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OUTLINE
OF
THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA,
AS COLLECTED FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS
DISCOVERED BY
AUSTIN HENRY LAYARD, ESQ.
IN THE RUINS OF
NINEVEH.

BY
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PRINTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.
1852.

[THE following Paper was intended by Colonel Rawlinson to form part of the Annual Report, but was received too late for insertion. It was therefore read at the first General Meeting after the anniversary. Colonel Rawlinson, in a letter, dated at the camp, Nineveh, 11th April, 1852, states that the paper was drawn up for the information of the Council—"in great haste, amid torrents of rain, in a little tent upon the mound of Nineveh, without any aids beyond a pocket Bible, a note-book of inscriptions, and a tolerably retentive memory."—It is intended to gratify public curiosity upon a subject of vast and daily increasing interest.

Mr. Layard having been present at the reading, and having, at the request of the Council offered a few remarks on this interesting subject, he was requested to commit them to writing, and they are here appended to Colonel Rawlinson's important communication.]

OUTLINE OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY,

COLLECTED FROM THE

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

EVERY new fact which is brought to light from the study of the Cuneiform inscriptions tends to confirm the scriptural account of the primitive seat of empire having been established in Lower Chaldæa, or in the neighbouring district of Susiana. From hence a migration must have taken place in a western direction to the land of Shinar, or *Sinkar*, the name of which is still preserved in the ruins now called *Senkerekh*. Throughout the Babylonian monuments, that is, on the bricks found at *Niffer*, at *Senkerekh* and at *Warka*, as well as on the tablets of Nebuchadnezzar, the city in question is named *Sikkara* or *Sinkareh*; and Colonel Rawlinson conjectures that the “Lanchara” of Berosus, which was the capital of the original Chaldæan dynasty, is a mistake of some ancient copyist for “Sanchara.” In dependence upon this capital were the contiguous cities of *Niffer* and *Warka*.—The former was named *Tel Anu*, from the God *Anu*, who was worshipped there, and who was no other, as it would seem, than the Patriarch Noah deified; for Noah is still worshipped by the Sabæans of the neighbouring parts under the name of *Anukh*, and Berosus describes the Fish-god Oannes, who came up from the sea, and first civilized mankind, and who has thus been frequently identified with Noah, in terms which are exactly applicable to the God *Anu*, as he is depicted on the walls of the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh. Histæus alludes, perhaps, to this same worship of Noah at *Niffer*

and Senkereh, in the curious notice he has left of the preservation of the relics of Jupiter Ennalius by the people of Senaar, in the land of Babylon. Colonel Rawlinson has not been yet able to read with any precision the name of the city of *Warka* upon the bricks which have been found there, but as this city is sometimes denoted on the bricks by a monogram for "the Moon," and was further celebrated for the worship of that deity, it may be allowable to compare the name with the Hebrew יָרַח, *yerahh*, the Babylonian language, like the Arabic, invariably substituting *vau* for *yod* as an initial; and the derivation thus given further explains the name of *Kαμπίνη*, assigned by Eupolemus to the same city (Eus. Præp. l. 9, 17), *Camarina* being from قمر *Kamar*, as *Warka* from יָרַח, *yerahh*. It is further probable that אֶרֶךְ, *Erech*, in Genesis x. 10, is another form of the same name. Bochart translates *Ur* by "*vallis*," quoting Isaiah xxiv. 15; but it is more likely that אֶרֶךְ אֱרֵר simply means "the city of the Chaldæans," *Ur* being Babylonian for *Ir* עִיר, with the usual change of vowels and the softening of ע, which the Babylonian alphabet wanted, into א.

As *Warka*, moreover, was a holy city, and as it exhibits at present the appearance of a vast Necropolis, there probably are to be sought the ruins of the tombs of the old Assyrian kings, which were an object of curiosity to Alexander, and which are laid down in that exact locality in the old monkish map usually called the Pentingerian tables.

Whilst the seat of Semitic empire was still upon the Lower Tigris, and before the building, perhaps, either of Babylon or Nineveh, that remarkable expedition to Palestine must have taken place, which is described in Genesis, and in which are found the vassal kings of Shinar and Ellasar, ranged under the banners of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. The capital of Chedorlaomer was no doubt the same great city of *Kar Duniyas*, which is mentioned in all the Assyrian inscriptions as the metropolis of the lower country, and which either occupied the after site of Susa, or some other position nearer to the mouth of the Kerkha. Of such celebrity, indeed, was this city in remote antiquity, that the Assyrian monarchs sometimes name it as their primeval seat; but it is more probable that the family which founded Nineveh had previously dwelt at "Niffer," for Stephen mentions *Tel Ani* (Τελάνη) as the native place of the Assyrian kings before Nineveh was built, and *Tel Anu* is the actual name of "Niffer" upon the bricks.

When the original emigration took place from the eastward, which peopled Assyria and Babylonia Proper, we are not likely of course to learn from the inscriptions, the relics of a very much later age ; nor, indeed, can we fix at present the period of the establishment of a monarchy, either in Babylon or Nineveh. Colonel Rawlinson believes, however, that the original colonists are alluded to by Moses under the name of "Nimrod," which is the regular passive participle of an Assyrian verb, and signifies "those who are found" or "the settlers ;" and he considers that the names of the eight primeval cities which are preserved in the 10th chapter of Genesis, are not intended to denote capitals then actually built and named, but rather to point out the localities where the first colonies were established, by titles which became famous under the empire, and which were thus alone familiar to the Jews.

That the city of Babylon, indeed, was a comparatively recent site may be inferred from the 13th verse of the 23rd chapter of Isaiah, where the prophet expressly says that it did not exist "till the Assyrians founded it for them that dwelt in the wilderness ;" while a fragment of Dicaearchus, preserved by Stephen, attributes the building of the city to a colony of Chaldaean emigrants from Choge (Xωγη) within limits of time which may be termed historical ; a remarkable point in favour of the truth of this tradition being that the name of "Coche" has been handed down to us by Greek and Roman authors, by the Syrians, the Sabæans, and the Arabs, as the particular designation of the territory between the Tigris and the Kerkha, where the seat of empire was originally placed.

Nothing has been yet found in the inscriptions which throws any direct light on the period of the foundation either of Babylon or of Nineveh. Colonel Rawlinson, however, thinks that the two events were nearly synchronous, and if obliged to assign an approximate date, he would fix on the thirteenth century before the Christian era. In the earliest Assyrian inscriptions, although there are frequent allusions to the ancestors of the kings, and in one instance even to the founder of the empire, there is no indication of that remote antiquity where history loses itself in fable and mythology. On the contrary, it is evident that in the eighth century B.C., the genealogical succession of the kings, from the commencement of the line, was generally and familiarly known. The Assyrian records, moreover, were undoubtedly in the hands of the Chaldaean priests who conversed with Herodotus in Babylon, and as the Greek traveller was at the time collecting materials for his history of Assyria, it may be presumed that he had their authority for assigning to the Ninevite empire a duration of

520 years anterior to the Median defection. At any rate, the statement of Herodotus, which thus confines the origin of the empire within the limits of the thirteenth century B.C., is far more in consonance with the internal evidence of the inscriptions, than the exaggerated estimate of Ctesias and the Chronologers who have followed him.

The most important, and, at the same time, the most difficult branch of study connected with the Cuneiform Inscriptions, is that which relates to the Pantheon; important, because the names of the kings, and sometimes even the names of the countries which they rule over, are composed of the names of the gods; difficult, because these names of the gods are usually expressed by arbitrary monograms, because several monograms often apply indifferently to the same god, and because many of the gods have, to all appearance, distinct and independent titles, in Syria, in Assyria, and in Babylonia. Colonel Rawlinson has bestowed much labour on this intricate branch of inquiry, but he has only in a partial degree overcome its difficulty; he has identified most of the deities worshipped by the Assyrians with the gods and goddesses of the Greek mythology, but in a few instances only has he satisfied himself of the vernacular pronunciation of the title.

He presents, however, the following brief sketch of the Pantheon:—

(1) *Assur*, the patriarch “Asshur” deified; Biblical “Nisroch;” the tutelar divinity of Assyria, and the head of their Pantheon, but unknown to the Babylonians.

(2) *Anu*, the patriarch “Noah” deified; “Oannes” of Berosus; the name occurs frequently in composition: compare the nymph *Anobret* of Sanchoniathon, “beloved of Anu;” *Telani*, “hill of Anu,” native place of the Assyrian monarchs; and the name of *Shalman*, or “Shalmaneser,” which in the Inscriptions is *Sallam Anu*, “the likeness of Anu.”

(3) *Bel*, Belus or Jupiter, called on the obelisk “husband of *Derceto*,” and “father of the gods,” but not easily to be recognised in the later Inscriptions, as the title *Bel*, with a qualificative adjunct, was applicable to several other divinities.

(4) *Derceto*, or Semiramis, “mother of the gods.” The native name was perhaps *Tarkat*, for which our copies of the Bible have *Tartak*, as the deity of the Avites (2 Kings xvii. 31). A famous temple of “Atargatis” is thus described by Isidore, at “Besechan,” or “Ava,” on the Euphrates, near Hit, and all that part of Babylonia is distinguished in the Inscriptions by the name of the goddess. *Tarkat* was the spe-

cial divinity of the first Assyrian dynasty, her name being usually attached to that of the king, and hence the family were named *Dereetades* by the Greeks. This fact also explains the pretended descent of the Assyrian kings from Semiramis. The most important discovery, however, resulting from this identification of Derceto is, that we are enabled to read the standard epithet of Sargina as *Tarkat pil Assur*, and thus to understand at length that the names of "Tiglath Pileser" and "Shalmaneser" are mere titles of king "Sargon;" the wars related in Scripture of these three individuals being referable to that one single monarch, whose annals are inscribed on the marble tablets of Khursabad.

(5) "Saturn," whose name is perhaps to be read "*Moloch*," and who is sometimes placed at the head of the Pantheon, being styled the chief of the four thousand gods who inhabit the heavens and the earth.

(6) The planet "Mars," called *Merodach* by the Babylonians (whence the *Mirrikh* of the Arabs), but distinguished perhaps by another name at Nineveh (the Greeks say *Thurra* or *Tur*). He is called "the god of battles," and temples and memorial tablets to him abound both in Assyria and Babylonia. *Merodach* and *Nebo*, or "Mars" and "Mercury," were the tutelar gods of Nebuchadnezzar, and the long Inscription at the East India House is almost entirely devoted to their glorification.

(7) "The Sun," one of whose names was *Shamas*, as in Hebrew and Arabic, but who seems to have been known by several other titles. He is called "the guardian of the heavens and the earth," and temples were erected in his honour in all the chief cities of Babylonia.

(8) The god *San*, whose title is found in the names of *Sennacherib*, *Sanballat*, &c., but whose character has not been yet identified.

(9) "Diaua," associated with *Derceto*, of whom she seems to have been the daughter, and represented everywhere by a naked female figure. She was called *Tanath*, or *Alath* ("Alitta"), in Syria, as in the title of *Vabalathus* on the coins, for "Artemidorus;" and according to Herodotus, her Assyrian name was *Myllita*. But though her monograms can be everywhere recognized and her attributes partially explained, nothing has been yet found in the Inscriptions to show how the name was pronounced either at Nineveh or Babylon.

(10) *Hadad*, or *Adar*, "the god of fire," son of *Anu* or *Noah*, represented symbolically by *flames*, and called "the vivifier of mankind," "the life of heaven and earth," &c. That the Syrian designation of this deity was *Hadad* is shown by the Biblical title of "Ben Hadad," king of Damascus, of whose name, as it is found on the obelisk, the monogram of the "fire-god" forms the principal element.

Josephus, however, and the Greeks, frequently write "Ader," instead of "Hadad," and "*Adar*" is the true Babylonian word for "fire," as in the names *Adrammelech*, *Adrameles*, *Atropates*, &c. The Sepharvites worshipped this god when they burned their children in fire to *Adrammelech*. "Hadad," who is called by Sanchoniathon "king of the gods," was principally worshipped in Syria, and thus, according to Nicolaus, all the kings of the Damascus family assumed the name. His figure, as it is described by Macrobius, with rays darting downwards to express beneficence, is frequently seen on the Assyrian monuments.

(11) *Ashteroth*, or "Venus;" the name is written *Yastara* in the Inscriptions, and is frequently used as a generic appellation for all the goddesses of the Pantheon, like the *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth* of Scripture. In Babylonian she is called "the queen of heaven and earth," and seems to be confounded with *Nana*, the *Nannaia* of the Greeks, and *Nani* of the Syrians, which is the name still applied in Syriac to the planet "Venus." Where *Nana* is mentioned in the Nineveh Inscriptions, she is usually named "queen of Babylon." The name of *Nanabius*, king of Babylon, cited by Nicolaus, signifies "beloved of Nana."

(12) "Rhea," or "Cybele," whose name in Assyrian means "queen of the gods;" she is usually associated with "Saturn."

(13) *Nebo*, or "Mercury," a deity held in great veneration both in Assyria and Babylonia; he is termed "the king of heaven and earth," or "the ruler of heaven and earth," and was the tutelar divinity of the family of Nebuchadnezzar.

Among the other gods who have been identified with more or less of certainty, are (14) the *Succoth Benoth* of Scripture; (15) *Nit*, or "Minerva," adopted probably from Egypt; (16) *Dagon*; (17) *Martu*, or "Neptune," the god of the sea, who was also, like *Hadad* the god of fire, a son of *Anu*, or "Noah," and whose temple, erected by Sennacherib, is now being excavated in a mound near Nineveh; (18) "the Moon," to whose native name, however, no indication has been yet found.

(19) *Divan* or *Diman*, whom it is proposed to identify with the Greek Hercules, for Syncellus has preserved a tradition that this deity was called $\Delta\iota\beta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ by the Phœnicians, the Cappadocians, and the Ilions; and a further argument that *Divan* must represent a deified hero rather than a god, is furnished by the fact that, although the name, expressed phonetically and preceded by the determinative of divinity enters into the composition of many Assyrian royal titles, it is yet never found in any invocation or list of gods, nor does there ever seem to have been a temple erected in his honour. We find also (20) "the Heavens" personified and worshipped as a deity both at

Babylon and Nineveh; and we further recognize a god, named *Dala* (21), whose title is to be found in the *Δελαΐσταρτος* of Josephus, in Deleboras, "beloved of *Dala*," the name of an Assyrian king preserved by Macrobius, in *Δελεφάτ*, explained by Hesychius as "the star of Venus," in Dalphon, the name of a son of Haman, &c., and there are perhaps ten or twelve more of the Assyrian gods whose names and attributes are altogether obscure.

The Assyrians have likewise preserved the titles of many stranger gods, whom they do not seem to have admitted into their own Pantheon. They were thus acquainted with the true God *Jehovah*, marking the term, wherever it occurred in proper names, with the sign of a divinity, and they distinguish in the same manner the gods of Susiana, *Khumba* and *Duniyas*, and the gods of Armenia, *Haldi* and *Bakbarta*. Patient research will, it is hoped, eventually dissipate much of the obscurity in which the Pantheon is still enveloped, and now that volumes of printed inscriptions and an approximate alphabet are in the hands of the public, there seems to be no reason why Colonel Rawlinson should be any longer condemned to the exclusive and somewhat ungrateful task of a pioneer.

Colonel Rawlinson feels that it would be hopeless to attempt to acquaint the Society in the present sketch with even a tithe of the important historical and geographical information which has been unfolded to him since in this room, two years ago, he read his Memoir on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. He will merely glance at general matters, and then confine his attention to the communication of the annals of Sennacherib.

The discovery of most consequence of late—that indeed which for the first time has given to the Inscriptions of Assyria a fixed place in history—has been the determination of the chronology;¹ and for this discovery, it is only fair to remark, Colonel Rawlinson has been indebted to his own researches at Baghdad, which were communicated at the time to Mr. Norris, in entire ignorance that a similar discovery had been made at home.² A synchronism having

¹ When Colonel Rawlinson communicated to the "Athenæum," in the summer of last year, his discovery of the names of *Samaria* and *Beth Khumri* (from Omri, the first king of Israel), the accuracy of his readings was impugned by Dr. Hincks, and the results declared to be visionary. Colonel Rawlinson thinks it more necessary to insist on this point as the readings in question have since been adopted by Dr. Hincks, and as the determination of the two names of Samaria and Beth Omri has, in fact, furnished the clue to all subsequent discovery bearing upon scripture history. (See "Athenæum," 1851, pp. 903, 977.)

² See "Literary Gazette," 13th March, 1851, p. 257, and "Athenæum," 27th March. p. 357.

been established between one of the kings of Israel and the Assyrian monarch whose annals are inscribed on the Black Obelisk now in the British Museum, the eras of the preceding kings of Nineveh can be ascertained without much chance of error, and the following scheme accordingly is given, as far as dates are concerned, with some confidence.

The Assyrian Empire was founded in about B.C. 1250, by a king named after the goddess "Derceto" or Semiramis, but whose exact title has not yet been deciphered. It is probable that this king built the city of Nineveh upon the Tigris, immediately opposite to the modern town of Mosul. In the following century, Calah was founded by King *Divanukha*, upon the site which is now called "Nimrud." The identification, it must be observed, of these two cities of Nineveh and Calah is quite positive; the names are found on every brick and almost every slab which is excavated from the respective sites. These capitals were both royal cities, but they were entirely distinct the one from the other, and the public therefore must not suppose that because the finest sculptures have been found at Nimrud they must necessarily belong to the palace at Nineveh.

A royal cylinder has been recently discovered in a temple of "Neptune," near Nineveh, which appears to give the names of the two immediate successors of *Divanukha*. Colonel Rawlinson compares the names with the titles of *Mardokempad* and *Mesessimordacus*, preserved in the canon of Ptolemy. The titles would have been thus read at any rate in Babylonia, but Colonel Rawlinson is not yet satisfied that the planet Mars had the same name of *Merodach* at Nineveh which he certainly had at Babylon.

The next king of whom we have any account must have reigned in the eleventh century B.C., following at no great distance the grandson of *Divanukha*. His name signifies "the servant of the prince," or "the servant of the son of the noble house," and if expressed phonetically may be read as *Anak-bar-beth-hira*. The terms, however, "the noble house" and "the son of the noble house," occur so frequently in the inscriptions, both in proper names and in addresses to the gods, that they probably allude to some deified hero, or at any rate to some object of worship, of which the special title would in speaking replace the written periphrasis.

This king seems to have been the first who carried the Assyrian arms into foreign countries. His exploits are recorded on a slab which was found at Nimrud, a relic of some ancient palace, and they are of value in defining the limits of the Assyrian Empire at that early period. The king boasts that he had extended his sway from

the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, but it is evident from his list of conquests that neither Syria to the west, nor Asia Minor to the north-west, nor Media to the east, had been yet visited by the armies of Nineveh. In a later age, indeed, when Sardanapalus led his troops beyond the Taurus, he expressly says that the king in question had not penetrated to so remote a quarter. In the eleventh century B.C., the empire of Nineveh comprised Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia, and incursions seem to have been then first made into Armenia and the mountainous countries about the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Connected Assyrian history commences with the tenth century, and from this point we have now an almost unbroken line of kings down to the capture of Nineveh in B.C. 606. *Adrammelech* the First (as the name may possibly be read, the first element being the god *Adar* and the second a royal title), must have ascended the throne of Nineveh shortly after the death of Solomon. Neither of this king nor of his son have any monuments been yet discovered, but the latter was certainly a warrior of note, for his conquests are often alluded to by his son, the great Sardanapalus. His name signifies "the slave of Mars," and Colonel Rawlinson suggests that it should be read *Anaku Merodach* (so in Hebrew מַרְדַּךְ, "a collar"), and compared with the *Avakuvdapaξης* of the Greeks.

Sardanapalus must have ascended the throne in about 930. B.C. He repaired the city of Calah which had been founded by his ancestor *Divanukha*, building at that place the famous palace which has supplied our national museum with the best specimens of Assyrian sculpture; he also erected temples at Calah both to Assur and to "Mars," and he built a third temple to *Uranus*, or "the Heavens," at Nineveh, some relics of this latter building, which was repaired by Sennacherib, having lately been discovered. As a warrior his achievements were well known to the Greeks, and these achievements he recorded in an inscription of above 400 lines, engraved upon each face of an enormous monolith, which was placed in the vestibule of the Temple of Mars at Calah. By a careful examination of all the fragments of this monolith, Colonel Rawlinson has obtained a complete and continuous copy of the whole inscription, and a translation of it will ere long be published. It describes the various expeditions of the king in the most elaborate detail, and enables us to identify a multitude of cities and countries which are named in the historical and prophetic books of Scripture, but of which the positions have been hitherto unknown. *Gozan*, *Haran*, and *Rezep*, *Eden* and *Thelaser*, *Calno* and *Carchemish*, *Hamath* and *Arpad*, *Tyre* and

Sidon, and *Gebal* and *Arvad*, are all distinctly named ; so are the Arab tribes of *Kedar* and *Hazor*, *Sheba*, *Teman*, and *Dedan*.

For the illustration too of the general geography of Western Asia, this inscription is not less important. The Tigris and Euphrates, the two Zabs, the *Hermas* and the *Khaboor*, are designated almost according to their modern names, and we have further the true native forms of Cilicia and Comagene, of Sophene and Gogarene, and of most of the other provinces, both north and south of the Taurus, which are named by the Greek geographers. Sardanapalus was contemporary with Ahab, and received tribute from *Ethbaal*, king of Sidon, whose daughter Jezebel was married to the king of Israel ; but although he encompassed Palestine with his armies, he was not permitted, it would seem, to interfere with the chosen people of God, and he is thus unnoticed in sacred history. As the great pyramid at Nimrud was erected by this monarch's son, and as the Greeks name the monument the tomb of Sardanapalus, Colonel Rawlinson believes that a shaft sunk into the centre of the mound and carried down to the foundations, would lay bare the original sepulchre. The difficulties of such an operation have hitherto prevented its execution, but the idea is not altogether abandoned.

Sardanapalus was succeeded near the close of the tenth century, B.C., by his son *Divanubara*, a name which signified "beloved of Divan" or "Hercules." As Macrobius has preserved a tradition that an Assyrian monarch of the name of *Deleboras* obtained from *Senemur*, king of Egypt, an image of the Sun-god, which he placed in the famous Syrian temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and as the date of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, at which period alone the relations between Egypt and Assyria were so close as to render such an act of friendship probable, falls in sufficiently well with the reign of the son of Sardanapalus, Colonel Rawlinson has conjectured that *Deleboras* may be a corruption of the Assyrian name *Divanubara*. This identification, however, is merely offered as a conjecture, to be verified or disproved by further research. Of more importance is it to state that the annals of *Divanubara*, a free translation of which has been already published in the Society's Journal, contain a notice of presents being sent to the king of Assyria by *Jehu*, the king of Israel, and that an approximate date is thus obtained for the famous black Obelisk upon which this notice is preserved. *Divanubara* may be supposed to have received these presents when, in his twenty-first year, he attacked for the second time *Hazael*, king of Syria, and when the cities of Phœnicia also sent him tribute. We are enabled, indeed, taking the scriptural dates for a standard, to fix within a very

few years the era of *Divanubara's* accession to the throne. On three different occasions he conducted expeditions against *Benhadad*, king of Syria, and *Sahulina*, king of Hamath, and their confederate kings (thirty-two are spoken of in Scripture, but the expression in the inscription is "the twelve kings who held the upper and the lower sea"). The last expedition was in *Divanubara's* fourteenth year, on which occasion he led into the field 120,000 warriors. In his eighteenth year, he undertook another campaign against Syria, but *Benhadad* was then no longer living. *Hazael* occupied his place on the throne of Damascus, and the year accordingly in which *Hazael* murdered *Benhadad* must fall in with the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth year of *Divanubara*. Now Clinton and the best Chronologists give the year B.C. 886, as the date of *Benhadad's* death, and the Assyrian monarch therefore must have succeeded his father, *Sardanapalus*, just before the opening of the ninth century B.C. It follows also from this calculation, that as *Jehu* began to reign in B.C. 883, he must have sent presents to *Divanubara* very shortly after his accession, probably in 881, and it was no doubt on account of his so doing, that when the Assyrians retired from Damascus, *Hazael* turned his arms against the men of Samaria, and "smote them in all the coasts of Israel." (2 Kings x. 32.) *Divanubara* dwelt indifferently at Nineveh and at Calah, and the latter city he greatly embellished. The duration of his reign cannot be exactly fixed, but as his annals on the obelisk extend to his thirty-second year, and his continued wars and ovations show at that period of his life no decline of vigour, he probably filled the throne of Assyria till about B.C. 860. It may reasonably be allowed, then, that the remainder of the ninth century was occupied by the reigns of his two immediate descendants, *Shamas Ader* and *Adrammelech II.*, as Colonel Rawlinson proposes to call them. Of the former nothing is known beyond his name, and that he adopted the family title of *Derceto*; but the latter erected palaces, after the manner of his fathers, both at Calah and at Nineveh. It may be inferred indeed from bricks which Colonel Rawlinson has found at Nebi Yunus, that that mound, which still continues to be a forbidden ground to the excavator, was originally raised by *Adrammelech II.*, as the substructure of a royal palace.

After the reign of *Adrammelech II.* occurs an interval which is alone subject to doubt in all this period of the Assyrian annals. The question to be resolved is whether the Biblical *Pul* succeeded immediately to *Adrammelech II.*, or whether another monarch, whose name is lost, intervened between them. Colonel Rawlinson's own opinion is in favour of the latter hypothesis; for he thinks in the first place, as

there are strong reasons for assigning Pul's death to the year B.C. 747, while *Adrammelech II.* may be supposed to have died, at the latest, at the close of the ninth century, fifty-three years is too long a period for one king's reign ; and he finds in the second place a set of mutilated annals in that *omnium gatherum* building, the south-west palace at Nimrud, to which, unless such a king did intervene, it would be difficult to assign a place. This south-west palace was constructed by the son of Sennacherib, from all the old palaces of the first dynasty which he found in the vicinity. The slabs were taken at random, the sculptures and inscriptions were turned inwards, in order to be concealed, and the stones were lopped off or chiselled down to suit the dimensions of the rooms ; add to this, that the palace was subsequently destroyed by fire, and it may be understood in what a deplorable state the marbles were found when they were first disinterred. Mutilated, however, as the fragments are, they are of the greatest possible importance for the purpose of history. Those at the northern entrance Colonel Rawlinson would assign, both from the style of the writing and the events described, neither of which agree with the monuments of Pul found in the same building, to a king who immediately succeeded *Adrammelech II.*, and who may have reigned from B.C. 800 to 770. Pul would then have ascended the throne at the same time as *Menahem*, king of Israel, and his receipt of tribute from *Menahem*, which is mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings xv. 19), and which is assigned to his eighth regnal year in a most important fragment of an inscription found in this south-west palace, would have taken place in the year 762, *Menahem* being succeeded by *Pekahiah* in 759. Another fragment of Pul's annals which is still lying in a passage of the south-west palace, seems to have contained a particular account of the expedition of this Assyrian king against Samaria ; but the writing is so mutilated, that little can be made out beyond the name of the city. Pul's name has been nowhere preserved, but Colonel Rawlinson conjectures that he also took the title of his five ancestors, *Sardanapalus*, for it appears almost certain that the first Assyrian dynasty ended with him ; and that the catastrophe described by *Ctesias*, and also noticed by *Polyhistor* in *Agathias*, thus refers to the revolt of an officer of the court named *Sargina*, who captured Nineveh and drove out the old family in B.C. 747 ; this memorable epoch being accordingly adopted by the Babylonians as the basis of their astronomical canon.

With regard to *Sargina* (or *Sargon*, as he is termed by *Isaiah*, xx. 1), the first point upon which Colonel Rawlinson insists is that he is the same king with "*Tiglath Pileser*," and "*Shalmaneser*." In the

former of these titles *Tiglath* (*Tilgath* in Chronicles, and *Tarλaθ* in the Septuagint) is a corruption of *Tarkat* or *Targat*, the goddess "Derceto," or Atargatis. *Pil* is from פִּלָּה, "to worship," and *Eser* is the god *Assur*; a title formed of these precise Assyrian elements being the standard epithet of Sargina in all his inscriptions; while "Shalmaneser" is probably for "*Shalman* the Assyrian," (see Hosea x. 14), *Sallam Anu*, "the likeness of Anu" (?) being also the second of Sargina's titles. Colonel Rawlinson having been unable to consult a complete set of the annals of *Sargina* since the autumn, (as his Khursabad portfolio was sent out by sea to Babylon, and had not reached him in April,) is unwilling to commit himself to minute points of chronology, in regard to this monarch's reign; but he cannot avoid noticing a few of the most important points. The expedition of Tiglath Pileser against the cities of Samaria, which took place in the reign of Pekah (2 Kings xv. 29) formed, he thinks, the opening exploit of Sargina's reign, in the year B.C. 747, a mutilated notice of the campaign being found in a fragment of the king's annals for his first regnal year. The campaign is described more fully in other inscriptions which are not drawn up in the form of annals, but Colonel Rawlinson relies for the chronological date on the mutilated inscription, No. 3 of Table II. in Botta's volume. The next notice of Samaria occurs in the account of Sargina's campaign against the king of Hamath, when the capital of Israel seems to have been reduced from its metropolitan rank. To this period Colonel Rawlinson ascribes several important events in scripture history, namely, the destruction of Damascus, which in the inscription is joined with Samaria; the communication of Ahaz with Tiglath Pileser; and the murder of Pekah by Hoshea, which must have immediately followed: and if chronologers are correct in assigning these events to the year B.C. 737 or 736, they must have occurred in the tenth or eleventh year of Sargina's reign. Colonel Rawlinson is unable, at present, to verify this point. He knows that in the Annals *Aroer*, a very important name, is mentioned in the second year, and Hamath at a subsequent period of the king's reign; but he does not recollect the exact date. Minute accuracy, indeed, is hardly required in discussing the chronology of so remote a period. Of more interest is it to point out that as Samaria and Damascus, together with Arpad, are stated in the inscriptions of Khursabad to have been reduced by Sargina in the great Syrian campaign, which must have occurred about the year B.C. 737, a number of passages in Isaiah, in which the synchronous destruction of these cities was foretold, and which were hardly to be explained if the one event had taken place in 737, and the

other under Hoshea in 721, can be now easily understood. When Pekah and Rezin were about to attack Jerusalem, Isaiah says, "The heart of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and within threescore and five *years*"—here used probably as *days*—"shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people." (Chap. vii. ver. 8.) Again, in reference to the same event:—"Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria." (Chap. viii. ver. 4.) A third passage also says, in the burden of Damascus: "The fortress shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom from Damascus,"—the two cities being thus everywhere condemned to a common and synchronous ruin. It is also suggested that the temporary interruption of the sovereignty of Israel, consequent upon the first reduction of Samaria, resolves an historical discrepancy in the book of Kings, which has hitherto defied explanation. Hoshea is said in one passage to have slain Pekah, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham, which answered probably to B. C. 737. (2 Kings xv. 30.) In another, his accession (2 Kings xvii. 1) is made to fall in the twelfth year of Ahaz, who was Jotham's successor. The explanation of this is, then, that during the early part of the reign of Ahaz there was an interregnum in Samaria, and that the second accession of Hoshea dated from the period when he threw off the yoke of Assyria. Unfortunately, as the Khursabad annals merely extend to the fifteenth year of Sargina's reign, we cannot by possibility have an account of his expedition to punish Hoshea in B. C. 728, nor of the subsequent siege of Samaria, which lasted from 724 to 721; for as he could not have ascended the throne of Assyria later than B. C. 747, these expeditions must have been undertaken in his nineteenth and twenty-third regnal years respectively. It seems at the same time very probable that after the capture of Samaria, Sargina attacked Carchemish on the Euphrates, the capital of the Hittites; and that a memorial tablet, which he erected on his return to Assyria, in the palace of Sardanapalus at Calah, in order to recount the wealth that he had brought back from Carchemish, and deposited in the royal treasury, and in which, for the first time, he assumes the title of "Conqueror of the remote Judæa," does thus actually refer to the final destruction of Samaria in 721, and to the great captivity of the tribes. It is further to be remarked, in support of the identity of Tiglath Pileser and Shalmaneser—firstly, that the latter name is not to be found at all in the book of Chronicles, and secondly, that it is hardly likely the captives of 747 and of 721 should have been placed in pre-

cisely the same localities of *Halak* and *Habor*, and the rivers of *Gozan*, if the two expeditions had been conducted by different kings. (Compare 2 Kings xvii. 6, with 1 Chronicles v. 26.)

Many other points, both of scriptural and profane history, admit of illustration from the annals of Sargina. We find the Egyptians, recently subjugated by the Æthiopian king Sabacon, had, in the commencement of Sargina's reign, occupied the five cities of the Philistines, as distinctly foretold by Isaiah in chap. xix. 14. The kings of Gaza and Askelon, who were reduced by Sargina, are thus stated to be Egyptian dependents; and when Sargina besieges Ashdod (Isaiah xx. 1) the ruler of the city flies to Egypt, which is expressly said to be subject to *Mirukha* (or Meröe), the name by which Æthiopia is designated in the inscriptions. All this is of great importance for the illustration of the 13th and 19th chapters of Isaiah; and it is probable also that the reconciliation of Egypt by Assyria, which is foretold in the 20th chapter, refers to the defeat which has been already mentioned, of the Egyptian Philistines, and to the payment of tribute by Pharaoh some years later in Sargina's reign. (See Isaiah xx. 3.) Colonel Rawlinson maintains his opinion that *Pira'u* of the Scriptures, who pays this tribute to Sargina, represents the Semitic title of פֶּרֶעָה, and he notices the impossibility of referring the name to *Bocchoris*, as Sabacon must have then been on the throne of Egypt. Menander's account of the long and fruitless siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser, Colonel Rawlinson considers to be apocryphal; but he admits the expedition to Cyprus, as a statue of Sargina, with a suitable inscription, has been found in the island, and is now in the Berlin Museum.

Sargina, who destroyed the old royal family of Assyria, and founded the lower dynasty, was, before his revolt, a mere subordinate officer of the court. Polyhistor in Agathias calls him the head gardener; and it is very possible that this may have been his real condition. He carefully abstains in his own inscriptions from any allusions to his family; but upon a clay tablet of the time of Sennacherib, which is now in Colonel Rawlinson's possession, the name of Sargina's father is given as *Nebosiphuni*, and that of his grandfather as *Khilapel*. The only other point worth mentioning is that the city and palace of Khursabad, which were built by Sargina to the north of Nineveh, and were named after him, retained in the country the title of *Sarghun* up to the period of the Arab conquest. Sargina's death took place in B. C. 716; and if the computation, therefore, be correct, by which the date of his accession is assigned to the year 747, to agree with the opening of the Babylonian career, his reign will have the legitimate and ordinary duration of thirty-one years.

Colonel Rawlinson considers it to be quite certain that Sennacherib followed his father Sargon immediately, and in due order of succession; and he thinks that that event should be assigned to the year B. C. 716. We are at present without any complete copy of the annals of the former king, but there are three very important documents which record all the leading events of the early part of his reign. The first of these is a clay cylinder, which was found by Mr. Rich at Nineveh, and which, after lying for the last thirty years almost unnoticed in the British Museum, has been recently published in fac-simile by Grotefend, at Hanover. This cylinder furnishes ample details regarding the first two years of Sennacherib's reign, and further contains a very interesting account of the king's early buildings at Nineveh. The second document is an inscription on a pair of bulls in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh. Throughout all the historical portion of this inscription, which extends to the close of the king's sixth regnal year, the writing is much mutilated; but by the aid of the other texts, and a very careful examination of the slabs under every possible light, Colonel Rawlinson has succeeded in effecting an almost complete restoration. The third document, which is the most valuable of all, as it extends to the king's eighth year, and contains abundance of detail omitted on the bulls, is an inscription upon a clay cylinder, which was also found at Nineveh many years ago, and was conveyed to England by Colonel Taylor in 1846. The original cylinder is now said to be lost, but casts of it are extant—one taken on paper by Colonel Rawlinson in 1835, and another taken in plaster by Monsieur Lottin de Laval, about ten years later; and from these casts a great portion of the inscription can be recovered. The extracts and translations which are now presented to the Society are the result of the most careful scrutiny and comparison of these three independent inscriptions.

Sennacherib adopts the ordinary royal epithets assumed by his predecessors, but he also takes the especial title on many occasions of *Ebidu Malki*, "the subduer of kings," precisely as Sargina takes the title of *Tiglath Pileser*; and he further styles himself, "he who has reduced under his yoke all the kings of Asia from the upper forest which is under the setting sun (Lebanon), to the lower ocean which is under the rising sun (the Persian Gulf)." His annals thus commence: "In the first year of my reign I fought a battle with *Merodach Balandan*, king of *Kar-duniyas*, and the troops of *Susiana* who formed his army, and I defeated them [at a place supposed to be *Warka*]. He embarked on board his ships and fled across the sea, concealing himself in the country of *Guzumman*; to the river *Agammi* and the parts beyond it he fled. His ships saved him. His standards, his chariots,

his horses, and his mares, his cattle, his camels, and his mules, which he abandoned on the field of battle, all fell into my hands. I then marched to his palace, which was near the city of Babylon; I opened the royal treasure-house and rifled it of the gold and silver vessels, the hoards of gold and silver [the word is *agarti*, which looks very like *אגרת*, 'coined pieces of money,' but perhaps 'hoards' is to be preferred, from *אגר*] [many articles of value which are not yet identified] altogether a vast booty; his idols, the women of his palace, all his chief men, &c., &c., &c., each and all I seized and carried off into captivity. By the grace of *Assur*, my lord, 79 of the principal fortified cities of the Chaldæans, and 820 of the smaller towns which depended on them, I took and plundered. The nomade tribes of the Aramæans and Chaldæans who inhabited the Mesopotamian country, [the names of all the districts are recapitulated from north to south, but as these names are expressed by monograms few of them can be satisfactorily read,] I subdued and carried off into captivity.

"A man of the name of *Bel-adon*, the son of one of my confidential officers, who had been bred up in my palace, [all this is obscure] I appointed to be king of the country, attaching to his government the provinces of the north and east. [Strange as it may seem, we thus constantly find the line of the Kurdish mountains from Elymais to Armenia conjoined with Chaldæa in a single satrapy; and the name of *Akkadimi*, or the "east" (?) is even applied to Babylonia as well as to Armenia. Does this singular amalgamation imply an ethnic identity such as has often been suspected between the Chaldæans of the mountains and the lower country, or was it a mere arbitrary arrangement of the provincial governments?]

"At the same time I subjugated the Aramæan tribes who lined the Tigris and Euphrates: the *Tehaman* [Teman of Scripture], the *Rikis*, the *Yetukh*, the *Hubud*, the *Kihrim*, the *Melikh*, the *Gurum*, the *Hubul*, the *Damun*, the *Tebul*, the *Kindar* [Kedar of Scripture], the *Ruhua*, the *Bukud*, the *Khamran*, the *Khagarin* [Hagarenes], the *Nabaut* [Nebaioth or Nabatæans], the *Lihata*, and the Aramæans Proper. I carried off to Nineveh 208,000 men and women, 8,200 horses and mares, 11,180 head of cattle, 5,230 camels, 1,020,100 sheep, 800,300 goats; altogether an enormous booty."

Of this expedition it is only necessary to remark that the King *Merodach Baladan*, against whom it was directed, and who had been in arms against Sargina during a great part of that monarch's reign, was the same who a few years later sent an embassy to Hezekiah.

It is further of interest to observe that the capital of the Chaldæan king, even up to this late period of history, was in the lower country, at *Kar-duniyas*, and not at Babylon. The expedition against Babylon is mentioned both by Polyhistor and Abydenus as the opening exploit of Sennacherib's reign. A supplementary expedition took place during this year against certain tribes depending on the cities of *Kharara* and *Khigami*, of which places nothing is known.

Sennacherib during his second year was entirely occupied among the mountains to the north and east. He seems to have crossed the Taurus into countries to which his ancestors had never penetrated ; and his annals contain the usual amount of burning and plundering, sweeping off the old population and planting fresh colonies in their place. The names are for the most part obscure, but there is one passage of interest in which the subjugated countries are said to have been committed to the care of the chief of *Arrapkhi* (the Arrapachitis of the Greeks), and memorial tablets to have been erected on the spot, these tablets probably still existing in the Kurdish mountains.

For the rest of the year Sennacherib says he was occupied in reducing *Ellibi*, a name by which Northern Media is usually designated. The title of the king of this country, *Aspabara*, shows that he was of Arian extraction ; and one of his cities, *Marukarta*, is well known in Armenian history. A large portion of Aspabara's territory was attached directly to Assyria ; another of his principal cities was rebuilt, and under the name of *Beth Sennacherib* was peopled by an Assyrian colony, and placed under the charge of the governor of *Kharkhar* (modern *Van*). From *Ellibi*, Sennacherib goes on to Media (a country which the Assyrians always speak of as the furthest point eastward with which they were acquainted), and he receives tribute from this nation, "which had never," he adds, "submitted to the kings my ancestors." Whether *Aspabara* can be identified with one of the Arbacidæ, named by Ctesias, is a point which seems deserving of attention. *Ellibi* must at any rate represent the modern *Azerbaijan*, or Media Atropatene ; for everything tends to show that the Medes, even as late as the eighth century B.C., had not yet reached that western position along the mountains overhanging Assyria, that was the Media of the Greek geographers.

The annals of the third year require to be noticed in more detail. "In my third year," says Sennacherib, "I went up to the country of the *Khetta* or Hittites [a name used to designate all Southern Syria ; that is, Phœnicia, Palestine, and the country to the east, as far as the Euphrates]. *Luliya*, king of *Sidon* [the Elulæus of Menander], had

thrown off the yoke of allegiance. On my approach from *Abiri* he fled to *Yetnan*,¹ which was on the sea coast." [*Yetnan* is always

¹ The inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib rendering it certain that a district at the south-east angle of the Mediterranean, and intermediate between Egypt and Phœnicia, was known to the Assyrians by the name of *Yatnan*, or *Atnan*, it becomes of some interest to inquire whether the Hebrew אֵיתָן or אֵתָן, usually rendered in our version of the Bible by "strength," may not refer to the same place. The following notes, at any rate, which have been collected to assist the inquiry, may be thought worthy of attention.

1. In the prophecy of Balaam (Numbers xxiv. 21) it is said of the Kenites, "Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest [in a rock." It is proposed to read, "Thy dwelling-place is *Ethan* (*Yatnan*), and thou puttest thy nest in Sela (Petra);"—for the transportation of the Kenites to Assyria from this quarter, which is foretold in the next verse, is duly related in the inscriptions.

2. Psalm lxxiv. 15 :—"Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood; thou driedst up mighty rivers;" read, "Thou driedst up the rivers of *Yatnan*," (נְהַרֹת אֵיתָן), the allusion being to the cleaving of the rock at Meribah, and the drying up of the Wady Musa. All the versions, except the Syriac and English, take אֵיתָן for a proper name, the Chaldee, however, substituting *Arnon*, *Jabbok*, and *Jordan*.

3. Jeremiah, referring to the desolation of Edom by the Babylonians, says, in two passages :—"He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong" (xlix. 19, and l. 44). It should be, "from the swelling of Jordan to the land of *Yatnan*." אֵיתָן is here, at any rate, without doubt a proper name; and so the Septuagint and the Syriac versions render it.

In Amos v. 24, the allusion is doubtful; and in Exodus xiv. 27, as a suffix is used after the word, our translation is probably right, but in Jeremiah, again, chap. v. 15, there can hardly be a question but that גִּי אֵיתָן, which we render "a mighty nation," should be, "the people of *Yatnan*;" for the prophecy throughout this chapter refers to Egypt, and not, as our commentators have pretended, to Babylon. Jeremiah, indeed, is here predicting the invasion of Pharaoh Necho, an invasion in which King Josiah was slain, but which was not so disastrous to the Jews as the subsequent expedition of Nebuchadnezzar. ("Nevertheless in those days, saith the Lord, I will not make a full end with you," ver. 18.) It may be interesting to add, in reference to this expedition of Pharaoh Necho, a remarkable verification of Scripture and profane history which has resulted from the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions. The 47th chapter of Jeremiah prophetically describes the desolation by Pharaoh of the land of the Philistines, and further expressly alludes to the capture and destruction of Gaza by the same king (verse 1). Our commentators have been content to say that this campaign is unnoticed in history, but such is not the case. The Cadytis, in fact, of Herodotus, which was taken by Necos, after his engagement with the Syrians at Magdolum, and which has been hitherto identified with Jerusalem, is nothing more nor less than the city of Gaza, the true form of which name, as given in the inscriptions, is *Khazita*. The Greeks changed *Khazita* into Cadytis, precisely as they

spoken of as a maritime city, south of Phœnicia, which formed the extreme limit of the Assyrian territory towards Egypt; it must, therefore, represent the "*Rhinocolura*" of the Greeks.] "I reduced his entire country; the places which submitted to me were *Sidon* the Greater, and *Sidon* the Less, *Beth Zitta*, *Saripat*, *Mahallat*, *Husuva*, *Akzib*, and *Akka*." [These names are of great interest, for they indicate all the Phœnician parts, in geographical order, from north to south. The distinction of two Sidons is new to geography. *Beth Zitta*, "the city of olives," is unknown, but it must be looked for between *Sidon* and *Sarepta* or *Zariphat*, the *Saripat* of the inscriptions; *Mahallat* is equivalent to the Hebrew מעלה, "an ascent;" and *Husuva* is "Tyre," the name being derived from *Usous*, who, according to Sanchoniathon, was one of the founders of the city. In a subsequent part, however, of this inscription, Sennacherib speaks of the "Tyrians" under their own proper name. The two remaining cities *Akzib* and *Akka* are *Akhzib* or "Ecdippa," and *Acco* or "Acre," and we have thus a complete tableau of the whole Phœnician coast. Sennacherib now continues.] "I placed *Tubaal* on the throne in the place of *Luliya*, and imposed on him the regulated amount of tribute." [*Tubaal* was probably the son of that man whom *Pekah* and *Rezin*, under the reign of *Sargina*, had prepared to place on the throne of Samaria; eastern names, as it is well known, usually following in an alternate series of generations. See Isaiah vii. 6.] "The kings of the sea coast, [*Martu*, after the god of that name, answering to "Neptune;" compare also the Βραθὺν of Sanchoniathon, and Μάπαθος of Strabo and the geographers,] all repaired to my presence in the neighbourhood of the city of *Husuva* or Tyre, and brought me their accustomed tribute. These kings were *Mushallimmu* (?) of *Husibirun*, *Tubaal* of *Sidon*, *Abdi Lihit* of *Aruda*, [Arvad,] *Hurikki* of *Gubal*, [Byblos,] *Mittinti* of *Ashdod*, *Budastor* of *Beth Ammon*, *Kammuranat* of and of *Huduma* [Edom]." [The names of the kings are only found upon Colonel Taylor's cylinder, and some of them are unfortunately illegible. If they were all maritime princes, the identification of the different countries ought not to be beyond the reach of research.]

changed *Akhzib* into *Ecdippa*; and that the identification has hitherto escaped notice is owing to the Hebrews having softened the feminine ending, as was usual with them, into ה (הַי), and having thus lopped off a syllable from the name.

The description, moreover, of Cadytis given by Herodotus in another passage (Conf. III. 5, and II. 159), is exactly applicable to Gaza, and will by no means answer to Jerusalem. Cadytis, too, for *Kadatha*, as a Chaldee corruption of קַדְתָּ, could hardly have been known in Syria in the time of Herodotus.

"*Sitka of Ascalon*, who did not come to pay me homage, the gods of his house, and his treasures, his sons and his daughters, and his brothers of the house of his father, I seized and sent off to Nineveh.— I placed another chief [name illegible] on the throne of *Ascalon*, and I imposed on him the regulated amount of tribute." [The really important portion of the annals now commences.] "In the autumn of the year certain other cities which had refused to submit to my authority, I took and plundered. The nobles and the people of *Ekron* having expelled their king *Haddiya* and the Assyrian troops who garrisoned the town, attached themselves to *Hezekiah* of Judæa, and paid their adorations to his god [the name is lost]. The kings of Egypt also sent horsemen and footmen, belonging to the army of the king of *Mirukha* [Meröe or Æthiopia], of which the numbers could not be counted. In the neighbourhood of the city of *Allakhis* [Lachish], I joined battle with them. The captains of the cohorts, and the young men of the kings of Egypt, and the captains of the cohorts of the king of 'Meröe,' I put to the sword in the country of *Lubana*, [Libnah]. "Afterwards I moved to the city of *Ekron*, and the chiefs of the people having humbled themselves, I admitted them into my service; but the young men I carried into captivity, to inhabit the cities of Assyria. Their goods and wealth also I plundered to an untold amount. Their king *Haddiya* I then brought back from the city of *Jerusalem*, and again placed in authority over them, imposing on him the regulated tribute of the empire; and because *Hezekiah*, king of Judæa, did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which depended on them, I took and plundered; but I left to him *Jerusalem*, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it." [A faulty passage and of doubtful signification here follows.] "The cities which I had taken and plundered, I detained from the government of *Hezekiah*, and distributed between the kings of *Ashdod*, and *Ascalon*, and *Ekron*, and *Gazah*; and having thus invaded the territory of these chiefs, I imposed on them a corresponding increase of tribute over that to which they had formerly been subjected; and because *Hezekiah* still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelled around *Jerusalem*, with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of *Hezekiah's* court, and of their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men slaves and women slaves. I returned to Nineveh, and I accounted this spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me."

Now the value of this notice can hardly be overstated. It gives us

the Assyrian version of one of the most important episodes of Scripture history, and coloured as we must expect to find it in favour of the Assyrians, it still confirms the most important features of the scriptural account. Jerusalem alone, of all the cities of Syria, did *not* fall under the arms of Sennacherib. The Jewish and the Assyrian versions of the campaign are, on the whole, indeed, strikingly illustrative of each other.—Hezekiah, at an early period of his reign, while *Sargina* was still upon the throne of Nineveh, “had smote the Philistines even unto Gaza”—and it is probably this event which is described in the inscription as a defection of the *Ekronites*, for otherwise it is difficult to account for the fugitive Assyrian governor being found in Jerusalem. In the 14th year of Hezekiah’s reign, or B.C. 713, Sennacherib having reduced the other cities of the sea-coast, turns his arms against Ekron, which was still held by the king of Judah. He was interrupted in his design by the advance of the Egyptians and Æthiopians under *Tirhakah*, king of Meroe, and he turned back accordingly to *Lachish*, to engage with them. *Lachish* was undoubtedly the “Laris” or “Larissa” of the Greeks, which was on the sea-coast between Gaza and Rhinocolura, and was afterwards so well known as the scene of Pompey’s death; and it may have been in commemoration of his victory on this occasion, that Sennacherib bestowed the same name on his Assyrian capital of “Calah,” a city which is also termed *Lachis*, לַקִּישׁ, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and is named “Larissa” by Xenophon. At the same time, it is hardly possible that the capture of *Lakitsu*, which is figured in the most elaborate manner on the walls of Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh, can refer to this city, as the two names are written quite differently in the Cuneiform characters. That Sennacherib did really defeat the Egyptians at *Lachish*, may be inferred from 2 Kings, chap. xviii., vers. 21, 24, as well as from various passages in the Prophetical books, and the story accordingly which is told by Herodotus of the flight of the Assyrians, may be set down to the vanity of the priests of Memphis. From *Lachish* Sennacherib proceeded to *Lubana*, [Libnah,] where he executed his Egyptian prisoners, and where he was joined by Rabshekah, after the latter’s unsuccessful mission to Jerusalem. (2 Kings xix. 8.) Sennacherib must have now made that foray upon the territory of Hezekiah, which is noticed in Scripture under the expression, “He came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.” (2 Kings xviii. 13.) Colonel Taylor’s cylinder gives an account of the prisoners and spoil which were taken in this foray. The numbers of the male and female prisoners are stated at 200,164, and it is

very remarkable that Demetrius the Jew, as he is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, ascribes the great Assyrian captivity of the Jews to this very king Sennacherib. Of the distribution of the captured cities among the kings of the Philistines, we have no account in Scripture; but the cylinder gives the details of the arrangement, and names the kings whose territories were thus enlarged: *Mittinta* of *Ashdod*, *Haddiya* of *Ekron*, and *Ismibel* of *Gaza*. The reason assigned by Sennacherib for leaving Hezekiah in possession of Jerusalem cannot, unfortunately, be made out in either of the copies of the inscription. It is certain, however, that Hezekiah still refused to submit, and as it is also evident, from the close of the 10th chapter of Isaiah, that the Assyrians must have approached very near to the city (a strong argument being thus furnished in favour of the truth of Sennacherib's statement, that he carried off the whole population from around Jerusalem), the inference seems to be inevitable, that the capital could only have been saved by the miraculous interposition of the Almighty. Sennacherib's annals do not of course allude to a discomfiture produced by pestilence and panic; but the summary way in which he closes his account of the campaign, merely stating that he returned to Nineveh with his spoil, would be alone sufficient to indicate some disaster to his army. It is also important to add that he was unable during the following year, owing apparently to the severe check he had sustained, to undertake any operations of magnitude, and that, so far as has been yet ascertained, he does not appear at any subsequent period of his reign to have ventured to lead his armies across the Euphrates into Syria.

The supposition that the murder of Sennacherib by his sons took place immediately on his return to Nineveh, merely rests on a passage in the apocryphal book of Tobit. The statement in Kings that he returned to Nineveh *and dwelled there*, indicates a prolonged reign, and the question is now set definitively at rest by our possession of his annals for at least five years subsequent to the Jerusalem catastrophe.

The events of the fourth year of Sennacherib present a marked contrast to the detailed and magniloquent descriptions of the preceding periods; they are confined to a few meagre lines, and refer exclusively to an expedition against the Chaldees, undertaken perhaps in order to punish *Merodach Baladan* for sending ambassadors to Hezekiah, which Sennacherib does not seem even to have conducted in person. He says, it is true, he went to the country of *Beth Yakina* (at the mouth of the Euphrates), but he then continues: "*Suzubi* the Chaldean, who dwelt in the city of *Bittuth*, by the river *Agammi*, sustained a defeat. My troops pursued him, but he fled

away, and his place was not found ; the rest of the year was passed in the reduction of the country of *Beth Yakina*. *Merodach Baladan*, whom I had defeated in the course of my first year, he fled before my chief officers, and concealed himself in the country of [name lost], which was beyond the sea. His brothers, the offspring of his father's house, whom he had left on this side the sea, together with the men of the country, I ordered to be removed from *Beth Yakina* ; the rest of the cities of *Merodach Baladan* I destroyed and burned ; at the same time I appointed my son *Assur Nadin* to the government of the country, placing him in a position of independence." (?)

In the fifth year of Sennacherib there were two expeditions, one against the tribes of *Tokhari*, who inhabited the country of *Salbura*, and the other against *Manigama*, king of the city of *Vakku*. These new conquests occurred in countries at a considerable distance from the Assyrian frontier, and which the armies of Nineveh had never previously reached ; but we are hardly justified by a mere coincidence of name in supposing that Sennacherib really led his troops as far as *Tokharistan* and the "Oxus." It would seem more probable that the *Tokhari* and *Vakku* are to be sought for in Asia Minor, and that the names indicate the places almost similarly named, which are found in the Tablet of Karnac among the conquests of Sethos.

The inscription on the bulls at Nineveh closes with an account of a maritime expedition which Sennacherib led against the Chaldæans, who, to escape the oppression of their Assyrian masters, had embarked with their gods and wealth on board their vessels, and had established themselves beyond the sea in the city of *Nagiat*, a place which served as an emporium for the people of *Khilmu*, *Billat*, (?) and *Khupapan*. Sennacherib, unable to pursue the emigrants, applied to his Phœnician allies for assistance. The mariners and artizans of Tyre and Sidon, and *Yabna* (*Jabneh* of Scripture), rendezvoused at his command upon the Upper Tigris, where they put together rafts or vessels on which they floated down the river to *Beth Yakina*. There they constructed and manned a fleet for the Assyrian king, and Sennacherib in person, after sacrificing to the gods, embarked on board the vessels and crossed over the sea to *Nagiat*. The Chaldæan colony was of course destroyed, and Sennacherib returned with a rich booty to Assyria, where he devoted the fruits of the expedition to the embellishment of the palaces and temples which he was then erecting at Nineveh. From the spoil brought back on this occasion, and from the fact of elephants being found at Nineveh among the memorial trophies of the war, Colonel Rawlinson was at one time led to believe that Sennacherib had really crossed the ocean to India. A more careful

examination, however, of the question has now satisfied him that *Nagiat*, which at the time of the Chaldæan emigration, was a dependency of Susiana, having been captured by the king of that country some years previously, must represent some great commercial port in the Persian Gulf. *Khilmu* (perhaps the Chilmad of Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. 23) he would compare with the modern name of *Kishm*, and *Billat* and *Khupapan* refer, he thinks, to the islands of Bahrein, or to some districts on the Arabian coast.

The annals of the seventh and eighth years of Sennacherib, which are also found on Colonel Taylor's cylinder, Colonel Rawlinson is unable at present to explain, owing to the damaged state of his cast of the inscription. If the original cylinder should be recovered, he has no doubt, however, but that the writing could be deciphered.

Independently of these historical documents, the inscriptions which Sennacherib has left are very numerous, and they are of interest in explaining the names and purposes of the different buildings which he erected in various parts of Assyria. It was before the Syrian campaign that he first undertook the embellishment of Nineveh. There were at that period four great buildings on the mound of *Koyunjik*: the original royal palace, a temple to "the Heavens" built by Sardapalus, and two smaller edifices; but they had been all injured more or less when *Sargina* captured the city, and Sennacherib accordingly undertook their repair. For this purpose he collected a host of prisoners from the Chaldæan and Aramæan tribes upon one side, and from Cilicia and Armenia on the other. The prisoners he distributed in four bodies, assigning 360,000 men for the repair of the great palace, and employing women almost to the same amount in restoring the other buildings. A remarkable illustration is thus afforded, as Colonel Rawlinson observes, of the story told by Herodotus regarding the building of the sepulchre of Alyattes (Clio. 93). The palace of Sennacherib which has been excavated by Mr. Layard, and of the bas-reliefs of which such beautiful drawings have been lately published, was the work of a more advanced period of the monarch's reign. It was executed, for the most part, on his return from his naval expedition against the Chaldees; but decorated chambers seem to have been added to commemorate the later exploits of his reign. Sennacherib also erected a palace on the mound now called *Nebi Yunus*, in the centre of Nineveh, and another in the city of *Tarbisi*, three miles to the north of the capital. Colonel Rawlinson is disposed to admit the authority of the Greeks, who assign to Sennacherib a reign of eighteen years, and he thus places his death in B.C. 698.

The period of ninety-two years which intervened between this date

and the taking of Nineveh in 606, was occupied by the reign of three kings, who followed each other in the direct succession of father and son. The first, who ascended the throne in B.C. 698, must represent, of course, the Biblical *Esar-haddon*. According to the usual power of the monograms which form this king's name upon his Assyrian monuments, Colonel Rawlinson would read the title as *Asur-akh-as* ("Assaracus"), but on a Babylonian clay tablet in the British Museum, the name is distinctly written as *Assur-akh-adana*, and it would seem probable, therefore, that the third element of the Assyrian form was exceptionally used for *adana*. It was this king who ruined the old palaces of Calah, the works of a family whom his grandfather had supplanted, to obtain materials for a palace of his own construction. He also built a palace on the mound at *Nebi Yunus*, and another for his brother, in the city of *Tarbisi*, a few miles north of Nineveh. The name of this brother has not yet been found either on the bricks or slabs at *Sherif Khan*, the modern name of *Tarbisi*; but he was in all probability the same prince who had previously administered Babylonia, and to whom is given the name of *Assur-nadin* in the annals of Sennacherib. Of *Esar-haddon's* annals very important portions can be recovered from two cylinders placed by Mr. Layard in the British Museum, as well as from a number of clay tablets that have more recently been disinterred; but the most valuable part of his history, that which relates to the captivity of Manasseh, and to a great exchange of tribes between Assyria and Palestine, has never yet been found in a sufficiently perfect state to be deciphered. *Esar-haddon* carried his arms over all Asia between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian, and the Mediterranean; and it is thus almost certain that synchronisms, both with profane and sacred history, will be found in his annals, whenever a perfect cylinder may be met with, that shall add another link to the chronological chain now almost completed: *Esar-haddon* may be supposed to have died about B.C. 668, during the reign of the Median king Dejoces.

Of his son, who seems to have also borne the name of *Assur-adon-pal*, and whom Colonel Rawlinson thus prefers to designate as Sardanapalus III., a vast number of relics have been found; but those which are of an historical nature relate almost exclusively to his wars with the king of Susiana. He founded temples at Nineveh both to Mars and to Diana, and the *débris* of these buildings are literally filled with clay tablets, fragments of broken cylinders and similar relics. Independently of the hoards already deposited by Mr. Layard on the shelves of the British Museum, Colonel Rawlinson has now under his charge, awaiting a safe occasion for transmission to England,

thousands of such relics, and he estimates that a century will hardly suffice for their complete examination and decipherment. Under the reign of Sardanapalus III. must have occurred the defeat of the Median king Phraortes, and Colonel Rawlinson conjectures that immediately afterwards, in about B.C. 634, the Assyrian monarch lost his life in defending his capital against the Scythian invaders. Much of the obscurity which envelops the later period of Assyrian history in the pages of the Greek writers, evidently arises from the fact that Nineveh was twice taken—once by *Sargina* in B.C. 757, and once by the Scythians in 634, a king of the name of Sardanapalus being on each occasion on the throne; and a further source of confusion is to be found in the exceptional condition of the last king of Assyria, the son of Sardanapalus III., who reigned in Nineveh during the twenty-eight years of the Scythian supremacy, as a mere vassal of these desolating hordes, and who was dispossessed of his power, immediately on the Scythian expulsion, by the united arms of the Medes and Babylonians. The name of this last king has been found upon bricks both at *Nebi Yunus* and at *Sherif Khan*; but Colonel Rawlinson cannot even propose a conjectural reading for it; all that he ventures to suggest is, that it is composed of monograms denoting the gods “Neptune” and “Derceto.” It is probable that the monarch in question did not inhabit the ancient royal palace of Nineveh, which had been indeed destroyed by the Scythians, but that he dwelt in his grandfather’s smaller palace on the mound of *Nebi Yunus*, or in the suburban villa of *Tarbisi*. He founded no temples, nor did he engage in any foreign wars, but after an inglorious reign of twenty-eight years, yielded up his empire to Cyaxares, the Mede, in B.C. 606.

Colonel Rawlinson has thus endeavoured to give a brief sketch of Assyrian history, in so far as his present acquaintance with the inscriptions enables him to illustrate the notices of sacred and profane writers. He is satisfied that the distinction of the two dynasties is clearly made out, and he believes the chronology throughout to be approximately correct, but with regard to the names of the kings he expresses himself with more reserve. The titles of *Sargina*, *Sennacherib* and *Esar-haddon*, are those alone which may be received *with implicit confidence*. Of many of the others a reading has been given for the mere purpose of a convenience of identification.

MR. LAYARD'S REMARKS.

When the reading of the foregoing paper had been concluded, Mr. Layard observed that the great ruin at the north-west corner of the mound of Nimrud, which had hitherto been usually called the Pyramid, had, on complete examination, proved to be an enormous square tower, the remains of which had assumed the pyramidal form, when the upper part had fallen and covered the basement. This building appears to have consisted of two distinct parts:—the lower, or substructure, was formed of a mass of sun-dried bricks, coated on three sides by a solid wall of stone masonry, ornamented with recesses and projections, each stone being, moreover, carefully bevelled; the upper part, or superstructure, consisted of sun-dried bricks faced with kiln-burnt bricks. Tunnels or cuttings had been carried through this ruin, so as to leave but little of it unexplored. The excavation at its base, on a level with the plain upon which it was erected, led to no discovery; tunnels were then cut completely across from north to south, and east to west. Similar tunnels carried through the tower, on a level with the original platform on which the palaces were constructed, and on which stood the temple, called by Colonel Rawlinson the temple of Mars, abutting on the tower, exposed a long, narrow, vaulted chamber. This may have been the tomb, and may have originally contained the remains of the king to whose memory the building was raised. No approach whatever could be traced to it; it appeared to have been completely walled up, but to have been broken into at some remote period, and the contents destroyed or carried away. The wall had been broken into on the north side, and there were traces of the perforation through the outer part of the ruin. Tunnels carried through three distinct parts of the mound above this chamber, and a shaft sunk to almost the base of the ruin, led to no further results. Consequently, if such a tomb as Colonel Rawlinson conjectures to have been covered by this building, still exists, it must be sought for beneath the level of the plain upon which the tower was erected. Excavations beneath the very foundations of the building could only be carried on at very considerable expense. Mr. Layard was unable from want of funds to undertake these, and although he thinks the experiment might be tried, he is inclined to doubt whether it would lead to the discovery of any remains of importance. (*Vide ante*, p. 12.)

Mr. Layard observed that during his last visit he had succeeded in excavating in a courtyard, in the mound of Nebbi Yunus, and had

discovered the remains of a building, upon the walls of which were inscriptions of the son of Sennacherib, by whom the building had evidently been erected. A solitary brick was brought to him with the name of the founder of the north-west palace of Nimrud ; but he is not certain that it was obtained from this ruin, as other remains found there by him, belonged to a period subsequent to the erection of the great palace at Koyunjik.¹ (*Vide* p. 13.)

Mr. Layard is still convinced that whatever may have been the original names of the various royal quarters or enclosures represented by Nimrud, Koyunjik, Khursabad, &c., they were all known at one period by the name of Nineveh, and formed the great city described by the sacred writings and the Greek historians and geographers. Colonel Rawlinson himself stated as much in his paper read before the Society on his return to England two years ago. Mr. Layard much doubts, from various experiments which he was led to make, whether the enclosures above mentioned were inhabited by the people. He is more inclined to believe that they were exclusively royal quarters, containing offices and buildings for the attendants of the court and guards of the king, gardens, &c. It appears to him impossible that four large cities, such as those described in the Bible, could be within a few miles of each other.

Mr. Layard further stated that Captain Jones, in a recent letter, states that he had established, by trigonometrical survey, the fact previously conjectured by Mr. Layard, that the same great ruin of Nimrud, Karamless, Khursabad and Koyunjik, stood at the four angles of a perfect parallelogram. Mr. Layard bore the highest testimony to the very valuable services rendered by Captain Jones to archæology and comparative geography by his surveys and examinations of the rivers of Mesopotamia and the countries watered by them ; and he expressed a hope that the maps recently made by Captain Jones of the rivers of Assyria would soon be published.

¹ There are *two* monoliths in the south temple or temples adjoining the great tower in the north-west corner of the Nimrud mound. The inscriptions on both were carefully copied, and are now in England. The fragment with the name of Menahem, first read by Dr. Hincks, was discovered in the south-west palace at Nimrud, which Mr. Layard has attributed in his first work to the son of Sennacherib. The edifice in the south-east corner of Nimrud was erected by the great-grandson of this monarch.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON,
(LONDON GAZETTE OFFICE, ST. MARTIN'S LANE;
AND
ORCHARD STREET, WESTMINSTER.





