

THE  
PASSING OF THE EMPIRES  
850 B.C. TO 330 B.C.

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*WITH MAPS, THREE COLOURED PLATES, AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS*



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ONE OF THE GATES OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS IN THE OASIS OF AMMON.

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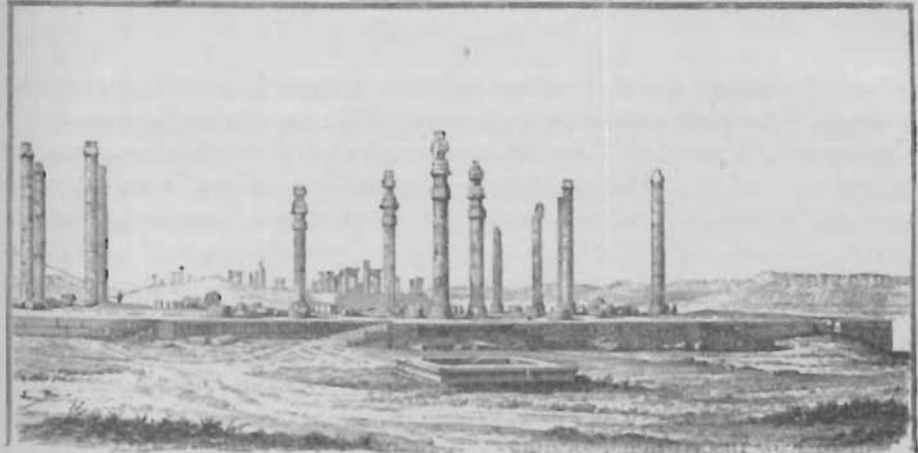
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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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WITH this third volume Professor Maspero concludes his monumental work on the history of the ancient East. The overthrow of the Persian empire by the Greek soldiers of Alexander marks the beginning of a new era. Europe at last enters upon the stage of history, and becomes the heir of the culture and civilisation of the Orient. The culture which had grown up and developed on the banks of the Euphrates and Nile passes to the West, and there assumes new features and is inspired with a new spirit. The East perishes of age and decrepitude; its strength is outworn, its power to initiate is past. The long ages through which it had toiled to build up the fabric of civilisation are at an end; fresh races are needed to carry on the work which it had achieved. Greece appears upon the scene, and behind Greece looms the colossal figure of the Roman empire.

Since the first volume of Professor Maspero's work was published, excavation has gone on apace in Egypt and Babylonia, and discoveries of a startling and unexpected nature have followed in the wake of excavation. Many pages of the volume will have to be rewritten in the light of them; such is always the fate of the historian of the past in this age of rapid and persistent research. Ages that seemed prehistoric step suddenly forth into the day-dawn of history; personages whom a sceptical criticism had consigned to the land of myth or fable are clothed once more with flesh and blood, and events which had been long forgotten demand to be recorded and described. In Babylonia, for example, the excavations at Niffer and Tello have shown that Sargon of Akkad, so far from being a creature of romance, was as much an historical monarch as Nebuchadrezzar himself; monuments of his reign have been discovered, and



we learn from them that the empire he is said to have founded had a very real existence. Contracts have been found dated in the years when he was occupied in conquering Syria and Palestine, and a cadastral survey that was made for the purposes of taxation mentions a Canaanite who had been appointed "governor of the land of the Amorites." Even a postal service had already been established along the high-roads which knit the several parts of the empire together, and some of the clay seals which franked the letters are now in the Museum of the Louvre.

At Susa, M. de Morgan, the late director of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt, has been excavating below the remains of the Achæmenian period, among the ruins of the ancient Elamite capital. Here he has found numberless historical inscriptions, besides a text in hieroglyphics which may cast light on the origin of the cuneiform characters. But the most interesting of his discoveries are two Babylonian monuments that were carried off by Elamite conquerors from the cities of Babylonia. One of them is a long inscription of about 1200 lines belonging to Manistusu, one of the early Babylonian kings, whose name has been met with at Niffer; the other is a monument of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon of Akkad, which it seems was brought as booty to Susa by Simti-silkhak, the grandfather, perhaps, of Eriaku or Arioch.

In Armenia also equally important inscriptions have been found by Belck and Lehmann. More than two hundred new ones have been added to the list of Vannic texts. It has been discovered from them that the kingdom of Biainas or Van was founded by Ispuinis and Menuas, who rebuilt Van itself and the other cities which they had previously sacked and destroyed. The older name of the country was Kumussu, and it may be that the language spoken in it was allied to that of the Hittites, since a tablet in hieroglyphics of the Hittite type has been unearthed at Toprak Kaleh. One of the newly-found inscriptions of Sarduris III. shows that the name of the Assyrian god, hitherto read Ramman or Rimmon, was really pronounced Hadad. It describes a war of the Vannic king against Assur-nirari, son of Hadad-nirari (*A-da-di-ni-ra-ri*) of Assyria, thus revealing not only the true form of the Assyrian name, but also the parentage of the last king of the older Assyrian dynasty. From another inscription, belonging to Rusas II., the son of Argistis, we learn that campaigns were carried on against the Hittites and the Moschi in the latter years of Sennacherib's reign, and therefore only just before the irruption of the Kimmerians into the northern regions of Western Asia.

The two German explorers have also discovered the site and even the ruins of Muzazir, called Ardinis by the people of Van. They lie on the hill of Shkenna, near Topsanā, on the road between Kelishin and Sidek. In the immediate neighbourhood the travellers succeeded in deciphering a monument of Rusas I., partly in Vannic, partly in Assyrian, from which it appears that the Vannic king did not, after all, commit suicide when the news of the fall of Muzazir was brought to him, as is stated by Sargon, but that, on the contrary, he "marched against the mountains of Assyria" and restored the

fallen city itself. Urzana, the King of Muzazir, had fled to him for shelter, and after the departure of the Assyrian army he was sent back by Rusas to his ancestral domains. The whole of the district in which Muzazir was situated was termed Lulu, and was regarded as the southern province of Ararat. In it was Mount Nizir, on whose summit the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested, and which is therefore rightly described in the Book of Genesis as one of "the mountains of Ararat." It was probably the Rowandiz of to-day.

The discoveries made by Drs. Belck and Lehmann, however, have not been confined to Yannic texts. At the sources of the Tigris Dr. Lehmann has found two Assyrian inscriptions of the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., one dated in his fifteenth and the other in his thirty-first year, and relating to his campaigns against Aram of Ararat. He has further found that the two inscriptions previously known to exist at the same spot, and believed to belong to Tiglath-Ninip and Assur-nazir-pal, are really those of Shalmaneser II., and refer to the war of his seventh year.

But it is from Egypt that the most revolutionary revelations have come. At Abydos and Kom el-Ahmar, opposite El-Kab, monuments have been disinterred of the kings of the first and second dynasties, if not of even earlier princes; while at Negada, north of Thebes, M. de Morgan has found a tomb which seems to have been that of Menes himself. A new world of art has been opened out before us; even the hieroglyphic system of writing is as yet immature and strange. But the art is already advanced in many respects; hard stone was cut into vases and bowls, and even into statuary of considerable artistic excellence; glazed porcelain was already made, and bronze, or rather copper, was fashioned into weapons and tools. The writing material, as in Babylonia, was often clay, over which seal-cylinders of a Babylonian pattern were rolled. Equally Babylonian are the strange and composite animals engraved on some of the objects of this early age, as well as the structure of the tombs, which were built, not of stone, but of crude brick, with their external walls panelled and pilastered. Professor Hommel's theory, which brings Egyptian civilisation from Babylonia along with the ancestors of the historical Egyptians, has thus been largely verified.

But the historical Egyptians were not the first inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. Not only have palæolithic implements been found on the plateau of the desert; the relics of neolithic man have turned up in extraordinary abundance. When the historical Egyptians arrived with their copper weapons and their system of writing, the land was already occupied by a pastoral people, who had attained a high level of neolithic culture. Their implements of flint are the most beautiful and delicately finished that have ever been discovered; they were able to carve vases of great artistic excellence out of the hardest of stone, and their pottery was of no mean quality. Long after the country had come into the possession of the historical dynasties, and had even been united into a single monarchy, their settlements continued to exist on the outskirts of the desert, and the neolithic culture that distinguished them passed only gradually away. By degrees, however, they intermingled with

their conquerors from Asia, and thus formed the Egyptian race of a later day. But they had already made Egypt what it has been throughout the historical period. Under the direction of the Asiatic immigrants and of the engineering science whose first home had been in the alluvial plain of Babylonia, they accomplished those great works of irrigation which confined the Nile to its present channel, which cleared away the jungle and the swamp that had formerly bordered the desert, and turned them into fertile fields. Theirs were the hands which carried out the plans of their more intelligent masters, and cultivated the valley when once it had been reclaimed. The Egypt of history was the creation of a twofold race: the Egyptians of the monuments supplied the controlling and directing power; the Egyptians of the neolithic graves bestowed upon it their labour and their skill.

The period treated of by Professor Maspero in his present volume is one for which there is an abundance of materials such as do not exist for the earlier portions of his history. The evidence of the monuments is supplemented by that of the Hebrew and classical writers. But on this very account it is in some respects more difficult to deal with, and the conclusions arrived at by the historian are more open to question and dispute. In some cases conflicting accounts are given of an event which seem to rest on equally good authority; in other cases, there is a sudden failure of materials just where the thread of the story becomes most complicated. Of this the decline and fall of the Assyrian empire is a prominent example; for our knowledge of it, we have still to depend chiefly on the untrustworthy legends of the Greeks. Our views must be coloured more or less by our estimate of Herodotos; those who, like myself, place little or no confidence in what he tells us about Oriental affairs will naturally form a very different idea of the death-struggle of Assyria from that formed by writers who still see in him the Father of Oriental History.

Even where the native monuments have come to our aid, they have not unfrequently introduced difficulties and doubts where none seemed to exist before, and have made the task of the critical historian harder than ever. Cyrus and his forefathers, for instance, turn out to have been kings of Anzan, and not of Persia, thus explaining why it is that the Neo-Susian language appears by the side of the Persian and the Babylonian as one of the three official languages of the Persian empire; but we still have to learn what was the relation of Anzan to Persia on the one hand, and to Susa on the other, and when it was that Cyrus of Anzan became also King of Persia. In the Annalistic Tablet, he is called "King of Persia" for the first time in the ninth year of Nabonidos.

Similar questions arise as to the position and nationality of Astyages. He is called in the inscriptions, not a Mede, but a Manda—a name which, as I showed many years ago, meant for the Babylonian a "barbarian" of Kurdistan. I have myself little doubt that the Manda over whom Astyages ruled were the Scythians of classical tradition, who, as may be gathered from a text published by Mr. Strong, had occupied the ancient kingdom of Ellipi. It is even possible that in the Madyes of Herodotos, we have a reminiscence of the

Manda of the cuneiform inscriptions. That the Greek writers should have confounded the Madâ or Medes with the Manda or Barbarians is not surprising; we find even Berossos describing one of the early dynasties of Babylonia as "Median" where Manda, and not Madâ, must plainly be meant.

These and similar problems, however, will doubtless be cleared up by the progress of excavation and research. Perhaps M. de Morgan's excavations at Susa may throw some light on them, but it is to the work of the German expedition, which has just begun the systematic exploration of the site of Babylon, that we must chiefly look for help. The Babylon of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar rose on the ruins of Nineveh, and the story of the downfall of the Assyrian empire must still be lying buried under its mounds.

A. H. SAYCE.

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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IN giving to the public the translation of the third and last volume of Professor Maspero's work, it is necessary to say a word on the want of uniformity, which will doubtless be remarked by the reader, in the orthography of the geographical and personal names which occur in these pages. Professor Maspero, to whom I have referred more than once on the subject, is apparently at greater pains to give to the student the various forms under which a town or province was known at different periods, than to preserve a uniform orthography of the name throughout his present work. He himself writes: "*Souvent après avoir donné au début la forme authentique, j'ai employé dans la suite la forme usuelle.*" This lack of uniformity will be evident chiefly in the place-names in Palestine and Asia Minor, which of necessity varied, in the case of the former with the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian occupation, in that of the latter under its Assyrian, Lydian, Cimmerian, Phrygian, and Greek rulers. One of these many variants, and that often with an incorrect orthography, may be familiar to the English reader, and therefore must be mentioned in the translation, though the forms used in the French may be subsequently employed throughout the book without again identifying them with the popular one. I have, however, endeavoured to collect the various readings and place them in the index under one heading.

In rendering the passages from Holy Scripture cited by Professor Maspero in the course of his work, I have followed the Revised Version, but in the two or three instances where Professor Maspero's reading of the Hebrew original do not agree with that of the Revised Version, I have given a literal translation of his French, and have placed the Revised Version of the passage in

a Translator's footnote. The forms of proper names occurring in Professor Maspero's quotations from the Bible, it may be well to note, are not in many cases those adopted by the Editors of our revised Text. No change, however slight, has been made without the Author's written permission, and such alterations as have been introduced are almost entirely confined to the correction of the errors of the French printers, and not one of them has any bearing on Biblical criticism.

The English title chosen by the Editor has met with Professor Maspero's entire approbation.

M. L. McCLURE.

November 20, 1899.

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## NOTE OF THE GENERAL LITERATURE COMMITTEE OF THE S.P.C.K.

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IN bringing to a completion their undertaking to produce in English Professor Maspero's "History of the Ancient Peoples of the Classic East," the Committee wish it to be understood that they do not take upon themselves to pronounce on conclusions in the field of Biblical criticism deduced by the author from the events and documents discussed. While the great value of the materials embodied and their vivid presentment in Professor Maspero's books have seemed to the Committee to justify the publication of these volumes by the S.P.C.K., the author must be held responsible for the opinions which his study of these materials has led him to form.





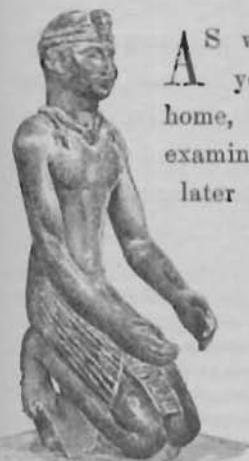
ONE OF THE EGYPTIAN IVORIES FOUND IN ASSYRIA.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE POWER OF ASSYRIA AT ITS ZENITH. ESARHADDON AND ASSUR-BANI-PAL.

The Medes and Cimmerians: Lydia—The conquest of Egypt, of Arabia, and of Elam.

AS we have already seen, Sennacherib reigned for eight years after his triumph; eight years of tranquillity at home, and of peace with all his neighbours abroad. If we examine the contemporary monuments or the documents of a later period, and attempt to glean from them some details concerning the close of his career, we find that there is a complete absence of any record of national movement on the part of either Elam, Urartu, or Egypt. The only event of which any definite mention is made is a raid across the north of Arabia, in the course of which Hazael, King of Adumu, and chief among the princes of Kedar, was despoiled of the images of his gods.<sup>2</sup> The



<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, after LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 89, 11. The initial, also by Faucher-Gudin, represents Taharqa in a kneeling attitude, and is taken from a bronze statuette in the Macgregor collection, published by SCHAEFER, *Eine Bronzefigur des Taharqa*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiii. pl. vi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Prism Inscription*, col. ii. ll. 55-58, col. iii. l. 1; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 52,



of warfare which brought them nothing but loss of men and treasure; but behind these states, on the distant horizon to the east and north-west, were rising up new nations whose growth and erratic movements assumed an importance that became daily more and more alarming. On the east, the Medes, till lately undistinguishable from the other tribes occupying the western corner of the Iranian table-land, had recently broken away from the main body, and, rallying round a single leader, already gave promise of establishing an empire formidable alike by the energy of its people and the extent of its domain. A tradition afterwards accepted by them attributed their earlier successes to a certain Deïokes, son of Phraortes, a man wiser than his fellows, who first set himself to deal out justice in his own household. The men of his village, observing his merits, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes, and, being secretly ambitious of sovereign power, he did his best to settle their differences on lines of the strictest equity and justice. "By these means he gained such credit with his fellow-citizens as to attract the attention of those who lived in the neighbouring villages, who had suffered from unjust judgments, so that when they heard of the singular uprightness of Deïokes and of the equity of his decisions they joyfully had recourse to him until at last they came to put confidence in no one else. The number of complaints brought before him continually increasing as people learnt more and more the justice of his judgments, Deïokes, finding himself now all-important, announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes, and appeared no more in the seat in which he had been accustomed to sit and administer justice. 'It was not to his advantage,' he said, 'to spend the whole day in regulating other men's affairs to the neglect of his own.' Hereupon robbery and lawlessness broke out afresh and prevailed throughout the country even more than heretofore; wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters and held a consultation on the state of affairs. The speakers, as I

54, 55. Winckler follows G. Smith (*History of Sennacherib*, pp. 137-139) in supposing that Sennacherib undertook, in his latter years, a second campaign against Palestine and Egypt, in the course of which Jerusalem was besieged a second time (*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 36-38; *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 254, 255, 257, 258, 334; *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 69). Adumu has by several Assyriologists been identified with the country of Edom (NORRIS, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 19; TIELE, *Bab.-ass. Gesch.*, p. 348; HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 708, where the city of Adumu is tentatively identified with Petra); Halévy has connected the name with that of the town of Uduneh, which lies near Yabrud, to the north-east of Damascus (*Essai sur les Inscriptions du Safa*, p. 121), and Winckler places it in Djauf (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 267), where Finzi had already (*Ricerche per lo Studio dell' Antichità Assira*, pp. 393, 394) sought to locate the biblical Dumah (*Gen.* xxv. 14; *Isa.* xxi. 11), the Dumaitha of Ptolemy (*v.* 19, § 7, cf. viii. 22, § 3), and Domata of Pliny (*H. Nat.*, vi. 32). It ought really to be looked for further north, in the country of Kedar, properly so called. It is, indeed, evident from a comparison of the texts that the Assyrians called the desert tribes to the north and south of Palmyra, Aribi or Qidri indifferently (DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 299; DELATRE, *L'Asie Occidentale*, pp. 102-104, 120-122).

think, were chiefly friends of Deïokes. 'We cannot possibly,' they said, 'go on living in this country if things continue as they now are; let us, therefore, set a king over us, so that the land may be well governed, and we ourselves may be able to attend to our own affairs, and not be forced to quit our country on account of anarchy.' After speaking thus, they persuaded themselves that they desired a king, and forthwith debated whom they should choose. Deïokes was proposed and warmly praised by all, so they agreed to elect him."<sup>1</sup> Whereupon Deïokes had a great palace built, and enrolled a bodyguard to attend upon him. He next called upon his subjects to leave their villages, and "the Medes, obedient to his orders, built the city now called Agbatana,<sup>2</sup> the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The walls are concentric, and so arranged that they rise one above the other by the height of their battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favoured this arrangement. The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last. The circuit of the outer wall is very nearly the same as that of Athens. Of this wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange. The two last have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold. All these fortifications Deïokes caused to be raised for himself and his own palace; the people he required to dwell outside the citadel. When the town was finished, he established a rule that no one should have direct access to the king, but that all communications should pass through the hands of messengers. It was declared to be unseemly for any one to see the king face to face, or to laugh or spit in his presence. This ceremonial Deïokes established for his own security, fearing lest his compeers who had been brought up with him, and were of as good family and parts as he, should be vexed at the sight of him and conspire against him: he thought that by rendering himself invisible to his vassals they would in time come to regard him as quite a different sort of being from themselves."<sup>3</sup>

Two or three facts stand out from this legendary background. It is probable that Deïokes was an actual person; that the empire of the Medes first took shape under his auspices; that he formed an important kingdom at the foot of Mount Elvend, and founded Ecbatana the Great, or, at any rate, helped to

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xcvi.-xcviii.

<sup>2</sup> Agbatana (ÆSCHYLUS, *Persæ*, 16; HERODOTUS, I. xcvi. 1; ARISTOPHANES, *Acharnians*, 64) or Ecbatana is the Greek form of the old Iranian name Haŋmatāna, Hagmatāna, borne by the city in the great inscription of Behistun (col. II. l. 76; cf. WEISERACH and BANG, *Die Altpersische Keilinschriften*, pp. 20, 21). Modern writers, inspired by Herodotus' legend, explain this name as "the meeting-place" of the tribes (G. RAWLINSON, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. II. p. 363; SPIEGEL, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. p. 103, note 1). It is now called Hamadān.

<sup>3</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xcvi., xcix.



raise it to the rank of a capital.<sup>1</sup> Its site was happily chosen, in a rich and fertile valley, close to where the roads emerge which cross the Zagros chain of mountains and connect Irân with the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, almost on the border of the salt desert which forms and renders sterile the central regions of the plateau. Mount Elvend shelters it, and feeds with its snows the streams that irrigate it, whose waters transform the whole country round into one vast orchard. The modern town has, as it were, swallowed up all traces of its predecessor; a stone lion, overthrown and mutilated, marks the site of the royal palace. The chronological reckoning of the native annalists,



STONE LION AT HAMADÂN.<sup>2</sup>

as handed down to us by Herodotus, credits Deïokes with a reign of fifty-three years, which occupied almost the whole of the first half of the seventh century, i.e. from 709 to 656, or from 700 to 647 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The records of Nineveh mention a certain Day-

aukku who was governor of the Mannai, and an ally of the Assyrians in the days of Sargon, and was afterwards deported with his family to Hamath in 715;<sup>4</sup> two years later reference is made to an expedition across the territory of Bit-Dayaukku, which is described as lying between Ellipi and Karalla, thus corresponding to the modern province of Hamadân.<sup>5</sup> It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the Dayaukku who gave his name to this district

<sup>1</sup> The existence of Deïokes has been called in question by Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 307, et seq.) and by the Rawlinsons (*Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 321, and *The Five Great Monarchies*, 2nd edit., vol. ii. pp. 380-383). Most recent historians, however, accept the story of this personage as true in its main facts (FR. LENORMANT, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, 1st ser., vol. i. pp. 55-62; SPIEGEL, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. pp. 248-252; DELATTRE, *Le Peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes*, pp. 129-146; NÖLDEKE, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, pp. 4-6; JUSTI, *Geschichte des Alten Persiens*, pp. 5-7); some believe him to have been merely the ancestor of the royal house which later on founded the united kingdom of the Medes (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 555; PRASHEE, *Medien und das Haus Kyzaxes*, p. 40, and *Beiträge zur Medischen Geschichte*, in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xix. p. 202; WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (I. cii.) expressly attributes a reign of fifty-three years to his Deïokes, and the total of a hundred and fifty years which we obtain by adding together the number of years assigned by him to the four Median kings (53 + 22 + 40 + 35) brings us back to 709-708, if we admit, as he does, that the year of the proclamation by Cyrus as King of Persia (559-558) was that in which Astyages was overthrown (I. cxxx.); we get 700-699 as the date of Deïokes' accession, if we separate the two facts, as the monuments compel us to do, and reckon the hundred and fifty years of the Median empire from the fall of Astyages in 550-549.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 25, and p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of Sargon*, ll. 75-77, and *Inscription des Fastes*, l. 49; cf. p. 243, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals of Sargon*, l. 140; cf. p. 250, *infra*. As to the probable position of Ellipi and Karalla, cf. the map on p. 141, *infra*. The name Bit-Dayaukku is probably only the Assyrian equivalent of the native appellation.

was identical with the Deïokes of later writers.<sup>1</sup> He was the official ancestor of a royal house, a fact proved by the way in which his conqueror uses the name to distinguish the country over which he had ruled; moreover, the epoch assigned to him by contemporary chroniclers coincides closely enough with that indicated by tradition in the case of Deïokes. He was never the august sovereign that posterity afterwards made him out to be, and his territory included barely half of what constituted the province of Media in classical times; he contrived, however—and it was this that gained him



VIEW OF HAMADÂN AND MOUNT ELVEND IN WINTER.<sup>2</sup>

universal renown in later days—to create a central rallying-point for the Median tribes around which they henceforth grouped themselves. The work of concentration was merely in its initial stage during the lifetime of Sennacherib, and little or nothing was felt of its effects outside its immediate area of influence, but the pacific character ascribed to the worthy Deïokes by popular legends, is to a certain extent confirmed by the testimony of the monuments: they record only one expedition, in 702, against Ellipi and the neighbouring tribes, in the course of which some portions of the newly acquired territory were annexed

<sup>1</sup> The form Deïokes, in place of Daïokes, is due to the Ionic dialect employed by Herodotus (cf. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, pp. 6, 147). Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 76) regards the name as an abbreviated form of the ancient Persian *Dahyaupati* = "the master of a province," with the suffix *-ka*.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph by M. de Morgan; cf. J. DE MORGAN, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, vol. ii. pl. lvi.

to the province of Kharkhar,<sup>1</sup> and after mentioning this the annals have nothing further to relate during the rest of the reign. Sennacherib was too much taken up with his retaliatory measures against Babylon, or his disputes with Elam, to think of venturing on expeditions such as those which had brought Tiglath-pileser III. or Sargon within sight of Mount Bikni; while the Medes, on their part, had suffered so many reverses under these two monarchs that they probably thought twice before attacking any of the outposts scattered along the Assyrian frontier: nothing occurred to disturb their tranquillity during the early years of the seventh century, and this peaceful interval probably enabled Deïokes to consolidate, if not to extend, his growing authority. But if matters were quiet, at all events on the surface, in this direction, the nations on the north and north-west had for some time past begun to adopt a more threatening attitude. That migration of races between Europe and Asia, which had been in such active progress about the middle of the second millennium before our era, had increased twofold in intensity after the rise of the XX<sup>th</sup> Egyptian dynasty,<sup>2</sup> and from thenceforward a wave of new races had gradually spread over the whole of Asia Minor, and had either driven the older peoples into the less fertile or more inaccessible districts, or else had overrun and absorbed them. Many of the nations that had fought against Ramses II. and Ramses III., such as the Uashasha, the Shagalasha, the Zakkali, the Danauna, and the Tursha, had disappeared, but the Thracians, whose appearance on the scene caused such consternation in days gone by, had taken root in the very heart of the peninsula, and had, in the course of three or four generations, succeeded in establishing a thriving state.<sup>3</sup> The legend which traced the descent of the royal line<sup>4</sup> back to the fabulous hero Ascanius proves that at the outset the haughty tribe of the Ascanians must have taken precedence over their fellows;<sup>5</sup> it soon degenerated, however, and before long the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what has been said on this subject on p. 277, *supra*.

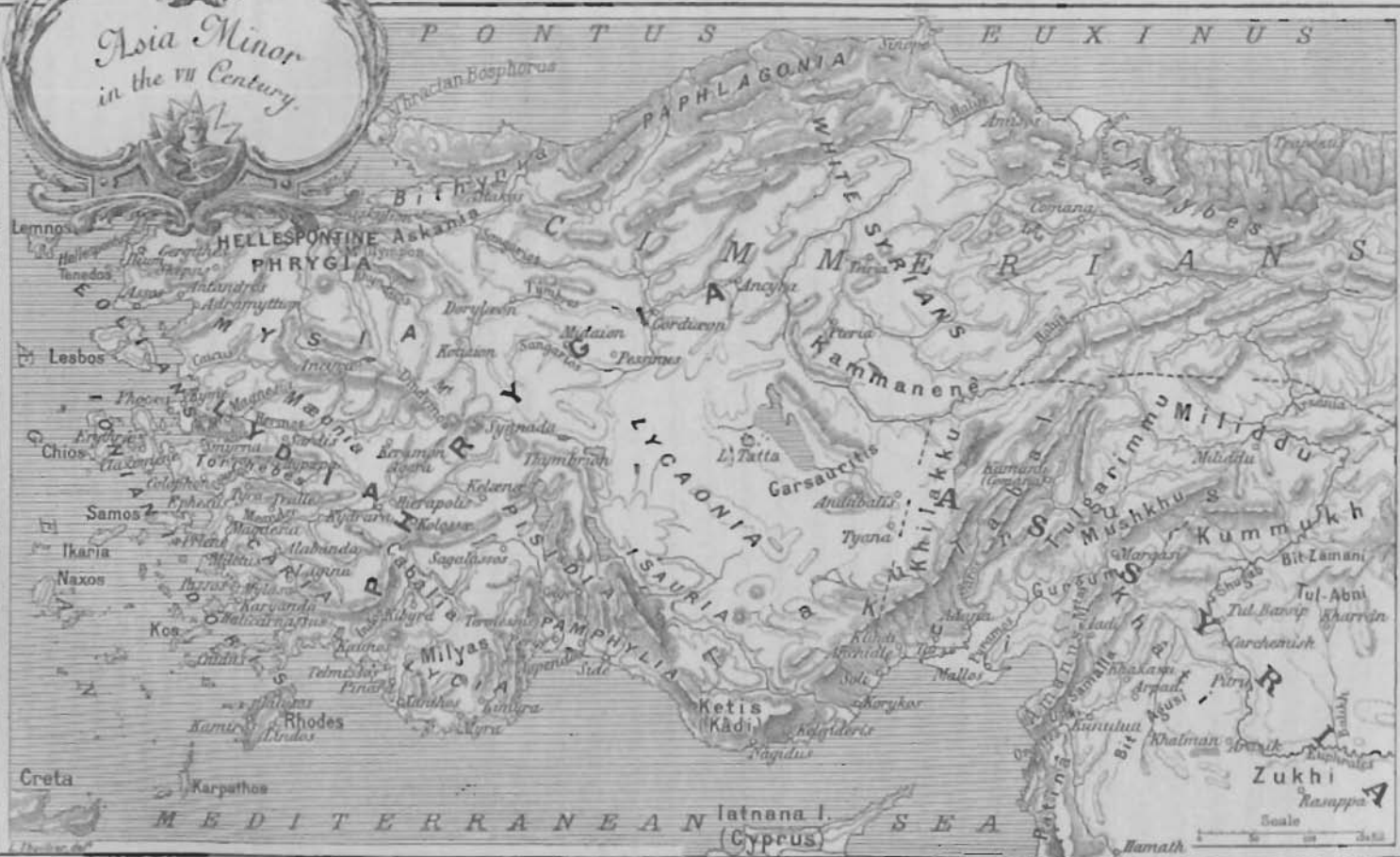
<sup>2</sup> Cf., for the movements of these races, *The Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 362, 363, 461-470. Here, again, the limitations to which the original plan of my work has been subjected have obliged me to suppress nearly everything connected with what we know of the nations of Asia Minor; I have merely retained such few details of Phrygian and Lydian history as are necessary to enable the reader to understand the politics of the ancient empires of the East.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what has been said on this subject in *The Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 586, 587. I may mention that several scholars, such as Ramsay, for instance (*A Study of Phrygian Art*, in *Jour. of Hellenic Studies*, 1888), place the arrival of the Phrygians in Asia Minor as late as the ninth century B.C.

<sup>4</sup> This Ascanius is mentioned in the *Iliad* (Bk. II. 862, 863: *ᾠδὴν δὲ Φρύγιαν ἦγε, καὶ Ἀσκανίους θεοειδὴς*, — τῆλ' ἔξ' Ἀσκανίης; cf. STRABO, XII. iv. § 5, p. 564).

<sup>5</sup> The name of this tribe was retained by a district afterwards included in the province of Bithynia, viz. Ascania, on the shores of the Ascanian lake: the distribution of place and personal names over the face of the country makes it seem extremely probable that Ascania and the early Ascanians occupied the whole of the region bounded on the north by the Propontis; in other words, the very country in which, according to Xanthus of Lydia (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 37), the Phrygians first established themselves after their arrival in Asia (STRABO, XII. viii. § 3, p. 572). As to the application of the name Ashkenaz (*Gen. x. 3*) by Rabbinical commentators, and its identification with Ascania and Phrygia, cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Orig. de l'Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 388-395.

Asia Minor  
in the VII Century.



Phrygian tribe gained the upper hand and gave its name to the whole nation.<sup>1</sup> Phrygia proper, the country first colonised by them, lay between Mount Dindymus and the river Halys, in the valley of the Upper Sangarios and its affluents: it was there that the towns and strongholds of their most venerated leaders, such as Midaion, Dorylaion, Gordiaion, Tataion, and many others stood close together, perpetuating the memory of Midas, Dorylas, Gordios, and Tatas.<sup>2</sup> Its climate was severe and liable to great extremes of temperature, being bitterly cold in winter and almost tropical during the summer months; forests of oak and pine, however, and fields of corn flourished, while the mountain slopes favoured the growth of the vine; it was, in short, an excellent and fertile country, well fitted for the development of a nation of vine-dressers and tillers of the soil. The slaying of an ox or the destruction of an agricultural implement was punishable by death,<sup>3</sup> and legend relates that Gordios, the first Phrygian king, was a peasant by birth. His sole patrimony consisted of a single pair of oxen, and the waggon used by him in bringing home his sheaves after the harvest was afterwards placed as an offering in the temple of Cybele at Ancyra by his son Midas; there was a local tradition according to which the welfare of all Asia depended on the knot which bound the yoke to the pole being preserved intact.<sup>4</sup> Midas did not imitate his father's simple habits, and the poets, after crediting him with fabulous wealth, tried also to make out that he was a conqueror. The kingdom expanded in all directions, and soon included the upper valley of the Mæander, with its primeval sanctuaries, Kydrara, Colossæ, and Kylænæ, founded wherever exhalations of steam and boiling springs betrayed the presence of some supernatural power. The southern shores of the Hellespont, which formed part of the Troad, and was the former territory of Ascania, belonged to it, as did also the majority of the peoples scattered along the coast of the Euxine between the mouth of the Sangarios and that of the Halys; those portions of the central steppe which border on Lake Tatta were also for a time subject to it,<sup>5</sup> Lydia was under its influence,<sup>6</sup> and it is no exaggeration to say that in the tenth and eleventh centuries before our era

<sup>1</sup> As to the early form of their name, Bryges (HERODOTUS, VII. lxxvii.; STRABO, VII. iii. § 2, p. 295, and *Fragm.* 24, ed. MÜLLER-DIDOT, p. 278), cf. TOMASCHKE, *Die Alten Thraker*, and KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> As to the derivation of the names of Phrygian towns and castles, cf. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 144, 439.

<sup>3</sup> NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 128, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 461, who probably took his facts from Xanthus of Lydia.

<sup>4</sup> ARRIAN, *Anabasis*, II. iii. §§ 2-4; QUINTUS CURTIUS, iii. 1; ÆLIAN, *De Natura Animalium*, xiii. 1; cf. GUTSCHMID, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. iii. pp. 457-465.

<sup>5</sup> Salambria in Garsauria bears a name of Thracian and, consequently, Phrygian origin; cf. KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the traditions in regard to the Phrygian Sipylus, and in regard to the Phrygian origin of Tantalus, Pelops, and Niobe (STRABO, XII. viii. § 2, p. 571; HERODOTUS, VII. ii.).

there was a regular Phrygian empire which held sway, almost without a rival, over the western half of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

It has left behind it so few relics of its existence, that we can only guess at what it must have been in the days of its prosperity. Three or four ruined fortresses, a few votive stelæ, and a dozen bas-reliefs cut on the faces of cliffs in a style which at first recalls the Hittite and Asianic carvings of the preceding age, and afterwards, as we come down to later times, betrays the influence



MONUMENT COMMEMORATIVE OF MIDAS.<sup>2</sup>

of early Greek art.<sup>3</sup> In the midst of one of their cemeteries we come upon a monument resembling the façade of a house or temple cut out of the virgin rock; it consists of a low triangular pediment, surmounted by a double scroll, then a rectangle of greater length than height, framed between two pilasters and a horizontal string-course, the centre being decorated with a geometrical design of crosses in a way which suggests the pattern of a carpet; a recess is hollowed out on a level with the ground, and filled by

<sup>1</sup> As to the conclusions to be drawn from a study of geographical names with regard to the extension of the Phrygian empire, cf. KRETSCHMER, *Einführung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 203-208.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a plate in PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> For a survey of the art of the Phrygian monuments, cf. RAMSAY, *A Study of Phrygian Art*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix. pp. 350-382, and vol. x. pp. 147-189; also PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. pp. 1-235, 899-902.



a blind door with rebated doorposts. Is it a tomb? The inscription carefully engraved above one side of the pediment contains the name of Midas, and seems to show that we have before us a commemorative monument, piously dedicated by a certain Ates in honour of the Phrygian hero.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere we come upon the outlines of a draped female form, sometimes alone, sometimes



A PHRYGIAN GOD.<sup>2</sup>

accompanied by two lions, or of a man clothed in a short tunic, holding a sort of straight sceptre in his hand, and we fancy that we have the image of a god before our eyes, though we cannot say which of the deities handed down by tradition it may represent.<sup>3</sup> The religion of the Phrygians is shrouded in the same mystery as their civilisation and their art, and presents a curious mixture of European and Asianic elements. The old aboriginal races had worshipped from time immemorial a certain mother-goddess, Mâ, or Amma, the black earth, which brings forth without ceasing, and nourishes all living things.<sup>4</sup> Her central place of worship seems, originally, to have

been in the region of the Anti-taurus, and it was there that her sacred cities—Tyana, Venasa, and the Cappadocian Comana—were to be found as late as Roman times; in these towns her priests were regarded as kings, and thousands of her priestesses spent lives of prostitution in her service; but her sanctuaries, with their special rites and regulations, were scattered over the whole peninsula.<sup>5</sup> She was sometimes worshipped under the form of a meteoric stone, or betyle

<sup>1</sup> This is the view taken by PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 102; other authorities take it to be the real tomb of some deceased Midas, and not a commemorative chapel in honour of the original Midas (cf. again RAMSAY, *A Study of Phrygian Art*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. x. pp. 156-161).

<sup>2</sup> PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 146, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Etymologicon Magnum*, s.v. 'Αμμά, with its secondary forms 'Αμμάς and 'Αμμάς, 'Αμμά; among the Lydians Mâ was identified with the Greek Rhea (STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, s.v. Μάδαυρα).

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by RAMSAY, *Studies in Asia Minor*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pl. xxi. B; cf. PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 721, 722, and vol. v. p. 147, where the figure is described as that of a priest, not of a god.

<sup>5</sup> As to the constitution of Comana in Cappadocia, cf. STRABO, XII. ii. § 3, p. 535; a list of some of the towns in which it obtained is given by RAMSAY, *Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. p. 77, et seq.

similar to those found in Canaan;<sup>1</sup> more frequently she was represented in female shape, with attendant lions, or placed erect on a lion in the attitude of walking.<sup>2</sup> A moon-god, Mên, shared divine honours with her,<sup>3</sup> and with a goddess Nana whose son Atys had been the only love of Mên and the victim of her passion. We are told that she compelled him to emasculate himself in a fit of mad delirium, and then transformed him into a pine tree: thenceforward her priests made the sacrifice of their virility with their own hands at the moment of dedicating themselves to the service of the goddess.<sup>4</sup> The gods introduced from Thrace by the Phrygians showed a close affinity with those of the purely Asianic peoples. Precedence was universally given to a celestial divinity named Bagaïos, Lord of the Oak, perhaps because he was worshipped under a gigantic



THE MOTHER-GODDESS BETWEEN LIONS.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* at Mount Dindymus and at Pessinus, which latter place was supposed to possess the oldest sanctuary of Cybele (APPIAN, *De Bello Anniblico*, § lvi.; HERODIAN, i. 11; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXII. ix. §§ 5-7). The Pessinus stone, which was carried off to Rome in 204 B.C., was small, irregular in shape, and of a dark colour. Another stone represented Cybele on Mount Ida (CLAUDIAN, *De Raptu Proserpine*, II. 202-209).

<sup>2</sup> She is shown between two lions as in the illustration on this page; elsewhere she appears erect on the back of a lion, in one of the monuments reproduced by PERROT and CHIZEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 650, 651.

<sup>3</sup> As to Mên and his associates, cf. WADDINGTON and LEBAS, *Voyage Archéologique, Explication des Inscriptions*, iii., Nos. 667, 668. Ramsay believes the god to be the Phrygian Manes, transformed into Mên by popular etymology during the Greek epoch, and then identified with a moon-god (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pp. 169, 294); Kretschmer is inclined to accept this hypothesis (*Einführung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 197, note 4). Seeing how little we know of the early attributes of this god, I am somewhat inclined to reverse Ramsay's theory: a native god, Mên, may have been changed to Manes by popular etymology, and afterwards identified with Manes, a purely Phrygian deity.

<sup>4</sup> Nana was made out to be the daughter of the river Sangarios. She is said to have conceived Atys by placing in her bosom the fruit of an almond tree which sprang from the hermaphrodite Agdistis (cf. the legends borrowed from Timotheus by ARNOBIUS, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 5-7, and those preserved by PAUSANIAS, VII. xviii. § 5). This was the form—extremely ancient in its main features—in which the legend was preserved at Pessinus. For other versions, cf. OVID, *Fasti*, iv. 221-224; JULIAN, *Serm. V.*, *De Mater Deorum*, p. 165 B; SALLUST PHIL., *De Diis et Mundo*, iv.; DIODORUS SICULUS, iii. 58, 59; FIRMICUS MATERNUS, *De Erroribus prof. religion.*, 27, 1, ed. Halm. As to the Syrian origin of Atys or Attes and his supposed identity with Adê, cf. ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 307, 308, who declares unhesitatingly that it is nothing more than a plausible conjecture: the myth of Atys and that of Adonis subsequently became merged into one another during the Alexandrine period.

<sup>5</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a sketch by Ramsay, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1884, vol. v. p. 285; cf. PERROT and CHIZEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. pp. 156, 157.



sacred oak; <sup>1</sup> he was king of gods and men, <sup>2</sup> their father, <sup>3</sup> lord of the thunder and the lightning, <sup>4</sup> the warrior who charges in his chariot. <sup>5</sup> He, doubtless, allowed a queen-regent of the earth to share his throne, <sup>6</sup> but Sauazios, <sup>7</sup> another and, at first, less venerable deity had thrown this august pair into the shade. <sup>8</sup> The



THE MOTHER-GODDESS AND ATYS.<sup>12</sup>

thius, ἀνίσταται εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν Βίθουσι ἐκείλουν Πάπῃ τὸν Δία καὶ Ἀττῶν τὸν ἀστῶν, and the inscription at Prusa, dedicated to Ζεὺς παπῆφως (*Mittheilungen aus Esterr.*, vol. vii. p. 174, et seq.).

<sup>4</sup> Βροντῶν. He is called Βροντῶν καὶ Ἀστράπτων in an inscription at Laodicea (Athen. *Mittheilungen*, vol. xiii. p. 235, No. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Βένριος or Βερρέος, from the Thracian Benna, "chariot" (RAMSAY, *A Study of Phrygian Art*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, p. 512).

<sup>6</sup> The existence of such a goddess may be deduced from the passage in which Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.*, i. 27) states that Manes, first king of the Phrygians, was the son of Zeus and Demeter.

<sup>7</sup> As to the various forms of this name, Sabazios or Sauazios, cf. KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 195, 196; its original meaning is not known.

<sup>8</sup> This is proved by dedications to the Διὶ Σαβαζίῳ in Greek inscriptions in Phrygia; as to Sabazios-Sauazios, cf. RAMSAY, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pp. 294, 295.

<sup>9</sup> He is represented on votive bas-reliefs with a radiated crown on his head; cf. an inscription at Nicopolis quoted in the *Mitt. aus Esterr.*, vol. x. p. 241, No. 6, Διὶ Ἁλῆι Μεγάλῃ κυρίῳ Σαβαζίῳ ἁγίῳ.

<sup>10</sup> NYMPHIS, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 14: Διόνυσος καὶ Σαβάσιος εἰς ἐστὶ θεός; cf. DIODORUS SICULUS, iv. 4.

<sup>11</sup> As to the nature of the god, cf. especially the *De Iside et Osiride*, PARTHEY'S ed., § 69, pp. 121, 122, where his name Sauazios does not appear, but he is simply described as δ θεός; as to the meaning and possible derivation of the word Sauades, cf. KRETSCHMER, *op. cit.*, p. 196, note 2.

<sup>12</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Chantre. It is one of the bas-reliefs at Iasili-kiaia (cf. PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. pp. 645, 646), to which we shall have occasion to refer later on in Chapter V. of the present volume.

Greeks, finding this Sauazios at the head of the Phrygian Pantheon, identified him with their Zeus, <sup>9</sup> or, less frequently, with the Sun; <sup>10</sup> he was really a variant of their Dionysos. <sup>11</sup> He became torpid in the autumn, and slept a death-

<sup>1</sup> The name Bagaïos (HESYCHIUS, s.v.l.) was for a long time identified with the Sanscrit bhāga-, the Old-Persian *baga* and the Old-Slavonic *bogu* = "god." Torp (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, v. p. 193) has recently sought to derive it from a Phrygian word *bāga*, which he connects with the O.H.G. *buchha* and Latin *fagus*, thus making the god the presiding genius of the oak, *φρυγοβαῖος*. This etymology has been adopted and defended by KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 198, 199.

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions he is called βασιλεύς, "king," and τύραννος, "tyrant."

<sup>3</sup> In this capacity he bore the surname Papas. Cf. the fragment from ARRIAN, *Bythin.*, quoted by Eusta-

like sleep all through the winter; but no sooner did he feel the warmth of the first breath of spring, than he again awoke, glowing with youth, and revelled during his summer in the heart of the forest or on the mountain-side, leading a life of riot and intoxication, guarded by a band of Sauades, spirits of the springs and streams, the Sileni of Greek mythology. The resemblances detected by the new-comers between the orgies of Thrace and those of Asia



THE GOD MÊN ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUN AND OTHER DEITIES.<sup>1</sup>

quickly led to confusion between the different dogmas and divinities. The Phrygians adopted Mâ, and made her their queen, the Cybele who dwells in the hills,<sup>2</sup> and takes her title from the mountain-tops which she inhabits—Dindymêne on Mount Dindymus, Sipylêne on Mount Sipylus. She is always the earth, but the earth untilled, and is seated in the midst of lions, or borne through her domain in a car drawn by lions, accompanied by a troop of Corymbantes with dishevelled locks. Sauazios, identified with the Asianic Atys, became her lover and her priest, and Mên, transformed by popular etymology into Manes, the good and beautiful, was looked upon as the giver of good luck,

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Perdrizet, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, 1896, pl. vi. The last figure on the left is the god Mên; the Sun overlooks all the rest, and a god bearing an axe occupies the extreme right of the picture. The shapes of these ancient aboriginal deities have been modified by the influence of Græco-Roman syncretism, and I merely give these figures, as I do many others, for lack of better representations.

<sup>2</sup> According to Hesychius, *kybela* is the Phrygian word for "mountain," "cave;" *Kύβηλα*, ἡ φρυγίας καὶ ἑντρα καὶ θαλαμοί. As to this goddess, cf. Decharme's article in *SAGLIO, Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. ii. p. 1679, et seq.

who protects men after death as well as in life. This religion, evolved from so many diverse elements, possessed a character of sombre poetry and sensual fanaticism which appealed strongly to the Greek imagination: they quickly adopted even its most barbarous mysteries, those celebrated in honour of the goddess and Atys, or of Sauazios. They tell us but little of the inner significance of the symbols and doctrines taught by its votaries, but have frequently described its outward manifestations. These consisted of aimless wanderings through the forests, in which the priest, incarnate representative of his god, led after him the ministers of the temple, who were identified with the Sauades and nymphs of the heavenly host. Men heard them passing in the night, heralded by the piercing notes of the flute provoking to frenzy, and by the clash of brazen cymbals, accompanied by the din of uproarious ecstasy: these sounds were broken at intervals by the bellowing of bulls and the roll of drums, like the rumbling of subterranean thunder.<sup>1</sup>

MIDAS OF PHRYGIA.<sup>2</sup>

A Midas followed a Gordios, and a Gordios a Midas, in alternate succession, and under their rule the Phrygian empire enjoyed a period of prosperous obscurity. Lydia led an uneventful existence beside them, under dynasties which have received merely passing notice at the hands of the Greek chroniclers. They credit it at the outset with the almost fabulous royal line of the Attyadæ, in one of whose reigns the Tyrseni are said to have migrated into Italy.<sup>3</sup> Towards the twelfth century the Attyadæ were supplanted by a family of Heraclidæ, who traced their descent to a certain Agrôn, whose personality is only a degree less mythical than his ancestry; he was descended from Heracles through Alcæus, Belus, and Ninus. Whether these last two names point to intercourse with one or other of the courts on the banks of the Euphrates, it is difficult to say.<sup>4</sup> Twenty-one Heraclidæ, each one the son of his predecessor, are said to have followed Agrôn on the throne, their combined reigns giving a

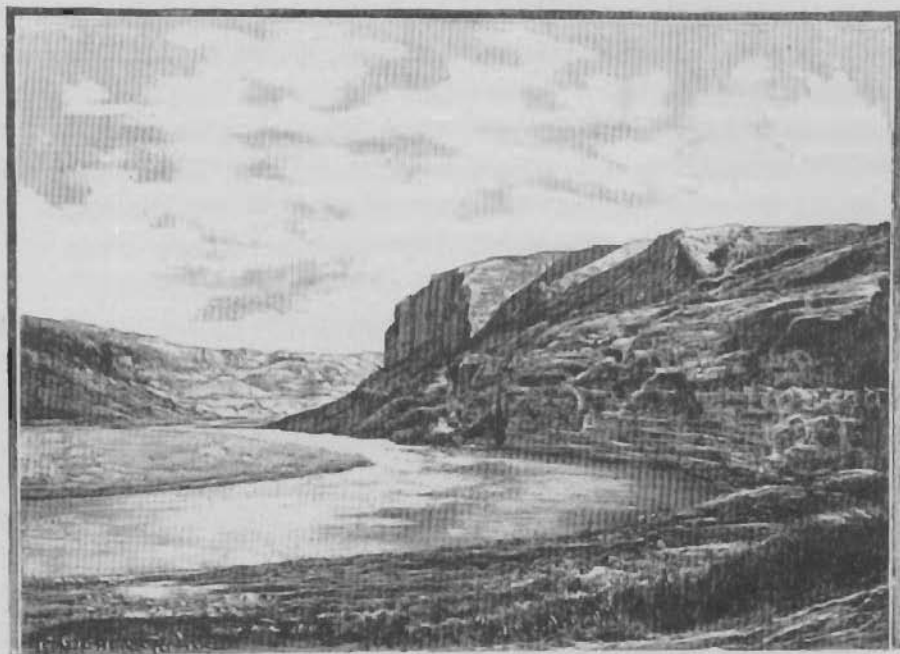
<sup>1</sup> *ÆSCHYLUS, Hedon.*, Fragments 1-3, in *ÄHRENS-DIDOT'S* edition, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a specimen in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. It is a bronze coin from Prynnessos in Phrygia, belonging to the imperial epoch. The cast reproduced above was kindly lent to me by M. Babelon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what has been said as to this migration of the Tyrseni, in *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 587.

<sup>4</sup> *HERODOTUS*, I. vii.; as to the Assyrian origin of these personages, cf. *FR. LENORMANT, Les Antiquités de la Troade*, pt. 1, pp. 68, 69, whence the theory has passed on to *D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, 2nd edit., vol. i. pp. 120, 121, 274-277; to *PERROT and CHIFFEZ, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 245; to *SCHUBERT, Geschichte der Könige von Lydien*, pp. 7, 8; and to *RADET, La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 66, 67; while *Sayce (The Ancient Empires of the East*, vol. i. p. 427) is rather inclined to look on them as a survival of the Hittite dominion in Asia Minor. We have here probably merely a genealogy which was fabricated bit by bit at a period when a vague memory of the relations kept up by Gyges and Ardyas with Assur-bani-pal and the court of Assyria still existed.

total of five hundred years.<sup>1</sup> Most of these princes, whether Attyadæ or Heraclidæ, have for us not even a shadowy existence, and what we know of the remainder is of a purely fabulous nature. For instance, Kambles is reported to have possessed such a monstrous appetite, that he devoured his own wife one night, while asleep.<sup>2</sup> The concubine of Meles, again, is said to have brought forth a lion, and the oracle of Telmessos predicted that the town of Sardes



THE STEEP BANKS OF THE HALYS FAILED TO ARREST THEM.<sup>3</sup>

would be rendered impregnable if the animal were led round the city walls; this was done, except on the side of the citadel facing Mount Tmolus, which was considered unapproachable, but it was by that very path that the Persians subsequently entered the town.<sup>4</sup> Alkimos, we are told, accumulated immense

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, I. vii. The number is a purely conventional one, and Gutschmid has shown how it originated. The computation at first comprised the complete series of 22 Heraclidæ and 5 Mermnadæ, estimated reasonably at 4 kings to a century, *i.e.*  $27 \times 25 = 675$  years, from the taking of Sardes to the supposed accession of Agrôn. As it was known from other sources that the 5 Mermnadæ had reigned 170 years, these were subtracted from the 675, to obtain the duration of the Heraclidæ alone, and by this means were obtained the 505 years mentioned by Herodotus (SCHUBERT, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, p. 8; GUTSCHMID, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 474, 475).

<sup>2</sup> XANTHUS OF LYDIA, *Fragm.* 14, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39. Another version, related by Nicolas of Damascus, refers the story to the time of Iardanos, a contemporary of Hercules (HEROD., I. vii.); it shows that the Lydian chronographers considered Kambles or Kamblitas as being one of the last of the Attyad kings (*Fragm.* 28, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 372, note 4; SCHUBERT, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by A. BOISSIER, *En Cappadoce*, pp. 16, 17. The road leading from Angora to Yuzgat crosses the river not far from the site shown here, near the spot where the ancient road crossed.

<sup>4</sup> HERODOTUS, I. lxxxiv.

treasures, and under his rule his subjects enjoyed unequalled prosperity for fourteen years.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the story of the expedition despatched into Palestine by a certain Akiamos, which ended in the foundation of Ascalon, is merely a feeble echo of the raids in Syrian and Egyptian waters made by the Tyrseni and Sardinians in the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> The spread of the Phrygians, and the subsequent progress of Greek colonisation, must have curtailed the possessions of the Heraclidæ from the eleventh to the ninth centuries, but the material condition of the people does not appear to have suffered by this diminution of territory. When they had once firmly planted themselves in the ports along the Asianic littoral—at Kymê, at Phocæa, at Smyrna, at Clazomenæ, at Colophon, at Ephesus, at Magnesia, at Miletus—the Æolians and the Ionians lost no time in reaping the advantages which this position, at the western extremities of the great high-road through Asia Minor, secured to them. They overran all the Lydian settlements in Phrygia—Sardes, Leontocephalos, Pessinus, Gordiæon, and Ancyra. The steep banks and the tortuous course of the Halys failed to arrest them; and they pushed forward beyond the mysterious regions peopled by the White Syrians, where the ancient civilisation of Asia Minor still held its sway. The search for precious metals mainly drew them on—the gold and silver, the copper, bronze, and above all iron, which the Chalybes found in their mountains, and which were conveyed by caravans from the regions of the Caucasus to the sacred towns of Teiria and Pteria.<sup>3</sup> The friendly relations into which they entered with the natives on these journeys resulted before long in barter and intermarriage, though their influence made itself felt in different ways, according to the character of the people on whom it was brought to bear.<sup>4</sup> They gave as a legacy to Phrygia one of their alphabets, that of Kymê, which soon banished the old Hittite syllabary from the monuments,<sup>5</sup> and they borrowed in exchange Phrygian customs,

<sup>1</sup> XANTHUS OF LYDIA, *Fragm.* 10, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 38; cf. NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 49, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 382.

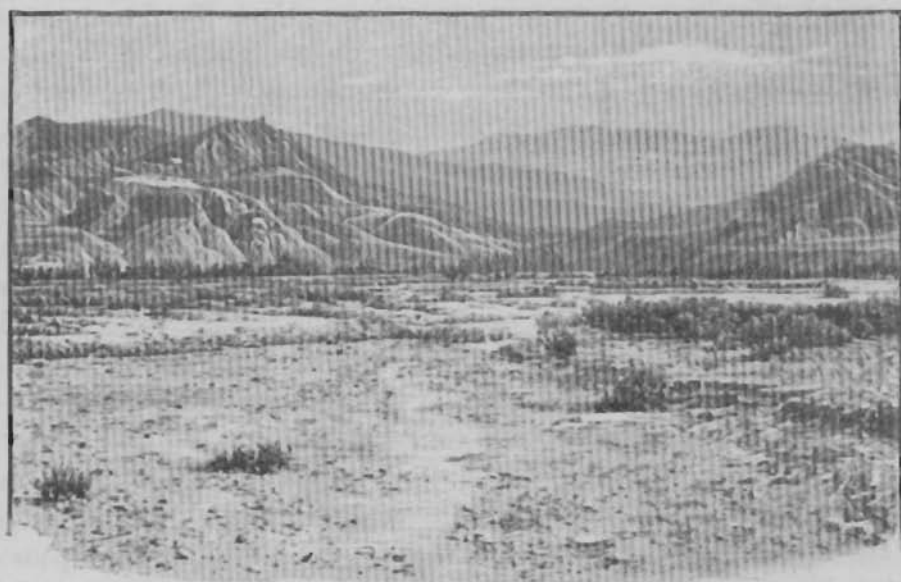
<sup>2</sup> XANTHUS OF LYDIA, *Fragm.* 23, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 43; cf. NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 26, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 372. The correction of Akiamos into Alkimos and their identification one with another is unjustifiable, as has been lately pointed out by SCHUBERT, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, p. 3. *Fragm.* 25 of Nicolas of Damascus (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 372), which mentions the town of Nêrabos, the Nirabu of the Egyptian texts (cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 142, note 6), belonged to the account of this campaign, and it may serve to indicate the pretended itinerary of the Lydian expedition.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Pteria has been fixed at Boghaz-keui by Texier, an identification which has been generally adopted; cf. PERROT and CHIFFEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iv. p. 596, et seq. Euyuk is very probably, as Radet conjectures (*La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, p. 27, note 3), Teiria, a town of the Leucosyrians, mentioned by Hecataeus of Miletus in his work (*Fragm.* 194, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 13).

<sup>4</sup> For all these facts, which want of space obliges me to curtail, I must refer the reader to the valuable work of RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., pp. 63-111.

<sup>5</sup> This is Ramsay's hypothesis in the *Athenæum*, 1884, pp. 864, 865, and *A Study of Phrygian Art* in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. x. pp. 186-189.

musical instruments, traditions, and religious orgies. A Midas sought in marriage Hermodikê, the daughter of Agamemnon the Kymæan,<sup>1</sup> while another Midas, who had consulted the oracle of Delphi, presented to the god the chryselephantine throne on which he was wont to sit when he dispensed justice.<sup>2</sup> This interchange of amenities and these alliances, however, had a merely superficial effect, and in no way modified the temperament and life of



VIEW OVER THE PLAIN OF SARDIS.<sup>3</sup>

the people in inner Asia Minor. They remained a robust, hardworking race, attached to their fields and woods, loutish and slow of understanding, unskilled in war, and not apt in defending themselves in spite of their natural bravery. The Lydians, on the contrary, submitted readily to foreign influence, and the Greek leaven introduced among them became the germ of a new civilisation, which occupied an intermediate place between that of the Greek and that of the Oriental world.<sup>4</sup> About the first half of the eighth century B.C. the Lydians had become organised into a confederation of several tribes, governed by hereditary chiefs, who were again in their turn subject to the Heraclidæ occupying Sardes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HERACLIDES OF PONTUS, *Constitutions*, xi. § 3, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 216; cf. POLLUX, *Onomasticon*, ix. 83, where the wife is called Demodikê. The striking of the earliest Kymæan coins is attributed to her, which would oblige us to put her at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century. Her husband must be one of the last sovereigns bearing the name Midas.

<sup>2</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Boudier from a photograph.

<sup>4</sup> PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v. p. 253, et seq., and particularly RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., pp. 86-111, 260, et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Gelzer was the first, to my knowledge, to state that Lydia was a feudal state, and he defined its constitution (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 520-524); Radet (*op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91) refuses to recognise it as feudal in the true sense of the term, and he prefers to see in it a confederation of states under the authority of a single prince.



This town rose in terraces on the lower slopes of a detached spur of the Tmolus running in the direction of the Hermos, and was crowned by the citadel, within which were included the royal palace, the treasury, and the arsenals. It was surrounded by an immense plain, bounded on the south by a curve of the Tmolus, and on the west by the distant mountains of Phrygia Katakekaumenê. The Mæonians still claimed primacy over the entire race, and the reigning family was chosen from among their nobles.<sup>1</sup> The king, who was supposed to be descended from the gods, bore, as the insignia of his rank, a double-headed axe, the emblem of his divine ancestors. The Greeks of later times said that the axe was that of their Heracles, which was wrested by him



THE AXE BORNE BY ZEUS  
LABRAUNDOS.<sup>2</sup>

from the Amazon Hippolyta, and given to Omphalê.<sup>3</sup> The king was the supreme head of the priesthood, as also of the vassal chiefs and of the army, but he had as a subordinate a "companion" who could replace him when occasion demanded,<sup>4</sup> and he was assisted in the exercise of his functions by the counsel of "Friends," and further still in extraordinary circumstances by the citizens of the capital assembled in the public square.

This intervention of the voice of the populace was a thing unknown in the East, and had probably been introduced in imitation of customs observed among the Greeks of Æolia or Ionia; it was an important political factor, and might possibly lead to an outbreak or a revolution. Outside the pale of Sardes and the province of Mæonia, the bulk of Lydian territory was distributed among a very numerous body of landowners, who were particularly proud of their noble descent. Many of these country magnates held extensive fiefs, and had in their pay small armies, which rendered them almost independent, and the only way for the sovereign to succeed in ruling them was to conciliate them at all hazards, and to keep them in perpetual enmity with their fellows. Two of these rival families vied with each other in their efforts to secure the royal favour; that of the Tylonidæ and that of the Mermnadæ, the principal domain of which latter lay at Teira, in the valley of the Cayster, though they had also other possessions at Dascylion, in Hellespontine Phrygia.<sup>5</sup> The head sometimes of one and sometimes of the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 57-60.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH, *Quest. Gr.*, § 45, Didot's ed., *Moralia*, vol. I. p. 371. Gelzer sees in the legend about the axe related by Plutarch, a reminiscence of a primitive gynocracy (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 517, 518). The axe is the emblem of the god of war, and, as such, belongs to the king: the coins of Mylasa exhibit it held by Zeus Labraundos (BARCLAY HEAD, *Historia Nummorum*, pp. 528, 529).

<sup>3</sup> GELZER, *op. cit.*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 526, 527, and RADET, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a coin in the Cabinet des médailles.

<sup>5</sup> GELZER, *op. cit.*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 523, 524; the name of the Lydian appanage, written "Teira" on the coins, is spelt Tyrrha or Tyrrhos in literary sources (RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., p. 16, note 1).

family would fill that post of "companion" which placed all the resources of the kingdom at the disposal of the occupant.

The first of the Mermnadæ of whom we get a glimpse is Daskylos, son of Gyges, who about the year 740 was "companion" during the declining years of Ardys, over whom he exercised such influence that Adyattes, the heir to the throne, took umbrage at it, and caused him to be secretly assassinated, whereupon his widow, fearing for her own safety, hastily fled into Phrygia, of which district she was a native. On hearing of the crime, Ardys, trembling with anger, convoked the Assembly, and as his advanced age rendered walking difficult, he caused himself to be carried to the public square in a litter. Having reached the place, he laid the assassins under a curse, and gave permission to any who could find them to kill them; he then returned to his palace, where he died a few years later, about 730 B.C. Adyattes took the name of Meles on ascending the throne,<sup>1</sup> and at first reigned happily, but his father's curse weighed upon him, and before long began to take effect. Lydia having been laid waste by a famine, the oracle declared that, before appeasing the gods, the king must expiate the murder of the Mermnad noble, by making every atonement in his power, if need be by an exile of three years' duration. Meles submitted to the divine decree. He sought out the widow of his victim, and learning that during her flight she had given birth to a son, called, like his father, Daskylos, he sent to entreat the young man to repair immediately to Sardes, that he might make amends for the murder; the youth, however, alleged that he was as yet unborn at the hour of his father's death, and therefore not entitled to be a party to an arrangement which did not personally affect him, and refused to return to his own country. Having failed in this attempt, Meles entrusted the regency of his kingdom to Sadyattes, son of Kadys, one of the Tylonidæ, who probably had already filled the post of companion to the king for some time past, and set out for Babylon. When the three years had elapsed, Sadyattes faithfully handed over to him the reins of government and resumed the second place.<sup>2</sup> Myrsos succeeded Meles about 716,<sup>3</sup> and his accession immediately became the cause of uneasiness to the younger Daskylos, who felt that he was no longer safe from the intrigues of the Heraclidæ; he therefore quitted Phrygia

<sup>1</sup> GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 524, 525, and after him SCHUBERT, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, pp. 22, 23, still distinguish this Adyattes or Alyattes from Meles; Radet seems to have shown clearly that Adyattes or Alyattes and Meles are two names of one and the same person, the first being the sacred and the second the family name (*La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, pp. 77, 78).

<sup>2</sup> NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 49, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 382, 383, after Xanthus of Lydia.

<sup>3</sup> The lists of Eusebius give 36 years to Ardys, 14 years to Meles or Adyattes, 12 years to Myrsos, and 17 years to Candaules (*Chronicorum Libri duo*, ed. SCHÖNE, vol. i. cols. 67-69, and vol. ii. pp. 76-82); that is to say, if we place the accession of Gyges in 687, the dates of the reign of Candaules are 704-687, of that of Myrsos 716-704, of that of Meles 730-716, of that of Ardys I. 766-730. GELZER, *op. cit.*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 524, 525, thinks that the double names each represent a different king; RADET, *op. cit.*, p. 79, adheres to the four generations of Eusebius.



and settled beyond the Halys among the White Syrians, one of whom he took in marriage, and had by her a son, whom he called Gyges, after his ancestor.<sup>1</sup> The Lydian chronicles which have come down to us make no mention of him, after the birth of this child, for nearly a quarter of a century. We know, however, from other sources, that the country in which he took refuge had for some time past been ravaged by enemies coming from the Caucasus, known to us as the Cimmerians.<sup>2</sup> Previous to this period these had been an almost mythical race in the eyes of the civilised races of the Oriental world. They imagined them as living in a perpetual mist on the confines of the universe: "Never does bright Helios look upon them with his rays, neither when he rises towards

the starry heaven, nor when he turns back from heaven towards the earth, but a baleful night spreads itself over these miserable mortals."<sup>3</sup> Fabulous animals, such as griffins with lions' bodies, having the neck and ears of a fox, and the wings and beak of an eagle, wandered over their plains, and sometimes attacked them;



A CONFLICT WITH TWO GRIFFINS.<sup>4</sup>

the inhabitants were forced to defend themselves with axes, and did not always emerge victorious from these terrible conflicts. The few merchants who had ventured to penetrate into their country had returned from their travels with less fanciful notions concerning the nature of the regions frequented by them, but little continued to be known of them, until an unforeseen occurrence obliged them to quit their remote steppes. The Scythians, driven from the plains of the Iaxartes by an influx of the Massagetæ, were urged forwards in a westerly direction beyond the Volga and the Don, and so

<sup>1</sup> NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 49, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> I would gladly have treated at length the subject of the Cimmerians with its accompanying developments, but lack of space prevents me from doing more than summing up here the position I have taken. Most modern critics have rejected that part of the tradition preserved by Herodotus which refers to the itinerary of the Cimmerians, and have confused the Cimmerian invasion with that of the Thracian tribes. I think that there is reason to give weight to Herodotus' statement, and to distinguish carefully between two series of events: (1) a movement of peoples coming from Europe into Asia, by the routes that Herodotus indicates, about the latter half of the eighth century B.C., who would be more especially the Cimmerians; (2) a movement of peoples coming from Europe into Asia by the Thracian Bosphorus, and among whom there was perhaps, side by side with the Treres, a remnant of Cimmerian tribes who had been ousted by the Scythians. The two streams would have had their confluence in the heart of Asia Minor, in the first half of the seventh century.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 14-19. It is this passage which Ephorus applies to the Cimmerians of his own time who were established in the Crimea, and which accounts for his saying that they were a race of miners, living perpetually underground (EPHORUS, *Frag.* 45, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 245).

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the reliefs on the crown of the Great Blinnitza; cf. the *Comptes rendus de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, 1865, pl. i. 3.

great was the terror inspired by the mere report of their approach, that the Cimmerians decided to quit their own territory. A tradition current in Asia three centuries later, told how their kings had counselled them to make a stand against the invaders; the people, however, having refused to listen to their advice, their rulers and those who were loyal to them fell by each other's hands, and their burial-place was still shown near the banks of the Tyras. Some of their tribes took refuge in the Chersonesus Taurica, but the greater number pushed forward beyond the Mæotic marshes; a body of Scythians followed in their track, and the united horde pressed onwards till they entered Asia Minor, keeping to the shores of the Black Sea.<sup>1</sup> This heterogeneous mass of people came into conflict first with Urartu; then turning obliquely in a south-easterly direction, their advance-guard fell upon the Mannai. But they were repulsed by Sargon's generals; the check thus administered

SCYTHIANS ARMED FOR WAR.<sup>2</sup>

forced them to fall back speedily upon other countries less vigorously defended. The Scythians, therefore, settled themselves in the eastern basin of the Araxes, on the frontiers of Urartu and the Mannai, where they formed themselves into a kind of marauding community, perpetually quarrelling with their neighbours.<sup>3</sup> The Cimmerians took their way westwards, and established themselves upon the upper waters of the Araxes, the Euphrates, the Halys, and the Thermodon,<sup>4</sup> greatly to the vexation of the rulers of Urartu.

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, IV. xi., xii. The version of Aristæus of Proconnesus, as given by Herodotus (IV. xiii.) and by Damastes of Sigea (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 65), attributes a more complex origin to this migration, i.e. that the Arimaspes had driven the Issedonians before them, and that the latter had in turn driven the Scythians back on the Cimmerians.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the reliefs on the silver vase of Kul-Oba.

<sup>3</sup> WINCKLER (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 187, 188) was the first to show that the Scythians of the tradition preserved by Herodotus must have been the Ashguzai or Ishkuzai of the cuneiform documents. The original name must have been Skuza, Shkuza, with a sound in the second syllable that the Greeks have rendered by *th*, *Σκοθαί*, and the Assyrians by *s*: the initial vowel has been added, according to a well-known rule, to facilitate the pronunciation of the combination *sk*, *shk*. An oracle of the time of Esarhaddon shows that they occupied one of the districts really belonging to the Mannai (KNUDZON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, p. 130); and it is probably they who are mentioned in a passage of *Jer.* li. 27, where the traditional reading *Ashchenaz* should be replaced by that of Ashkuz (SAYCE, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiv. pp. 394, 678; cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Orig. de l'Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 229, note 6; FR. DELITZSCH, in *Libri Daniel, Kera, Nehemiah*, ed. BIER, 1882, p. ix.; KNUDZON, *op. cit.*, p. 131; WINCKLER, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 292, 491, note 2).

<sup>4</sup> It is doubtless to these events that the tradition preserved by Pompeius Trogus, which is known to us through his abbeviator Justin (ii. 4, § 1), or through the compilers of a later period (OROSSIUS, i. 15; ÆTHICUS ISTER, v. 68), refers, concerning the two Scythian princes Ylinus and Scolopitus: they seem to have settled along the coast, on the banks of the Thermodon and in the district of Themiscyra.

They subsequently felt their way along the valleys of the Anti-Taurus, but finding them held by Assyrian troops, they turned their steps towards the country of the White Syrians, seized Sinôpê, where the Greeks had recently founded a colony,<sup>1</sup> and bore down upon Phrygia. It would appear that they were joined in these regions by other hordes from Thrace which had crossed the Bosphorus a few years earlier, and among whom the ancient historians particularly make mention of the Treres;<sup>2</sup> the results of the Scythian invasion had probably been felt by all the tribes on the banks of the Dnieper, and had been the means of forcing them in the direction of the Danube and the Balkans, whence they drove before them, as they went, the inhabitants of the Thracian peninsula across into Asia Minor. It was about the year 750 B.C. that the Cimmerians had been forced to quit their first home, and towards 720 that they came into contact with the empires of the East; the Treres had crossed the Bosphorus about 710, and the meeting of the two streams of immigration may be placed in the opening years of the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> The combined hordes did not at once attack Phrygia itself, but spread themselves along the coast, from the mouths of the Rhyndakos to those of Halys, constituting a sort of maritime confederation of which Heraclea and Sinôpê were the chief towns.<sup>4</sup> This confederation must not be regarded as a regularly constituted state, but rather as a vast encampment in which the warriors could leave their families and their spoil in safety; they issued from it nearly every year to spread themselves over the neighbouring provinces, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another.<sup>5</sup> The ancient sanctuaries of Pteria and the treasures they contained excited their cupidity, but they were not well enough equipped to undertake the siege of a strongly fortified place, and for want of anything better were content to hold it to ransom. The bulk of the indigenous population lived even then in those subterranean dwellings so difficult of access, which are still used as habitations by the tribes on the banks of the Halys, and it is possible that they helped

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, IV. xii.; SCYMNIUS OF CHIOS, *Orbis Descriptio*, 941-952, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Geographi Græci Minores*, vol. i. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo says decisively that the Treres were both Cimmerians (Τρήρες . . . Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, XIV. i. § 40, p. 617) and Thracians (Τρήρες, καὶ οὗτοι Θράκες, XIII. i. § 8, p. 386); elsewhere he makes the Treres synonymous with the Cimmerians (Κιμμέριοι, οὗτοι καὶ Τρήρες ἀνομάζονται, I. iii. § 22, p. 61). The Treres were probably the predominating tribe among the people which had come into Asia on that side.

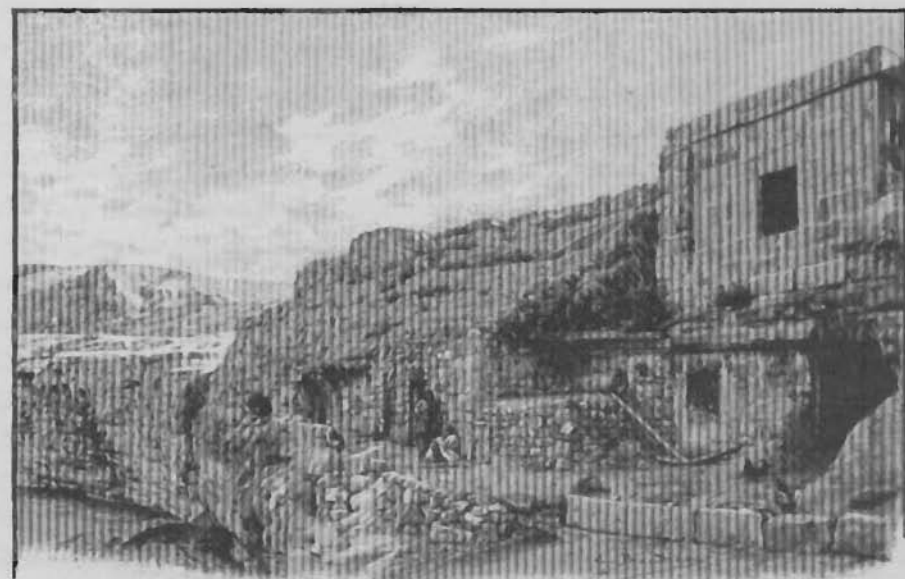
<sup>3</sup> Gelzer (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. pp. 256-264) thinks that the invasion by the Bosphorus took place about 705, and Radet (*La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 125, 145, 175) about 708; and their reckoning seems to me to be so likely to be correct, that I do not hesitate to place the arrival of the Treres in Asia about the time they have both indicated—roughly speaking, about 710 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> For Sinôpê, cf. what is said above, p. 344, note 1; Arrian, in a passage of his *Bithynica*, speaks of their dwelling beyond the Sangarios, in the country of the Mariandynians, where several of their bands had been poisoned by eating hemlock (*Fragm.* 47, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 595).

<sup>5</sup> The nature of their empire was defined very exactly by FIEBET, *Mémoire sur les Cimmériens*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1745, vol. xix. p. 609; cf. FR. LENOIRANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 355, 356; RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 175, 176.

to swell the marauding troops of the new-comers. In the declining years of Sennacherib, it would appear that the Ninevite provinces possessed an irresistible attraction for these various peoples. The fame of the wealth accumulated in the regions beyond the Taurus and the Euphrates, in Syria and Mesopotamia, provoked their cupidity beyond all bounds, and the time was at hand when the fear alone of the Assyrian armies would no longer avail to hold them in check.

The last years of Sennacherib had been embittered by the intrigues which



INHABITED CAVES ON THE BANKS OF THE HALYS.<sup>1</sup>

usually gathered around a monarch enfeebled by age and incapable of bearing the cares of government with his former vigour. A fierce rivalry existed between those of his sons who aspired to the throne, each of whom possessed his following of partisans, both at court and among the people, who were ready to support him, if need be even with the sword. One of these princes, probably the eldest of the king's remaining sons,<sup>2</sup> named Assur-akhê-iddin, called by us Esarhaddon, had already been nominated his successor, and had received the official investiture of the Babylonian kingdom under the name of Assur-etilmukin-pal.<sup>3</sup> The catastrophe of 689 had not resulted in bringing about the

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph courteously sent by ALFRED BOISSIER.

<sup>2</sup> The eldest was perhaps that Assur-nadin-shumu who reigned in Babylon, and who was taken prisoner to Elam by King Khalludush; cf. what is said of this prince in pp. 296, 303 of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> The idea of an enthronisation at Babylon in the lifetime of Sennacherib, put forward by the earlier Assyriologists, Ménant (*Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 238), Budge (*The History of Esarhaddon*, p. 2), Pinches (*On Babylonian Art as illustrated by M. H. Rassam's Discoveries*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1883-1881, vol. vi, pp. 14, 15, and in the *Transactions*, vol. viii, pp. 353, 354), based on an inscription on a lion's head discovered at Babylon (cf. the drawing of this object at the heading of chap. vi., p. 535, *Dawn of Civilization*), has been adopted and confirmed by Winckler (*Studien und Beiträge zur Bob.-ass. Gesch.*, in *Zeit. für Assyriologie*,

ruin of Babylon, as Sennacherib and his ministers had hoped. The temples, it is true, had been desecrated and demolished, the palaces and public buildings razed to the ground, and the ramparts thrown down, but, in spite of the fact that the city had been set on fire by the conquerors, the quarters inhabited by the lower classes still remained standing, and those of the inhabitants who had escaped being carried away captive, together with such as had taken refuge in the surrounding country or had hidden themselves in neighbouring cities, had gradually returned to their desolated homes. They cleared the streets, repaired the damage inflicted during the siege, and before long the city, which was believed to be hopelessly destroyed, rose once more with the vigour, if not with the wealth, which it had enjoyed before its downfall. The mother of Esarhaddon was a Babylonian, by name Naki'a;<sup>1</sup> and as soon as her son came into possession of his inheritance, an impulse of filial piety moved him to restore to his mother's city its former rank of capital. Animated by the strong religious feeling which formed the groundwork of his character, Esarhaddon had begun his reign by restoring the sanctuaries which had been the cradle of the Assyrian religion, and his intentions, thus revealed at the very outset, had won for him the sympathy of the Babylonians;<sup>2</sup> this, indeed, was excited sooner than he expected, and perhaps helped to secure to him his throne. During his absence from Nineveh, a widespread plot had been formed in that city, and on the 20th day of Tebeth, 681, at the hour when Sennacherib was praying before the image of his god, two of his sons, Sharezer and Adarmalik (Adrammelech), assassinated their father at the foot of the altar.<sup>3</sup> One half of the army proclaimed Sharezer

vol. ii. pp. 306-308; *Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 11, n. 1; *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 133; *Altorient. Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 418, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57). It was doubtless on this occasion that Esarhaddon received as a present from his father the objects mentioned in the document which Sayce (*Will of Sennacherib King of Assyria*, in *Records of the Past*, 1st ser., vol. i. p. 136) and Budge (*History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 14, 15) have called, without sufficient reason, the *Will of Sennacherib* (WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forschungen*, vol. ii. pp. 55-57).

<sup>1</sup> WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment S 1079, in the British Museum, quoted by Winckler (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57), seems to show clearly that the restoration of the temples was begun even in the lifetime of Sennacherib.

<sup>3</sup> We possess three different accounts of the murder of Sennacherib: 1. In the *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches* (col. iii. ll. 34-36; cf. WINCKLER, *Babylonische Chronik B*, in SCHRADE, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 280-283). 2. In the Bible (2 Kings xix. 36, 37; cf. Isa. xxxvii. 37, 38; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21). 3. In Berosus (*Fragm.* 12, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 504). The biblical account alone mentions both murderers; the *Chronicle* and Berosus speak of only one, and their testimony seems to prevail with several historians (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 688, 689; WINCKLER, *Studien und Beiträge zur Babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. pp. 392-396, and *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 59). I believe that the silence of the *Chronicle* and of Berosus is explained by the fact that Sharezer was chief in the conspiracy, and the one among the sons who aspired to the kingdom: the second murderer merely acted for his brother, and consequently had no more right to be mentioned by name than those accomplices not of the blood-royal who shared in the murder. The name Sharezer is usually considered as an abbreviation of the Assyrian name Nergal-sharazur (TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 325), or Assur-sharazur (HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 688). Winckler now thinks that he sees in it a corruption of Sharitir, abbreviated from Sharitir-assur, which he finds as a royal name on a fragment in the British Museum; he proposes to recognise in this Sharitir-assur, Sharezer enthroned after his father's death (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. pp. 58, 59; cf. pp. 6-8).



king; the northern provinces espoused his cause; and Esarhaddon must for the moment have lost all hope of the succession. His father's tragic fate overwhelmed him with fear and grief; he rent his clothes, groaned and lamented like a lion roaring, and could be comforted only by the oracles pronounced by the priests of Babylon. An assurance that the gods favoured his cause reached him even from Assyria, and Nineveh, after a few weeks of vacillation, acknowledged him as its sovereign, the rebellion being mercilessly crushed on the 2nd of Adar.<sup>1</sup> Although this was a considerable advantage to Esarhaddon's cause, it could not be considered as decisive, since the provinces of the Euphrates still declared for Sharezer; the gods, therefore, once more intervened. Ishtar of Arbela had long been considered as the recognised patroness and oracle of the dynasty. Whether it were a question of a foreign expedition or a rebellion at home, of a threatened plague or invasion, of a marriage or an alliance with some powerful neighbour, the ruling sovereign would invariably have recourse to her, always with the same formula, to demand counsel of her for the conduct of affairs in hand, and the replies which she vouchsafed in various ways were taken into consideration; her will, as expressed by the mouth of her ministers, would hasten, suspend, or modify the decisions of the king. Esarhaddon did not neglect to consult the goddess, as well as Assur and Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nebo, and Nergal; and their words, transcribed upon a tablet of clay, induced him to act without further delay: "Go, do not hesitate, for we march with thee and we will cast down thine enemies!" Thus encouraged, he made straight for the scene of danger without passing through Nineveh, so as to prevent Sharezer and his party having time to recover. His biographers depict Esarhaddon hurrying forward, often a day or more in advance of his battalions, without once turning to see who followed him, and without waiting to allow the horses of his baggage-waggons to be unharnessed or permitting his servants to pitch his tent; he rested merely for a few moments on the bare ground, indifferent to the cold and nocturnal frosts of the month of Sebat. It would appear as if Sharezer had placed his hopes on the Cimmerians, and had expected their chiefs to come to the rescue. This hypothesis seems borne out by the fact that the decisive battle took place beyond the Euphrates and the Taurus, in the country of Khanigalbat. Esar-

<sup>1</sup> The broken Cylinder of Esarhaddon, col. i. ll. 1-26: cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 20-23; WINCKLER, *Die Inschrift des (zerbrochenen) Prismas B*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 140-143. The Bible alone tells us that Sharezer retired to Urartu (2 Kings xix. 37). To explain the plan of this campaign, it is usually supposed that at the time of his father's death Esarhaddon was either beyond Mount Taurus or else on the Armenian frontier (TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 309, 324, 325, 344, 345; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, p. 689); the sequence of the dates in the *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iii. ll. 34-38, compels me to revert to the opinion, as Winckler has already done (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 10, note 1; *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, pp. 258, 259), that Esarhaddon marched from Babylon against the rebels, and pursued them as far as Mount Taurus, and beyond it to Khanigalbat (BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, p. 3).

haddon attributed his success to Ishtar, the goddess of bravery and of combat; she alone had broken the weapons of the rebels, she alone had brought confusion into their lines, and had inclined the hearts of the survivors to submit. They cried aloud, "This is our king!" and Sharezer thereupon fled into Armenia.<sup>1</sup> The war had been brought to a close with such rapidity that even the most unsettled of the Assyrian subjects and vassals had not had time to take advantage of it for their own purposes; the Kaldâ on the Persian Gulf, and the Sidonians on the Mediterranean, were the only two peoples who had openly revolted, and were preparing to enter on a struggle to preserve their independence thus once more regained. Yet the events of the preceding months had shaken the power of Nineveh more seriously than we should at first suppose. For the first time since the accession of Tiglath-pileser III. the almost inevitable troubles which accompany the change of a sovereign had led to an open war. The vast army of Sargon and Sennacherib had been split up, and the two factions into which it was divided, commanded as they were by able generals and composed of troops accustomed to conquer, must have suffered more keenly in an engagement with each other than in the course of an ordinary campaign against a common enemy. One part at least of the military staff had become disorganised; regiments had been decimated, and considerable contingents were required to fill the vacancies in the ranks. The male population of Assyria, suddenly called on to furnish the necessary effective force, could not supply the demand without drawing too great a proportion of men from the country; and one of those crises of exhaustion was imminent which come upon a nation after an undue strain, often causing its downfall in the midst of its success, and yielding it an easy prey to the wiles of its adversaries.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iii. l. 38; cf. SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 282, 283, and KNUDSTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, p. 69, note 2, where the correction of the 18th (?) of Adar for the 18th of Sivan is pointed out for the passage in the *Chronicle of Pinches*. The date of the accession of Esarhaddon was fixed in various ways by the Assyrians: some, reckoning the reign from the death of Sennacherib, made it begin under the eponymous year of Nabu-akh-ishahish (*Canon I.*, col. V., in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. p. 207), that is in 681; others, dating it from the day of the coronation, made it commence in the eponymous year of Dananu (*Tablet K 76*, in the *British Museum*, in G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 92).

<sup>2</sup> The information we possess concerning Esarhaddon is gathered from: 1. *The Inscription of Cylinders A, B, C*, the second of the three better known as the *Broken Cylinder*. They have been published by LAYARD, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, pls. 20-29, 54-58; by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pls. 45-47, and vol. iii. pls. 15, 16; by ABEL and WINCKLER, *Keilschrifttexte*, pls. 25, 26; then translated into French by OPPERT, *Les Inscriptions des Sargonides*, pp. 53-60, and by MÉNANT, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, pp. 240-247; into English at various times by FOX TALBOT, *Inscription of Esarhaddon and The Second Inscription*, in *Records of the Past*, 1st ser., vol. iii. pp. 102-124; then by R. F. HARPER, *Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions, transliterated and translated, with Textual Notes, from the Original Copy in the British Museum*; into German, *Cylinders A-C* by L. ABEL, *Die Inschrift der Prismen A und C*, and by WINCKLER, *Die Inschrift des (zerbrochenen) Prismas B*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 124-151. These texts contain a summary of the king's wars, in which the subject-matter is arranged geographically, not chronologically: they cease with the eponymy of Akhazilu, i.e. the year 673. 2. Some mutilated fragments of the *Annals*, published and translated for the first time by BOSCAWEN, *Historical Inscription of Esarhaddon*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv. pp. 84-97. 3. *The Black Stone of Aberdeen*, on which

Esarhaddon was personally inclined for peace, and as soon as he was established on the throne he gave orders that the building works, which had been suspended during the late troubles, should be resumed and actively pushed forward;<sup>1</sup> but the unfortunate disturbances of the times did not permit of his pursuing his favourite occupation without interruption, and, like those of his warlike predecessors, his life was passed almost entirely on the field of battle. Babylon, grateful for what he had done for her, tendered him an unbroken fidelity throughout the stormy episodes of his reign, and showed her devotion to him by an unwavering obedience. The Kaldâ received no support from that quarter, and were obliged to bear the whole burden of the war which they had provoked. Their chief, Nabu-zîru-kinish-lishir, who had been placed over them by Sennacherib, now harassed the cities of Karduniash, and Ningal-shumiddin, the prefect of Uru, demanded immediate help from Assyria. Esarhaddon at once despatched such a considerable force that the Kaldû chief did not venture to meet it in the open field, and after a few unimportant skirmishes he gave up the struggle, and took refuge in Elam. Khumbân-khaldash had died there in 680, a few months before the murder of Sennacherib, and his son, a second Khumbân-khaldash, had succeeded him;<sup>2</sup> this prince appears either to have shared the peaceful tastes of his brother-king of Assyria, or more probably did not feel himself sufficiently secure of his throne to risk the chance of coming into collision with his neighbour. He caused Nabu-zîru-kinish-lishir to be slain, and Nâid-marduk, the other son of Merodach-baladan, who had shared his brother's flight, was so terrified at his

the account of the rebuilding of Babylon is given, and which was published by H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pls. 49, 50, and translated into French by OPPERT, *Expédition de Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 180, et seq., and again by MÉNANT, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, p. 248, and *Babylone et la Chaldée*, pp. 167, 168; into German by WINCKLER, *Inscript des sogenannten schwarzen Steins*, in *SCHRADER, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 120-125. 4. *The Stele of Zindjirli*, published by VON LUSCHAN, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. i. pp. 11-29, and pls. i.-iv., translated into German with a commentary by SCHRADER, *Inscript Esarhaddon's*, in the same work, pp. 29-43. 5. The consultations of the god Shamash by Esarhaddon in different circumstances of his reign, collected by J. A. KUDTSON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Esarhaddons und Assurbanipals*, vol. ii. pp. 72-264. 6. A considerable number of small inscriptions, some of which are enumerated and described in BEZOLD, *Kurzfassender Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-assyrische Litteratur*, pp. 106, 107, and some tablets published in various places which I will mention if necessary when I have occasion to use them. The classification of the events of this reign presents serious difficulties, which have been partly overcome by passages in the *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches* (col. iii. ll. 28-48, col. iv. ll. 1-32); cf. TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 341-351, in which most of the proposed (chronological) arrangements have been permanently accepted. The principal monuments of the reign have been classified, transcribed, translated, and commented on by BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, B.C. 681-668, 1880*; this work, though antiquated by reason of new discoveries, is still useful for reference. The texts relating to the buildings have been collected and translated, with comments by MEISSNER and ROST, *Die Bauinschriften Esarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 189-362.

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the decree for the rebuilding of Babylon, cf. MEISSNER and ROST, *Die Bauinschriften Esarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iii. ll. 30-33; cf. WINCKLER, *Babylonische Chronik B*, in *SCHRADER, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.



murder that he at once sought refuge in Nineveh; he was reinstated in his paternal domain on condition of paying a tribute, and, faithful to his oath of allegiance, he thenceforward came yearly in person to bring his dues and pay homage to his sovereign (679).<sup>1</sup> The Kaldâ rising had, in short, been little more than a skirmish, and the chastisement of the Sidonians would have involved neither time nor trouble, had not the desultory movements of the barbarians obliged the Assyrians to concentrate their troops on several points which were threatened on their northern frontier. The Cimmerians and the Scythians had not suffered themselves to be disconcerted by the rapidity with which the fate of Sharezer had been decided, and after a moment's hesitation they had again set out in various directions on their work of conquest, believing, no doubt, that they would meet with a less vigorous resistance after so serious an upheaval at Nineveh. The Cimmerians appear to have been the first to have provoked hostilities;<sup>2</sup> their king Tiushpa,<sup>3</sup> who ruled over their territory on the Black Sea, ejected the Assyrian garrisons placed on the Cappadocian frontier, and his presence in that quarter aroused all the insubordinate elements still remaining in the Cilician valleys. Esarhaddon brought him to a stand on the confines of the plain of Saros, defeated him in Khubushna,<sup>4</sup> and drove the remains of the horde back across the Halys.<sup>5</sup> Having thus averted the Cimmerian

<sup>1</sup> The date and the plan of the campaign are given by the *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iii. ll. 39-42; the details are taken from the *Broken Cylinder*, col. ii. ll. 1-26 (WINCKLER, *Die Inschrift des zerbrochenen Prismas B*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 142-145, completed by the document published in WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 522, 523), and from *Cylinders A-C*, col. ii. ll. 32-41; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 26-31.

<sup>2</sup> The campaign against the Cimmerians is usually placed in 679-678 (HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 721; WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 120; ROST, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 87), in accordance with the mutilated passage in the *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iii. l. 58, col. iv. ll. 1-2, where Winckler has restored the reading *Gimirri* (*Studien und Beiträge*, in *Zeit. für Assyriol.*, vol. ii. p. 305); Knudtzon alone has cast doubts on the legitimacy of this rendering (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, p. 69).

<sup>3</sup> The name Teushpa, Tiushpa, has all along been compared with that of Teispa, in Old Persian Chishpā; cf. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Several Assyriologists have thought that Khubushna might be an error for Khubushkhia, and have sought the seat of war on the eastern frontier of Assyria (TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 334, note 4; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 721): in reality the context shows that the place under discussion is a district in Asia Minor, identified with Kamisene by Gelzer (*Kappadokien und seine Bewohner*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 17, note 2), but left unidentified by most authorities (SCHRADER, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 520; FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. p. 341; HALÉVY, *Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 329, 330; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 546; WINCKLER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 268). Jensen has shown that the name is met with as early as the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. (*Annals*, l. 154), where we should read Khubishna, and he places the country in Northern Syria, or perhaps further north in the western part of Taurus (*Hittiter und Armenier*, pp. 115, 116). The determinative proves that there was a town of this name as well as a district, and this consideration encourages me to recognise in Khubushna or Khubishna the town of Kabisos-Kabessos, the Sis of the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 386, 451).

<sup>5</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 6-9, and the *Broken Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 1-2; cf. SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, 144, 145, and WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 523. ROST (*Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 90) puts the campaign against Tiushpa after the Scythian attack, which will be treated on pp. 353, 354 of the present work.

danger, he was able, without much difficulty, to bring the rebels of the western provinces into subjection.<sup>1</sup> His troops thrust back the Cilicians and Duha into the rugged fastnesses of the Taurus, and razed to the ground one and twenty of their strongholds, besides burning numberless villages and carrying the inhabitants away captive.<sup>2</sup> The people of Parnaki, in the bend of the Euphrates between Tel-Assur and the sources of the Balikh, had taken up arms on hearing of the brief successes of Tiushpa, but were pitilessly crushed by Esarhaddon.<sup>3</sup> The sheikh of Arzani, in the extreme south of Syria, close to the brook of Egypt, had made depredations on the Assyrian frontier, but he was seized by the nearest governor and sent in chains to Nineveh. A cage was built for him at the gate of the city, and he was exposed in it to the jeers of the populace, in company with the bears, dogs, and boars which the Ninevites were in the habit of keeping confined there.<sup>4</sup> It would appear that Esarhaddon set himself to come to a final reckoning with Sidon and Phœnicia, the revolt of which had irritated him all the more, in that it showed an inexcusable ingratitude towards his family. For it was Sennacherib who, in order to break the power of Elulai, had not only rescued Sidon from the dominion of Tyre, but had enriched it with the spoils taken from its former rulers, and had raised it to the first rank among the Phœnician cities.<sup>5</sup> Ethbaal in his lifetime had never been wanting in gratitude, but his successor, Abdimilkôt, forgetful of recent services, had chafed at the burden of a foreign yoke, and had recklessly thrown it off as soon as an occasion presented itself. He had thought to strengthen himself by securing the help of a certain Sanduarri, who possessed the two fortresses of Kundu and Sîzu, in the Cilician mountains;<sup>6</sup> but neither this alliance nor the insular position of his capital

<sup>1</sup> These expeditions are not dated in any of the documents that deal with them: the fact that they are mentioned along with the war against Tiushpa and Sidon makes me inclined to consider them as being a result of the Cimmerian invasion. They were, strictly speaking, the quelling of revolts caused by the presence of the Cimmerians in that part of the empire.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 10-21, and *Inscription of the Broken Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 3-12; cf. SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, 144, 145, and BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 42-45. The Duha or Duha of this campaign, who are designated as neighbours of the Tabal, lived in the Anti-taurus: the name of the town, Tyana, Tuana, is possibly composed of their name and of the suffix -na, which is met with in Asiatic languages (KRIEGER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 319).

<sup>3</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 22-25, and *Inscription of the Broken Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 13-15; cf. SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, 144, 145, and BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 44, 45. On the probable situation of Barnaki or Parnaki, — Lenormant at first read *Masnaki* and identified it with the Mossynokæ (*Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. p. 77), — cf. WINCKLER, *Bericht über die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, pp. 15, 16, and *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 269, 334-336.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. i. ll. 55, 56, col. ii. ll. 1-5; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 40-43, and SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 126-129. For the site of Arzani and the river of Musri, cf. WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 35, 338, 527, 528, and *Musri, Meluhha, Main*, i. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> On this subject cf. above, pp. 287, 288 of the present volume.

<sup>6</sup> Some Assyriologists have proposed to locate these two towns in Cilicia (DELATTE, *L'Asie Occidentale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, pp. 80, 81; WINCKLER, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 67); others place them in the Lebanon, Kundi being identified with the modern village of Ain-Kundiya (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 283; TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*,

was able to safeguard him, when once the necessity for stemming the tide of the Cimmerian influx was over, and the whole of the Assyrian force was free to be brought against him. Abdimilkôt attempted to escape by sea before the last attack, but he was certainly taken prisoner, though the circumstances are unrecorded, and Sanduarri fell into the enemy's hands a short time after. The suppression of the rebellion was as vindictive as the ingratitude which prompted it was heinous. Sidon was given up to the soldiery and then burnt, while opposite to the ruins of the island city the Assyrians built a fortress on the mainland, which they called Kar-Esarhaddon.<sup>1</sup> The other princes of Phœnicia and Syria were hastily convoked, and were witnesses of the vengeance wreaked on the city, as well as of the installation of the governor to whom the new province was entrusted. They could thus see what fate awaited them in the event of their showing any disposition to rebel, and the majority of them were not slow to profit by the lesson. The spoil was carried back in triumph to Nineveh, and comprised, besides the two kings and their families, the remains of their court and people, and the countless riches which the commerce of the world had brought into the great ports of the Mediterranean—ebony, ivory, gold and silver, purple, precious woods, household furniture, and objects of value from all parts in such quantities that it was long before the treasury at Nineveh needed any replenishing.<sup>2</sup>

The reverses of the Cimmerians did not serve as a warning to the Scythians. Settled on the borders of Manna, partly, no doubt, on the territory formerly dependent on that state,<sup>3</sup> they secretly incited the inhabitants to revolt, and to join in the raids which they made on the valley of the Upper Zab, and they would even have urged their horses up to the very walls of Nineveh had the occasion presented itself. Esarhaddon, warned of their intrigues by the spies which he sent among them, could not bring himself either to anticipate their attack or to assume the offensive, but anxiously consulted the gods with

pp. 345, 346, with certain reservations). The name of Kundu so nearly recalls that of Kuinda, the ancient fort mentioned by Strabo (XIV. v. § 10, p. 671), to the north of Anchialê, between Tarsus and Anazarbus, that I do not hesitate to identify them, and to place Kundu in Cilicia.

<sup>1</sup> On the site of Kar-Esarhaddon, cf. the researches of WINCKLER, *Alttestamentliche Forschungen*, pp. 111-113, and *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 440, 441, 551-553. The town is mentioned in tablet K 2711 in the British Museum, published by MEISSNER and ROST, *Die Bauinschriften Assarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 264, 265, l. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. i. ll. 10-54, and *Inscription of the Broken Cylinder*, col. i. ll. 27-30; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 32-41; SCHRAEDER, *Kleinasiatische Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 124-127, 144, 145. The importance of the event and the amount of the spoil captured are apparent, if we notice that Esarhaddon does not usually record the booty taken after each campaign; he does so only when the number of objects and of prisoners taken from the enemy is extraordinary. The *Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iv. ll. 1-8, places the capture of Sidon in the second, and the death of Abdimilkôt in the fifth year of his reign. Hence Winckler has concluded that Abdimilkôt held out for fully two years after the loss of Sidon. The general tenor of the account, as given by the inscriptions, seems to me to be that the capture of the king followed closely on the fall of the town: Abdimilkôt and Sanduarri probably spent the years between 679 and 676 in prison.

<sup>3</sup> One of the oracles of Shamash speaks of the captives as dwelling in a canton of the Mannai (KSDUTRON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, p. 130).

regard to them: "O Shamash," he wrote to the Sun-god, "great lord, thou whom I question, answer me in sincerity! From this day forth, the 22nd day of this month of Simanu, until the 21st day of the month of Duzu of this year, during these thirty days and thirty nights, a time has been foreordained favourable to the work of prophecy. In this time thus foreordained, the hordes of the Scythians who inhabit a district of the Mannai, and who have crossed the Mannian frontier,—will they succeed in their undertaking? Will they emerge from the passes of Khubushkia at the towns of Kharrânâ and Anisuskia; will they ravage the borders of Assyria and steal great booty, immense spoil? that doth thy high divinity know. Is it a decree, and in the mouth of thy high divinity, O Shamash, great lord, ordained and promulgated? He who sees, shall he see it; he who hears, shall he hear it?"<sup>1</sup> The god comforted his faithful servant, but there was a brief delay before his answer threw light on the future, and the king's questions were constantly renewed as fresh couriers brought in further information. In 678 B.C. the Scythians determined to try their fortune, and their king, Ishpakai,<sup>2</sup> took the field, followed by the Mannai. He was defeated and driven back to the north of Lake Urumiah, the Mannai were reduced to subjection, and Assyria once more breathed freely.<sup>3</sup> The victory, however, was not a final one, and affairs soon assumed as threatening an aspect as before. The Scythian tribes came on the scene, one after another, and allied themselves to the various peoples subject either directly or indirectly to Nineveh.<sup>4</sup> On one occasion it was Kashtariti, the regent of Karkashshi,<sup>5</sup> who wrote to Mamitarsu, one of the Median princes, to induce him to make common cause with himself

<sup>1</sup> KNUDTSON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 129–132. The town of Anisuskia is not mentioned elsewhere, but Kharrânâ is met with in the account of the thirty-first campaign of Shalmaneser III. (*Obelisk*, l. 181) with Kharrânâ as its variant.

<sup>2</sup> This king's name seems to be of Iranian origin. Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 46, 143) has connected it with the name Aspakos, which is read in a Greek inscription of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (LATYSCHIEF, *Inscriptiones antiquæ oris septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, vol. ii. p. 264); both forms have been connected with the Sanskrit *Āpaka*. I question whether we should not rather see in it a derivative of the Median *Spāka*, *doj*, as in the female name Spakô (HERODOTUS, I. ex.).

<sup>3</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 27–31, and *Inscription du Priame brisé*, col. iii. ll. 16–18, in SCHRADER, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, 146, 147; for the explanation of these events, see WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 486, 487.

<sup>4</sup> This subdivision of the horde into several bodies seems to be indicated, as Winckler has observed (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 487), by the number of different royal names among the Scythians which are mentioned in the Assyrian documents.

<sup>5</sup> Karkashshi had been identified with Karkathiokertha or Karkasiokertha in Armenia, by Halévy (*Journal Asiatique*, vol. xv. 1880, pp. 530, 531), who later on withdrew this interpretation (*Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 324, 325): the site is unknown, but the list of Median princes subdued by Sargon (WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, vol. ii. pl. 44 B) shows that it was situated in Media. Kishshashshu is very probably the same as Kishisim or Kishisu, the town which Sargon subdued, and which he called Kar-nergal or Kar-ninib (*Inscription des Fastes*, ll. 59, 60, *Inscription of the Pavement of the Gates*, iv. l. 16; *Stele of Larnaka*, col. i. l. 30; cf. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, vol. i. pp. 108, 109, 146, 147, 176, 177), and which is mentioned in the neighbourhood of Parsuash, Karalla, Kharkhar, Media, and Ellipi (cf. the illustration above, p. 241 of the present work). I think that it would be in the basin of the Gavê—Rud; Billerbeck places it at the ruins of Siana, in the upper valley of the Lesser Zab (*Das Sandeschak Suleimania*, pp. 97, 98).

in attacking the fortress of Kishshashshu on the eastern border of the empire.<sup>1</sup> At another time we find the same chief plotting with the Mannai and the Saparda to raid the town of Kilmân, and Esarhaddon implores the god to show him how the place may be saved from their machinations.<sup>2</sup> He opens negotiations in order to gain time, but the barbarity of his adversary is such that he fears for his envoy's safety, and speculates whether he may not have been put to death.<sup>3</sup> The situation would indeed have become critical if Kashtariti had succeeded in bringing against Assyria a combined force of Medes, Scythians, Mannai, and Cimmerians, together with Urartu and its king, Rusas III.; but, fortunately, petty hatreds made the combination of these various elements an impossibility, and they were unable to arrive at even a temporary understanding. The Scythians themselves were not united as to the best course to be pursued, and while some endeavoured to show their hostility by every imaginable outrage and annoyance, others, on the contrary, desired to enter into friendly relations with Assyria. Esarhaddon received on one occasion an embassy from Bartatua,<sup>4</sup> one of their kings, who humbly begged the hand of a lady of the blood-royal, swearing to make a lasting friendship with him if Esarhaddon would consent to the marriage. It was hard for a child brought up in the harem, amid the luxury and comfort of a civilised court, to be handed over to a semi-barbarous spouse; but state policy even in those days was exacting, and more than one princess of the line of Sargon had thus sacrificed herself by an alliance which was to the interest of her own people.<sup>5</sup> What troubled Esarhaddon was

<sup>1</sup> *Prayers Nos. 1, 2*, in KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 72-82. These tablets, the first of the series to be made known, were attributed by Sayce (*Babylonian Literature*, pp. 20, 79, et seq.) and by Boscawen (*Babylonian dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. vi. pp. 21, 22, 107, 108) to a second Esarhaddon, who would have reigned after Assur-bani-pal: Kashtariti would have been none other than Cyaxares, the destroyer of the Assyrian empire. This opinion was adopted and for a long while maintained by many Assyriologists and historians (SCHRADER, *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 518-521; FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 350-355; HALÉVY, *Recherches Bibliques*, pp. 319-325, 334, 343), but was rejected by many others (FR. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 245; ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 463, 464; TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 334, 335; HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 721-724), and is now finally set aside, and the latest authors agree in seeing in the Esarhaddon of these tablets Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib (KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 67-71; WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 120, and *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 486, et seq.; ROST, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 87, et seq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Prayer No. 11*, in KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 92-96. The people of Saparda, called by the Persians Sparda, have been with good reason identified by FR. LENORMANT (*Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47; *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 352, 353), and after him by Schrader (*Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 116-119; *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1883, pp. 445-447), with the Sephard of the prophet Obadiah (ver. 20): the Assyrian texts show that this country should be placed in the neighbourhood of the Mannai and of the Medes.

<sup>3</sup> *Prayers Nos. 9, 10*, in KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 90-92.

<sup>4</sup> Bartatua is, according to Winckler's ingenious observation, the Protothyes of Herodotus (I. ciii.), the father of Madyes, with whom we shall deal below, pp. 472, 480 of this volume. [The name should more probably be read Masta-tua.—ED.]

<sup>5</sup> Sargon had in like manner given one of his daughters in marriage to Ambaris, King of Tabal, in order to attach him to the Assyrian cause (*Annals*, l. 172; *Fastes*, l. 30; cf. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, vol. i. pp. 30, 31, 102, 103), but without permanent success; cf. *supra*, p. 251.



not the thought of sacrificing a sister or a daughter, but a misgiving that the sacrifice would not produce the desired result, and in his difficulty he once more had recourse to Shamash. "If Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, grants a daughter of the blood (royal) to Bartatua, the King of the Iskuza, who has sent an embassy to him to ask a wife, will Bartatua, King of the Iskuza, act loyally towards Esarhaddon, King of Assyria? will he honestly and faithfully enter into friendly engagements with Esarhaddon, King of Assyria? will he observe the conditions (made by) Esarhaddon, King of Assyria? will he fulfil them punctually? that thy high divinity knoweth. His promises, in a decree and in the mouth of thy high divinity, O Shamash, great lord, are they decreed, promulgated?"<sup>1</sup> It is not recorded what came of these negotiations, nor whether the god granted the hand of the princess to her barbarian suitor. All we know is, that the incursions and intrigues of the Scythians continued to be a perpetual source of trouble to the Medes, and roused them either to rebel against Assyria or to claim the protection of its sovereign. Esarhaddon, in the course of his reign, was more than once compelled to interfere in order to ensure peace and quietness to the provinces on the table-land of Iran, which Sargon had conquered and which Sennacherib had retained.<sup>2</sup> He had first to carry his arms to the extreme edge of the desert, into the rugged country of Patusharra, lying at the foot of Demavend, rich in lapis-lazuli, and as yet untrodden by any king of Assyria.<sup>3</sup> Having reached his destination, he captured two petty kings, Eparna and Shitirparna,<sup>4</sup> and exiled them to Assyria, together with their people, their thoroughbred horses, and their two-humped camels,—in fine, all the possessions of their subjects.<sup>5</sup> Shortly after this, three other Median chiefs, hitherto intractable—

<sup>1</sup> *Prayer No. 29*, in KNUDZON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 119–122.

<sup>2</sup> Several recent historians (DELATTRE, *Le Peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes*, pp. 116–125, and WINKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 87) allege that Sennacherib did not keep the territories that Sargon had conquered, and that the Assyrian frontier became contracted on that side; whereas the general testimony of the known texts seems to me to prove the contrary, namely, that he preserved nearly all the territory annexed by his father, and that Esarhaddon was far from diminishing this inheritance. If these two kings mention only insignificant deeds of arms in the western region, it is because the population, exhausted by the wars of the two preceding reigns, easily recognised the Ninevite supremacy, and paid tribute to the Assyrian governors with sufficient regularity to prevent any important military expedition against them.

<sup>3</sup> The country of Patusharra has been identified by LENORMANT (*Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. pp. 66, 69) with that of the Patishorians—Πατισχορείν—mentioned by Strabo (XV. iii. § 1, p. 727) in Persia proper, who would have lived further north, not far from Demavend; cf. HOMMEL, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 724; TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 348. Sachau (*Glossen zu der historischen Inschriften Assyrischer Könige*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xi. pp. 54–57) calls attention to the existence of a mountain chain Patashwar-gar or Padishwar-gir, in front of Choaréné, and he places the country of Patusharra between Demavend and the desert.

<sup>4</sup> Lenormant (*Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. pp. 66, 67) sees in Eparna and Shitirparna a transcript of the Iranian names Vifarna and Chithrafarna (cf. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 141, 164); as against the first of these identifications, cf. ROST, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, p. 111, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. iv. ll. 8–18, and *Inscription of the Broken Cylinder*, col. iv. ll. 3–9, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. II. pp. 132, 133, 146, 147; cf. BUDGE, *History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 66–69, and ROST, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 87, 88.



Uppis of Partakka, Zanasana of Partukka,<sup>1</sup> Ramatea of Urakazabarna—came to Nineveh to present the king with horses and lapis-lazuli, the best of everything they possessed, and piteously entreated him to forgive their misdeeds. They represented that the whole of Media was torn asunder by countless strifes, prince against prince, city against city, and an iron will was needed to bring the more turbulent elements to order. Esarhaddon lent a favourable ear to their prayers; he undertook to protect them on condition of their paying an annual tribute, and he put them under the protection of the Assyrian governors who were nearest to their territory.<sup>2</sup> Kharkhar, securely entrenched behind its triple ramparts, assumed the position of capital to these Iranian marches. It is difficult to determine the precise dates of these various events; we learn merely that they took place before 673, and we surmise that they must have occurred between the second and sixteenth year of the king's reign.<sup>3</sup> The outcome of them was a distinct gain to Assyria, in the acquisition of several new vassals. The recently founded kingdom of Ecbatana lacked as yet the prestige which would have enabled it to hold its own against Nineveh; besides which, Deïokes, the contemporary ruler assigned to it by tradition, was of too complaisant a nature to seek occasions of quarrel.<sup>4</sup> The Scythians, after having declared their warlike intentions, seem to have come to a more peaceable frame of mind, and to have curried favour with Nineveh; but the rulers of the capital kept a strict watch upon them, since their numbers, their intrepid character, and

<sup>1</sup> Partakka and Partukka seem to be two different adaptations of the name Paraituka (Fr. LENORMANT, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. i. p. 67), the Paratakenê of the Greek geographers; Tiele (*Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 348) thinks of Parthyênê. I think that these two names designate the northern districts of Paratakenê, the present Ashnakhor or the country near to it.

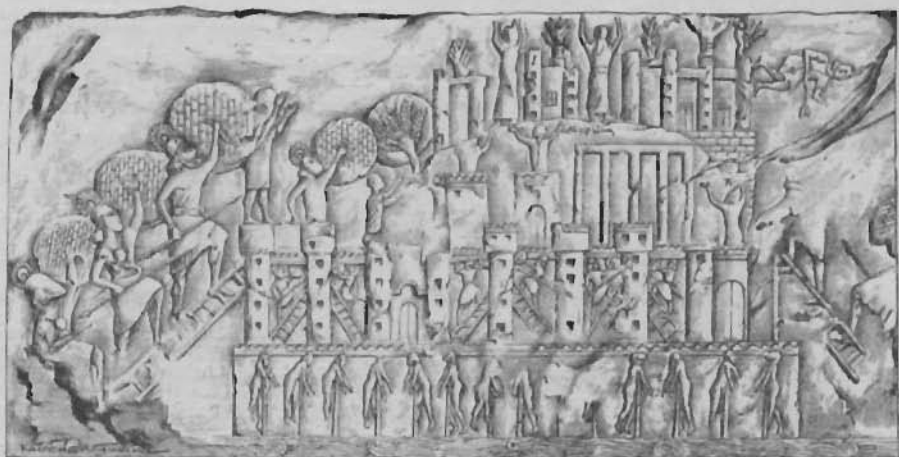
<sup>2</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. iv. ll. 19-37, in SCHRAEDER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 132-135; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 68-73, and ROWE, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>3</sup> The facts relating to the submission of Patusharra and of Partukka are contained in *Cylinder A*, dated from the eponymous year of Akhazilu, in 673. Moreover, the version which this document contains seems to have been made up of two pieces placed one at the end of the other: the first an account of events which occurred during an earlier period of the reign, and in which the exploits are classified in geographical order, from Sidon in the west (col. i. l. 10, et seq.) to the Arabs bordering on Chaldæa in the east (col. ii. l. 55, et seq.); and the second consisting of additional campaigns carried out after the completion of the former—which is proved by the place which these exploits occupy, out of their normal position in the geographical series—and making mention of Patusharra and Partukka (col. iv. ll. 8-37), as well as of Belikisha (col. iii. ll. 52-60, col. iv. ll. 1-7). The editor of the *Broken Cylinder* has tried to combine these latter elements with the former in the order adopted by the original narrator. As far as can be seen in what is left of the columns, he has placed, after the Chaldean events (col. iii. ll. 19-28), the facts concerning Partukka (col. iv., where lines 1, 2 in the present state of the cylinder contain fragments which fit in to the end of the account preserved in *A-C*, col. iv. ll. 19-39), then those concerning Patusharra (col. iv. ll. 3-9), and finally the campaign against Bazu (col. iv. ll. 10-26), the extreme limit of Esarhaddon's activity in the south. Knowing that the campaign in the desert and the death of Abdimilkût took place in 676 (*Babylonian Chronicle of Pinches*, col. iv. ll. 5-8), and that we find them already alluded to in the first part of the narrative, as well as the events of 675 relating to the revolt of Dakkuri, we may conclude that the submission of Patusharra and that of Partukka occurred in 674, or at latest in the beginning of 673.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. what is said on this subject, *supra*, pp. 324-328.

instinct for rapine made them formidable enemies—the most dangerous, indeed, that the empire had encountered on its north-eastern frontier for nearly a century.

This policy of armed *surveillance*, which proved so successful in these regions, was also carefully maintained by Esarhaddon on his south-eastern border against Assyria's traditional enemy, the King of Susa. Babylon, far from exhibiting any restlessness at her present position, showed her gratitude for the favours which her suzerain had showered upon her by resigning herself to become the ally of Assyria. She regarded her late disaster as the punishment inflicted by Marduk



THE TOWN OF KHARKHAR WITH ITS TRIPLE RAMPART.<sup>1</sup>

for her revolts against Sargon and Sennacherib. The god had let loose the powers of evil against her, and the Arakhtu, overflowing among the ruins, had swept them utterly away; indeed, for the space of ten years, destruction and desolation seemed to have taken the place of her former wealth of temples and palaces. In the eleventh year, the divine wrath was suddenly appeased. No sooner had Esarhaddon mounted the throne, than he entreated Shamash, Rammân, and even Marduk himself, to reveal to him their will with regard to the city; whereupon the omens, interpreted by the seers, commanded him to rebuild Babylon and to raise again the temple of Ê-sagilla. For this purpose he brought together all the captives taken in war that he had at his disposal, and employed them in digging out clay and in brick-making; he then prepared the foundations, upon which he poured libations of oil, honey, palm-wine, and other wines of various kinds; he himself took the mason's hod, and with tools of ebony, cypress wood, and oak, moulded a brick for the new sanctuary. The work was, indeed, a gigantic undertaking, and demanded years of uninterrupted

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from Flandin, in BOTTA, *Le Monument de Ninive*, pl. 55.

labour, but Esarhaddon pushed it forward, sparing neither gold, silver, costly stone, rare woods, or plates of enamel in its embellishment. He began to rebuild at the same time all the other temples and the two city walls—Imgurbel and Nimittibel; to clear and make good the canals which supplied the place with water, and to replant the sacred groves and the gardens of the palace. The inhabitants were encouraged to come back to their homes, and those who had been dispersed among distant provinces were supplied with clothes and food for their return journey, besides having their patrimony restored to them.<sup>1</sup> This rebuilding of the ancient city certainly displeased and no doubt alarmed her two former rivals, the Kaldâ and Elam, who had hoped one day to wrest her heritage from Assyria. Elam concealed its ill-feeling, but the Kaldâ of Bit-Dakkuri had invaded the almost deserted territory, and appropriated the lands which had belonged to the noble families of Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippara. When the latter, therefore, returned from exile, and, having been reinstated in their rights, attempted to resume possession of their property, the usurpers peremptorily refused to relinquish it. Esarhaddon was obliged to interfere to ensure its restoration, and as their king, Shamash-ibni, was not inclined to comply with the order, Esarhaddon removed him from the throne, and substituted in his place a certain Nabushallim, son of Belesys, who showed more deference to the suzerain's wishes.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that about this time the Kaldâ may have received some support from the Aramæans of the desert and the Arab tribes encamped between the banks of the Euphrates and Syria, or, on the other hand, the latter may have roused the wrath of Assyria by inroads of a more than usually audacious character. However this may be, in 676 Esarhaddon resolved to invade their desert territory, and to inflict such reprisals as would force them thenceforward to respect the neighbouring border provinces. His first relations with them had been of a courteous and friendly nature. Hazael of Adumu, one of the sheikhs of Kedar, defeated by Sennacherib towards the end of his reign,<sup>3</sup> had taken the opportunity of the annual tribute to come to Nineveh with considerable presents, and to implore the restoration of the statues of his gods. Esarhaddon had caused these battered idols to be cleaned and repaired, had engraved upon them an inscription in praise of Assur, and had further married the suppliant sheikh to a woman of the royal harem, named Tabua. In consideration of this, he had imposed upon the Arab a supplementary tribute of sixty-five camels, and had restored

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this account is taken from inscriptions published and translated by MEISSNER and ROSE, *Die Basinschriften Esarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 218-269.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 42-54, and *Inscription of the Broken Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 19-28, in SCHRADER, *Kleinasiatische Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 128-131, 146, 147; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 48-51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what is said of this prince on p. 323, *supra*.

to him his idols. All this took place, no doubt, soon after the king's accession. A few years later, on the death of Hazael, his son Yauta<sup>1</sup> solicited investiture, but a competitor for the chieftaincy, a man of unknown origin, named Uahab, treacherously incited the Arabs to rebel, and threatened to overthrow him. Esarhaddon caused Uahab to be seized, and exposed him in chains at the gate of Nineveh; but, in consideration of this service to the Arabs, he augmented the tribute which already weighed upon the people by a further demand for ten gold *minas*, one thousand precious stones, fifty camels, and a thousand measures of spicery.<sup>2</sup> The repression of these Arabs of Kedar thus confirmed Esarhaddon's supremacy over the extreme northern region of Arabia, between Damascus and Sippara or Babylon; but in a more southerly direction, in the wadys which unite Lower Chaldæa to the districts of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, there still remained several rich and warlike states—among others, Bazu,<sup>3</sup> whose rulers had never done homage to the sovereigns of either Assyria or Karduniash. To carry hostilities into the heart of their country was a bold and even hazardous undertaking; it could be reached only by traversing miles of arid and rocky plains, exposed to the rays of a burning sun, vast extents of swamps and boggy pasture land, desolate wastes infested with serpents and scorpions, and a mountain range of blackish lava known as Khâzu. It would have been folly to risk a march with the heavy Assyrian infantry in the face of such obstacles. Esarhaddon probably selected for the purpose a force composed of cavalry, chariots, and lightly equipped foot-soldiers, and despatched them with orders to reach the Jauf by forced marches through the Wady Haurân. The Arabs, who were totally unprepared for such a movement, had not time to

<sup>1</sup> The name of Hazael's son is written Yalu in Cylinder A, and Yata in Winckler's fragment (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 527, l. 6), and we may conclude from these two variants that the original form was Yatailu, which would give us a name often found in Himyaritic inscriptions; this Yauta has been confounded with the individual whom we shall find called Uaitê and Yauta in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and of whom we shall treat below, on pp. 417 and 430, 431.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. ii. ll. 55-58, col. iii. ll. 1-24, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 130, 131; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 54-59. The account of these facts is no longer found in the *Broken Cylinder*; it was probably chronicled on one of the ends—now destroyed—of the columns. For a mutilated version in which the story of Uahab is told, cf. WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 527-529, 532-534.

<sup>3</sup> The Bazu of this text is certainly the Buz which the Hebrew books name among the children of Nahor (*Gen.* xxii. 21; *Jer.* xxv. 23). The early Assyriologists identified Khazu with Uz, the son of Nahor (H. RAWLINSON, in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1864, vol. i. pp. 238, 239; NORRIS, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 412; FINZI, *Ricerche per lo Studio dell' Antichità Assira*, pp. 396, 397); Delitzsch (*Wolug das Paradies*? p. 307) compares the name with that of Hazo (Huz), the fifth son of Nahor (*Gen.* xxii. 22), and his opinion is admitted by most scholars (SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1883, p. 141; TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 349). For the site of these countries I have followed the ideas of Delattre, who identifies them with the oases of Jauf and Meskakeh, in the centre of Northern Arabia (*L'Asie Occidentale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, pp. 137, 138). The Assyrians must have set out by the Wady Haurân or by one of the wadys near to Babylon, and have returned by a more southern wady. Glaeser makes them pass through the southern Nejed (*Skizze der Geschichte und der Geographie Arabiens*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 265), and Winckler adopts his conclusions (*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 266).

collect their forces; eight of their chiefs were taken by surprise and killed one after another—among them Kisu of Khaldili, Agbaru of Ilpiati, Mansaku of Magalani,—and also some reigning queens. Lâ, the King of Yadi, at first took refuge in the mountains, but afterwards gave himself up to the enemy, and journeyed as far as Nineveh to prostrate himself at Esarhaddon's feet, who restored to him his gods and his crown, on the usual condition of paying tribute.<sup>1</sup> A vassal occupying a country so remote and so difficult of access could not be



SHABÎTOKU, KING OF EGYPT.<sup>2</sup>

supposed to preserve an unbroken fidelity towards his suzerain, but he no longer ventured to plunder the caravans which passed through his territory, and that in reality was all that was expected of him.

Esarhaddon thus pursued a prudent and unadventurous policy in the northern and eastern portions of his empire, maintaining a watchful attitude towards the Cimmerians and Scythians in the north, carrying on short defensive campaigns among the Medes in the east, preserving peace with Elam, and making occasional flying raids in the south, rather from the necessity for repressing troublesome border

tribes than with any idea of permanent conquest. This policy must have been due to a presentiment of danger from the side of Egypt, or to the inception of a great scheme for attacking the reigning Pharaoh. After the defeat of his generals at Altaku,<sup>3</sup> Shabîtoku had made no further attempt to take the offensive; his authority over the feudal nobility of Egypt was so widely acknowledged that it causes us no surprise to meet with his cartouches on more than one ruin between Thebes and Memphis,<sup>4</sup> but his closing years were marred by misfortune. There was then living at Napata a certain Taharqa, one of those scions of the solar race who enjoyed the title of "Royal brothers," and from among whom Amon of the Holy Mountain was wont to choose his representative to reign over the land of

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinders A, C*, col. iii. ll. 25-52, and *Broken Cylinder*, col. iv. ll. 10-26, in SCHRADER, *Kellins. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 130-133, 146-149.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 301, No. 81; cf. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 12, No. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>4</sup> His name or monuments of his erection have been discovered at Karnak (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. ii. p. 265, et seq.; ROSELLINI, *op. cit.*, pl. cli. No. 5; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, 4), at Luxor (DARESSY, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor*, p. 55), in the temple of Pthah at Memphis (MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 29 e, 1-3) in the Serapeum (MARIETTE, *Notice sur les soixante-quatre Apis*, in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athénæum Français*, 1856, p. 52; cf. the *Serapeum de Memphis*, vol. i. p. 27).



Ethiopia whenever the throne became vacant.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that the father of Taharqa ever held the highest rank; it was from his mother, Âkaluka, that he inherited his pretensions to the crown, and through her probably that he traced his descent from the family of the high priests.<sup>2</sup> Tradition asserts that he did not gain the regal power without a struggle;



TAHARQA AND HIS QUEEN DIKAHITAMANU.<sup>3</sup>

having been proclaimed king in Ethiopia at the age of twenty, as the result of some revolution, he is said to have marched against Shabitoku, and, coming up with him in the Delta, to have defeated him, taken him prisoner, and put him to death.<sup>4</sup> These events took place about 693 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and Taharqa employed the opening years of his reign in consolidating his authority over the double

<sup>1</sup> For Ethiopian "Royal brothers," see *supra*, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude sur quelques monuments du règne de Taharqa*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, vol. i. p. 12. The name of the queen, somewhat mutilated on the monuments, appears to have been Âkaluka.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the coloured plate in LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, v. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius, who cites the fact, had his information from a trustworthy Greek source (UNGER, *Manetho*, p. 251), perhaps from Manetho himself (MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 593). The inscription of Tanis seems to say that Taharqa was twenty years old at the time of his revolt (E. DE ROUGÉ, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-22. BIRCH; *On Some Monuments of the Reign of Tirhakah*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 194, 198, and *Inscription of Tirhakah*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 23).

<sup>5</sup> Most of the lists of kings taken from Manetho assign twelve years to the reign of Sébikhos; one alone, that of Africanus, assigns him fourteen years (MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 593).



kingdom. He married the widow of Sabaco, Queen Dikahitamanu, and thus assumed the guardianship of Tanuatamanu, her son by her first husband, and this marriage secured him supreme authority in Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup> That he regarded Egypt as a conquered country can no longer be doubted, seeing that he inserted its name on his monuments among those of the nations which he had vanquished.<sup>2</sup> He nevertheless felt obliged to treat it with consideration; he respected the rights of the feudal princes, and behaved himself in every way like a Pharaoh of the old royal line. He summoned his mother from Napata, where he had left her, and after proclaiming her regent of the South and the North, he associated her with himself in the rejoicings at his coronation. This ceremony, celebrated at Tanis with the usages customary in the Delta,<sup>3</sup> was repeated at Karnak in accordance with the Theban ritual, and a chapel erected shortly afterwards on the northern quay of the great sacred lake has preserved to us the memory of it.<sup>4</sup> Âkaluka, installed with the rank and prerogatives of the "Divine Spouse" of Amon, presented her son to the deity, who bestowed upon him through his priests dominion over the whole world. She bent the bow, and let fly the arrows towards the four cardinal points, which she thereby symbolically delivered to him as wounded prisoners; the king, on his part, hurled against them bullets of stone, and by this attack figuratively accomplished their defeat.<sup>5</sup> His wars in Africa were crowned with a certain meed of success,<sup>6</sup> and his achievements in this quarter won for him in after-

<sup>1</sup> The text of *Cylinder A* of Assur-bani-pal (col. ii. l. 53), and that of several other documents (*K 228* and *K 2675*, cf. G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 29, 47), only mentioned that Tanustamanu was the "son of his wife," which Oppert interpreted to mean son of Taharqa himself (*Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'Antiquité*, p. 104), while others see in him a son of Kashto, a brother of Amenertas (HINCKS, *The Assyrian Sacking of Thebes*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 2), or a son of Shabitoku (G. SMITH, *Egyptian Campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 96). Rassam's *Cylinder*, No. 1 (col. ii. l. 22) gives the variant, Tandamané, son of Sabaco, as was observed for the first time by G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 318, 327.

<sup>2</sup> BRUGSCH, *Reiseberichte aus Ägypten*, p. 300; the parallel scene, where the name of Egypt was found, has been usurped by Nectanebo.

<sup>3</sup> The stele of Tanis, whose fragments were discovered by Mariette and Petrie, seems to refer to these coronation festivities at Tanis; cf. the translations of it given by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur quelques monuments du règne de Taharqa*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. pp. 21-23), Birch (*On Some Monuments of the Reign of Tirhakah*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 194-199), and Griffith (*Petrie, Tanis*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30, pl. ix. No. 162).

<sup>4</sup> The scenes and inscriptions in this chapel, published by PRIESE D'AVENNES, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pls. xxxi.-xxxiii., have been carefully worked out by E. DE ROUGÉ only, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>5</sup> PRIESE D'AVENNES, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiii.; cf. E. DE ROUGÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> The list inscribed on the base of the statue discovered and published by Mariette (*Karnak*, pl. xlv. a 2) contains a large number of names belonging to Africa. They are the same as those met with in the time of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and were probably copied from some monument of Ramses II., who had himself perhaps borrowed them from a document of the time of Thûtmosis III. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pp. 66, 67; cf. WIDEMANN, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 594). A bas-relief at Medinet-Habu shows him to us in the act of smiting a group of tribes, among which figure the Tapa, Doshrit, and "the humbled Kush" (CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. i. pp. 319-321; ROSELLINI, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cl. vol. iv. p. 182; LEPsius, *Denkmäler*, v. pl. i. c); this bas-relief was appropriated later on by Nectanebo.

time so much popularity among the Egyptians, that they extolled him to the Greeks as one of their most illustrious conquering Pharaohs; they related



THE COLUMN OF TAHARQA, AT KARNAK.<sup>1</sup>

that he had penetrated as far as the Pillars of Hercules in the west, and that he had invaded Europe in imitation of Sesostris.<sup>2</sup> What we know to be a fact is, that he secured to the valley of the Nile nearly twenty years of prosperity,

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph by Beato, taken in 1886.

<sup>2</sup> STRABO, I. iii. § 21, p. 61; XV. i. § 6, p. 687: the latter passage is taken from Megasthenes (*Fragm.* 20, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii, p. 416).

and recalled the glories of the great reigns of former days, if not by his victories, at least by the excellence of his administration and his activity. He planned the erection at Karnak<sup>1</sup> of a hypostyle hall in front of the pylons of Ramses II., which should equal, if not surpass, that of Seti I.<sup>2</sup> The columns of the central aisle were disposed in two lines of six pillars each, but only one of



THE HEMISPHEROS OF HÂTHOR AND RÊSÛ, AT GEBEL-BARKAL.<sup>3</sup>

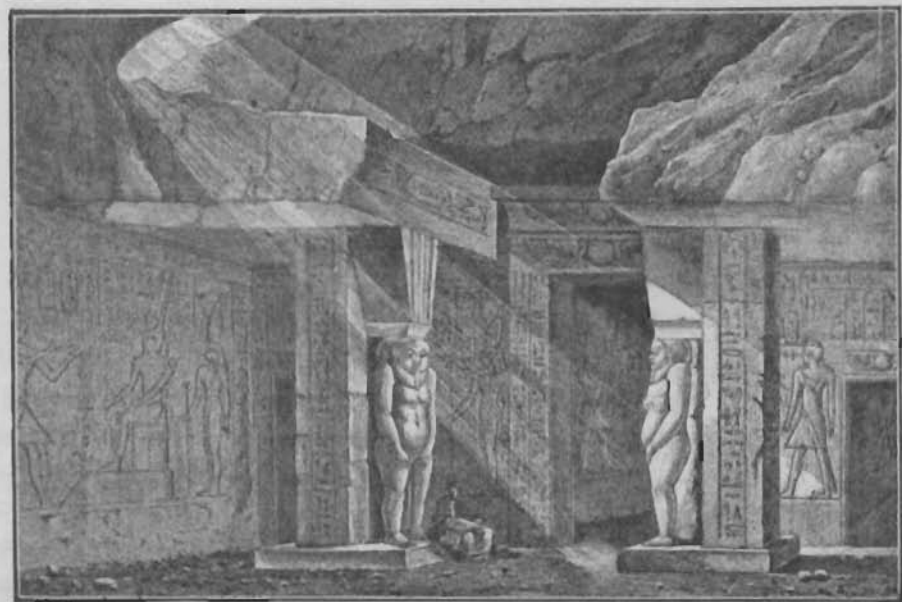
these now remains standing in its original place; its height, which is the same as that of Seti's columns, is nearly sixty-nine feet. The columns of the side aisles, like those which should have flanked the immense colonnade at Luxor, were never even begun, and the hall of Taharqa, like that of Seti I., remains

<sup>1</sup> Information as to the principal portions of his work at Karnak may be found in MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pp. 10, 20, note 2, and in WIEDEMANN, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, pp. 595, 596.

<sup>2</sup> These columns have been looked upon as triumphal pillars, designed to support statues or divine emblems (JOLLOIS and DE VILLIERS, *Description du palais de Karnak*, in the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. pp. 422-425; E. DE ROUGÉ, *Étude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. i. p. 67; STEINDORFF and BAEDER, *Ägypten*, pp. 245, 246). Mariette thinks that they supported "an edifice in the architectural style of the kiosc at Philæ and the small hypæthral temple on the roof of Denderah" (*Karnak*, p. 19). I am of opinion that the architect intended to make a hypostyle hall, but that when the columns were erected, he perceived that the great width of the aisle they formed would render the strength of the roof very doubtful, and so renounced the execution of his first design.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a lithograph in CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Méroë*, vol. i. pl. lviii.

unfinished to this day.<sup>1</sup> He bestowed his favour on Nubia and Ethiopia, as well as on Egypt proper; even Napata owed to his munificence the most beautiful portions of its temples. The temple of Amon, and subsequently that of Mût, were enlarged by him;<sup>2</sup> and he decorated their ancient halls with bas-reliefs, representing himself, accompanied by his mother and his wife, in attitudes of adoration before the deity. The style of the carving is very good, and the hieroglyphics would not disgrace the walls of the Theban



ENTRANCE TO THE HEMISPEOS OF BÎSÛ (BES), AT GEBEL-BARKAL.<sup>3</sup>

temples. The Ethiopian sculptors and painters scrupulously followed the traditions of the mother-country, and only a few insignificant details of ethnic type or costume enable us to detect a slight difference between their works and those of pure Egyptian art. At the other extremity of Napata, on the western side of the Holy Mountain, Taharqa excavated in the cliff a rock-hewn shrine, which he dedicated to Hâthor and Bîsû (Bes), the patron of jollity and happiness, and the god of music and of war. Bîsû, who was at first relegated to the lowest rank among the crowd of genii adored by the people, had gradually risen to the highest place in the hierarchy of the gods, and his images predominated in chapels destined to represent the cradle of the infant gods, and

<sup>1</sup> For this colonnade at Luxor, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. i. pls. lxiv.-lxvi., and vol. iii. pp. 218-225; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, v. 5-13. The cartouches of Taharqa were recognised in this edifice from the outset by Champollion (Note in *Bulletin des Annonces*, 1824), and led him to attribute the erection of the building to this prince.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a lithograph in CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. i. pl. lxxiv.; drawings of these pillars are reproduced in LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, v. 6 a-b.

the sacred spots where goddesses gave birth to their divine offspring. The portico erected in front of the pylon had a central avenue of pillars, against which stood monstrous and grinning statues of Bisû, his hands on his hips, and his head crowned with a large bunch of lotus-flowers and plumes. Two rows of columns with Hathor-headed capitals flanked the central aisle, which led to a hall supported by massive columns, also with Hathor capitals, and beyond it again lay the actual shrine similarly excavated in the rocky hill; two statues of Bisû, standing erect against their supporting columns, kept guard over the entrance, and their fantastic forms, dimly discernible in the gloom, must have

appeared in ancient times to have prohibited the vulgar throng from approaching the innermost sanctuary. Half of the roof has fallen in since the building was deserted, and a broad beam of light falling through the aperture thus made reveals the hideous grotesqueness of the statues to all comers.<sup>1</sup>

TAHARQA.<sup>2</sup>

The portraits of Taharqa represent him with a strong, square-shaped head, with full cheeks, vigorous mouth, and determined chin, such as belong to a man well suited to deal with that troubled epoch, and the knowledge we as yet possess of his conflict with Assyria fully confirms the

character exhibited by his portrait statues. We may surmise that, when once absolute master of Egypt, he must have cast his eyes beyond the isthmus, and considered how he might turn to his own advantage the secret grudge borne by the Syrians against their suzerain at Nineveh, but up to the present time we possess no indications as to the policy he pursued in Palestine. We may safely assume, however, that it gave umbrage to the Assyrians, and that Esarhaddon resolved to put an end once for all to the uneasiness it caused him. More than half a century had elapsed since the day when the kings of Syria, alarmed at the earliest victories of Tiglath-pileser III., had conceived the idea of pitting their former conquerors against those of the day, and had solicited help from the Pharaohs against Assyria.<sup>3</sup> None of the sovereigns to whom they turned had refused to listen to their appeals, or failed to promise subsidies and reinforcements; but these engagements, however definite, had for the most part been left unfulfilled, and when an occasion for their execution had occurred, the Egyptian armies had merely

<sup>1</sup> CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. ii. pp. 212-215. The plan is given in CAILLAUD, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pl. lxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a cast of the fragment preserved at Gizeh; cf. MASPERO, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 63, No. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 180-182.

appeared on the fields of battle to beat a hasty retreat: they had not prevented the subjugation of Damascus, Israel, Tyre, the Philistines, nor, indeed, of any of the princes or people who trusted to their renown; yet, notwithstanding these numerous disappointments, the prestige of the Egyptians was still so great that insubordinate or rebel states invariably looked to them for support and entreated their help. The Assyrian generals had learnt by experience to meet them unmoved, being well aware that the Egyptian army was inferior to their own in organisation, and used antiquated weapons and methods of warfare; they were also well aware that the Egyptian and even the Ethiopian soldiery had never been able successfully to withstand a determined attack by the Assyrian battalions, and that when once the desert which protected Egypt had been crossed, she would, like Babylon, fall an easy prey to their arms. It would merely be necessary to guard against the possible danger of opposition being offered to the passage of the invading host by the Idumæan and Arab tribes sparsely scattered over the country between the Nile and the Gulf of Akabah, as their hostility would be a cause of serious uneasiness. An expedition, sent against Milukhkha<sup>1</sup> in 675 B.C., had taught the inhabitants to respect the power of Assyria; but the campaign had not been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, for the King of Elam, Khumbân-khaldash II., seeing his rival occupied at the opposite extremity of his empire, fell unexpectedly upon Babylon, and pushing forward as far as Sippara, laid waste the surrounding country; and his hateful presence even prevented the god Shamash from making his annual progress outside the walls of the city. The people of Bit-Dakkuri seem to have plucked up courage at his approach, and invaded the neighbouring territory, probably that of Borsippa. Esarhaddon was absent on a distant expedition, and the garrisons scattered over the province were not sufficiently strong in numbers to risk a pitched battle: Khumbân-khaldash, therefore, marched back with his booty to Susa entirely unmolested. He died suddenly in his palace a few days after his return, and was succeeded by his brother, Urtaku, who was too intent upon seating himself securely on the throne to send his troops on a second raid in the following year.<sup>2</sup> Esarhaddon deferred his revenge to a more convenient season, and utilised the respite fate had accorded him on the Elamite border to hasten his attack on Egypt (673 B.C.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name of Milukhkha, first applied to the countries in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 564, note 3, and p. 600), had been transferred to the western coasts of Arabia, as well as that of Magan.

<sup>2</sup> *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. ll. 9-15; cf. WINCKLER, *Babylonische Chronik B*, in *SCHRADER, Keilins. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 282-288. This is the only document recording these events, and it gives them in great confusion; I have endeavoured to point out the bond which unites them.

<sup>3</sup> *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. l. 16; cf. WINCKLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 285. KNUDTZON (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, vol. i. p. 59) has established the reading "the Assyrians were defeated," —*dilku*,—instead of "the Assyrians came," —*illiku*,—as read by the first editors of this passage.



The expedition was a failure, and Taharqa was greatly elated at having issued with honour from this trial of strength. As most of the countries over which his enemy exercised his supremacy were those which had been ruled by his Theban ancestors in days gone by, Taharqa engraved on the base of his statue a list of nations and towns copied from one of the monuments of Ramses II. The Khâti, Carchemish, Mitanni, Arvad—in short, a dozen peoples already extinct or in their decline, and whose names were merely perpetuated in the stereotyped official lists,—were enumerated in the list of his vanquished foes side by side with Assyria.<sup>1</sup> It was a mere piece of bravado, for never, even when victorious, did he set foot on Syrian soil; but all the same the victory had caused the invading host to retire, and the fame of this exploit, spreading throughout Asia, was not without its effect on the minds of the inhabitants. The island of Tyre had never officially recognised the Assyrian suzerainty. The Tyrians had lived in peace since the defeat of Elulai, and had maintained constant commercial relations with the continent without interfering in active politics: they had, perhaps, even been permitted to establish some settlements on the coast of the mainland. Their king, Bâal, now deemed the moment a propitious one for coming forward and recovering his lost territory, and since the Greek princes of Cyprus had ranged themselves under the hegemony of Assyria, he thought he could best counterbalance their influence by seeking support from Egypt, whose ancient greatness was apparently reviving. He therefore concluded an alliance with Taharqa,<sup>2</sup> and it would be no cause for astonishment if we should one day discover that Judah had followed his example. Hezekiah had devoted his declining years to religious reformation, and the organisation of his kingdom under the guidance of Isaiah or the group of prophets of which Isaiah was the leader. Judah had increased in population, and had quickly recovered its prosperity; when Hezekiah died, about 686 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> it had entirely regained its former vigour, but the memory of the disasters of 701 was still sufficiently fresh in the minds of the people to prevent the change of sovereign being followed by a change of policy. Manasseh, who succeeded his father, though he did not walk, as Hezekiah had done, in the ways of the Lord,<sup>4</sup> at least remained loyal to his Assyrian masters. It is, however, asserted that he afterwards rebelled, though his reason for doing so is not explained, and that he was carried captive to Babylon as a punishment for this crime: he

<sup>1</sup> MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. 45 a, and pp. 66, 67.

<sup>2</sup> The alliance of Bâal with Taharqa is mentioned in the fragment of the *Annals*, reproduced by Budge (*The History of Eearhaddon*, pp. 116, 117, l. 12), under the date of year X., and the name Bâal is still decipherable amid the defaced lines which contained the account of events which took place before that year (pp. 114, 115, l. 2). I think we may reasonably assign the first understanding between the two sovereigns, either to the actual year of the first campaign or to the following year, and this is the present opinion of Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 525, 526).

<sup>3</sup> For the dates of Hezekiah's reign, cf. *supra*, pp. 236, 284.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xxi. 1, 2; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, 2.

succeeded, nevertheless, in regaining favour, and was reinstated at Jerusalem on condition of not repeating his offence. If this statement is true, as I believe it to be, it was probably after the Egyptian campaign of 673 B.C.<sup>1</sup> that his conspiracy with Bâal took place. The Assyrian governors of the neighbouring provinces easily crushed these attempts at independence, but, the islands of Tyre being secure from attack, they were obliged to be content with establishing a series of redoubts along the coast, and with prohibiting the Tyrians from having access to the mainland.<sup>2</sup>

The promptitude of their action quenched the hopes of the Egyptian party and prevented the spread of the revolt. Esarhaddon was, nevertheless, obliged to put off the fulfilment of his schemes longer than he desired: complications arose on his northern frontiers, near the sources of the Tigris, which distracted his attention from the intrigues taking place on the banks of the Nile. Urartu, hard pressed by the Cimmerians and Scythians, had lived for a quarter of a century in a condition of sullen peace with Assyria, and its kings avoided anything which could bring them into conflict with their hereditary rival. Argistis II. had been succeeded by one of his sons, Rusas II., and both of them had been more intent upon strengthening their kingdom than on extending its area; they had rebuilt their capital, Dhuspas, on a magnificent scale, and from the security of their rocky home they watched the course of events without taking any part in it, unless forced to do so by circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Andaria, chief of Lubdi, one of the remote mountain districts, so difficult of access that it always retained its independence in spite of frequent attacks, had seized Shupria, a province which had been from very early times subject to the sovereigns of Nineveh, and was the first to be colonised by them.<sup>4</sup> The inhabitants, forgetful

<sup>1</sup> The fact of Manasseh's captivity is only known to us from the testimony of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10-13, and most modern critics consider it apocryphal (STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. pp. 639, 640). The moral development which accompanies the narrative, and the conversion which follows it, are certainly later additions, but I think, with Halévy (*Mélanges de Critique et d'Histoire relatifs aux peuples Sémitiques*, pp. 36, 37), that the story may have some foundation in fact; we shall see later on (*infra*, p. 386) that Necho I., King of Sais, was taken prisoner, led into captivity, and received again into favour in the same way as Manasseh is said to have been. The exile to Babylon, which at one time appeared to demonstrate the unauthenticity of the passage, would be rather in favour of its authenticity, as G. Smith had already remarked (*The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 165, 166). Esarhaddon was King of Babylon during the whole of his reign, and the great works which he executed in that city obliged him, we know, to transport thither a large proportion of the prisoners whom he brought back from his wars.

<sup>2</sup> WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. pp. 525, 526, assigns the opening of the blockade to this date; I had independently arrived at the same conclusion, when Winckler himself pushed back the date for the commencement of operations to 675 B.C. (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, p. 335), and Landau brought it down to 670 B.C. (*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, pp. 11, 12).

<sup>3</sup> For the order and succession of the kings of Urartu at this epoch, I have followed the ideas set forth by BELCK and LERMANN, *Ein neuer Herrscher von Chaldia*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 82-99, 339-360.

<sup>4</sup> For these colonies, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 608, note 2. The name is there given under the form Ruri, the inaccuracy of which was shown at the very time that work began to appear; cf. *supra*, p. 20, note 4.

of their origin, had yielded voluntarily to Andaria; but this prince, after receiving their homage, was seized with alarm at his own audacity. He endeavoured to strengthen his position by an alliance with the Cimmerians,<sup>1</sup> and the spirit of insubordination which he aroused spread beyond the Euphrates; Mugallu of Milid, a king of the Tabal, resorted to such violent measures that Esarhaddon was alarmed lest the wild mountaineers of the Taurus should pour down upon the plain of Kui and lay it waste.<sup>2</sup> The danger would indeed have been serious had all these tribes risen simultaneously; but the Cimmerians were detained in Asia Minor by their own concerns,<sup>3</sup> and Mugallu, when he saw the Assyrian troops being concentrated to bring him to reason, remained quiet.<sup>4</sup> The extension of Lubdi was not likely to meet with favour in the eyes of Rusas; he did not respond to the advances made to him,<sup>5</sup> and Esarhaddon opened his campaign against the rebels without having to dread the intervention of Urartu. Andaria, besieged in his capital of Ubbumi,<sup>6</sup> laid aside his royal robes, and, assuming the ragged garments of a slave, appeared upon the ramparts and pleaded for mercy in a voice choked with tears: "Shupria, the country which has sinned against thee, will yield to thee of her own accord; place thy officers over her, she will vow obedience to thee; impose on her a ransom and an annual tribute for ever. I am a robber, and for the crime I have committed I will make amends fifty-fold." Esarhaddon would listen to no terms before a breach had been effected in the city walls. This done, he pardoned the prince who had taken refuge in the citadel, but resumed possession of Shupria: its inhabitants were mercilessly punished, being condemned to slavery, and their lands and goods divided among new colonists. Many Urtians were numbered among the captives: these Esarhaddon separated from the rest, and sent back to Rusas as a reward for his having remained neutral. All this had barely occupied the space of one month, the month of Tebet. The firstfruits of the spoil reserved

<sup>1</sup> This seems, indeed, to be proved by a tablet in which Esarhaddon, addressing the god Shamash, asks him if the Cimmerians or Urtians will unite with a certain prince who can be no other than the King of Shupria (KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 149-153; cf. WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51).

<sup>2</sup> I should like to refer to this date the oracular "consultations," Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, which belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, as KNUDTON (*op. cit.*, pp. 158-165) has pointed out; cf. WINCKLER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 125, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> It was about this time they were dealing the death-blow to the kingdom of Phrygia; cf. *infra*, pp. 391, 392.

<sup>4</sup> This concentration of Assyrian troops is the subject of oracular "consultation," No. 56 (KNUDTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-163). Mugallu shut himself up in one of his strongholds as soon as he heard of it, and it seems as if the affair went no further, for we find him still King of Tabal some years later, under Assur-bani-pal; cf. *infra*, p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> That Esarhaddon dreaded the formation of an alliance between Rusas and the chiefs of Lubdi and Shupria, follows from oracle No. 48 in KNUDTON, *op. cit.*, p. 150, rev., l. 6, et seq., where the name Rusas must be restored, as the editor has clearly seen (*op. cit.*, p. 152); cf. WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 52, where he raises some objections to this restoration.

<sup>6</sup> The town is named Bumu in KNUDTON, *op. cit.*, No. 48, obv., l. 9, p. 150.

for Uruk had already reached that town by the month Kislev,<sup>1</sup> and the year was not so far advanced as to render further undertakings impossible, when the death of the queen, on the 5th Adar, suspended all warlike enterprises.<sup>2</sup> The last months of the year were given up to mourning, and the whole of 671 B.C. passed without further action. The Ethiopian king was emboldened by this inactivity on the part of his foe to renew his intrigues with Syria with redoubled energy; at one moment, indeed, the Philistines of Ashkelon, secretly instigated, seemed on the point of revolt.<sup>3</sup> They held themselves, however, in check, and Esarhaddon, reassured as to their attitude, entered into negotiations with the sheikhs of the Arab tribes, and purchased their assistance to cross the desert of Sinai. He bade them assemble at Raphia, at the western extremity of Palestine, each chief bringing all the camels he could command, and as many skins of water as their beasts could carry: this precaution, a wise one at any time, might secure the safety of the army in case Tabarqa should have filled up the wells which marked the stages in the caravan route.<sup>4</sup> When all was ready, Esarhaddon consulted the oracle of Shamash, and, on receiving a favorable reply from the god, left Nineveh in the beginning of the month Nisân, 670 B.C., to join the invading army in Syria.<sup>5</sup> He made a detour in order to inspect the lines of forts which his generals had established along the coast opposite Tyre, and strengthened their garrisons to prevent Bâal from creating a diversion in the rear of his base of operations; he then proceeded southwards to the

<sup>1</sup> *Pinches' Bab. Chron.*, col. iv. l. 22; cf. WINCKLER, *Die Bab. Chron. B.*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285. Winckler thinks that in l. 21 of this document the name of Nineveh should be substituted for that of Uruk (*Alt. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 46, note 1), but I do not see the necessity for this. The Babylonian chronicler naturally reported the events connected with the towns of his own land, and the arrival of a portion of the booty, the offering of the king to the temple in Uruk, touched him more nearly than the arrival of the whole amount of the spoil at Nineveh would have done.

<sup>2</sup> All these facts are revealed to us by the great tablet in the British Museum, the fragments of which were first published and translated by WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. ii. pp. 27-32; cf. vol. i. pp. 529-532. The date is fixed by a passage in *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle* (col. iv. ll. 19-21; cf. WINCKLER, *Die Babylonische Chronik B.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilins. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285), where it is stated that in the eighth year, in the month of Tebet, the king conquered the land of Shupriza: Shupriza is certainly an error of the Babylonian scribe for Shupria (KNUDTON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, p. 152; WINCKLER, *Alt. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 46). In the fragment of the *Annals* there occurs, immediately before the second expedition into Egypt, a much mutilated account which seems to be that of the campaign against Shupria; cf. BUDGE, *Hist. of Esarhaddon*, pp. 114, 115.

<sup>3</sup> Ashkelon is mentioned in two of the prayers (Nos. 70, 71) in which Esarhaddon consults Shamash on the subject of his intended campaign in Egypt (KNUDTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181); he seems to fear lest that city and the Bedâwin of the Idumean desert should espouse the cause of the King of Ethiopia.

<sup>4</sup> This information is furnished by the fragment of the *Annals*, rev., ll. 1, 2; cf. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119; WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 98, and *Musri, Melukha, Main*, i. p. 6. The Assyrian text introduces this into the narrative in such a manner that it would appear as if these negotiations were carried on at the very commencement of the campaign; it is, however, more probable that they were concluded beforehand, as occurred later on, in the time of Cambyses, when the Persians invaded Egypt (HERODOTUS, III. iv.-ix.).

<sup>5</sup> KNUDTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-181, where it is shown that the published texts refer to the second Egyptian campaign of Esarhaddon. The reply of the god is not easy to interpret, but it was certainly favourable, since the expedition took place.

neighbourhood of Aphek, in the territory of the tribe of Simeon.<sup>1</sup> The news which there met him must doubtless have informed him that the Bedâwin had been won over in the interval by the emissaries of Taharqa, and that he would run great risk by proceeding with his campaign before bringing them back to a sense of their duty. On leaving Aphek<sup>2</sup> he consequently turned southwards, and plunged into the heart of the desert, as if he had renounced all designs upon Egypt for that season, and was bent only on restoring order in Milukkhka and Magân before advancing further. For six weeks he marched in short stages, without other water than the supply borne, in accordance with his commands, by the Arab camels, passing through tracts of desert infested by strange birds and double-headed serpents;<sup>3</sup> when he had at length dispersed the bands which had endeavoured to oppose his advance, he suddenly turned in a north-westerly direction, and, following the dry bed of the torrent of Muzur, at length reached Raphia.<sup>4</sup> From thence he did not select the usual route, which follows the coast-line and leads to Pelusium, a place which he may have feared was too well defended, but he again pressed forward across the sands of the desert, and in the first days of Tammuz reached the cultivated land of the Delta by way of the Wady Tumilât. The frontier garrisons, defeated on the 3rd of Tammuz near Ishkhupri,<sup>5</sup> retreated in good order. Taharqa, hastening to their succour, disputed the ground inch by inch, and engaged the invaders in several conflicts, two at least of which, fought on the 16th and 18th of Tammuz, were regular pitched battles, but in every case the Assyrian tactics triumphed in spite of the dashing onslaught of the Egyptians;

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, obv., l. 10; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 116, 117, and WINCKLER, *Musri, Meluhha, Main*, i. p. 6.

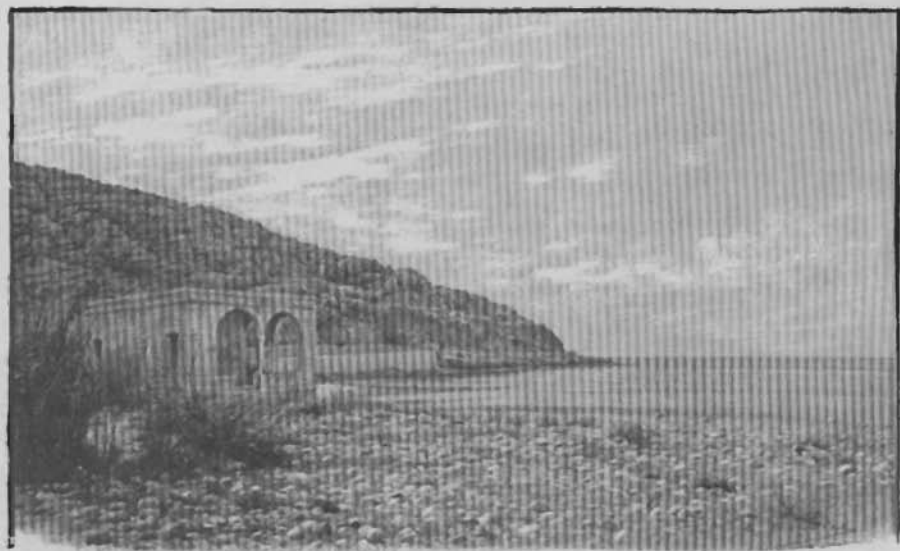
<sup>2</sup> The defaced name of the country in which this Aphek was situated was read as Samirina and translated "Samaria" by the first editor (BOSCAWEN, *Historical Inscription of Esarhaddon*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 85, 87, 93). This interpretation has been adopted by most historians (TIELE, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 338, 350, note 1; DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 178, 179, 286, 287; DELATTRE, *L'Asie Occid. dans les Inscrit. Assy.*, pp. 90, 91), who have seen in Aphek the town of this name belonging to the western portion of Manasseh. Budge read it Samina (*Hist. of Esarhaddon*, pp. 118, 119, l. 16), and this reading, verified by Craig, gave Winckler the idea of identifying Samina or Simina with the tribe of Simeon, and Aphek with the Aphekah (*Josh. xv. 53*) in the mountains of Judah (*Musri, Meluhha, Main*, i. p. 8, 9).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the winged serpents from Arabia whose bones were shown to Herodotus in Heliopolis (*II. lxxv.*; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zwoites Buch*, p. 318, 319).

<sup>4</sup> Winckler (*op. cit.*, i. p. 8, et seq.) has fully explained the general plan of the campaign. I do not clearly understand, from his explanation, if he has noticed that the enumeration of days spent on the march and of districts traversed falls naturally into two divisions: a first itinerary of 30 *kashbu-kakhar* (obv., ll. 16-18, and rev., ll. 1-11), which apparently gives the stages of the journey from Aphek to Raphia; a second itinerary of 40 *kashbu-kakhar*, probably from Raphia to Ishkhupri. All this narrative must remain obscure until a well-preserved copy of this part of the *Annals* is discovered.

<sup>5</sup> The text on the stele at Zinjirli (SCHRAEDER, *Inscript. Asarhaddon's*, in LUSCHAN, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. i. pp. 40, 41) gives a total of fifteen days' march from Ishkhupri to Memphis, while *Pinches' Babyl. Chron.*, col. iv. pp. 24-26, indicates three battles as having been fought on the 3rd, 16th, and 18th of Tammuz, and the taking of Memphis as occurring on the 22nd of the same month. If fifteen days is precisely accurate for the length of march, Esarhaddon would have reached Ishkhupri about the 27th of Sivan.

Memphis succumbed on the 22nd, after an assault lasting merely a few hours, and was mercilessly sacked. The Ethiopian king, with his army decimated and exhausted, gave up the struggle, and beat a hasty retreat southwards. The attack had been made with such rapidity that he had had no time to remove his court from the "palace of the White Wall" to the Saïd; the queen, therefore, together with other women of less exalted rank, fell into the hands of the conqueror, besides the crown-prince, Ushana-horu, several younger sons and daughters, and such of the children of Sabaco and Shabîtoku as



SOUTHERN PROMONTORY AT THE MOUTH OF THE NAHR-EL-KELB.<sup>1</sup>

resided at court. But the victory had cost the Assyrians dearly, and the enemy still appeared to them so formidable that Esarhaddon prudently abstained from pursuing him up the Nile valley. He favourably received those feudal lords and petty kings who presented themselves to pay him homage, and confirmed them in possession of their fiefs, but he placed over them Assyrian governors and imposed new official names on their cities; thus Athribis was officially called Limir-pateshi-assur, and other cities received the names Assur-makan-tishkul, Bit-marduk-sha-assur-taru, Shaimuk-assur. He further imposed on them a heavy annual tribute of more than six talents of gold and six hundred talents of silver, besides robes and woven stuffs, wine, skins, horses, sheep, and asses; and having accomplished this, he retraced his steps towards the north-east with immense booty and innumerable convoys of prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The complete defeat of the Ethiopian power filled not only

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph recently brought back by Lortet.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology of this campaign is furnished by *Pinches' Bab. Chron.*, col. iv. ll. 23-28 (cf. WINCKLER, *Die Babylonische Chronik B*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keilins. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285); the



Esarhaddon himself but all Asia with astonishment. His return to Nineveh was a triumphal progress; travelling through Syria by short stages, he paraded his captives and trophies before the peoples and princes who had so long relied on the invincible power of the Pharaoh. Esarhaddon's predecessors



STELE OF ESARHADDON AT THE NAHR-EL-KELB.<sup>2</sup>

had more than once inscribed the record of their campaigns on the rocks of the Nahr-el-Kelb, beside the bas-relief engraved there by Ramses II.,<sup>1</sup> and it had been no small gratification to their pride thus to place themselves on a footing of equality with one of the most illustrious heroes of the ancient Egyptian empire. The footpath which skirts the southern bank of the river, and turning to the south is continued along the seashore, was bordered by the great stelæ in which, one after another, they had thought to immortalise their glory; following their example, Esarhaddon was in like manner pleased to celebrate his prowess, and exhibit the

ancient lords of the world subjugated to his will.<sup>3</sup> He erected numerous triumphal monuments along his route, and the stele which was discovered at one of the gates of Zinjirli is, doubtless, but an example of those which he

details are given in the fragment of the *Annals* first translated by G. Smith (*The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 141-143; cf. BUDGE, *Hist. of Esarhaddon*, pp. 114-123; WINCKLER, *Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Gesch.*, pp. 97-99, and *Muari, Meluhha, Main*, i. p. 5, et seq.), as well as in the inscription of Zinjirli (SCHRADER, *Inscript. Esarhaddon's Königs von Assyrien*, in LUSCHAN, *Ausgrab. in Sendschirli*, vol. i. pp. 30-43; cf. WINCKLER, *Untersuch. zur Altor. Gesch.*, pp. 99, 100), and in the fragments of a cylinder of Esarhaddon, which have been published by WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. ii. pp. 21-23.

<sup>1</sup> For the stelæ of Ramses II., cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 278, note 1, 389, 427; for the stelæ of Assyrian kings, cf. *ibid.*, p. 367, and *supra*, p. 41, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph brought back by Lortet.

<sup>3</sup> A translation of this inscription from the east in the British Museum is to be found in G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 167-169; cf. BOSCAWEN, *The Monuments and Inscriptions on the Rocks at the Nahr-el-Kelb*, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 345-349.

erected in other important cities. He is represented on the Zinjirli stele standing erect, while at his feet are two kneeling prisoners, whom he is holding by a bridle of cord fastened to metal rings passed through their lips; these figures represent Bâal of Tyre and Taharqa of Napata, the latter with the uræus on his forehead.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, these kings were safe beyond his reach, one surrounded by the sea, the other above the cataracts, and the people were well aware that they did not form part of the band of prisoners which defiled before their eyes; but they were accustomed to the vain and extravagant boastings of their conquerors, and these very exaggerations enabled them to understand more fully the extent of the victory. Esarhaddon thenceforward styled himself King of Egypt, King of the Kings of Egypt, of the Saïd and of Kûsh,<sup>2</sup> so great was his pride at having trampled underfoot the land of the Delta. And, in fact, Egypt had, for a century, been the only one of the ancient Eastern states which had always eluded the grasp of Assyria. The Elamites had endured disastrous defeats, which had cost them some of their provinces; the Urartians had been driven back into their mountains, and no longer attempted to emerge from them; Babylon had nearly been annihilated in her struggles for independence; while the Khâti, the Phœnicians, Damascus, and Israel had been absorbed one after another in the gradual extension of Ninevite supremacy. Egypt, although she had had a hand in all their wars and revolutions, had never herself paid the penalty of

STELE OF ZINJIRLI.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on one of the tiles of the palace of Esarhaddon at Nimroud, published in LAYARD, *Inscr. in the Cuneiform Character*, pl. 19 a; cf. OPPERT, *Expédition de Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 334; MÉNANT, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 240; SCHRADER, *Keilins. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 150-153. Contrary to the generally admitted opinion, Winckler considers that, by Muzur, Esarhaddon designates in this inscription Arabia, not Egypt (*Musri, Meluhha, Main*, i. pp. 13, 14).

<sup>2</sup> H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. i. pl. 48, No. 5; cf. OPPERT, *Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 40-43, where the name Paturisi of the Assyrian text is for the first time compared with the biblical Pathros (*Isa. xi. 11; Jer. xlv. 1, 15; Ezek. xxx. 14*), and interpreted, after E. de Rougé, by the Egyptian Pa-to-risi, the land of the South, the Thebaid, the present Saïd.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph of the original, which is preserved in the Berlin Museum; cf. LUSCHAN, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. i. pl. i.

her intrigues, and even when she had sometimes risked her troops on the battle-fields of Palestine, her disasters had not cost her more than the loss of a certain number of men: having once retired to the banks of the Nile, no one had dared to follow, and the idea had gained credence among her enemies as well as among her friends that Egypt was effectually protected by the desert from every attack. The victory of Esarhaddon proved that she was no more invulnerable than the other kingdoms of the world, and that before a bold advance the obstacles, placed by nature in the path of an invader, disappeared; the protecting desert had been crossed, the archers and chariots of Egypt had fled before the Assyrian cavalry and pikemen, her cities had endured the ignominy and misery of being taken by storm, and the wives and daughters of her Pharaohs had been carried off into servitude in common with the numerous princesses of Elam and Syria of that day. Esarhaddon filled his palaces with furniture and woven stuffs, with vases of precious metal and sculptured ivories, with glass ornaments and statuettes looted from Memphis: his workers in marble took inspiration from the sphinxes of Egypt to modify the winged, human-headed lions upon which the columns of their palaces rested, and the plans of his architects became more comprehensive at the mere announcement of such a vast amount of spoil. The palace they had begun to build at Nineveh, on the ruins of an ancient edifice, already surpassed all previous architectural efforts. The alabaster quarries of the Assyrian mountains and the forests of Phœnicia had alike been put under contribution to face the walls of its state apartments; twenty-two chiefs of the country of the Khâti, of Phœnicia, and of the Mediterranean littoral—among them the Greek kings of Cyprus—had vied with one another in supplying Esarhaddon with great beams of pine, cedar, and cypress for its construction.<sup>1</sup> The ceilings were of cedar supported by pillars of cypress-wood encircled by silver and iron; stone lions and bulls stood on either side of the gates, and the doors were made of cedar and cypress, incrustated or overlaid with iron, silver, and ivory.<sup>2</sup> The treasures of Egypt enabled Esarhaddon to complete this palace and begin a new one at Calah, where the buildings erected somewhat hurriedly by Tiglath-pileser III. had already fallen into ruin. Some of the slabs on which the latter conqueror had engraved his Annals, and recounted the principal episodes of his campaigns, were removed and transferred to the site selected by Esarhaddon, and one of the surfaces of each was pared down in order to receive

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions on Cylinders A, C*, col. v. ll. 11-26; cf. ABEL, *Die Inschrift der Prismen A und C*, in SCHLADER, *Keilins. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 136-187. The list of names of these kings is found in the *Inscription on the Broken Cylinder*, col. v. ll. 13-26; cf. BUDGE, *The History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 100-103.

<sup>2</sup> For the inscriptions relating to works executed in the palace of Nineveh, cf. MEISSNER and ROSE, *Die Bauinschriften Esarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 196-205, 210-215.

new pictures and fresh inscriptions. They had, however, hardly been placed in the stonemason's hands when the work was interrupted.<sup>1</sup> It may have been that Esarhaddon had to suspend all his operations while putting down some conspiracy. At any rate, we know that in 669 B.C. many high personages of his court were seized and executed.<sup>2</sup> The question of the succession to the throne was still undecided; Sinidinabal, the son whom Esarhaddon had previously designated as his heir presumptive, was dead,<sup>3</sup> and the people feared lest he should choose from among his other sons some prince who had not their interests at heart. The king's affection for Babylon had certainly aroused jealousy and anxiety among his Assyrian subjects, and perhaps some further tokens of preference made them uneasy lest he should select Shamash-shumukin,<sup>4</sup> one of his children who manifested the same tendencies, and who was, moreover, the son of a Babylonian wife.<sup>5</sup> Most of the nobles who had been led to join the conspiracy paid for their indiscretion with their heads, but their opposition gave the sovereign



ASSYRIAN SPHINX IN EGYPTIAN STYLE SUPPORTING  
THE BASE OF A COLUMN.\*

<sup>1</sup> The date of the building of the palace at Calah is furnished by the inscriptions, in which Esarhaddon assumes the title of King of Egypt; cf. MEISSNER and ROST, *Die Bauinschriften Assarhaddons*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii. pp. 191-194, 206, 207.

<sup>2</sup> Pinches' *Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. l. 29; cf. WINCKLER, *Babylonische Chronik B*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285.

<sup>3</sup> This personage was at first identified with Assur-bani-pal by G. Smith (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 324), and the identification was accepted by many Assyriologists, but Knudtzon (*Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott*, No. 107, pp. 218-221), in publishing the oracle relating to him, has shown that Sinidinabal was probably a son of Esarhaddon, who died before his father.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from the alabaster sculpture reproduced by LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. i. pl. 95, 1.

<sup>5</sup> The name of this prince, which has been read very differently at different times, was for the first time accurately deciphered by Fr. Delitzsch (cf. SCHRADER, *Zur Kritik der historischen Angaben des Alexander Polyhistor und Abydenus*, in the *Berichte der Akademie of Saxony*, 1880, p. 2, note 3); it was transcribed Σασσάδουκος and Sammughes by the chronologists of the Hellenistic period. The history of the decipherment, and of the interpretation given to these diverse forms, is very clearly set forth in LEHMANN, *Shamashshumukin*, pp. 6-16.

\* Shamash-shumukin speaks of Babylon as "the place where his mother was born." Lehmann

cause for reflection, and decided him to modify his schemes. Convinced that it was impossible to unite Babylon and Nineveh permanently under the same ruler, he reluctantly decided to divide his kingdom into two parts—Assyria, the strongest portion, falling naturally to his eldest son, Assur-bani-pal, while Babylonia was assigned to Shamash-shumukin, on condition of his paying homage to his brother as suzerain.<sup>1</sup> The best method to ensure his wishes being carried into effect was to prepare the way for their fulfilment while he was still alive; and rebellions which broke out about this time beyond the isthmus afforded a good opportunity for so doing.

Egypt was at this period divided into twenty states of various dimensions, very nearly the same as had existed a century before, when Piônkhî had, for the first time, brought the whole country under Ethiopian rule.<sup>2</sup> In the south, the extensive Theban province occupied both sides of the river from Assuan to Thinis and Khemmis. It was nominally governed by Amenertas or her daughter, Shapenuapit, but the administration was, as usual, entrusted to a member of the priestly college, at that time to Montumihât, Count of Thebes, and fourth prophet of Amon.<sup>3</sup> The four principalities of Thinis, Siut, Hermopolis, and Heracleopolis separated it from the small kingdom of Memphis and Sais, and each of the regions of the Delta was divided into one or two fiefs, according to the number and importance of the towns it contained. In the south, Thebes was too directly under the influence of Ethiopia to be able to exercise an independent policy with regard to the rest of the country. In the north, two families contested the supremacy more or less openly. One of them, whose hereditary domains included the Arabian, and parts of the

(*Schamasschumukin*, part 2, pp. 6, 7, 33, 34) translates this "the place where my mother gave me birth" (cf. JENSEN, *Inscripfien Schamasschumukin's*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. iii. pp. 198, 199); I have adopted the interpretation given by WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. p. 417. Lehmann had however, proved convincingly that Shamash-shumukin had a Babylonian mother, viz. the queen whose death is noticed in *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle* (cf. *supra*, p. 371), and that he was born in Babylon (*Schamasschumukin*, part 1, pp. 30-32).

<sup>1</sup> Winckler considers that Assur-bani-pal was the leader of the conspiracy, and that he obliged his father to recognise him as heir to the crown of Assyria (*Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 415-418), and to associate him on the throne.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 160-166. The list of the principalities in the time of Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal is found on the cylinders of Assur-bani-pal (G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 20-22), and was first commented on by Oppert (*Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie*, pp. 89-114), in accordance with the views of E. de Rougé. It has been studied several times since then by Haigh (*To the Editor*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 82, 83; *Assyro-Egyptiaca*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pp. 112-117), by Brugsch (*Bemerkungen zu den Assyro-Egyptiaca*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 29, 30; *Gesch. Ägyptens*, pp. 720-722), by Wiedemann (*Ägyptische Gesch.*, pp. 591, 592), and by Steindorff (*Die Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 344-361, 593-612).

<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian name of this personage, spelt first Mantimiankhi by Oppert (*op. cit.*, p. 111), has been more accurately transcribed Mantimikhi by Steindorff (*op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 354-356). The identification with the Montumihât of the Theban documents, proposed by E. de Rougé (*Étude sur quelques monuments du règne de Tahraka*, in the *Mélanges d'Archéol. Égypt. et Assyr.*, vol. i. p. 20), is now generally adopted.

surrounding nomes, was then represented by a certain Pakruru.<sup>1</sup> He had united under his banner the numerous petty chiefs of the eastern side of the Delta, the heirs of the ancient dynasties of Tanis and Bubastis, and his energy or ability must have made a good impression on the minds of his contemporaries, for they handed down his memory to their successors, who soon metamorphosed him into a popular legendary hero, famed both for his valour and wisdom. The nobles of the western nomes acknowledged as their overlords the regents of Sais, the descendants of that Bocchoris who had for a short while brought the whole valley of the Nile under his sway. Sabaco, having put his rival to death, had installed in his hereditary domains an Ethiopian named Ammeris, but this Ammeris had disappeared from the scene about the same time as his patron, in 704 B.C., and after him three princes at least had succeeded to the throne, namely, Stephinates, Nekhepsos, and Necho.<sup>2</sup> Stephinates had died about 680 B.C., without accomplishing anything which was worth recording. Nekhepsos had had no greater opportunities of distinguishing himself than had fallen to the lot of his father, and yet legends grew up round his name as round that of Pakruru: he was reputed to have been a great soothsayer, astrologist, and magician, and medical treatises were ascribed to him, and almanacs much esteemed by the superstitious in the Roman period.<sup>3</sup> Necho had already occupied the throne for three or four years when the invasion of 670 B.C. delivered him from the Ethiopian supremacy. He is represented as being brave, energetic, and enterprising, ready to hazard everything in order to attain the object towards which the ambition of his ancestors had been tending for a century past, namely, to restore unity to the ancient kingdom under the rule

<sup>1</sup> Pakruru plays the principal part in the "Adventure of a Breastplate" discovered and published by Krall (*Ein neuer Historischer Roman in Demotischer Schrift*, in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlungen der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. iii. pp. 19-80); for the interpretation to be given to the incidents of the romance, and the date to be assigned to its action, cf. MASPERO, *Un Nouveau Conte Égyptien*, in the *Journal des Savants*, 1897, pp. 649-659, 717-731.

<sup>2</sup> The lists of Eusebius give the series Ammeres, Stephinates, Nekhepsos, Necho I. (MANETHO, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. pp. 593, 594), but Lepsius displaced Ammeres and identified him with the queen Amenerias (*Königsbuch*, p. 88; cf. WIEDEMANN, *Ägyptische Gesch.*, p. 590); others have thought to recognise in him Mismun Pionkhi, or Trauatamnu, the successor of Taharqa (LAUTH, *Die Pionchi-Stele*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Academy of Sciences at Munich*, 1869, vol. i. pp. 29-32, and *Academy of Sciences of Bavaria*, vol. i. p. 307, et seq.; *Aus Ägypten's Vorzeit*, pp. 442, 443; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 478). He must, however, be left in this place in the list (WINCKLER, *Untersuch. zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 107, note 1), and we may perhaps consider him as the founder of the XXVI<sup>th</sup> dynasty (SCHLEFFEN, *Ein Portrait Psammetichs I.*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 117, 118). If the number of seven years for the reign of Stephinates is adopted, we must suppose either that Manetho passed over the name of a prince at the beginning of the XXVI<sup>th</sup> dynasty, or that Ammeris was only enthroned at Memphis after the death of Sabaco; but the lists of the Syncellus and of Sothis assign 27 years to the reign of Stephinates.

<sup>3</sup> The astrological works of Nekhepsos are cited, among others, by PLINY, *H. Nat.*, II. xxi., VIII. xlix., 1., and it is probably he whom a Greek papyrus of the Salt Collection mentions under the name of Nekheus. Wiedemann objected to the identification of the astrologer with the King Nekhepsos (*Gesch. Ägyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, pp. 156, 157, and *Ägyptische Gesch.*, pp. 600, 601), which Lauth vigorously insisted on (*König Nekhepsos, Petosiris und die Triakontaeteris*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Academy of Sciences at Munich*, 1875, vol. ii.).



of the house of Sais. The extent of his realm, and, above all, the possession of Memphis, gave him a real superiority, and Esarhaddon did not hesitate to esteem him above his competitors; the Ninevite scribes placed him in the first rank, and he heads the list of the Egyptian vassals. He soon had an opportunity of proving his devotion to his foreign suzerain. Taharqa did not quietly accept his defeat, and Egypt looked to him to be revenged on the Assyrian as soon as he should have reorganised his army. He once more, accordingly, took the field in the middle of 669 B.C.; the barons of the Saïd rallied to his standard without hesitation, and he soon re-entered the "White Wall," but there his advance was arrested. Necho and the neighbouring chiefs of the Delta, held in check by the presence of Semitic garrisons, did not venture to proclaim themselves on his side, and awaited under arms the arrival of Assyrian reinforcements.<sup>1</sup> Esarhaddon, in spite of failing health, assumed command of the troops, and before leaving home carried out the project to which the conspiracy of the preceding year had given rise; he assigned the government of Babylon to Shamash-shumukin, and solemnly designated Assur-bani-pal as the heir to Assyria proper, and to the suzerainty over the whole empire.<sup>2</sup> On the 12th of Iyyar, 668 B.C., on the day of the feast of Gula, he presented their new lord to all the inhabitants of Assyria, both small and great, who had assembled to be present at the ceremony, which ended in the installation of the prince in the palace of Bîtiriduti,<sup>3</sup> reserved for the heirs-apparent. A few weeks later Esarhaddon set out for Egypt, but his malady became more serious on the journey, and he died on the 10th of Arakhsamna, in the twelfth year of his reign.<sup>4</sup> When we endeavour to conjure up his image

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Assur-bani-pal*, col. i. ll. 52-63; cf. G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 5-17, 36, 37; JENSEN, *Inscriben Aschurbanipal's*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 158, 159. The first Egyptian campaign of Assur-bani-pal is also the last campaign of Esarhaddon, and Assur-bani-pal appropriated all the earlier incidents of it, some of which belong to the sole reign of his father, and some to the few weeks in which he shared the throne with him; for this, cf. WINCKLER, *Allorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 477-481.

<sup>2</sup> The association of Assur-bani-pal with his father on the throne was pointed out by G. Smith, (*Egyptian Campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 94, 95; *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 14; *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 416, 417), who thought he could fix the date about 673 B.C., three or four years before the death of Esarhaddon (*Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 163-165). Tiele showed that Assur-bani-pal was then only made viceroy, and assigned his association in the sovereignty to the year 671 or 670 B.C., about the time of the second Egyptian campaign (*Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, pp. 351, 369-371), while Hommel brought it down to 669 (*Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 694). Winckler has, with much reason, placed the date in 668 B.C. (*Gesch. Babyloniens und Egyptens*, p. 272, and *Allorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 415-418). The Assyrian documents do not mention the coronation of Shamash-shumukin, for Assur-bani-pal afterwards affected to consider his brother a mere viceroy, appointed by himself after the death of his father Esarhaddon; but an examination of all the circumstances has shown that the enthronement of Shamash-shumukin at Babylon was on a par with that of Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh, and that both owed their elevation to their father (E. MEYER, *Gesch. Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 477; LEHMANN, *Schamasschumukin*, p. 33, et seq.; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 133, 134, 272).

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Assur-bani-pal*, col. i. ll. 11-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. 30, 31; cf. WINCKLER, *Babylonische Chronik B*, in

before us, we fancy we are right in surmising that he was not cast in the ordinary mould of Assyrian monarchs. The history of his campaigns shows that he was as active and resolute as Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmaneser III., but he did not add to these good qualities their inflexible harshness towards their subjects, nor their brutal treatment of conquered foes. Circumstances in which they would have shown themselves merciless, he seized upon as occasions for clemency, and if massacres and executions are recorded among the events of his reign, at least he does not class them among the most important: the records of his wars do not continually speak of rebels flayed alive, kings impaled before the gates of their cities, and whole populations decimated by fire and sword. Of all the Assyrian conquerors, he is almost the only one for whom the historian can feel any regard, or from the study of whose reign he passes on with regret to pursue that of others in due course.

As soon as Esarhaddon had passed away, the separation of the two parts of the empire which he had planned was effected almost automatically: Assur-bani-pal proclaimed himself King of Assyria, and Shamash-shumukin, in like manner, King of Babylon. One fact, which seems insignificant enough to us when we read it in the Annals, but was decisive in the eyes of their contemporaries, sanctioned the transformation thus accomplished: Bel and the gods of Accad quitted Assur in the month of Iyyâr and returned to their resting-place in Babylon. The restoration of the images to their own country became necessary as soon as it was decided to have a king in Karduniash, even though he were an Assyrian. To enable him to exercise legitimate authority, he must have celebrated the rites and "taken the hands of Bel," but it was a question whether this obligation could be fulfilled if Bel remained a prisoner in the neighbouring capital. Assur-bani-pal believed for a moment that this difficulty could be obviated, and consulted Shamash on this delicate question: "Shamash-shumukin, the son of Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, can he in this year take the hands of Bel, the mighty lord Marduk, in this very city, and then go to Babylon with the favour of Bel! If that would be pleasing to thy great divinity and to the mighty lord Marduk, thy great divinity must know it."<sup>1</sup> The reply was not favourable, and Shamash gave it as his opinion that Bel could not act as a sovereign lord while still languishing in prison in a city which was not his own. Assur-bani-pal had to resign himself to the release of his captive, and he did it

SCHRAEDER, *Kell. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285. Arakhsamna corresponds to the Jewish Marcheswân, and to our month of May.

<sup>1</sup> KNUDTZON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 267-269. Knudtson has shown that the city mentioned in the text was Assur; the consultation of the oracle must, therefore, be interpreted in the fashion I have indicated, and the obedience accorded by Assur-bani-pal to Shamash, in spite of his instinctive objection to this impolitic proceeding, shows how powerful the oracles were at this epoch.

with a good grace.<sup>1</sup> He proceeded in pomp to the temple of Assur, where Marduk was shut up, and humbly entreated the exiled deity to vouchsafe to return to his own country. "Think on Babylon, which thou didst bring to nought in the rage of thy heart, and turn thy face towards the temple of Ê-sagilla, the lofty seat of thy divinity! Revisit thy city which thou hast forsaken to inhabit a place which is not worthy of thee, and do thou thyself, O Marduk,



ASSUR-BANI-PAL AS A BEARER OF OFFERINGS.\*

lord of the gods, give the command to return to Babylon."<sup>2</sup> The statue set out on its journey, and was escorted by a solemn procession headed by the two kings.<sup>3</sup> The gods, by one accord, came forth from their cities and saluted the traveller as he passed by—Beltis of Agadê, Nebo of Borsippa, Shamash of Sippara, and Nirgal. At length he reached his beloved city, and entered Ê-sagilla in the midst of an immense throng of people. The kings headed the *cortège*, and the delighted multitude joined their two names with that of the god in their acclamations: it was a day never to be forgotten. Assur-bani-pal, in his capacity of suzerain, opened the sacred edifice, and then presented his brother, who thereupon "took the hands of Bel." A quarter of a century had

not passed since the victorious Sennacherib had, as he thought, inflicted a mortal blow on the one power which stood in the way of Assyria's supremacy in Western Asia; already, in spite of his efforts, the city had sprung up from its ruins as vigorous as ever, and his son and grandsons had felt themselves irresistibly drawn to resuscitate that which their ancestors had desired to

<sup>1</sup> Pinches' *Babylonian Chron.*, col. iv. 34-36; cf. WINCKLER, *Babyl. Chronik B*, in SCHRAEDER, *Kell. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285. For the significance of the ceremony in which the king took the hands of Bel, cf. Dawson of *Civilization*, p. 705; for the return of the gods and the date of the event, cf. LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, i. p. 43 i., 38, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet K 2050-K 2694 of the British Museum, col. ii. ll. 26-33, in LEHMANN, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvii., and ii. pp. 24-27.

<sup>3</sup> The substance of this account is taken from Tablet K 3050-K 2694, whose value has been first shown by LEHMANN, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 43-56, where all the questions touching the accession of Shamash-shumukin have been discussed at length. For the relative position of the two sovereigns, cf., lastly, WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 415-418.

\* Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, i., Frontispiece.

annihilate irrevocably. Babylon had rebuilt her palaces, her walls, and her temples; she had received back her gods without a war, and almost without any agitation, by the mere force of the prestige she exercised over all around her, and even over her conquerors. As a matter of fact, she had not regained her former position, and was still depressed and enfeebled by the blow which had laid her low; in addition to this, her king was an Assyrian, and a vassal of Assyria,<sup>1</sup> but nevertheless he was her own king, and hers alone. Her independence was already half regained. Shamash-shumukin established his court at Babylon, and applied himself from the outset to restore, as far as he was able, the material and moral forces of his kingdom. Assur-bani-pal, on his side, met with no opposition from his subjects, but prudence cautioned him not to estrange them; the troubles of the preceding year were perhaps not so completely suppressed as to prevent the chiefs who had escaped punishment from being encouraged by the change of sovereign to renew their intrigues. The king, therefore, remained in Nineveh to inaugurate his rule, and confided to his generals the charge of conducting the expeditions which had been undertaken during his father's lifetime.<sup>2</sup> One of these undertakings was unimportant. Tandai of Kirbit, a petty chief, was continually engaged in harassing the inhabitants of Yamutbal; he bore down upon them every year, and, after dealing a blow, retreated to his hiding-place in the mountains. He was attacked in his stronghold, and carried



SHAMASH-SHUMUKIN AS A BEARER  
OF OFFERINGS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pinches' Babylonian Chron.*, col. iv. l. 38; cf. WINCKLER, *Bab. Chron. B.*, in SCHRADER, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. pp. 284, 285.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph in LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, i., Frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> The documents relating to the reign of Assur-bani-pal are so numerous that I cannot here give the bibliography of even the chief ones. I shall confine myself to indicating the two collections in which the most important of those which relate to the actual history are brought together and partially classified: G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, in 8vo, 1871, and SAMUEL ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien (678-626 v. Chr.) nach dem selbst in London copierten Grundtext mit Transcription, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigen Glossar*, in 8vo, Leipzig, 1887-1889, besides the selected texts transcribed and translated by JENSEN, *Inschriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 152-269. In these documents the facts are arranged in geographical order, not by the dates of the successive expeditions, and the chronological order of the campaigns is all the more difficult to determine accurately, as *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle* fails us after the beginning of this reign, immediately after the mention of the above-mentioned war with Kirbit. Even the *Eponym Canon* is only accurate down to 666 B.C.; in that year

away captive with all his people into Egypt, at the furthest extremity of the empire, to serve in Assyrian garrisons in the midst of the fellahin.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the army which Esarhaddon had been leading against Taharqa pursued its course under command of the Tartan.<sup>2</sup> Syria received it submissively, and the twenty-two kings who still possessed a shadow of autonomy in the country sent assurances of their devotion to the new monarch: even Yakinlu, King of Arvad, who had aroused suspicion by frequent acts of insubordination,<sup>3</sup> thought twice before rebelling against his terrible suzerain, and joined the rest in paying both homage and tribute. Cyprus and also Phœnicia remained faithful to their allegiance, and, what was of still more consequence, the states which lay nearest to Egypt—Philistia, Judah, Moab, and Ammon; the Assyrians were thus able to push forward to the Delta without losing time in repressing rebellions along their route. The Ethiopians had entrenched themselves at Karbaniti;<sup>4</sup> they were, however, once more defeated, and left

there is a break, and although we possess for the succeeding period more than forty names of eponyms, their classification is not at present absolutely certain (G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 320, 321, and the *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 67-71). The first to succeed in disentangling the chaos of dates and criticise the documents was TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, pp. 366-376, 386-389, 399, 400, and his views are those which I have generally adopted; a certain number of new combinations have been suggested and sometimes demonstrated by WINCKLER, *Allorient. Forsch.*, i, ii., to which I shall duly refer as occasion offers. The inscriptions relating to the reign of Shamash-shumukin have been collected, translated, and commented on with much care by LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin, König von Babylonien, 668-643 v. Chr., Inschriftliches Material über den Beginn seiner Regierung, grossentheils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert*, in 4to, 1892; cf. JENSEN, *Inschr. Schamaschschumukin's*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 194-207. For the editions, translations, and commentaries published before 1866, see BEZOLD, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-assyrische Literatur*, pp. 108-121.

<sup>1</sup> *Pinches' Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. l. 37; WINCKLER, *Bab. Chron. B*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285. The expedition against Kirbit is omitted in certain documents, such as *Cylinder A of the Brit. Mus.*; it is inserted in the others in the fourth place, between the wars in Asia Minor and the campaign against the Mannai (G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 79-88). The place assigned to it in the *Bab. Chron.*, quite in the beginning of the reign, is confirmed by a fragment of a tablet quoted by WINCKLER, *Allorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 474-477. Perhaps it was carried out by a Babylonian army; though Assur-bani-pal claimed the glory of it, by reason of his suzerainty over Karduniash.

<sup>2</sup> The text of Tablet K 2575-K 228 of the *Brit. Mus.*, obv., ll. 11-13 (G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 38), states distinctly that the Tartan commanded the first army. For the identity of this expedition with the last of those conducted by Esarhaddon, cf. *supra*, p. 380, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Assur-bani-pal, acting in the name of his father, Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, had consulted Shamash on the desirability of sending troops against Arvad: the prince of this city is called Ikkalu (KNUDSON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 170-172), which is a variant of Yakinlu. Winckler concluded that the campaign against Arvad, which will be mentioned later on (*infra*, p. 387), took place before 668 B.C., in the reign of Esarhaddon (*Allorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 477, 478). It seems to me more natural to place it on the return from Egypt, when the people of Arvad were demoralised by the defeat of the Pharaoh whose alliance they had hoped for.

<sup>4</sup> I had compared Karbaniti with the Qaribna mentioned in the *Great Harris Papyrus* (cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 456), and this identification was accepted by Brugsch (*Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 188, 189, 717, 718), and subsequently by most Egyptologists, even after Brugsch himself recognised in Qaribna the name of Canopus or a town near Canopus (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 654, 655). It has been contested by Steindorff (*Die Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe Ägyptischer Eigennamen*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 595, 596), and, in fact, Karbaniti could not be identified with Canopus, any more than the Qaribna of the Harris Papyrus; its site must be looked for in the eastern or central part of the Delta.

so many of their soldiers dead upon the field, that Taharqa had not sufficient troops left to defend Memphis. He retreated upon Thebes, where he strongly fortified himself; but the Tartan had not suffered less than his adversary, and he would have been unable to pursue him, had not reinforcements promptly reached him. The Rabshakeh, who had been despatched from Nineveh with some Assyrian troops, had summoned to his aid the principal Syrian feudal chiefs, who, stimulated by the news of the victories achieved on the banks of the Nile, placed themselves unreservedly at his disposal. He ordered their vessels to proceed along the coast as far as the Delta, where he purposed to collect a fleet to ascend the river, while their troops augmented the force already under his command.<sup>1</sup> The two Assyrian generals, the Tartan and the Rabshakeh, quitted Memphis, probably in the early part of 667 B.C., and, cautiously advancing southwards, covered the distance separating the two Egyptian capitals in a steady march of forty days. When the Assyrians had advanced well up the valley, the princes of the Delta thought the opportunity had arrived to cut them off by a single bold stroke. They therefore opened cautious negotiations with the Ethiopian king, and proposed an arrangement which should secure their independence: "We will divide the country between us, and neither of us shall exercise authority over the other." However secretly these negotiations were conducted, they were certain to come to the knowledge of the Assyrian generals: the couriers were intercepted; and discovering from the despatches the extent of the danger, the Assyrians seized as many of the leaders of the league as they could. As a warning they sacked Sais, Mendes, and Tanis, demolishing the fortifications, and flaying or impaling the principal citizens before their city gates; they then sent two of the intriguing chiefs, Necho and Sharludari of Pelusium, bound hand and foot with chains, to Nineveh. Pakruru, of the Arabian nome, managed, however, to escape them. Taharqa, thus bereft of his allies, was no longer in a condition to repel the invader: he fled to Ethiopia, abandoning Thebes to its fate. The city was ransomed by despoiling the temple of Amon of half its treasures: Montumihât transferred his allegiance unhesitatingly to Assur-bani-pal, and the whole of Egypt from the Mediterranean to the first cataract once more became Assyrian territory.<sup>2</sup> The victory was so complete that Assur-bani-pal thought

<sup>1</sup> The despatch of reinforcements under command of the Rabshakeh is expressly mentioned in K 2675-K 218, obv., ll. 25-29; cf. G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Tiele has shown (*Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 372) that the only account of an authentic character which we possess of the first Egyptian war of Assur-bani-pal, is that which is written on tablets K 2675-K 228 of the British Museum. The official version on the cylinders has confused the order of events, and has sometimes attributed to the king himself the actions of his generals. Winckler has completed Tiele's work on certain points, and has better indicated the chronological sequence of events (*Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Gesch.*, pp. 101-106, and *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 478-483), but his scepticism has perhaps led him rather too far: I have, as a rule, kept closer to the Assyrian



he might without risk show clemency to his prisoners. He summoned them to his presence, and there, instead of putting out their eyes or subjecting them to some horrible form of torture, he received them back into favour, and confirmed Necho in the possession of all the honours which Esarhaddon had conceded to him. He clothed him in a mantle of honour, and bestowed on him a straight-bladed sword with an iron scabbard ornamented with gold, engraved with



MONTUMIHÂT, PRINCE OF THERES.<sup>1</sup>

his names and titles, besides rings, gold bracelets, chariots, horses, and mules ; in short, all the appurtenances of royalty. Not content with restoring to him the cities of Sais and Memphis, he granted him the fief of Athribis for his eldest son, Psammetichus. Moreover, he neglected no measure likely to show his supremacy. Athribis received the new name of Limir-patesi-assur, *may the high priest of Assur be glorious*, and Sais that of Kar-bel-matâti, *the fortress of the lord of the countries*. Psammetichus was called Nebo-shezib-anni, *Nebo, deliver me*, and residents were installed at his court and that of his father, who

texts than he has done. For the whole number of monuments referring to this campaign, see G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 15-23, 30-44 ; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 4-11 ; and JENSEN, *Inscripfien Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 158-167, 236, 237.

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Bondier, from the photograph by Miss Benson, published in the *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xx. ; cf. BENSON and GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, pl. xxiv. It is not quite certain that this statue represents Montumihât, as the inscription is wanting : the circumstances of the discovery, however, render it very probable (*Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 261, 262).

were entrusted with the *surveillance* of their conduct, and the task of keeping them to the path of duty: Necho, thus well guarded, thenceforward never faltered in his allegiance.<sup>1</sup>

The subjection of Egypt reacted on Syria and Asia Minor. Of the only two states still existing along the Phœnician seaboard, one, namely Tyre, had been in revolt for many years, and the other, Arvad, showed symptoms of disaffection. Esarhaddon, from lack of a sufficient fleet, had never been able to subdue the former, but he had interrupted the communications of the island with the mainland, and the blockade, which was constantly increasing in strictness, had already lasted for four years.<sup>2</sup> On receipt of the news from Egypt, Bâal realised that further resistance was hopeless; he therefore delivered up to the victor his heir-apparent, Yabimelek, and one of his daughters, together with other hostages, besides silver, gold, and wood, and intreated for pardon. Assur-bani-pal left him in possession of his kingdom on condition of paying the regular tribute,<sup>3</sup> but Yakinlu, the King of Arvad, met with harsher treatment. In vain did he give up his sons, his daughters, and all his treasures; his intractability had worn out the patience of his suzerain:

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he was carried away captive to Nineveh, and replaced by Azibaal, his eldest son.<sup>5</sup> Two chiefs of the Taurus—Mugallu of Tabal, who had given trouble to Esarhaddon in the last years of his life,<sup>6</sup> and Sanda-sarmê of Cilicia—purchased immunity from the punishment due for various acts of brigandage, by gifts of horses, and by handing over each of them a daughter, richly

<sup>1</sup> K 2675-K 228, obv., ll. 51-65; cf. G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 44-47. For later versions of the same events, see ID., *ibid.*, pp. 27-29; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13; JENSEN, *Inschriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 369. Assur-bani-pal recounts the events at the beginning of his reign, as if they had been ordered and carried out directly by himself or his generals (*Cylinders A-B*, col. ii. ll. 84-88; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59); the constructions necessary for the blockade were begun some years previously by his father, Esarhaddon (WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 524-526; vol. ii. pp. 69, 70).

<sup>3</sup> G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60, 68, 69; S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-171.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a bas-relief in the British Museum.

<sup>5</sup> G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 61, 69-71; S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-173.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 370.

dowered, to the harem of the king at Nineveh.<sup>1</sup> But these were incidents of slight moment, and their very insignificance proves how completely resigned to foreign domination the nations of the Mediterranean coast had now become. Vassal kings, princes, cities, peasants of the plain or shepherds of the mountains, all who were subject directly or indirectly to Assyria, had almost ceased to imagine that a change of sovereign afforded them any chance of regaining their independence. They no longer considered themselves the subjects of a conqueror whose death might free them from allegiance; they realised that they were the subjects of an empire whose power did not depend on the genius or incapacity of one man, but was maintained from age to age in virtue of the prestige it had attained, whatever might be the qualities of the reigning sovereign. The other independent states had at length come to the same conclusion, and the news of the accession of a fresh Assyrian king no longer awakened among them hopes of conquest or, at all events, of booty; such an occasion was regarded as a suitable opportunity for strengthening the bonds of neighbourly feeling or conciliatory friendship which united them to Assyria, by sending an embassy to congratulate the new sovereign. One of these embassies, which arrived about 667 B.C., caused much excitement at the court of Nineveh, and greatly flattered the vanity of the king. Reports brought back by sailors or the chiefs of caravans had revealed the existence of a kingdom of Lydia in the extreme west of Asia Minor, at the place of embarkation for crossing the sea.<sup>2</sup> It was known to be celebrated for its gold and its horses, but no direct relations between the two courts had ever been established, and the Lydian kings had hitherto affected to ignore the existence of Assyria. A revolution had broken out in this province a quarter of a century previously, which had placed on the throne of the Heraclidæ that family of the Mermnadæ whose previous history had been so tragic.<sup>3</sup> Dascylus, who had made his home for a long time among the White Syrians, had no intention of abandoning his adopted country, when one day, about the year 698 B.C., a messenger arrived bidding him repair to Sardes without delay.<sup>4</sup> His uncle Ardys, prince of Tyrrha, having no children, had applied to Sadyattes, beseeching him to revoke the sentence of banishment passed on his nephew. "My house is desolate," said he, "and all my kinsfolk are dead; and furthermore, Dascylus and his house have

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 61, 62, 69, 70, 75; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanips*, pp. 16, 17; JENSEN, *Inscriften Assurbanips*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 170-173. The oracular consultation, No. 55, attributed by Knudtson to the time of Esarhaddon (*Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott*, pp. 15157-8), more probably refers to the period of Assur-bani-pal (WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. ii. p. 127).

<sup>2</sup> It is called *nagu sha nibirti tāmīn* (*Rassam Cylinder*, col. ii. l. 95), "the country of the crossing of the sea," or more concisely, "the country this side the sea." Cf. for the explanation of this text, GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. p. 221, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 341, 342.

RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., pp. 143-145, has shown this date to be very probable.

already been pardoned by thine ancestors." Sadyattes consented, but Dascylus, preferring not to return, sent his son Gyges, then about eighteen years of age, in his stead. Gyges was a tall and very beautiful youth, and showed unusual skill as a charioteer and in the use of weapons, so that his renown soon spread throughout the country. Sadyattes desired to see him, and being captivated by his bold demeanour, enrolled him in his bodyguard, loaded him with presents, and took him into his entire confidence. Gyges was clever enough to utilise the king's favour in order to enlarge his domains and increase his riches, and thus win partisans among the people and the body of "Friends." Carian mercenaries at that time formed one of the most vigorous and best disciplined contingents in the armies of the period.<sup>1</sup> The Carians were, above all, a military race, and are said to have brought the shield and helmet to their highest perfection;<sup>2</sup> at Sardes they formed the garrison of the citadel, and their captains were in high favour with the king. Gyges formed a fast friendship with Arselis of Mylasa, one of the chief of these officers, and thus made sure of the support of the garrison, and of the possibility of recruiting a corps among the Carian clans who remained in their own country.<sup>3</sup> He thus incurred the bitter jealousy of the Tylonidæ, whose chief, Lixos, was ready to adopt any measures which might damage his rival, even going so far as to simulate madness and run through the streets of Sardes crying out that Gyges, the son of Dascylus, was about to assassinate the king; but this stratagem did not succeed any better than his other treacherous devices. Meanwhile Sadyattes had sought the hand of Toudô,<sup>4</sup> daughter of Arnossos of Mysia, and sent his favourite to receive his affianced bride at the hand of her father. Gyges fell in love with her on the journey, and tried in vain to win her favour. She repulsed his advances with indignation, and on the very night of her marriage complained to her husband of the insult which had been offered her. Sadyattes swore that he would avenge her on the morrow; but Gyges, warned by a servant, slew the king before daybreak. Immediately after thus assassinating his sovereign, Gyges called together the "Friends," and ridding himself of those who were hostile to him, induced the others by bribes to further his designs; then descending to the place of public assembly, he summoned the people to a conclave. After a long and stormy debate, it was decided to consult the oracle at Delphi, which,

<sup>1</sup> Archilochus of Paros, a contemporary of Gyges, mentions the Carian mercenaries, *Kal ôh êpikouros êste kâr kekλήσθαι* (BERGK, *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, vol. i. p. 690, *Fragm.* 24), and later on Ephorus said of them, that they had been the first to sell their services to strangers (*Fragm.* 23, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i. p. 239).

<sup>2</sup> For the weapons of the Carian mercenaries, cf. HERODOTUS, I. ccxxi., II. clii., and POLYÆNUS, *Stratagemæ*, vii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The connection between Arselis and Gyges is mentioned by PLUTARCH, *Questiones Græcæ*, § 45, in the *Moralia*, ed. DIDOT, vol. i. pp. 371, 372.

<sup>4</sup> It is not certain whether the name is Toudô or Trydô; I have followed the spelling of MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 384, note 51.

corrupted by the gold from the Pactolus, enjoined on the Lydians to recognise Gyges as their king. He married Toudô, and by thus espousing the widow of the Heraclid sovereign, obtained some show of right to the crown; but the decision of the oracle was not universally acceptable, and war broke out, in which Gyges was victorious, thanks to the bravery of his Carian mercenaries.<sup>1</sup>

His career soon served as the fabric on which the popular imagination was continually working fresh embroideries. He was reported at the outset to have been of base extraction, a mere soldier of fortune, who had raised himself by degrees to the highest posts and had finally supplanted his patron. Herodotus, following the poet Archilochus of Paros, relates how the last of the Heraclidæ, whom he calls by his private name of Kandaules, and not his official name of Sadyattes,<sup>2</sup> forcibly insisted on exposing to the admiration of Gyges the naked beauty of his wife; the queen, thus outraged, called upon the favourite to avenge the insult to her modesty by the blood of her husband, and then bestowed on him her hand, together with the crown.<sup>3</sup> Plato made this story the groundwork of a most fantastic tale. Gyges, according to him, was originally a shepherd, who, after a terrible storm, noticed a fissure in the ground, into which he crept; there he discovered an enormous bronze horse, half broken, and in its side the corpse of a giant with a gold ring on his finger. Chance revealed to him that this ring rendered its wearer invisible: he set out for the court in quest of adventures, seduced the queen, murdered the king and seized his crown, accomplishing all this by virtue of his talisman.<sup>4</sup> According to a third legend, his crime and exaltation had been presaged by a wondrous prodigy. Two eagles of supernatural size had alighted on the roof of Toudô's room while she was still dwelling in her father's house, and the soothsayers who were consulted prognosticated that the princess would be the wife of two kings in a single night; and, in fact, Gyges, having stabbed Sadyattes when

<sup>1</sup> NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 49, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 383-385, who slavishly copies Xanthus the Lydian; cf. SCHUBERT, *Geschichte der Könige von Lydien*, pp. 24-35, and RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec*, etc., pp. 124-139. The date of this revolution has been fixed at 587 B.C. by GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. pp. 230-256.

<sup>2</sup> For the connection of the two names applied to the same person, cf. RADET, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77, 124. Schubert (*op. cit.*, pp. 31-34) considers that the names Sadyattes and Kandaules belong to two distinct persons. Kandaules, according to him, was probably a second son of Myrsos, who, after the murder of Sadyattes, disputed the possession of the crown with Gyges: in this case he was killed in battle by the Carian commander, Arselis, as related by Plutarch (*Quest. Græc.*, §. 45), and Gyges was not really king till after the death of Kandaules.

<sup>3</sup> HERODOTUS, I. viii.-xiv. The improbability of the account given by Herodotus was demonstrated in the last century by FRIERET, *Recherches sur la Chronologie de l'Histoire de Lydie*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1725, vol. v. p. 282; cf. GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. pp. 515, 518, et seq., where are collected examples of similar legends attached to the names of several historical characters—Sargon of Agadé (cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 597, 598), Cytus, Araces the Parthian, and others.

<sup>4</sup> PLATO, *Republic*, Bk. II. iii., ed. DIDOT, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24; cf. CICERO, *De Officiis*, iii. 9. This version is curious, because it has preserved for us one of the earliest examples of a ring which renders its wearer invisible; it is well known how frequently such a talisman appears in Oriental tales of a later period.

his marriage was but just consummated, forced Toudô to become his wife on the spot without waiting for the morrow.<sup>1</sup> Other stories were current, in which the events were related with less of the miraculous element, and which attributed the success of Gyges to the unbounded fidelity shown him by the Carian Arselis.<sup>2</sup> In whatever manner it was brought about, his accession marked the opening of a new era for Lydia. The country had always been noted for its valiant and warlike inhabitants, but the Heraclidæ had not expended its abundant resources on foreign conquest, and none of the surrounding peoples suspected that it could again become the seat of a brilliant empire as in fabulous times.<sup>3</sup> Gyges endeavoured to awaken the military instincts of his subjects. If he were not actually the first to organise that admirable cavalry corps which for nearly a century proved itself invincible on the field of battle, at least he enlarged and disciplined it, giving it cohesion



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and daring; and it was well he did so, for a formidable danger already menaced his newly acquired kingdom. The Cimmerians and Treres, so long as they did not act in concert, had been unable to overcome the resistance offered by the Phrygians; their raids, annually renewed, had never resulted in more than the destruction of a city or the pillaging of an ill-defended district. But from 690 to 680 B.C. the Cimmerians, held in check by the bold front displayed by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, had at last broken away from the seductions of the east, and poured down in force on the centre of the peninsula. King Midas, after an heroic defence, at length gave way before their overwhelming numbers, and, rather than fall alive into the hands of the barbarians, poisoned himself by drinking the blood of a bull (676 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> The flower of his nobility perished with him, and the

<sup>1</sup> XANTHUS OF LYDIA, according to NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 49, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. pp. 384, 385.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH, *Quæst. Græc.*, § 45. For the authenticity of this narrative, cf. GELZER, *Das Zeitalter Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv. p. 528; SCHUBERT, *Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, pp. 31-34; RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 133, 134.

<sup>3</sup> For this first Lydian empire, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 364, 387, and *supra*, pp. 336-338.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a Lydian bas-relief found in one of the tombs at Bin-Tepé, and now preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>5</sup> STRABO, I. iii. § 21, p. 61. The date of 676 B.C. has been borrowed from Julius Africanus



people of lower rank who survived were so terrified by the invasion, that they seemed in one day to lose entirely the brave and energetic character which had hitherto been their safeguard. The Cimmerians seized town after town;<sup>1</sup> they descended from the basin of the Sangarios into that of the Rhyndakos; they laid waste the Troad, and, about 670 B.C., they established themselves securely in the stronghold of Antandros, opposite the magnificent Æolian island of Lesbos, and ere long their advanced posts were face to face on all sides with the outposts of Lydia.<sup>2</sup> Gyges resolutely held his own, and successfully repulsed them; but the struggle was too unequal between their vast hordes, recruited incessantly from their reserves in Thrace or the Caucasus, and his scanty battalions of Lydians, Carians, and Greeks. Unaided, he had no chance of reopening the great royal highway, which the fall of the Phrygian monarchy had laid at the mercy of the barbarians along the whole of its middle course, and yet he was aware that a cessation of the traffic which passed between the Euphrates and the Hermos was likely to lead in a short time to the decay of his kingdom. If the numerous merchants who were wont to follow this ancient traditional route were once allowed to desert it and turn aside to one of the coast-roads which might replace it—either that of the Pontus in the north or of the Mediterranean in the south—they might not be willing to return to it even when again opened to traffic, and Lydia would lose for ever one of her richest sources of revenue.<sup>3</sup> We may well conceive that Gyges, whose fortune and very existence was thus in jeopardy, would seek assistance against these barbarians from the sovereign whose interests appeared identical with his own. The renown of the Assyrian empire had penetrated far into the west; the Achæans of Cyprus who were its subjects, the Greek colonists of Cilicia, and the sailors whom the exigencies of the coast-trade brought to Syrian ports, must all have testified to its splendour; and the fame of its conquests over the Tabal and the peoples on the Halys had spread abroad more than once during the previous century, and

by the Christian chronologists of the Byzantine period; these latter made the fall of the Phrygian kingdom coincide with the reign of Amon in Judæa, and this date is accepted by most modern historians (GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. pp. 252, 253, 257, 261-263; ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 545, 546, vol. ii. pp. 455, 456; RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, p. 176).

<sup>1</sup> One fact alone, probably taken from the *Lydiaca* of Xanthus, is known to us concerning their operations in Phrygia, namely, the taking of Syassos and the capture of enormous stores of corn which were laid up in the silos in that city; cf. STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, s.v. Σάασος.

<sup>2</sup> ARISTOTLE, *Constitutions*, *Fragm.* 190, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii. p. 162, τὰς τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ κίμμερβας κίμμερβας ἐνοικοδόμους ἐκατὸν ἑτη; cf. PLINY, *H. Nat.*, v. 32, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Radet deserves credit for being the first to point out the economic reasons which necessarily led Gyges to make his attempt at forming an alliance with Assur-bani-pal (*op. cit.*, p. 177). He has thus definitely dismissed the objections which some recent critics, especially Gutschmid, had raised against the authenticity of this episode in order to defend classic tradition and diminish the authority of the Assyrian texts (*Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. x., xi.).

had reached as far as the western extremity of the peninsula of Asia Minor, by means of the merchants of Sardes or Ionia. The Cimmerians had harassed Assyria, and still continued to be a source of anxiety to her rulers; Gyges judged that participation in a common hatred or danger would predispose the king in his favour, and a dream furnished him with a pretext for notifying to the court of Nineveh his desire to enter into friendly relations with it. He dreamed that a god, undoubtedly Assur, had appeared to him in the night, and commanded him to prostrate himself at the feet of Assur-bani-pal: "In his name thou shalt overcome thine enemies." The next morning he despatched horsemen to the great king, but when the leader of the embassy reached the frontier and met the Assyrians for the first time, they asked him, "Who, then, art thou, brother, thou from whose land no courier has as yet visited our country?" The language he spoke was unknown to them; they only gathered that he desired to be conducted into the presence of the king, and consequently sent him on to Nineveh under good escort. There the same obstacle presented itself, for none of the official interpreters at the court knew the Lydian tongue; however, an interpreter was at length discovered, who translated the story of the dream as best he could.<sup>1</sup> Assur-bani-pal joyfully accepted the homage offered to him from such a far-off land, and from thenceforward some sort of alliance existed between Assyria and Lydia—an alliance of a very Platonic order, from which Gyges at least derived no sensible advantage. Some troops sent into the country of the White Syrians may have disquieted the Cimmerians, and, by causing a diversion in their rear, procured a respite for Lydia; but the caravan route across Asia Minor was only of secondary importance to the prosperity of Nineveh and the Syrian provinces, since the Phœnician navy provided sufficient outlets for their trade in the west. Assur-bani-pal lavished friendly speeches on the Lydians, but left them to bear the brunt of the attack alone, and devoutly thanked Assur for the security which their determined courage procured for the western frontier of his empire.<sup>2</sup>

The Cimmerian peril being, for the present at least, averted, there no longer remained any foe to trouble the peace of the empire on the northern or eastern

<sup>1</sup> The detailed account of the events concerning the arrival of the ambassador is known to us only from *Cylinder E of the British Museum*, ll. 1-11, published by G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 76, 77; cf. JENSEN, *Inscriben Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 173.

<sup>2</sup> The embassy sent by Gyges is mentioned in *K 2575*, rev., ll. 13-21 (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75), and with some variations in *Cylinder B*, col. ii. ll. 86-93 (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 71, 72): the other documents in which it is mentioned, mostly connect with it the story of the death of Gyges and the victory of Ardy over the Cimmerians (Id., *ibid.*, pp. 64-68; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 18-21; JENSEN, *Inscriben Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 172-177), that is to say, with events much posterior to these first communications between Lydia and Assyria.

frontier, Urartu, the Mannai, and the Medes having now ceased to be formidable. Urartu, incessantly exposed to the ravages of the barbarians, had drawn closer and closer to Assyria; and though not actually descending to the point of owning its rival's superiority in order to obtain succour against these terrible foes, it yet carefully avoided all pretexts for war, and persistently maintained friendly relations with its powerful neighbour. Its kings, Rusas II. and his successor Erimenas, no longer meditated feats of arms and successful raids, but devoted themselves to building their city walls, erecting palaces and temples, and planning pleasant retreats in the mountain fastnesses, where they lived surrounded by gardens planted at great cost, watered by streams brought thither from distant springs.<sup>1</sup> The Mannai submitted without a murmur to their Assyrian governors, and the Medes, kept in check by the garrisons of Parsua and Kharkhar, seemed to have laid aside much of their fierce and turbulent disposition. Esarhaddon had endeavoured to conciliate the good will of Elam by a signal service. He had supplied its inhabitants with corn, wine, and provisions of all sorts during a famine which had afflicted the country about 670 B.C.; nor had his good will ended there. He refused to bring into servitude those Elamite subjects who had taken refuge with their families on Assyrian territory to escape the scourge, although the rights of nations authorised him so to do, but having nourished them as long as the dearth lasted, he then sent them back to their fellow-citizens. Urtaku of Elam had thenceforward maintained a kind of sullen neutrality, entering only into secret conspiracies against the Babylonian prefects on the Tigris. The Aramæans in the valleys of the Ulaï, indeed, were restless, and several of their chiefs, Bel-ikisha of the Gambulâ, and Nabo-shumirish, plotted in secret with Marduk-shumibni, the Elamite general in command on the frontier.<sup>2</sup> But no hint of this had yet transpired, and peace apparently reigned there as elsewhere. Never had the empire been so respected; never had it united so many diverse nations under one sceptre—Egyptians, Syrians, tribes of the Taurus, and the mountain districts round the Tigris and Euphrates, Mannai, Medes, Babylonians, and Arabs; never, moreover, had it possessed greater resources wherewith to compel obedience from the provinces or defend them against foreign attack. Doubtless the population of Assyria proper, and the ancient districts whose contingents formed the nucleus of the

<sup>1</sup> For the succession of the kings of Urartu at this epoch, see BELCK and LEHMANN, *Ein neuer Herrscher von Khaldia*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, vol. ix. pp. 82–99, 339–360. For the foundation or restoration of the city and gardens of Toprak-Kaleh by Rusas II. and III., cf., besides the memoir mentioned above, BELCK and LEHMANN, *Ueber neuer aufgefundenen Armenischen Keilinschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, pp. 144–147; *Weitere Ergebnisse*, in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischer Gesellschaft*, 1892, p. 486; *Chaldische Noea*, in the *Verhandlungen*, 1893, pp. 223, 224, and *Chaldische Forschungen*, in the *Verhandlungen*, 1895, pp. 595–601.

<sup>2</sup> G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 100–102, 108, 109.

army, were still suffering from the results of the civil war which had broken out more than fifteen years before, after the assassination of Sennacherib;<sup>1</sup> but under the easy rule of Esarhaddon the natural increase of population, unchecked by any extraordinary call for recruits, must have almost repaired their losses. The Egyptian campaigns, partially carried out by Syrian auxiliaries, had not sensibly retarded this progress, and, provided that peace were maintained for some years longer, the time seemed at hand when the king, having repaired his losses, could call upon the nation to make fresh efforts in offensive or defensive warfare, without the risk of seeing his people melt and disappear before his eyes. It seems, indeed, as if Assur-bani-pal, either by policy or natural disposition, was inclined for peace. But this did not preclude, when occasion demanded, his directing his forces and fighting in person like any other Assyrian monarch; he, however, preferred repose, and when circumstances forced war upon him, he willingly delegated the conduct of the army to his generals. He would probably have renounced possession of Egypt if he could have done so with safety and such a course would not have been without wisdom, the retention of this newly acquired province being difficult and costly. Not to speak of differences in language, religion, and manners, which would prevent it from ever becoming assimilated to Assyria as Damascus, Hamath, and Samaria, and most of the Asiatic states had been, it was merely connected with the rest of the empire by the thin chain of rocks, desert, and marshes stretching between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. A revolt of the cities of the Philistines, or of one of the Idumæan sheikhs, would have sufficed to isolate it, and, communications once interrupted, the safety of the numerous Assyrian officers and garrisons would be seriously jeopardised, all of whom must be maintained there if the country was to be permanently retained. The inclination to meddle in the affairs of Syria always displayed by the Pharaohs, and their obsolete claims to rule the whole country as far as the Euphrates, did not allow of their autonomy being restored to them at the risk of the immediate renewal of their intrigues with Tyre or Judah, and the fomenting of serious rebellions among the vassal princes of Palestine. On the other hand, Egypt was by its natural position so detached

ASSUR-BANI-PAL.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from one of the bas-reliefs from Kouyunjik preserved in the British Museum.

from the rest of the empire that it was certain to escape from the influence of Nineveh as soon as the pressure of circumstances obliged the suzerain to relax his efforts to keep it in subjection. Besides this, Ethiopia lay behind Egypt, almost inaccessible in the fabled realms of the south, always ready to provoke conspiracies or renew hostilities when the occasion offered. Montumihât had already returned to Thebes on the retreat of the Assyrian battalions, and though Taharqa, rendered inactive, as it was said, by a dream which bade him remain at Napata,<sup>1</sup> had not reappeared north of the cataract, he had sent Tanuatamanu, the son of his wife by Sabaco, to administer the province in his name.<sup>2</sup> Taharqa died shortly after (666 B.C.), and his stepson was preparing to leave Thebes in order to be solemnly crowned at Gebel Barkal, when he saw one night in a dream two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left. The sooth-sayers whom he consulted on the matter prognosticated for him a successful career: "Thou holdest the south countries; seize thou those of the north, and let the crowns of the two regions gleam upon thy brow!" He proceeded at once to present himself before his divine father Amon of Napata, and, encountering no opposition from the Ethiopian priests or nobles, he was able to fulfil the prediction almost immediately after his coronation.<sup>3</sup> The Saïd hailed his return with joy, and the inhabitants, massed upon either bank of the river, acclaimed him as he glided past them on his boat: "Go in peace! mayest thou have peace! Restore life to Egypt! Rebuild the ruined temples, set up once more the statues and emblems of the deities! Re-establish the endowments raised to the gods and goddesses, even the offerings to the dead! Restore the priest to his place, that he may minister at all the rites!"

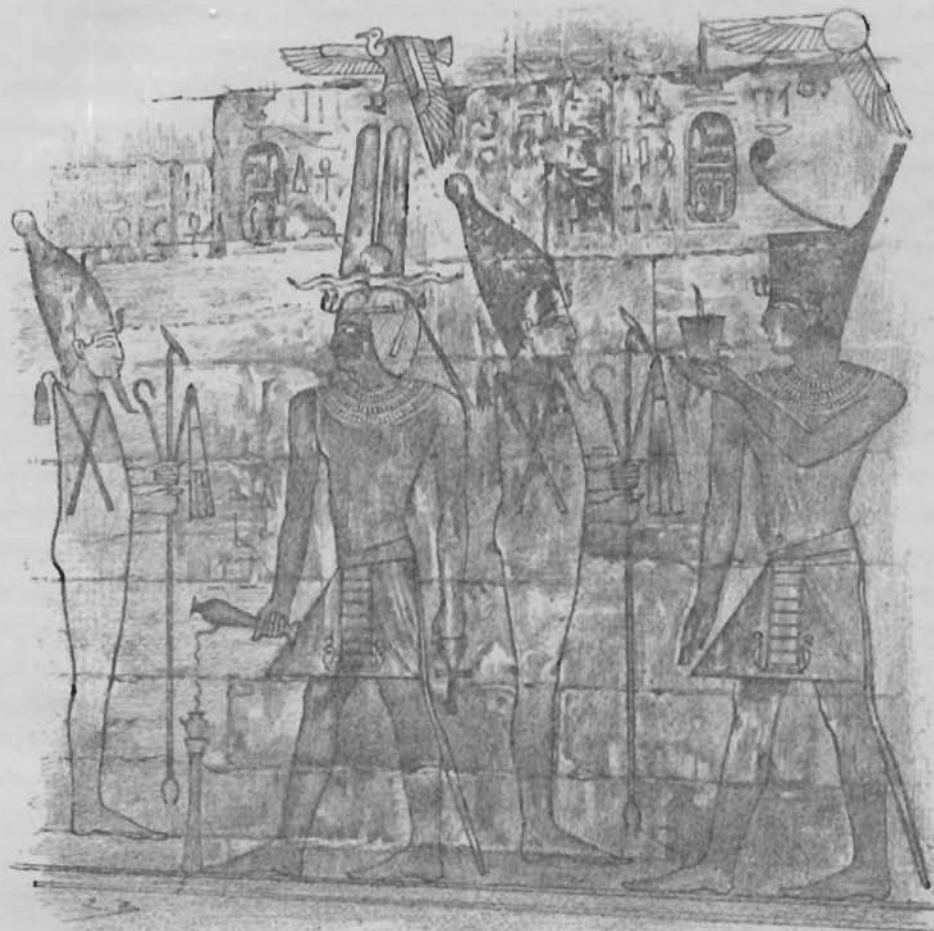
The Assyrian officials and the princes of the north, with Necho at their head, were drawn up beneath the walls of Memphis to defy him. He overcame them, however, captured the city, and pushed on into the Delta in pursuit of the retreating foe. Necho either fell in a skirmish, or was taken prisoner and

<sup>1</sup> The legend quoted by Herodotus (II. clii., cf. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, pp. 543, 544) relates that Sabaco, having slain Necho I., the father of Psammetichus, evacuated Egypt which he had conquered, and retired to Ethiopia in obedience to a dream. The name of Sabaco was very probably substituted for that of Taharqa in the tradition preserved in Sais and Memphis, echoes of which reached the Greek historian in the middle of the fifth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> It appears, from the *Stele of the Dream*, ll. 3-7, that Tanuatamanu was in the Thebaid at the time of his accession to the throne (MASPERO, *Mélanges de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. iii. p. 9; SCHAEFER, *Zur Erklärung der Traumstele*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv. p. 69).

<sup>3</sup> Steindorff (*Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen*, in the *Beiträge für Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 358, 359) thinks that Tanuatamanu had been officially associated with himself on the throne with Taharqa, and Schaefer (*op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68) supposes that the dream dates from the first year of their joint reign. The presence of Tanuatamanu beside Taharqa, in the small Theban temple, the bas-reliefs of which were published by MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 79-85, does not necessarily prove that the two kings reigned conjointly: it may equally well indicate that the one accomplished the work commenced by the other.

put to death: his son Psammetichus escaped to Syria,<sup>1</sup> but the remaining princes shut themselves up, each in his own stronghold, to await reinforcements from Asia, and a series of tedious and interminable sieges began. Impatient at this dilatory method of warfare, Tanuatamanu at length fell back on Memphis,



KING TANUATAMANU IN ADORATION BEFORE THE GODS OF THEBES.<sup>2</sup>

and there opened negotiations in the hope of securing at least a nominal submission, which might enable him to withdraw from the affair with honour. The princes of the east received his overtures favourably, and consented to prostrate themselves before him at the White Wall under the auspices of Pakruru. "Grant us the breath of life, for he who acknowledges thee not cannot live, and we will be thy vassals, as thou didst declare at the beginning,

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, II. ciii., who appears to have been well informed on this point: it is certain that the name of Necho I. disappears from the Assyrian records directly after the accession of Tanuatamanu.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, after a photograph by Legrain, taken in the small temple at Thebes; cf. MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 86.



on the day in which thou becamest king!" The heart of his Majesty was filled with joy when he heard this discourse: he bestowed upon them in abundance bread, beer, and all manner of good things. After sojourning some days at the court of Pharaoh their lord, they said to him, "Why stay we here, O prince our master?" His Majesty replied, "Wherefore?" They answered then, "Graciously permit us to return to our own cities, that we may give commands to our subjects, and may bring thee our tribute offerings!" They returned ere long, bringing the promised gifts, and the king withdrew to Napata loaded with spoil.<sup>1</sup> The Delta proper at once ceased to obey him, but Memphis, as well as Thebes, still acknowledged his sway for some two or three years longer.<sup>2</sup> It was neither indolence nor fear which had kept Assur-bani-pal from marching to the succour of his subjects as soon as the movement under Tannuatamanu became manifest, but serious complications had arisen in the south-east which had for the moment obliged him to leave Egypt to itself. Elam had at last laid aside the mask, and Urtaku, yielding to the entreaties of the Aramæan sheikhs, who were urged on by Marduk-shumibni,<sup>3</sup> had crossed the Tigris. Shamash-shumukin, thus taken unawares, could only shut himself up in Babylon, and in all haste send information of his plight to his brother and suzerain. Assur-bani-pal, preoccupied with the events taking place on the Nile, was for a moment in doubt whether this incursion was merely a passing raid or the opening of a serious war, but the reports of his scouts soon left no doubt as to the gravity of the danger: "The Elamite, like a swarm of grasshoppers, covers the fields, he covers Accad; against Babylon he has pitched his camp and drawn out his lines." The city was too strong to be taken by storm. The Assyrians hastened to relieve it, and threatened to cut off the retreat of the aggressors: the latter, therefore, gave up the siege, and returned to their own country, but their demeanour was still so undaunted that Assur-bani-pal did not cross the frontier in pursuit of them (665 B.C.). He doubtless fully expected that they would

<sup>1</sup> MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 7, 8, and p. 2: cf. MASPERO, *Mélanges de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, vol. iii. pp. 5-18, 217-223; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 707-715; and SCHAEFER, *Zur Erklärung der Traumstele*, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv. pp. 67-70. Tannuatamanu was at first identified by Haigh (*To the Editor*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 80-83) with the person whose name Assyriologists read as Urdamani, but the impossibility of recognising the name Tannuatamanu in Urdamani decided E. de Rougé (*Étude sur quelques monuments du règne du Taharka*, in the *Mélanges*, vol. i. pp. 89-91), and subsequently others (MASPERO, *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., pp. 459, 526-528), to admit an Urdamani different from Tannuatamanu. The discovery of the right reading of the name Tannamanu by Steindorff (*Die Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 356-359) has banished all doubts, and it is now universally admitted that the person mentioned in the Assyrian documents is identical with the king who erected the *Stele of the Dream* at Gebel Barkal.

<sup>2</sup> A monument still exists which was dedicated at Thebes in the third year of Tannuatamanu: it was first brought to notice by Champollion (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, pl. ccclix.), and is now preserved in the Berlin Museum (ERMANN, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, pp. 169, 170, No. 2096), with another undated document of the same king (*Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 170, No. 2097).

<sup>3</sup> For these sheikhs, cf. *supra*, pp. 358, 367.

soon return in larger numbers, and perhaps his fear would not have proved unfounded had not fate suddenly deprived them of all their leaders. Bel-ikisha was killed in hunting by a wild boar, Nabu-shumirish was struck down by dropsy, and Marduk-shumibni perished in a mysterious manner. Finally Urtaku succumbed to an attack of apoplexy, and the year which had been so fatal to his allies proved not less so to himself (664 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> It now seemed as if Assur-bani-pal might breathe freely, and inflict his long-deferred vengeance on Tannatamanu, but the death of Urtaku did not remove all causes of uneasiness. Peace was not yet concluded, and it depended on the new King of Elam whether hostilities would be renewed. Fortunately for the Assyrians, the transmission of power had rarely taken place at Susa for a century past without a disturbance, and Urtaku himself had gained the throne by usurpation, possibly accompanied by murder. As he had treated his elder brother Khumbân-khaldash and the children of the latter, so did his younger brother Tammarritu now treat his sons. Tammarritu was "a devil" incarnate, whose whole thoughts were of murder and rapine; at least, this was the idea formed of him by his Assyrian contemporaries, who declared that he desired to put to death the sons of his two predecessors out of sheer cruelty. But we do not need a very vivid imagination to believe that these princes were anxious to dethrone him, and that in endeavouring to rid himself of them he was merely forestalling their secret plots. They escaped his murderous designs, however, and fled to Assyria,—Khumbân-igash, Khumbân-appa, and Tammarritu, sons of Urtaku, and Kuduru and Parru, sons of Khumbân-khaldash, followed by sixty other princes of royal blood, together with archers and servants—forming, in fact, a small army of Elamites. Assur-bani-pal received them with honour, for their defection furnished him with a powerful weapon against the usurper: by succouring them he could rouse half Elam and involve it in civil war, in which the pretenders would soon exhaust their resources. It was now a favourable moment to renew hostilities in Egypt, while Tammarritu, still insecure on his throne, would not venture to provoke a conflict.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, Tannatamanu did not risk the defence of Memphis, but concentrated his forces at Thebes. Once more the Assyrian generals ascended the Nile, and, after a

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 100–109; JENSEN, *Inscriften Assurbanipal's*, in *SCHRADER, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 244–247.

<sup>2</sup> The time of the war against Urtaku and the expedition against Tannatamanu is indicated by a passage in a cylinder as yet unedited (*Bassan 281 of the British Museum*), quoted by WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 478, note 2. There we read that the invasion of Urtaku took place at the moment when Tannatamanu ascended the throne. These preliminary difficulties with Elam would thus have coincided with the two years which elapsed between the accession of Tannatamanu and his conquest of Memphis, up to the third year mentioned in the Berlin inscription (for this inscription, cf. *supra*, p. 398, note 2); the testimony of the Egyptian monuments would thus be in almost complete accord with the Assyrian documents on this point.

voyage lasting six weeks, at length reached the suburbs of the great city. Tanuatamanu had fled towards Kipkip, leaving Thebes at the mercy of the invaders. It was given up to pillage, its population was carried off into slavery, and its temples and palaces were despoiled of their treasures—gold, silver, metals, and precious stones, brodered and richly dyed stuffs, and horses of the royal stud. Two of the obelisks which adorned the temple of Amon were taken down from their pedestals and placed on rafts to be transported to Nineveh, and we shall perhaps unearth them some day from its ruins. This work of reprisal accomplished, the conquerors made their way northwards, and the bulk of the army recrossed the isthmus: Ethiopian rule had ceased north of the cataract, and Egypt settled down once more under the Assyrian yoke (663–662 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>



ASSYRIAN HELMET FOUND  
AT THEBES.<sup>2</sup>

Impoverished and decayed as Thebes had now long since become, the nations whom she had afflicted so sorely in the days of her glory had retained for her feelings of respect and almost of awe: the rumour of her fall, spread through the Eastern world, filled them with astonishment and pity. The Hebrews saw in it the chastisement inflicted by their God on the tyrant who had oppressed their ancestors, and their prophets used it to impress upon the minds of their contemporaries the vanity of human prosperity. Half a century later, when Nineveh, menaced in her turn, was desperately arming herself to repel the barbarians, Nahum the Elkoshite demanded of her, amid his fierce denunciations, whether she vaunted herself to be better than "No-amon (city of Amon), that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about her; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was of the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim (Libya and the Nubians) came to her succour. 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 honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."<sup>3</sup> Assur-bani-pal, lord of Egypt and conqueror of Ethiopia,

<sup>1</sup> The account of the campaign against Tanuatamanu is found on *Tablet K 2675*, obv., ll. 70–74, rev., ll. 1–5, in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 55–57; for variant renderings, cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–55; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 12–16; JENSEN, *Inchriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 166–169. The dates which I have adopted follow from the date of 666 B.C. given for the death of Taharqa and the accession of Psammetichus I. The expedition against Thebes must have taken place at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth year of the reign of Tanuatamanu, shortly after the inscription of the third year, and was engraved (for this inscription, cf. *supra*, p. 398, note 2) either in 663 or 662 B.C. at the latest.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the photograph by PETRIE, *Six Temples at Thebes*, pl. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Nahum* iii. 8–10.

might reasonably consider himself invincible; it would have been well for the princes who trembled at the name of Assur-bani-pal, if they had taken this lesson to heart, and had learned from the downfall of Tanuatomanu what fate awaited them in the event of their daring to arouse the wrath of Assyria by any kind of intrigue. Unfortunately, many of them either failed to see the warning or refused to profit by it. The Mannai had quickly recovered from the defeat inflicted on them by Esarhaddon,<sup>1</sup> and their king, Akhsheri, in spite of his advancing years, believed that his own energy and resources were sufficient to warrant him in anticipating a speedy revenge. Perhaps a further insight into the real character of Assur-bani-pal may have induced him to venture on hostilities. For the king's contemporaries had begun to realise that, beneath his apparent bravery and ostentation, he was by nature indolent, im-



A LION ISSUING FROM ITS CAGE.<sup>2</sup>

patient of restraint, and fond of ease and luxury. When not absorbed in the routine of the court and the pleasures of the harem, he spent his leisure in hunting on the Mesopotamian plains, or in the extensive parks which had been laid out by himself or his predecessors in the vicinity of their summer palaces. Urus-stalking had become merely a memory of the past: these animals had been so persistently hunted for centuries that the species had almost become extinct; solitary specimens only were occasionally met with in remote parts of the forest or in out-of-the-way marshes. The wild ass was still to be found in large numbers, as well as the goat, the ostrich, and small game,<sup>3</sup> but the lion was now rarely met with, and the beaters were no longer sure of finding him in his ancient haunts. Specimens had to be sought by the royal gamekeepers in the provinces, and when successfully trapped were forthwith despatched to one or other of the king's country seats.

<sup>1</sup> For the defeat of the Mannai in the reign of Esarhaddon, cf. *supra*, pp. 352-354.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from a photograph taken from the original in the British Museum; cf. PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. iii. pl. 59.

<sup>3</sup> The representation of a wild-ass hunt, reproduced in *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 559, belongs to the reign of Assur-bani-pal.

The beast was often kept for several days in a cage while preparations were made for a fête, at which he was destined to form one of the chief attractions, and when the time came he was taken to the appointed place and let loose; the sovereign pursued him either in a chariot or on horseback, and did not desist from the chase till he had pierced his quarry with arrows or lance. Frequently the beast would be turned loose in the park, and left there till accustomed to his surroundings, so that later on he might be run down under conditions somewhat resembling his native freedom. Assur-bani-pal did not shun a personal encounter with an infuriated lion; he displayed in this hazardous sport a bravery and skill which rivalled that of his ancestors, and he never relegated to another the task of leading the attack or dealing the final death-blow. This, however, was not the case when it was a question of starting on some warlike expedition; he would then leave to his Tartans, or to the Rabshakeh, or to some other chosen officer, the entire conduct of all operations.<sup>1</sup> This did not preclude the king from taking an interest in what was passing beyond the frontier, nor did he fail in his performance of the various religious duties which custom imposed on an Assyrian sovereign: he consulted the oracles of Shamash or Ishtar, he offered sacrifices, he fasted and humbled himself in the temples to obtain the success of his troops, and when they returned laden with spoil from the campaign, he attributed their victories no less to his prayers than to their courage or to the skill of their leaders. His generals, thoroughly equipped for their task, and well supported by their troops, had no need of the royal presence to ensure their triumph over any foe they might encounter; indeed, in the absence of the king they experienced a liberty of action and boldness in pressing their victories to the uttermost which they would not have enjoyed had he been in command. Foreigners, accustomed to see the sovereigns of Nineveh conduct their armies in person, as long as they were not incapacitated by age, thought that the indolence of Assur-bani-pal was the unconscious expression of weariness or of his feeble control of the empire, and Akhsheri determined to be one of the first to take advantage of it. Events proved that he was mistaken in his calculations. No sooner had his intentions become known, than a division of Assyrian troops appeared on his frontier, and prepared to attack him. Resolving to take the initiative, he fell one night unexpectedly upon the Assyrian camp, but fortune declared against him: he was driven back, and his broken ranks were closely pursued for a distance of twenty-three miles. Eight of his strongholds fell one after the other, and he was at length forced to abandon his capital of Izirtu, and flee precipitately to his fortress of

<sup>1</sup> We have seen, for example, that after the death of Esarhaddon, the Egyptian campaign was conducted by one of the Tartans and the Rabshakeh (cf. *supra*, pp. 384, 385); for the campaign against Tiummân, and the reasons which hindered the king from conducting it in person, see *infra*, p. 405.



Adrana in the heart of the mountains. Even there he did not find the security he desired, for the conqueror pursued him thither, methodically devastating by the way the districts through which he passed: he carried off everything—men, slaves, and herds of cattle—and he never retired from a city or village without previously setting it on fire. Paddir, Arsianish, and Eristiana were thus laid waste, after which the Assyrians returned to their camp, having re-established the authority of their master over several districts which had been lost to them for some generations previously. Akhsheri had shown no sign of yielding, but his people, weary of a hopeless resistance, put him to death, and hurling his corpse over the wall of Adrana, proclaimed his son Ualli as king. The new sovereign hastened to conclude a treaty with the Assyrians on reasonable terms: he gave up his eldest son, Erisinni, and one of his daughters as hostages, and promised to pay the former tribute augmented by an annual present of thirty horses;<sup>1</sup> peace was not again disturbed on this side except by some unimportant skirmishes. In one of these, a Median chieftain, named Biriz-khadri, made an alliance with two princes of the people of the Sakhi, Sarāti, and Parikhia, sons of Gāgu,<sup>2</sup> to ravage the marches of the Greater Zab; but their territory was raided in return, and they themselves taken prisoners.<sup>3</sup> A little later, Andaria, prince of Lubdi, forgetful of his oath of allegiance to the aged Esarhaddon,<sup>4</sup> made a night attack on the towns of Kullimir and Ubbumī: the inhabitants armed in haste, and he was not only defeated, but was taken captive, and his head cut off to be sent to Nineveh.<sup>5</sup> The garrisons and military colonies along

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 84–99; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 20–23; JENSEN, *Inscriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 176–179, 240–243. As Tiele has shown (*Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 374), the narrative of *Cylinder B*, col. iii. ll. 16–102 (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–97), is the most authentic account of this campaign extant. The others are abridged, and the castle in which Akhsheri took refuge is called in them Ishtattu instead of Adrana. The exact date of the expedition is still unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Biriz-khadri has an Iranian appearance. The first element *Biriz* recalls the Zend *bereza*, *berez*, “tall, large;” the second, which appears in the names Bisi-khadri and Khali-khadri (*Annals of Tiglath-pileser III.*, ll. 33, 43, ed. ROST, pp. 8–11), is of uncertain derivation, and has been connected with *atar*, “fire” (TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 361, note 4), or with *khucathra*, “brilliance” (ROST, *Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 90, note 2). Gāgu, which is found as the name of a people (Gagāti) in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (BEZOLD and BUDGE, *The Tell el Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, No. i. l. 38), has been identified from the first with the name of Gog, prince of Roah, Meshech, and Tubal (*Ezek.* xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1: cf. FR. LENORMANT, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 461–466; G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 99; SCHRADER, *Keil. und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 139, note; DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 247; TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 361, note 41; HOMMEL, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, p. 727; ROST, *op. cit.*, p. 91, note 1). The name of the country of Sakhi, which has not been met with elsewhere, has been compared with that of the Sace, which seems to have existed not only in the name of the province of Sakasēnē mentioned by the classical geographers (STRABO, XI. viii. § 4, pp. 509, 511), but in that of Shakē known to the old Armenian geographers (JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 243); the country itself, however, as it seems to me, cannot be sought in the direction of Sakasēnē, and consequently the proposed identification cannot hold good.

<sup>3</sup> G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 178–181; this campaign is not mentioned in the *Rassam Cylinder*, nor is the skirmish of Andaria.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 369, 370.

<sup>5</sup> G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–99; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.



the north-east frontier were constantly required to be on the alert; but they usually had sufficient available resources to meet any emergency, and the enemies who molested them were rarely dangerous enough to necessitate the mobilisation of a regular army.

This was not the case, however, in the south-west, where Tiummân, counting on the military strength of Elam, made continual hostile demonstrations. He was scarcely settled on his throne before he hastened to form alliances with those Aramæan states which had so often invoked the aid of his predecessors against the ancestors of Assur-bani-pal.<sup>1</sup> The Kaldâ rejected his proposals, as did most of the tribes of the littoral; but the Gambulâ yielded to his solicitations, and their king, Dunânu, son of Bel-ikisha, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Elam. Their defection left the eastern frontier of Karduniash unprotected, and, by opening to the Elamite the fords of the Tigris, permitted him to advance on Babylon unhindered by any serious obstacle. As soon as the compact was sealed, Tiummân massed his battalions on the middle course of the Uknu, and, before crossing the frontier, sent two of his generals, the Susian Khumba-darâ and the Chaldæan Nabu-damiq, as the bearers of an insolent ultimatum to the court of Nineveh: he offered the king the choice between immediate hostilities, or the extradition of the sons of Urtaku and Khumbân-khaldash, as well as of their partisans who had taken refuge in Assyria.<sup>2</sup> To surrender the exiles would have been an open confession of inferiority, and such a humiliating acknowledgment of weakness promptly reported throughout the Eastern world might shortly have excited a general revolt: hence Assur-bani-pal disdainfully rejected the proposal of the Elamite sovereign, which had been made rather as a matter of form than with any hope of its acceptance, but the issue of a serious war with Susa was so uncertain that his refusal was accompanied with serious misgivings. It needed many favourable omens from the gods to encourage him to believe in his future success. The moon-god Sin was the first to utter his prediction: he suffered eclipse in the month of Tammuz, and for three successive days, at nightfall, showed himself in the sky surrounded by strange appearances which heralded the death of a king in Elam, and foretold calamity to that country. Then Assur and Ishtar struck Tiummân with violent convulsions; they caused his lips and eyes to be horribly distorted, but he despised their warning, and as soon as his seizure had passed, set out to assume command of his army. The news of his action reached Nineveh in the month of Ab, on the morning of the solemn festival of Ishtar.

<sup>1</sup> For the contests waged by the united forces of Elamites and Aramæans against Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, cf. *supra*, pp. 222-225, 230-232, 254-257, 274-276, 295, 296, 299-307, 349, 350, 358.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 399.

Assur-bani-pal was at Arbela, celebrating the rites in honour of the goddess, when the messenger appeared before him and repeated, together with the terms of the declaration of war, the scornful words which Tiummân had uttered against him and his patroness: "This prince whose wits have been crazed by Ishtar—I will let him escape no more, when once I have gone forth and measured my strength against him!" This blasphemy filled the Assyrian king with horror. That very evening he betook himself to the sanctuary, and there, prostrate before the image of the goddess, he poured forth prayers mingled with tears: "Lady of Arbela, I am Assur-bani-pal, King of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, the offspring of a father whom thou didst create! Behold now, this Tiummân, the King of Elam, who despises the gods of Assyria, hath sent forth his host and prepared himself for the conflict; he hath called for his arms to rush to attack Assyria. Do thou, O archer of the gods, like a bolt falling in the midst of the battle, overthrow him, and let loose upon him a tempest, and an evil wind!"<sup>1</sup> Ishtar heard his prayer, and her voice sounded through the gloom: "Fear not," said she, comforting him: "since thou hast raised thy hands to me in supplication, and thine eyes are bedewed with tears, I grant thee a boon!" Towards the end of that night, a seer slept in the temple and was visited by a dream. Ishtar of Arbela appeared to him, with a quiver on either side, a bow in one hand and a drawn sword in the other. She advanced towards the king, and spoke to him as if she had been his mother: "Make war boldly! whichever way thou turnest thy countenance, there will I go!" And the king replied to her, "Where thou goest, will I go with thee, sovereign lady!" But she answered, "Stay thou here. Dwell in this home of Nebo, eat thy food and drink thy wine, listen to joyful songs and honour my divinity, until I have gone and accomplished this work. Let not thy countenance grow pale, nor thy feet fail under thee, and expose not thyself to the danger of battle." "And then, O king," added the seer, "she hid thee in her bosom as a mother, and protected thy image. A flame shall spring forth before her, and shall spread abroad to destroy thine enemies: against Tiummân, King of Elam, who has angered her, has she set her face!" Like Minephtah of old, in the days of the Libyan invasions of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> Assur-bani-pal allowed himself to be readily convinced by the decision of the gods; he did not quit Arbela, but gave orders to his troops to proceed to the front. His generals opened the campaign in the month of Elul, and directed the main body of their forces against the

<sup>1</sup> The discourse is somewhat mutilated on *Cylinder B*, col. v. ll. 30-46, which alone has preserved this text (G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 119-123; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipal's*, in *SCHRADER, Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 250, 251; cf. S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. iii. pp. 11-17). I have given the general sense of the passage rather than an actual translation.

<sup>2</sup> For the dream of Minephtah and the order he received not to be present at the battle against the Libyans, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 434.

fortress of Durilu, at the point on the frontier nearest to Susa. Tiummân was not expecting such a prompt and direct attack: he had reckoned doubtless on uniting his forces with those of Dunânu with a view to invading Karduniash, and suddenly realised that his adversary had forestalled him and was advancing on the heart of his empire. He slowly withdrew his advanced guard, and con-



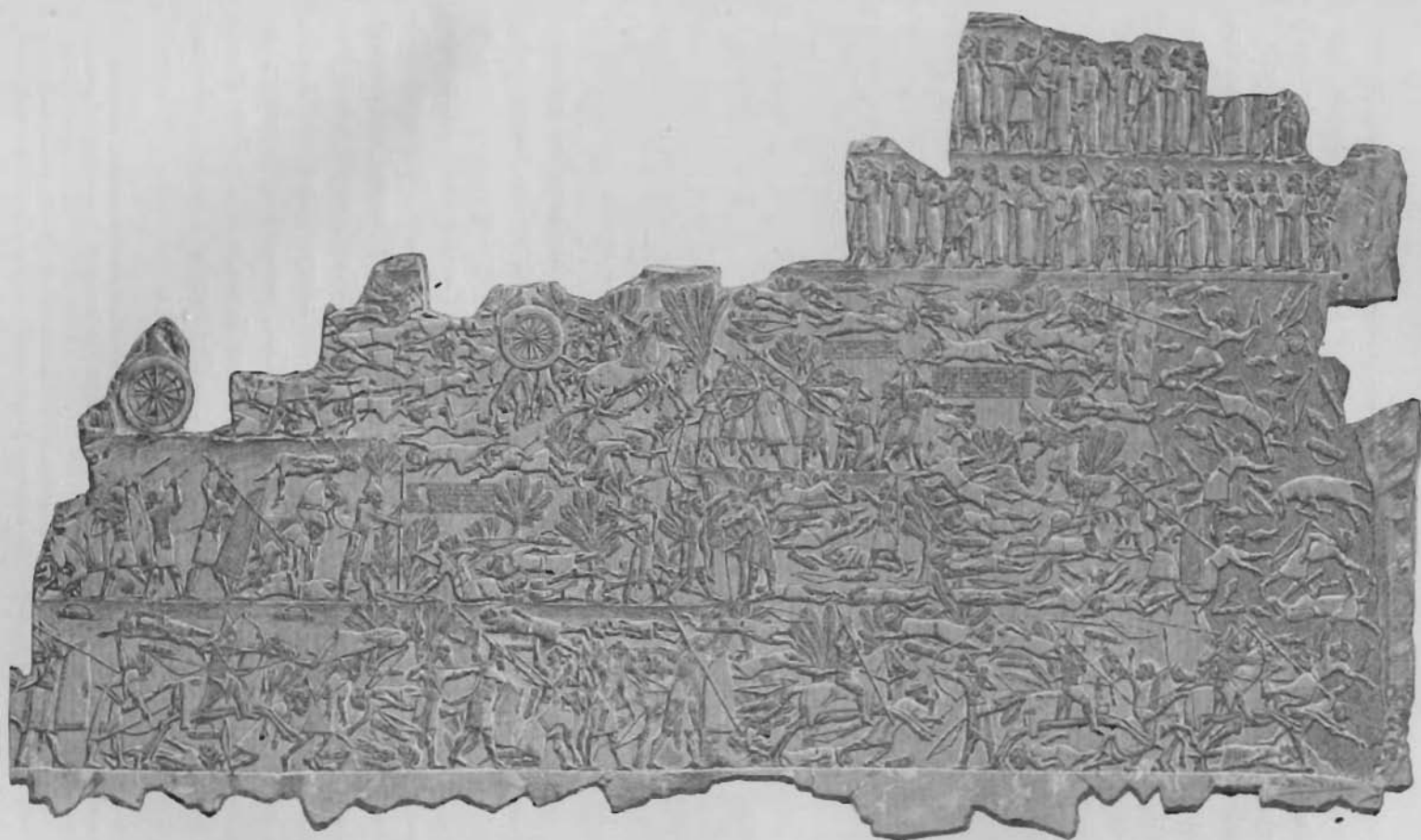
ITUNI BREAKS HIS BOW WITH A BLOW OF HIS SWORD, AND GIVES HIMSELF UP TO THE EXECUTIONER.<sup>1</sup>

centrated his forces round the town of Tulliz, a few leagues on this side of Susa, and there awaited the enemy's attack.<sup>2</sup>

His position was a strong one, flanked on the right by a wood and on the left by the Ulaï, while the flower of the Elamite nobility was ranged around him. The equipment of his soldiers was simpler than that of the enemy: consisting of a low helmet, devoid of any crest, but furnished with a large pendant tress of horsehair to shade the neck; a shield of moderate dimensions; a small bow, which, however, was quite as deadly a weapon as that of the Assyrians, when wielded by skilful hands; a lance, a mace, and a dagger. He had only a small body of cavalry, but the chariotry formed an important force, and presented

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken from the original in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pls. 45, 46. The translation of the inscription is given in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 143, 144.

<sup>2</sup> The site of Tulliz is unknown. Billerbeck considers, and with reason, I think, that the battle took place to the south of Susa, on the river Shavur, which would correspond to the Ulaï, on the lowest spurs of the ridge of hills bordering the alluvial plain of Susiana (*Susa*, p. 174, note 17).



THE BATTLE OF TULLIZ.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the original in the British Museum.

several original features. The chariot did not follow the classic model, rounded in front and open at the back; it was a kind of light car, consisting of a square footboard placed flat on the axle of the wheels, and furnished with triangular side-pieces on two sides only, the vehicle being drawn by a pair of horses. Such chariots were easier to manage, better adapted for rapid motion, and must have been more convenient for a reconnaissance or for skirmishes with infantry; but when thrown in a mass against the heavy chariotry of the peoples of the Euphrates, they were far too slightly built to overthrow the latter, and at close quarters were of necessity crushed by the superior weight of the



URTAKU, COUSIN OF TIUMMÂN, SURRENDERING TO AN ASSYRIAN.<sup>1</sup>

adversary. Tiummân had not succeeded in collecting all his forces before the first columns of the Assyrian army advanced to engage his front line, but as he was expecting reinforcements, he endeavoured to gain time by despatching Ituni, one of his generals, with orders to negotiate a truce. The Assyrian commander, suspecting a ruse, would not listen to any proposals, but ordered the envoy to be decapitated on the spot: Ituni broke his bow with a blow of his sword, and stoically yielded his neck to the executioner.<sup>2</sup> The issue of the battle was for a long time undecided, but the victory finally remained with the heavy regiments of Assyria. The left wing of the Susians, driven into the Ulaï, perished by drowning, and the river was choked with the corpses of men and horses, and the *débris* of arms and broken chariots. The right wing took to flight under cover of a wood, and the survivors tried to reach the mountains. Urtaku, the cousin of Tiummân.

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the original in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *Mon. of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 45. The translation of the inscription is given in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbani-pal*, pp. 144, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet K 2674 of the British Museum, obv., ll. 31-33, in S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbani-pals*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 5; inscription from one of the bas-reliefs of the battle, in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 146.

was wounded by an arrow; perceiving an Assyrian soldier coming up to him, he told him who he was, and recommended him to carry his head to the general: "He will pay you handsomely for it," he added.<sup>1</sup> Tiummân had led in person several charges of his body-guard; and on being wounded, his son Tammaritu had succeeded in rescuing him from the thick of the fight: both seated together in a chariot, were in full flight, when one of the wheels caught against a tree and was shattered, the shock flinging the occupants to the ground.<sup>2</sup> A large body of Assyrians were in close pursuit, led by one



THE LAST ARROW OF TIUMMÂN AND HIS SON.<sup>3</sup>

of the exiled Susian princes, a second Tammaritu, son of Urtaku. At the first discharge an arrow wounded Tiummân in the right side, and brought him to his knee. He felt that all was over, and desiring at all events to be revenged, he pointed out the deserter prince to his companion, crying indignantly, "Let fly at him." The arrow missed its mark, and a flight of hostile darts stretched the young man on the ground: the traitor Tammaritu dealt the son his death-blow with his mace, while an Assyrian decapitated the father.<sup>4</sup> The corpses were left on the field, but the head of the king, after being taken to the general in command, was carried through the camp on one of the chariots captured during the action, and was eventually sent to the palace

<sup>1</sup> Tablet K 2674, obv., ll. 27-30, in S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. iii. pp. 2-5; inscription from one of the bas-reliefs of the battle, in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 144, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet K 2674, obv., ll. 14-26; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143; S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *Mon. of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 46. The translation of the inscription is given in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Inscriptions from one of the bas-reliefs of the battle, in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 144.



of Arbela by the hand of a well-mounted courier.<sup>1</sup> The day concluded with the making of an inventory of the spoil, and by an enumeration of the heads of the slain: prisoners from the rank and file were beaten to death according to custom, and several of the principal officers had their tongues torn out or were flayed alive. The news of the disaster was brought to Susa towards evening by the fugitives, and produced a revolution in the city. The partisans of the exiled princes, seizing the adherents of Tiummân, put them in chains, and delivered



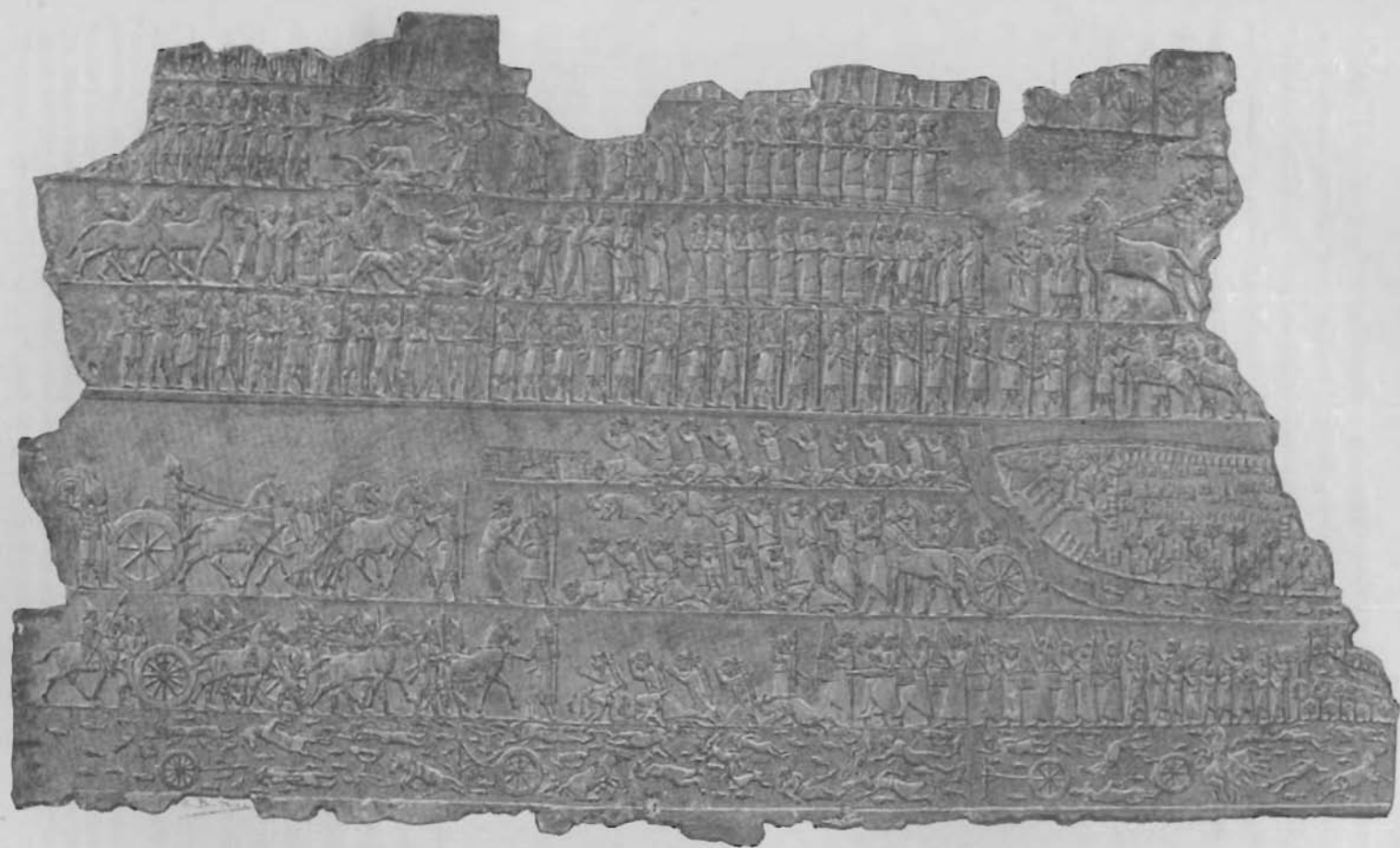
DEATH OF TIUMMÂN AND HIS SON.<sup>2</sup>

them up to the conqueror. The shattered remnants of the army rallied round them, and a throng of men and women in festal garb issued forth along the banks of the Ulai to meet the Assyrians. The priests and sacred singers marched to the sound of music, marking the rhythm with their feet, and filling the air with the noise of their harps and double flutes, while behind them came a choir of children, chanting a hymn under the direction of the consecrated eunuchs. The Tartan met them, and, acting in accordance with the orders of Assurbani-pal, presented to the multitude Khumbân-igash, the eldest son of Urtaku, as their king.<sup>3</sup> The people joyfully hailed the new sovereign, and the

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on one of the bas-reliefs of the battle, in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbani-pal*, p. 144.

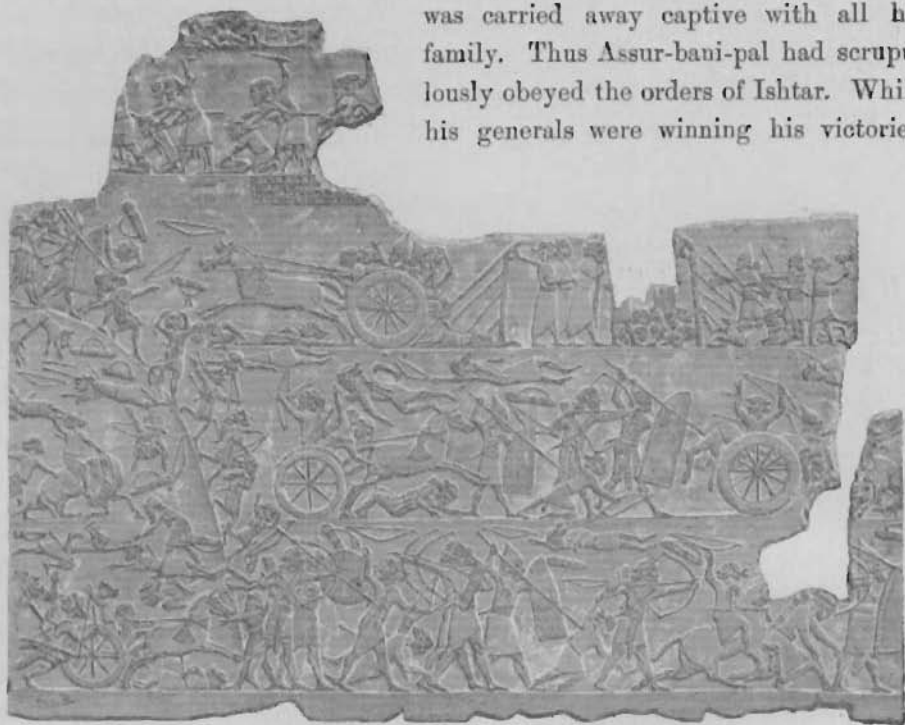
<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 46. The translation of the inscription is given in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription on one of the bas-reliefs of the battle, in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbani-pal*, p. 146.



KHUMBÂN-IGASH ACCLAIMED AS KING AFTER THE BATTLE OF TULLÎZ.  
Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the original in the British Museum.

Assyrians, after exacting tribute from him and conferring the fief of Khaïdalu on his brother Tammaritu, withdrew, leaving to the new princes the task of establishing their authority outside the walls of Susa and Madaktu. As they returned, they attacked the Gambulâ, speedily reducing them to submission. Dunânu, besieged in his stronghold of Shapibel, surrendered at discretion, and was carried away captive with all his family. Thus Assur-bani-pal had scrupulously obeyed the orders of Ishtar. While his generals were winning his victories



THE HEAD OF TIUMMÂN SENT TO NINEVEH.<sup>1</sup>

he had been eating and drinking, hunting, dallying with his wives, and living in the open air. He was taking his pleasure with the queen in the palace garden when the head of Tiummân was brought to him: he caused it to be suspended from the branch of a pine tree in full view of the whole court, and continued his banquet to the sound of harps and singing. Rusas III., King of Urartu, died about this time, and his successor, Sharduris III., thought it incumbent on him to announce his accession at Nineveh. Assur-bani-pal received the embassy at Arbela, with the graciousness befitting a suzerain whom a faithful vassal honours by his dutiful homage, and in order to impress

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 45. The chariot speeding along at a gallop in the topmost series of pictures carries a soldier bearing the head of Tiummân in his hand; behind him, under a tent, scribes are registering the heads which are brought in. In the two lower bas-reliefs are displayed the closing scenes of the battle. The translation of the inscription is given in G. SMITH, *History of Assurbani-pal*, p. 144.

the Urartians still further with an idea of his power, he showed them the two Elamite delegates, Khumba-darâ and Nabu-damiq, in chains at his feet.<sup>1</sup> These wretched men had a more cruel ordeal yet in store for them: when the Assyrian army re-entered Nineveh, Assur-bani-pal placed them on the route along which the cortège had to pass, and made them realise to the full the humiliation of their country. Dunânu walked at the head of the band of captive chiefs, with the head of Tiummân, taken from its tree, suspended round his neck. When the delegates perceived it, they gave way to despair: Khumba-darâ tore out his beard by handfuls, and Nabu-damiq, unsheathing the dagger which hung from his belt, plunged it into his own breast. The triumphal entry was followed by the usual tortures. The head of Tiummân was fixed over the gate of



ASSUR-BANI-PAL BANQUETING WITH HIS QUEEN.<sup>2</sup>

Nineveh, to rot before the eyes of the multitude. Dunânu was slowly flayed alive, and then bled like a lamb; his brother Shamgunu had his throat cut, and his body was divided into pieces, which were distributed over the country as a warning. Even the dead were not spared: the bones of Nabu-shumirish were disinterred and transported to Assyria, where his sons were forced to bray them in a mortar.<sup>3</sup> We may estimate the extent of the alarm which had been felt at

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 115, 116, 146, 147. Belck and Lehmann (*Ein neuer Herrscher von Chaldia*, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ix. pp. 342-345) have very ingeniously connected the embassy, mentioned in the Assyrian documents, with the fact of the accession of the king who sent it.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph of the original in the British Museum. The head of Tiummân hangs on the second tree on the left-hand side.

<sup>3</sup> The fullest text of all those which narrate the campaign against Tiummân and Dunânu is that on *Cylinder B of the British Museum*, col. iv. ll. 82-95, col. v. ll. 1-104, col. vi. ll. 2-92, published and translated by G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-138; cf. JENSEN, *Inschr. Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 246-259. It pretends, as usual, that the king led the army in person, but the words which the seer places in the mouth of Ishtar (col. v. ll. 63-70, cf. *supra*, p. 405) prove that the king remained at Arbela by divine command, and the inscription on one of the bas-reliefs (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 146, cf. *supra*, p. 413), as well as *Tablet K 2674* (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 140; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 5), mentions, without giving his name, the general who was sent against Susa. The other documents relating to this expedition have been collected in

Nineveh by the outburst of brutal joy with which the victory was hailed. The experience of the past showed what a terrible enemy Assyria had in Elam, and how slight was the chance of a successful issue in a war against her. Her kings had often invaded Chaldæa, and had more than once brought it directly under their sway; they had ravaged its cities and pillaged its temples, and the sanctuaries of Susa were filled with statues of the gods or with bas-reliefs which they had dedicated after their campaigns on the Euphrates. Although they had not been successful against Assyria to the same extent, they had at least always victoriously repelled her attacks: they had held their own against Sargon, given much trouble to Sennacherib, and defied the power of Esarhaddon with impunity. Never till now had an Assyrian army gained such an important victory over Elam, and though it was by no means decisive, we can easily believe that Assur-bani-pal was filled with pride and delight, since it was the first time that a king of Nineveh had imposed on Elam a sovereign of his own choice.

Since homage was voluntarily rendered him by the rulers of foreign nations, Assur-bani-pal doubtless believed that he might exact it without hesitation from the vassal princes dependent on the empire; and not from the weaker only like those who were still to be found in Syria, but also from the more powerful, not excepting the lord of Karduniash. Shamash-shumukin had fully risen to his position as King of Babylon, and the unbroken peace which he had enjoyed since the death of Urtaku<sup>1</sup> had enabled him almost to complete the restoration of the kingdom begun under Esarhaddon. He had finished the rebuilding of the walls of Babylon, and had fortified the approaches to the city, thus rendering it capable of withstanding a long siege;<sup>2</sup> he had repaired the temple of Sippara, which had never recovered from the Elamite invasion;<sup>3</sup> and while unstintingly lavishing his treasures in honour of the gods and for the safety of his capital, he watched with jealous care over the interests of his subjects. He obtained for them the privilege of being treated on the same footing as the Assyrians throughout his father's ancestral domains; they consequently enjoyed the right of trading without restriction throughout the empire, and met with the same degree of protection from the officials of Nineveh as from the magistrates of their own country.

G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 110-114, 139-146, and in S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 22-27; cf. JENSEN, *Inschriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 180-183. The exact date of this war is unknown; it may be approximately given as 655 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, pp. 398, 399, for a short account of the expedition of Urtaku against Babylon.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylindre de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, published by LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, pl. xxx., and vol. i. pp. 27, 54, ii. p. 62. Assur-bani-pal, from whom this cylinder emanates, claims the merit of these works himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Bilingual Inscription*, ll. 23-29; *London Cylinder*, ll. 16-18; cf. LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9, 18, 19.

Assur-bani-pal had at the outset furthered the wishes of his brother to the utmost of his power: he had granted the privileges demanded, and whenever a Chaldæan of noble birth arrived at his court, he received him with special marks of favour.<sup>1</sup> The two states enjoyed a nearly absolute equality during the opening years of his reign, and though the will of Esarhaddon had made Babylon dependent on Assyria, the yoke of vassalage was far from heavy. The suzerain reserved to himself the honour of dedicating the mighty works begun by his father, the restoration of the temple of Bel-Marduk and of the double wall of fortification;<sup>2</sup> he claimed, in his inscriptions, the whole merit of the work, but he none the less respected his brother's rights, and in no way interfered in the affairs of the city



TWO ELAMITE CHIEFS PLAYED ALIVE AFTER THE BATTLE OF TULLÎZ.<sup>3</sup>

except in state ceremonies in which the assertion of his superior rank was indispensable. But with success his moderation gradually gave place to arrogance. In proportion as his military renown increased, he accentuated his supremacy, and accustomed himself to treat Babylon more and more as a vassal state.<sup>4</sup> After the conquest of Elam his infatuated pride knew no bounds, and the little consideration he still retained for Shamash-shumukin vanished completely. He thenceforward refused to regard him as being more than a prefect bearing a somewhat higher title than his fellows, a viceroy owing his crown, not to

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder A*, col. iv. ll. 22-27; cf. G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 153, 154; *Rassam Annals*, col. iii. ll. 87-95; cf. S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keils. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 26, 27; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 184, 185.

<sup>2</sup> For the commencement of the restoration of the temple of Marduk, cf. *supra*, pp. 382, 383.

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph taken in the British Museum; cf. LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 47. The translation of the two inscriptions is given in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 148. The names of the two persons under torture were left blank on the original monument.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, in *Tablet K 891 of the British Museum*, obv., ll. 11-13, he affects to enumerate on an equal footing his three brothers, Shamash-shumukin, Assur-mukin-paliya, and Assur-etil-shamê-uirziti-balasu, as all alike invested by himself with important charges; the first with the kingdom of Karduniash, the other two with important offices in the priesthood (LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21; cf. for other analogous facts, *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 16-19).



the will of their common father, but to the friendship of his brother, and liable to be deprived of it at any moment through the caprice of the sovereign. He affected to consider all that took place at Babylon as his own doing, and his brother as being merely his docile instrument, not deserving mention any more than the ordinary agents who carried out his designs; and if, indeed, he condescended to mention him, it was with an assumption of disdainful superiority. It is a question whether Shamash-shumukin at this juncture believed that his brother was meditating a design to snatch the reins of government from his hand, or whether he merely yielded to the impulse of wounded vanity in resolving to shake off a yoke which had become intolerable. Knowing that his power was not equal to that of Assur-bani-pal, he sought to enter into relations with foreign allies who shared the same fears, or nursed a similar feeling of bitterness. The nobles and priests of the ancient Sumerian and Accadian cities were already on his side, but the Aramæans had shown themselves hostile at his accession, and had brought down on him the forces of Elam. He found means, however, to conciliate them, together with the tribes which dwelt on the Tigris and the Uknu, as well as those of the lower Euphrates and the Arabian desert. He won over to his projects Nabu-bêlzikri, the chief of the Kaldâ—grandson of that Merodach-baladan who had cherished invincible hatred against Sargon and Sennacherib—besides the lords of the Bit-Dakkuri and Bit-Amukkâni, and the sheikh of the Pukudu.<sup>1</sup> Khumbân-igash ought to have remained loyal to the friend to whom he owed his kingdom, but he chafed at the patronage of Assyria, and Assur-bani-pal had just formulated a demand to which he, not unreasonably, hesitated to accede. The archaic statue of Nanâ, stolen from Uruk by Kutur-nakhunta sixteen centuries before,<sup>2</sup> and placed by that prince in one of the temples of Susa, had become so naturalised in its new abode that the kings of Elam, not content with rendering it an official cult, were wont to send presents to Babylonia, to the image which had replaced it in its original sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> Assur-bani-pal now required Khumbân-igash to give back the original statue,<sup>4</sup> but the Elamite could not obey this mandate without imperilling both his throne and his person: he would thereby have risked incurring the displeasure both of the nobles, whose pride would have suffered at the loss of so precious a trophy, and of the common people, who would have thus been deprived of one of their most venerable objects of devotion. The messengers

<sup>1</sup> The part taken by the Aramæans in the rebellion is known to us from a certain number of despatches from Assyrian governors, which were first deciphered and utilised by G. Smith, *Hist. of Assur-bani-pal*, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> For this statue, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> PINCHES, *Assyrian Report Tablets*, in *The Records of the Past*, 1st ser., vol. xi. p. 76, despatch of Nabu-ibashshi.

<sup>4</sup> *Tablet K 2644 of the British Museum*, quoted first by G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201.

of Shamash-shumukin, arriving at the moment when this question was agitating the court of Susa, found the way already prepared for a mutual understanding. Besides, they held in their hands an irresistible argument, the treasures of Bel-Marduk of Babylon, of Nebo of Borsippa, and of Nergal of Kuta, which had been confided to them by the priests with a view to purchasing, if necessary, the support of Elam. Khumbân-igash thereupon promised to send a detachment of troops to Karduniash, and to invade the provinces of Assyria the moment war should be declared. The tribes of Guti were easily won over, and were followed by the kings of Phœnicia and the Bedâwin of Melukhkha, and perhaps Egypt itself was implicated in the plot.<sup>1</sup> The Prince of Kedar, Amuladdin, undertook to effect a diversion on the frontiers of Syria, and Uatê, son of Layali, one of the Arab kings who had paid homage to Esarhaddon, was not behindhand in furnishing his contingent of horsemen and wild native infantry.<sup>2</sup> The coalition already extended from the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf before Assur-bani-pal became aware of its existence.

An unforeseen occurrence suddenly broke in upon his peace and revealed the extent of the peril which threatened him.<sup>3</sup> Kudur, the Assyrian prefect of Uruk, learnt from Sin-tabnî-uzur, the governor of Uru, that certain emissaries of Shamash-shumukin had surreptitiously entered that city and were secretly fomenting rebellion among the people. Sin-tabnî-uzur himself had been solicited to join the movement, but had absolutely refused to do so, and considering himself powerless to repress the disaffection with the few soldiers at his disposal, he had demanded reinforcements. Kudur first furnished him with five hundred men of his own troops, and subsequently sent some battalions which were under the command of the governors of Arrapkha and Amidi, but which were, for some unknown reason, encamped in the neighbourhood. It would appear that Shamash-shumukin, finding his projects interfered with by this premature exposure, tried to counteract its effects by protestations of friendship: a special embassy was despatched to his brother to renew the assurances of his devotion,

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder B*, col. vi. ll. 93-97, col. vii. l. 1; cf. G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 170, 171. For the preliminaries of this war, see the texts collected by G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-156, 158, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 186-188, and by S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 26-29; cf. JENSEN, *Inschriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 182-187, 262-265.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinder A*, col. vii. ll. 97-116; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-258.

<sup>3</sup> The chronology of this war has been determined by G. Smith from the dates attached to the documents in the British Museum, which give the names of three *limni*, Assur-duruzur, Zagabbu, and Bel-kharrân-shadua: these he assigned respectively to the years 650, 649, and 648 B.C. (*op. cit.*, pp. 321, 322, and *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 95, 96). Tiele (*Bab.-assyrr. Gesch.*, pp. 388, 389) has shown that these three *limni* must be assigned to the years 652-650 B.C. and his opinion has been adopted by LEHMANN, *Schamaschschumukin*, p. 6; though these dates seem in the highest degree probable, we must wait before we can consider them as absolutely certain till chance restores to us the missing parts of the Canon.

and he thus gained the time necessary to complete his armaments.<sup>1</sup> As soon as he felt himself fully prepared, he gave up further dissimulation, and, throwing away the mask, proclaimed himself independent of Assyria, while at the same moment Khumbân-igash despatched his army to the frontier and declared war on his former protector. Assur-bani-pal was touched to the quick by what he truly considered the ingratitude of the Babylonians. "As for the children of Babylon, I had set them upon seats of honour, I had clothed them in robes of many colours, I had placed rings of gold upon their fingers; the children of Babylon had been established in Assyria, and were admitted into my presence. But Shamash-shumukîn, the false brother, he has not observed my ordinances, but has raised against me the peoples of Akkad, the Kaldâ, the Aramæans, the peoples of the country of the sea, from Akabah to Bab-salimêti!" Nineveh was at first in a state of trepidation at this unexpected blow; the sacred oracles gave obscure replies, and presaged evil four times out of five. At last, one day, a seer slept and dreamed a dream, in which he saw this sentence written on the ground in the temple of Sin: "All those who are meditating evil against Assur-bani-pal, King of Assyria, and who are preparing themselves to fight with him, I will inflict on them a terrible death: by the swift sword, by flinging them into fire, by famine and by pestilence, will I destroy their lives!"<sup>2</sup> The courage of the people being revived by this prophecy, Assur-bani-pal issued a proclamation to the Babylonians, in which he denounced his brother's treason, and commanded them to remain quiet as they valued their lives,<sup>3</sup> and, having done this, he boldly assumed the offensive (652 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> The only real danger came from the side of Elam; this state alone was in a condition to oppose him with as numerous and determined an army as that which he himself could put into the field; if Elam were disabled, it would be impossible for Babylon to be victorious, and its fall would be a mere question of time. The opening of the campaign was a difficult matter. Khumbân-igash, having sold his support dearly, had at all events spared no pains to satisfy his employer, and had furnished him with the flower of his

<sup>1</sup> Tablet K 5457 of the British Museum, utilised by G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 201; *Cylinder A*, col. iv. ll. 16-19, and *Rassam Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 85, 86; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-154; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 26, 27; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 184, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet K 4 of the British Museum, in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 187; *Cylinder A of the Brit. Mus.*, col. iv. 48, 49, and *Rassam Cylinder*, col. iii. ll. 118-127; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159; S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 28, 29; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 186, 187.

<sup>3</sup> Tablet K 84 of the British Museum, containing the proclamation of Assur-bani-pal to the Babylonians, discovered and utilised by G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 181, published in H. RAWLINSON, *Cun. Ins. W. As.*, vol. iv. pl. 52, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The proclamation is dated in the eponymous year of Assur-duruzur, corresponding to 652 B.C. (TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 309); the events which immediately preceded the proclamation ought, very probably, to be assigned to the same year.

nobility, comprising Undashi, one of the sons of Tiummân; Zazaz, prefect of Billatê; Parru, chief of Khilmu; Attamitu, commanding the archers; and Nesu, commander-in-chief of his forces. In order to induce Undashi to serve under him, he had not hesitated to recall to his memory the sad fate of Tiummân: "Go, and avenge upon Assyria the murder of the father who begat thee!"<sup>1</sup> The two opposing forces continued to watch one another's movements without any serious engagement taking place during the greater part of the year 651 B.C.; though the Assyrians won some slight advantages, killing Attamitu in a skirmish<sup>2</sup> and sending his head to Nineveh, some serious reverses soon counterbalanced these preliminary successes. Nabo-bel-shumi had arrived on the scene with his Aramæan forces, and had compelled the troops engaged in the defence of Uruk and Uru to lay down their arms: their leaders, including Sin-tabni-uzur himself, had been forced to renounce the supremacy of Assyria, and had been enrolled in the rebel ranks.<sup>3</sup> Operations seemed likely to be indefinitely prolonged, and Assur-bani-pal, anxious as to the issue, importunately besought the gods to intervene on his behalf, when discords breaking out in the royal family of Elam caused the scales of fortune once more to turn in his favour. The energy with which Khumbân-igash had entered on the present struggle had not succeeded in effacing the disagreeable impression left on the minds of the majority of his subjects, by the fact that he had returned to his country in the chariots of the stranger and had been enthroned by the decree of an Assyrian general. Tammariu, of Khaidalu, who had then fought at his side in the ranks of the invaders, was now one of those who reproached him most bitterly for his conduct. He frankly confessed that his hand had cut off the head of Tiummân, but denied that he did so in obedience to the hereditary enemies of his country: he had but avenged his personal injuries, whereas Khumbân-igash, following the promptings of ambition, had kissed the ground at the feet of a slave of Assur-bani-pal and had received the crown as a recompense for his

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder B of the British Museum*, col. vi. ll. 93-97, and col. vii. ll. 1-22; cf. G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 170-173, and JENSEN, *Inachr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 262-265.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinder B of the British Museum*, col. vii. ll. 23-29; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> The official accounts say nothing of the intervention of Nabo-bel-shumi at this juncture, but the information furnished by *Tablet K 159* in the British Museum (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 184) makes up for their silence. The objection raised by Tiele (*Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 389) to the interpretation given by G. Smith (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 188) that this passage cannot refer to Assyrian deserters, falls to the ground if one admits that the Assyrian troops led into Elam at a subsequent period by Nabo-bel-shumi (*Cylinder C of the British Museum*, ll. 88-94; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 179), and which will be referred to later on (*infra*, p. 422), were none other than the garrisons of the Lower Euphrates which were obliged to side with the insurgents in 651 B.C. The two despatches, *K 4696* and *K 28* in the British Museum, which refer to the defection of Sin-tabni-uzur, are dated the 8th and 11th Abu in the eponymous year of Zagabba (G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 185), corresponding to the year 651 B.C., as indicated by Tiele with very good reason, in my opinion (*Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, pp. 388, 389).

baseness.<sup>1</sup> Putting his rival to death, Tammарitu seized the throne, and in order to prove that he was neither consciously nor unconsciously an instrument of Ninevite policy, he at once sent reinforcements to the help of Babylon without exacting in return any fresh subsidy. The Assyrians, taking advantage of the isolated position of Shamash-shumukin, had pressed forward one of their divisions as far as the districts on the sea coast, which they had recovered from the power of Nabo-bel-shumi, and had placed under the administration of Belibni, a person of high rank.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of the Elamite force was on the point of further compromising the situation, and rekindling the flames of war more fiercely than ever, when a second revolution broke out, which shattered for ever the hopes of Shamash-shumukin. Assur-bani-pal naturally looked upon this event as the result of his supplications and sacrifices: Assur and Ishtar, in answer to his entreaties, raised up Indabigash, one of the most powerful feudal lords of the kingdom of Susa, and incited him to revolt. Tammарitu fled to the marshes which bordered the Nār-marratum, and seizing a vessel, put out to sea with his brothers, his cousins, seventeen princes of royal blood, and eighty-four faithful followers: the ship, driven by the wind on to the Assyrian shore, foundered, and the dethroned monarch, demoralised by sea-sickness, would have perished in the confusion had not one of his followers taken him on his back and carried him safely to land across the mud.<sup>3</sup> Belibni sent him prisoner to Nineveh with all his suite,<sup>4</sup> and Assur-bani-pal, after allowing him to humble himself before him, raised him from the ground, embraced him, and assigned to him apartments in the palace and a train of attendants befitting the dignity which he had enjoyed for a short time at Susa. Indabigash was too fully occupied with his own affairs to interfere again in the quarrel between the two brothers: his country, disorganised by the successive shocks it had sustained, had need of repose, for some years at least, before re-entering the lists, except at a disadvantage. He concluded no direct treaty with the Assyrian king, but he at once withdrew the troops which had entered Karduniash, and abstained from all hostile demonstrations against the garrisons of the border provinces:<sup>5</sup> for the moment, indeed, this was all that was required of him (650 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder A of the British Museum*, col. iv. ll. 74-80: cf. G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 159, 160; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Tablet K 312 of the British Museum*, utilised for the first time by G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190, and dated in the eponymous year of Bel-kharrān-shadua, corresponding to the year 650 B.C. (TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, pp. 381, 389).

<sup>3</sup> All the details of the war of Tammарitu against Khumbān-igash, his defeat by Indabigash, his flight, his voyage, his arrival on the Assyrian coast, were illustrated by a number of bas-reliefs, the inscriptions of which have been preserved for us on *Tablet K 4457 of Brit. Mus.*; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-194.

<sup>4</sup> *Tablet K 599 of the British Museum* contains the despatch in which Belibni announces the arrival of Tammарitu and his departure for Nineveh: cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 197.

<sup>5</sup> For the texts relating to the revolutions in Elam, cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-162, 170-176; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 30-33; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 186-191.



Sardinia

SPAIN  
GALLIA  
ITALY  
SICILY  
SARDINIA  
CORCIRA  
SYRACUSE  
MILITARY  
MANTUA  
SABIA MINOR  
LIPARIS  
MANTUA  
SABIA MINOR  
LIPARIS

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THRACIA

PONTUS-EUXINUS

URARTU

CASPIAN

Great Desert

ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

KALDAI

Mösh

PERSIAN GULF

The Eastern World  
In the Middle of the Reign  
of Assurbanipal

Scale

0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

J. Neuberger del.



Deprived of the support of Elam, Babylon was doomed to fall. The Aramæans deserted her cause, and Nabu-bel-shumi, grandson of Merodach-baladan, despairing of ever recovering the heritage of his family, withdrew to his haunts among the reed beds of the Uknu, taking back with him as hostages the Assyrians whom he had forced to join his army at the beginning of the campaign.<sup>1</sup> Shamash-shumukin, however, was not disconcerted: he probably hoped that his distant allies might yet effect a diversion in his favour, and thus oblige his brother to withdraw half of the forces employed against him. Indeed, after the blockade had already begun, a band of Arabs under the two sheikhs Abiyatê and Aamu forced a way through the besieging lines and entered the city.<sup>2</sup> This was the last succour which reached Babylon from without: for many long months all communication between her citizens and the outer world was completely cut off. The Assyrians laid waste the surrounding country with ruthless and systematic cruelty, burning the villages, razing to the ground isolated houses, destroying the trees, breaking down the dykes, and filling up the canals. The year 649 B.C. was spent in useless skirmishes; the city offered an energetic and obstinate resistance, and as the walls were thick and the garrison determined, it would not have succumbed had not the supply of provisions finally failed. Famine raged in the city, and the inhabitants devoured even their own children, while pestilence spreading among them mowed them down by thousands. The Arab auxiliaries at this juncture deserted the cause of the defenders, and their sheikhs surrendered to Assur-bani-pal, who received and pardoned them;<sup>3</sup> but the Babylonians themselves, knowing that they could expect no mercy, held out some time longer: at length, their courage and their strength exhausted, they rose against their chiefs, whose ambition or patriotic pride had brought them to such a pass, and determined to capitulate on any terms. Shamash-shumukin, not wishing to fall alive into the hands of his brother, shut himself up in his palace, and there immolated himself on a funeral pyre with his wives, his children, his slaves, and his treasures at the moment when his conquerors were breaking down the gates and penetrating into the palace precincts.<sup>4</sup> The city presented a terrible spectacle, and shocked even

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder B of the British Museum*, col. vii. ll. 76-81, and *Cylinder C*, ll. 88-93; cf. G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 176-179.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinder A of the British Museum*, col. viii. ll. 30-36; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Cylinder A of the British Museum*, col. viii. ll. 37-41; cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 264. For the private texts which prove the growing misery in the city, and the portents of ill omen which affrighted the inhabitants, cf. OPPERT, *Une Éclipse lunaire du règne de Samsouadîn, roi de Babylone*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1896, vol. xxv. pp. 423-438, 602, 603.

<sup>4</sup> G. Smith thought that the Babylonians, rendered furious by their sufferings, had seized Shamash-shumukin and burnt him to death (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 163, 203; cf. TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, p. 382). It is, however, certain that Shamash-shumukin killed himself, according to the Eastern custom, to escape the tortures which awaited him if he fell alive into the hands of his enemies. The memory of this event, transferred by the popular imagination to Assur-bani-pal, appears in the concluding portion of the legendary history of Sardanapalus.

the Assyrians, accustomed as they were to horrors of this sort. Most of the numerous victims to pestilence or famine lay about the streets or in the public squares, a prey to the dogs and swine; such of the inhabitants and of the soldiery as were comparatively strong had endeavoured to escape into the country, and only those remained who had not sufficient strength left to drag themselves beyond the walls. Assur-bani-pal pursued the fugitives, and, having captured nearly all of them, vented on them the full fury of his vengeance. He caused the tongues of the soldiers to be torn out, and then had them clubbed to death. He massacred the common folk in front of the great winged bulls which had already witnessed a similar butchery half a century before, under his grandfather Sennacherib;<sup>1</sup> the corpses of his victims remained long unburied, a prey to all unclean beasts and birds. When the executioners and the king himself were weary of the slaughter, the survivors were pardoned; the remains of the victims were collected and piled up in specified places, the streets were cleansed, and the temples, purified by solemn lustrations, were reopened for worship.<sup>2</sup> Assur-bani-pal proclaimed himself king in his brother's room: he took the hands of Bel, and, according to custom, his Babylonian subjects gave him a new name, that of Kandalanu, by which he was henceforth known among them.<sup>3</sup> Had he been wise, he would have completed the work begun by famine, pestilence, and the sword, and, far from creating a new Babylon, he would have completed the destruction of the ancient city. The same religious veneration which had disarmed so many of his predecessors

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> For the siege of Babylon, cf. the texts collected by G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 162-170; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 32-37; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 190-195. The date of 648-647 B.C. for the taking of Babylon and the death of Shamash-shumukin is corroborated by the Canon of Ptolemy and the fragments of Berosus, both of which attribute twenty or twenty-one years to the reign of Saosdukhin (Sammughes). Lehmann points out a document dated in the XX<sup>th</sup> year of Shamash-shumukin, which confirms the exactitude of the information furnished by the Greek chronologists (*Schamash-shumukin*, i. p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> The Canon of Ptolemy gives as the successor of Saosdukhin a certain Kinēladan, who corresponds to Kandalanu, whose date has been fixed by contemporary documents (PINCHES, *Some Recent Discoveries*, in the *Proceedings* of the Bibl. Arch. Soc., 1882-1883, vol. v. p. 6). The identity of Kinēladan with Assur-bani-pal was known from the Greek chronologists, for whereas Ptolemy puts Kinēladan after Saosdukhin, the fragments of Berosus state that the successor of Sammughes was his brother; that is to say, Sardanapalus or Assur-bani-pal. This identification had been proposed by G. Smith, who tried to find the origin of the form Kinēladan in the name of Sinidinabal, which seems to be borne by Assur-bani-pal in *Tablet K 195 of the British Museum* (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 323, 324), and which is really the name of his elder brother (cf. *supra*, p. 371, note 2); it found numerous supporters as soon as Pinches had discovered the tablets dated in the reign of Kandalanu, and Schrader endeavoured to demonstrate its truth in a special memoir, *Kinēladan und Assurbanipal* (*Zeitschrift für Keilforschung*, vol. i. pp. 222-232). Oppert combatted the arguments of Schrader (*La Vraie Personnalité et les dates du roi Chinaladan in the Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 1-11), and he has affirmed the existence of two distinct kings whenever an occasion has offered, but the majority of Assyriologists and historians hold that Kandalanu and Assur-bani-pal are one and the same person (TIELE, *Bab.-assy. Gesch.*, pp. 368, 369, 412-414; DELITZSCH and MÜRDTER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, 2nd edit., p. 230; WINCKLER, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.*, pp. 135, 282, 289).

probably withheld him from giving free rein to his resentment, and not daring to follow the example of Sennacherib, he fell back on the expedient adopted by Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon, adhering to their idea of two capitals for two distinct states, but endeavouring to unite in his own person the two irreconcilable sovereignties of Marduk and Assur. He delegated the administration of Babylonian affairs to Shamash-danāni, one of his high officers of State,<sup>1</sup> and re-entered Nineveh with an amount of spoil almost equalling that taken from Egypt after the sack of Thebes. Kuta, Sippara, and Borsippa, the vassal states of Babylon, which had shared the misfortune of their mistress, were, like her, cleared of their ruins, rebuilt and repopled, and were placed under the authority of Shamash-danāni: such was their inherent vitality that in the short space of ten or a dozen years they had repaired their losses and reattained their wonted prosperity. Soon no effect of their disaster remained except an additional incentive for hating Nineveh, and a determination more relentless than ever not to spare her when the day of her overthrow should come and they should have her in their power.

It was impossible for so violent and so prolonged a crisis to take place without in some degree injuring the prestige of the empire. Subjects and allies of long standing remained loyal, but those only recently subjugated by conquest, as well as the neighbouring independent kingdoms, without hesitation threw off the yoke of suzerainty or of obligatory friendship under which they had chafed. Egypt freed herself from foreign domination as soon as the possibilities of war with Elam had shown themselves, and it was Psammetichus of Sais,<sup>2</sup> son of Necho, one of the princes most favoured by the court of Nineveh, who set on foot this campaign against his former patron. He expelled the Assyrian garrisons, reduced the petty native princes to submission, and once more set up the kingdom of the Pharaohs from Elephantinê to the Syrian desert, without Assur-bani-pal having been able to spare a single soldier to prevent him, or to bring him back to a sense of his duty. The details of his proceedings are unknown to us: we learn only that he owed his success to mercenaries imported from Asia Minor, and the Assyrian chroniclers, unaccustomed to discriminate between the different peoples dwelling on the shores of the Ægean, believed that these auxiliaries were supplied to the Pharaoh by the only sovereign with whom they had had any dealings, namely, Gyges, King of Lydia.<sup>3</sup> That Gyges had had negotiations with Psammetichus and procured

<sup>1</sup> This Shamash-danāni, who was *limnu* in 644 B.C. (G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 97; THIELE, *Bab.-assyrr. Gesch.*, pp. 368, 369), was called at that date prefect of Akkad, that is to say, of Babylon (*Cylinder A of the British Museum*, in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 316). He probably entered on this office immediately after the taking of the city.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what is said of Psammetichus, *supra*, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> For what we know of the auxiliaries of Psammetichus, cf. *infra*, pp. 487-498. The Assyrian

assistance for him has not yet been proved, but to assert that he was incapable of conceiving and executing such a design is quite a different matter. On the contrary, all the information we possess concerning his reign shows that he was daring in his political undertakings, and anxious to court alliances with the most distant countries. The man who tried to draw Assur-bani-pal into a joint enterprise against the Cimmerians would not have hesitated to ally himself with Psammetichus if he hoped to gain the least profit from so doing. Constant intercourse by sea took place between Ionia or Caria and Egypt, and no event of any importance could occur in the Delta without being promptly reported in Ephesus or Miletus.<sup>1</sup> Before this time the Heraclid rulers of Sardes had lived on excellent terms with most of the Æolian or Ionian colonies: during the anxious years which followed his accession Gyges went still further, and entered into direct relations with the nations of Greece itself. It was no longer to the gods of Asia, to Zeus of Telmessos, that he addressed himself in order to legitimatise his new sovereignty, but, like Midas of Phrygia, he applied to the prophetic god of Hellas, to the Delphian Apollo and his priests.<sup>3</sup> He recompensed them lavishly for pronouncing judgment in his favour: beside the silver offerings with which he endowed the temple at Delphi, he presented to it a number of golden vases, and, among others, six *craters* weighing thirty talents each, which, placed by the side of the throne of Midas, were still objects of admiration in the treasury

PSAMMETICHUS I.<sup>2</sup>

texts relating to the intervention of Gyges in the affairs of Egypt have been collected by G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 66, 67; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 18-21; JENSEN, *Inschriften Assurbanipals*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 174-177. The various spellings of the name identified by Smith with that of Psammetichus, Pishamilki, and Tushamilki, at first called forth objections from Oppert (*Journal Asiatique*, 1872, vol. xix. p. 112): all doubts, however, seem to have been now dissipated (STEIN-DORFF, *Die Keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen*, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. pp. 360, 361).

<sup>1</sup> For the communications between Asia Minor and the shores of the Delta, cf. *infra*, pp. 496, 497.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Boudier, from a photograph.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what is stated on this subject, *supra*, p. 339.

of the Corinthians in the time of Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> To these he added at various times such valuable gifts that the Pythian priestess, who had hitherto been poor, was in later times accounted to have owed to him her wealth.<sup>2</sup> Having made sure of the good will of the immortals, Gyges endeavoured to extend his influence among the Greek colonies along the coast, and if he did not in every case gain a footing amongst them, his failure seems to have been due, not to his incapacity, but to the force of circumstances or to the ambiguous position which he happened to occupy with regard to these colonies. Ambition naturally incited him to annex them and make them into Lydian cities, but the bold disposition of their inhabitants and their impatience of constraint never allowed any foreign rule to be established over them: conquest, to be permanent, would have to be preceded by a long period of alliance on equal terms, and of discreet patronage which might insensibly accustom them to recognise in their former friend, first a protector, and then a suzerain imbued with respect for their laws and constitution. Gyges endeavoured to conciliate them severally, and to attach them to himself by treaties favourable to their interests or flattering to their vanity, and by timely and generous assistance in their internecine quarrels; and thus, secretly fostering their mutual jealousies, he was able to reduce some by force of arms without causing too much offence to the rest.<sup>3</sup> He took Colophon,<sup>4</sup> and also, after several fruitless campaigns, the Magnesia which lay near Sardes, Magnesia of Sipylos, tradition subsequently adorning this fortunate episode in his history with various amusing anecdotes. According to one account he had a favourite in a youth of marvellous beauty called Magnes, whom the Magnesians, as an act of defiance to Gyges, had mutilated till he was past recognition; and it was related that the king appealed to the fortune of war to avenge the affront.<sup>5</sup> By a bold stroke he seized the lower quarters of Smyrna, but was unable to take the citadel,<sup>6</sup> and while engaged in the struggle with this city, he entered into a friendly understanding with Ephesus and Miletus. Ephesus, situated at the mouth of the river Cayster, was the natural port of Sardes, the market in

<sup>1</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> PHANIAS OF EREBOS, *Fragm.* 14, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> The policy of Gyges and his successors with regard to the Greek colonies has been described with much sagacity and, I think, with much judgment by RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 169-174.

<sup>4</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xv. Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 298) thought that he captured the lower town of Colophon, τὸ ἄστυ, not the citadel, and his opinion has been adopted by Max Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, 5th edit., vol. ii. p. 583, note 2). Schubert (*Gesch. der Könige von Lydien*, p. 36) thinks that he took both town and citadel.

<sup>5</sup> NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS, *Fragm.* 62, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 396, where the town is called simply Magnesia; it was evidently the Magnesia near Sardes, Magnesia ad Sipyllum (SCHUBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 37; RADET, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

<sup>6</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xiv., mentions this war without entering into any details. We know from Pausanias (iv. 21, § 3) that the people of Smyrna defended themselves bravely, and that the poet Minnermus composed an elegy on this episode in their history (ix. 19, § 4).



which the gold of Lydia, and the commodities imported from the East by the caravans which traversed the royal route, might be exchanged for the products of Hellas and of the countries of the West visited by the Greek mariners. The city was at this time under the control of a family of rich shipowners, of whom the head was called Melas: Gyges gave him his daughter in marriage, and by this union gained free access to the seaboard for himself and his successors.<sup>1</sup> The reason for his not pushing his advantages further in this direction is not hard to discover: since the fall of the kingdom of Phrygia had left his eastern frontier unprotected,<sup>2</sup> the attacks of the Cimmerians had obliged him to concentrate his forces in the interior, and though he had always successfully repulsed them, the obstinacy with which these inroads were renewed year after year prevented him from further occupying himself with the Greek cities. He had carefully fortified his vast domains in the basin of the Rhyndakos, he had reconquered the Troad, and though he had been unable to expel the barbarians from Adramyttium, he prevented them from having any inland communications. Miletus rendered vigorous assistance in this work of consolidating his power, for she was interested in maintaining a buffer state between herself and the marauders who had already robbed her of Sinope; and it was for this reason that Gyges, after mercilessly harassing her at the beginning of his reign,<sup>3</sup> now preferred to enter into an alliance with her. He had given the Milesians permission to establish colonies along the Hellespont and the Propontid at the principal points where communication took place between Europe and Asia; Abydos, Lampsacus, Parium, and Cyzicus, founded successively by Milesian admirals, prevented the tribes which remained in Thrace from crossing over to reinforce their kinsfolk who were devastating Phrygia.<sup>4</sup>

Gyges had hoped that his act of deference would have obtained for him the active support of Assur-bani-pal, and during the following years he perseveringly continued at intervals to send envoys to Nineveh: on one occasion he despatched with the embassy two Cimmerian chiefs taken in battle, and whom he offered in token of homage to the gods of Assyria.<sup>5</sup> Experience, however, soon convinced him that his expectations were vain; the Assyrians, far from creating a diversion in his favour, were careful to avoid every undertaking which might draw the attention of the barbarians on themselves. As soon as Gyges fully understood their policy, he broke off all connection with

<sup>1</sup> ÆLIAN, *Varia Historia*, iii. 26; on the importance of Ephesus for the kings of Lydia, cf. the observations of RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 31, 108, 172.

<sup>2</sup> For the fall of the kingdom of Phrygia, cf. *supra*, pp. 391, 392.

<sup>3</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> For the policy followed by Gyges towards the Milesian colonies on the Hellespont and the Propontis, cf. RADET, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-175.

<sup>5</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 65, 66; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 18, 19.



them, and thenceforth relied on himself alone for the protection of his interests. The disappointment he thus experienced probably stirred up his anger against Assyria, and if he actually came to the aid of Psammeticus, the desire of giving expression to a secret feeling of rancour no doubt contributed to his decision. Assur-bani-pal deeply resented this conduct, but Lydia was too far off for him to wreak his vengeance on it in a direct manner, and he could only beseech the gods to revenge what he was pleased to consider as base ingratitude: he therefore prayed Assur and Ishtar that "his corpse might lie outstretched before his enemies, and his bones be scattered far and wide."<sup>1</sup> A certain Tugdami was at that time reigning over the Cimmerians, and seems to have given to their hitherto undisciplined hordes some degree of cohesion and guidance.<sup>2</sup> He gathered under his standard not only the Trêres, the Thracian kinsfolk of the Cimmerians, but some of the Asianic tribes, such as the Lycians,<sup>3</sup> who were beginning to feel uneasy at the growing prosperity of Gyges, and let them loose upon their Lydian quarry. Their heavy cavalry, with metal helmets and long steel swords, overran the peninsula from end to end, treading down everything under their horses' hoofs. Gyges did his best to stand up against the storm, but his lancers quailed beneath the shock and fled in confusion: he himself perished in the flight, and his corpse remained in the enemy's hands (652 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> The whole of Lydia was mercilessly ravaged, and the lower town of Sardes was taken by storm.<sup>5</sup> Ardys, who had succeeded his

<sup>1</sup> *Cylinder A of the Brit. Mus.*, col. iii. ll. 30-32, in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 66, 67: cf. S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 18-21; JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177.

<sup>2</sup> The name Tugdami, mentioned in the hymn published by STRONG, *Un Texte inédit d'Assurbanipal*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1893, vol. i. pp. 368, 375, 378, has been identified by SAYCE, in the *Academy*, 1893, p. 277, with the Cimmerian chief mentioned by Strabo (L. iii. § 21, p. 61) under the name of Lygdamis: the received reading of this name (Λύγδαμος) must be corrected into Δύγδαμος. The opinion of Sayce has been adopted by other Assyriologists (MESSERSCHMIDT, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's*, p. 61; WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 485, note 3). The inscription makes Tugdami a king of the Manda, and thus overthrows the hypothesis that Lygdamis or Dygdamis was a Lycian chief who managed to discipline the barbarian hordes (RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 180, 181).

<sup>3</sup> The alliance of the Lycians with the Cimmerians and Trêres is known from the evidence of Callisthenes preserved for us by Strabo (XIII. iv. § 8, p. 627); it is probable that many of the marauding tribes of the Taurus—Isaurians, Lycaonians, and Pamphylians—similarly joined the Cimmerians.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinder A of the Brit. Mus.*, col. iii. ll. 32-36, in G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 67: cf. S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21; JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRAEDER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177. The date 652 B.C. given for the death of Gyges is gathered from the facts collected and discussed by GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. pp. 256-264. Winckler has attempted to return to the date 657 B.C. (*Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 495, 496), relying on the epoch assumed for the compilation of the different Cylinder-inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal; it does not seem to me at present that his calculations outweigh those of Gelzer.

<sup>5</sup> HERODOTUS, I. xv.: Σάρδεες πάλιν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον; and Strabo states definitely that it was Lygdamis who took the city (I. iii. § 21, p. 61). The account given by the same author of a double destruction of Sardes in 652 and 682 B.C. is due to an unfortunate borrowing from the work of Callisthenes (STRABO, XIII. iv. § 8, p. 627, XIV. i. § 40, p. 647; cf. MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Scriptores rerum Alexandri Magni*, p. 18).

father on the throne, was able, however, to save the citadel: he rallied around him the remnants of his army and once more took the field. The cities of Ionia made common cause with him; their hoplites issued victorious from more than one engagement, and their dogs, trained to harry fearlessly the horses of the enemy, often took an active part in the battle.<sup>1</sup> City after city was attacked by the barbarians, and the suburbs plundered. Ephesus, on account of the wealth it contained, formed their chief attraction, but their forces dashed themselves fruitlessly against its walls; they avenged themselves for their failure by setting on fire the temple of Artemis which stood in the outskirts. This



BATTLE OF THE CIMMERIANS AGAINST THE GREEKS ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR DOGS.<sup>2</sup>

act of sacrilege profoundly stirred the whole Hellenic world, and when the first fury of pillage was exhausted, the barbarians themselves seemed to have been struck with superstitious horror at their crime: deadly fevers contracted in the marshes near the city thinned their ranks, and in the scourge which struck down their forces they recognised the chastisement of the goddess.<sup>3</sup> The survivors abandoned the siege and withdrew in disorder towards the mountains of the interior. On their way they surprised Magnesia on the

<sup>1</sup> On the employment of dogs in warfare at this period among both Hellenic and barbarian peoples in Asia Minor, cf. the passages from ancient authors recently collected by SALOMON REINACH, *Un nouveau sarcophage peint de Clazomènes*, in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, vol. viii. pp. 175-179, and by A. S. MURRAY, *Sarcophage de Clazomènes appartenant au Musée Britannique*, in the *Mémoires Piot*, vol. iv. pp. 27-52. Many of these dogs are represented in the woodcut reproduced in the text on this page; they are depicted harrying the horses of the Cimmerians and biting their haunches.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from the sarcophagus of Clazomènes reproduced in the *Mémoires Piot*, vol. iv. pl. v.

<sup>3</sup> The invasion of Ionia by the Cimmerians is indicated in general terms by HERODOTUS, I. vi.; the details of the attack on Ephesus and the destruction of the temple of Artemis are preserved in a passage of Callimachus (*Hymns*, iii. 251-258), and in the fragments quoted by HESYCHIUS, s.v. *Λύδαυος* and *Ξεῖρος ἐρητύλα*. Cf., for the details of these events and the different questions to which they give rise, GELZER, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, vol. xxx. p. 258; SCHUBERT, *Geschichte der Könige von Lydien*, pp. 40-42; RADET, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, pp. 187-189.

Mæander and entirely destroyed it, but this constituted their sole military success: elsewhere, they contented themselves with devastating the fields without venturing to attack the fortified towns.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely had Ardys freed himself from their unwelcome presence, than, like his father before him, he tried to win the support of Assyria. He sent an envoy to Nineveh with a letter couched in very humble terms: "The king whom the gods acknowledge, art thou; for as soon as thou hadst pronounced imprecations against my father, misfortune overtook him. I am thy trembling servant; receive my homage graciously, and I will bear thy yoke!" Assur-bani-pal did not harden his heart to this suppliant who confessed his fault so piteously, and circumstances shortly constrained him to give a more efficacious proof of his favour to Ardys than he had done in the case of Gyges.<sup>2</sup> On quitting Lydia, Tugdami, with his hordes, had turned eastwards, bent upon renewing in the provinces of the Taurus and the Euphrates the same destructive raids which he had made among the peoples of the Ægean seaboard; but in the gorges of Cilicia he came into contact with forces much superior to his own, and fell fighting against them about the year 645 B.C. His son Sanda-khshatru led the survivors of this disaster back towards the centre of the peninsula, but the conflict had been so sanguinary that the Cimmerian power never fully recovered from it. Assur-bani-pal celebrated the victory won by his generals with a solemn thanksgiving to Marduk, accompanied by substantial offerings of gold and objects of great value.<sup>3</sup> The tranquillity of the north-west frontier was thus for a time secured, and this success most opportunely afforded the king leisure to turn his attention to those of his vassals who, having thrown off their allegiance during the war against Shamash-shumukin, had not yet returned to their obedience. Among these were the Arabs and the petty princes of Egypt. The contingents furnished by Yauta, son of Hazael, had behaved valiantly during the siege of Babylon, and when they thought the end was approaching, their leaders, Abiyatê and Aamu, had tried to cut a way through the Assyrian lines: being repulsed, they had laid down their arms on condition of their lives being spared.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> STRABO, XIV. i. § 40, p. 647, and HESYCHIUS, s.v. Σκόδον ἐρημία; Callinus and Archilochus had sung of the destruction of Magnesia (ATHENÆUS, xii. 29).

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinder A of the Brit. Mus.*, col. iii. ll. 36-42, in G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 67, 68. The name of the Lydian king is mutilated, but the final . . . *su* permits of the restoration *Ardus*, which is confirmed by the expression *ablu-su*, "his son," after the mutilated name.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo (l. iii. § 21, p. 61) was aware, perhaps from Xanthus of Lydia, that Lygdamis had fallen in battle in Cilicia. The hymn to Marduk, published by Strong (*Un texte inédit d'Assurbanipal*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1893, vol. i. pp. 368, 375, 378; MESSERSCHMIDT, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's*, pp. 63-67; cf. WINCKLER, *Altorient. Forsch.*, vol. i. pp. 492, 493), informs us that the Cimmerian chief fell upon the Assyrians, and that his son Sanda-khshatru carried on hostilities some time longer. Sanda-khshatru is an Iranian name of the same type as that of the Median king Uva-khshatru or Cyaxares.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 422.

There now remained the bulk of the Arab tribes to be reduced to submission, and the recent experiences of Esarhaddon had shown the difficulties attending this task. Assur-bani-pal entrusted its accomplishment to his subjects in Edom, Moab, Ammon, the Haurân, and Damascus, since, dwelling on the very borders of the desert, they were familiar with the routes and the methods of warfare best suited to the country. They proved victorious all along the line. Yauta, betrayed by his own subjects, took refuge with the Nabatæans; but their king, Nadanu, although he did not actually deliver him up to the Assyrians, refused to grant him an asylum, and the unhappy man was finally obliged to surrender to his pursuers. His cousin Uatê, son of Birdadda, was made chief in his place by the Assyrians, and Yauta was sent to Nineveh, where he was exposed at one of the city gates, chained in a niche beside the watch-dogs. Amuladdin, the leading prince of Kedar, met with no better fate: he was overcome, in spite of the assistance rendered him by Adiya, the queen of a neighbouring tribe, and was also carried away into captivity. His defeat completed the discouragement of the tribes who still remained unsubdued. They implored mercy, which Assur-bani-pal granted to them, although he deposed most of their sheikhs, and appointed as their ruler that Abiyatê who had dwelt at his court since the capitulation of Babylon. Abiyatê took the oath of fidelity, and was sent back to Kedar, where he was proclaimed king of all the Arab tribes under the suzerainty of Assyria.<sup>1</sup>

Of all the countries which had thrown off their allegiance during the late troubles, Egypt alone remained unpunished, and it now seemed as if its turn had come to suffer chastisement for its rebellion. It was, indeed, not to be tolerated that so rich and so recently acquired a province should slip from the grasp of the very sovereign who had completed its conquest, without his making an effort on the first opportunity to reduce it once more to submission. Such inaction on his part would be a confession of impotence, of which the other vassals of the empire would quickly take advantage: Tyre, Judah, Moab, the petty kings of the Taurus, and the chiefs of Media, would follow the example of Pharaoh, and the whole work of the last three centuries would have to be done over again. There can be no doubt that Assur-bani-pal cherished the secret hope of recovering Egypt in a short campaign, and that he hoped to attach it to the empire by more permanent bonds than before, but as a

<sup>1</sup> The texts relating to this part of the wars against the Arabs have been collected by G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 256-265, 283-293, 295, 296, and in S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 58-63; cf. JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRAEDER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 214-221. The *Cylinder B of the Brit. Mus.*, col. vii. ll. 87-92 (cf. G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284), attributes to the reign of Assur-bani-pal a whole series of events, comprising the first submission of Yauta and the restitution of the statues of Atarsamaîn, which had taken place under Esarhaddon (cf. *supra*, pp. 358-360). The Assyrian annalists do not seem to have always clearly distinguished between Yauta, son of Hazael, and Uatê, son of Birdadda.

preliminary to executing this purpose it was necessary to close and settle if possible the account still open against Elam. Recent events had left the two rival powers in such a position that neither peace nor even a truce of long duration could possibly exist between them. Elam, injured, humiliated, and banished from the plains of the Lower Euphrates, over which she had claimed at all times an almost exclusive right of pillage, was yet not sufficiently enfeebled by her disasters to be convinced of her decided inferiority to Assyria. Only one portion of her forces, and that perhaps the smallest, had taken the field and sustained serious reverses: she had still at her disposal, besides the peoples of the plain and the marshes who had suffered the most, those almost inexhaustible reserves of warlike and hardy mountaineers, whose tribes were ranged on the heights which bounded the horizon, occupying the elevated valleys of the Uknu, the Ulai, and their nameless affluents, on the western or southern slopes or in the enclosed basins of the Iranian table-land. Here Elam had at her command at least as many men as her adversaries could muster against her, and though these barbarian contingents lacked discipline and systematic training, their bravery compensated for the imperfection of their military education. Elam not only refused to admit herself conquered, but she believed herself sure of final victory, and, as a matter of fact, it is not at all certain that Assur-bani-pal's generals would ever have completely triumphed over her, if internal discords and treason had not too often paralysed her powers. The partisans of Khumbân-igash were largely responsible for bringing about the catastrophe in which Tiummân had perished, and those who sided with Tammaritu had not feared to provoke a revolt at the moment when Khumbân-igash was occupied in Chaldæa; Indabigash in his turn had risen in rebellion in the rear of Tammaritu, and his intervention had enabled the Assyrians to deal their final blow at Shamash-shumukîn. The one idea of the non-reigning members of the royal house was to depose the reigning sovereign, and they considered all means to this end as justifiable, whether assassination, revolt, desertion to the enemy, or defection on the very field of battle. As soon as one of them had dethroned another, hatred of the foreigner again reigned supreme in his breast, and he donned his armour with a firm determination to bring the struggle to an end, but the course he had pursued towards his predecessor was now adopted by one of his relatives towards himself; the enemy meanwhile was still under arms, and each of these revolutions brought him a step nearer to the goal of his endeavours, the complete overthrow of the Elamite kingdom and its annexation to the empire of Nineveh. Even before the struggle with Babylon was concluded, Assur-bani-pal had demanded of Indabigash the release of the Assyrians whom Nabo-bel-shumu had carried off in his train, besides the extradition of that

personage himself. Indabigash had no desire for war at this juncture, but hesitated to surrender the Kaldâ, who had always served him faithfully: he entered into negotiations which were interminably prolonged, neither of the two parties being anxious to bring them to a close. After the fall of Babylon, Assur-bani-pal, who was tenacious in his hatred, summoned the Elamite ambassadors, and sent them back to their master with a message conceived in the following menacing terms: "If thou dost not surrender those men, I will go and destroy thy cities, and lead into captivity the inhabitants of Susa, Madaktu, and Khaîdalu. I will hurl thee from thy throne, and will set up another thereon: as aforetime I destroyed Tiummân, so will I destroy thee." A detachment of troops was sent to enforce the message of defiance, but when the messengers had reached the frontier town of Dêri, Indabigash was no longer there: his nobles had assassinated him, and had elected Khumbân-khaldash, the son of Attamêtush, king in his stead.<sup>1</sup> The opportunity was a favourable one to sow the seeds of division in the Elamite camp, before the usurper should have time to consolidate his power: Assur-bani-pal therefore threw himself into the cause of Tamaritu, supporting him with an army to which many malcontents speedily rallied. The Aramæans and the cities of the marsh-lands on the littoral, Khilmu, Billatê, Dummuku, Sulâa, Lakhiru, and Dibirîna, submitted without a struggle, and the invaders met with no resistance till they reached Bit-Imbi. This town had formerly been conquered by Sennacherib, but it had afterwards returned to the rule of its ancient masters, who had strongly fortified it. It now offered a determined resistance, but without success: its population was decimated, and the survivors mutilated and sent as captives into Assyria—among them the commander of the garrison, Imbappi, son-in-law of Khumbân-khaldash, together with the harem of Tiummân, with his sons and daughters, and all the members of his family whom his successors had left under guard in the citadel. The siege had been pushed forward so rapidly that the king had not been able to make any attempt to relieve the defenders: besides this, a pretender had risen up against him, one Umbakhabua, who had been accepted as king by the important district of Babilu. The fall of Bit-Imbi filled the two competitors with fear: they abandoned their homes and fled, the one to the mountains, the other to the lowlands on the shores of the Nar-Marratum. Tamaritu entered Susa in triumph and was enthroned afresh; but the insolence and rapacity of his auxiliaries was so ruthlessly manifested, that at the end of some days he resolved to rid himself of them by the sword. A

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 177-181. Tablet K 13 of the British Museum, first utilised by G. Smith (pp. 197-199), refers to these events, and contains some details of the death of Indabigash. Cf. JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 266-269.



traitor having revealed the design, Tammарitu was seized, stripped of his royal apparel, and cast into prison. The generals of Assur-bani-pal had no one whom they could proclaim king in his stead, and furthermore, the season being well advanced, the Elamites, who had recovered from their first alarm, were returning in a body, and threatened to cut off the Assyrian retreat: they therefore evacuated Susa, and regained Assyria with their booty. They burnt all the towns along the route whose walls were insufficient to protect them against a sudden escalade or an attack of a few hours' duration, and the country between the capital and the frontier soon contained nothing but heaps of smoking ruins (647 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

The campaign, which had been so successful at the outset, had not produced all the results expected from it. The Assyrians had hoped henceforth to maintain control of Elam through Tammарitu, but in a short time they had been obliged to throw aside the instrument with which they counted on effecting the complete humiliation of the nation: Khumbân-khaldash had reoccupied Susa, following on the heels of the last Assyrian detachment, and he reigned as king once more without surrendering Nabo-bel-shumi, or restoring the statue of Nana, or fulfilling any of the conditions which had been the price of a title to the throne. Assur-bani-pal was not inclined to bear patiently this partial reverse; as soon as spring returned he again demanded the surrender of the Chaldean and the goddess, under pain of immediate invasion. Khumbân-khaldash offered to expel Nabo-bel-shumi from Lakhiru where he had entrenched himself, and to thrust him towards the Assyrian frontier, where the king's troops would be able to capture him. His offer was not accepted, and a second embassy, headed by Tammарitu, who was once more in favour, arrived to propose more trenchant terms. The Elamite might have gone so far as to grant the extradition of Nabo-bel-shumi, but if he had yielded the point concerning Nana, a rebellion would have broken out in the streets of Susa: he preferred war, and prepared in desperation to carry it on to the bitter end. The conflict was long and sanguinary, and the result disastrous for Elam. Bît-Imbi opened its gates, the district of Rashi surrendered at discretion, followed by the city of Khamanu and its environs, and the Assyrians approached Madaktu: Khumbân-khaldash evacuated the place before they reached it, and withdrew beneath the walls of Dur-Undasi, on the western bank of the Ididi. His enemies pursued him thither, but the stream was swift and

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 205-217; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 36-43; cf. JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipal's*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 195-199. The difficulty we experience in locating on the map most of the names of Elamite towns is the reason why we cannot determine with any certainty the whole itinerary followed by the Assyrian army.

swollen by rain, so that for two days they encamped on its bank without daring to cross, and were perhaps growing discouraged, when Ishtar of Arbela once more came to the rescue. Appearing in a dream to one of her seers, she said, "I myself go before Assur-bani-pal, the king whom my hands have created;" the army, emboldened by this revelation, overcame the obstacle by a vigorous effort, and dashed impetuously over regions as yet unvisited by any conqueror. The Assyrians burnt down fourteen royal cities, numberless small towns, and destroyed the cornfields, the vines, and the orchards; Khumbân-khaldash, utterly exhausted, fled to the mountains "like a young dog." Banunu and the districts of Tasarra, twenty cities in the country of Khumir, Khaidalu, and Bashimu, succumbed one after another, and when the invaders at length decided to retrace their steps to the frontier, Susa, deserted by her soldiers and deprived of her leaders, lay before them an easy prey. It was not the first time in the last quarter of a century that the Assyrians had had the city at their mercy. They had made



STATUES OF THE GODS CARRIED OFF BY ASSYRIAN SOLDIERIES.<sup>1</sup>

some stay in it after the battle of Tulliz, and also after the taking of Bit-Imbi in the preceding year; but on those occasions they had visited it as allies, to enthrone a king owing allegiance to their own sovereign, and political exigencies had obliged them to repress their pillaging instincts and their long-standing hatred. Now that they had come as enemies, they were restrained by no considerations of diplomacy: the city was systematically pillaged, and the booty found in it was so immense that the sack lasted an entire month. The royal treasury was emptied of its gold and silver, its metals and the valuable objects which had been brought to it from Sumir, Accad, and Karduniash at successive periods from the most remote ages down to that day, in the course of the successful invasions conducted by the princes of Susa beyond the Tigris; among them, the riches of the Babylonian temples, which Shamash-shumukin had lavished on Tiummân to purchase his support, being easily

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Faucher-Gudin, from LAYARD, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. pl. 30. Cf. the plates (vol. i. pl. 65, and vol. ii. pl. 50) of the same work, and the vignette reproduced in *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 36.

distinguishable. The furniture of the palace was sent to Nineveh in a long procession; it comprised beds and chairs of ivory, and chariots encrusted with enamel and precious stones, the horses of which were caparisoned with gold. The soldiers made their way into the zigurrât, tore down the plates of ruddy copper, violated the sanctuary, and desecrated the prophetic statues of the gods who dwelt within it, shrouded in the sacred gloom, and whose names were only uttered by their devotees with trembling lips. Shumudu, Lagamar, Partikira, Ammankasibar, Udurân, Sapak, Aîpaksina, Bilala, Panintimri, and Kindakarpû, were now brought forth to the light, and made ready to be carried into exile together with their belongings and their priests. Thirty-two statues of the kings, both ancient and modern, in silver, gold, bronze, and marble, escorted the gods on their exodus, among their number being those of Khumbânigash, son of Umbadarâ, Shutrûk-nakhunta, and Tammâritu II., the sovereigns who had treated Assyria with the greatest indignity. The effigy of Khalludush was subjected to humiliating outrage: "his mouth, with its menacing smile, was mutilated; his lips, which breathed forth defiance, were slit; his hands, which had brandished the bow against Assur, were cut off," to avenge, though tardily, the ill success of Sennacherib.<sup>1</sup> The sacred groves shared the fate of the temples, and all the riches collected in them by generations of victors were carried off in cartloads. They contained, amongst other edifices, the tombs of the ancient heroes of Elam, who had feared neither Assur nor Ishtar, and who had often brought trouble on the ancestors of Assur-bani-pal. Their sepulchres were violated, their coffins broken open, their bones collected and despatched to Nineveh, to crumble finally into dust in the land of exile: their souls, chained to their mortal bodies, shared their captivity, and if they were provided with the necessary sustenance and libations to keep them from annihilation, it was not from any motives of compassion or pity, but from a refinement of vengeance, in order that they might the longer taste the humiliation of captivity. The image of Nana was found among those of the native gods: it was now separated from them, and after having been cleansed from pollution by the prescribed ceremonies, it was conducted to Uruk, which it entered in triumph on the 1st of the month Kislev. It was reinstated in the temple it had inhabited of old: sixteen hundred and thirty-five years had passed since it had been carried off, in the reign of Kutur-nakhunta, to dwell as a prisoner in Susa.<sup>2</sup>

Assur-bani-pal had no intention of preserving the city of Susa from destruction, or of making it the capital of a province which should comprise

<sup>1</sup> See what is stated on this subject, *supra*, pp. 303, 304.

<sup>2</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 218-237, 243-251; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 42-51: cf. JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 198-211, and, for the whole history of this war, BILLERBECK, *Susa*, pp. 112-118. On the value of the chronological data respecting Nana, cf. *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 37, note 2.



THE GREAT TUMULUS OF SUSA.

Drawn by Boudier, from a photographic panorama by Dieulafoy.

the plain of Elam. Possibly it appeared to him too difficult to defend as long as the mountain tribes remained unsubdued, or perhaps the Elamites themselves were not so completely demoralised as he was pleased to describe them in his inscriptions, and the attacks of their irregular troops would have rendered the prolonged sojourn of the Assyrian garrison difficult, if not impossible. Whatever the reason, as soon as the work of pillage was fully accomplished, the army continued its march towards the frontier, carrying with it the customary spoil of the captured towns, and their whole population, or all, at least, who had not fled at the approach of the enemy. The king reserved for himself the archers and pikemen, whom he incorporated into his own body-guard, as well as the artisans, smelters, sculptors, and stonemasons, whose talents he turned to account in the construction and decoration of his palaces; the remainder of the inhabitants he apportioned, like so many sheep, to the cities and the temples, governors of provinces, officers of state, military chiefs, and private soldiers. Khumbân-khaldash reoccupied Susa after the Assyrians had quitted it, but the misery there was so great that he could not endure it: he therefore transferred his court to Madaktu, one of the royal cities which had suffered least from the invasion, and he there tried to establish a regular government. Rival claimants to the throne had sprung up, but he overcame them without much difficulty: one of them, named Paê, took refuge in Assyria, joining Tammarithu and that little band of dethroned kings or pretenders to the throne of Susa, of whom Assur-bani-pal had so adroitly made use to divide the forces of his adversary. Khumbân-khaldash might well believe that the transportation of the statue of Nana and the sack of Susa had satisfied the vengeance of the Assyrians, at least for a time, and that they would afford him a respite, however short; but he had reckoned without taking into consideration the hatred which had pursued Nabo-bel-shumi during so many years: an envoy followed him as far as Madaktu, and offered Khumbân-khaldash once more the choice between the extradition of the Chaldean or the immediate reopening of hostilities. He seems to have had a moment's hesitation, but when Nabo-bel-shumi was informed of the terms offered by the envoy, "life had no more value in his eyes: he desired death." He ordered his shield-bearer to slay him, and when the man refused to do so, declaring that he could not live without his master, they stabbed each other simultaneously, and perished, as they had lived, together. Khumbân-khaldash, delivered by this suicide from his embarrassments, had the corpse of the master and the head of the faithful shield-bearer duly embalmed, and sent them to Nineveh. Assur-bani-pal mutilated the wretched body in order to render the conditions of life in the other world harder for the soul: he cut off its head,

and forbade the burial of the remains, or the rendering to the dead of the most simple offerings.<sup>1</sup> About this time the inhabitants of Bit-Imbi, of Til-Khumba, and a dozen other small towns, who had fled for refuge to the woods of Mount Saladri, came forth from their hiding-places and cast themselves on the mercy of the conqueror: he deigned to receive them graciously, and enrolled them in his guard, together with the prisoners taken in the last campaign. He was contented to leave Elam to itself for the moment, as he was disquieted at the turn affairs were taking in Arabia.<sup>2</sup> Abiyatê, scarcely seated on the throne, had refused to pay tribute, and had persuaded Uatê and Nadanu to join him in his contumacy; several cities along the Phœnician seaboard, led away by his example, shut their gates and declared themselves independent. Assur-bani-pal had borne all this patiently, while the mass of his troops were engaged against Khumbân-khaldash; but after the destruction of Susa, he determined to revenge himself. His forces left Nineveh in the spring of 642 B.C., crossed the Euphrates, and the line of wooded hills which bordered the course of the river towards the west, provisioned themselves with water at the halting-place of Laribda, and plunged into the desert in search of the rebels. The Assyrians overran the country of Mash, from the town of Iarki to Azalla, where "there dwell no beasts of the field, where no bird of the sky builds its nest," and then, after filling their water-skins at the cisterns of Azalla, they advanced boldly into the thirsty lands which extend towards Qurazite; they next crossed the territory of Kedar, cutting down the trees, filling up the wells, burning the tents, and reached Damascus from the north-east side, bringing in their train innumerable flocks of asses, sheep, camels, and slaves. The Bedâwin of the north had remained passive, but the Nabatheans, encouraged by the remoteness of their country and the difficulty of access to it, persisted in their rebellion. The Assyrian generals did not waste much time in celebrating their victory in the Syrian capital: on the 3rd of Ab, forty days after leaving the Chaldæan frontier, they started from Damascus towards the south, and seized the stronghold of Khalkhuliti, at the foot of the basaltic plateau overlooked by the mountains of the Haurân; they then destroyed all the fortresses of the country one after another, driving the inhabitants to take shelter in the rugged range of volcanic rocks, where they were blockaded, and finally reduced by famine: Abiyatê capitulated, Nadanu ransomed himself by a promise of tribute, and the whole desert between Syria and the Euphrates fell once more into the condition of an Assyrian province. Before returning to Nineveh, Assur-bani-pal's generals

<sup>1</sup> For the belief presupposed by this, cf. what is stated concerning the kings of Susa, *supra*, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> G. SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 237-243; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 52-57: cf. JENSEN, *Inscr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADES, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 210-215.



inflicted chastisement on Akko and Ushu, the two chief Tyrian cities which had revolted, and this vigorous action confirmed the fidelity of the Assyrian vassals in Palestine. Uatê's life was spared, but his lip and cheek were pierced by the hand of the king himself, and he was led by a cord passed through the wounds, as if he had been a wild beast intended for domestication; a dog's collar was riveted round his neck, and he was exposed in a cage at one of the gates of Nineveh. Aamu, the brother of Abiyatê, was less fortunate, for he was flayed alive before the eyes of the mob. Assyria was glutted with the spoil: the king, as was customary, reserved for his own service the able-bodied men for the purpose of recruiting his battalions, distributing the remainder among his officers and soldiers. The camels captured were so numerous that their market-value was for a long time much reduced; they were offered in the open market, like sheep, for a half-shekel of silver apiece, and the vendor thought himself fortunate to find a purchaser even at this price.<sup>1</sup>

The final ruin of Elam followed swiftly on the subjugation of Arabia. While one division of the army was scouring the desert, the remainder were searching the upland valleys of the Ulaï and the Uknu, and relentlessly pursuing Khumbân-khaldash. The wretched monarch was now in command of merely a few bands of tattered followers, and could no longer take the field; the approach of the enemy obliged him to flee from Madaktu, and entrench himself on the heights. Famine, misery, and probably also the treachery of his last adherents, soon drove him from his position, and, despairing of his cause, he surrendered himself to the officers who were in pursuit of him. He was the third king of Elam whom fate had cast alive into the hands of the conqueror: his arrival at Nineveh afforded the haughty Assur-bani-pal an occasion for celebrating one of those triumphal processions in which his proud soul delighted, and of going in solemn state to thank the gods for the overthrow of his most formidable enemy. On the day when he went to prostrate himself before Assur and Ishtar, he sent for Tammарitu, Paê, and Khumbân-khaldash, and adding to them Uatê, who was taken out of his cage for the occasion, he harnessed all four to his chariot of state, and caused himself to be drawn through Nineveh by this team of fallen sovereigns to the gate of the temple of Ê-mashmash.<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, at that moment, he might reasonably consider himself as having reached the zenith of his power. Egypt, it is true, still remained unpunished,

<sup>1</sup> G. SMITH, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, pp. 263-283, 294-296; S. ALDEN SMITH, *Die Keilschr. Assurbanipals*, vol. i. pp. 64-75: cf. JENSEN, *Inschr. Assurbanipals*, in SCHRADER, *Keil. Bibl.*, vol. ii. pp. 218-229. For the general direction of the marches executed by the Assyrian army across the desert, from the banks of the Euphrates to Damascus and the Haurân, I have followed the indications of DELATTE, *L'Asie Occid. dans les Inscr. Assyri.*, pp. 108-120.

<sup>2</sup> G. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-306; S. ALDEN SMITH, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 74-77: cf. JENSEN, *op. cit.*, in SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 228-231.

and its renewed vitality under the influence of the Saïte Pharaohs allowed no hope of its being speedily brought back into subjection, but its intrigues no longer exerted any influence over Syria, and Tyre itself appeared to be resigned to the loss of its possessions on the mainland. Lydia under the rule of Ardys continued to maintain intermittent intercourse with its distant protector. The provinces of the Taurus, delivered from the terror inspired by the Cimmerians, desired peace above all things, and the Mannai had remained quiet since the defeat of Akhsheri. Babylon was rapidly recovering from the ills she had endured. She consoled herself for her actual servitude by her habitual simulation of independence; she called Assur-bani-pal Kandalann, and this new name allowed her to fancy she had a separate king, distinct from the King of Assyria. Elam no longer existed. Its plains and marsh lands were doubtless occupied by Assyrian garrisons, and formed an ill-defined annexation to Nineveh; the mountain tribes retained their autonomy, and although still a source of annoyance to their neighbours by their raids or sudden incursions, they no longer constituted a real danger to the state: if there still remained some independent Elamite states, Elam itself, the most ancient, except Babylon, of all the Asiatic kingdoms, was erased from the map of the world. The memories of her actual history were soon effaced, or were relegated to the region of legend, where the fabulous Memnon supplanted in the memory of men those lines of hardy conquerors who had levied tribute from Syria in the days when Nineveh was still an obscure provincial town. Assyria alone remained, enthroned on the ruins of the past, and her dominion seemed established for all time; yet, on closer investigation, indications were not wanting of the cruel sufferings that she also had endured. Once again, as after the wars of Tiglath-pileser I. and those of Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmaneser III., her chiefs had overtaxed her powers by a long series of unremitting wars against vigorous foes. Doubtless the countries comprised within her wide empire furnished her with a more ample revenue and less restricted resources than had been at the command of the little province of ancient days, which had been bounded by the Khabur and the Zab, and lay on the two banks of the middle course of the Tigris; but, on the other hand, the adversaries against whom she had measured her forces, and whom she had overthrown, were more important and of far greater strength than her former rivals. She had paid dearly for humiliating Egypt and laying Babylon in the dust. As soon as Babylon was overthrown, she had, without pausing to take breath, joined issue with Elam, and had only succeeded in triumphing over it by drawing upon her resources to the utmost during many years: when the struggle was over, she realised to what an extent she had been weakened by so lavish an outpouring of the blood of her citizens. The

Babylonian and Elamite recruits whom she incorporated into her army after each of her military expeditions, more or less compensated for the void which victory itself had caused in her population and her troops; but the fidelity of these vanquished foes of yesterday, still smarting from their defeat, could not be relied on, and the entire assimilation of their children to their conquerors was the work of at least one or two generations. Assyria, therefore, was on the eve of one of those periods of exhaustion which had so often enfeebled her national vitality and imperilled her very existence. On each previous occasion she had, it is true, recovered after a more or less protracted crisis, and the brilliancy of her prospects, though obscured for a moment, appeared to be increased by their temporary eclipse. There was, therefore, good reason to hope that she would recover from her latest phase of depression; and the only danger to be apprehended was that some foreign power, profiting by her momentary weakness, might rise up and force her, while still suffering from the effects of her heroic labours, to take the field once more.





## THE MEDES AND THE SECOND CHALDÆAN EMPIRE.

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THE FALL OF NINEVEH AND THE RISE OF THE CHALDÆAN AND MEDIAN EMPIRES—THE XXVI<sup>th</sup>  
EGYPTIAN DYNASTY: CYAXARES, ALYATTES, AND NEBUCHADREZZAR.

*The legendary history of the kings of Media and the first contact of the Medes with the Assyrians: the alleged Iranian migrations of the Avesta—Media proper, its fauna and flora: Phraortes and the beginning of the Median empire—Persia proper and the Persians: conquest of Persia by the Medes—The last monuments of Assur-bani-pal: the library of Kouyunjik—Phraortes defeated and slain by the Assyrians.*

*Cyaxares and his first attack on Nineveh—The Assyrian triangle and the defence of Nineveh: Assur-bani-pal summons the Scythians to his aid—The Scythian invasion—Judah under Manasseh and Amon: development in the conceptions of the prophets—The Scythians in Syria and on the borders of Egypt: they are defeated and driven back by Cyaxares—The last kings of Nineveh and Nabopolassar—Taking and destruction of Nineveh: division of the Assyrian empire between the Chaldæans and the Medes (608 B.C.).*

*The XXVI<sup>th</sup> Egyptian dynasty—Psammetichus I. and the Ionian and Carian mercenaries; final retreat of the Ethiopians and the annexation of the Theban principality; the end of Egypt as a great power—First Greek settlements in the Delta; flight of the Mashawasha and the reorganisation of the army—Resumption of important works and the renaissance of art in Egypt—The occupation of Ashdod, and the Syrian policy of Psammetichus I.*

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