. i. 52).

¹³⁴ See Pl. XCI.

¹³⁵ For representations of round wicker bucklers, see Pls. XCVII. and XCIX.

¹³⁶ A representation of this shield in its simplest form is given in Pl. XCVI., Fig. 4.

¹³⁷ See Pls. XCIX. and C.

¹³⁸ For a representation of the Greek shield, see Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad voc. CLYPEUS.

¹³⁹ See Pl. XCIX.

¹⁴⁰ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 41. Compare Pl. CVIII., Fig. 3.

¹⁴¹ The Roman *pilum*, which is commonly called a javelin, exceeded six feet. The Greek γρόσφος, or dart, was nearly four feet.

¹⁴² See Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 304, 305.

¹⁴³ Mr. Layard says that the warrior carried the bow upon his shoulders, "having first passed his head through it." ("Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 342.)

This may have been the case sometimes, but generally both ends of the bow are seen on the same side of the head.

¹⁴⁴ See "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 126, 2d edition.

¹⁴⁵ See Pl. XCIX.

¹⁴⁶ See Pl. XCII.

¹⁴⁷ See Pls. XCII. and XCHII.

¹⁴⁸ In the Khorsabad sculptures the quivers not unfrequently showed traces of paint. The color was sometimes red, sometimes blue. (See text, p. 221.)

¹⁴⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 177.

¹⁵⁰ The lid was probably attached to the back of the quiver by a hinge, and was made so that it could stand open. The Assyrian artists generally represent it in this position. The quiver, of which it was the top, must also have been round.

¹⁵¹ Possibly this bag may be the upper part of a bow-case attached to the quiver, which, being made of a flexible material, fell back when the bow was removed. Such a construction was common in Egypt, (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 345-347.)

¹⁵² Mr. Layard's conjecture that the numerous iron rods which he discovered at Nimrud were "shafts of arrows" ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 194) does not seem to me very happy. The burnishing of arrows mentioned in Scripture almost certainly alludes to the points. There is no evidence that such clumsy and inconvenient things as metal shafts were ever used by any nation.

¹⁵³ A few stone arrow-heads have been found in the Assyrian ruins. [Pl. CV., Fig. 3.] They are pear-shaped and of fine flint, chipped into form. The metal arrow-heads are in a few instances barbed.

¹⁵⁴ Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 309.

¹⁵⁵ See Pl. XCVI.

¹⁵⁶ See Pls. XCV. and XCVI.

¹⁵⁷ Both bronze and iron spear-heads were found at Nimrud. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 194.)

¹⁵⁸ See the illustration, Pl. XCVIII.

¹⁵⁹ Representations of the Persian *acinaces* will be given in a future volume. The reader may likewise consult the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 52, 53.

¹⁶⁰ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 99.

¹⁶¹ Mr. Layard says ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 298) that the swords had often a cross-bar made of two lions' heads, with part of the neck and shoulders. But a careful examination of the monuments, or even of Mr. Layard's own drawings, will, I think, convince any one that the ornament in question is part of the sheath. It is never seen on a drawn sword.

¹⁶² See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 46.

¹⁶³ See Fellows' "Lycia," p. 75, and Pl. 35, Figs. 4 and 5. A two-headed axe is likewise represented in some very early sculptures, supposed to be Scythic, found by M. Texier in Cappadocia.

¹⁶⁴ I distinguish between the dagger and the short sword. The place of the former is on the right side; and it is worn invariably in the girdle. The place of the latter is by the left hip, and it hangs almost always from a cross-belt. When Mr. Layard says that "the dagger appears to have been carried by all, both in time of peace and war" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 342), he must be understood as not making this distinction.

The only place, so far as I know, where a subject carries a dagger, is on the slab represented by Mr. Layard in his 1st Series of "Monuments," Pl. 23, where it is borne by one of the royal attendants. In Pl. 31, the hunter who bears two daggers in his girdle is undoubtedly the monarch himself.

¹⁶⁵ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 14. Compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 347.

¹⁶⁶ "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14 and 27.

¹⁶⁷ Herod. i. 103: Πρώτος ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα.

¹⁶⁸ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 80 and 81.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 37 and 38.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 69.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 2d Series, Pl. 20.

¹⁷² Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 76.

¹⁷³ Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 20 and 21.

¹⁷⁴ The Assyrians in their battle-scenes never represent a long row of men in perspective. Their powers in this respect are limited to two men, or at the utmost three. Where a longer row is attempted, each is nearly on the head of the other, and all are represented as of the same size.

¹⁷⁵ E.g. the Assyrian representation of a siege is a sort of history of the siege. The various parts of the attack and defence, together with the surrender and the carrying away of the captives, are all represented in one scene. It is not improbable that each of the different corps who took part in the various attacks is represented by a few men. Hence an apparent confusion.

¹⁷⁶ Compare the Persian practice (Herod. vii. 40; Q. Curt. iii. 3).

¹⁷⁷ It is very seldom that we find a swimmer represented as bold enough to dispense with the support of a skin. Instances, however, do occur. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 16 and 33.)

¹⁷⁸ See the representation, Pl. LXII.

¹⁷⁹ Judith ii. 17: "And he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number, and sheep, and oxen, and goats, without number, for their provision.

I have given elsewhere my reasons ("Herodotus," vol. i. p. 245, note 8, 1st edition) for regarding the book of Judith

as a post-Alexandrine work, and therefore as no real authority on Assyrian history or customs. But the writer had a good acquaintance with Oriental manners in general, which are and always have been remarkably widespread and permanent. He may, therefore, fairly be used to fill out the sketch of Assyria.

¹⁸⁰ See Pl. XXXII., and Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 1.

¹⁸¹ Mr. Layard was at first inclined to regard these enclosures as "castles," or "walled cities" ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50). But in his latest work ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 230), he takes the view adopted in the text, that they are really "fortified camps, and not cities." No one will hesitate to admit this conclusion who compares with the enclosures the actual plan of a walled city (Badaca) in Pl. 49 of Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series.

¹⁸² Felt was used by the Scythians for their tent-coverings (Herod. iv. 73, 75); as it is by the Calmucks at the present day. It is one of the simplest of manufactures, and would readily take the rounding form which is so remarkable in the roofs of the Assyrian tents.

¹⁸³ These are often represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36. Compare the passage from Judith above quoted, in note ¹⁷⁹.)

¹⁸⁴ A road seems to be intended in the bas-relief of which Mr. Layard has given a representation in his "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 81. According to the rendering of Sir H. Rawlinson, Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself "the opener of the roads of the countries." ("Inscription," p. 30, § ix.)

¹⁸⁵ The probabilities of the case alone would justify these conclusions, which are further supported by the Inscriptions ("Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 30, § viii.; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 139, 140, etc.), and by at least one bas-relief (see Pl. CIX., Fig. 2).

¹⁸⁶ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 65. Mr. Fox Talbot supposes palanquins to be mentioned more than once in an inscription of Sennacherib ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 152, 153, 173, etc.); but Sir H. Rawlinson does not allow this translation.

¹⁸⁷ See text, p. 153.

¹⁸⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 46.

¹⁸⁹ See particularly Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 70.

¹⁹⁰ Sometimes a tent was set apart for the purpose, and the heads were piled in one corner of it. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 45.)

¹⁹¹ Mr. Layard regards this ornamentation as produced by a suspension from the battlements of the shields of the garrison, and suggests that it illustrates the passage in Ezekiel with respect to Tyre: "The men of Arvad with thine army were

upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they *hanged their shields upon thy walls round about.*" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 388.)

¹⁹² Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 21.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ As Nos. I., II., and III., Pl. CX., Fig. 3.

¹⁹⁵ As No. IV., Pl. CX., Fig. 3.

¹⁹⁶ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 19.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. 17.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Pl. 19.

¹⁹⁹ In the bas-reliefs represented by Mr. Layard in his 2d Series of "Monuments," Pl. 21, where an enormous number of torches are seen in the air, every battering-ram is thus protected. A man, sheltered under the framework of the ram, holds the pole which supports the curtain. (See the ram, No. II., Pl. CX., Fig. 3. May not the *προκαλύματα* of the Plataeans have been curtains of this description? They were made of "skins and rawhides" (Thucyd. ii. 75).

²⁰⁰ Instead of chains, the Greeks used nooses (*βρόχοι*) made of rope probably, for this purpose. (See Thucyd. ii. 76, where *ἀνέκλων* seems to mean "drew upwards," and compare Livy xxxvi. 23, and Dio Cassius, 1080, 11.)

²⁰¹ Jer. vi. 6, xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, etc.

²⁰² Ezek. xvii. 17.

²⁰³ 2 Kings xix. 32; Is. xxxvii. 33. The Jews themselves were acquainted with this mode of siege as early as the time of David. (2 Sam. xx. 15.)

²⁰⁴ Thucyd. ii. 76.

²⁰⁵ See Pl. CXI., Fig. 1, and compare Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 18. So Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian mound as composed of earth, stones, and wood. (*Ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλμιν ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γῆν.* Thucyd. ii. 75.)

²⁰⁶ The term "catapult" was properly applied to the engine which threw darts; that which threw stones was called *balista*.

²⁰⁷ According to Diodorus, *balistæ* were chiefly used to break down the battlements which crowned the walls and the towers. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 42, 45; xx. 48, 88.)

²⁰⁸ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 66.

²⁰⁹ See Pl. CI.

²¹⁰ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 19.

²¹¹ Herod. i. 179; Diod. Sic. ii. 8, § 7.

²¹² Plutarch, "Vit. Camill." 12.

²¹³ In the Affghan war one of the gates of the city of Candahar was ignited from the outside by the Affghanees, and was entirely consumed in less than an hour.

²¹⁴ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 40.

²¹⁵ Fox Talbot, "Assyrian Texts," pp. 8, 17, etc.

²¹⁶ So at least Sir Henry Rawlinson understands a passage in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription, col. vii. ll. 17-27, pp. 58-60.

²¹⁷ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 28.

²¹⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 65; 2d Series, Pl. 30, etc.

²¹⁹ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 40; "Assyrian Texts," p. 17.

²²⁰ 2 Kings xviii. 34.

²²¹ See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 377, and compare a representation on the broken black obelisk of Asshur-izir-pal, now in the British Museum.

²²² See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 376.

²²³ See Pl. XXXV., where a representation of captives thus treated is given.

²²⁴ For a representation of this practice see Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82. The Persian monarchs treated captives in the same way, as we see by the rock sculpture at Behistun. The practice has always prevailed in the East. See Josh. x. 24; Ps. viii. 6; cx. 1; Lament. iii. 34, etc.

²²⁵ For a representation, see Pl. XXXV.

²²⁶ One king, the great Asshur-izir-pal, seems to have employed empalement on a large scale. (See his long Inscription, "British Museum Series," Pls. 17 to 26.)

²²⁷ "Assyrian Texts," p. 28.

²²⁸ Another mode of executing with the mace is represented in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458.

²²⁹ See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 24 and 50; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11, 30, etc.

²³⁰ See text, pp. 272, 273.

²³¹ "Assyrian Texts," l. s. c.

²³² See particularly the slab in the British Museum, entitled "Execution of the King of Susiana."

²³³ For a representation see Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 457.

²³⁴ Herod. v. 25: *Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.* And again, a little further on: *τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε,* "flayed after he had slain."

²³⁵ Herod. iv. 64: *Πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξίας χέρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες, αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρώων ποιεῖνται.*

²³⁶ The Scythians used the skins of their enemies as trophies. When Cambyes had Sisamnes flayed, it was to cover with his skin the seat of justice, on which his son had succeeded him, and so to deter the son from imitating the corruption of his father.

²³⁷ See Herod. iii. 69, 154; vii. 18; Xen. "Anab." i. 9, § 13; Amm. Marc. xxvii. 12; Procop. "De Bell. Pers." i. 11; Jerem. xxxix. 7, etc.; and compare Brisson, "De Regn. Pers." ii. pp. 334, 335.

²³⁸ The whole slab is engraved by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 47. A portion of it is also given in his "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458.

²³⁹ See "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription,"

col. vi. 1. 85; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 2, 7, etc.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 4.

²⁴¹ Ezra iv. 2 and 9.

²⁴² 2 Kings xviii. 11.

²⁴³ See Pl. XXXII.

²⁴⁴ See Pl. XXXII., and Pl. XXXVI., Fig.

1.

²⁴⁵ "Assyrian Texts," p. 19 and note.

²⁴⁶ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 493, note ¹.

²⁴⁷ "Assyrian Texts," p. 11; "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," p. 44, etc.

²⁴⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 61, 74, 75; 2d Series, Pls. 33, 34, etc.

²⁴⁹ For representations of such groups, see Pls. LXVII. and LXVIII.

²⁵⁰ "Inscription," p. 58.

²⁵¹ "Assyrian Texts," p. 25.

²⁵² For a description of these *terradas*, see Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 552, and compare Loftus, "Chaldaea and Susiana," p. 92. The larger *terradas* are of teak, but the smaller "consist of a very narrow framework of rushes covered with bitumen." These last seem to be the exact counterpart of the boats represented in the sculptures. (See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 25, 27, and 28.)

²⁵³ Layard, *ibid.* l. s. c.

²⁵⁴ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.

²⁵⁵ Herod. viii. p. 97; Ctes. "Exc. Pers." § 26; Strab. ix. 1, § 13.

²⁵⁶ Arrian, "Exp. Alex." ii. 1.

²⁵⁷ Unless they had been successful, they would not, we may be sure, have made the construction of the mole the subject of a set of bas-reliefs.

²⁵⁸ Isaiah xliii. 14.

²⁵⁹ See the description in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, p. 16, and compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 384.

²⁶⁰ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 154.

²⁶¹ Menander ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14, § 2. It has been thought that Sargon attacked Cyprus. (Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 19.) But his monument found at Idalium does not prove that he carried his arms there. By the inscription it appears that the tablet was carved at Babylon, and conveyed thence to Cyprus by Cyprian envoys.

²⁶² To this class belong the rock sculptures, five or six in number, at the Nahr-el-Kelb. There is another of the same character at Bavian, a third at Egil, on the main Tigris stream above Diarbekr, and there are two others at the sources of the eastern Tigris, or river of Supnat. Two block memorials have been found at Kurkh, 20 miles below Diarbekr, recording the exploits of Asshur-izir-pal, and his son, Shalmaneser II. They were discovered by Mr. John Taylor in 1862, and are now in the British Museum. The Egil and Supnat tablets were also discovered by Mr. Taylor.

²⁶³ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series,

Pl. 34. The squared flap is always that which is worn behind.

²⁶⁴ The account and the representation of this complicated garment are taken mainly from the work of M. Botta ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 84). But the author has slightly modified both M. Botta's theory and his illustration.

²⁶⁵ See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. opp. p. 7.

²⁶⁶ See Botta's "Monument," vol. i. Pl. 12, and vol. ii. Pl. 155.

²⁶⁷ See Pl. CXIX.

²⁶⁸ Shoes were not absolutely unknown to the Assyrians, even in the earliest period, since they are represented on the feet of foreign tribute-bearers as early as the Black-Obelisk king. Boots are also represented in this monarch's sculptures. But Assyrians wear neither till the reign of Sennacherib.

²⁶⁹ At Khorsabad these strips were sometimes colored alternately red and blue. More often the entire sandal had a reddish tint. M. Botta observes that a sandal shaped exactly like this is worn to the present day in the Mount Sinjar, and in other parts of Mesopotamia. ("Monument," vol. v. p. 85.)

²⁷⁰ This loop has been regarded as a mere twist of the strap round the great-toe; but I find it sometimes clearly represented as springing from the sole. Thus only would it add much to the hold of the foot on the sandal.

²⁷¹ See Pl. CXV.

²⁷² See text, p. 283.

²⁷³ See Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82.

²⁷⁴ Roman bracelets were sometimes fastened with catches. (See "Dictionary of Antiquities," p. 136, 2d ed.) But more often they were left open, like the Assyrian armlets, and merely clung to the arm.

²⁷⁵ See Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 3.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ See text, p. 283. This change of dress is almost universal in the earliest and in the latest sculptures. In the intermediate period, however, the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, the monarch goes out to war in his chasuble.

²⁷⁸ See Pl. LXIII., Fig. 2.

²⁷⁹ Particularly the slab engraved by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 25, with which compare the figure in an arched frame represented in the same author's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 351.

²⁸⁰ For a representation of the sacred collar, see Pl. CXIII., Fig. 8.

²⁸¹ See text, p. 190.

²⁸² Mention of an Assyrian woman has been found as yet in only two inscriptions, one being that on the duplicate statues of Nebo now in the British Museum, and the other being a tablet-inscription belonging to the reign of the last known king.

²⁸³ The scene is from the palace of Esar-haddon's son (Asshur-bani-pal) at

Koyunjik. It is now in the National Collection.

²⁸⁴ Horat. Od. I. xxviii. 8: "Et cubito remanete presso." See also Sat. I. iv. 39. The Roman fashion has been thus described (and the description would evidently suit the Assyrians just as well): "They lay with the upper part of the body resting on the left arm, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent." (Lipsius, "Antiq. Lect." iii.)

²⁸⁵ See Pls. XLII. and XLIII. M. Botta supposes that *both* fringes were attached to the cross-belt ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 83); but in that case the lower of the two would scarcely have terminated, as it does, horizontally.

²⁸⁶ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 5.

²⁸⁷ Compare Pls. CXVI.-CXIX.

²⁸⁸ This point will be considered in the chapter on the Religion of the Assyrians.

²⁸⁹ See Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 590.

²⁹⁰ This is Mr. Layard's view. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 325.)

²⁹¹ See especially the slabs of Asshur-bani-pal (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 47 to 49), where less than half the royal attendants are eunuchs.

²⁹² From the time of Sennacherib downwards the king's quiver-bearer and mace-bearer, two attendants very close to his person, cease to be eunuchs. The last chief eunuch recorded as holding the office of eponym belongs to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.

²⁹³ See Pl. CXVII.

²⁹⁴ Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 327. M. Botta suggests that this prominent officer is "un Mage" ("Monument," vol. v. p. 86); but he appears in scenes which have no religious character.

²⁹⁵ Sometimes, where the king and the vizier appear together, the robe of the vizier is even richer in its ornamentation than that of the monarch. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 23.)

²⁹⁶ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 23. There is one bas-relief where the tasselled apron is worn, not only by the Vizier, but also by the Chief Eunuch and other principal attendants. See Pl. CXVII., Fig. 2.

²⁹⁷ See Pl. CXIV., and compare the illustration Pl. CXVI., Fig. 2.

²⁹⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12.

²⁹⁹ See Pl. CXVI.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2d Series, Pl. 23.

³⁰² "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12.

³⁰³ See Pl. CXVI.

³⁰⁴ See the Black Obelisk, First Side ("Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 53), where the king is faced by the vizier in the topmost compartment, and immediately below by this official represented as in Pl. CXVII.

³⁰⁵ The long brush-fan belongs to the earlier, the long feather fan to the later period. (See Pls. CXV. and CXX.)

³⁰⁶ "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pls. 47 to 49.

³⁰⁷ Still they do not seem to be soldiers. They carry neither spears, shields, nor bows, and they stand with the hands joined—an attitude peculiar to the royal attendants.

³⁰⁸ Herodotus ascribed the invention of this practice to Deïoces, his first Median king (i. 99). Diodorus believed that it had prevailed in Assyria at a much earlier date (ii. 21). But in this he was certainly mistaken. On its general prevalence in the East, see Brisson "De Reg. Pers. Princ." i. p. 23; and compare Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," ch. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 95, Smith's edition).

³⁰⁹ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

³¹⁰ For representations of these thrones see Pls. LXXIV., LXXXV. Sargon's throne is represented as carried by two attendants on his triumphant return from an expedition. (Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 18.) Sennacherib sits on his throne to receive captives outside the walls of a town supposed to be Lachish. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 150-152.) Instances of kings sitting on their thrones inside their fortified camps will be found in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77.

³¹¹ Diod. Sic. ii. 21, 23.

³¹² See text, pp. 269-282.

³¹³ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 382, note 2, 2d ed.

³¹⁴ See Pl. CXV. M. Lenormant appears to have mistaken the eunuchs who are in attendance, playing on instruments or fanning the king, for the other members of his harem ("Manuel," vol. ii. p. 122).

³¹⁵ Diod. Sic. ii. 4, § 1; 7, § 1.

³¹⁶ Ibid. ii. 26, § 8.

³¹⁷ See Pl. LXIV., Fig. 3.

³¹⁸ See Pl. LXV.

³¹⁹ See the illustration, Pl. LXXII.

³²⁰ In an inscription appended to one of his sculptures, Asshur-bani-pal says, "I, Asshur-bani-pal, king of the nations, king of Assyria, in my great courage fighting on foot with a lion, terrible for his size, seized him by the ear, and in the name of Asshur and Ishtar, Goddess of War, with the spear that was in my hand I terminated his life." (Fox Talbot in "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 272.)

³²¹ See Pl. LXXIII.

³²² See the illustration, Pl. LXXI.

³²³ Such attempts are common both in the earlier and the later sculptures. (See Pls. LXIV. and LXVI.)

³²⁴ As in the slab of Asshur-bani-pal, from which the representation is taken, Pl. LXXII.

³²⁵ No instance, however, is found of a hound engaged with a lion.

³²⁶ See the Great Lion Hunt of Asshur

bani-pal in the basement room, British Museum.

³²⁷ Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that in his various journeys he killed 800 lions. ("Inscription," p. 56.)

³²⁸ See text, p. 26; compare Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 243, 244, etc.

³²⁹ Loftus, p. 261. Mr. Layard, however, relates that the Maidan Arabs have a plan on the strength of which they venture to attack lions, even singly. "A man, having bound his right arm with strips of tamarisk, and holding in his hand a strong piece of the same wood, about a foot or more in length, hardened in the fire and sharpened at both ends, will advance boldly into the animal's lair. When the lion springs upon him, he forces the wood into the animal's extended jaws, which will then be held open whilst he can despatch the astonished beast at his leisure with the pistol which he holds in his left hand." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 567.)

³³⁰ Loftus, pp. 259-262.

³³¹ The Aurochs is still found in the Caucasus. Its four parts are covered by a sort of frizzled wool or hair, which "forms a beard or small mane upon the throat." ("Encycl. Brit." ad voc. *Mammalia*, vol. xiv. p. 215). Such a mane is often represented upon the sculptures. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 32, 46, etc.) Its horns are placed low, and are very thick. Its shoulders are heavy and of great depth. In height it measures six feet at the shoulder, and is between ten and eleven feet in length from the nose to the insertion of the tail. All these characteristics seem to me to agree well with the sculptured bulls of the Assyrians, which are far less like the wild buffalo (*Bos bubalus*).

³³² See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 48, fig. 6.

³³³ Ibid. Pl. 11.

³³⁴ The pursuit of the wild bull is represented with more frequency and in greater detail upon the early sculptures than even that of the lion. In the Nimrud series we see the bull pursued by chariots, horsemen, and footmen, both separately and together. We observe him prancing among reeds, reposing, fighting with the lion, charging the king's chariot, wounded and falling, fallen, and lastly laid out in state for the final religious ceremony. No such elaborate series illustrates the chase of the rival animal. (See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 11, 12, 32, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, and 49.)

³³⁵ There are two animals mentioned in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription which have been thought to represent wild cattle. These are hunted respectively in the Hittite country, i.e. Northern Syria, and in the neighborhood of Harran. ("Inscription," pp. 54 and 56, 1st column.) Sir H. Rawlinson translates, in the two places, "wild bulls" and "wild buffaloes." Dr. Hincks agrees in the former rendering, while in the latter passage he

suggests "elephants." But elephants seem not to be able to exist in the wild state more than a very few degrees outside the tropics.

The Assyrian word in the first of the two passages is read as "Rim," and the animal should therefore be identical with the **רִמ** or **רִי** of Holy Scripture. Although the Arabs give the name of *Raim* to a large antelope, and a similar use of that term seems to have been known in Egypt (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 429), yet the Hebrew term "Rim" appears, from a comparison of the passages in which it occurs, almost certainly to mean an animal of the ox kind. (See especially Is. xxxiv. 17, where it is joined with the domestic bull, and Job xxxix. 9-12, where the questions derive their force from an implied comparison with that animal.)

³³⁶ Four "Rims" only are mentioned as slain. Of the other animal ten were slain and four taken. Of lions on the same expedition Tiglath-Pileser slew a hundred and twenty.

³³⁷ This appears from the sculpture represented by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12, where the ceremony is performed over a bull.

³³⁸ See text, pp. 86 and 89.

³³⁹ See text, pp. 296 and 297.

³⁴⁰ The ear is commonly represented as drooping, but some specimens indicate that it could be erected at pleasure. (See Pl. XXXII., No. I.)

³⁴¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 270, note.

³⁴² Yet it must be confessed that in the representations no trace of a wound is to be seen.

³⁴³ See Herod. vii. 85, and the author's note, ad loc. vol. iv. p. 75. Compare Pausan. i. 21, § 8; Suidas ad voc. *σειρά*, and Sir G. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 15.

³⁴⁴ See Pl. XXVII.; and compare Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 431.

³⁴⁵ See Pls. CXIX. and CXXI.

³⁴⁶ For representations of the *δίκτυον* see Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 989, 2d ed.; and for descriptions of its use cf. Virg. "Æn." iv. 121; Eurip. "Bacch." 821, 832, Ælian. "Hist. An." xii. 46; Oppian. "Cyneget." iv. 120, etc. Nets of a similar construction were used for the same purpose by the Egyptians. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 4-7.)

³⁴⁷ On the slab from which the ibexes represented in the illustration are taken, the king and an attendant are seen crouching as the herd approaches, in such a way as to make it evident that the intention was to represent them as lying in ambush.

³⁴⁸ See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 481-483.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 482, note.

³⁵⁰ "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series,

Pl. 32. The slab itself is in the British Museum.

³⁵¹ "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 130, 268, etc.

³⁵² See Pl. CXXIII.

³⁵³ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pls. 108, 110, and 111; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32. The hare is always carried by the hind legs, exactly as we carry it. See the representation, Pl. XXVIII., Figs. 1, 2.

³⁵⁴ Botta, Pl. 111. This bird has been already figured. (See Pl. XXIX.)

³⁵⁵ The dish is in the British Museum. A representation of it is given by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 64.

³⁵⁶ See Pls. CXIX., CXXI., CXXII.

³⁵⁷ Botta, Pls. 108 to 114. These sculptures were all in one room, and form a series from which two slabs only are missing.

³⁵⁸ Hares and partridges were among the delicacies with which Sennacherib's servants were in the habit of furnishing his table, as we may gather from the procession of attendants represented at Koyunjik in the inclined passage. (See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 9, and compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 338.)

³⁵⁹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 53, Pl. 342.

³⁶⁰ Ibid. pp. 52-54.

³⁶¹ Ibid. p. 54.

³⁶² See text, p. 64.

³⁶³ See the woodcut in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 231.

³⁶⁴ Wilkinson, p. 52, Pl. 341. Compare his remarks, pp. 53 and 54.

³⁶⁵ The use of nets for fishing seems to have been a very early invention. Sophocles joins it with ship-building, ploughing, trap-making, and horse-breaking ("Antiq." 347). Solomon certainly knew of the practice (Eccl. ix. 12), as did Homer ("Odys." xxii. 384-386). It was of great antiquity in Egypt.

³⁶⁶ Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 2.

³⁶⁷ See Pl. XXIX.

³⁶⁸ The chase of the ostrich seems to be mentioned in the inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal. See text, ch. ix.

³⁶⁹ Verses 5, 7, 10, and 15.

³⁷⁰ See especially Psalm cl., where the trumpet, psaltery, harp, timbrel, pipe (?), organ (?), and cymbal are all mentioned together. Compare Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 3; xcvi. 5, 6, etc.

³⁷¹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. pp. 253-327. The instruments enumerated are the *darabooka* drum, cymbals, cylindrical maces, the trumpet, the long drum, the harp, the lyre, the guitar, the flute, the single and double pipe, the tambourine, and the sistrum.

³⁷² Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 412. The conjecture is probable, though no means of suspension are seen on the sculptures.

³⁷³ The Egyptians had a triangular harp (Wilkinson, p. 280), which is not unlike the

Assyrian. And St. Jerome says that the Hebrew harp (כנור) resembled the Greek *delta*, which is an argument that it also was of this shape.

³⁷⁴ The board is commonly pierced with two or more holes, like the sounding-board of a guitar.

³⁷⁵ The above representation is from a slab discovered by Mr. Loftus in the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon. It is the only instance of a triangular lyre in the sculptures, unless the lyres of the so-called *Jewish* captives in the British Museum are intended to be triangular, which is uncertain. See Pl. CXXI.

³⁷⁶ Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 291, Woodcut No. 217.

³⁷⁷ In some of the classical lyres the two arms were joined at the base, and there was no tortoise or other sounding-board below them. (Bianchini, "De tribgen. instrument." Tab. iv.)

³⁷⁸ Such a strap is occasionally seen in the Egyptian representations. (Wilkinson, p. 302, Woodcut No. 223.)

³⁷⁹ Wilkinson, pp. 307-312; and compare pp. 232-237.

³⁸⁰ Athen. "Deipnosoph." iv. 25.

³⁸¹ Plutarch. "De Musica," p. 1135, F.

³⁸² The Egyptian pipes seem to have varied from seven to fifteen or eighteen inches. (Wilkinson, p. 308.) The classical were probably even longer. In Phœnicia a very short pipe was used, which was called *gingrus*. (Athen. "Deipn." iv. p. 174, F.)

³⁸³ See Pliny, "H. N." xvi. 36.

³⁸⁴ Wilkinson, pp. 235, 240, and 329.

³⁸⁵ They are probably identical with the "high-sounding cymbals" (תרומצ צלצלי) of Scripture. The "loud cymbals" (שמצ צלצלי) were merely castanets.

³⁸⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 554.

³⁸⁷ For representations of these drums, see Pl. CXXX., Fig. 2.

³⁸⁸ Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 238, 322-327, etc.

³⁸⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 454.

³⁹⁰ See "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 15. The original slab is in the British Museum, but in so bad a condition that the trumpet is now scarcely visible.

³⁹¹ The trumpet was employed by the Greeks and Romans, and also by the Jews, chiefly for signals. (See "Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq." ad voc. TUBA; and "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. CORNET.)

³⁹² See Rollin, "Ancient History," vol. ii. p. 254.

³⁹³ See "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 455. It may perhaps be thought that the scene where the king is represented as pouring a libation over four dead lions (see Pl. CXX., Fig. 4) furnishes a second instance of the combination of vocal with instrumental music. But a comparison of that scene with parallel representations on a

larger scale in the Nimrud series convinces me that it is merely by a neglect of the artist that the two musicians are given only one harp.

³⁹⁴ Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 73.

³⁹⁵ The authorities at our National Collection at one time entitled the bas-relief in question "*Jewish captives playing on lyres*."

³⁹⁶ Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2.

³⁹⁷ It is well known that the Jews regard the second commandment as forbidding all artistic representation of natural objects.



³⁹⁸ The authorities vary between ten strings and forty-seven. (Smith's "Biblical

Dictionary," vol. i. p. 758.) Hebrew coins, however, represent lyres with as few strings as three.

³⁹⁹ Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4.

⁴⁰⁰ I am acquainted with this sculpture only through one of Mr. Boucher's admirable drawings in the British Museum Collection.

⁴⁰¹ This is also the case in a sculpture where two musicians play the lyre, and a third had probably the same instrument. (See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 67.)

⁴⁰² Both this and the obelisk sculpture are now in the British Museum.

⁴⁰³ See Pl. CXXIX., Fig. 1.

⁴⁰⁴ This sculpture is also known to us only through Mr. Boucher's representation of it.

⁴⁰⁵ A portion of this bas-relief, containing two musicians only, is exhibited in the Museum, and has been represented on Pl. CXV., Fig. 1. Mr. Boucher's drawing, made on the spot, shows that there were actually on the relief as discovered at least five other musicians.

⁴⁰⁶ Ps. xlvii. 1; Herod. ii. 60; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 336.

⁴⁰⁷ See the representations, Pls. CXXVII. and CXXX.

⁴⁰⁸ See "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 17, and compare Pl. CXX., Fig. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ The fragmentary character of the sculptures renders it often doubtful whether the actual number of the performers may not have considerably exceeded the number at present visible.

⁴¹⁰ Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261; Liv. i. 43; Sueton. "Vit. Jul." § 32; Amm. Marc. xxiv. 4; etc.

⁴¹¹ Supra, Pl. CXXVI.

⁴¹² The evidence is not merely negative. It is positively stated by Herodotus that in the time of the Assyrian ascendancy the carrying trade of the eastern Mediterranean was in the hands of the Phœnicians (Herod. i. 1); and Isaiah (xliii. 14) implies that the Chaldeans of his time retained the trade of the Persian Gulf

⁴¹³ Herod. v. 52; and see text, pp. 123, 126.

⁴¹⁴ If even the Araxes (*Aras*) might be truly said in Virgil's time to "abhor a bridge" ("pontem indignatus Araxes," Virg. "Æn," viii. 728), much more would these two mightiest streams of Western Asia have in the early ages defied the art of bridge-building.

⁴¹⁵ The lowest bridge over the Tigris is that of Diarbekr, a stone structure of ten arches; the lowest on the Euphrates, is, I believe, that at *Eghin*. Mr. Berrington, a recent traveller in the East, informs me that there is a ruined bridge, which once crossed the Tigris, a little below Jezireh.

⁴¹⁶ See Pl. LXII.

⁴¹⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 96-98; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 465; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 4.

⁴¹⁸ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 46, 47. Sir H. Rawlinson translates the passage, "The men of their armies, who had fled before the face of the valiant servants of my lord Asshur, crossed over the Euphrates; in boats covered with bitumen skins I crossed the Euphrates after them." Mr. Fox Talbot renders the last clause, "I crossed the river after them in my boats formed of skins."

⁴¹⁹ Herod. i. 194.

⁴²⁰ "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 12.

⁴²¹ Herod. l. s. c.: "Ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἐξω ὠθέει."

⁴²² "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 15 and 16. See also Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 1.

⁴²³ Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 640; Ker Porter "Travels," vol. ii. p. 260; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 381.

⁴²⁴ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 15. Only three of the rowers are visible; but it is, I think, certain that there must have been three others corresponding to them on the other side of the vessel. For a representation of this kind of boat, see Pl. CXXXIII.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. Pl. 16.

⁴²⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 382.

⁴²⁷ "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10, 12, and 13.

⁴²⁸ For the transport of horses in boats, see a woodcut in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 232, and compare supra, Pl. XXIX.

⁴²⁹ "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 10.

⁴³⁰ For other examples of the boats of this time, see Pls. XXIX and XLIX.

⁴³¹ See Pl. LXXIII. for a representation of such a bireme.

⁴³² Masts and sails will be found in representations of Phœnician vessels (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 71), which belong to the time of Senacherib. Masts without sails appear in the sculptures of Sargon. (Botta, "Monument," vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.)

⁴³³ See the representation, Pl. LXXIII.

⁴³⁴ Supra, Pl. CXXXIII.

⁴³⁵ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 12, 13. The entire bas-relief, of which Mr. Layard has represented parts, may be seen in the British Museum.

⁴³⁶ Nahum iii. 16.

⁴³⁷ Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24: "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things [or, excellent things], in blue clothes [or, foldings], and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise." In Ezek. xxvii. 6, the Asshurites (פְּתִי-אֲשֻׁרִים) are said to have made the Tyrians "benches of ivory;" but it is doubtful if the Assyrians are intended. (Compare Gen. xxv. 3).

⁴³⁸ Herod. i. 1.

⁴³⁹ Ibid. i. 194. (Compare 185.)

⁴⁴⁰ Diod. Sic. ii. 11.

⁴⁴¹ Strab. xvi. 3, § 4, and 1, § 9.

⁴⁴² Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. pp. 194-198, E. T.; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 414; Vance Smith, "Prophecies relating to Nineveh," pp. 62, 63.

⁴⁴³ The distance from the Straits of Babel-Mandeb to the western mouth of the Indus is more than double that from the Ras Musendom to the same point. The one is 800, the other 1800 miles.

⁴⁴⁴ See the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x. p. 21.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 22.

⁴⁴⁶ About B.C. 700. The inscriptions are in the early Scythic Armenian, and belong to a king called *Minua*, who reigned at Van towards the end of the eighth century B.C.

⁴⁴⁷ This pass is the lowest and easiest in the whole chain, and would therefore almost certainly have come into use at a very early date.

⁴⁴⁸ This statement is made on the authority of Sir H. Rawlinson.

⁴⁴⁹ See the article on DAMASCUS in Dr. Smith's "Bib. Dict.," vol. i. p. 383.

⁴⁵⁰ Layard, "Nin. and Bab.," pp. 280-282.

⁴⁵¹ Tiph-sach is formed from פָּסַח, "to pass over" (whence our word "Paschal"), by the addition of the prosthetic ה.

⁴⁵² That Solomon built Tadmor for commercial purposes has been generally seen and allowed. (cf. Ewald, "Geschichted.; Volkes Israel," vol. iii. p. 344, 2d ed.; Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. ii. p. 816; Milman, "History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 266.)

⁴⁵³ Ezek. xxvii. 23.

⁴⁵⁴ See text, p. 131.

⁴⁵⁵ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 49, and Map; Ainsworth's "Travels in the Track," etc., pp. 141-171. Mr. Ainsworth, however, takes the Ten Thousand along the route from Sert to Mush, leaving the Van Lake considerably to the east.

⁴⁵⁶ Chiefly by Mr. Consul Taylor, whose discoveries in this region will be again noticed in the Historical chapter.

⁴⁵⁷ There were perhaps two other northern routes intermediate between these: one leading up the *Supnat* or river of Sophene—the eastern branch of the true Tigris, and crossing the Euphrates at *Palou*, where there is an inscription in the Scythic Armenian; and the other, described by Procopius ("De Edific." ii. 4), which crossed the mountains between *Redwan* and *Mush*.

⁴⁵⁸ Strab. xvi. 1, § 9, and 3, § 3.

⁴⁵⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 30, 134; vol. ii. pp. 263, 264; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 652.

⁴⁶⁰ Diod. Sic. ii. 27, 28; Athen. "Deipn." xii. 37; Phoenix Coloph. ap. Athen. xii. 40; Plin. "H. N." xxxiii. 15; Nahum ii. 9, etc.

⁴⁶¹ The whole passage in Nahum runs thus: "Take ye the spoil of *silver*, take the spoil of *gold*; for there is none end of the store, the abundance of every precious thing."

⁴⁶² Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 416.

⁴⁶³ 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11; Job xxii. 24.

⁴⁶⁴ Ezek. xxvii. 22.

⁴⁶⁵ The "merchants of Sheba" who "occupied" in the fairs of Tyre with "chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold" (Ezek. l.c.), were undoubtedly Arabians—i.e., Sabæans of Yemen. (Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 98, E. T.; Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 94, ad voc. ARABIA.)

⁴⁶⁶ Through the Carthaginians, their colonists, who were the actual traders in this quarter. (See Herod. iv. 196.)

⁴⁶⁷ See text, p. 65.

⁴⁶⁸ See the results of Dr. Percy's analysis of Assyrian bronzes in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," Appendix, pp. 670-672.

⁴⁶⁹ Compare Herod. iii. 115; Posidon. Fr. 48; Polyb. iii. 57, § 3; Diod. Sic. v. 22 and 38; Strab. iii. p. 197; Plin. "H. N." iv. 22; Timæus ap. Plin. iv. 16; Pomp. Mel. iii. 6; Solin. 26. According to Diodorus and Strabo, the Phœnicians likewise obtained tin from Spain.

⁴⁷⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 191.

⁴⁷¹ See text, pp. 225-226. The classical writers were acquainted with this fact. Dionysius Periegetes says that Semiramis built a temple to Belus,

Χρυσῶ, ἧδ' ἐλέφαντι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκή-
σασα.—(l. 1008.)

And Festus Avienus declares of the same building,

"Domus Indo dente nitescit."—(l. 931.)

⁴⁷² See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 48.

⁴⁷³ On this subject see Mr. Birch's "Memoir" in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," New Series, vol. iii. p. 174.

⁴⁷⁴ See Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol.

ii. p. 245, E. T.; Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. DEDAN.

⁴⁷⁶ Isaiah xxi. 13. Comp. Ezek. xxvii. 15.

⁴⁷⁶ See the illustration, supra, Pl. XXX.

⁴⁷⁷ Darius Codomannus had but fifteen elephants at Arbela. (Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 8.)

⁴⁷⁸ The best mines are those near Fyzabad, east of Balkh, on the upper Jihun River (Fraser's "Khorasan," pp. 105, 106). The other localities where the stone is found are the region about Lake Baikal, and some parts of Thibet and China. (See Encycl. Britann. ad voc. MINERALOGY.)

⁴⁷⁹ Plin. "H. N." xxxvii. 7.

⁴⁸⁰ According to Ctesias, the onyxes used for seals by the Babylonians and Assyrians were chiefly derived from India. (Ctes. "Ind." § 5.) Dionysius Periegetes speaks of agates as abundant in the bed of the Choaspes ("Perieg." ll. 1075-1077).

⁴⁸¹ See Theophrast. "De Lapid." p. 397; Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 7 and 22. That the Naxian stone of the Greeks and Romans was emery is proved by Mr. King ("Ancient Gems," p. 473), who believes it to have been first used by, and to have derived its name of "emery," from the Assyrians. The Semitic *shamir* or *sh'mir* (שִׁמְרִי) became the Greek *σμήρις*, Latin *smiris* or *smiris*, Italian *smiriglio*, French *esmeril*, or *emeril*, and our "emery." It seems to be certain that the Assyrian gems could not have been engraved without emery.

⁴⁸² See text, p. 196. Compare Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 357.

⁴⁸³ See text, p. 276.

⁴⁸⁴ Layard, "Nin. and Bab.," p. 595.

⁴⁸⁵ Arrian, "Indica," p. 174.

⁴⁸⁶ "No mention shall be made of coral or of pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies" (Job, xxviii. 18).

⁴⁸⁷ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 281, 282.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 280.

⁴⁸⁹ Herod. i. 183.

⁴⁹⁰ Herod. iii. 107: 'Εν δὲ ταύτῃ [τῇ Ἀραβίῃ] λιβατωτός ἐστὶ μούνη Χωρέων πασέων φνόμενος. Virg. "Georg." ii. 117:

"Solis est thurea virga Sabæis."

⁴⁹¹ Ex. xxx. 23.

⁴⁹² Herod. iii. 111.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Herodotus thought that cinnamon was a product of Arabia (iii. 107). But in this he was probably mistaken. (See Pliny, "H. N." xii. 19.) No true cinnamon seems to grow nearer Europe than Ceylon and Malabar.

⁴⁹⁵ Ezek. xxvii. 24. The conjecture is made by Vincent ("Periplus," vol. i. p. 62).

⁴⁹⁶ See Heeren ("Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 208, E. T.)

⁴⁹⁷ Ezekiel tells us that Armenia (Togarmah) traded with Phœnicia in "horses, horsemen, and mules"—or, more correctly, in "carriage-horses, riding-horses,

and mules" (Hitzig, "Comment." ad voc.). In such articles Assyria would be likely to be at least as good a customer as Phœnicia.

⁴⁹⁸ Tubal and Meshech (the Tibareni and Moschi) "traded the persons of men" in the market of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 13). Their position in Assyrian times was between Armenia and the Halys.

⁴⁹⁹ Herod. i. 1: φορτία, Ἀσσύρια.

⁵⁰⁰ Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.

⁵⁰¹ See above, note ⁴³⁷.

⁵⁰² Neither the "clothes" of the Authorized Version, which is the rendering in the text, nor the "foldings" of the margin, seems to give the true meaning.

Gálom (גָּלוֹם) is from גָּלַם, "to wrap together," and means "that in which a man wraps himself," "a cloak." Buxtorf translates by "pallium." ("Lex." ad voc.)

⁵⁰³ *Rikmah* (רִקְמָה) is the word used, from רָקַם, "to embroider."

⁵⁰⁴ The rare word בְּרוּמִים is explained by R. Salomon as "a general name for beautiful garments in Arabic." So Kimchi. (See Buxtorf ad voc.)

⁵⁰⁵ See text, pp. 237, 238.

⁵⁰⁶ Pliny, "H. N." xi. 22 and 23.

⁵⁰⁷ The silver bowls found in Cyprus are no exception, for Cyprus must be regarded as within the dominions of Assyria. (See note ²⁰⁶ of ch. vi.)

⁵⁰⁸ Hor. "Od." ii. 11, 16: "Assyriâque nardo."

⁵⁰⁹ Virg. "Ecl." iv. 25:

"Assyrium vulgò nascetur amomum."

⁵¹⁰ Tibull. "Eleg." i. 3, 7:

"Non soror, Assyrios cineri quæ dedat odores."

⁵¹¹ Æschyl. "Agam." l. 1285:

Οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάισμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

⁵¹² Eurip. "Bacch." l. 144:

Συρίας λιβάνον καπνός.

⁵¹³ Theocr. "Idyll." xv. 114:

Συρίῳ δὲ μύρω χρύσει' ἀλάσαστρα.

⁵¹⁴ On the different use of the terms "Syrian" and "Assyrian" by the Greeks, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 51, 2d edition.

⁵¹⁵ There are many spicy shrubs and plants in Assyria, such as those noticed by Xenophon ("Anab." i. 5, § 1); but, I believe, none of the plants which produce the spices of commerce. (See Mr. Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria," etc., p. 34.) Strabo, however, it must be admitted, distinctly asserts that *amomum* was produced in Mesopotamia Proper (xvi. p. 1000).

⁵¹⁶ See text, pp. 141, 142.

⁵¹⁷ Herodotus indicates some knowledge of the system when he relates that

Cambyzes' army, in its passage across the desert between Syria and Egypt, was in part supplied with water by means of pipes derived from a distant river which conducted the fluid into cisterns (iii. 9). Polybius says that the plan was widely adopted by the Persians in the time of their empire (x. 28, § 3). Strabo says that the pipes and reservoirs (σύριγγες and ὑδρεῖα) of Western Asia were popularly ascribed to Semiramis (xiv. 1, § 2).

⁵¹⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 314; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 241-246.

⁵¹⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 8. In his "Nineveh and Babylon," Mr. Layard throws some doubt upon the real purpose of this work, which he inclines to regard as the wall of a town, rather than a dam for purposes of irrigation (p. 466). But Captain Jones thinks the work was certainly a "great dam" ("Journal of the As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 343.).

⁵²⁰ Strab. xvi. 1, § 9. This seems to have been the conjecture of the Greeks who accompanied Alexander. They found the dams impede their own ships, and could not see that they served any other purpose, since the irrigation system had gone to ruin as the Persian empire declined. (See Arrian, "Exp. Alex." vii. 7.)

⁵²¹ The Assyrian inscription found by Mr. Layard in the tunnel at Negoub, of which he copied a portion imperfectly before its destruction ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 80), sufficiently proves this.

⁵²² See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 310, 311.

⁵²³ Captain Jones regards this as its sole object ("Asiatic Society's Journal," l. s. c.); but Mr. Layard is probably right in his view that irrigation was at least one purpose which the canal was intended to subserve ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 81). Several canals for irrigation seem to have been made by Sennacherib ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 212).

⁵²⁴ These are "ingeniously formed from the original rock left standing in the centre." (Jones, *ut supra.*)

⁵²⁵ Irrigation of this simple kind is applicable to parts of Eastern Assyria, between the Tigris and the mountains. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 224.)

⁵²⁶ For the ancient practice see Polyb. l. s. c.; for the modern compare Malcolm, "History of Persia," vol. i. p. 14; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 657.

⁵²⁷ See the representation on Pl. LXXXIX.

⁵²⁸ See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 15; and compare text, p. 142.

⁵²⁹ An instance of this mode of irrigation appears on a slab of the Lower Empire, part of which is represented on Pl. XLIX.

⁵³⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 353, 354.

⁵³¹ Stanley, "Sinai and Palestine," p. 400. Abulfeda says that the Orontes ac-

quired its name of *El Asi*, "the rebel," from its refusal to water the lands unless compelled by water-wheels ("Tabl. Syr." pp. 149, 150, ed Köhler). The wheels upon the Rhone below Geneva will be familiar to most readers.

⁵³² Herod. i. 193.

⁵³³ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.

⁵³⁴ Mr. Layard calls this plough Babylonian rather than Assyrian (ib. p. 422). But the black stone on which it is engraved is a monument of Esarhaddon.

⁵³⁵ See Fellows's "Asia Minor," p. 71; and compare his "Lycia," p. 174. See also C. Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," opp. p. 137. The chief point in which the Assyrian plough, as above represented, differs from the ordinary models, is in the existence of an apparatus (*a b*) for drilling the seed. It is evident that the bowl *a* was filled with grain, which ran down the pipe *b*, and entered the ground immediately after the plough-share, at the point *c*.

⁵³⁶ See note ⁵² of ch. ii. To the places there mentioned, I may add the vicinity of Bavian on the authority of the MS. notes communicated to me by Mr. Berrington.

⁵³⁷ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 14, 15, and 17.

⁵³⁸ See Pl. LXVIII., Fig. 2.

⁵³⁹ See the representation given on Pl. CXV.

⁵⁴⁰ See, for instance, the fishermen, Pls. CXXV. and CXXVI.

⁵⁴¹ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 17; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 108 and 134.

⁵⁴² For specimens of earrings, see Pl. LXXVI.

⁵⁴³ This robe closely resembled the under garment of the monarch. See text, p. 287.

⁵⁴⁴ Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pls. 111 to 114; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32.

⁵⁴⁵ Botta, Pls. 12 and 14.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. Pls. 60 to 66, 110.

⁵⁴⁷ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32; Botta, Pls. 108, 109, and 111.

⁵⁴⁸ See Pl. CXXXV. Two instances of this remarkable cap occur in the British Museum sculptures. Both are from Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik.

⁵⁴⁹ See the illustration, Pl. CXXVIII.

⁵⁵⁰ Botta, vol. i. Pl. 67. See Pl. CXXVII., Fig. 2.

⁵⁵¹ Layard, 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 50.

⁵⁵² Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 30.

⁵⁵³ This curious head-dress occurs on a slab from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik, which is now in the British Museum.

⁵⁵⁴ Mr. Layard has a representation of this figure: "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 6.

⁵⁵⁵ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 65.

⁵⁵⁶ See the illustration, Pl. CXII.

⁵⁵⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 595.

⁵⁵⁸ See Pl. CXXXVI.

⁵⁵⁹ See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 585, 586; and Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," ad voc. SPECULUM, p. 1053, 2d col.

⁵⁶⁰ A handle of a mirror found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud was slightly ornamented ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 96, fig. 11).

⁵⁶¹ Wilkinson, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 380.

⁵⁶² See text, p. 45.

⁵⁶³ See text, p. 234.

⁵⁶⁴ As the Persians (Plin. "H. N." xiii. 1), the Egyptians (Juv. xv. 50), the Parthians (Plin. "H. N." xiii. 2), the Syrians (Athen. "Deipn." xii. 35; Hor. ii. 7, l. 8), and the Jews (Eccl. ix. 8; Luke vii. 46, etc.).

⁵⁶⁵ Diod. Sic. ii. 23, § 1. In some of the bas-reliefs both the upper and the under eyelids are painted black. See text, p. 222; and compare Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 92.

⁵⁶⁶ Isaiah iii. 18-24. It is not to be supposed that the words of the original in the passage are throughout correctly translated. Indeed the margin shows how doubtful many of them are. But there is no reason to question that they all represent different articles of the dress or toilet of women.

⁵⁶⁷ See text, p. 288.

⁵⁶⁸ See note ³³ of ch. ii., and text, p. 327.

⁵⁶⁹ Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," p. 295; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423. For the ancient practice, compare Herod. i. 193, and Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

⁵⁷⁰ "Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground. . . . Take the millstones, and grind meal." (Is. xlvii. 1, 2.)

⁵⁷¹ Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 285-287; Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 45, etc.

⁵⁷² I doubt whether there is any representation of bread in the sculptures. The circular object on the table in the banquet-scene (Pl. CXXXVIII.) might represent a loaf, but it is more probably a sacred emblem. The Arab practice, which probably corresponds with the most ancient mode of preparing bread, is as given in the text. See Layard, l. s. c., and compare the article on BREAD, in Dr. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary."

⁵⁷³ Layard, p. 289.

⁵⁷⁴ Niebuhr, "Description, etc.," p. 45; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 360.

⁵⁷⁵ See text, p. 68.

⁵⁷⁶ Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.

⁵⁷⁷ 2 Kings xviii. 32. "A land of oil olive." When Herodotus denies the cultivation of the olive in his day (i. 193), as also that of the fig and the grape, he must refer to the low alluvial country, which is more properly Babylonia than Assyria.

⁵⁷⁸ 2 Kings, l. s. c.

⁵⁷⁹ "On mange peu de viande dans les pays chauds, où on les croit malsaines."

(Niebuhr, p. 46.) "The common Bedouin can rarely get meat." (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 289.)

⁵⁸⁰ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 75 and 76; 2d Series, Pl. 36.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 35 and 36.

⁵⁸² Ibid. Pl. 36.

⁵⁸³ See Pls. CXXV. and CXXVI.

⁵⁸⁴ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 8 and 9; "Nin. and Bab." p. 388. Mr. Layard notes that "the locust has ever been an article of food in the East, and is still sold in the markets of many towns in Arabia." He quotes Burckhardt ("Notes on the Bedouins," p. 269) with respect to the way they are prepared. A recent traveller, who tasted them fried, observes that they are "like what one would suppose fried shrimps," and "by no means bad." (See Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava," p. 114.)

⁵⁸⁵ Plin. "H. N." xii. 3.

⁵⁸⁶ The representation is so exact that I can scarcely doubt the pineapple being intended. Mr. Layard expresses himself on the point with some hesitation. ("Nin. and Bab." p. 338.)

⁵⁸⁷ See text, p. 327.

⁵⁸⁸ 2 Kings xviii. 32.

⁵⁸⁹ Diod. Sic. ii. 20; Botta, "Monument," Pls. 51 to 67, and 107 to 114.

⁵⁹⁰ Dan. v. 1; Esther i. 3; Herod. ix. 110.

⁵⁹¹ Nahum i. 10. "While they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured, as stubble fully dry."

⁵⁹² This vase is represented Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 4.

⁵⁹³ Forty guests were still to be traced at the time of M. Botta's discoveries, while many slabs were even then so injured that their subject could not be made out. Along the line of wall occupied by the banquetting scene, there was ample room for twenty more guests.

⁵⁹⁴ In M. Flandin's drawings this does not appear; but M. Botta is confident that it was so in the sculptures themselves ("Monument," vol. v. p. 131).

⁵⁹⁵ See the representation, Pl. CXV.

⁵⁹⁶ See text, p. 289.

⁵⁹⁷ M. Botta speaks as if the objects had been different on the different tables ("Monument," vol. v. p. 131); but M. Flandin's drawings show scarcely any variety. The condition of the slabs was very bad, and the objects on the tables could scarcely ever be distinctly made out.

⁵⁹⁸ See text, p. 81, and Pl. CXLII., Fig. 3.

⁵⁹⁹ For the Egyptian practice, see Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 222; for that of the Greeks, compare Hom. "Od." i. 150-155; Athen. "Deipn." xiv. 6, etc.

⁶⁰⁰ One of these has been already represented, see Pl. CXXVII. The figure of the third musician was so much injured that his instrument could not be made out. There was room for two or three more performers. (Botta, Pl. 67.)

⁶⁰¹ Athen. "Deipn." xv. 10; Hor. "Od."

iii. 19, l. 22, l. 37, l. 15, Ov. "Fast." v. 337, etc.

⁶⁰² See Pls. LXXXII. and XCV.

⁶⁰³ See Pl. LVI., where this village is represented.

⁶⁰⁴ See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vols. i. and ii. *passim*.

⁶⁰⁵ "Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad voc. CARDO.

⁶⁰⁶ Botta, vol. v. p. 45.

⁶⁰⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 163.

⁶⁰⁸ Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pl. 136; and vol. v. p. 48.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid. vol. ii. Pl. 123.

⁶¹⁰ See Pl. CIX. Further examples will be found in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50; and in M. Botta's "Monument," Pl. 146.

⁶¹¹ See Pl. LXXXV.

⁶¹² See the footstool, Pl. LXXXV.

⁶¹³ See text, p. 289.

⁶¹⁴ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

⁶¹⁵ Compare the Egyptian boards, as represented in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 276, 277, 2d ed.

⁶¹⁶ See Pl. LXXVI.

⁶¹⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 177-180.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid. p. 181.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid. p. 177. Compare also pp. 191 and 671.

⁶²⁰ See Pl. XCH.

⁶²¹ See the representation of a garden, Pl. XXIX.

⁶²² Compare Pl. LI., Fig. 1.

⁶²³ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 232, 233.

⁶²⁴ See Pl. LI., Fig. 1.

⁶²⁵ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 15.

⁶²⁶ A representation of a laborer thus employed, taken from the slab in question, has been already given, Pl. XXV.

⁶²⁷ See Pl. LXII.

⁶²⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 12.

⁶²⁹ "Nin. and Bab." p. 232.

⁶³⁰ Ibid. p. 231.

⁶³¹ "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 27.

⁶³² Ibid. Pls. 10 to 17.

⁶³³ "Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor," p. 72.

⁶³⁴ See Pls. XXXII. and XXXVI.

⁶³⁵ See note ¹¹⁸, ch. ii.

⁶³⁶ See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 63; 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

⁶³⁷ No currycomb has been found; but an iron comb, brought from Koyunjik, is now in the British Museum. (See Pl. CXXXVII.)

⁶³⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 7 and 47.

⁶³⁹ Ibid. Pls 19, 24, 29, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

¹ See ch. vii. pp. 70-97.

² Though *Il* or *Ra* in Chaldaea, and *As-shur* in Assyria, were respectively *chief* gods, they were in no sense *sole* gods.

Not only are the other deities viewed as really distinct beings, but they are in many cases self-originated, and always supreme in their several spheres.

³ See text, p. 72.

⁴ See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 482, 2d edition.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 491, 492.

⁶ The god, the country, the town *As-shur*, and "an Assyrian," are all represented by the same term, which is written both *A-shur* and *As-shur*. The "determinative" prefixed to the term (see text, p. 173) tells us which meaning is intended.

⁷ See text, p. 133.

⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus" (vol. i. p. 483), inclines to allow that the great fane at Kileh-Sherghat was a temple of *As-shur*; but the deity whose name appears upon the bricks is entitled *Ashit*.

⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

¹⁰ Gen. x. 22.

¹¹ In the worship of Egypt we may trace such a gradual descent and deterioration, from *Amun*, the *hidden* god, to *Phtha*, the demiurgus, thence to *Ra*, the Sun-God, from him to *Isis* and *Osiris*, deities of the third order, and finally to *Apis* and *Serapis*, mere *dæmons*.

¹² M. Lajard is of opinion that the foundation of the winged circle is a bird, which he pronounces to be a dove, and to typify the Assyrian *Venus*. To this he supposes were afterwards added the circle as an emblem of eternity, and the human figure, which he regards as an image of *Baal* or *Bel*.

¹³ See Pl. CXLI. This emblem is taken from a mutilated obelisk found at Koyunjik.

¹⁴ See Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 39, and 53; 2d Series, Pls. 4 and 69; and compare above, Pl. LXXXVII.

¹⁵ See the cylinder of *Sennacherib* (supra, Pl. LXXXI.); and compare a cylinder engraved in M. Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," Pl. xxxii. No. 3.

¹⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Explication des planches, p. 2.

¹⁷ So *Cudworth* ("Intellectual System of the Universe," ch. iv. § 16, et seq.) and others. *Mosheim*, in his Latin translation of *Cudworth's* great work, ably combats his views on this subject.

¹⁸ Layard, "Monuments," Pls. 6, 25, 39, etc.

¹⁹ The occurrence of the emblem of *As-shur* without the king in the ivory representing women gathering grapes is remarkable. Probably the ivory formed part of the ornamentation of a *royal* throne or cabinet. There are cylinders, however, apparently not royal, on which the emblem occurs. (Cullimore, Nos. 145, 154, 155, 158, 160, 162; Lajard, Pls. xiii. 2; xvi. 2; xvii. 5, 8, etc.)

²⁰ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 6.

²¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; supra, Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 1.

²² As at the Nahr-el-Kelb (Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Pl. i. No. 39); at Babylon (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211), etc.

²³ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, and 39.

²⁴ Ibid. Pl. 13.

²⁵ Ibid. Pl. 21.

²⁶ Ibid. Pl. 53. Compare the representation (see Pl. CXXI.) which heads another royal obelisk.

²⁷ This resemblance, which Mr. Layard notes ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 294) is certainly very curious; but it does not tell us anything of the origin or meaning of the symbol. The Greeks probably adopted the ornament as elegant, without caring to understand it. I suspect that the so-called "flower" was in reality a representation of the head of a palm-tree, with the form of which, as portrayed on the earliest sculptures (Layard, "Monuments," Pl. 53), it nearly agrees.

²⁸ Judges vi. 26. "Take the second bullock, and offer a burnt sacrifice with the wood of the grove (*Ashêrah*) which thou shalt cut down."

²⁹ According to the account in the Second Book of Kings, Josiah "burnt the grove at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people" (xxiii. 6). Unless the *Ashêrah* had been of metal there would have been no need of stamping it to powder after burning it.

³⁰ 2 Kings xxi. 7.

³¹ Ibid. xxiii. 6.

³² Ibid. verse 7.

³³ Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3; xxxi. 1, etc.

³⁴ *Ashêrah* (אשרה) is from אשר, the true root of which is ישר, "to be straight" or "upright."

³⁵ So Dr. Gotch in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 120.

³⁶ Ibid. loc. cit.

³⁷ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 447. "The sacred tree is before him, but only, it may be presumed, as a type."

³⁸ It is found with objects which are all certainly material, as on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, where a real sacrificial scene appears to be represented.

³⁹ The groves in Scripture are closely connected with the worship of Baal, supreme God of the Phœnicians. (See Judges iii. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xvii. 16, etc.)

⁴⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 472.

⁴¹ Merodach and Nebo are not absolutely unknown to the earlier kings, since they are invoked upon the Black Obelisk as the eighth and the eleventh gods. But it is only with Vul-lush III. (ab. B.C. 800) that they become prominent. This king takes special credit to himself

for having first prominently placed Merodach in the Pantheon of Assyria. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 516, 2d edition.)

⁴² Ch. vii. pp. 70-97.

⁴³ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," § 5, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 64-66.

⁴⁵ Steph. byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Vide supra, First Monarchy, ch. vii. note ¹⁶.

⁴⁶ As from that of Tiglath-Pileser I. at the commencement of his great Inscription (see text, p. 352).

⁴⁷ Esarhaddon omits him from the list of gods whose emblems he places over his image ("Assyrian Texts," p. 12). If the horned cap is rightly ascribed to Bel (see text, p. 348), there will be no emblem for Anu, since the others may be assigned with certainty to Asshur, Sin, Shammas, Vul, and Gula.

⁴⁸ As in the Black Obelisk Inscription, where he precedes Bel. Compare "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 40, 68, etc.

⁴⁹ See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 487, 2d edition.

⁵⁰ See the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853, p. 420.

⁵¹ Sir H. Rawlinson reads the name of one of Anu's sons as Sargana. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 488.)

⁵² "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 40.

⁵³ Herodotus seems to regard Belus as an exclusively Babylonian god (i. 181). So Diodorus (ii. 8), Berosus (Frs. 1 and 2), Abydenus (Frs. 8 and 9), Dionysius Periegetes (l. 1007), Claudian ("De laude Stilich." i. 62), and others. According to many he was the founder and first king of Babylon (Q. Curt. v. 1, § 24; Eustath. ad. Dion. Per. l. s. c., etc.), which some regarded as built by his son (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βοβυλών). Some considered that the great temple of Belus at Babylon was his tomb (Strab. xvi. p. 1049; compare Ælian. "Hist. Var." xiii. 3). His worship by the Assyrians is, however, admitted by Pliny ("H. N." xxxvii. 53 and 58), Nonnus ("Dionys." xviii. 14), and a few others. The ground of the difference thus made by the classical writers is probably the confusion between the first Bel and the second Bel—Bel-Merodach—the great seat of whose worship was Babylon.

⁵⁴ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 20 and 62.

⁵⁵ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 491. "Sargon speaks of the 350 kings who from remote antiquity ruled over Assyria and pursued after" (i.e., governed) "the people of Bilu-Nipru (Bel)."

⁵⁶ Fox Talbot, "Assyrian Texts," p. 6, note ⁵.

⁵⁷ See text, p. 372.

⁵⁸ In the list of *Eponyms* contained in the famous Assyrian Canon I find, during 250 years, twenty-six in whose names Bel

is an element, to thirty-two who have names compounded with Asshur.

⁵⁹ As in the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I. ("Inscription," etc. p. 18).

⁶⁰ As by Sennacherib ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 163) and Esarhaddon ("Assyrian Texts," p. 16).

⁶¹ See text, p. 372.

⁶² "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 56-58.

⁶³ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 492.

⁶⁴ Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mesopotamie," vol. ii. p. 337.

⁶⁵ Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

⁶⁶ "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

⁶⁷ It is possible that the horned cap symbolized Anu, Bel, and Hoa equally; and the three caps at Bavian (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211) may represent the entire Triad.

⁶⁸ Oppert, "Expédition scientifique," vol. ii. pp. 88, 263, 264, etc.

⁶⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 487.

⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 494, 495. Compare, First Monarchy, ch. vii. note ⁴⁵.

⁷¹ See text, p. 86.

⁷² See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 496.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 497. A vast number of inscribed slabs have been brought from this edifice. It was originally erected by Ashur-izir-pal.

⁷⁴ It is doubtful whether the Calah temple was dedicated to Beltis or to Ishtar, as the epithets used would apply to either goddess.

⁷⁵ Herodotus, in two places (i. 131 and 199), gives Mylitta as the *Assyrian* name of the goddess, while Hesychius calls Belthes (Βήλθης) the *Babylonian* Juno or Venus, and Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar speak of "Queen Beltis" (ἡ Βασιλεια Βήλτις, Fr. 9). Nicolas of Damascus, however, gives Molis as the *Babylonian* term ("Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). The fact seems to be that Mulita was Hamitic-Chaldean, Bilita Semitic Assyrian. Mulita was, however, known to the Assyrians, who derived their religion from the southern country, and Bilita was adopted by the (later) Babylonians, who were Semitized from Assyria.

⁷⁶ "Inscription," etc., p. 18.

⁷⁷ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 25.

⁷⁸ The form is always a crescent, with the varieties represented on p. 81: sometimes, however, the god himself is represented as issuing from the crescent.

⁷⁹ Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 330.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 343.

⁸¹ Sargon speaks of the Cyprians as "a nation of whom from the remotest times, from the origin of the God Sin, the kings my fathers, who ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, had never heard mention." (See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 507.)

⁸² See text, pp. 81, 82.

⁸³ "As. Soc. Journal," vol. xix. p. 163; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

⁸⁴ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2d Series, Pl. 4.

⁸⁵ See Pl. LXXXVII., and compare Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 6, where the representation is more accurately given.

⁸⁶ "Inscription," etc., p. 20.

⁸⁷ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 501.

⁸⁸ *Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 420.

⁸⁹ Oppert, "Expédition," etc., pp. 330 344.

⁹⁰ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 802.

⁹¹ See First Monarchy, ch. vii. note ⁵.

⁹² "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 66.

⁹³ See text, p. 346.

⁹⁴ See "Inscription," etc., p. 30, where Vul is called "my guardian God." Ninip, however, occurs more frequently in that character. (See text, p. 354.)

⁹⁵ *Dublin Univ. Magazine* for Oct. 1853, p. 426. Vul is often joined with Asshur in invocations, more especially where a curse is invoked on those who injure the royal inscriptions. (See the "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," p. 72, and compare the still earlier inscription on Tiglath-Nin's signet-seal, Second Monarchy, ch. ix.)

⁹⁶ Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 344.

⁹⁷ Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 499.

⁹⁸ "Journal of As. Society," vol. xix. p. 163.

⁹⁹ They "rush on the enemy like the whirlwind of Vul," or "sweep a country as with the whirlwind of Vul." Vul is "he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands," in the Tiglath-Pileser inscription.

¹⁰⁰ As in Vul-lush, Shamas-Vul, etc. In the Assyrian Canon ten of the Eponyms have names in which Vul is an element.

¹⁰¹ See Pl. XIX.

¹⁰² See Pl. CXIII.

¹⁰³ As at Bavian (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211).

¹⁰⁴ Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 500.

¹⁰⁵ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Layard, Pl. xxvii. No. 5; Cullimore, Pl. 21, No. 107.

¹⁰⁷ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2d Series, Pl. 4.

¹⁰⁸ *Dublin Univ. Mag.* p. 420.

¹⁰⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 504, note ⁶.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. l. s. c.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 494; and on the presumed identification of Gula with *Bilat-Ili* see pp. 503, 504.

¹¹² The Ninus of the Greeks can be no other than the Nin or Ninip of the Inscriptions. Herodotus probably (i. 7), Ctesias certainly (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-21), de-

rived, the kings of the Upper Dynasty from Ninus.

¹¹³ See text, p. 378.

¹¹⁴ "Inscription," p. 60.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 54-56.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. l. s. c.

¹¹⁷ This is the edifice described by Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 123-129 and 348-357).

¹¹⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2d edition.

¹¹⁹ Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 344.

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp. 333, 334.

¹²¹ See Pl. XIX.

¹²² See Pl. XLIII. For representations of the many modifications which this figure underwent, see Mons. F. Lajard's work, "Culte de Mithra," Pls. lxxiv. to cii.; and on the general subject of the Assyrian Hercules, see M. Raoul Rochette's memoir in the "Mémoires de l'Institut," vol. xvii.

¹²³ Botta, "Monument," Pls. 32 to 34. The emblems given are, 1, the winged bull (Pl. 33); 2, the winged bull with a human head (Pl. 32); and 3, the human-headed fish (Pls. 32 and 34).

¹²⁴ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 137.

¹²⁵ "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

¹²⁶ Nin-pala-zira and the two Tiglathinins. (Second Monarchy, ch. ix.)

¹²⁷ Nin was called "Pal-kura" and "Pal-zira," "the son of Kura," and "the son of Zira." The latter title is that which the Jews have represented by the second element in Tiglath-Pileser.

¹²⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2d ed.

¹²⁹ Supra, note ¹²⁷.

¹³⁰ The Black-Obelisk king says in one place that "the fear of Asshur and Merodach" fell upon his enemies. (*Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 426.)

¹³¹ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 516, note ⁶.

¹³² Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 337.

¹³³ "Assyrian Texts," p. 13.

¹³⁴ Merodach, though an element in so many names of Babylonian kings, is no part of the name of any Assyrian monarch. In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, however, out of about 240 names, twelve are compounded with Merodach.

¹³⁵ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 519, 2d edition.

¹³⁶ See text, pp. 89-90.

¹³⁷ The natural lion is more extensively used as an architectural form by the Assyrians than the winged lion. It occurs not only in central Assyria, as at Nimrud (Layard's "Nin. and Bab." p. 359), but also in the remoter provinces, as at Arban (Layard, p. 278) and Seruj (Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 114; see text, p. 197).

¹³⁸ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 520.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 519, note ⁵. Is not the smaller temple, with the Lion entrance, at the north-western corner of the Nimrud mound, a temple of Nergal, as the larger one is of Ninip?

¹⁴⁰ Nergal was not, however, often chosen to furnish an element of a name. By no Assyrian sovereign was he thus honored. In the case of the Eponyms, only about one out of thirty has a name compounded with Nergal.

¹⁴¹ See the Inscription of Sennacherib in the "Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. xix. p. 170.

¹⁴² "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 40, 41.

¹⁴³ Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 522.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. l. s. c.

¹⁴⁵ Sennacherib speaks of Asshur and Ishtar as about to "call the kings his sons to their sovereignty over Assyria," and begs Asshur and Ishtar to "hear their prayers." ("Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c.)

¹⁴⁶ As in that of Esarhaddon ("Assyrian Texts," p. 10) and in that of Sennacherib ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xix. p. 163). Compare the inscription on the slab brought from the Negub tunnel.

¹⁴⁷ As in the names Astartus, Abdastartus, Delæastartus, and Gerastartus. (Menand. Ephes. Frs. 1 and 2.) In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms only five out of more than 240 have names in which Ishtar is an element.

¹⁴⁸ See text, p. 381.

¹⁴⁹ The two are, as nearly as possible, fac similes, and are now in the British Museum.

¹⁵⁰ Nebo was called *Pal-Bit-Saggil*, as Ninip was called *Pal Zira* (see text, p. 355; compare Sir H. Rawlinson "Essay," p. 524).

¹⁵¹ "Assyrian Texts," p. 10.

¹⁵² Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," l. s. c.

¹⁵³ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 484, note ². While Beltis, the wife of Bel, and Gula, the wife of Shamas, are deities of high rank and importance, Sheruha, the wife of Asshur, and Anuta, the wife of Anu, occupy a very insignificant position.

¹⁵⁴ See text, pp. 350, 353, and 356.

¹⁵⁵ Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," pp. 506 and 513.

¹⁵⁶ See text, p. 357.

¹⁵⁷ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," § 9, note ⁶, p. 514.

¹⁵⁸ It is only in Babylonia, and even there during but one reign (that of Nebuchadnezzar), that Ishtar appears as the wife of Nebo. (See text, p. 91.) Elsewhere she is separate and independent, attached as wife to no male deity, though not unfrequently conjoined with Asshur.

¹⁵⁹ Telita is, apparently, the goddess mentioned by Berosus as the original of the Greek *θάλασσα*. (Fr. 1.) The inscriptions of Sargon mention a city named after her, which was situated on the lower Tigris. This is probably the

Θαλάθα of Ptolemy ("Geograph." v. 20), which he places near the mouth of the river.

¹⁶⁰ Martu, however, has a wife, who is called "the lady of Tigganna" (Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," § 3, ii., note ⁹), and Idak, the god of the Tigris, has a wife, Belat Muk (Ibid. § 4, p. 526).

¹⁶¹ See text, p. 74.

¹⁶² See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 448.

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 526.

¹⁶⁴ Tiglath-Pileser I. repairs a temple of Il or Ra at Asshur about B.C. 1150. ("Inscription," pp. 56-58.) Otherwise we scarcely hear of the worship of Ra out of Babylonia.

¹⁶⁵ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 527.

¹⁶⁶ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, 36; Botta, "Monument," Pls. 27 and 28.

¹⁶⁷ See text, p. 345.

¹⁶⁸ The basket is often ornamented with winged figures in adoration before the sacred tree, and themselves holding baskets. (See Layard, "Monuments," First Series, Pls. 34 and 36.)

¹⁶⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 459.

¹⁷⁰ M. Oppert, it is true, reads a certain monogram as "Nisruk," and recognizes in the god whom it designates—Hea or Hoa—the Nisroch of Holy Scripture. But sounder scholars regard his reading as a very wild and rash conjecture.

¹⁷¹ In Is. xxxvii. 38, the MSS. give either Ἀσαράχ or Νασαράχ. In 2 Kings xix. 37, the greater part of the MSS. have Μεσοράχ.

¹⁷² The deities proper are not represented as in *attendance* on the monarch. This is an office too low for them. Occasionally, as in the case of Asshur, they *from heaven* guard and assist the king. But even this is exceptional. Ordinarily they stand, or sit, in solemn state to receive offerings and worship.

¹⁷³ A representation on a large scale is given by Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 5.

¹⁷⁴ See text, p. 352.

¹⁷⁵ See Pl. LXIV.

¹⁷⁶ See Pl. CXLIII. This scene was represented in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. The sculpture is in the British Museum.

¹⁷⁷ This tendency is well illustrated by Plato in the first Book of his Republic, § 23.

¹⁷⁸ Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 45, 1; 48, 3; 49, 4; compare above, Pl. LXV., Fig. 2.

¹⁷⁹ "Assyrian Texts," p. 10; "Journal of As. Society," vol. xix. p. 163.

¹⁸⁰ "Inscription," pp. 66 and 70.

¹⁸¹ "Inscription," pp. 28, 30, 40, 50, etc.

¹⁸² 2 Kings xviii. 34. Sennacherib means to say—"Where are their gods now? [*i.e.*, their idols.] Are they not captive in Assyria?" See text, p. 277.

¹⁸³ Ibid. verse 4.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. ver. 22.

¹⁸⁵ See the various representations of the removal of gods in Mr. Layard's works. ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 65 and 67 A; 2d Series, Pl. 50; "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. opposite p. 451.)

¹⁸⁶ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 30 and 40.

¹⁸⁷ See the representation, Pl. XXI.

¹⁸⁸ See Pls. XXI., LXIII. and LXIV.

¹⁸⁹ Clay idols were also deposited in holes below the pavement of palaces, which (it may be supposed) were thus placed under their protection. (See M. Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 41.)

¹⁹⁰ Nahum i. 14: "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee (Nineveh), that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image."

¹⁹¹ Dan. iii. 1; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, etc. Compare Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 517, note ⁸.

¹⁹² "Inscription," pp. 68-70.

¹⁹³ "Assyrian Texts," p. 28.

¹⁹⁴ Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 516.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 495.

¹⁹⁶ "Assyrian Texts," p. 18.

¹⁹⁷ That sheep and goats were also used for sacrifice we learn from the inscriptions. ("Assyrian Texts," pp. 3, 4.) There is one representation of a ram, or wild-goat, being led to the altar (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 469).

¹⁹⁸ This is on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, a monument of the reign of Esarhaddon. A representation of it will be found in Mr. Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh Restored," p. 298.

¹⁹⁹ This scene is represented on a mutilated obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-izir-pal, which is now in the British Museum. The sculptures on this curious monument are still unpublished.

²⁰⁰ Altars of the shape here represented are always crowned with flames, which generally take a conical shape, but are here made to spread into a number of tongues. At Khorsabad the flames on such altars were painted red. (Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Pl. 146.)

²⁰¹ See Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," sub. voc. SACRIFICIUM.

²⁰² See Pls. XLVII. and XLIX.

²⁰³ An altar of this shape was found by M. Botta at Khorsabad. ("Monument," Pl. 157.) Another nearly similar was discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud ("Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 4), and is now in the British Museum.

²⁰⁴ Botta, Pl. 146; Layard, 2d Series, Pl. 24.

²⁰⁵ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 30, 38, 66, etc.

²⁰⁶ "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

²⁰⁷ The kings often say that they sacri-

ficed. ("Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," pp. 66 and 68; "Assyrian Texts," p. 18, etc.) But we cannot conclude from this with any certainty that it was with their own hand they slew the victims. (Compare 1 K. viii. 63.) Still they may have done so.

²⁰⁸ Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Pls. xxxvii. No. 7; xxxviii. Nos. 2, 3, 6; xxxix. No. 7, etc.

²⁰⁹ See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 50; Botta, "Monument," Pl. 146. If the figure carrying an antelope, and having on the head a highly ornamented fillet (Botta, Pl. 43.) is a priest, and if that character belongs to the attendants in the sacrificial scene represented on Pl. CXLIV., we must consider that the beard was worn at least by some grades of the priesthood.

²¹⁰ Herod. iii. 37.

²¹¹ Observe that in the sacrificial scene (Pl. CXLIV.) the priest who approaches close to the god is beardless; and that in the camp scene (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 50) the priest in a tall cap is shaven, while the other, who has no such dignified head-dress, wears a beard.

²¹² "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11 and 18. Compare the Black-Obelisk Inscription, p. 426.

²¹³ See the account given by Esarhaddon of his great festival ("Assyrian Texts," p. 18).

²¹⁴ Jonah iii. 5-9.

²¹⁵ There is a remarkable parallel to this in a Persian practice mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 24). In the mourning for Masistius, a little before the battle of Plataea, the Persian troops not only shaved off their own hair, but similarly disfigured their horses and their beasts of burden.

²¹⁶ Jonah iii. 10.

²¹⁷ See Pl. XLI.

²¹⁸ The winged bulls and lions, which respectively symbolize Nin and Nergal.

²¹⁹ See text, p. 238.

²²⁰ See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 5, 6, 8, 9, etc.

²²¹ Botta, "Monument," Pl. 43.

²²² See Pl. CXXXV.

²²³ Herod. i. 199. *Αἰσχιστος τῶν νόρων*.

²²⁴ Baruch vi. 43. "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

²²⁵ Nahum iii. 4. It is, however, more likely that the allusion is to the idolatrous practices of the Ninevites. (See Second Monarchy, ch. iii. note ³⁷.)

CHAPTER IX.

¹ See particularly the long Essays of the Abbé Sevin and of Freret in the "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions," vols. iv. and vii. (12th edition). Compare Volney, "Recherches sur l'Histoire

ancienne," vol. i. pp. 381-511, and Clinton. "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. Ap. ch. iv.

² The latter is the number in the present text of Diodorus (ii. 21). But Agathias and Syncellus seem to have had 1300 in their copies. (See Agath. ii. 25, p. 120; Syncell. p. 359, C. Compare Augustin. "Civ. D." xviii. 21.)

³ See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," ch. xxv. (vol. iv. pp. 251, 252, Smith's edition.)

⁴ See text, p. 113.

⁵ From B.C. 256 to A.D. 226. (See Heeren's "Manual of Ancient History," pp. 299-304, E. T.)

⁶ From B.C. 559 to B.C. 331, the date of the battle of Arbela.

⁷ Herod. i. 130.

⁸ From B.C. 625 to B.C. 538. (See the Historical Chapter of the "Fourth Monarchy.")

⁹ Moderate Egyptologists refer the commencement of a settled monarchy in Egypt to about B.C. 2600 or 2500 (Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 288-290; Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary" ad voc. CHRONOLOGY). Mr. Palmer ("Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 896) brings the date down to B.C. 2224, and Mr. Nash ("Pharaoh of the Exodus," p. 305) to B.C. 1785. The lowest of these dates would make the whole duration, from Menes to Nectanebus, fourteen and a half centuries.

¹⁰ Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 8.

¹¹ The Assyrian rule terminated B.C. 625 (or, according to some, B.C. 606). Herodotus seems to have died about B.C. 425. (See the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. i. p. 27, 2d edition.)

¹² Ctesias returned from Persia to Greece in the year B.C. 398. (See Mure's "Literature of Greece," vol. v. p. 483.) He may have published his "Persica" about B.C. 395. Xenophon quotes it about B.C. 380.

¹³ See the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. pp. 61-64, 2d ed.) Compare Mure's "Literature of Greece," vol. iv. p. 351.

¹⁴ Herod. i. 183.

¹⁵ Ibid. i. 106 and 184. Whether this intention was ever executed or no, is still a moot point among scholars. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 198, 199, note ⁷, 2d edit.)

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4.

¹⁷ Xen. "Anab." i. 8, § 26.

¹⁸ Ctesias appears to have stated that he drew his history from documents written upon parchment belonging to the Persian kings (*ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν*, Diod. Sic. l. s. c.).

¹⁹ Phot. "Bibliothec." Cod. LXXII., p. 107.

²⁰ Compare Ctes. "Pers. Exec." § 32 et seq. with Thucyd. i. 104, 109, and 110.

²¹ For proofs see the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. p. 63, note ⁸).

²² In the number of years which he assigns to the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis.

²³ *E. g.*, he places the destruction of Nineveh about B.C. 875, long before the time of Jonah!

²⁴ See Arist., "Hist. An." ii. 3, § 10; iii. sub. fin.; viii. 26, § 3; "Gen. An." ii. 2; "Pol." v. 8; Plut., "Vit. Artaxerx." 13; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." v. 4; Scaliger, "De emend. temp." Not. ad Fragm. subj. pp. 39-43.

²⁵ As Niebuhr ("Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. pp. 21, 22, 23, 30); Bunsen ("Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. p. 432); Mure ("History of Greek Literature," vol. v. pp. 487-497), etc.

²⁶ The Assyrian "Empire," according to Herodotus (i. 95), lasted 520 years. The Medes then revolted, and remained for some time without a king. After awhile the regal power was conferred on Deïoces, who reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who reigned 22 years. Cyaxares then ascended the Median throne, and after reigning at least 30 years, took Nineveh and destroyed the Assyrian kingdom. This was (according to Herodotus) about B.C. 603. The commencement of the empire was $(520 + x + 53 + 22 + 30 =) 625 + x$ years earlier, or B.C. 1128 + x .

²⁷ See "Athenæum," No. 1812. M. Oppert's claim to the first publication of this document ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 15) is simply (and literally) preposterous.

²⁸ Some writers have endeavored to reconcile Ctesias with Herodotus by supposing the former to speak of the beginning of the *kingdom* of Assyria, the latter of the commencement of the *empire*. (See Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. Appendix, ch. iv.) But this is a mere forced and artificial mode of producing an apparent reconciliation, since it was really the *Empire* which Ctesias made to begin with Ninus and Semiramis (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-19).

²⁹ See text, pp. 376, 377.

³⁰ This important statement is contained in a rock-inscription at Bavian. It is evident, from the employment of an exact number (418), that Sennacherib believed himself to be in possession of a perfectly accurate chronology for a period exceeding four centuries from his own time. The discovery of the Assyrian Canon shows us the mode in which such an exact chronology would have been kept.

³¹ See text, pp. 383-386, and p. 392.

³² Two such lines only are obtainable from the Assyrian lists. The first extends from Vul-lush II. to Vul-lush III. inclusive; this contains six kings, whose united reigns amount to 136 years, furnishing thus an average of $21\frac{2}{3}$ years. The other begins with Sargon and terminates with Saül-mugina (Saosduchinus), his great-grandson, containing four reigns, which cover a space of 74 years. The average length of a reign is here $18\frac{2}{3}$ years. The *mean* average is therefore, as nearly as possible, 20 years.

³³ See text, pp. 378, 379.

³⁴ The Assyrian Canon assigns 17 years to Sargon and 24 to Sennacherib, or 41 to the two together. Sargon's first year, according to an Inscription of his own, synchronized with the first of Merodach-Baladan, in Babylon. Now from this to the first of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son and successor, is exactly 41 years in the Canon of Ptolemy. Again, Sargon ascribes to Merodach-Baladan, just as Ptolemy does, a reign of 12 years. Sennacherib assigns 3 years to Belib or Belipni, as Ptolemy does to Belibus, and mentions that he was superseded in his office by Asshur-inadi-su—Ptolemy's Aparanadius or Assaranadius. Add to this that in no case has the date of a king's reign on any tablet been found to exceed the number of years which Ptolemy allows him.

³⁵ See Appendix A. "On the record of an eclipse in the Assyrian Canon."

³⁶ Polyhistor gave the succession of the latter *Babylonian* kings as follows: Sennacherib, his son, (*i. e.*, Esarhaddon), Sam-mughes, (Saül-mugina), Sardanapalus, his brother (Asshur-bani-pal), Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, etc. The reign of Sardanapalus lasted (he said) 21 years. (Ap. Euseb., "Chr. Can." Pars 1ma. v. §§ 2, 3.)

³⁷ Gen. x. 10 and 11. The true meaning of the Hebrew has been doubted, and our translators have placed in the margin as an alternative version, "He (*i. e.*, Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh," etc. But the real meaning of אֲשׁוּר

עָא would seem to be almost certainly that given in the text. So the Septuagint renders 'Εκ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνης ἐξῆλθεν Ἀσσοῦρ, and the Syriac and Vulgate versions agree. (Compare Rosenmüller, "Schol. in Genes." p. 215.)

³⁸ See text, p. 210.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 171.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 341.

⁴¹ Tiglath-Pileser calls Shamas-Vul and his father "high-priests of the god Ashur" ("Inscription," p. 62), but says nothing of the name of the city at the time when the temple was erected.

⁴² See text, p. 108.

⁴³ It is important to bear in mind that on the mutilated Synchronistic tablet the names of Asshur-bel-nisi-su, etc., occur *half-way down* the first column; which makes it probable that ten or a dozen names of Assyrian kings preceded them.

⁴⁴ On the prevalence of this system in the East, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 405; vol. ii. p. 467; and vol. iii. p. 149; 2d edition.

⁴⁵ See the account of this emigration in M. Hommaire de Hell's "Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea," pp. 227-235.

⁴⁶ Gen. xi. 31.

⁴⁷ On the Phœnician emigration see Kendrick's "Phœnicia," pp. 46-48; and compare the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 196-202, 2d edition.

⁴⁸ See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson *fr*

the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 366, note¹.

⁴⁹ As the tablet is mutilated at both extremities, its date is uncertain; but it cannot anyhow be earlier than the time of Shalmaneser II., to whose wars it alludes. Most probably it belongs to the time of Esarhaddon or Asshur-bani-pal.

⁵⁰ Asshur-bel-nisi-su is said to have made a treaty with a Babylonian king otherwise unknown, whose name is read doubtfully as *Kara-in-das*. Buzur-Asshur, his successor, made a treaty with Purnapuriyas.

⁵¹ See text, p. 111.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Asshur-upallit is also mentioned on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I. as having repaired a temple built by Shamas-Vul, which was again repaired at a later date by Shalmaneser I.

⁵⁴ The regular succession of these early Assyrian monarchs has been discovered since the first edition of this work was published. A brick of Puzur-Ishtar, on which he speaks of his father, Bel-lush, and his grandfather, *Asshur-upallit*, has enabled us definitely to connect the first group of three Assyrian monarchs with the second group of five.

⁵⁵ It may be objected that these cities are mentioned as already built in the time of Moses (Gen. x. 11), who probably lived in the fifteenth century B.C. To this it may be replied, in the first place, that the date of Moses is very uncertain, and, secondly, that the eleventh and twelfth verses of the tenth chapter of Genesis are very possibly an addition made by Ezra on the return from the Captivity.

⁵⁶ See Gen. ii. 14, and compare text, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Numbers xxiv. 22.

⁵⁸ Shalmaneser is also called the founder (or enlarger) of the Temple of Kharrismatra, which was probably at Calah.

⁵⁹ See the Chart supra, Pl. CXXXIV.

⁶⁰ Strabo xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7.

⁶¹ See text, p. 373.

⁶² The full inscription was as follows, according to Sennacherib:—

"Tiglath-Nin, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Dunyas* (or Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may Asshur and Vul destroy his name and country."

⁶³ Hence, on the genealogical tablet he is called "king of Sumir and Akkad" (*i.e.*, of Babylonia), a title not given to any of the other kings.

⁶⁴ See text, pp. 381, 392, 393, etc.

⁶⁵ The chief of these are, 1, the Babylonian and Assyrian synchronistic tablet, which gives the names of Bel-kudur-uzur and Nin-pala-zira, and again those of Asshur-ris-ilim, Tiglath-Pileser, and Asshur-bil-kala, in apparent succession; and, 2, an inscription on a mutilated statue of the goddess Ishtar, now in the British Museum, which contains these last three royal names, and determinately

proves the direct genealogical succession of the three monarchs.

⁶⁶ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 62.

⁶⁷ Ibid. l. c. We may gather, however, indirectly from the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription that at least one considerable calamity took place in his reign. The Muskai (Moschi) are said to have occupied the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, and stopped their payment of tribute to Assyria *fifty years* before the commencement of Tiglath-Pileser's reign (ibid. p. 22). This event *must certainly* have fallen into the time either of Asshur-dayan or of his son, Mutaggil-Nebo. Most probably it belonged to the reign of the former.

⁶⁸ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser," p. 62.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 60.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Athenæum" for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 244 note⁷).

⁷² Judges iv. 4.

⁷³ This document exists on two duplicate cylinders in the British Museum, which are both nearly complete. The Museum also contains fragments of several other cylinders which bore the same inscription.

The translation from which the following quotations are made was executed in the year 1857, under peculiar circumstances. Four gentlemen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen, working independently, produced translations, more or less complete, of the document. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker, of the Strand, under the title of "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150." London, J. W. Parker, 1857."

A perusal of this work would probably remove any incredulity which may still exist in any quarter on the subject of Assyrian decipherment.

⁷⁴ The British Museum contains another inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., but it is in an exceedingly bad condition, and has not been published. It is written on three sides of the broken top of an obelisk, and seems to have contained an account of the monarch's buildings, his hunting exploits, and some of his campaigns, *month by month*. He mentions as monarchs who have preceded him, and whose buildings he repairs, Irba-Vul, Asshur-iddin-akhi, Vul-lush, Tiglath-Nin, Asshur-dayan, and Asshur-ris-ilim.

⁷⁵ The date of Eratosthenes for the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese was B.C. 1104. Thucydides, apparently, would have placed it seventy or eighty years earlier. (Thuc. v. 112.)

⁷⁶ "Inscription," etc., pp. 18-20.

⁷⁷ Ibid. pp. 20-21.

⁷⁸ Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1. etc. They are con-

stantly coupled in the Inscriptions with the *Tuplai*, just as Meshech is coupled with Tubal in Scripture, and the Moschi with the Tibareni in Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78).

⁷⁹ From the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser we can only say that these regions formed a portion of the mountain country in the vicinity of the Upper Tigris. In later times the main seat of the Moschian power was the *laurus* range immediately to the west of the Euphrates. Here was their great city, Mazaca (Joseph., "Ant. Jud." i. 6; Mos. Chor. "His. Armen." i. 13), the *Cæsaræa* Mazaca of the Roman Empire. Hence they seem to have been driven northwards by the Cappadocians, and in the time of Herodotus they occupy a small tract upon the Euxine. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 179-181.)

⁸⁰ See Second Monarchy, ch. ix. note ⁶⁷.

⁸¹ This is one of the very few geographic names in the early Assyrian records which seems to have a classical equivalent. It must not, however, be supposed that the locality of the tribe was the same in Tiglath-Pileser's time as in the days of Strabo and Pliny. Tiglath-Pileser's *Qummukh* or *Commukha* appear to occupy the mountain region extending from the Euphrates at Sumesiat to beyond the Tigris at Diarbekr.

⁸² "Inscription," etc., pp. 22-30.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 24.

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 30-32.

⁸⁵ Ibid. pp. 32-34.

⁸⁶ Ibid. pp. 34-36.

⁸⁷ These *Urumians* (*Hurumaya*) were perhaps of the same race with a tribe of the same name who dwelt near and probably gave name to Lake *Urumiyeh*. The name of the *Kaskians* recalls that of a primitive *Italic* people, the *Casci*. (See Niebuhr, "Roman History," vol. i. p. 78, E. T.)

⁸⁸ The chariots of the Hittites are more than once mentioned in Scripture. (See 1 K. x. 29 and 2 K. vii. 6.)

⁸⁹ "Inscription," p. 38.

⁹⁰ The fact that the country occupied by the *Nairi* is, in part, that which the Jews knew as *Aram-Naharaim*, would seem to be a mere accidental coincidence. *Nairi* is a purely ethnic title; *Naharaim* is from נָהָר, "a river," and *Aram-Naharaim* is "Syria of the two rivers," i.e., Mesopotamia. (See text, p. 2.) The *Naharaim* of the Egyptian monuments may, however, be the *Nairi* country."

⁹¹ This is the district which afterwards became *Commagène*. It is a labyrinth of mountains, twisted spurs from *Amanus*.

⁹² "Inscription," p. 42.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 44.

⁹⁴ This identification is made partly on etymological and partly on geographical grounds. (See the author's article on *SHUHTE* in Dr. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. iii. p. 1298.

⁹⁵ *Circesium* is identified by Mr. Fox Talbot with the Assyrian *Sirkî*, which

was apparently in this position. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 31.)

⁹⁶ See "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 278. In the Syriac version of the Old Testament, *Carchemish* is translated, or rather replaced, by *Mabog*.

⁹⁷ "Inscription," p. 46.

⁹⁸ So Mr. Fox Talbot ("Inscription," p. 48).

⁹⁹ "Inscription," etc., pp. 48-52.

¹⁰⁰ See Second Monarchy, ch. vii. note 335.

¹⁰¹ "Inscription," pp. 52-54.

¹⁰² Ibid. pp. 4-56.

¹⁰³ Ibid. pp. 56-60.

¹⁰⁴ The most important points of the statement have been quoted in the earlier portion of this chapter, but as the reader may wish to see the entire passage as it stands in the original document, it is here appended:—

"Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—

"The son of Asshur-ris-ilim, the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed (?)—

"The grandson of Mutaggil-Nebo, whom Asshur, the Great Lord, aided according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria—

"The glorious offspring of Asshur-dayan, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel; who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a long and prosperous life—

"The beloved child of Nin-pala-zira, the king who organized the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked, and established the troops of Assyria in authority." ("Inscription," pp. 60-62.

¹⁰⁵ "Inscription," pp. 64-66.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 66.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. pp. 64-72.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 72.

¹⁰⁹ See text, pp. 153-154.

¹¹⁰ E.g., even when bent on glorifying himself, the monarch is still "the illustrious chief, who, under the auspices of the Sun God, rules over the people of Bell" ("Inscription," p. 20), and "whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions" (ibid.); if his enemies fly, "the fear of Asshur has overwhelmed them" (pp. 28, 36, etc.); if they refuse tribute, they "withhold the offerings due to Asshur" (p. 24); if the king himself feels inclined to make an expedition against a country, "his lord, Asshur invites him" to proceed thither (pp. 34, 42, 48); if he collects an army, "Asshur has committed the troops to his hand" (p. 32). When a country not previously subject to Assyria is attacked, it is because the people "do not acknowledge Asshur" (p. 38); when its plunder is

carried off it is to adorn and enrich the temples of Asshur and the other gods (p. 40); when it yields, the first thing is to "*attack it to the worship of Asshur*" (pp. 38, 40, etc.). The king hunts "under the auspices of Nin and Nergal" (p. 54), or of "Nin and Asshur" (p. 58); he puts his tablets under the protection of Anu and Vul (p. 68); he ascribes the long life of one ancestor to his eminent piety (p. 62); and the prosperity of another to the protection which Asshur vouchsafed him (p. 60). The name of Asshur occurs in the inscription nearly forty times, or almost once in each paragraph. The sun-god, Shamas, the deities Anu, Vul, and Bel, are mentioned repeatedly. Acknowledgment is also made of Sin, the moon-god, of Nin, Nergal, Ishtar, Beltis, Martu, and Il or Ra. And all this is in an inscription which is not dedicatory, but historical!

¹¹¹ Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 19.

¹¹² The Moschi, the people of Comma-gêné, the Naïri, the Aramæans, the people of Muzr, and the Comani.

¹¹³ As the Kaski and Urumi, tribes of the Hittites, the people of Adavas, Tsar-avas, Itsua, Daria, Muraddan, Khannirabbi, Miltis, or Meliténé, Dayan, etc.

¹¹⁴ "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 52.

¹¹⁵ Gen. x. 9.

¹¹⁶ See text, p. 386.

¹¹⁷ "Inscription," p. 60.

¹¹⁸ The existence of "great fortified cities throughout the dominions of the king" is mentioned (p. 58), but none is named except Asshur.

¹¹⁹ "Inscription," p. 20. And a little further on he is "the exalted sovereign whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the *country of the four regions*." What the four regions were we can only conjecture. Perhaps they were, 1, the country east of the Tigris; 2, that between the Tigris and the Khabour; 3, that between the Khabour and the Euphrates; and, 4, the mountain region upon the upper Tigris north of the Mesopotamian plain.

¹²⁰ See text, p. 128.

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 11.

¹²² Ibid. p. 131.

¹²³ I.e., the more westerly ranges. When the monarch crosses the Lower Zab, he is immediately in a hostile country. ("Inscription," p. 38.)

¹²⁴ Six thousand are enslaved on one occasion ("Inscription," p. 24;) four thousand on another (p. 32). They are not reserved by the monarch for his own use, but are "given over for a spoil to the people of Assyria."

¹²⁵ Only two nations, the Moschi and the Comani, have armies of such strength as this. ("Inscription," pp. 22 and 48.)

¹²⁶ Twenty-three are particularized ("Inscription," pp. 42-44). But it is not said that there were no others.

¹²⁷ The Comani in later times disappeared from these parts; but there are traces of them both in Pontus and in the

Lesser Armenia, which was sometimes reckoned to Cappadocia. Each of these districts had a town called Comana, the inhabitants of which were Comani or Comaneis. (See Strab. xii. pp. 777 and 793; Ptol. v. 6 and 7; Plin. "H. N." vi. 3; Greg. Nyss. "Vit. Thaumaturg." p. 561.)

¹²⁸ See text, p. 379.

¹²⁹ Assyria, within the limits above assigned to it (p. 391), must have contained an area of from 50,000 to 60,000 square miles. Babylonia contained about 25,000. The proportion is nearly that between England and Scotland, the actual size not being very different. Babylonia, however, was probably more thickly peopled than Assyria; so that the disproportion of the two populations would not be so great.

¹³⁰ See text, p. 381.

¹³¹ It was a feeling of this kind which induced the Israelites to send and fetch the ark of the covenant to their camp when they were contending with the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 4), and which made the Spartans always take with them to battle one or both of two images (or rather symbols) of the Tyndarids, Castor and Pollux (Herod. v. 75). So when the Bœotians asked aid from the Eginetans, these last sent them certain images of the Æacidæ (Herod. v. 80); and the United Greeks set so high a value on the presence of these same images that they sent expressly to fetch them when they were about to engage the Persian fleet at Salamis (Herod. viii. 64 and 83). Compare Strab. viii. p. 558, and Macrobi. "Sat." i. 23.

¹³² The chief authority for this war is the "Synchronistic Tablet" already frequently quoted. The capture of the images is not mentioned on that tablet, but is taken from a rock inscription of Sennacherib's at Bavian near Khorsabad. The idols are said to have been captured at the city of *Hekalin*, which is thought to have been near Tekrit.

¹³³ The illustration is made from a very rough drawing sent to England by the explorer, who is not a skilled draughtsman; and it must therefore be regarded as giving a mere general notion of the bas-relief.

¹³⁴ This monument, the earliest Assyrian sculpture which is known to exist, is mentioned by Asshur-izir-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, in his great Inscription; and it was mainly in consequence of this mention that Mr. John Taylor, being requested by Sir H. Rawlinson to explore the sources of the Tigris, discovered, in 1862, the actual tablet, a circumstance which may serve to clear away any lingering doubts that still exist in any quarters as to the actual decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions.

¹³⁵ A mutilated female figure, which is thought to be an image of the goddess Ishtar or Astarte, discovered by Mr. Loftus at Koyunjik, and now in the British Museum, bears a dedicatory inscription, almost illegible, from which it appears to

have been set up by Asshur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. and grandson of Asshur-ris-ilim. (See note ¹⁷⁸ below.)

¹³⁶ According to the ordinary Biblical chronology, Saul's accession fell about the year B.C. 1096. Samuel's judgeship which immediately preceded this, is placed between B.C. 1128 and B.C. 1096. (See Clinton, "F. H." vol. i. p. 320, and compare Palmer, "Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 399.) The Assyrian chronology tends to lower these dates by the space of about forty years.

¹³⁷ Pethor, where Balaam lived, was on the left bank of the Euphrates, in Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia. (Deut. xxiii. 4; compare Num. xxii. 5 and xxiii. 7.)

¹³⁸ 1 Sam. xiii. and xiv.

¹³⁹ The true character of the Jewish kingdom of David and Solomon as one of the Great Oriental Empires, on a par with Chaldæa and Assyria, and only less celebrated than the others from the accident of its being short-lived, has rarely been seized by historians. Milman indeed parallels the architectural glories of Solomon with those of the "older monarchs of Egypt and Assyria" ("History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 261, 1st edition), and Ewald has one or two similar expressions; but neither writer appears to recognize the real greatness of the Hebrew kingdom. It remained for Dean Stanley, with his greater power of realizing the past, to see that David, upon the completion of his conquests, "became a king on the scale of the great Oriental Sovereigns of Egypt and Persia," founding "an imperial dominion," and placing himself "on a level with the great potentates of the world," as, for instance, "Rameses or Cyrus." (Stanley in Smith's "Bibl. Dict." art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 408.)

¹⁴⁰ The single name of Asshur-mazur, which has been assigned to this period (see text, p. 372), is recovered from an inscription of Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, who speaks of certain cities on the right bank of the Euphrates as having been taken from Asshur-Mazur by the Arameans, who had defeated him in battle.

¹⁴¹ The "Syrians that were beyond the river," who came to the assistance of the Ammonites in their war with David (2 Sam. x. 16), may possibly have been subjects or rather tributaries of Assyria (and in this sense is perhaps to be understood Ps. lxxxiii. 8); but the Assyrian empire itself evidently took no part in the struggle. The Assyrian monarchs at this time seem to have claimed no sovereignty beyond the Euphrates, while David and Solomon were content to push their conquests up to that river.

¹⁴² Perhaps the true cause of Assyria's weakness at this time was that her star now paled before that of Babylon. The story told by Macrobius ("Sat." i. 23) of communications between an Egyptian king, Senemur, or Senepos, and a certain Deleboras, or Deboras, whom he calls an

Assyrian monarch, belongs probably to this period. Deboras was most likely a Babylonian, since he was lord of the Mesopotamian Heliopolis, which was Tsipar, or Sippara. It is suspected that he may be the Tsibir who, according to Asshur-izir-pal destroyed a city named Attil, on the confines of Assyria. At any rate the very existence of communications between Babylon and Egypt would imply that Assyria was not at the time the great Mesopotamian power.

¹⁴³ This relationship is established by the great inscription of Asshur-izir-pal. ("British Museum Series," Pls. 17 to 26.)

¹⁴⁴ There is some reason to believe that Vul-lush II. was a monarch of energy and character. The fact that several copies of the Canon commence with his reign, shows that it constituted a sort of era. The mention, too, of this Vul-lush by the third king of the name among his picked ancestors is indicative of his reputation as a great monarch.

¹⁴⁵ Asshur-izir-pal, it will be observed, does not call this Tiglath-Nin his father; and it is therefore possible that the former Tiglath-Nin may be intended (see text, p. 379). But as Tiglath-Nin is mentioned after Tiglath-Pileser, it would rather seem that he was a later monarch.

¹⁴⁶ It has been supposed that the Numi of this passage are the same as those of many later inscriptions, and represent the Susianians or Elamites. (See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 353.) But the entire series of geographical names disproves this, and fixes the locality of the campaign to north-western Kurdistan and southern Armenia. The terms Numi and Elami, meaning simply

"mountaineers" (compare Heb. עַלְמַי, עַלְמַי, and the like), would naturally be applied to many quite distinct tribes.

¹⁴⁷ The name of *Kurkh* is given by the natives to some important ruins on the right bank of the Tigris, about twenty miles below Diarbekr. These ruins cover a raised platform, six miles in circumference, crowned towards the south-east corner by a lofty mound, about 180 feet high. Some important Assyrian remains have been found on the site, which are now in the British Museum. *Kurkh* is probably the Carthiocrta of the classical writers. (Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. "H. N." vi. 9.) It is believed to be the same city as *Tuskha* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

¹⁴⁸ See above, note ⁸¹.

¹⁴⁹ Circesium, according to Mr. Fox Talbot. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 31.)

¹⁵⁰ See text, p. 136.

¹⁵¹ The only parallel to this severity which the Inscriptions offer is furnished by Asshur-izir-pal himself in his account of an expedition undertaken in the next year, where, on taking a revolted city (Tela), he tells us, "their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the

noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's cars I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a minaret. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames. The city I destroyed, and consumed, and burnt with fire." ("Inscription," col. i. ad fin.)

¹⁶² The Tsupnat or Tsupna is now called the *Tsebeneh*—a slight corruption of the original appellation. It is probably the native term from which the Greeks and Romans formed the name *Sophéné*, whereby they designated the entire region between the Mons Masius and the Upper Euphrates. (See Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. "H. N." vi. 27; D. Cass. xxxvi. 36; Plut. "Vit. Lucull." c. 24; Procop. "De Æd." iii. 2, etc.) Mr. John Taylor has recently explored this region, and finds that the Tsupnat has an underground course of a considerable length through a cavern, which seems to be the fact exaggerated by Pliny (l. s. c.) into a passage of the Tigris underneath Mount Taurus. The Arab geographer, Yacut, gives an account far nearer the truth, making the Tigris flow from a dark cave near Hilluras (Ἰλλυρίς of Procopius). It thus appears that both the Arabians and the Romans regarded the Tsupnat as the true Tigris, which is incorrect, as the stream that flows down from Lake Göljik is decidedly the main river. In the cave above mentioned Mr. Taylor found two of the three memorials mentioned by Asshur-izir-pal. These were his own and Tiglath-Pileser's. The third had probably been destroyed by the falling in of a part of the cave.

¹⁶³ See text, pp. 393, 396.

¹⁶⁴ Ptolemy calls the Diyaleh the Gorgus, Γόργος (vi. i.), which is an Arian equivalent of the Semitic Edisa; for *edus* in Arabic is the same as *gurg* in Persian, meaning "wolf or hyæna." Compare the name Λύκος given to the Zab, which had almost the same meaning. (Heb. לִנִּי.)

¹⁶⁵ This river, the Hermas of the Arabians, appears in Asshur-izir-pal's inscriptions under the name of *Kharmesh*.

¹⁶⁶ Tsur, Tyre, may perhaps be cognate to the Hebrew טֵר, the original meaning of which is "a rock." The initial sibilant is however rather *Ṭ* than *Ṣ*.

¹⁶⁷ The Babylonian monarch of the time was Nebo-bal-adan. He was not directly attacked by Asshur-izir-pal; and hence there is no mention of the war on the synchronistic tablet.

¹⁶⁸ The scribe has accidentally written the number as "6000," instead of "10,000 or 20,000." Immediately afterwards he states that 6500 of these 6000 were slain in the battle!

¹⁶⁹ Asshur-izir-pal says that he "made a desert" of the banks of the Khabour. Thirty of the chief prisoners were impaled on stakes.

¹⁶⁰ It may be conjectured that the people of Beth-Adina are "the children of Eden," of whom we have mention in Kings (2 K. xix. 12) and Isaiah (xxxvii. 12), and who in Sennacherib's time inhabited a city called Tel-Asshur. The indications of locality mentioned in these passages, and also those furnished by Ezek. xxvii. 25, suit well with the vicinity of Balis. Tel-Asshur may possibly be the city built by Asshur-izir-pal, and named after the god Asshur at the close of his seventh campaign.

¹⁶¹ Mr. Fox Talbot compares this name with that of the city of Batnæ visited by Julian. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 32.) Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested a comparison with the Batanæa of the Greeks and Romans. The position of the Patena at this time was, however, much further north than Batanæa, which rather corresponds with Bashan.

¹⁶² Amidi continued to be known as Amida through the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and is mentioned under that name by Zosimus (iii. 34), Procopius ("Bell Pers." i. 17), Eustathius of Epiphania, and others. The Arabic name of Diarbekr ("the country of Bekr") superseded that of Amida in the seventh century. Diarbekr is, however, still known as *Amid* or *Kara Amid* to the Turks and Armenians.

¹⁶³ See text, p. 382.

¹⁶⁴ See text, pp. 298 *et seq.*

¹⁶⁵ See a paper published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series, p. 9. A few variations from the passage in the "Transactions" will be found in the text. They have the sanction of the writer.

¹⁶⁶ This inscription is on the altar found at Nimrud in front of this king's sculptured effigy. (See text, p. 405.)

¹⁶⁷ This, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654), who has even ventured, with the help of Mr. Fergusson, to reconstruct the river façade. ("Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 1.)

¹⁶⁸ Only two were uncovered by Mr. Layard; but he believes that there was a third between them, as at Koyunjik and Khorsabad. ("Nin. and Bab." l. s. c. Compare text, pp. 187 *et seq.*)

¹⁶⁹ This term is intended to express the winged lions which have the form of a man down to the waist. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 42.)

¹⁷⁰ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 383; "Monuments," 1st Series, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ This hall was about 100 feet long by 25 broad. All the slabs except one were ornamented with colossal eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the sacred tree.

¹⁷² From the upper or northern end of this hall was obtained the magnificently dressed group, figured by Mr. Layard in the 1st Series of his "Monuments," Pl. 5, and now in the British Museum. All

the figures in the chamber," says Mr. Layard, "are colossal, and are remarkable for the careful finish of the sculptures and elaborate nature of the ornaments." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 305.)

¹⁷³ See the plan of the Nimrud ruins in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 655.

¹⁷⁴ See text, p. 195.

¹⁷⁵ Like the rooms in ordinary Assyrian houses.

¹⁷⁶ Their walls had the usual covering of alabaster slabs, but these slabs were inscribed only, and not sculptured.

¹⁷⁷ See text, pp. 212 *et seq.*

¹⁷⁸ A mutilated female statue, brought from Koyunjik, and now in the cellars of the British Museum, is inscribed with the name of Asshur-bil-kala, son of Tiglath-Pileser, and is the earliest Assyrian sculpture which has been brought to Europe. The figure wants the head, the two arms from the elbows, and the front part of the feet. It is in a coarse stone, and appears to have been very rudely carved. The size is a little below that of life. The proportions are bad, the length of the body between the arms and the legs being much too short. There are appearances from which it is concluded that the statue had been made to subserve the purposes of a fountain.

¹⁷⁹ The tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I., of which a representation has been already given (see Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3).

¹⁸⁰ Some signet-cylinders of Assyrian workmanship may be earlier. But their date is uncertain.

¹⁸¹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 58-60; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 581. Small bits of basalt, fragments probably of an obelisk, a rude statue and some portions of a winged bull, are all the works of art which Kileh-Sherghat has yielded. The statue is later than the time of Asshur-izir-pal.

¹⁸² See text, pp. 229 *et seq.*

¹⁸³ For representations, see Pls. LXXVI. and CV.

¹⁸⁴ See text, p. 237; and compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 321 and 412-414.

¹⁸⁵ See text, pp. 199 *et seq.*

¹⁸⁶ This tower, however, was partly the work of Asshur-izir-pal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II.

¹⁸⁷ A stele of the same king, closely resembling this, but of a ruder character, has been recently brought to England, from Kurkh, near Diarbekr, and added to the National Collection.

¹⁸⁸ The custom of placing an altar directly in front of a sculptured representation of the king appears also in one of the bas-reliefs of Asshur-bani-pal, where there is an arched frame very like this of Asshur-izir-pal, apparently set up against a temple, with an altar at a little distance, placed in a pathway leading directly to the royal image. (See Pl. XLIX.)

¹⁸⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 251.

¹⁹⁰ Two feet, that is, on the broader face; on the narrower one the width is less than 14 inches.

¹⁹¹ See Pl. XL., where this monument is represented.

¹⁹² For its constant use in Assyria see Pls. XXXVI., XLI., XLVII., XLIX., LI., etc.

¹⁹³ Amm. Marc. xvii. 4; Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 14.

¹⁹⁴ See Kenrick's "Phœnicia," p. 56; and compare Eupolemus in Polyhistor's Fragments ("Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 228), Menander (Fr. 1), and Herodotus (ii. 44).

¹⁹⁵ Fragments of two other obelisks, one certainly, the other probably, erected by this monarch, were discovered at Koyunjik by Mr. Loftus, and are also in the British Museum. One was in white stone, and had sculptures on one side only, being chiefly covered with an inscription commemorating in two columns, first, certain hunting exploits in Syria, and secondly, the repairs of the city of Asshur. This had two gradines at the top, and was two feet wide on its broader, and sixteen inches on its narrower face. The other obelisk was in black basalt, and had sculptures on every side, representing the king receiving tribute-bearers. It must have been larger than any other work of this kind which has been found in Assyria; for its width at top was two feet eight inches on the broader, and nearly two feet on the narrower face, which would imply a height of from fifteen to twenty feet. It is uncertain whether this obelisk terminated in gradines.

¹⁹⁶ See text, pp. 326 *et seq.*

¹⁹⁷ Adiabêné is properly the country between the Upper and Lower Zab, but it is not unusual to extend the term to the whole Zab region.

¹⁹⁸ See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 361.

¹⁹⁹ As his father reigned only six, and his grandfather only twenty years, Asshur-izir-pal is not likely to have been much more than twenty or twenty-five years old when he came to the throne.

²⁰⁰ No other Assyrian king except Asshur-bani-pal is known to have reigned so long. The nearest approach to a reign of this length among the earlier monarchs is made by Vul-lush III., Shalmaneser's grandson, who reigns 29 years. At Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar reigns 43 years; but no other monarch in Ptolemy's list much exceeds 20 years.

²⁰¹ Take, for instance, the following passage from the Annals of Asshur-izir-pal:—

"On the sixth day of the month Su from the city Tabiti I departed. By the side of the river Kharmesh I marched. In the city Magarisi I halted. From the city Magarisi I departed. At the banks of the river Khabour I arrived. In the city Shadikanni I halted. The tribute of the city Shadikanni I received—silver,

gold, iron, bars of copper, sheep, and goats. From the city Shadikanni I departed. In the city Katni I halted," etc., etc.

Or the following from the Annals of Shalmaneser II., which is a very ordinary specimen:—

"In my 25th year I crossed the Euphrates through deep water. I received the tribute of all the kings of the Khatti. I passed over Mount Khamana, and went down to the towns of Kati of Cawin. I attacked and captured Timur, his stronghold. I slew his fighting men and carried away his spoil. I overthrew, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire towns without number. On my return I chose Muru, a stronghold of Arami, the son of Ashaltsi, to be one of my frontier cities."

²⁰² See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 117. note ⁴, 2d edition.

²⁰³ See text, pp. 382-388.

²⁰⁴ In the fifth year of Shalmaneser, Dayan-Asshur was Eponym, as appears both from the Assyrian Canon and the Inscription on the Black Obelisk. The fourth place after the king was at this time ordinarily held by an officer called the Tukul, probably the Vizier, or Prime Minister.

²⁰⁵ The subjoined passage will show the curious intermixture of persons:—

"In my 30th year, while I was waiting in Calah, I sent out in haste Dayan-Asshur, the general-in-chief of my whole army, at the head of my army. He crossed the Zab, and arrived among the towns of Hupuska. I received the tribute of Datan, the Hupuskan. I departed from the towns of Hupuskans. He arrived at the towns of Magdubi, the Madakhirian. I received tribute. He departed from the towns of the Madakhirians, and arrived among the towns of Udaki the Mannian. Udaki fled to save his life. I pursued him," etc.

²⁰⁶ "Quod facit per alium, facit per se."

²⁰⁷ Sangara, king of Carchemish, and Lubarna, king of the Patena, had submitted to Asshur-izir-pal. (See text, p. 400.)

²⁰⁸ This is doubtful. The southern Hittites may have entirely separated the Damascus territory from that now possessed by Assyria.

²⁰⁹ The allied force is estimated by the Assyrian monarch at 3940 chariots, 1000 camels, and 77,900 men. Of these Ben-hadad furnished 20,000 men and 1200 chariots, Adoni-baal of Sizana 20,000 men and 30 chariots, Ahab of Jezreel 10,000 men and 2000 chariots, Tsakhulena of Hamath 10,000 men and 700 chariots, and the king of Egypt 1000 men. The camels were furnished by Gindibua (Djendib) the Arabian.

²¹⁰ See text, p. 409.

²¹¹ He estimates his troops at 102,000. ("Black-Obelisk Inscription," p. 423.)

²¹² The Hittites and the Phœnicians are probably both included in the "twelve kings from the shores of the Upper and

Lower Seas," who are said to have joined Ben-hadad on this occasion. ("Inscription," l. s. c.)

²¹³ See 2 Kings viii. 15. Attempts have been made to clear Hazael of this murder (Calmet, "Commentaire littéral," vol. ii. p. 884; Cotton, in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. BENHADAD), because it is thought that otherwise Elisha would be involved in his crime. But Elisha no more suggested murder to Hazael by telling him that he would be king than Samuel suggested a similar crime to David by actually anointing him as king (1 Sam. xvi. 1-13). Hazael might have acted as David did.

²¹⁴ "Inscription," p. 424. The expression used is, "I went to the towns of Hazael of Damascus, and took part of his provisions." Immediately afterwards we read, "I received the tributes of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus."

²¹⁵ Samaria was known to the Assyrian monarchs of this period as Beth-Khumri—"the house or city of Omri"—a form of name with which they were familiar, and one which implied the existence at some previous time of a great king, Omri, the founder. Jehu, in his dealings with the Assyrians, seems to have represented himself to them as this man's "son" or "descendant." It is possible that his representation may have been true, and that he was descended from Omri, at least on the mother's side.

²¹⁶ Besides the representation given on Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 1, Pl. CXVII., Fig. 2, belongs to this series. It represents the chief ambassador of the Israelites prostrating himself before the Assyrian king.

²¹⁷ This is commonly known as the "Central Palace" of the Nimrud platform. It was discovered by Mr. Layard on his first expedition. (See "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 344-347.)

²¹⁸ It will be hereafter seen that Esarhaddon's palace at Nimrud—called by Mr. Layard the South-West edifice—was almost entirely composed of materials taken from the earlier buildings in its neighborhood.

²¹⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 656.

²²⁰ Ibid. l. s. c. and note.

²²¹ For a representation of this obelisk see Pl. XL. It is on a somewhat smaller scale than that of Asshur-izir-pal, being only about seven feet high, whereas that is more than twelve, and twenty-two inches wide on the broad face, whereas that is two feet. Its proportions make it more solid-looking and less taper than the earlier monument.

²²² See text, p. 411.

²²³ Kirzan seems to be the country on the southern slopes of Mount Niphates, between the Bitlis and Myafarekin rivers. It retains its name almost unchanged to the present day. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 37, where it is called "the district of Kherzan.")

²²⁴ To read the sculptures of an Assyrian

obelisk, we must begin at the top with the four topmost compartments, which we must take in the order of their occurrence. We must then descend to the second line of compartments, then to the third, and so on, reading them in the same way. In the Black Obelisk the five lines of compartments correspond exactly to the five nations, except in a single instance. The figures in the bottom compartment of the first side seem not to belong to the fifth nation, nor (apparently) to the fourth, but either to the first or second. The envoys of the fifth nation are introduced by Assyrian officers in the bottom compartment of the second side.

²²⁵ Muzr is north-western Kurdistan, especially the district about Rowandiz and Amadiyah. Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) is always said to be "at the foot of the mountains of Muzr." The Muzri must have traded with India, probably by the line of the Caspian and the Oxus river.

²²⁶ A stele of this monarch, closely resembling those of his father already mentioned (see text, p. 405), was brought from Kurkh in 1863, and is now in the British Museum. It is not inferior to the similar works of Asshur-izir-pal; but it shows no advance upon them.

²²⁷ This was Tiglath-Pileser II., the monarch of that name mentioned in Scripture. (See text, p. 432.)

²²⁸ Shalmaneser made expeditions for this sole purpose in his first, his seventeenth, and his nineteenth years. (See "Inscription," pp. 422-424.)

²²⁹ See Shalmaneser's account of his proceedings during his fifth and twenty-sixth years. ("Inscription," pp. 422 and 425.)

²³⁰ See Pl. LXIII., Fig. 1.

²³¹ Representations of these two statues are given on Pl. LXIII.

²³² The main features of this rebellion are given in an inscription on a stele set up by Shamas-Vul II., Shalmaneser's son and successor. This inscription has been translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, and will be found in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xvi., Annual Report, pp. xii. *et seq.*

²³³ See text, p. 408.

²³⁴ Shalmaneser may not have been more than about sixty at his death. But this is an age which Eastern monarchs, with their habits of life, rarely exceed. Only two kings of Judah after David exceeded sixty years of age.

²³⁵ Shalmaneser reigned 35 years. His annals terminate with his thirty-first year, B.C. 828. As they make no mention of Asshur-danin-pal's revolt, we may conclude that it broke out and was suppressed in the course of the monarch's last five years. He could not, therefore, have survived its suppression more than four years.

²³⁶ That is, if we view the subjection of the kingdom of Israel as complete. Perhaps it was scarcely received as yet fully into the empire.

²³⁷ See the "Black-Obelisk Inscription," p. 424.

²³⁸ Ibid. p. 423.

²³⁹ This must be understood especially of Northern and Western Armenia. Shalmaneser, as we learn from the Kurkh stele, reduced all the Van region, and set up his image on the shores of the lake.

²⁴⁰ From Hupuska may have been formed the Greek name of Phrygia, which was assigned to the Diyaleh by Sophænetus and Xenophon. (See Xen. "Anab." ii 25; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Φρύγος.)

²⁴¹ One important exception, however, must be noticed—the submission of the Muzri, the chief people of north-western Kurdistan. By this the Assyrian Empire was considerably extended to the north-east.

²⁴² In the selection of the five nations whose tributes are commemorated by the sculptures on the Black Obelisk, there is an evident intention to exhibit the extent of the Empire. The Patena and Israelites mark the bounds on the north-west and south-west, the Muzri those on the north-east. The extreme north is marked by the people of Kirzan, the extreme south by the Tsukhi.

²⁴³ This term may possibly correspond to the Hebrew גֹּיִם, *Goim*—the singular, which is *Qūē* (Coé), answering to גֹּי, *Goī*.

²⁴⁴ The Bartsu at this time inhabit south-eastern Armenia. By Sennacherib's time they had descended to a more southerly position. In fact, were then in, or very near, Persia Proper.

²⁴⁵ See Jerem. xxv. 25.

²⁴⁶ This term is the Assyrian representation of the Biblical Ararat (Արարտ) and is probably the original of the Ἀλαρόδοι of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 79).

²⁴⁷ This inscription has been engraved in the "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pls. 29 to 31; in which a transcript of the inscription in the ordinary character has been also published (*ibid.* Pls. 32 to 34).

²⁴⁸ See text, pp. 413 *et seq.*

²⁴⁹ The first Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, attacked Assyria by this route in his first expedition. (See text, pp. 381, 382.) It was also followed by Asshur-izir-pal and Shalmaneser II. in their Babylonian wars. In the time of Herodotus it seems to have been the ordinary line by which travellers reached Babylon. (See Herod. v. 52, and compare the author's "Outline of the Life of Herodotus" in his "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 9, note 1.)

²⁵⁰ Sir H. Rawlinson regards the Daban as probably the Babylonian Upper Zab (or Nil), which left the Euphrates at Babylon and joined the Tigris at the site of Apmæa, near the commencement of the Shat-el-Hie.

²⁵¹ One copy of the Assyrian Canon contains brief notices of Shamas-Vul's expeditions during his last six years. From this document ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. ii. Pl. 52) it appears that he was engaged in military expeditions year after year until

B.C. 810, when he died. The most important of these were against Chaldaea and Babylonia in his 11th and 12th years. The reduction of Babylonia was probably effected by these campaigns (B.C. 813 and 812).

²⁵² See Pl. CXLV., Fig. 2.

²⁵³ An abstract of this Inscription of Vul-lush III. was published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1856, and will be found in the "Athenæum," No. 1476. More recently, Mr. Fox Talbot has translated the Inscription word for word. (See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 183-186.) The original has been published in the "British Museum Series," vol. Pl. 35, No. I.

²⁵⁴ It is an interesting question at what time exactly Judæa first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Assyrians. The general supposition has been that the submission of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser II. (about B.C. 730) was the beginning of the subjection (see 2 K. xvi. 7); but a notice in the 14th chapter of the Second Book of Kings appears to imply a much earlier acknowledgement of Assyrian sovereignty. It is said there that "*as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in Amaziah's hand, he slew the servants who had slain the king his father.*" Now this is the very expression used of Menahem, king of Israel, in ch. xv. 19, where the "confirmation" intended is evidently that of the Assyrian monarch. We may suspect, therefore, that Judæa had admitted the suzerainty of a foreign power before the accession of Amaziah; and, if so, it must be regarded as almost certain that the power which exercised the suzerainty was Assyria. Amaziah's accession fell probably towards the close of the reign of Shalmaneser II., and the submission of Judæa may therefore be assigned with much probability to the time of that monarch (ab. B.C. 840 or 850).

²⁵⁵ Ezek. xxxi. 5, 6.

²⁵⁶ The patterns were in fair taste. They consisted chiefly of winged bulls, zigzags, arrangements of squares and circles, and the like. Mr. Layard calls them "elaborate and graceful in design." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 15.)

²⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 16.

²⁵⁸ The Turks themselves at one time excavated to some extent in the Nebbi Yunus mound, and discovered buildings and relics of Vul-lush III., of Sennacherib, and of Esar-haddon.

²⁵⁹ Sir H. Rawlinson, who discovered these statues in a temple dedicated to Nebo by Vul-lush III., which adjoined the S.E. palace at Nimrud, found with them six others. Of these four were colossal, while two resembled those in the Museum. The colossal statues were destitute of any inscription.

²⁶⁰ Pl. XXI., Fig. 3.

²⁶¹ The inscription on the statues shows that they were offered to Nebo by an officer, who was governor of Calah, Khmida (Amadiyeh), and three other places, for the life of Vul-lush and of his wife

Sammuramit, that the God might lengthen the king's life, prolong his days, increase his years, and give peace to his house and people, and victory to his armies.

²⁶² See the Inscription in the "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pl. 35, No. II.

²⁶³ See p. 287.

²⁶⁴ Herod. i. 184.

²⁶⁵ This date is obtained by adopting the estimate of three generations to a century, which was familiar to Herodotus (ii. 142), and counting six generations between Semiramis and Labynetos (the supposed son of Nitocris), whose reign commenced B.C. 555, according to the Canon of Ptolemy. The date thus produced is not quite high enough for the reign of Vul-lush III., but it approaches sufficiently near to make it probable that the Semiramis of Herodotus and the Sammuramit of the Nebo statues are one and the same person.

²⁶⁶ See Diod. Sic. ii. 4, where Semiramis is made the daughter of the Syrian goddess Derceto; and ii. 20, where she is said to have turned into a dove and to have flown away from earth to heaven. Compare Mos. Chor. "Hist. Armen." i. 14 *et seq.*, and the whole narrative in Diodorus (ii. 4-20), which is full of extravagances.

²⁶⁷ Herod. i. s. c.

²⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. ii. 14.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. ii. 18.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. ii. 7-10.

²⁷¹ Ibid. ii. 11, 13, 14, etc.; Mos. Choren. "Hist. Arm." i. 15; Strab. xi. p. 529, xii. p. 559.

²⁷² "Manual of Ancient History," Book i. p. 26, E. T.

²⁷³ "Vorträge über alte Geschichte," vol. i. p. 27.

²⁷⁴ From the accession of Asshur-izir-pal to the death of Vul-lush III. is above a century (103 years).

²⁷⁵ 2 Kings xv. 19.

²⁷⁶ Until the discovery of the Assyrian Canon had furnished us with three kings between Vul-lush III. and Tiglath-Pileser II., thus separating their reigns by a space of 36 years, it was thought that Vul-lush III. might possibly represent the Biblical Pul, the two names not being so very different. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 382.) The identification was never very satisfactory, for the phonetic value of all the three elements which make up the name read as Vul-lush is very uncertain. Chronological considerations have now induced the advocates of the identity to give it up.

²⁷⁷ The argument is here based upon the Scriptural numbers *only*. As Menahem reigned 10 years, Pekahiah 2 years, and Pekah 20, if Pul's expedition had fallen in Menahem's first year, and Tiglath-Pileser's in Pekah's last, they would have been separated at the utmost by a space of 32 years. We shall hereafter show reasons for thinking that in fact they were separated by no longer an interval than 18 or 20 years.

²⁷⁸ See the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863

(No. 1869, p. 245). The chief arguments for the identity are, 1. The fact that Scripture mentions Pul's taking tribute from Menahem, but says nothing of tribute being taken from him by Tiglath-Pileser, while the Assyrian monuments mention that Tiglath-Pileser took tribute from him, but say nothing of Pul. 2. The improbability (?) that two consecutive kings of Assyria could have pushed their conquests to the distant land of Judæa during the short reign of Menahem. 3. The way in which Pul and Tiglath-Pileser are coupled together in 2 Chron. v. 26, as if they were one and the same individual (?), or at any rate were acting together; and, 4. The fact that in the Syriac and Arabic versions of this passage one name only is given instead of the two. To me these arguments do not appear to be of much weight. I think that neither the writer of Chronicles nor the writer of Kings could possibly have expressed themselves as they have if they regarded Pul and Tiglath-Pileser as the same person.

²⁷⁹ See the next note.

²⁸⁰ See Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. iv. "Post hos ait extitisse *Chaldæorum regem*, cui nomen Phulus erat." Eusebius makes the quotation from Polyhistor; but Polyhistor's authority beyond a doubt was Berosus. Pul therefore must have figured in the Babylonian annals, either as a native king, or as an Assyrian who had borne sway over Chaldæa.

²⁸¹ Assyrian names are almost always compounds, consisting of two, three, or more elements. It is difficult to make two elements out of Pul. There is, however, it must be granted, an Assyrian Eponym in the Canon, whose name is not very far from Pul, being Palaya, or Palluya (= "my son"). The same name was borne by a grandson of Merodach-Baladan. Mr. G. Smith, moreover, informs me that he has found Pulu as the name of an ordinary Assyrian on a tablet.

²⁸² The "Porus" of Ptolemy's Canon is a name closely resembling the "Phulus" of Polyhistor. The one would be in Hebrew בור, the other is פול.

²⁸³ According to Ussher (see the marginal dates in our Bibles) Menahem reigned from B.C. 771 to B.C. 761, or twenty years earlier than this. Clinton lowers the dates by two years ("F. H." vol. i. p. 325). Nine more may be deducted by omitting the imaginary "interregnum" between Pekah and Hoshea, which is contradicted by 2 K. xv. 30. The discrepancy, therefore, between the Assyrian Canon and the Hebrew numbers at this point does not exceed ten years.

²⁸⁴ B.C. 747. The near synchronism of Tiglath-Pileser's accession (B.C. 745) with this date is remarkable, resulting as it does simply from the numbers in the Assyrian Canon, without any artifice or manipulation whatsoever.

²⁸⁵ See 2 Kings xiv. 25-28; xv. 16.

²⁸⁶ This general defection and depres-

sion is stated somewhat over-strongly by Herodotus (i. 95, 96).

²⁸⁷ The date of Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites has been much disputed. It has been placed as early as 860 (see our Bibles), or from that to B.C. 840 (Drake), which would throw it into a most flourishing Assyrian period, the reign of Shalmaneser II. Others have observed that it may as well belong to the *latter part* of the reign of Jeroboam II. (Bailey), which would be about B.C. 780, according to the ordinary chronology, or about B.C. 760-750, according to the views of the present writer.

²⁸⁸ Jonah iii. 4.

²⁸⁹ This was the prophetic dress. (See 2 Kings i. 8, and Zech. xiii. 4.)

²⁹⁰ Jonah iii. 6.

²⁹¹ On the custom of putting beasts in mourning, see above. ch. viii. note ²¹⁵.

²⁹² Jonah iii. 7, 8.

²⁹³ Ibid. verse 5.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. verse 10.

²⁹⁵ Ibid. iv. 5.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. verse 11. On the meaning of the phrase see vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

²⁹⁷ "Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iv. p. 351.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 210.

²⁹⁹ The native form is *Pal-tsira*, or *Pall-tsir* (Oppert), whence Beletar, by a change of the initial *tenuis* into the *media*, and a hardening of the dental sibilant.

³⁰⁰ Compare the stories of Gyges, Cyrus, Amasis, etc. Gyges, the herdsman of Plato ("Rep." ii. 3), and the guardsman of Herodotus (i. 8), appears in the narrative of Nicolaus Damascenus, who probably follows the native historian Xanthus, as a member of the noblest house in the kingdom next to that of the monarch (Nic. Dam. Fr. 49). Cyrus, son (according to Herodotus, i. 107) of an ordinary Persian noble, declares himself to have been the son of a "powerful king." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 200, note ⁹, 2d edit.) There are good grounds for believing that the low birth of Amasis is likewise a fiction. (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 222, note ⁷.)

³⁰¹ Bion's date is uncertain, but it probably was not much before B.C. 200. (See the remarks of C. Müller in the "Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iv. p. 347.)

³⁰² This fact is stated on a mutilated tablet belonging to Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

³⁰³ Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Yakin" in the Assyrian Inscriptions. His capital, Bit-Yakin, had apparently been built by, and named after, his father. Compare Bit-Omri (*i.e.*, Samaria), Bit-Sargina, etc. It has been suggested that Yakin may be intended by Jugæus, if that be the true reading, in Ptolemy's Canon.

When Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Baladan" in 2 Kings xx. 12, and Is. xxxix. 1, the reference is probably to a grandfather or other ancestor.

³⁰⁴ As *Nadina*, who would seem to be Nadius; and *Zakiru*, who may possibly be Chinzirus.

³⁰⁵ Babylon, Borsippa, Nipur, Cutha, Erech, Kish, and Dilmun. Compare the

conduct of Vul-lush III. (see text, p. 419).

³⁰⁶ See text, p. 419.

³⁰⁷ Besides the great Hiram, the friend of Solomon, there is a Tyrian king of the name mentioned by Menander as contemporary with Cyrus (Fr. 2); and another occurs in Herodotus (vii. 98), who must have been contemporary with Darius Hytaspis.

³⁰⁸ The Arabs of the tract bordering on Egypt seem to have been regularly governed by queens. Three such are mentioned in the Inscriptions. As these Arabs were near neighbors of the Sabæans, it is suggested that the queen of Sheba came from their country, which was in the neighborhood of Sinai. (See "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series, p. 14.)

³⁰⁹ 2 Kings xv. 29.

³¹⁰ Isaiah ix. 1. This war is slightly alluded to in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser; but no details are given.

³¹¹ See text, p. 409.

³¹² Isa. vii. 1-6. Comp. 2 Kings xvi. 5.

³¹³ 2 Kings xvi. 7.

³¹⁴ 2 Kings xvi. 9. There is an imperfect notice of the defeat and death of Rezin in a mutilated inscription now in the British Museum.

³¹⁵ 2 Chron. v. 26. That Tiglath-Pileser attacked Pekah twice seems to follow from the complete difference between the localities mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29, and 2 Chron. v. 26. In Isaiah ix. 1, both expeditions seem to be glanced at.

³¹⁶ That the Gozan of Scripture was this country is apparent enough from Scripture itself, which joins it with (Halah Chalchitis of Ptolemy), Habor (the Khabour), Haran (Harran or Carrhæ), Rezeph, and Eden (Beth-Adini). It is confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions, which connect Guzan with Nisibis.

³¹⁷ Megiddo and Dora are mentioned under the forms of *Magidu* and *Duru* among the Syrian cities tributary to Tiglath-Pileser. They are joined to a place called *Manatsuah*, which now for the first time appears in the lists, and which probably represents the land of Manasseh.

³¹⁸ The south-western limit of Assyria was now advanced to about lat. 32° 30'. Dur and Megiddo seem to have been her frontier towns.

³¹⁹ 2 Kings xvi. 10. Tiglath-Pileser records his reception of tribute from a king of Judah whom he calls *Yahukhazi*, or Jehoahaz. It was at one time suggested that the monarch intended might be Uzziah whose name would become Jehoahaz by a metathesis of the two elements; but the late date of the tribute-giving, which was certainly towards the close of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, renders this impossible. *Yahukhazi* must represent Ahaz. It has been suggested that Jehoahaz was the monarch's real appellation, and that the Jews dropped the initial element because they were unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting it with so

wicked a monarch; but perhaps it is more probable that the name was changed by Tiglath-Pileser, when Ahaz became his tributary, just as the name of Eliakim was turned by Necho to Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 34), and that of Mattaniah to Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar (ibid. xxiv. 17). His impieties may have prevented the Jews from recognizing the change of name as legitimate, and made them still call him simply Ahaz.

³²⁰ Compare the Matgenus (*Μάτγηνος*) of Menander, the father of Pygmalion and Dido (Fr. 1).

³²¹ See text, p. 419.

³²² They were often partially destroyed, in order to reduce the size of the stone and make it fit into a given place in Esarhaddon's wall. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series," p. 14.)

³²³ This plan is exhibited in the basement story of the British Museum.

³²⁴ See text, pp. 181-183.

³²⁵ For representations of Tiglath-Pileser's sculptures, see Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates, 57 to 67; and compare Pls. XXXV., XXXVI., LXXVII., and LXXIX.

³²⁶ 2 Kings xvii. 3. "Against him came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant and gave him presents," or "rendered him tribute" (marginal rendering).

³²⁷ It was probably now that Shalmaneser made his general attack upon Phœnicia. (See text, p. 433.)

³²⁸ 2 Kings xvii. 4. "And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year.

³²⁹ Several kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties seem to have ruled over Syria, and even to have made war across the Euphrates in Western Mesopotamia. (See Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 302-305 and p. 311; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson's "Illustrations of Egyptian History," published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series.)

³³⁰ The invasions of Shishak (Sheshonk) and Zerah (Osorkon) show that the idea of annexing Syria continued even during a period of comparative depression.

³³¹ See text, p. 395.

³³² If we were obliged to follow Manetho's dates, as reported to us through Eusebius and Africanus, we should have to place the accession of the first Sabaco 22 or 24 years only before Tirhakah, B.C. 712 or 714. But the Apis *stelæ* have shown that Manetho's numbers are not to be trusted; and it is allowable therefore to assign to the two Ethiopian kings who preceded Tirhakah ordinary reigns of (say) 20 years each, which would bring the Ethiopian conquest to B.C. 730.

³³³ Manetho stated that Bocchoris the Saitic was burnt alive by Sabaco I. (Eu

seb. "Chr. Can." i. p. 104.) Herodotus gave a different account (ii. 137-140).

³³⁴ According to Herodotus, the native king whom Sabaco superseded (called by him Anysis) was blind. Diodorus calls Bocchoris τῷ σώματι παντελῶς ἐνκαταφρόνητον, but does not specify any particular infirmity. (Diod. Sic. i. 65, § 1.)

³³⁵ That the So, or rather Seveh (סד), of 2 Kings xvii. 4, represents the Egyptian name Shebek is the general opinion of commentators. It is not perhaps quite certain, but it is highly probable.

³³⁶ It has not been generally seen that there is an interval of time between verses 4 and 5 of 2 Kings xvii.; yet this is sufficiently clear to an attentive reader.

³³⁷ 2 Kings xvii. 4.

³³⁸ So Josephus. Εἶλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμαρίαν. ("Ant. Jud." ix. 13.)

³³⁹ Ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν. (Menand. Eph. ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14.)

³⁴⁰ Ὑπέστρεψε. (Ibid.)

³⁴¹ Menander speaks of the Phœnicians as "helping to man the sixty ships" (συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑξήκοντα). It is uncertain how many rowers the Phœnician vessels of this time required. In Sargon's sculptures they are represented with only four or five rowers on each side; in Sennacherib's with eight, nine, or eleven, and also with two steersmen. Probably the latter representation is the more correct; and this would make the average number of rowers to be twenty. In that case each crew on this occasion would have been two-thirds Phœnician to one-third Assyrian.

³⁴² It has been usual to see in this Tyrian war of Shalmaneser's an expedition against Cyprus; and the author originally understood the passage in this sense (see his "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 234, note 8). But he now thinks with Mr. Kenrick ("Phœnicia," p. 379, note 1), that, even if the present text of Josephus is correct, no Cyprian expedition is intended. At the same time he suspects that the words which cause the difficulty (Ἐπὶ τοὺτους πέμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς) contain a wrong reading. He would propose to change τοὺτους into τοῦτον.

³⁴³ Shalmaneser's first attack on Phœnicia may be assigned to his first year. The revolt of the island Tyre, and his naval attack on it, cannot fall earlier, but may easily have fallen later, than his second year. The blockade of the fountains might possibly be established in the autumn of that year (B.C. 726), in which case the five years of resistance would terminate in the autumn of B.C. 721, which is Sargon's second year.

³⁴⁴ This is the probable origin of the title Pharaoh, which signifies *Ph' Ra*,

"the Sun." Among the common titles of Oriental sovereigns are "the light of the Universe," "the brother of the Sun and Moon," and the like.

³⁴⁵ Nabonidus always styles himself "the son of Nebo-belatzu-ikbi, the Rab-Mag."

³⁴⁶ See Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31.

³⁴⁷ M. Oppert now prefers the form *Saryukin*. ("Chronologie Biblique," p. 20.) Mr. G. Smith regards *Sar-gina* as the Accadian and *Saru-kin* as the Assyrian form. ("Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache" for 1869, p. 93.)

³⁴⁸ "Sargon (*Sar-kin*) veut dire, *roi de fait*, et indique l'usurpateur." (Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 8.)

³⁴⁹ The religious character of the Assyrian royal names has been already repeatedly noticed. (See text, pp. 348, 352, 354, etc.) They consist almost universally of two or three elements, forming a short sentence, and including the name or designation of a god. (See Appendix A, "On the Assyrian Royal Names.")

³⁵⁰ "Zeitschrift," l. s. c. It had also been borne by an ancient Chaldæan monarch, of whom mention is made in two or three places, but whose date cannot be fixed. In reference to this early king the Assyrian Sargon is sometimes called *Sarukina-arku*—"the later Sargon."

³⁵¹ This is the usual estimate. M. Oppert regards the annals as covering sixteen years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 706, inclusively.

³⁵² Sargon seems not to have effected the deportation of the Samaritans at once. Apparently he acted towards them as Sennacherib intended to act towards the Jews of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 31, 32. "Thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern, until I come to take you away to a land like your own land," etc.)

³⁵³ The Simyra of the classical geographers, which was near Marathus. (Plin. "H. N." v. 20; Mela, i. 12; etc.) The city is not mentioned in Scripture; but we hear in Genesis (x. 16) of the "Zemarites," in conjunction with the Hamathites and Arvadites.

³⁵⁴ The Hebrew literation of Aroer is *ארו*, which is very likely to be represented by Gargar, since the Hebrew *ain* is very nearly a *g*. On the position of the various Aroers, see Mr. Grove's article in Smith's "Bibl. Dictionary," vol. i. p. 115.

³⁵⁵ Manetho placed the accession of the Ethiopian dynasty 191 or 193 years before the invasion of Cambyzes, i.e., in B.C. 716 or 718.

³⁵⁶ See above, note ³³⁴. Bocchoris, according to Manetho, reigned either six or forty-four years!

³⁵⁷ Philistia had submitted to Vul-lush

III. (see text, p. 419), and probably to Tiglath-Pileser II. (p. 430). The extension of Egyptian influence over the country is perhaps glanced at in the prophesy of Isaiah,—“In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan.” The “five cities” of the Philistines were Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, Gath, and Ekron. (See Josh. xiii. 3; and 1 Sam. vi. 17.)

³⁵⁸ See above, note ³³⁵.

³⁵⁹ See Oppert, “Inscriptions des Sargonides, p. 22; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson in the “Athenæum.” No. 1869, p. 247, note ²⁸; and Dr. Hicks in the same journal, No. 1878, p. 534.

³⁶⁰ Manetho assigned to Neco six years only, whereas it is certain that he reigned sixteen. He interposed three kings, whose reigns covered a space of twenty-one years, between Tirhakah and Psammetichus, whereas the monuments show that Psammetichus followed Tirhakah immediately. Again, he gave Tirhakah eighteen years, whereas the monuments give him twenty-six. His numbers may have been falsified; but certainly, *as they come to us*, no dependence can be placed on them. (See M. de Rougé’s “Notice sommaire des Monuments égyptiens du Musée du Louvre.” Paris, 1855.)

³⁶¹ The title borne by Shebek is read as *Tar-danu* by Sir H. Rawlinson, and explained as honorific, signifying “the high in rank.” M. Oppert reads it as *Sil-tan*, and compares the Hebrew *shilton* (שלטון), “power,” and the Arabic *Sultan*. In either case the title is a subordinate one, occurring in an Assyrian list of officers *after* that of Tartan.

³⁶² That Shebek the *Tar-dan* or *Sil-tan* is not the Pharaoh who gave the tribute is evident from the great Chamber Inscription of Khorsabad, where the two names stand contrasted in two consecutive paragraphs. (Oppert, “Inscriptions des Sargonides,” p. 22.)

³⁶³ The position of Raphia is well marked in Polybius, who places it between Rhinocolura and Gaza (v. 80, § 3). It was the scene of a great battle between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus the Great, B.C. 217. Pliny calls it Raphea. (“H. N.” v. 13.)

³⁶⁴ See above, note ³⁶¹.

³⁶⁵ “Inscriptions des Sargonides,” p. 36.

³⁶⁶ The Thamudites are a well-known Arabian tribe, belonging anciently to the central portion of the peninsula. They occupied seats to the south of Arabia Petrea in the name of Ptolemy. (“Geograph.” vi. 7.)

³⁶⁷ Compare Nehem. ii. 19, and iv. 7.

³⁶⁸ Tsamsi appears to have been the successor of Khabiba (see text, p. 429).

³⁶⁹ These presents were gold, spices (?), horses, and camels. The Egyptian horses were much prized, and were carefully preserved by Sargon in the royal stables at Nineveh.

³⁷⁰ M. Oppert understands the passage

somewhat differently. He translates, “Yaman apprit de loin l’approche de mon expédition; il s’enfuit *au delà* del’Egypte, *du côté* de Méroé.” (“Inscriptions des Sargonides,” p. 27.)

³⁷¹ The name Ashdod (אשדוד) is probably derived from the root שר, “strong,” which appears in שר and שרר. *She-deed* is “strong” in Arabic.

³⁷² It is perhaps this capture of Ashdod of which Isaiah speaks—“In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought against Ashdod, and took it; at the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah,” etc. (xx. 1, 2). For it is possible that Sargon may claim as his own act what was really effected by a general. But perhaps it is most probable that the capture by the Tartan or general was the earlier one, when Azuri’s revolt was put down, and Akhimit was made king in his place.

³⁷³ See Mr. G. Smith’s paper in the “Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache” for 1869, p. 107.

³⁷⁴ “Inscriptions des Sargonides,” p. 28. It is this statement, joined with the fact that the expedition took place in Sargon’s 12th year, that enables us definitely to fix the accession of Sargon to B.C. 722-1, which is the first year of Merodach-Baladan (Mardocempalus) in the Canon of Ptolemy.

³⁷⁵ Sargon seems by skilful movements to have interposed his army between Merodach-Baladan and Sutrak-Nakhunta, and even to have threatened to cut off Merodach-Baladan from the sea. Hence, probably, his hasty evacuation of his capital. (See Mr. G. Smith’s paper in the “Zeitschrift,” p. 109.)

³⁷⁶ See above, note ³⁰³.

³⁷⁷ The tribes summoned were the *Gambulu*, the *Bukudu*, or *Pukudu* (perhaps the Pekod of the Jewish prophets, Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23), the *Tamuna*, the *Rikhikhu*, and the *Khindari*, who all appear among the Aramæans plundered by Sennacherib. (See text, p. 447.) The *Gambulu* or *Gumbulu* were known to the Arab geographers and historians as *Junbulá*. They place the *Junbulá* in the Lemlun marsh district.

³⁷⁸ I have hitherto doubted this identification since the initial S of an Assyrian name is nowhere else replaced by a mere breathing. But the discovery that Sargon took the title of “king of Babli” in the very year which Ptolemy makes the 1st of Arceanus, B.C. 709 (“Zeitschrift,” p. 95), convinces me that I have been wrong.

³⁷⁹ “Inscriptions des Sargonides,” p. 30.

³⁸⁰ This expression, and the subsequent statement that Cyprus, which is less than 65 miles distant from the nearest part of the Phœnician coast, was, “seven days’ sail from the shore,” sufficiently mark the ignorance of the Assyrians where nautical matters are concerned. Sargon

calls Cyprus "a country of which none of the kings of Assyria or Babylonia had ever heard the name." ("Inscriptions," etc., p. 31.)

³⁸¹ The tribute of *Upir* is not stated. That of the Cyprians consisted of gold, silver, vases, logs of ebony, and the manufactures of their own land.

³⁸² This effigy of Sargon, found on the site of Idaliium, is now in the Berlin Museum. In the *Inscriptions*, "setting up the image of his majesty" is always a sign that a monarch has conquered a country. Such images are sometimes represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Pl. 64.)

³⁸³ There was peculiar ingratitude in the conduct of Ambris. Sargon had selected him from among the neighboring kings for the honor of a matrimonial alliance; and had given him the province of Cilicia as the dowry of the daughter whom he sent to Ambris to be his wife.

³⁸⁴ This name has been compared with the Phrygian Midas. (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 131, 2d ed.) The name of another chief engaged in this war—Daiukka the Mannian—has been compared with that of the supposed Median monarch Deioces. Some go so far as to identify the personages.

³⁸⁵ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 24. Sargon represents this as a pure act of favor on his part: but we cannot be mistaken in considering it as an act of prudence.

Urza's signet-cylinder has been discovered and brought to Europe. It bears a four-winged genius, grasping with either hand an ostrich by the neck. (See Cullimore, "Cylinders," Pl. 8, fig. 40.) It is now in the Museum of the Hague.

³⁸⁶ *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 25. Compare p. 37.

³⁸⁷ On the Nisæan horses see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 33, note 6, 2d ed.

³⁸⁸ Sutruk-Nakhunta's inscriptions have been found on the great mound of Susa. (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 363, note 4, 2d ed.)

³⁸⁹ *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 26, 27.

³⁹⁰ 2 Kings xviii. 11. "And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."

³⁹¹ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 37.

³⁹² See text, pp. 391, 399, 429, and 430.

³⁹³ The Arab geographer Yacut speaks of Khurstabadh (Khorsabad) as a village east of the Tigris, opposite to Mosul, and adjoining the old ruined city of *Sarghum*. (See "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xii. p. 419, note 2.)

³⁹⁴ It is true the evidence is only negative, but it is as strong as negative evidence can be. Sargon neither mentions hunting in any of his inscriptions, nor represents himself as engaged in it in his

sculptures. The only representation of sport which his bas-reliefs furnish consists of one series of slabs, where part-ridges, hares, and gazelles are the objects of pursuit. The king is present, driving in his chariot, but seems to take no part in the sport. (See text, p. 304.)

³⁹⁵ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31, note 1.

³⁹⁶ This must have been his principal residence, as the Khorsabad palace was not finished till his fifteenth year.

³⁹⁷ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 35.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ "Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache" for 1869, p. 110.

⁴⁰⁰ At any rate the earliest *known* specimens belong to this reign. (See text, p. 231.)

⁴⁰¹ King, "Antique Gems," p. 127.

⁴⁰² See the representations on Plates LXXXIV. and LXXXV.

⁴⁰³ See Pls. CVII. and CXIV.

⁴⁰⁴ See Pls. XLIX., LXXXII., CXXXIII., and CXXXVIII.

⁴⁰⁵ See Pl. LXVII.

⁴⁰⁶ This document is known as "the Taylor Cylinder." It is dated in the Eponymy of Bel-emur-ani, who appears in the Assyrian Canon as the Eponym of Sennacherib's fifteenth year, B.C. 691, and again of his twentieth year, B.C. 686. An abstract of the most important portion of this inscription was given by Sir H. Rawlinson so long ago as 1852, in his "Outlines of Assyrian History," while detailed translations have been since published by Mr. Fox Talbot ("Journ. As. Soc." vol. xix. pp. 135-181), and M. Oppert ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 41-53).

⁴⁰⁷ There is a second document called "the Bellino Cylinder," which was written in Sennacherib's fourth year, and contains his first two campaigns, together with an account of his early buildings at Nineveh. In general it agrees closely with the Taylor Cylinder; but it adds some few facts, as the appointment of Belipni. Mr. Fox Talbot translated it in his "Assyrian Texts," pp. 1-9.

⁴⁰⁸ 2 Kings xviii. 13-37; Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii.

⁴⁰⁹ Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. iv. v. Eusebius has also preserved a passage of Abydenus in which Sennacherib is mentioned (ib. c. ix. § 1); but it contains little of any value that is not also mentioned by Polyhistor.

⁴¹⁰ Herod. ii. 141.

⁴¹¹ The Assyrians and Babylonians counted as their "first year," not the actual year of their accession, but the year following. Thus if Sennacherib ascended the throne B.C. 705, his "first year" would be B.C. 704.

⁴¹² It is an admitted feature of Ptolemy's Canon that it takes no notice of kings who reigned less than a year.

⁴¹³ The following is Polyhistor's statement as reported by Eusebius: "Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios

dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto trigesimo imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex; donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit." ("Chron. Can." Pars Ima, v. § 1.)

⁴¹⁴ See text, p. 441.

⁴¹⁵ It was formerly concluded from Sennacherib's cylinders that his first Babylonian expedition was in his first and his Syrian expedition in his third year. But neither the Bellino nor the Taylor Cylinder is, strictly speaking, in the form of *annals*. The Babylonian was his first campaign, the Syrian his third. But two years seem to have passed before he engaged in foreign expeditions.

It is confirmatory of this view, which follows from the chronology of the Assyrian Canon compared with the Canon of Ptolemy, to find that the Bellino Cylinder, written in Sennacherib's fourth year, gives, not four campaigns, but two only—those of B.C. 708 and B.C. 702.

⁴¹⁶ This king was probably the Sutruk-Nakhunta who had warred with Sargon. (See text, p. 443.)

⁴¹⁷ "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 137.

⁴¹⁸ See text, p. 469.

⁴¹⁹ In Elibus the El is perhaps אל, "god," used for Bel, the particular god, or possibly Elibus is a mere corruption due to the double translation of Polyhistor's Greek into Armenian, and of the Armenian Eusebius into Latin.

⁴²⁰ These tribes had all assisted Mero-dach-Baladan against Sargon. (See above, note ³⁷⁷.)

⁴²¹ Compare 1 Chr. v. 10, 18-22; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. The Hagarenes are perhaps the Agræi of Strabo (xvi. p. 1091), Pliny ("H. N." vi. 32), and others.

⁴²² "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 138.

⁴²³ See text, p. 443.

⁴²⁴ "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 139-143; "Inscrip. des Sargonides," pp. 42, 43.

⁴²⁵ Ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14.

⁴²⁶ This identity is maintained by Mr. Bosanquet. ("Fall of Nineveh," p. 40; "Messiah the Prince," p. 385.)

⁴²⁷ This name appears as that of a Philistine king in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. (See text, p. 430.)

⁴²⁸ Mr. Oppert is, I believe, of this opinion. Mr. Fox Talbot so translates ("Asiatic Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 144). Sir H. Rawlinson denies the identity of the town mentioned with Samaria, which is ordinarily represented in the Inscriptions by an entirely different set of characters.

⁴²⁹ Joppa and Bene-berak are connected with Ekron in Josh. xix. 43-46. There was a Hazor among the extreme southern cities of Judah (ib. xv. 23). And there was a Beth-Dagon in the low country or coast tract of Judah, which is probably the modern *Beit-Dajan* between Lydda and Joppa. These seem to be the four cities now taken by Sennacherib.

⁴³⁰ Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima. c.

xx.; African. ap. Syncell. "Chrolograph," p. 184, C.

⁴³¹ We shall have fuller evidence of the continuation of this practice under the Assyrian kings when they became masters of Egypt. (See text, pp. 472 and 491.) It is slightly indicated by the Dodecarchy of Herodotus (ii. 147).

⁴³² The first great battle was that of Raphia. (See text, p. 438.)

⁴³³ See Josh. xix. 44, where Eltekeh (אלתקה) is mentioned next to Ekron.

It was a city of the Levites (Josh. xix. 23).

⁴³⁴ Perhaps not real "sons," but rather "servants." Compare the double use of παῖς in Greek.

⁴³⁵ Ἰμνα is no doubt Thimnatha (תִּמְנַתָּה), the Θάμνα of the Alexandrian codex, which is mentioned in Joshua (xix. 43) immediately before Ekron. This is probably not the Timnath or Timnatha of Samson's exploits.

⁴³⁶ "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 146, 147; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 44, 45.

⁴³⁷ The first intention was that Hezekiah should put Padi to death. The Ekronites, we are told, "sent Padi to Hezekiah to be destroyed; but he prayed to God, and he (God) softened their hearts." It is remarkable that the determinative for "God" is here used alone, without the addition of any name of a god.

⁴³⁸ If it was in Hezekiah's sixth year that Samaria was taken by Sargon, he should now have reached his twenty-seventh year. The Hebrew and Assyrian numbers are here irreconcilable. I should propose to read in 2 Kings xviii. 13, "twenty-seventh" for "fourteenth."

⁴³⁹ 2 Kings xviii. 13-16.

⁴⁴⁰ The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson, which has already appeared in the author's "Bampton Lectures" (pp. 141, 142, 1st edition) is here followed. It agrees in all essential points with the translations of Dr. Hincks (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 143, 144), M. Oppert ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 45, 46), and Mr. Fox Talbot, ("Journ. of As. Soc." vol. xix. pp. 147-149).

⁴⁴¹ It is perhaps this desolation of the territory to which Isaiah alludes in his 24th chapter: "Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad all the inhabitants thereof. . . . The land shall be utterly emptied and utterly spoiled, for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away; the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore has the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate; therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and

few men left. The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the merry-hearted do sigh. The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song; strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of confusion is broken down; every house is shut up, that no man may come in. There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened; and the mirth of the land is gone. In the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." (Is. xxiv. 1-12.)

⁴⁴² Demetrius regarded this as one of the great captivities, paralleling it with the previous captivity of Samaria, and with the final captivity of Jerusalem in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. (Demetr. ap. Clem. Alex. "Strom." i. p. 403.)

⁴⁴³ Compare Is. xxix. 1-4, which seems to be a prophecy of this siege, the only one (so far as we know) that Jerusalem underwent at the hands of the Assyrians. "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! Add ye year to year; let them kill sacrifices. For I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow; and it shall be unto me as Ariel. And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust."

⁴⁴⁴ Is. xxii. 9, 10.

⁴⁴⁵ Ib. verses 1, 2.

⁴⁴⁶ Ib. verse 5.

⁴⁴⁷ Ib. verses 12, 13.

⁴⁴⁸ It appears that Hezekiah either now or on the second occasion, when Jerusalem was threatened by Sennacherib, "stopped all the fountains which were without the city, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land," because the people said, "Why should the Assyrian come and find much water?" (2 Chron. xxii. 3, 4; compare Is. xxii. 9, 11.) From both passages I should infer that the blocking of the fountains took place on this, the first, occasion. On the general subject of the changes made at this time in the water supply, see Williams's "Holy City," vol. ii. pp. 472-482.

⁴⁴⁹ 2 Chron. iii. 4-8.

⁴⁵⁰ These were Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, and Tsilli-Bel king of Gaza. ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 45; "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 148.)

⁴⁵¹ "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 149, 150; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 46.

⁴⁵² Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima. c. v. "Hoc (i.e., Elibo) tertium jam annum regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat. prælioque cum iis conserto, superior evadebat; captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus, filium

suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat: ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat."

⁴⁵³ This change would easily take place by the two *sigmas* ($\sigma\sigma$) being mistaken for a *pi* (π).

⁴⁵⁴ There is nothing in the Assyrian records to fix, or even to suggest this date. It is required in consequence of the length of Hezekiah's reign. As Hezekiah is given only 29 years (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1), if Sennacherib's first invasion was in his twenty-seventh year, the second must, at the latest, have fallen two years later, since that would be Hezekiah's twenty-ninth or last year. The arrangers of the dates in the margin of our Bibles made three years intervene between the first and second expeditions.

⁴⁵⁵ This is implied in the reproach of Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 21; Is. xxxvi. 6). It seems to be alluded to in Is. xxxi. 1-3, and stated positively in Is. xxx. 4.

⁴⁵⁶ 2 Kings xix. 8.

⁴⁵⁷ 2 Chron. xxxii. 9.

⁴⁵⁸ 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2.

⁴⁵⁹ It has been supposed from this fact that he was a renegade Jew (Prideaux, Milman). But there is no need of this supposition. Hebrew is so like Assyrian that an Assyrian would acquire it with great facility. At any rate, it is not more surprising that an Assyrian officer should know Hebrew than that three Jewish officers should understand Aramaic. (2 Kings xviii. 26.)

⁴⁶⁰ 2 Kings xix. 8.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 9-13.

⁴⁶² Ibid. 14-16.

⁴⁶³ 2 Kings xix. 20-34. On the receipt of the message sent by Rabshakeh, Isaiah had declared—"Thus saith the Lord God, 'Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumor, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.'" (Ibid. 6, 7.)

⁴⁶⁴ Herod. ii. 141. According to some writers, the Sethos of Herodotus is the Zet of Manetho, the last king of the twenty-third dynasty, who reigned at Tanis (Zoan), while Bocchoris was reigning at Sais, and the Ethiopians in Upper Egypt. (Hincks in "Athenæum," No. 1878, p. 534; Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. iii. p. 1856, ad voc. ZOAN.) The fact of a number of princes at this time dividing Egypt is apparent both in Scripture (Is. xix. 2), and in the Assyrian Inscriptions. ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 44.)

⁴⁶⁵ 2 Kings xix. 9. The Apis stelæ show that Tirhakah did not ascend the throne of Egypt till B.C. 690, eight years after this; but he may have been already—as he is called in Scripture—"king of Ethiopia."

⁴⁶⁶ Herod. ii. 141. It is thought that

the main outline of the narrative in this writer is compatible with the account in the Book of Kings, and may be used to fill up its chasms.

⁴⁶⁷ "And it came to pass *that night*, that the angel of the Lord went out," etc. (2 Kings xix. 35.)

⁴⁶⁸ See text, pp. 439 and 449.

⁴⁶⁹ I cannot accept the view that the Assyrian army was destroyed by the Simoom, owing to the foreign forces of Sennacherib being little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy. (Milman, "History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 307.) The Simoom would not have destroyed one army and left the other unhurt. Nor would it have remained for the survivors to find when they *awoke in the morning* that the camp contained 185,000 dead men. The narrative implies a secret, sudden taking away of life during sleep, by direct Divine interposition.

⁴⁷⁰ Herod. ii. 141, ad fin.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² See the "Persæ," 893-1055.

⁴⁷³ Sennacherib, however, does not speak of years, but of campaigns. ("In my first campaign," "In my second campaign," and the like.) M. Oppert translates more correctly than Mr. Fox Talbot.

⁴⁷⁴ This is proved by the name of the Eponym. The date may be later, for the same person, or a person of the same name, was Eponym five years afterwards, in Sennacherib's twentieth year.

⁴⁷⁵ Tobit i. 21.

⁴⁷⁶ "Ant. Jud." x. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι.

⁴⁷⁷ As Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. pp. 279, 280.

⁴⁷⁸ The expression in 2 Kings xix. 36, that "Sennacherib departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh," implies some considerable length of time, and shows the unhistorical character of Tobit.

⁴⁷⁹ "Assyrian Texts," p. 10.

⁴⁸⁰ In B.C. 694, Sennacherib's 12th year, the Prefect of Damascus is Eponym; in B.C. 692 the Prefect of Arpad; and in B.C. 691 the Prefect of Carchemish. None of these places had furnished eponyms previously.

⁴⁸¹ This emplacement depends almost entirely on the name Nibur, which seems to be represented by the Mt. Nibarus (Νίβαρος) of Strabo. This range lay east of Niphates, stretching as far as Media (παραεἶναι μέχρι τῆς Μηδίας, xi. p. 766). It seems rightly regarded as the *Ala Dagh*, a range due north of Lake Van.

⁴⁸² *Dayan* is mentioned on the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder among the countries of the Nairi. ("Inscription," p. 46.) A bull-inscription of Sennacherib shows that it lay to the extreme west of their country, where it abutted on Cilicia and the country of the Tibareni (Tubal).

⁴⁸³ *Dayan* is not new; but *Uzza*, its capital, and its strongholds, *Anara* and *Uppa* are new names. Mr. Fox Talbot conjectures that Anara is "the celebrated Aornus, besieged many ages afterwards by Alexander the Great." ("As. Soc. Jour." vol. xix. p. 153.) But Aornus was in Bactria, far beyond the utmost limit to which the Assyrian arms ever penetrated eastward.

⁴⁸⁴ Compare the removal of the Scyths from Media to Lydia in the reign of Cyaxares, which is said to have produced the Lydian war of that king (Herod. i. 73, 74), and the instances collected by Mr. Grote ("History of Greece," vol. ii. p. 417, note 1, 2d edition).

⁴⁸⁵ See text, p. 433.

⁴⁸⁶ The Chaldæans, whose "cry was in the ships" (Is. xliii. 14), no doubt possessed a mercantile marine which had long been accustomed to the navigation of the Persian Gulf. (See text, pp. 17 and 65.) But they probably fell very far short of the Phœnicians both as respected their vessels and their nautical skill.

⁴⁸⁷ Sennacherib calls them "Syrian vessels." Most probably they were biremes.

⁴⁸⁸ See text, p. 451.

⁴⁸⁹ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 47, 48; "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 154-156.

⁴⁹⁰ See text, p. 443.

⁴⁹¹ Kudur-Nakhunta was the son of Sutrak-Nakhunta, the antagonist of Sargon (see text, p. 442). Bricks of Kudur-Nakhunta, brought from Susa, are in the Assyrian Collection of the British Museum.

⁴⁹² "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 48.

⁴⁹³ Badaca is placed by Diodorus on the Eulæus, between Susa and Ecbatana (xix. 19). It seems to have been situated at the point where the Kerkhah originally bifurcated, sending down an eastern arm which fell into the Kuran at Ahwaz. (See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 424.)

⁴⁹⁴ See text, p. 458.

⁴⁹⁵ So Mr. Fox Talbot understands the passage ("As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 159). It is thought, however, by some to mean that the whole reign of Kudur-Nakhunta lasted only three months.

⁴⁹⁶ Compare the conduct of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 8).

⁴⁹⁷ See text, p. 447. The principal of these tribes were the Pukudu (Pekod) the Gambulu, the Khindaru, the Ruhua, and the Damunu.

⁴⁹⁸ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 49-51; "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 159-165.

⁴⁹⁹ Regibelus ascends the throne in B.C. 693, and Mesesimordachus in the following year. These are the 13th and 14th years of Sennacherib. The omission of Susub from the Canon may be accounted for by the probable fact that neither of his two reigns lasted for a full year. That he was actual king is proved by a "contract" tablet in the British Museum dated in his reign.

⁵⁰⁰ Polyhist. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars ima, c. v.:—"Is igitur (*i.e.*, Sennacheribus) Babyloniorum potitus, filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatum, Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est, proelioque inuito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit: suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit; cui Chaldaicis litteris res a se gestas insculpi mandavit ad memoriam temporum sempiternam. Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar, eidemque nomen inditum Tharsim." Abyden. ap. eund. c. ix.:—"His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus rex fuit Sennacheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris litore classem Græcorum profligatum disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium (!) struxit. Ærea quoque signa facienda curavit, in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma, qua Babylon utitur, condidit, ita ut media Tarso Cydnus amnis transiret, prorsus ut Babylonem dividit Araxes."

⁵⁰¹ It is not certain that this means more than the emplacement of the town on both sides of the Cydnus, so that the stream ran through it. (See the parallel passage in Abydenus.)

⁵⁰² See below, note ⁵¹³.

⁵⁰³ Cilicia remained independent at the time of the formation of the Lydian Empire (Herod. i. 28). It had its own kings, and enjoyed a certain amount of independence under the Persians (*ibid.* vii. 98; Æschyl. "Pers." 328-330; Xen. "Anab." i. 2, § 25).

⁵⁰⁴ See text, p. 443.

⁵⁰⁵ The Greeks generally ascribed the foundation of Tarsus to Sardanapalus, the best known of the Assyrian monarchs. (See Hellan. Fr. 158; Apollodor. Fr. 69; Strab. xiv. p. 968; Arrian. "Exp. Alex." ii. 5; Athenæus, "Deipn." xii. 7; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 873.)

⁵⁰⁶ If the Tarshish of Gen. x. 4, which is joined with Kittim (Cyprus), Rodanim (Rhodes), and Elishah (Æolis, Elis) is allowed to be Tarsus (Joseph. "Ant. Jud." i. 6), the original foundation of the city must have preceded the time of Sennacherib.

⁵⁰⁷ In the epitome of Sennacherib's wars inscribed upon the Koyunjik bulls, there is a statement that he "triumphantly subdued the men of Cilicia inhabiting the inaccessible forests." This epitome dates from the first Susian expedition—*ab. n.c.* 695. If therefore the war to which it alludes is the same as that mentioned by the Greeks, the date in the text must be modified.

⁵⁰⁸ See text, p. 469.

⁵⁰⁹ On the importance of Tarsus in Greek and Roman times, see Xen. "Anab." i. 2, § 23; Cæsar. "Bell. Alex." 66; Strab. xiv. p. 960; Dionys. Perieg. 1. 869. Solin.

41, etc. *Tersoos* is still a city with a population of 30,000.

⁵¹⁰ Isaiah x. 12-14; 2 Kings xix. 23-28. Sennacherib calls himself in his inscriptions, "the great king, the powerful king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the diligent ruler, the favorite of the great gods, the observer of sworn faith, the guardian of the law, the embellisher of public buildings, the noble hero, the strong warrior, the first of kings, the punisher of unbelievers, the destroyer of wicked men." ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 41; compare "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 135.)

⁵¹¹ This third or *Hareem* Court was very partially explored. The one side uncovered measured ninety-three feet. Mr. Layard in his restoration ("Nineveh and Babylon," Plan 1, opp. p. 67) makes the width of the court eighty-four feet, but it may easily have been ninety feet or even more.

⁵¹² It is not quite certain that this passage led to the apartments in question, as it was not explored to the end; but its apparent object was to conduct to the north-west group of chambers.

⁵¹³ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 103.

⁵¹⁴ This hall was traced to a distance of 160 feet. Assuming that it had the same sort of correspondence and regularity as the halls at Khorsabad, its entire length must have been 180 feet.

⁵¹⁵ Mr. Layard counts seventy-one chambers; but he includes in this estimate the three courts, the long gallery, four passages, and four rooms which were imagined rather than proved to exist.

⁵¹⁶ Two great ravines on this side probably mark the position of flights of steps, or inclined ways, which led up to the platform from the lower level of the city.

⁵¹⁷ On the rare use of passages by the Assyrians, see text, p. 183.

⁵¹⁸ So at Khorsabad (Pl. XLII., Fig. 2) and at Nimrud (Pl. CXLV., Fig. 1).

⁵¹⁹ Sennacherib used foreign timber in his palace to a large extent, cutting it in Lebanon and Amanus. Perhaps, by choosing the tallest trees, he was able to span with single beams the wide space of forty-one or forty-two feet. (See text, p. 196.)

⁵²⁰ Backgrounds occur but very rarely in the reliefs of Asshur-izir-pal (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 15, 16, and 33). They are employed more largely by Sargon (Botta, "Monument," Pls. 31 to 35, and 108 to 114); but even then they continue the exception. With Sennacherib they become the rule, and at the same time they increase greatly in elaboration.

⁵²¹ For a representation see Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 8 and 9; compare "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 338-340.

⁵²² Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10 to 17.

⁵²³ See Pl. LXXXVIII.

⁵²⁴ "Assyrian Texts," p. 7; "As. Soc. Journ.," vol. xix. p. 166.

⁵²⁵ "Assyrian Texts," l. s. c.

⁵²⁶ Ibid. p. 8.

⁵²⁷ The great gate of Nineveh, described in the first part of this work (p. 165), was composed of bricks marked with Sennacherib's name (Layard "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 123). Another similar gateway in the eastern wall (ibid.) was probably his; and his bricks have also been found along the curtain of the east side of the city.

⁵²⁸ On the Bellino Cylinder Sennacherib tells us that he employed these four races, together with the *Quhu* (Coans), on his great works. ("Assyrian Texts," pp. 6, 7.) From a bull-inscription we learn that the number of Aramæans carried off as slaves in one raid was 208,000. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 141.)

⁵²⁹ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10, 11, 13, 15, and 16.

⁵³⁰ The same practice prevailed in Persia (Herod. vii. 22); and there must be something akin to it wherever forced labor is used.

⁵³¹ See text, p. 338.

⁵³² Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

⁵³³ See text, p. 452.

⁵³⁴ Abydenus, who alone mentions this Nergilus, omits to state his relationship to Sennacherib. He makes him the father of Adramelech and Esar-haddon (Azerdis), which is certainly incorrect. In the texts I have followed probability.

⁵³⁵ The Adramelech of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38) is mentioned as Adrameles by Abydenus (Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. ix.), and as Adramelus by Moses of Choréné ("Hist. Armen." i. 22). This latter writer calls him also Argamozanus (ibid.), while Polyhistor gives his name as Ardimuzanes (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. v. § 1).

⁵³⁶ 2 Kings, l. s. c.

⁵³⁷ See Abydenus, l. s. c. "Proximus huic (i.e., Sennacheribo) regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius (?) occidit."

⁵³⁸ See 2 Kings xix. 7 and 37.

⁵³⁹ A king was not entered on the Babylonian list until the Thoth which followed his accession. Thoth fell at this time in February. Hence the Babylonian dates are in almost every case one year later than the Assyrian.

⁵⁴⁰ See Mr. G. Smith's article in the *North British Review* for July, 1870, pp. 324, 325. The war in question is also mentioned by Abydenus, l. s. c. "Hunc (i.e., Adramelem) frater suus Azerdis interfecit, patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus, atque Byzantium (?) usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem."

⁵⁴¹ See the preceding note.

⁵⁴² 2 Kings xix. 37. Mos. Chor. l. s. c. "Eum vero (i.e., Senecharimum) filii ejus Adrammelus et Sanasarus ubi interfecerunt, ad nos confugerunt."

⁵⁴³ Mos. Chor. l. s. c.

⁵⁴⁴ "British Museum Series," Pls. 45 to 47. Both copies of the cylinder are imperfect; but together they supply a very tolerable text. M. Oppert has translated the second in his "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 53-60.

⁵⁴⁵ See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Illustrations of Egyptian History and Chronology from the Cuneiform Inscriptions," p. 23.

⁵⁴⁶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iv. 2.

⁵⁴⁷ Abyden. ap. Euseb. l. s. c. "Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Azerdis."

⁵⁴⁸ There is a second cylinder inscription belonging to the reign of Esar-haddon, which would be of great importance if it were complete. It is published in Mr. Layard's "Inscriptions of Assyria," pp. 54-58. It contains the account of Esar-haddon's wars with his brothers, and some particulars of his Arabian and Syrian expeditions not elsewhere mentioned. (See *North British Review*, p. 340.)

⁵⁴⁹ As the records of Esar-haddon's reign are not written in the form of annals, it is very difficult to determine the order of his campaigns. The order given in the text will be found to differ somewhat from that preferred by Mr. G. Smith (*N. B. Review*, pp. 325-333), the most important difference being that Mr. Smith places the Babylonian expedition (see text, p. 463) before the Syrians.

⁵⁵⁰ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 54.

⁵⁵¹ The name Abdistartus occurs among the kings of Tyre mentioned by Menander (Fr. 1). Abdi-Milkut, or Abed-Melkarth, is formed on the same model, and would mean "Servant of Melkarth" (Hercules), just as Abdistartus is "Servant of Ishtar" (Venus). Compare Abdiel, Abdallah, Obadiah, etc.

⁵⁵² It was probably with special reference to this campaign and conquest that Abydenus spoke of Esar-haddon as having added to the empire "the more inland parts of Syria." (See above, note ⁵⁴⁷.)

⁵⁵³ M. Oppert understands Egypt here ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 54), as also does Mr. G. Smith (*N. Brit. Review*, p. 329); but Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that the Eastern Muzr must be meant. ("Illustrations," etc., p. 21.)

⁵⁵⁴ This is the first mention of Cimmerians in the Assyrian Inscriptions. Herodotus places the great Cimmerian invasion of Asia in the reign of Ardys the Lydian, which, according to him, was from B.C. 686 to B.C. 637. The name of Tiuspa is curiously near to Teispes, who must have been king of Persia about this time.

⁵⁵⁵ See text, p. 459.

⁵⁵⁶ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 54, 55; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11, 12.

⁵⁵⁷ The scene of the first of these wars was Northern Syria; the second was in South-Eastern Armenia—against the Manai or Minni.

⁵⁵⁸ Mr. G. Smith reads this name as Nabu-zira-napisti-esir (*N. Brit. Review*, p. 326).

⁵⁵⁹ The name of the Chaldean prince deposed is read as Shamas-ipni; his successor was Nebo-sallim, the son of Balazu (Beleys).

⁵⁶⁰ See text, p. 472.

⁵⁶¹ See text, p. 460.

⁵⁶² This appeal recalls Laban's address to Jacob (*Gen.* xxxi. 30), when Rachel had "stolen his gods."

⁵⁶³ Is this a trace of a system like that which the Romans adopted in the case of the Parthians and Armenians during the early part of the Empire? (See Tacit. "Ann." ii. 2.) Was Tabua an Arabian princess, taken as a hostage, and so bred up in the palace of the Assyrian king? It is highly improbable that she was a native Assyrian.

⁵⁶⁴ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56.

⁵⁶⁵ Mr. G. Smith reads these numbers somewhat differently; but comes to the same conclusion as the present writer, viz., that Esar-haddon "penetrated into the middle of Arabia" (*N. B. Review*, p. 332).

⁵⁶⁶ The combination of Bazu and Khazu closely resembles that of Huz and Buz (*Gen.* xxii. 21). That Huz and Buz both gave names to countries is apparent from the Book of Job (i. 1, and xxxi. 2); and both countries seem to have been in Arabia. (See *Jer.* xxv. 25, and cf. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc.) Bazu, it may be noted, is the nearest possible Assyrian representation of; the Hebrew יִבְזָ.

The names of the king, Lailé, and of the other potentates mentioned, are thoroughly Arabic, as are also the places, some of which are well known. The entire list is as follows:—*Kitsu* (Keis), king of *Khaltil*; *Akbaru* (Acbar), king of *Du-piyat*; *Khabizu*, king of *Qadatsia* (Qades-siyeh); *Yelua*, queen of *Dihyan*; *Man-nuki*, king of *Maraban* (?); *Tabkharu*, king of *Gahvan*; *Leihu*, queen of *Yakhilu*; and *Khabaziru*, king of *Sidah*.

⁵⁶⁷ "Inscriptions," etc., i. s. c.

⁵⁶⁸ It has been disputed how far the expedition of Ailius Gallus in the reign of Augustus (*Strab.* xvi. pp. 1107-1110) penetrated. According to some, it reached Yemen; according to others, it proceeded no further than the eastern foot of the great Nejd chain. (See a note by Dr. W. Smith in his edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," vol. i. pp. 138, 139.)

⁵⁶⁹ Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. v. p. 364, Smith's edition.

⁵⁷⁰ Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 92. Much of Nejd is no doubt a good grazing country, and the best horses in the world are bred in it. But still large portions of it are desert, and the outskirts of Arabia on the north and east are still more arid and desolate.

⁵⁷¹ Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 19. sub flp.

⁵⁷² See above, note ³⁷⁷, and compare pp. 447 and 459.

⁵⁷³ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56.

⁵⁷⁴ On the Khuzeyl, see Loftus, "Chaldaea and Susiana," pp. 38-40; on the Affej, see the same work, pp. 91-93, and Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 551-555. Compare also the present work, p. 25.

⁵⁷⁵ Cattle of some kind or other are certainly mentioned. The marsh region is the special resort of the buffalo. (Layard, p. 553.)

⁵⁷⁶ The *-bijan* or *-bigan* of Azerbaijan may possibly represent the *Bikan* of the inscriptions. Azerbaijan can scarcely be, as commonly supposed, a corruption of Atropatène.

⁵⁷⁷ E.g., Sitirparna or Sitraphernes Eparna or Ophernes, Ramatiya or Ramates, and Zanasana or Zanasanes.

⁵⁷⁸ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57.

⁵⁷⁹ See the passage of Abydenus above quoted, note ⁵⁴⁷. Abydenus, it is almost certain, drew from Berosus.

⁵⁸⁰ It is either to this capture or to a subsequent one under Esar-haddon's son that the prophet Nahum alludes when threatening Nineveh—"Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it; whose rampart was the flood (𐎶) and her wall from the flood?"

Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honorable men; and all her great men were bound in chains." (*Ch.* iii. 8-10.)

⁵⁸¹ On the question of identity see Mr. Stuart Poole's article in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. ii. p. 576. In the Assyrian inscription Thebes is called "Nia."

⁵⁸² Herod. ii. 152.

⁵⁸³ Manetho ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. xx. p. 10.

⁵⁸⁴ See Sir H. Rawlinson's paper in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," New Series, vol. vii. p. 136 et seq. Compare G. Smith in the "Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache" for 1868, p. 94, and the *N. Brit. Review* for July, 1870, pp. 334, 335.

⁵⁸⁵ See text, p. 475; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 348.

⁵⁸⁶ This title, which does not appear on the cylinders, is found on the back of the slabs at the entrance of the S. W. palace at Nimrud, where the sphinxes occur; on a bronze lion dug up at Nebbi Yunus; and on the slabs of the palace which Esar-haddon built at Sherif Khan.

⁵⁸⁷ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

⁵⁸⁸ It is this circumstance that serves to fix the captivity of Manasseh to the reign of Esar-haddon. Otherwise it might as well have fallen into the reign of his son.

⁵⁸⁹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid. verse 13.

⁵⁹¹ It has been supposed that Manasseh may have been released by Esar-haddon's successor, as Jehoiachin was by Nebuchadnezzar's. (Ewald, "Geschichte d. Volkes Israel," vol. iii. p. 678.) And this is certainly possible. But it is a mere conjecture.

⁵⁹² See text, pp. 398, 399, etc.

⁵⁹³ See text, p. 443.

⁵⁹⁴ See 2 Kings xvii. 24.

⁵⁹⁵ See text, p. 439.

⁵⁹⁶ It has been usually supposed that the colonization to which reference is made in Ezra iv. 2, 9, is the same as that whereof an account is given in 2 Kings xvii. 24. But a comparison of the places named will show that the two colonizations are quite distinct. Sargon brought his colonists from Hamath in Cele-Syria, and from four cities in Babylonia—Babylon itself, Cutha, Sippara, and Ava or Ivah. Esar-haddon brought his mainly from Susiana and the countries still further to the east. They were Susianians, Elymæans, Persians (אַפְרָסִי), Dai (דַּי), etc. Those of Esar-haddon's colonists who were furnished by Babylonia came from Babylon and Erech, or Orchoß. The Dinaïtes (דִּנְיָ) were probably from *Dayan*, a country often mentioned in the Inscriptions, which must have adjoined on Cilicia. The Tarpeletes and the Apharsathchites are still unrecognized.

⁵⁹⁷ When wild beasts multiply in a country, we may be sure that its human occupants are diminishing. The danger from lions, of which the first colonists complained to Sargon, is indicative of the depopulation produced by his conquest. (See 2 Kings xvii. 25, 26.)

⁵⁹⁸ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16. Sir H. Rawlinson reads this passage differently. He understands Esar-haddon to say that he "repaired ten of the high-places or strong-holds of Assyria and Babylonia."

⁵⁹⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 30.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.

⁶⁰¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654.

⁶⁰² See text, p. 181.

⁶⁰³ Mr. Fergusson seems to be of opinion that the divisions which broke up this grand room into four parts would not have greatly interfered with the general effect. His account of the apartment is as follows:—

"Its general dimensions are 165 feet in length, by 62 feet in width; and it consequently is the largest hall yet found in Assyria. The architects, however, do not seem to have been quite equal to roofing so large a space, even with the number of pillars with which they seem usually to have crowded their floors (?); and it is consequently divided down the

centre by a wall supporting dwarf columns (?), forming a centre gallery (?), to which access was had (?) by bridge galleries at both ends, a mode of arrangement capable of great variety and picturesqueness of effect, and of which I have little doubt that the builders availed themselves to the fullest extent." ("Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. pp. 176, 177.)

⁶⁰⁴ The excavations were here incomplete. Mr. Layard speaks in one place as if he had uncovered the southern façade of the building ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 655); but his plan ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. opp. p. 34) rather indicates the existence of further rooms in this direction.

⁶⁰⁵ See text, p. 132. Compare "As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. p. 347.

⁶⁰⁶ The sculptures had been removed by the chisel in some cases. (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 29.) I conceive that the intention was to remove them in all.

⁶⁰⁷ Layard, vol. i. pp. 347, 376; vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid. vol. i. p. 348; vol. ii. p. 26.

⁶⁰⁹ The sphinxes were sometimes double; *i.e.* two were placed side by side. (Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.)

⁶¹⁰ "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 462, 463.

⁶¹¹ "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16. Compare above, note ⁵⁹⁸.

⁶¹² 1 Kings v. 6-18; 2 Chr. ii. 3-18.

⁶¹³ Esar-haddon gives a list of twenty-two kings, who supplied him with materials for his palace at Nineveh. Among them are Manasseh, king of Judah; Baal, king of Tyre; Mitinti, king of Ascalon; Puduel, king of Beth-Ammon; Ægisthus, king of Idalium; Pythagoras, king of Citium; Ithodagon, king of Paphos; Euryalus, king of Soli; Damastes, king of Curium; and kings of Edom, Gaza, Ekron, Byblus, Aradus, Ashdod, Salamis, Tamissus, Ammochosta, Limenium, and Aphrodisia. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 397, note ², 2d edition; and compare Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 58.)

⁶¹⁴ Mr. Layard made stealthily a single slight excavation in the Nebbi Yunus mound ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 598), which produced a few fragments bearing the name of Esar-haddon. The Turks afterwards excavated for nearly a year, but without much skill or judgment. They uncovered a long line of wall belonging to a palace of Sennacherib, and also a portion of the palace of Esar-haddon. On the outer surface of the former were winged bulls in high relief, sculptured apparently after the wall was built, each bull covering some ten or twelve distinct blocks of stone. The slab-inscription published in the British Museum Series, Pls. 43 and 44, was obtained from this palace. A bronze lion with legend was obtained from the Esar-haddon palace,

⁶¹⁵ By Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," l. s. c.), and afterwards by Sir H. Rawlinson.

⁶¹⁶ See text, p. 473.

⁶¹⁷ See "British Museum Series," Pl. 8. No. II., l. 11.

⁶¹⁸ Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. v. § 2. "Sub Ezechia enim Seneccherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis octodecim; post quem ejusdem filius, annis octo; tum annis viginti et uno Sammughes." The *octo* here is probably an error of Eusebius or Polyhistor, II' having been mistaken for H.

⁶¹⁹ See text, p. 473.

⁶²⁰ See text, p. 472.

⁶²¹ Urdamané is called "son of the wife of Tarqu." It is conjectured that Tirhakah had married the widow of Sabaco II.

⁶²² Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xlix. No. 661. A stele, however, of another king, whose name is read as *Nut-amun-mi* or *Rut-amun-mi*, is in such close agreement with the record of Asshur-bani-pal as to raise a strong suspicion that he, rather than Rud-Amun, is the monarch with whom Asshur-bani-pal contended. (See the parallel drawn out by Dr. Haigh in the "Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache," January, 1869, pp. 3, 4.)

⁶²³ The Egyptians regarded the reign of Psammetichus as commencing immediately upon the termination of the reign of Tirhakah. (Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 320, 2d

edition.) The Apis stelæ give for the year of Psammetichus's accession b.c. 664. Asshur-bani-pal's second Egyptian expedition was probably in b.c. 666 or 665.

⁶²⁴ Sargon gave one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Cilicia, contemporary with him. (See above, note ³⁸³.)

⁶²⁵ This is his own statement. It is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names are entirely new to us.

⁶²⁶ We learn from this that Gyges was still living in b.c. 667. Herodotus placed his death about nine or ten years earlier. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 287, 2d edition.) But in this he differed from other writers. (See Dionys. Hal. "Ep. ad Cn. Pomp." c. 3; Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 2nda, p. 325; Hieronym. p. 107.) The reigns of the Lydian kings in Herodotus are improbably long.

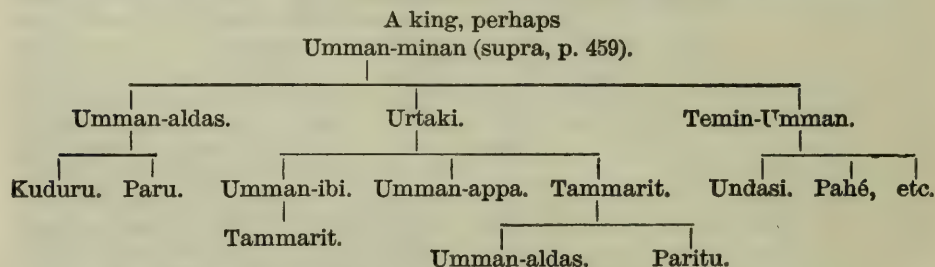
⁶²⁷ The invasion of Lydia by the Cimmerians, which Herodotus assigns to the reign of Ardys, is thus proved to have really occurred in the time of his predecessor.

⁶²⁸ See text, p. 456, and compare the narrative of Herodotus, i. 73.

⁶²⁹ See text, pp. 441, 447, 458, 471, etc.

⁶³⁰ Umman-aldas was subsequently put to death by command of Urtaki, and with the consent of Temin-Umman.

⁶³¹ It may assist the reader towards a clearer comprehension of the narrative in the text to exhibit the genealogical tree of the Susianian royal family at this time, so far as it is known to us.



⁶³² Khidal or Khaidala (Oppert, Fox Talbot) is mentioned also in the annals of Sennacherib. It was the place to which Kudur-Nakhunta fled from Bada-ca. (See text, p. 458.)

⁶³³ Inda-bibi appears to have belonged to the Susianian royal family, and to have held his crown as a sort of appanage or fief.

⁶³⁴ Among the rivers, the Eulæus (Hulai) is distinctly mentioned as that on which Susa was situated.

⁶³⁵ Among these are particularized eighteen images of gods and goddesses, thirty-two statues of former Susianian kings, statues of Kudur-Nakhunta, Tammarit, etc.

⁶³⁶ In a later passage of the annals there is a further mention of Umman-aldas, who appears to have been captured and sent as a prisoner to Nineveh.

⁶³⁷ There can be little doubt that the

"Ionians and Carians," who gave the victory to Psammetichus ("Herod." ii. 152), represent the aid which Gyges sent from Asia Minor.

⁶³⁸ It is a reasonable conjecture that this enemy was the Cimmerians (Lenormant, "Manuel," tom. ii. p. 117); and that the invasion which Herodotus places in the reign of Ardys (i. 15) fell really in that of his father. But it is highly improbable that the invasion took place (as M. Lenormant thinks) at the call of the Assyrians.

⁶³⁹ A lake is mentioned, which apparently was the Sea of Nedjif. (See text, p. 11.)

⁶⁴⁰ The only additional facts mentioned are the reception of tribute from Husuva, a city on the Syrian coast, the capture of Umman-aldas, and the submission of Belat-Duri, king of the Armenians (Urarda).

⁶⁴¹ See the preceding note.

⁶⁴² See text, p. 297. Asshur-bani-pal's love of sport appears further by the figures of his favorite hounds, which he had made in clay, painted, and inscribed with their respective names. (See text, pp. 151 and 212.)

⁶⁴³ See text, p. 297.

⁶⁴⁴ It is Asshur-bani-pal who is represented, see text, p. 296.

⁶⁴⁵ See text, p. 298.

⁶⁴⁶ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 270; Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 77.

⁶⁴⁷ The greater part of the tablets, and more especially those of a literary character, are evidently copies of more ancient documents, since a blank is constantly left where the original was defective, and a gloss entered, "wanting." There are a large number of religious documents, prayers, invocations, etc., together with not a few juridical treatises (the fines, e.g., to be levied for certain social offences); and finally, there are the entire contents of a Registry office—deeds of sale and barter referring to land, houses, and every species of property, contracts, bonds for loans, benefactions, and various other kinds of legal instruments. A selection from the tablets has been published, and a further selection is now being prepared for publication by Sir H. Rawlinson.

⁶⁴⁸ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 345.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁶⁵⁰ As especially the chronological scheme drawn from seven different tablets, which has been called "the Assyrian Canon."

⁶⁵¹ See Pl. XLI., Fig. 2.

⁶⁵² So far as appeared, only one doorway led from the rest of the palace to these western rooms.

⁶⁵³ Here was the representation of the royal garden, with vines, lilies, and flowers of different kinds (see Pl. XLVIII., Fig. 2, and Pl. LXIX., Fig. 1), among which musicians and tame lions were walking.

⁶⁵⁴ See Pl. LXII., Fig. 1.

⁶⁵⁵ See Pl. CXV.

⁶⁵⁶ See Pls. LXVIII. and LXIX.

⁶⁵⁷ See Pl. LXXIII.

⁶⁵⁸ See Pl. LII.

⁶⁵⁹ See Pl. L. The temple (No. V., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4) also belongs to this monarch.

⁶⁶⁰ See Pls. CXXIX. and CXXXII.

⁶⁶¹ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 446-459.

⁶⁶² "Monuments," Second Series, Pls. 45 to 49.

⁶⁶³ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 459.

⁶⁶⁴ Or Anchiale. (See Arrian, "Exp. Alex." ii. 5; Apollod. Fr. 69; Hellanic. Fr. 158; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Av." 1021, etc.)

⁶⁶⁵ See text, p. 460.

⁶⁶⁶ See, besides the authors quoted above, note ⁶⁶⁴, Strab. xiv. p. 958, and Athen. "Deipn." xii. 7, p. 530, B.

⁶⁶⁷ Clearchus said that the inscription was simply, "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day—yet now he is dead" (ap. Athen. l. s. c.). Aristobulus gave the inscription in the form quoted above (Strab. l. s. c.; Athen. l. s. c.). Later writers enlarged upon the theme of this last version, and turned it into six or seven hexameter lines (Strab. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. ii. 33; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Av." 1021). Amyntas said that the tomb of Sardanapalus was at Nineveh, and gave a completely different inscription (Athen. l. s. c.). I regard all these tales as nearly worthless.

⁶⁶⁸ See Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3.

⁶⁶⁹ I incline to believe that the so-called tomb of Sardanapalus was in reality the stele set up by Sennacherib (as related by Polyhistor, see above note ⁵⁶⁶) on his conquest of Cilicia and settlement of Tarsus. I cannot agree with those who see in the architectural emblem on the coins of Tarsus a representation of the monument in question. (See M. Raoul Rochette's *Memoir* in the "Mémoires de l'Institut," tom. xvii.) That emblem appears to me to be the temple of a god.

⁶⁷⁰ As Diodorus Siculus (ii. 23-27); Cephalion (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. xv.); Justin, l. 3; Mos. Chor. "Hist. Armen." l. 20; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 8; Clearch. Sol. Fr. 5; Duris Sam. Fr. 14; etc.

⁶⁷¹ In one point only does the character of Asshur-bani-pal, as revealed to us by his monuments, show the least resemblance to that of the Sardanapalus of Ctesias. Asshur-bani-pal desired and secured to himself a multitude of wives. On almost every occasion of the suppression of a revolt, he required the conquered vassal to send to Nineveh, together with his tribute, one or more of his daughters. These princesses became inmates of his hareem. (See Mr. G. Smith's article in the *N. British Review* July, 1870, p. 344.)

⁶⁷² On the wealth and power of Gyges, see Herod. l. 14; and compare Arist. "Rhet." iii. 17; Plutarch, ii. p. 470, C.

⁶⁷³ The short revolt of Saül-Mugina (see text, p. 481), which was begun and ended within a year, is an unimportant exception to the general rule of tranquil possession.

⁶⁷⁴ Asshur-bani-pal raised a temple to Ishtar at Koyunjik (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 497, and repaired a shrine of the same goddess at Arbela (*ibid.* p. 522).

⁶⁷⁵ Hellanic. Fr. 158.

⁶⁷⁶ Suidas ad voc. Σάρδαναπαλος.

⁶⁷⁷ Herod. ii. 150.

⁶⁷⁸ Aristoph. "Av." l. 988, ed. Bothe.

⁶⁷⁹ Ezek. xxxi. 3-8.

⁶⁸⁰ Nahum ii. 12.

⁶⁸¹ See text, pp. 448, 458, 471, and 472.

⁶⁸² The great Asshur-izir-pal (b.c. 884-859) was apparently the most cruel of all the Assyrian kings. (See above, note

⁶⁸¹) Asshur-bani-pal does not exactly revive his practices; but he acts in his spirit.

⁶⁸³ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 457 and 458.

⁶⁸⁴ Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 49; compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 452.

⁶⁸⁵ "Monuments," Pl. 47.

⁶⁸⁶ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458; "Monuments," Pl. 48.

⁶⁸⁷ Nahum iii. 1.

⁶⁸⁸ Lenormant, "Manual," vol. ii. p. 114.

⁶⁸⁹ Asshur-bani-pal distinctly states that when he conquered Babylon, and put Saül-Mugina to death (see text, p. 481), he ascended the Babylonian throne himself. Numerous tablets exist, dated by his regnal years at Babylon. The eponyms assignable to his reign are, at the lowest computation, twenty-six or twenty-seven. Add to this that the king of Babylon, who followed Sammaghes (Saül-Mugina), is distinctly stated by Polyhistor to have been *his brother* (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 5, § 2), and to have reigned at Babylon 21 years; and the conclusion seems inevitable that Asshur-bani-pal is Cinneladanus, however different the names, and that his entire reign was one of 42 years, from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626.

⁶⁹⁰ Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθαρῆ, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός. (Herod. i. 102.)

⁶⁹¹ Herod. i. 103.

⁶⁹² See text, p. 37.

⁶⁹³ Compare the stories as to the first invasion of Italy by the Gauls. (Niebuhr's "Roman History," vol. ii. p. 510, E. T.)

⁶⁹⁴ Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua, et locis*, c. vi. p. 558.

⁶⁹⁵ Herod. iv. 75. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ λοῦνται ὑδατι τοπαράπαν τὸ σῶμα.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid. ch. 73.

⁶⁹⁷ It seems to have been only the women who made use of this latter substitute. (Ibid. ch. 75.)

⁶⁹⁸ Ἀμαξόβιοι or φερέοικοι. (See Herod. iv. 46; Hes. Frs. 121 and 222, ed Göttling; Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua*, etc., § 44; Æschyl. "P. V." 734-736; etc.)

⁶⁹⁹ Herodotus describes these tents (i. 73) as composed of woollen felts arranged around three bent sticks inclined towards one another. Æschylus calls them *πλεκτὰς στέγας*, perhaps regarding the covering as composed of mats rather than felts. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iii. p. 54, note 4, 2d edition.)

⁷⁰⁰ Γλακτοφάγοι ἱππημολγοί (Hom. Il. xiii. 6, 7; Hes. Fr. 122; Herod. iv. 2; Callimach. "Hymn. ad Dian." l. 252; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 123; etc.)

⁷⁰¹ Herod. iv. 61. So too the modern Calmucks. (See De Hell's "Travels in the Steppes," p. 244, E. T.)

⁷⁰² Herod. iv. 64, 65.

⁷⁰³ Herod. iv. 46. Compare Æschyl. "P. V." l. 736.

⁷⁰⁴ Herod. iv. 70.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid. chs. 17-20.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid. ch. 81.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid. ch. 59.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid. ch. 62.

⁷⁰⁹ Herod. iv. 68, 69.

⁷¹⁰ The Scythians Proper of Herodotus and Hippocrates extended from the Danube and the Carpathians on the one side to the Tanais or Don upon the other. The Sauromatæ, a race at least half-Scythic (Herod. iv. 110-117), then succeeded, and held the country from the Tanais to the Wolga. Beyond this were the Massagetæ, Scythian in dress and customs (ib. i. 215), reaching down to the Jaxartes on the east side of the Caspian. In the same neighborhood were the Asiatic Scyths or Sacæ, who seem to have bordered upon the Bactrians.

⁷¹¹ The opinion of Herodotus that they entered Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians is childish, and may safely be set aside. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 301, 2d edition; compare Mr. Grote's "History of Greece," vol. ii. p. 431, 2d edition.) The two movements may, however, have been in some degree connected, both resulting from some great disturbance among the races peopling the Steppe region.

⁷¹² On the employment of slaves by the Scythians, see Herod. iv. 1-4.

⁷¹³ Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. iv. pp. 239-245, Smith's edition.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid. vol. v. pp. 170-172.

⁷¹⁵ Herod. i. 106; iv. 1, etc.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid. ii. 157.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid. i. 105.

⁷¹⁸ The tale connecting the Enarees with the Syrian Venus and the sack of Scalon (ibid.) seems to glance at this source of weakness.

⁷¹⁹ Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

⁷²⁰ Ibid. i. 73.

⁷²¹ The Sacassani or Sacasinæ were first mentioned by the historians of Alexander (Arrian, "Exp. Al." iii. 8). Their country, Sacasênê, is regarded as a part of Armenia by Strabo (xi. p. 767), Eustathius (ad Dionys. Per. l. 750), and others. It lay towards the north-east, near Albania and Iberia. (Plin. "H. N." vi. 10; Arrian, l. s. c.)

⁷²² The earliest mention of Scythopolis is probably that in the LXX. version of Judges (i. 27), where it is identified with Beth-shean or Beth-shan. The first profane writer who mentions it is Polybius (v. 70, § 4). No writer states how it obtained the name, until we come down to Syncellus (ab. A.D. 800), who connects the change with this invasion.

⁷²³ The palaces at Calah (Nimrud) must, I think, have been burnt before the last king commenced the S.E. edifice. Those of Nineveh may have escaped till the capture by the Medes.

⁷²⁴ Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can."

⁷²⁵ See "British Museum Series," Pl. viii. No. 3.

⁷²⁶ Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. ix.: "Post quem (*i.e.*, Sardapanallum) Saracus imperitabat Assyriis: qui quidem certior factus turmarum vulgi collecticiarum quæ à mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat; moxque raptim contra Ninum, seu Ninivem, urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita, rex Saracus regiam Evoritam (?) inflammabat." Compare the parallel passage of Syncellus:—Ὅτος (ὁ Ναβοπολάσαρος) στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκων τοῦ Χαλδαίου βασιλέως σταλεῖς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκων εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει· οὐ τὴν ἐφοδὸν πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος, ἐαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνέπρησεν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπολάσαρος. "Chronograph." p. 210, B.

⁷²⁷ Ap. eund. c. v. § 2. Polyhistor here makes Sammughes succeeded by his brother after a reign of 21 years; and then gives this "brother" a reign of the same duration. After him he places Nabopolassar, to whom he assigns 20 years. In the next section there is an omission (as the text now stands) either of this "brother" or of Nabopolassar—probably of the latter.

⁷²⁸ As especially in Susiana (see text, p. 499).

⁷²⁹ Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 655.

⁷³⁰ See Mr. Layard's plan ("Nineveh and its Remains," p. 39).

⁷³¹ Abydenus, l. s. c.

⁷³² Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

⁷³³ I do not regard this date as possessing much value, since the Median chronology of Herodotus is purely artificial. (See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 340-342.) I incline to believe that the Scythian invasion took place earlier than Herodotus allows, and that eight or ten years intervened between the first appearance of the Scyths in Media and the second siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares.

⁷³⁴ The "turmae vulgi collecticiæ quæ à mari adversus Saracum adventabant" (Abyd. l. s. c.) can only, I think, be Susianians, or Susianians assisted by Chaldeans.

⁷³⁵ See above, note ⁷²⁶; and compare Polyhistor (ap. Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 210 A.), Τοῦτον [τὸν Ναβοπολάσαρον] ὁ Πολύιστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλον καλεῖ πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀλστυνάην σατράπην Μηδείας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀμνίτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν Ναβουχοδονάτωρα.

Or, as Eusebius reports him ("Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. iv.), "Sardanapallus ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam."

⁷³⁶ See besides Abydenus and Polyhistor, Tobit xiv. 15 (where both kings, however are wrongly named), and Joseph. "Ant. Jud." x. 5, § 1.

⁷³⁷ Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars Ima, c. ix. p. 25; Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 210, B.

⁷³⁸ The self-immolation of Saracus has a parallel in the conduct of the Israelitish king, Zimri, who, "when he saw that the city was taken, went into the palace of the king's house, and burnt the king's house over him, and died" (1 Kings xvi. 18); and again in that of the Persian governor, Boges, who burnt himself with his wives and children at Eion (Herod. vii. 107).

⁷³⁹ See Diod. Sic. ii. 24-27. According to Ctesias, the Medes were accompanied by the Persians, and the Babylonians by some Arabian allies. The assailing army numbered 400,000. In the first engagement the Assyrians were victorious, and the attacking army had to fly to the mountains (Zagros). A second and a third attempt met with no better success. The fortune of war first changed on the arrival of a contingent from Bactria, who joined the assailants in a night attack on the Assyrian camp, which was completely successful. The Assyrian monarch sought the shelter of his capital, leaving his army under the command of his brother-in-law Salæmenes. Salæmenes was soon defeated and slain; and the siege of the city then commenced. It continued for more than two years without result. In the third year an unusually wet season caused the river to rise extraordinarily, and destroy above two miles (?) of the city wall; upon which the king, whom an oracle had told to fear nothing till the river became his enemy, despaired, and making a funeral pile of all his richest furniture, burnt himself with his concubines and his eunuchs in his palace. The Medes and their allies then entered the town on the side which the flood had laid open, and after plundering it, destroyed it.

⁷⁴⁰ The author has transferred these observations, with such alterations as the progress of discovery has rendered necessary, from an Essay "On the Chronology and History of the great Assyrian Empire," which he published in 1858, in his "Herodotus." He found that eight years of additional study of the subject had changed none of his views, and that if he wrote a new "Summary," he would merely repeat in other words what he had already written with a good deal of care. Under these circumstances, and having reason to believe that the present work is read in quarters to which his ver.

sion of Herodotus never penetrated, he has thought that a republication of his former remarks would be open to no valid objection.

⁷⁴¹ See text, p. 381.

⁷⁴² See text, p. 484.

⁷⁴³ The homage of the Lydian kings, Gyges and Ardys, to Asshur-bani-pal scarcely constitutes a real subjection of Lydia to Assyria.

⁷⁴⁴ 1 Kings iv. 21. Compare ver. 24; and for the complete organization of the empire, see ch. x., where it appears that the kings "brought every man his present, a rate year by year" (ver. 25); and that the amount of the annual revenue from all sources was 666 talents of gold (ver. 14). See also 2 Chron. ix. 13-28, and Ps. lxxii. 8-11.

⁷⁴⁵ Our own, for instance, and the Austrian.

⁷⁴⁶ There are several cases of this kind in the Inscriptions. ("Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 145; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56, etc.) Perhaps the visit of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 10) was of this character.

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. Ps. lxxii. 11: "All kings shall fall down before him." This is said primarily of Solomon. The usual expression in the Inscriptions is that the subject kings "kissed the sceptre" of the Assyrian monarchs.

⁷⁴⁸ See 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the Inscriptions *passim*.

⁷⁴⁹ Josiah perhaps perished in the performance of this duty (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxv. 20-23.)

⁷⁵⁰ In some empires of this type, the subject states have an additional obligation—that of furnishing contingents to swell the armies of the dominant power. But there is no clear evidence of the Assyrians having raised troops in this way. The testimony of the book of Judith is worthless; and perhaps the circumstance that Nebuchodonosor is made to collect his army from all quarters (as the Persians were wont to do) may be added to the proofs elsewhere adduced (see the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 195, 2d ed.) of the lateness of its composition. We do not find, either in Scripture or in the Inscriptions, any proof of the Assyrian armies being composed of others than the dominant race. Mr. Vance Smith assumes the contrary ("Prophecies," etc., pp. 92, 183, 201); but the only passage which is important among all those explained by him in this sense (Isa. xxii. 6) is somewhat doubtfully referred to an attack on Jerusalem by the Assyrians. Perhaps it is the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar which forms the subject of the prophetic vision, as Babylon has been the main figure in the preceding chapter. The negative of course cannot be proved; but there seem to be no grounds for concluding that "the various subject races were incorporated into the Assyrian army." An As-

syrian army, it should be remembered, does not ordinarily exceed one, or at most two, hundred thousand men.

⁷⁵¹ This is an expression not uncommon in the Inscriptions. We may gather from a passage in Sennacherib's annals, where it occurs, that the Assyrian tribute was of the nature either of a poll-tax or of a land-tax. For when portions of Hezekiah's dominions were taken from him and bestowed on neighboring princes, the Assyrian king tells us that "according as he increased the dominions of the other chiefs, so he augmented the amount of tribute which they were to pay to the imperial treasury."

⁷⁵² It is not always easy to separate the tribute from the presents, as the tribute itself is sometimes paid partly in kind (see text, p. 384); but in the case of Hezekiah we may clearly draw the distinction, by comparing Scripture with the account given by Sennacherib. The tribute in this instance was "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 14); the additional presents were, 500 talents of silver, various mineral products, thrones and beds and rich furniture, the skins and horns of beasts, coral, ivory, and amber.

⁷⁵³ The Assyrian kings are in the habit of cutting cedar and other timber in Lebanon and Amanus. Tiglath-Pileser I. derived marbles from the country of the Nairi (see text, p. 387).

⁷⁵⁴ "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 137, 148, etc. Sennacherib uses Phœnicians to construct his vessels on the Tigris and to navigate them. (See text, p. 457.)

⁷⁵⁵ The numbers are often marvellous. Sennacherib in one foray drives off 7200 horses, 11,000 mules, 5230 camels, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep! Sometimes the sheep and oxen are said to be "countless as the stars of heaven."

⁷⁵⁶ The usual modes of punishment are beheading and empaling. Asshur-izir-pal empales on one occasion "thirty chiefs;" on another he beheads 250 warriors; on a third he empales captives on every side of the rebellious city. Compare the conduct of Darius (Herod. iii. 159).

⁷⁵⁷ This frequently takes place. (See text, pp. 398, 399, etc.) Hezekiah evidently expects an augmentation when he says, "That which thou puttest upon me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14).

⁷⁵⁸ It has been noticed (see text, pp. 449 and 450) that Sennacherib carried into captivity from Judæa more than 200,000 persons, and an equal or greater number from the tribes along the Euphrates. The practice is constant, but the numbers are not commonly given.

⁷⁵⁹ As the Aramæans, Chaldæans, Armenians, and Cilicians, by Sennacherib (see text, p. 465), and the numerous captives who built his temples and palaces, by Sargon ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31). The captives may be seen engaged in their labors, under taskmasters, upon the monuments. (See Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 1.)

⁷⁶⁰ See the annals of Asshur-izir-pal, where, however, the numbers carried off are small—in one case 2600, in another 2500, in others 1200, 500, and 300. Women at this period are carried off in vast numbers, and become the wives of the soldiery. Tiglath-Pileser II. is the first king who practises deportation on a large scale.

⁷⁶¹ By Sargon (see text, p. 443).

⁷⁶² 2 Kings xvii. 6.

⁷⁶³ 2 Kings xvii. 24; and Ezra iv. 9.

⁷⁶⁴ The case of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29), which may appear an exception, does not belong to Assyrian, but rather to Babylonian, history.

⁷⁶⁵ Gen. xiv. 1–12. See text, pp. 105, 106.

⁷⁶⁶ Babylonia and Susiana are the only large countries bordering upon Assyria which appear to have been in any degree centralized. But even in Babylonia there are constantly found cities which have independent kings, and Chaldæa was always under a number of chieftains.

⁷⁶⁷ In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. and Asshur-izir-pal, each city of Mesopotamia and Syria seems to have its king. Twelve kings of the Hittites, twenty-four kings of the Tibareni (*Tubal*), and twenty-seven kings of the *Partsu*, are mentioned by Shalmaneser II. The Phœnician and Philistine cities are always separate and independent. In Media and Bikan, during the reign of Esar-haddon, every town has its chief. Armenia is perhaps less divided: still it is not permanently under a single king.

⁷⁶⁸ Although Assyria came into contact with Median tribes as early as the reign of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 850), yet the Median kingdom which conquered Assyria must be regarded as a new formation—the consequence of a great immigration from the East, perhaps led by Cyaxares.

⁷⁶⁹ See text, p. 389.

⁷⁷⁰ It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and, of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi. 10), was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.

⁷⁷¹ See text, pp. 440, 441, 447, etc.

⁷⁷² For one exception in this district, see text, p. 468. Another is furnished by the Assyrian Canon, which gives a prefect of Arpad as Eponym in B.C. 692. The general continuance, however, of native kings in these parts is strongly marked by the list of 22 subject monarchs in an inscription of Esar-haddon (see above, note ⁶¹³).

⁷⁷³ The old scientific treatises appear to have been in the Hamitic dialect of the Proto-Chaldæans. It was not till the time of Asshur-bani-pal that translations were made to any great extent.

⁷⁷⁴ *Quarterly Rev.*, No. clxvii., pp. 150, 151.

⁷⁷⁵ See text, pp. 222–225.

⁷⁷⁶ See text, p. 233.

⁷⁷⁷ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197.

⁷⁷⁸ Long before the discovery of the Nimrud lens it had been concluded that the Assyrians used magnifying glasses, from the fact that the inscriptions were often so minute that they could not possibly be read, and therefore could not have been formed without them. (See text, pp. 168 and 234.)

APPENDIX.

¹ Isaiah viii. 3.

² The list of Eponyms in the famous Canon, which contains nearly 250 names, furnishes (according to the reading of M. Oppert) one exception to this rule—the Eponym of the 18th year of Asshur-izir-pal. Mr. G. Smith finds in the name, however, only four elements.

³ *Gin* or *gina* is the Turanian equivalent of the Assyrian *kin* or *kina*.

⁴ Or Saül-mugina may be in good Turanian "Saül establishes me," the syllable *mu* being a separate element, sometimes equivalent to our "me."

⁵ Other names of this kind are Abdi-Milkut (see text, p. 468), Abdolominus (or rather Abdaloninus), Abed-Nego, Abd-er-Kahman, Abd-el-Kader.

⁶ So Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol. ii. p. 352.

⁷ Sir H. Rawlinson believes *Zira* to mean "lord," as *Zirat* certainly means "lady," "mistress," or "wife," *Bitzira* would thus be "the Lord's house," or "the holy house."

⁸ See text, p. 355.

⁹ "Expédition scientifique," l. s. c.

¹⁰ Asshur-izir-pal seems to be the true name of the king who was formerly called Sardanapalus I. or Asshur-idanni-pal.

¹¹ See text, p. 174. In Semitic Babylonian *pal* becomes *bal*, as in Merodach-baladan, "Merodach has given a son;" whence the transition to the Syriac *bar* (as in Bar-Jesus, Bar-Jonas, etc.) was easy.

¹² Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 244 note ⁷. *Elam*, "high," is to be connected with **על** and **מצלה**.

¹³ See text, p. 509.

¹⁴ Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 243, note ².

¹⁵ In the list of Eponyms, six names out of nearly 250 are composed of four elements.

¹⁶ *Danin* is Benoni of a root **דן** constantly used in Assyrian in the sense of "being strong" or "strengthening." *Sarru dannu*, "the powerful king," is the standard expression in all the royal inscriptions. The root has not, I believe, any representative in other Semitic languages.

¹⁷ Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol. ii. p. 355.

¹⁸ Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 502, 2d ed.

¹⁹ See text, p. 510.

²⁰ These five kings bear only two names,

Pud-Ī and Shalmaneser, the latter of which occurs four times in our list. Various explanations have been given of the name Shalmaneser (see *Athenæum*, No 1869, p. 244, note ⁵; Oppert, "Expédition scientifique," vol. ii. p. 352); but none is satisfactory.

²¹ Sargon, Adrammelech, and Sharezer. Even here some doubt attaches to one name. If we read Sanasar for Sharezer, the name will be a religious one.

²² *I.e.*, they either contain the name Nin, or the common designation of the god, *Pa'-Zira*.

²³ This is the name which has been given as Vul-lush, a name composed of three elements, each one of which is of uncertain sound, while the second and third are also of uncertain meaning.

²⁴ Sir H. Rawlinson has collected a list of nearly a thousand Assyrian names. About two-thirds of them have the name of a god for their dominant element. As-shur and Nebo hold the foremost place, and are of about equal frequency. The other divine names occur much less often than these, and no one of them has any particular prominence.

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A MAP OF MEDIA



