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THE

FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EASTERN WORLD;

OR,

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, MEDIA, AND PERSIA,

COLLECTED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES.

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LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

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THE SECOND MONARCHY.

ASSYRIA.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

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

THE religion of the Assyrians so nearly resembled, at least in its external aspect, in which alone we can contemplate it—the religion of the primitive Chaldæans, that it will be unnecessary, after the full treatment which that subject received in an earlier portion of this work,[1] to do much more than notice in the present place certain peculiarities by which it would appear that the cult of Assyria was distinguished from that of the neighbouring and closely connected country. With the exception that the first god in the Babylonian Pantheon was replaced by a distinct and thoroughly national deity in the Pantheon of Assyria, and that certain deities whose position was prominent in the one occupied a subordinate position in the other, the two religious systems may be pronounced, not similar merely, but identical. Each of them, without any real monotheism,[2] commences with the same pre-eminence of a single deity, which is followed by the same groupings of identically the same divinities;[3] and, after that, by a multitudinous polytheism, which is chiefly of a local character. Each country, so far as we can see,

[1] See vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 110-148.

[2] Though *Il* or *Ea* in Chaldæa, and Asshur in Assyria, were respectively *chief* gods, they were in no sense *sole* gods. Not only are the other deities viewed as really distinct beings, but they are in many cases self-originated, and always supreme in their several spheres.

[3] See vol. i. p. 112.

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has nearly the same worship—temples, altars, and ceremonies of the same type—the same religious emblems—the same ideas. The only difference here is, that in Assyria ampler evidence exists of what was material in the religious system, more abundant representations of the objects and modes of worship; so that it will be possible to give, by means of illustrations, a more graphic portraiture of the externals of the religion of the Assyrians than the scantiness of the remains permitted in the case of the primitive Chaldæans.

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood the "great god," Asshur. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the Gods," "he who rules supreme over the Gods."[4] Sometimes he is called "the Father of the Gods," though that is a title which is more properly assigned to Belus.[5] His place is always first in invocations. He is regarded throughout all the Assyrian inscriptions as the special tutelary deity both of the kings and of the country. He places the monarchs upon their throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their heart, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons, and their sons' sons, to a remote posterity. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is "Asshur, my lord." They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and teach the people his laws and his worship.

The tutelage of Asshur over Assyria is strongly marked by the identity of his name with that of the country, which in the original is complete.[6] It is also indicated by the curious fact

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 482, 2nd edition.

[5] Ibid. pp. 491, 492.

[6] The god, the country, the town Asshur, and "an Assyrian," are all represented by the same term, which is written both *A-shur* and *As-shur*. The "determinative" prefixed to the term (see vol. i. p. 271) tells us which meaning is intended.

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that, unlike the other gods, Asshur had no notorious temple or shrine in any particular city of Assyria, a sign that his worship was spread equally throughout the whole land, and not to any extent localised. As the national deity, he had indeed given name to the original capital;[7] but even at Asshur (*Kileh-Sher-ghat*) it may be doubted whether there was any building which was specially his.[8] Under these circumstances it is a reasonable conjecture[9] that all the shrines throughout Assyria were open to his worship, to whatever minor god they might happen to be dedicated.

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

We can scarcely doubt that originally the god Asshur was the great progenitor of the race, Asshur, the son of Shem,[10] deified. It was not long, however, before this notion was lost, and Asshur came to be viewed simply as a celestial being—the first and highest of all the divine agents who ruled over heaven and earth. It is indicative of the (comparatively speaking) elevated character of Assyrian polytheism that this exalted and awful deity continued from first to last the main object of worship, and was not superseded in the thoughts of men by the lower and more intelligible divinities, such as Shamas and Sin, the Sun and Moon, Nergal the God of War, Nin the God of Hunting, or Vul the wielder of the thunderbolt.[1]

The favourite emblem under which the Assyrians appear to have represented Asshur in their works of art was the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow (Fig. I.), some-

[7] See vol. i. p. 203.

[8] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 483), inclines to allow that the great fane at Kileh-Sherghat was a temple of Asshur; but the deity whose name appears upon the bricks is entitled *Ashit*.

[9] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

[10] Gen. x. 22.

[1] In the worship of Egypt we may trace such a gradual descent and deterioration, from Amun, the *hidden* god, to Phtha, the demiurgus, thence to Ra, the Sun-God, from him to Isis and Osiris, deities of the third order, and finally to Apis and Serapis, mere dæmons.

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times shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies (Fig. II.). This emblem has been variously explained;[2] but the most probable conjecture would seem to be that the circle typifies eternity, while the wings express omnipresence, and the human figure symbolises wisdom or intelligence. The emblem appears under many varieties. Sometimes the figure which issues from it has no bow, and is represented as simply extending the right hand (Fig. III.); occasionally both hands are extended and the left holds a ring or chaplet (Fig. IV.). In one instance we see a very remarkable variation: for the complete human figure is substituted a mere pair of hands, which seem to come from behind the winged disk, the right open and exhibiting the palm, the left closed and holding a bow.[3] In a large number of cases all sign of a person is dispensed with,[4] the winged circle appearing alone, with the disk either plain or ornamented. On the other hand, there are one or two instances where the emblem exhibits

Fig. I.

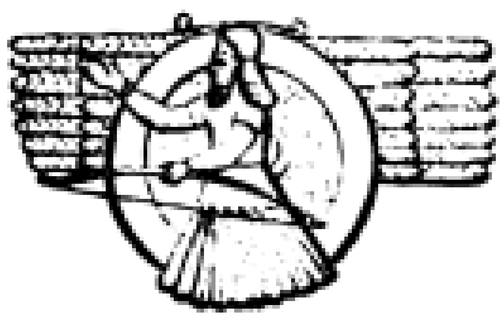


Fig. II.

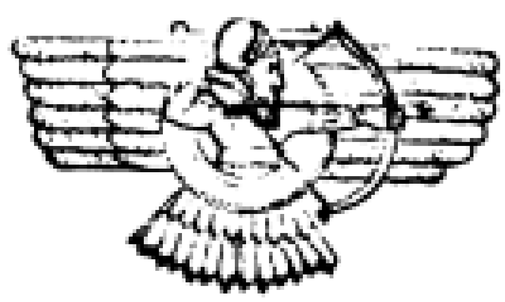
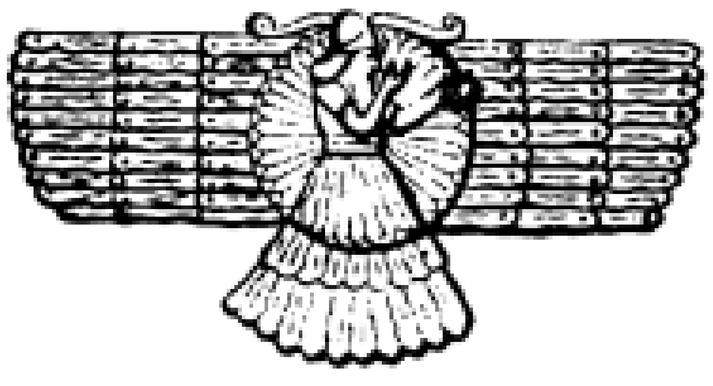


Fig. III.

Fig. IV.



Emblems of Asshur (after Lajard).

[2] M. Lajard is of opinion that the foundation of the winged circle is a bird, which he pronounces to be a dove, and to typify the Assyrian Venus. To this he supposes were afterwards added the

circle as an emblem of eternity, and the human figure, which he regards as an image of Baal or Bel. In confirmation of his view that the symbol mainly grew out of a bird, he adduces the above form which appears upon a cylinder.

[3] See the woodcut on the next page. This emblem is taken from a mutilated obelisk found at Koyunjik.

[4] See Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 39, and 53; 2nd Series, Pls. 4 and 69; and compare above, vol. i. p. 399.

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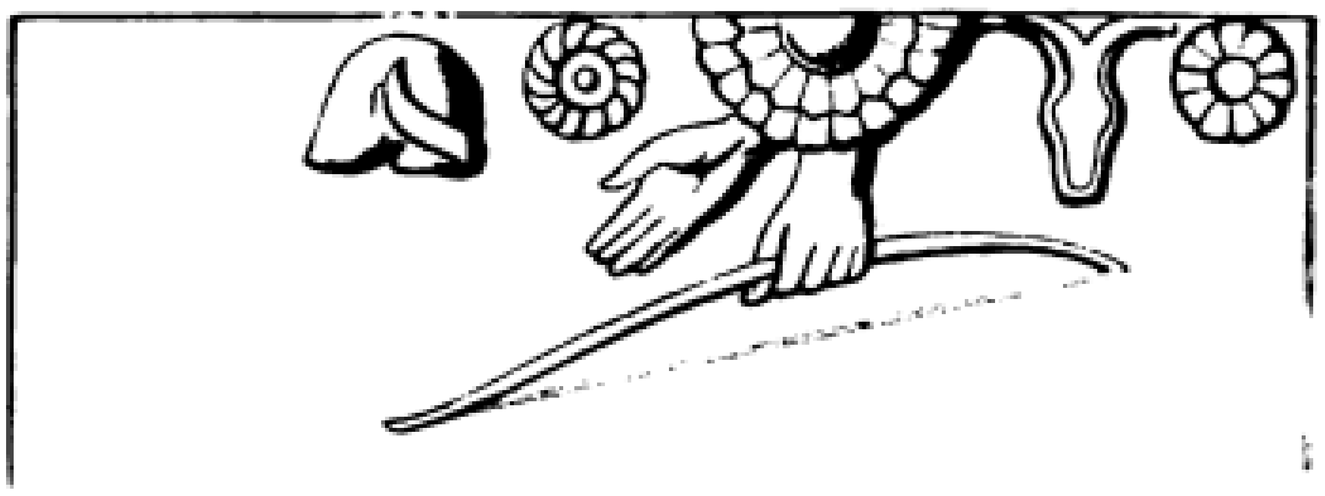
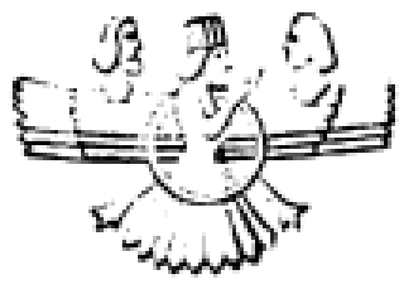
three human heads instead of one—the central figure having on either side of it a head, which seems to rest upon the feathers of the wing.[5]



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

It is the opinion of some critics, based upon this form of the emblem, that the supreme deity of the Assyrians, whom the winged circle seems always to represent, was in reality a triune god.[6] Now certainly the triple human form is very remarkable, and lends a colour to this conjecture; but, as there is absolutely nothing, either in the statements of ancient writers, or in the Assyrian inscriptions, so far as they have been deciphered, to confirm the supposition, it can hardly be accepted as the true explanation of the phenomenon. The doctrine of the Trinity, scarcely apprehended with any distinctness even by the ancient Jews, does not appear to have been one of those which primeval revelation made known throughout the heathen world. It is a fanciful mysticism which finds a Trinity in the Eicton, Cneph, and Phtha of the Egyptians, the Oromasdes, Mithras, and Arimanius of the Persians, and the Monas, Logos, and Psyche of Pythagoras and Plato.[7] There are abundant Triads in ancient mythology, but no real Trinity. The case of Asshur is, however, one of simple unity. He is not even regularly included in any Triad. It is possible, however, that the triple figure shows him to us in temporary combination with two other gods, who may be exceptionally represented in this way rather



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

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[5] See the cylinder of Sennacherib (supra, vol. i. p. 383); and compare a cylinder engraved in M. Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxii. No. 3.

[6] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 160; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Explication des planches, p. 2.

[7] So Cudworth (*Intellectual System of the Universe*, ch. iv. § 16, et seq.) and others. Mosheim, in his Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, ably combats his views on this subject.

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than by their usual emblems. Or the three heads may be merely an exaggeration of that principle of repetition which gives rise so often to a double representation of a king or a god,[8] and which is seen at Bavian in the threefold repetition of another sacred emblem, the horned cap.

It is observable that in the sculptures the winged circle is seldom found except in immediate connection with the monarch.[9] The Great King wears it embroidered upon his robes,[10] carries it engraved upon his cylinder,[11] represents it above his head in the rock-tablets on which he carves his image,[12] stands or kneels in adoration before it,[13] fights under its shadow,[14] under its protection returns victorious,[15] places it conspicuously in the scenes where he himself is represented on his obelisks.[16] And in these various representations he makes the emblem in a great measure conform to the circumstances in which he himself is engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur too has his arrow on the string, and points it against the king's adversaries. Where he is returning from victory, with the disused bow in the left hand and the right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur takes the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular acts, the divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and the wings without the human figure.

An emblem found in such frequent connection with the symbol of Asshur as to warrant the belief that it was attached in a special way to his worship, is the sacred or symbolical tree.

---

[8] Layard, *Monuments*, Pls. 6, 25, 39, &c.

[9] The occurrence of the emblem of Asshur without the king in the ivory representing women gathering grapes (supra, vol. i. p. 573) is remarkable. Probably the ivory formed part of the ornamentation of a *royal* throne or cabinet. There are cylinders, however, apparently not royal, on which the emblem occurs. (Cullimore, Nos. 145, 154, 155, 158, 160, 162; Lajard, Pls. xiii. 2; xvi. 2; xvii. 5, 8, &c.)

[10] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 6; supra, vol. i. p. 399.

[11] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 160; supra, vol. i. p. 383.

[12] As at the Nahr-el-Kelb (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. i. No. 39); at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211), &c.

[13] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, and 39.

[14] Ibid. Pl. 13.

[15] Ibid. Pl. 21.

[16] Ibid. Pl. 53. Compare the representation (supra, p. 5) which heads another royal obelisk.

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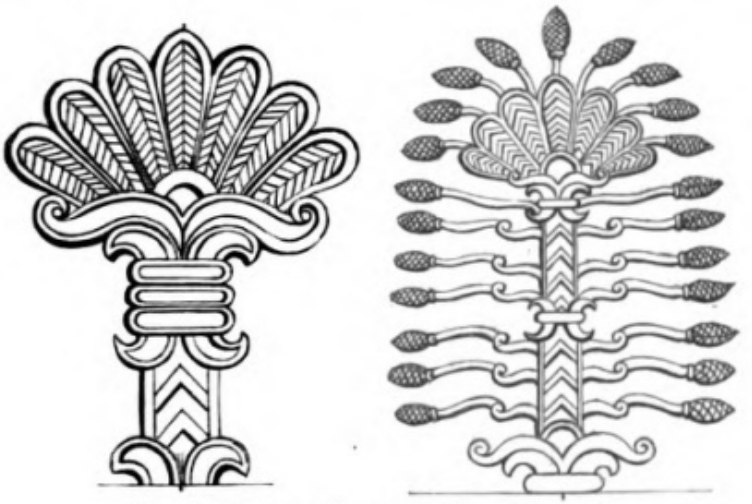
Like the winged circle, this emblem has various forms. The simplest consists of a short pillar springing from a single pair of rams' horns, and surmounted by a capital composed of two



Simplest forms of the Sacred Tree (Nimrud).

pairs of rams' horns separated by one, two, or three horizontal bands; above which there is, first, a scroll resembling that which commonly surmounts the winged circle, and then a flower, very much like the "honeysuckle ornament" of the Greeks.[1] More advanced specimens show the pillar elongated, with a capital in the middle in addition to the capital at the top, while the blossom above the upper capital, and generally the stem likewise, throw out a number of similar smaller blossoms, which are sometimes replaced by fir-cones or pomegranates. Where the tree is most elaborately portrayed, we see, besides the stem and the blossoms, a complicated network of branches, which after interlacing with one another form a sort of arch surrounding the tree itself as with a frame. (See next page.)

It is a subject of curious speculation, whether this sacred tree

[1] This resemblance, which Mr. Layard notes (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 294) is certainly very curious; but it does not tell us anything of the origin or meaning of the symbol. The Greeks probably adopted the ornament as elegant, without caring to understand it. I suspect that the so-called "flower" was in reality a representation of the head of a palm-tree, with the form of which, as portrayed on the earliest sculptures (Layard, *Monuments*, Pl. 53), it nearly agrees.

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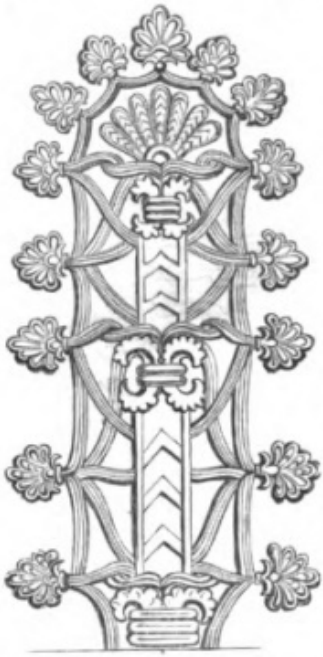
does not stand connected with the *Ashêrah* of the Phœnicians, which was certainly not a "grove," in the sense in which we commonly understand that word. The *Ashêrah*, which the Jews adopted from the idolatrous nations with whom they came in contact, was an artificial structure, originally of wood,[2] but in the later times probably of metal,[3] capable of being "set" in the temple at Jerusalem by one king,[4] and "brought out" by another.[5] It was a structure for which "hangings" could be made,[6] to cover and protect it, while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could be properly said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished.[7] The name itself seems to imply something which stood straight up;[8] and the conjecture is reasonable that its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree,"[9] though whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks[10] is (to say the least) extremely uncertain. We have no distinct evidence that the Assyrian sacred tree was a real tangible object: it may have been, as Mr. Layard supposes,[11] a mere type. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely to have been an actual object;[12] in which



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

[2] Judges vi. 26. "Take the second bullock and offer a burnt sacrifice with the *wood* of the grove (*Ashêrah*) which thou shalt cut down."

[3] According to the account in the Second Book of Kings, Josiah "burnt the grove at the brook Kidron, *and stamped it small to powder*, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people" (xxiii. 6). Unless the *Ashêrah* had been of metal there would have been no need of stamping it to powder after burning it.

[4] 2 Kings, xxi. 7.

[5] Ibid. xxiii. 6. [6] Ibid. verse 7.

[7] Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3; xxxi. 1, &c.

[8] *Ashêrah* (אֲשֵׁרָה) is from אָשַׁר, the true root of which is יָשַׁר, "to be straight" or "upright."

[9] So Dr. Gotch in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 120.

[10] Ibid. loc. cit.

[11] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 447. "The sacred tree is before him, but only, it may be presumed, as a type."

[12] It is found with objects which are all certainly material, as on Lord Aber-

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case we cannot but suspect that it stood in the Assyrian system in much the same position as the *Ashérah* in the Phœnician, being closely connected with the worship of the supreme god,[13] and having certainly a symbolic character, though of what exact kind it may not be easy to determine.

An analogy has been suggested between this Assyrian emblem and the Scriptural "tree of life," which is thought to be variously reflected in the multiform mythology of the East.[14] Are not such speculations somewhat over-fanciful? There is perhaps, in the emblem itself, which combines the horns of the ram—an animal noted for procreative power—with the image of a fruit- or flower-producing tree, ground for supposing that some allusion is intended to the prolific or generative energy in nature; but more than this can scarcely be said without venturing upon mere speculation. The time will perhaps ere long arrive when, by the interpretation of the mythological tablets of the Assyrians, their real notions on this and other kindred subjects may become known to us. Till then, it is best to remain content with such facts as are ascertainable, without seeking to penetrate mysteries at which we can but guess, and where, even if we guess aright, we cannot know that we do so.

The gods worshipped in Assyria in the next degree to Asshur appear to have been, in the early times, Anu and Vul; in the later, Bel, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Nin or Ninip, and Nergal. Gula, Ishtar, and Beltis were favourite goddesses. Hoa, Nebo, and Merodach, though occasional objects of worship, more especially under the later empire, were in far less repute in Assyria than in Babylonia; and the two last-named may almost be said to have been introduced into the former country from the latter during the historical period.[1]

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deen's Black Stone, where a real sacrificial scene appears to be represented.

[13] The groves in Scripture are closely connected with the worship of Baal, supreme God of the Phœnicians. (See Judges iii. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xvii. 16, &c.)

[14] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 472.

[1] Merodach and Nebo are not absolutely unknown to the earlier kings; since they are invoked upon the Black Obelisk as the eighth and the eleventh gods. But it is only with Vul-lush III. (ab. B.C. 800) that they become prominent. This king takes special credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the Pantheon of

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

ANU.

The worship of Anu seems to have been introduced into Assyria from Babylonia during the times of Chaldæan supremacy which preceded the establishment of the independent Assyrian kingdom. Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, king of Chaldæa, built a temple to Anu and Vul at Asshur, which was then the Assyrian capital, about B.C. 1820. An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. states that this temple lasted for 621 years, when, having fallen into decay, it was taken down by Asshur-dayan, his own great-grandfather.[3] Its site remained vacant for sixty years. Then Tiglath-Pileser I., in the beginning of his reign, rebuilt the temple more magnificently than before;[4] and from that time it seems to have remained among the principal shrines in Assyria. It was from a tradition connected with this ancient temple of Shamas-Vul, that Asshur in later times acquired the name of Telané or "the Mound of Anu" which it bears in Stephen.[5]

Anu's place among the "Great Gods" of Assyria is not so

Assyria. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 516, 2nd edition.)

[2] Vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 110-148.

[3] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, § 45, p. 62.

[4] Ibid. pp. 64-66.

[5] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Vide supra, vol. i. p. 116, note [7].

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well marked as that of many other divinities. His name does not occur as an element in the names of kings or of other important personages. He is omitted altogether from many solemn invocations.[6] It is doubtful whether he is one of the gods whose emblems were worn by the king and inscribed upon the rock-tablets.[7] But, on the other hand, where he occurs in lists, he is invariably placed directly after Asshur;[8] and he is often coupled with that deity in a way which is strongly indicative of his exalted character. Tiglath-Pileser I., though omitting him from his opening invocation, speaks of him in the latter part of his great Inscription, as his lord and protector in the next place to Asshur. Asshur-izir-pal uses expressions as if he were Anu's special votary, calling himself "him who honours Anu," or "him who honours Anu and Dagan."[9] His son, the Black Obelisk king, assigns him the second place in the invocation of thirteen gods with which he begins his record.[10] The kings of the Lower Dynasty do not generally hold him in much repute; Sargon, however, is an exception, perhaps because his own name closely resembled that of a god mentioned as one of Anu's sons.[11] Sargon not unfrequently glorifies Anu, coupling him with Bel or Bil, the second god of the first Triad. He even made Anu the tutelary god of one of the gates of his new city, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad), joining him in this capacity with the goldess Ishtar.

Anu had but few temples in Assyria. He seems to have had none at either Nineveh or Calah, and none of any importance in all Assyria, except that at Asshur. There is, however, reason to believe that he was occasionally honoured with a shrine in a temple dedicated to another deity.[12]

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[6] As from that of Tiglath-Pileser I. at the commencement of his great Inscription (p. 18).

[7] Esarhaddon omits him from the list of gods whose emblems he places over his image (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 12). If the horned cap is rightly ascribed to Bel (see below, p. 13), there will be no emblem for Anu, since the others may be assigned with certainty to Asshur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, and Gula.

[8] As in the Black Obelisk Inscription, where he precedes Bel. Compare *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 40, 68, &c.

[9] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 487, 2nd edition.

[10] See the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853, p. 420.

[11] Sir H. Rawlinson reads the name of one of Anu's sons as Sargana. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 488.)

[12] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 40.

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BIL or BEL.

The classical writers represent Bel as especially a Babylonian god, and scarcely mention his worship by the Assyrians;[13] but the monuments show that the true Bel (called in the former volume Bel-Nimrod) was worshipped at least as much in the northern as in the southern country. Indeed, as early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrians, as a nation, were especially entitled by their monarchs "the people of Belus;"[1] and the same periphrasis was in use during the period of the Lower Empire.[2] According to some authorities, a particular quarter of the city of Nineveh was denominated "the city of Belus;"[3] which would imply that it was in a peculiar way under his protection. The word Bel does not occur very frequently as an element in royal names; it was borne, however, by at least three early Assyrian kings;[4] and there is evidence that in later times it entered as an element into the names of leading personages, with almost as much frequency as Asshur.[5]

The high rank of Bel in Assyria is very strongly marked. In the invocations his place is either the third or the second. The former is his proper position, but occasionally Anu is omitted, and the name of Bel follows immediately on that of Asshur.[6] In one or two places he is made third, notwithstand-

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[13] Herodotus seems to regard Belus, as an exclusively Babylonian god (i. 181). So Diodorus (ii. 8), Berosus (Frs. 1 and 2), Abydenus (Frs. 8 and 9), Dionysius Periegetes (l. 1007), Claudian (*De laude Stilich.* i. 62), and others. According to many he was the founder and first king of Babylon (Q. Curt. v. 1, § 24; Eustath. ad. Dion. Per. l. s. c., &c.), which some regarded as built by his son (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βαβυλών). Some considered that the great temple of Belus at Babylon was his tomb (Strab. xvi. p. 1049; compare Ælian. *Hist. Var.* xiii. 3). His worship by the Assyrians is, however, admitted by Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 53 and 58), Nonnus (*Dionys.* xviii. 14), and a few others. The ground of the difference thus made by the classical writers is probably the confusion between the first Bel and the second Bel—Bel-Merodach—the great seat of whose worship was Babylon.

[1] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* pp. 20 and 62.

[2] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 491. "Sargon speaks of the 350 kings who from remote antiquity ruled over Assyria and pursued after" (*i.e.* governed) "the people of Bilu-Nipru (Bel)."

[3] Fox Talbot, *Assyrian Texts*, p. 6, note [5].

[4] See below, ch. ix. p. 49.

[5] In the list of *Eponyms* contained in the famous Assyrian Canon I find, during 250 years, twenty-six in whose names Bel is an element, to thirty-two who have names compounded with Asshur.

[6] As in the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I. (*Inscription*, &c. p. 18).

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ing that Anu is omitted, Shamas, the Sun-god, being advanced over his head;[7] but this is very unusual.

The worship of Bel in the earliest Assyrian times is marked by the royal names of Bel-sumili-kapi and Bel-lush borne by two of the most ancient kings.[8] He had a temple at Asshur in conjunction with Il or Ra, which must have been of great antiquity, for by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130) it had fallen to decay and required a complete restoration, which it received from that monarch.[9] He had another temple at Calah; besides which he had four "arks" or "tabernacles," the emplacement of which is uncertain.[10] Among the later kings, Sargon especially paid him honour. Besides coupling him with Anu in his royal titles, he dedicated to him—in conjunction with Beltis, his wife—one of the gates of his city, and in many passages he ascribes his royal authority to the favour of Bel and Merodach.[11] He also calls Bel, in the dedication of the eastern gate at Khorsabad, "the establisher of the foundations of his city."[12]

It may be suspected that the horned cap, which was no doubt a general emblem of divinity, was also in an especial way the symbol of this god. Esarhaddon states that he set up over "the image of his majesty the emblems of Asshur, the Sun, Bel, Nin, and Ishtar."[13] The other kings always include Bel among the chief objects of their worship. We should thus expect to find his emblem among those which the kings specially affected; and as all the other common emblems are assigned to distinct gods with tolerable certainty, the horned cap alone remaining doubtful, the most reasonable conjecture seems to be that it was Bel's symbol.[14]

It has been assumed in some quarters that the Bel of the

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[7] As by Sennacherib (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xix. p. 163) and Esarhaddon (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 16).

[8] See below, ch. ix. p. 49.

[9] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 56-58.

[10] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 492.

[11] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 337.

[12] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

[13] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[14] It is possible that the horned cap symbolised Anu, Bel, and Hoa equally; and the *three* caps at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211) may represent the entire Triad.

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Assyrians was identical with the Phœnician Dagon.[15] A word which reads *Da-gan* is found in the native lists of divinities, and in one place the explanation attached seems to shew that the term was among the titles of Bel.[16] But this verbal resemblance between the name Dagon and one of Bel's titles is probably a mere accident, and affords no ground for assuming any connection between the two gods, who have nothing in common one with the other. The Bel of the Assyrians was certainly not their Fish-god; nor had his epithet *Da-gan* any real connection with the word *dag*, דָּג, "a fish." To speak of "Bel-Dagon" is thus to mislead the ordinary reader, who naturally supposes from the term that he is to identify the great god Belus, the second deity of the first Triad, with the fish forms upon the sculptures.

HEA or HOA.

Hea or Hoa, the third god of the first Triad, was not a prominent object of worship in Assyria. Asshur-izir-pal mentions him as having allotted to the four thousand deities of heaven and earth the senses of hearing, seeing, and understanding; and then, stating that the four thousand deities had transferred all these senses to himself, proceeds to take Hoa's titles, and, as it were, to identify himself with the god.[17] His son, Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, gives Hoa his proper place in his opening invocation, mentioning him between Bel and Sin. Sargon puts one of the gates of his new city under Hoa's care, joining him with Bilat Ili—"the mistress of the gods"—who is, perhaps, the Sun-goddess, Gula. Sennacherib, after a successful expedition across a portion of the Persian Gulf, offers sacrifice to Hoa on the seashore, presenting him with a golden boat, a golden fish, and a golden coffer. But these are exceptional instances; and on the whole it is evident that in Assyria Hoa was not a favourite god. The serpent, which is his emblem, though found on the black stones recording benefactions and

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[15] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 263, 264, &c.
[16] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 487.
[17] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, pp. 494, 495. Compare above, vol. i. p. 123, note [9].

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frequent on the Babylonian cylinder-seals, is not adopted by the Assyrian kings among the divine symbols which they wear or among those which they inscribe above their effigies. The word Hoa does not enter as an element into Assyrian names. The kings rarely invoke him. So far as we can tell, he had but two temples in Assyria, one at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat), and the other at Calah (Nimrud). Perhaps the devotion of the Assyrians to Nin—the tutelary god of their kings and of their capital—who in so many respects resembled Hoa,[1] caused the worship of Hoa to decline and that of Nin gradually to supersede it.

MYLITTA or BELTIS.

Beltis, the "Great Mother," the feminine counterpart of Bel, ranked in Assyria next to the Triad consisting of Anu, Bel, and Hoa. She is generally mentioned in close connection with Bel, her husband, in the Assyrian records. She appears to have been regarded in Assyria as especially "the queen of fertility," or "fecundity," and so as "the queen of the lands,"[2] thus resembling the Greek Demeter, who, like Beltis, was known as "the Great Mother." Sargon placed one of his gates under the protection of Beltis in conjunction with her husband, Bel; and Asshur-bani-pal, his great-grandson, repaired and rededicated to her a temple at Nineveh, which stood on the great mound of Koyunjik.[3] She had another temple at Asshur, and probably a third at Calah.[4] She seems to have been really known as Beltis in Assyria, and as Mylitta (Mulita) in Babylonia, though we should naturally have gathered the reverse from the extant classical notices.[5]

[1] See vol. i. p. 132.

[2] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 496.

[3] Ibid. p. 497. A vast number of inscribed slabs have been brought from this edifice. It was originally erected by Asshur-izir-pal.

[4] It is doubtful whether the Calah temple was dedicated to Beltis or to Ishtar, as the epithets used would apply to either goddess.

[5] Herodotus, in two places (i. 131 and 199), gives Mylitta as the *Assyrian* name of the goddess, while Hesychius calls Belthes (Βήλθης) the *Babylonian* Juno or Venus, and Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar speak of "Queen Beltis" (ἡ Βασίλεια Βῆλτις, Fr. 9). Nicolas of Damascus, however, gives Molis as the *Babylonian* term (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). The fact seems to be that Mulita was Hamitic-Chaldæan,

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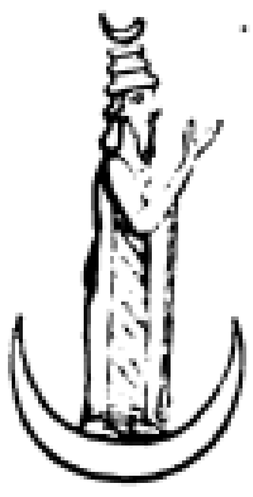
SIN or THE MOON.

Sin, the Moon-god, ranked next to Beltis in Assyrian mythology, and his place is thus either fifth or sixth in the full lists according as Beltis is, or is not, inserted. His worship in the time of the early empire appears from the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I., where he occurs in the third place, between Bel and Shamas.[6] His emblem, the crescent, was worn by Asshur-izir-pal,[7] and is found wherever divine symbols are inscribed over their effigies by the Assyrian kings. There is no sign which is more frequent on the cylinder-seals, whether Babylonian or Assyrian,[8] and it would thus seem that Sin was among the most popular of Assyria's deities. His name occurs sometimes, though not so frequently as some others, in the appellations of important personages, as *e. g.* in that of Sennacherib, which is explained to mean "Sin multiplies brethren." Sargon, who thus named one of his sons, appears to have been specially attached to the worship of Sin, to whom, in conjunction with Shamas, he built a temple at Khorsabad,[9] and to whom he assigned the second place among the tutelary deities of his city.[10]



The Moon-god (from a cylinder).

The Assyrian monarchs appear to have had a curious belief in the special antiquity of the Moon-god. When they wished to mark a very remote period, they used the expression "from the origin of the god Sin."[11] This is perhaps a trace of the ancient connection of Assyria with Babylonia, where the earliest capital, Ur, was under the Moon-god's protection, and the most primeval temple was dedicated to his honour.[12]

Bilta Semitic-Assyrian. Mulita was, however, known to the Assyrians, who derived their religion from the southern country, and Bilta was adopted by the (later) Babylonians, who were Semitized from Assyria.

[6] *Inscription*, &c., p. 18.

[7] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 25.

[8] The form is always a crescent, with the varieties represented in vol. i. p. 125: sometimes, however, the god himself is represented as issuing from the crescent, as in the above woodcut.

[9] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 330. [10] Ibid. p. 343.

[11] Sargon speaks of the Cyprians as "a nation of whom from the remotest times, *from the origin of the God Sin*, the kings my fathers, who ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, had never heard mention." (See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 507.)

[12] See vol. i. pp. 125, 126.

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

SHAMAS.

Shamas, the Sun-god, though in rank inferior to Sin, seems to have been a still more favourite and more universal object of worship. From many passages we should have gathered that he was second only to Asshur in the estimation of the Assyrian monarchs, who sometimes actually place him above Bel in their lists.[13] His emblem, the four-rayed orb, is worn by the king upon his neck,[14] and seen more commonly than almost any other upon the cylinder-seals. It is even in some instances united with that of Asshur, the central circle of Asshur's emblem being marked by the fourfold rays of Shamas.[15]

The worship of Shamas was ancient in Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I. not only names him in his invocation, but represents himself as ruling especially under his auspices.[16] Asshur-izir-pal mentions Asshur and Shamas as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his various wars.[17] His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns to Shamas his proper place among the gods whose favour he invokes at the commencement of his long Inscription.[18] The kings of the Lower Empire were even more devoted to him than their predecessors. Sargon dedicated to him the north gate of his city, in conjunction with Vul, the god of the air, built a temple to him at Khorsabad in conjunction with Sin, and assigned him the third place among the tutelary deities of his new town.[19] Sennaeherib and Esar-

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[13] *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 163; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[14] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2nd Series, Pl. 4.

[15] See vol. i. p. 399, and compare Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 6, where the representation is more accurately given.

[16] *Inscription*, &c., p. 20.

[17] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 501.

[18] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 420.

[19] Oppert, *Expédition*,* &c., pp. 330, 344.

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haddon mention his name next to Asshur's in passages where they enumerate the gods whom they regard as their chief protectors.

Excepting at Khorsabad, where he had a temple (as above mentioned) in conjunction with Sin, Shamas does not appear to have had any special buildings dedicated to his honour.[1] His images are, however, often noticed in the lists of idols, and it is probable therefore that he received worship in temples dedicated to other deities. His emblem is generally found conjoined with that of the moon, the two being placed side by side or the one directly under the other.

Emblems of the sun and moon (from cylinders).

VUL or IVA.

This god, whose name is still so uncertain,[2] was known in Assyria from times anterior to the independence, a temple having been raised in his sole honour at Asshur,[3] the original Assyrian capital, by Shamas-Vul, the son of the Chaldæan king Ismi-Dagon, besides the temple (already mentioned)[4] which the same monarch dedicated to him in conjunction with Anu. These buildings having fallen to ruin by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., were by him rebuilt from their base; and Vul, who was worshipped in both, appears to have been regarded by that monarch as one of his special "guardian deities."[5] In the Black-Obelisk invocation Vul holds the place intermediate between Sin and Shamas, and on the same monument is recorded the fact that the king who erected it held, on one occasion, a festival to Vul in conjunction with Asshur.[6] Sargon names Vul in the fourth place among the tutelary deities of his

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 302.

[2] See vol. i. p. 112, note [3].

[3] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 66.

[4] Supra, p. 10.

[5] See *Inscription*, &c., p. 30, where Vul is called "my guardian God." Ninip, however, occurs more frequently in that character. (See below, p. 21.)

[6] *Dublin Univ. Magazine* for Oct. 1853, p. 426. Vul is often joined with Asshur in invocations, more especially where a curse is invoked on those who injure the royal inscriptions. (See the *Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, p. 72, and compare the still earlier inscription on Tiglathi-Nin's signet-seal, infra, ch. ix.)

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city,[7] and dedicates to him the north gate in conjunction with the Sun-god, Shamas.[8] Sennacherib speaks of hurling thunder on his enemies like Vul,[9] and other kings use similar expressions.[10] The term Vul was frequently employed as an element in royal and other names;[11] and the emblem which seems to have symbolized him—the double or triple bolt[12]—appears constantly among those worn by the kings[13] and engraved above their heads on the rock-tablets.[14]

Vul had a temple at Calah[15] besides the two temples in which he received worship at Asshur. It was dedicated to him in conjunction with the goddess Shala, who appears to have been regarded as his wife.

It is not quite certain whether we can recognise any representations of Vul in the Assyrian remains. Perhaps the figure with four wings and a horned cap,[16] who wields a thunderbolt in either hand, and attacks therewith the monster, half lion, half eagle, which is known to us from the Nimrud sculptures, may be intended for this deity. If so, it will be reasonable also to recognise him in the figure with uplifted foot, sometimes perched upon an ox, and bearing, like the other, one or two thunderbolts, which occasionally occurs upon the cylinders.[17] It is uncertain, however, whether the former of these figures is not one of the many different representations of Nin, the Assyrian Hercules; and, should that prove the true explanation in the one case, no very great confidence could be felt in the suggested identification in the other,

The god of the atmosphere (from a cylinder).

[7] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[8] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 499.

[9] *Journal of As. Society*, vol. xix. p. 163.

[10] They "rush on the enemy like the whirlwind of Vul," or "sweep a country as with the whirlwind of Vul." Vul is "he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands," in the Tiglath-Pileser inscription.

[11] As in Vul-lush, Shamas-Vul, &c. In the Assyrian Canon ten of the Eponyms have names in which Vul is an element.

[12] Supra, vol. i. p. 130.

[13] Supra, vol. i. p. 489.

[14] As at Bavian (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 211).

[15] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 500.

[16] Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 5.

[17] Layard, Pl. xxvii. No. 5; Cullimore, Pl. 21, No. 107.

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GULA.

Gula, the Sun-goddess, does not occupy a very high position among the deities of Assyria. Her emblem, indeed, the eight-rayed disk, is borne, together with her husband's, by the Assyrian monarchs,[18] and is inscribed on the rock-tablets, on the stones recording benefactions, and on the cylinder-seals, with remarkable frequency. But her name occurs rarely in the inscriptions, and, where it is found, appears low down in the lists. In the Black-Obelisk invocation, out of thirteen deities named, she is the twelfth.[19] Elsewhere she scarcely appears, unless in inscriptions of a purely religious character. Perhaps she was commonly regarded as so much one with her husband that a separate and distinct mention of her seemed not to be requisite.

Gula is known to have had at least two temples in Assyria. One of these was at Asshur, where she was worshipped in combination with ten other deities, of whom one only, Ishtar, was of high rank.[20] The other was at Calah, where her husband had also a temple.[21] She is perhaps to be identified with *Bilat-Ili*, "the mistress of the gods," to whom Sargon dedicated one of his gates in conjunction with Hoa.[22]

NINIP or NIN.

Among the gods of the second order, there is none whom the Assyrians worshipped with more devotion than Nin or Ninip. In traditions which are probably ancient, the race of their kings was derived from him,[1] and after him was called the mighty city which ultimately became their capital. As early as the thirteenth century B.C. the name of Nin was used as an element in royal appellations;[2] and the first king who has left

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[18] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2nd Series, Pl. 4.

[19] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* p. 420.

[20] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 504, note [6].

[21] Ibid. l. s. c.

[22] Ibid. p. 494; and on the presumed identification of Gula with *Bilat-Ili*, see pp. 503, 504.

[1] The Ninus of the Greeks can be no other than the Nin or Ninip of the Inscriptions. Herodotus probably (i. 7), Ctesias certainly (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-21), derived the kings of the Upper Dynasty from Ninus.

[2] See below, ch. ix. p. 58.

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us an historical inscription regarded himself as being in an especial way under Nin's guardianship. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the illustrious prince whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart."[3] He speaks of Nin sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with Asshur, as his "guardian deity."[4] Nin and Nergal make his weapons sharp for him, and under Nin's auspices the fiercest beasts of the field fall beneath them.[5] Asshur-izir-pal built him a magnificent temple at Nimrud (Calah).[6] Shamas-Vul, the grandson of this king, dedicated to him the obelisk which he set up at that place in commemoration of his victories.[7] Sargon placed his newly-built city in part under his protection,[8] and specially invoked him to guard his magnificent palace.[9] The ornamentation of that edifice indicated in a very striking way the reverence of the builder for this god, whose symbol, the winged bull,[10] guarded all its main gateways, and who seems to have been actually represented by the figure strangling a lion, so conspicuous on the *Hareem* portal facing the great court.[11] Nor did Sargon regard Nin as his protector only in peace. He ascribed to his influence the successful issue of his wars; and it is probably to indicate the belief which he entertained on this point that he occasionally placed Nin's emblems on the sculptures representing his expeditions.[12] Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, appears to have had much the same feelings towards Nin as his father, since in his buildings he gave the same prominence to the winged bull and to the figure strangling the lion; placing the former at almost all his doorways, and giving the latter a conspicuous position on the grand

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[3] *Inscription*, p. 60.

[4] Ibid. pp. 54-56.

[5] Ibid. l. s. c.

[6] This is the edifice described by Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 123-129 and 348-357).

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2nd edition.

[8] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[9] Ibid. pp. 333, 334.

[10] Supra, vol. i. p. 133.

[11] See the woodcut, vol. i. p. 288. For representations of the many modifications which this figure underwent, see Mons. F. Lajard's work, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. lxxiv. to cii.; and on the general subject of the Assyrian Hercules, see M. Raoul Rochette's memoir in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. xvii.

[12] Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 32 to 34. The emblems given are 1. the winged bull (Pl. 33), 2. the winged bull with a human head (Pl. 32), and 3. the human-headed fish (Pls. 32 and 34).

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façade of his chief palace.[13] Esarhaddon relates that he continued in the worship of Nin, setting up his emblem over his own royal effigy, together with those of Asshur, Shamas, Bel, and Ishtar.[14]

It appears at first sight as if, notwithstanding the general prominency of Nin in the Assyrian religious system, there was one respect in which he stood below a considerable number of the gods. We seldom find his name used openly as an element in the royal appellations. In the list of kings three only will be found with names into which the term Nin enters.[15] But there is reason to believe that, in the case of this god, it was usual to speak of him under a periphrasis;[16] and this periphrasis entered into names in lieu of the god's proper designation. Five kings (if this be admitted) may be regarded as named after him; which is as large a number as we find named after any god but Vul and Asshur.

The principal temples known to have been dedicated to Nin in Assyria were at Calah, the modern Nimrud. There the vast structure at the north-western angle of the great mound, including the pyramidical eminence which is the most striking feature of the ruins, was a temple dedicated to the honour of Nin by Asshur-izir-pal, the builder of the North-West Palace. We can have little doubt that this building represents the "busta Nini" of the classical writers, the place where Ninus (Nin or Nin-ip), who was regarded by the Greeks as the hero-founder of the nation, was interred and specially worshipped. Nin had also a second temple in this town, which bore the name of *Bit-kura* (or Beth-kura), as the other one did of *Bit-zira* (or Beth-zira).[17] It seems to have been from the fane of Beth-zira that Nin had the title *Pal-zira*, which forms a substitute for Nin, as already noticed,[18] in one of the royal names.

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[13] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 137.

[14] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

[15] Nin-pala-zira and the two Tiglathi-Nins. (See below, ch. ix.)

[16] Nin was called "Pal-kura" and "Pal-zira," "the son of Kura," and "the son of Zira." The latter title is that which the Jews have represented by the second element in Tiglath-*Pileser*.

[17] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2nd edition.

[18] See above, note [16].

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MERODACH.

Most of the early kings of Assyria mention Merodach in their opening invocations, and we sometimes find an allusion in their inscriptions, which seems to imply that he was viewed as a god of great power.[19] But he is decidedly not a favourite object of worship in Assyria until a comparatively recent period. Vul-lush III. indeed claims to have been the first to give him a prominent place in the Assyrian Pantheon;[20] and it may be conjectured that the Babylonian expeditions of this monarch furnished the impulse which led to a modification in this respect of the Assyrian religious system. The later kings, Sargon and his successors, maintain the worship introduced by Vul-lush. Sargon habitually regards his power as conferred upon him by the combined favour of Merodach and Asshur,[21] while Esarhaddon sculptures Merodach's emblem, together with that of Asshur, over the images of foreign gods brought to him by a suppliant prince.[22] No temple to Merodach is, however, known to have existed in Assyria, even under the later kings. His name, however, was not infrequently used as an element in the appellations of Assyrians.[23]

NERGAL.

Among the minor gods, Nergal is one whom the Assyrians seem to have regarded with extraordinary reverence. He was the divine ancestor from whom the monarchs loved to boast that they derived their descent — the line being traceable, according to Sargon, through three hundred and fifty generations.[1] They symbolized him by the winged lion with a human

[19] The Black-Obelisk king says in one place that "the fear of Asshur and Merodach" fell upon his enemies. (*Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 426.)

[20] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 516, note [a].

[21] Oppert, *Expédition scientifique*, vol. ii. p. 387.

[22] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 13.

[23] Merodach, though an element in so many names of Babylonian kings, is no part of the name of any Assyrian monarch. In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, however, out of about 240 names, twelve are compounded with Merodach.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 519, 2nd edition.

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head,[2] or possibly sometimes by the mere natural lion;[3] and it was to mark their confident dependence on his protection that they made his emblems so conspicuous in their palaces. Nin and Nergal—the gods of war and hunting, the occupations in which the Assyrian monarchs passed their lives—were tutelary divinities of the race, the life, and the homes of the kings, who associate the two equally in their inscriptions and their sculptures.

Nergal, though thus honoured by the frequent mention of his name and erection of his emblem, did not (so far as appears) often receive the tribute of a temple. Sennacherib dedicated one to him at Tarbisi (now Sherif-khan), near Khorsabad;[4] and he may have had another at Calah (Nimrud), of which he is said to have been one of the "resident gods."[5] But generally it would seem that the Assyrians were content to pay him honour in other ways[6] without constructing special buildings devoted exclusively to his worship.

ISHTAR.

Ishtar was very generally worshipped by the Assyrian monarchs, who called her "their lady," and sometimes in their invocations coupled her with the supreme god Asshur.[7] She had a very ancient temple at Asshur, the primeval capital, which Tiglath-Pileser I. repaired and beautified.[8] Asshur-izir-pal built her a second temple at Nineveh,[9] and she had a third at Arbela, which Asshur-bani-pal states that he restored.[10]

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[2] Supra, vol. i. pp. 136-138.

[3] The natural lion is more extensively used as an architectural form by the Assyrians than the winged lion. It occurs not only in central Assyria, as at Nimrud (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 359), but also in the remoter provinces, as at Arban (Layard, p. 278) and Seruj (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 114; supra, vol. i. p. 197).

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 520.

[5] Ibid. p. 519, note [5]. Is not the smaller temple, with the Lion entrance, at the north-western corner of the Nimrud mound, a temple of Nergal, as the larger one is of Ninip?

[6] Nergal was not, however, often chosen to furnish an element of a name. By no Assyrian sovereign was he thus honoured. In the case of the Eponyms, only about one out of thirty has a name compounded with Nergal.

[7] See the Inscription of Sennacherib in the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. xix. p. 170.

[8] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 40, 41.

[9] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, p. 522.

[10] Ibid. l. s. c.

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Sargon placed under her protection, conjointly with Anu, the western gate of his city; and his son, Sennacherib, seems to have viewed Asshur and Ishtar as the special guardians of his progeny.[11] Asshur-bani-pal, the great hunting king, was a devotee of the goddess, whom he regarded as presiding over his special diversion—the chase.

What is most remarkable in the Assyrian worship of Ishtar is the local character assigned to her. The Ishtar of Nineveh is distinguished from the Ishtar of Arbela, and both from the Ishtar of Babylon, separate addresses being made to them in one and the same invocation.[12] It would appear that in this case there was, more decidedly than in any other, an identification of the divinity with her idols, from which resulted the multiplication of one goddess into many.

The name of Ishtar appears to have been rarely used in Assyria in royal or other appellations. It is difficult to account for this fact, which is the more remarkable, since in Phœnicia Astarte, which corresponds closely to Ishtar, is found repeatedly as an element in the royal titles.[13]

NEBO.

Nebo must have been acknowledged as a god by the Assyrians from very ancient times, for his name occurs as an element in a royal appellation as early as the twelfth century B.C.[14] He seems, however, to have been very little worshipped till the time of Vul-lush III., who first brought him prominently forward in the Pantheon of Assyria after an expedition which he conducted into Babylonia, where Nebo had always been in high favour. Vul-lush set up two statues to Nebo at Calah,[15]

[11] Sennacherib speaks of Asshur and Ishtar as about to "call the kings his sons to their sovereignty over Assyria," and begs Asshur and Ishtar to "hear their prayers" (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, l. s. c.).

[12] As in that of Esarhaddon (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 10) and in that of Sennacherib (*As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 163). Compare the inscription on the slab brought from the Negub tunnel.

[13] As in the names Astartus, Abdastartus, Delœastartus, and Gerastartus. (Menand. Ephes. Frs. 1 and 2.) In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, only five out of more than 240 have names in which Ishtar is an element,

[14] See below, ch. ix. p. 61.

[15] One of these is represented in the woodcut, vol. i. p. 141. The two are, as nearly as possible, facsimiles.

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and probably built him the temple there which was known as Bit-Saggil, or Beth-Saggil, from whence the god derived one of his appellations.[16] He did not receive much honour from Sargon; but both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon held him in considerable reverence, the latter even placing him above Merodach in an important invocation.[17] Asshur-bani-pal also paid him considerable respect, mentioning him and his wife Warmita, as the deities under whose auspices he undertook certain literary labours.[18]

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

Besides these principal gods, the Assyrians acknowledged and worshipped a vast number of minor divinities, of whom, however, some few only appear to deserve special mention. It may be noticed in the first place, as a remarkable feature of this people's mythological system, that each important god was closely associated with a goddess, who is commonly called his wife, but who yet does not take rank in the Pantheon at all in accordance with the dignity of her husband.[1] Some of these goddesses have been already mentioned, as Beltis, the feminine counterpart of Bel; Gula, the Sun-goddess, the wife of Shamas; and Ishtar, who is sometimes represented as the wife of Nebo.[2] To the same class belong Sheruha, the wife of Asshur; Anata,

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[16] Nebo was called *Pal-Bit-Saggil*, as Ninip was called *Pal-zira* (supra, p. 22; compare Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 524).

[17] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 10.

[18] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Essay*, l. s. c.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 484, note [2]. While Beltis, the wife of Bel, and Gula, the wife of Shamas, are deities of high rank and importance, Sheruha, the wife of Asshur, and Anuta, the wife of Anu, occupy a very insignificant position.

[2] Supra, pp. 15, 20, and 24.

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or Anuta, the wife of Anu; Dav-Kina, the wife of Hea or Hoa; Shala, the wife of Vul or Iva; Zir-banit, the wife of Merodach; and Laz, the wife of Nergal. Nin, the Assyrian Hercules, and Sin, the Moon-god, have also wives, whose proper names are unknown, but who are entitled respectively "the Queen of the Land" and "the Great Lady."[3] Nebo's wife, according to most of the Inscriptions, is Warmita; but occasionally, as above remarked,[4] this name is replaced by that of Ishtar. A tabular view of the gods and goddesses, thus far, will probably be found of use by the reader towards obtaining a clear conception of the Assyrian Pantheon:—

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

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

It appears to have been the general Assyrian practice to unite together in the same worship, under the same roof, the female and the male principle.[5] The female deities had in fact, for the most part, an unsubstantial character; they were ordinarily the mere reflex image of the male, and consequently could not stand alone, but required the support of the stronger sex to give them something of substance and reality. This was the general rule; but at the same time it was not without certain exceptions. Ishtar appears almost always as an independent and

[3] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, pp. 506 and 513.
[4] Supra, p. 26.
[5] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, § 9, note 6, p. 514.

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unattached divinity;[6] while Beltis and Gula are presented to us in colours as strong and a form as distinct as their husbands, Bel and Shamas. Again, there are minor goddesses, such as Telita, the goddess of the great marshes near Babylon,[7] who stand alone, unaccompanied by any male. The minor male divinities are also, it would seem, very generally without female counterparts.[8]

Of these minor male divinities the most noticeable are Martu, a son of Anu, who is called "the minister of the deep," and seems to correspond to the Greek Erebus;[9] Sargana, another son of Anu, from whom Sargon is thought by some to have derived his name;[1] Idak, god of the Tigris; Supulat, lord of the Euphrates;[2] and Il or Ra, who seems to be the Babylonian chief god transferred to Assyria, and there placed in a humble position.[3] Besides these, cuneiform scholars recognise in the Inscriptions some scores of divine names, of more or less doubtful etymology, some of which are thought to designate distinct gods, while others may be names of deities known familiarly to us under a different appellation.[4] Into this branch of the subject it is not proposed to enter in the present work, which addresses itself to the general reader.

It is probable that, besides gods, the Assyrians acknowledged the existence of a number of genii, some of whom they regarded as powers of good, others as powers of evil. The winged figure wearing the horned cap, which is so constantly represented as

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[6] It is only in Babylonia, and even there during but one reign (that of Nebuchadnezzar), that Ishtar appears as the wife of Nebo. (See above, vol. i. p. 139.) Elsewhere she is separate and independent, attached as wife to no male deity, though not unfrequently conjoined with Asshur.

[7] Telita is, apparently, the goddess mentioned by Berosus as the original of the Greek θάλασσα. (Fr. 1.) The inscriptions of Sargon mention a city named after her, which was situated on the lower Tigris. This is probably the Θαλάθα of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 20), which he places near the mouth of the river.

[8] Martu, however, has a wife, who is called "the lady of Tigganna" (Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, § 3, ii., note [9]), and Idak, the god of the Tigris (mentioned below), has a wife, Belat Muk (ibid. § 4, p. 526).

[9] See vol. i. p. 115.

[1] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 488.

[2] Ibid. p. 526.

[3] Tiglath-Pileser I. repairs a temple of Il or Ra at Asshur about B.C. 1150. (*Inscription*, pp. 56-58.) Otherwise we scarcely hear of the worship of Ra out of Babylonia.

[4] See Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 527.

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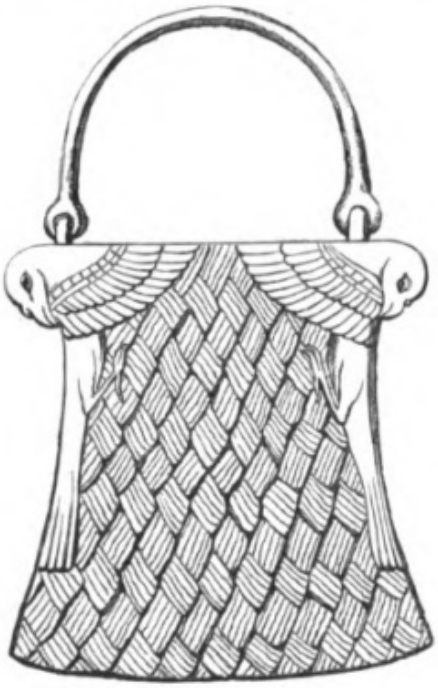
attending upon the monarch when he is employed in any sacred function,[5] would seem to be his tutelary genius—a benignant spirit who watches over him, and protects him from the spirits of darkness. This figure commonly bears in the right hand either a pomegranate or a pine-cone, while the left is either free or else supports a sort of plaited bag or basket. Where the pine-cone is carried, it is invariably pointed towards the monarch, as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which grace and

Winged figure in horned cap (Nimrud).



The sacred basket (Khorsabad).

power passed from the genius to the mortal whom he had undertaken to guard. Why the pine-cone was chosen for this purpose it is difficult to form a conjecture. Perhaps it had originally become a sacred emblem merely as a symbol of productiveness,[6] after which it was made to subserve a further purpose, without much regard to its old symbolical meaning.

The sacred basket, held in the left hand, is of still more

[5] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, 36; Botta, *Monument*, Pls. 27 and 28.
[6] Supra, page 9.

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dubious interpretation. It is an object of great elegance, always elaborately and sometimes very tastefully ornamented.[7] Possibly it may represent the receptacle in which the divine gifts are stored, and from which they can be taken by the genius at his discretion, to be bestowed upon the mortal under his care.

Another good genius would seem to be represented by the hawk-headed figure, which is likewise found in attendance upon the monarch, attentively watching his proceedings. This figure has been called that of a god, and has been supposed to represent the Nisroch of Holy Scripture;[8] but the only ground for such an identification is the conjectural derivation of Nisroch from a root *nisr*, which in some Semitic languages signifies a "hawk" or "falcon." As *nisr*, however, has not been found with any such meaning in Assyrian, and as the word "Nisroch" nowhere appears in the Inscriptions,[9] it must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful whether there is any real connection between the hawk-headed figure and the god in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated. The various readings of the Septuagint version[10] make it extremely uncertain what was the name actually written in the original Hebrew text. Nisroch, which is utterly unlike any divine name hitherto found in the Assyrian records, is most probably a corruption. At any rate there are no sufficient grounds for identifying the god mentioned, whatever the true reading of his name may be, with the hawk-

The hawk-headed genius (Khorsabad).

[7] The basket is often ornamented with winged figures in adoration before the sacred tree, and themselves holding baskets. (See Layard, *Monuments*, First Series, Pls. 34 and 36.)

[8] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 459.

[9] M. Oppert, it is true, reads a certain monogram as "Nisruk," and recognises in the god whom it designates—Hea or Hoa—the Nisroch of Holy Scripture. But sounder scholars regard his reading as a very wild and rash conjecture.

[10] In Is. xxxvii. 38 the MSS. give either Ασαράχ or Νασαράχ. In 2 Kings xix. 37 the greater part of the MSS. have Μεσοράχ.

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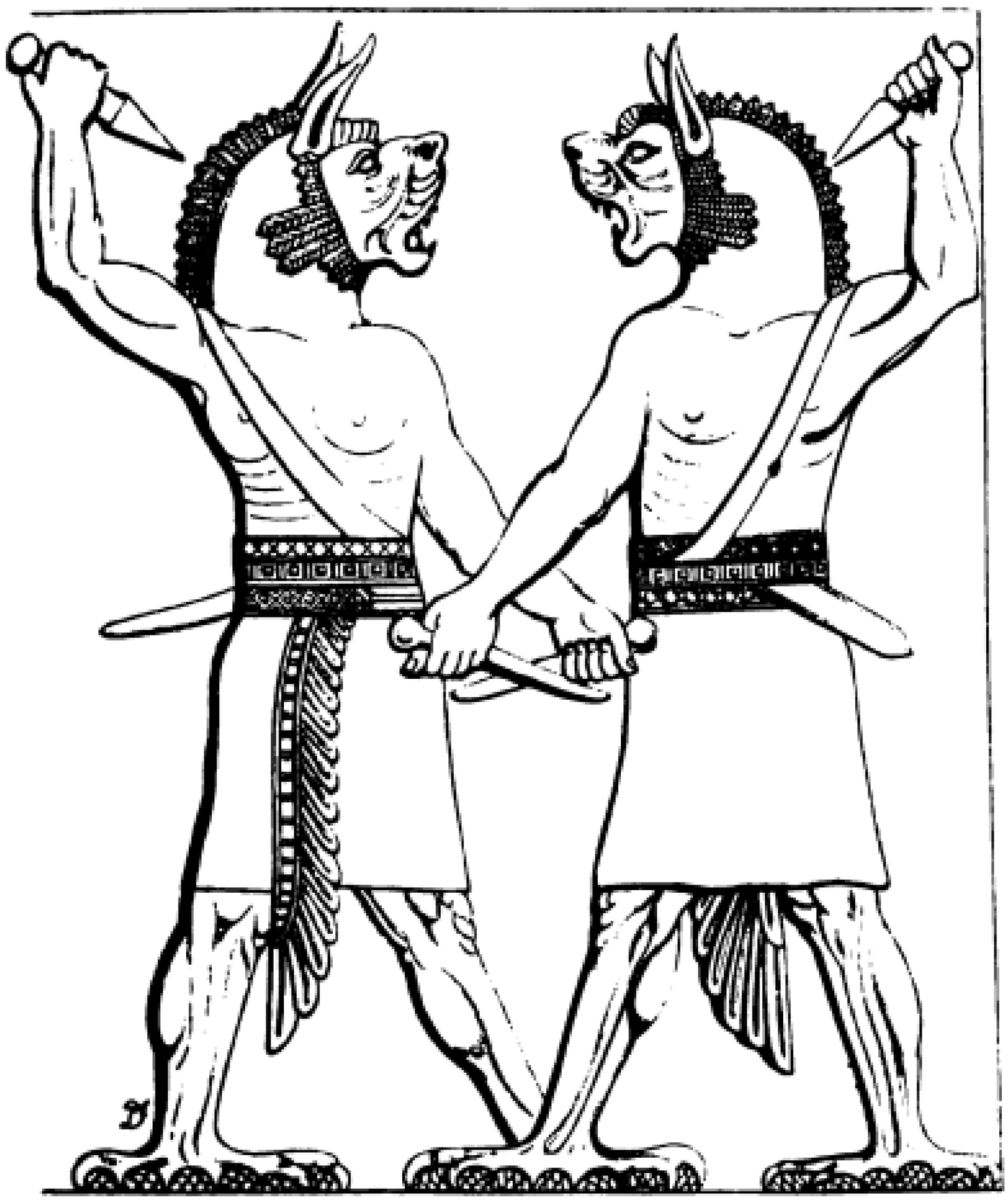
headed figure, which has the appearance of an attendant genius rather than that of a god, and which was certainly not included among the main deities of Assyria.[11]

Representations of evil genii are comparatively infrequent; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding as either an evil



Evil genii contending (Koyunjik).

genius, or a representation of the evil principle, the monster—half lion, half eagle—which in the Nimrud sculptures [12] retreats from the attacks of a god, probably Vul,[13] who assails him with thunderbolts. Again, in the case of certain grotesque statuettes found

[11] The deities proper are not represented as in *attendance* on the monarch. This is an office too low for them. Occasionally, as in the case of Asshur, they *from heaven* guard and assist the king. But even this is exceptional. Ordinarily they stand, or sit, in solemn state to receive offerings and worship.

[12] A representation on a large scale is given by Mr. Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 5.

[13] See above, page 19.

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at Khorsabad, one of which is engraved in the first volume of this work,[14] where a human figure has the head of a lion with the ears of an ass, the most natural explanation seems to be that an evil genius is intended. In another instance, where we see two monsters with heads like the statuette just mentioned, placed on human bodies, the legs of which terminate in claws—both of them armed with daggers and maces, and engaged in a struggle with one another[15]—we seem to have a symbolical representation of the tendency of evil to turn upon itself, and reduce itself to feebleness by internal quarrel and disorder.[16] A considerable number of instances occur in which a human figure, with the head of a hawk or eagle, threatens a winged human-headed lion—the emblem of Nergal—with a strap or mace.[17] In these we may have a spirit of evil assailing a god, or possibly one god opposing another—the hawk-headed god or genius driving Nergal (*i. e.* War) beyond the Assyrian borders.

If we pass from the objects to the mode of worship in Assyria, we must notice at the outset the strongly idolatrous character of the religion. Not only were images of the gods worshipped set up, as a matter of course, in every temple dedicated to their honour, but the gods were sometimes so identified with their images as to be multiplied in popular estimation when they had several famous temples, in each of which was a famous image. Thus we hear of the Ishtar of Arbela, the Ishtar of Nineveh, and the Ishtar of Babylon, and find these goddesses invoked separately, as distinct divinities, by one and the same king in one and the same Inscription.[18] In other cases, without this multiplication, we observe expressions which imply a similar identification of the actual god with the mere image. Tiglath-Pileser I. boasts that he has set Anu and Vul (*i. e.* their images) up in their places.[19] He identifies repeatedly the images which he carries

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[14] Supra, vol. i. p. 342.

[15] See the woodcut on the preceding page. This scene was represented in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. The sculpture is in the British Museum.

[16] This tendency is well illustrated by Plato in the first Book of his Republic, § 23.

[17] Layard, *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 45, 1; 48, 3; 49, 4; compare above, vol. i. p. 346.

[18] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 10; *Journal of As. Society*, vol. xix. p. 163.

[19] *Inscription*, pp. 66 and 70.

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off from foreign countries with the gods of those countries.[1] In a similar spirit Sennacherib asks, by the mouth of Rabshakeh, "*Where are the gods* of Hamath and of Arpad? *Where are the gods* of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"[2]—and again, unable to rise to the conception of a purely spiritual deity, supposes that, because Hezekiah has destroyed all the images throughout Judæa,[3] he has left his people without any divine protection.[4] The carrying off of the idols from conquered countries, which we find universally practised, was not perhaps intended as a mere sign of the power of the conqueror, and of the superiority of his gods to those of his enemies: it was probably designed further to weaken those enemies by depriving them of their celestial protectors; and it may even have been viewed as strengthening the conqueror by multiplying his divine guardians. It was certainly usual to remove the images in a reverential manner;[5] and it was the custom to deposit them in some of the principal temples of Assyria.[6] We may presume that there lay at the root of this practice a real belief in the supernatural power of the images themselves, and a notion that, with the possession of the images, this power likewise changed sides and passed over from the conquered to the conquerors.

Assyrian idols were in stone, baked clay, or metal. Some images of Nebo and of Ishtar have been obtained from the ruins. Those of Nebo are standing figures, of a larger size than the human, though not greatly exceeding it. They have been much injured by time, and it is difficult to pronounce decidedly on their original workmanship; but, judging by what appears, it would seem to have been of a ruder and coarser character than that of the slabs or of the royal statues. The Nebo images are heavy, formal, inexpressive, and not over well-proportioned; but they are not wanting in a certain quiet dignity which impresses the beholder.[7] They are unfortunately dis-

[1] *Inscription*, pp. 28, 30, 40, 50, &c.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 34. Sennacherib means to say—"Where are their gods now? [i.e. their idols.] Are they not captive in Assyria?" See above, vol. i. p. 475.

[3] Ibid. verse 4. [4] Ibid. ver. 22.

[5] See the various representations of the removal of gods in Mr. Layard's works. (*Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 65 and 67 A; 2nd Series, Pl. 50; *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. opposite p. 451.)

[6] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 30 and 40.

[7] See the representation, vol. i. p. 141.

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figured, like so many of the lions and bulls, by several lines of cuneiform writing inscribed round their bodies; but this artistic defect is pardoned by the antiquarian, who learns from the inscribed lines the fact that the statues represent Nebo, and the time and circumstances of their dedication.

Clay idols are very frequent. They are generally in a good material, and are of various sizes, yet never approaching to the full stature of humanity. Generally they are mere statuettes, less than a foot in height. Specimens have been selected for representation in the preceding volume, from which a general idea of their character is obtainable.[8] They are, like the stone idols, formal and inexpressive in style, while they are even ruder and coarser than those figures in workmanship. We must regard them as intended chiefly for private use among the mass of the population,[9] while we must view the stone idols as the objects of public worship in the shrines and temples.

Idols in metal have not hitherto appeared among the objects recovered from the Assyrian cities. We may conclude, however, from the passage of Nahum prefixed to this chapter,[10] as well as from general probability, that they were known and used by the Assyrians, who seem to have even admitted them—no less than stone statues—into their temples. The ordinary metal used was no doubt bronze; but in Assyria as in Babylonia,[11] silver, and perhaps in some few instances gold, may have been employed for idols, in cases where they were intended as proofs to the world at large of the wealth and magnificence of a monarch.

The Assyrians worshipped their gods chiefly with sacrifices and offerings. Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that he offered sacrifice to Anu and Vul on completing the repairs of their temple.[12]

[8] See vol. i. pp. 140, 341, and 342.

[9] Clay idols were also deposited in holes below the pavement of palaces, which (it may be supposed) were thus placed under their protection. (See M. Botta's *Monument de Ninive*, vol. v. p. 41.)

[10] Nahum i. 14. "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee (Nineveh), that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the *molten* image."

[11] Dan. iii. 1; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, &c. Compare Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay* in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 517, note [8].

[12] *Inscription*, pp. 68-70.

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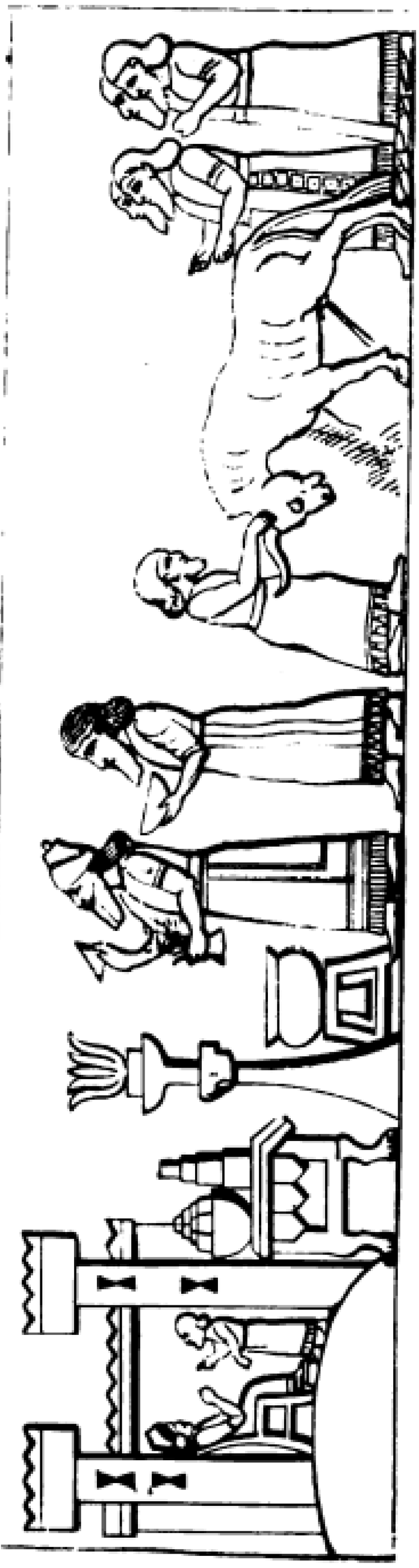
Asshur-izir-pal says that he sacrificed to the gods after embarking on the Mediterranean.[13] Vul-lush IV. sacrificed to Bel-Merodach, Nebo, and Nergal, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha.[14] Sennacherib offered sacrifices to Hoa on the sea-shore after an expedition in the Persian Gulf.[15] Esarhaddon "slew great and costly sacrifices" at Nineveh upon completing his great palace in that capital.[16] Sacrifice was clearly regarded as a duty by the kings generally, and was the ordinary mode by which they propitiated the favour of the national deities.

With respect to the mode of sacrifice we have only a small amount of information, derived from a very few bas-reliefs. These unite in representing the bull as the special sacrificial animal.[17] In one [18] we simply see a bull brought up to a temple by the king; but in another,[19] which is more elaborate, we seem to have the whole of a sacrificial scene fairly, if not exactly,



Sacrificial scene (from an obelisk found at Nimrud)

[13] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 28.
[14] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Essay*, p. 516.
[15] Ibid. p. 495. [16] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 18.
[17] That sheep and goats were also used for sacrifice we learn from the inscriptions. (*Assyrian Texts*, pp. 3, 4.) There is one representation of a ram, or wild-goat, being led to the altar (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 469.)
[18] This is on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, a monument of the reign of Esarhaddon. A representation of it will be found in Mr. Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh Restored*, p. 298.
[19] This scene is represented on a mutilated obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-izir-pal, which is now in the British Museum. The sculptures on this curious monument are still unpublished.

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brought before us. Towards the front of a temple, where the god, recognisable by his horned cap, appears seated upon a throne, with an attendant priest, who is beardless, paying adoration to him, advances a procession consisting of the king and six priests, one of whom carries a cup, while the other five are employed about the animal. The king pours a libation over a large bowl, fixed in a stand, immediately in front of a tall fire-altar, from which flames are rising. Close behind this stands the priest with a cup, from which we may suppose that the monarch will pour a second libation. Next we observe a bearded priest directly in front of the bull, checking the advance of the animal, which is not to be offered till the libation is over. The bull is also held by a pair of priests, who walk behind him and restrain him with a rope attached to one of his fore-legs a little above the hoof. Another pair of priests, following closely on the footsteps of the first pair, completes the procession: the four seem, from the position of their heads and arms, to be engaged in a solemn chant. It is probable, from the flame upon the altar,[1] that there is to be some burning of the sacrifice; while it is evident, from the altar being of such a small size, that only certain parts of the animal can be consumed upon it. We may conclude therefore that the Assyrian sacrifices resembled those of the classical nations,[2] consisting not of whole burnt offerings, but of a selection of choice parts, regarded as specially pleasing to the gods, which were placed upon the altar and burnt, while the remainder of the victim was consumed by priest or people.

Assyrian altars were of various shapes and sizes. One type was square, and of no great height; it had its top ornamented with gradines, below which the sides were either plain or fluted.[3] Another, which was also of moderate height, was triangular, but with a circular top, consisting of a single flat

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[1] Altars of the shape here represented are always crowned with flames, which generally take a conical shape, but are here made to spread into a number of tongues. At Khorsabad the flames on such altars were painted red. (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, Pl. 146.)

[2] See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voc. SACRIFICIUM.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 308, No. I., and p. 310, No. V.

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stone, perfectly plain, except that it was sometimes inscribed round the edge.[4] A third type is that represented in the sacrificial scene on the last page but one. This is a sort of portable stand—narrow, but of considerable height, reaching nearly to a man's chin. Altars of this kind seem to have been carried about by the Assyrians in their expeditions: we see them occasionally in the entrenched camps,[5] and observe priests officiating at them in their dress of office.

Triangular altar (Khorsabad).

Besides their sacrifices of animals, the Assyrian kings were accustomed to deposit in the temples of their gods, as thank-offerings, many precious products from the countries which they overran in their expeditions. Stones and marbles of various kinds, rare metals, and images of foreign deities, are particularly mentioned;[6] but it would seem to be most probable that some portion of all the more valuable articles was thus dedicated. Silver and gold were certainly used largely in the adornment of the temples, which are sometimes said to have been made "as splendid as the sun,"[7] by reason of the profuse employment upon them of these precious metals.[7]

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

It is difficult to determine how the ordinary worship of the

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[4] An altar of this shape was found by M. Botta at Khorsabad. (*Monument*, Pl. 157.) Another nearly similar was discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud (*Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 4), and is now in the British Museum.

[5] Botta, Pl. 146; Layard, 2nd Series, Pl. 24.

[6] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, pp. 30, 38, 66, &c.

[7] *Assyrian Texts*, p. 16.

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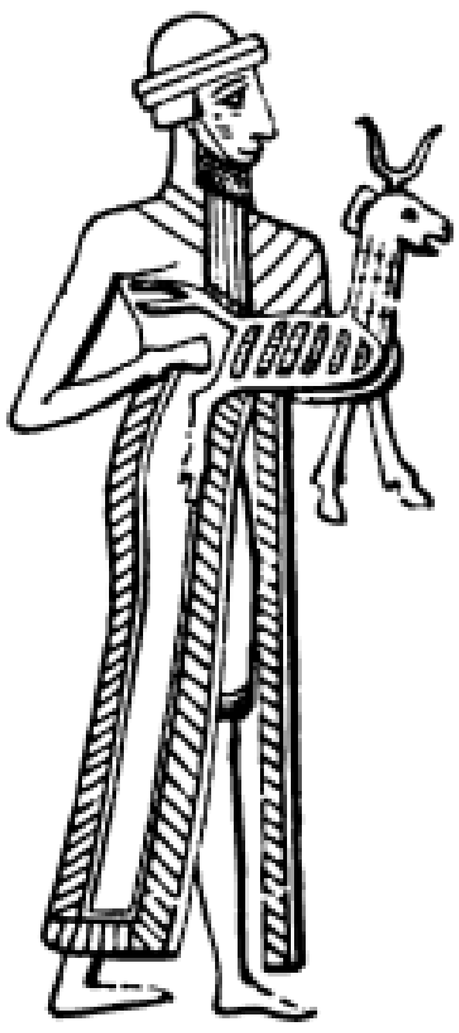
gods was conducted. The sculptures are for the most part monuments erected by kings; and, when these have a religious character, they represent the performance by the kings of their own religious duties, from which little can be concluded as to the religious observances of the people. The kings seem to have united the priestly with the regal character; and in the religious scenes representing their acts of worship, no priest ever intervenes between them and the god, or appears to assume any but a very subordinate position. The king himself stands and worships in close proximity to the holy tree; with his own hand he pours libations; and it is not unlikely that he was entitled with his own arm to sacrifice victims.[8] But we can scarcely suppose that the people had these privileges. Sacerdotal ideas have prevailed in almost all Oriental monarchies, and it is notorious that they had a strong hold upon the neighbouring and nearly connected kingdom of Babylon. The Assyrians generally, it is probable, approached the gods through their priests; and it would seem to be these priests who are represented upon the cylinders as introducing worshippers to the gods, dressed themselves in long robes, and with a curious mitre upon their heads. The worshipper seldom comes empty-handed. He carries commonly in his arms an antelope or young goat,[9] which we may presume to be an offering intended to propitiate the deity.



Worshipper bringing an offering (from a cylinder).

It is remarkable that the priests in the sculptures are generally, if not invariably, beardless.[10] It is scarcely probable that

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[8] The kings often *say* that they sacrificed. (*Tiglath-Pileser Inscription*, pp. 66 and 68; *Assyrian Texts*, p. 18, &c.) But we cannot conclude from this with any certainty that it was with their own hand they slew the victims. (Compare 1 K. viii. 63.) Still they may have done so.

[9] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxvii. No. 7; xxxviii. Nos. 2, 3, 6; xxxix. No. 7, &c.

[10] See Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pls. 24 and 50; Botta, *Monument*, Pl. 146. If the figure carrying an antelope, and having on the head a highly ornamented fillet (Botta, Pl. 43) is a priest, and if that character belongs to the attendants in the sacrificial scene above

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they were eunuchs, since mutilation is in the East always regarded as a species of degradation. Perhaps they merely shaved the beard for greater cleanliness, like the priests of the Egytians;[11] and possibly it was a custom only obligatory on the upper grades of the priesthood.[12]

We have no evidence of the establishment of set festivals in Assyria. Apparently the monarchs decided, of their own will, when a feast should be held to any god;[13] and, proclamation being made, the feast was held accordingly. Vast numbers, especially of the chief men, were assembled on such occasions; numerous sacrifices were offered, and the festivities lasted for several days. A considerable proportion of the worshippers were accommodated in the royal palace, to which the temple was ordinarily a mere adjunct, being fed at the king's cost, and lodged in the halls and other apartments.[14]

The Assyrians made occasionally a religious use of fasting. The evidence on this point is confined to the Book of Jonah,[15] which, however, distinctly shows both the fact and the nature of the usage. When a fast was proclaimed, the king, the nobles, and the people exchanged their ordinary apparel for sackcloth, sprinkled ashes upon their heads, and abstained alike from food and drink until the fast was over. The animals also that were within the walls of the city where the fast was commanded, had sackcloth placed upon them;[1] and the same abstinence was enforced upon them as was enjoined on the inhabitants. Ordinary business was suspended, and the whole population united in prayer to Asshur, the supreme god, whose pardon they en-

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represented (supra, p. 35), we must consider that the beard was worn at least by some grades of the priesthood.

[11] Herod. iii. 37.

[12] Observe that in the sacrificial scene (supra, p. 35) the priest who approaches close to the god is beardless; and that in the camp scene (Layard, *Monuments*, 2nd Series, Pl. 50) the priest in a tall cap is shaven, while the other, who has no such dignified head-dress, wears a beard.

[13] *Assyrian Texts*, pp. 11 and 18. Compare the Black Obelisk Inscription, p. 426.

[14] See the account given by Esarhaddon of his great festival (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 18).

[15] Jonah iii. 5-9.

[1] There is a remarkable parallel to this in a Persian practice mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 24). In the mourning for Masistius, a little before the battle of Platæa, the Persian troops not only shaved off their own hair, but similarly disfigured their horses and their beasts of burthen.

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treated, and whose favour they sought to propitiate. These proceedings were not merely formal. On the occasion mentioned in the Book of Jonah, the repentance of the Ninevites seems to have been sincere. "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them: and he did it not."[2]

The religious sentiment appears, on the whole, to have been strong and deep-seated among the Assyrians. Although religion had not the prominence in Assyria which it possessed in Egypt, or even in Greece—although the temple was subordinated to the palace,[3] and the most imposing of the representations of the gods[4] were degraded to mere architectural ornaments—yet the Assyrians appear to have been really, nay, even earnestly, religious. Their religion, it must be admitted, was of a sensuous character. They not only practised image-worship, but believed in the actual power of the idols to give protection or work mischief; nor could they rise to the conception of a purely spiritual and immaterial deity. Their ordinary worship was less one of prayer than one by means of sacrifices and offerings. They could, however, we know, in the time of trouble, utter sincere prayers; and we are bound therefore to credit them with an honest purpose in respect of the many solemn addresses and invocations which occur both in their public and their private documents. The numerous mythological tablets[5] testify to the large amount of attention which was paid to religious subjects by the learned; while the general character of their names, and the practice of inscribing sacred figures and emblems upon their signets, which was almost universal, seem to indicate a spirit of piety on the part of the mass of the people.

The sensuous cast of the religion naturally led to a pompous ceremonial, a fondness for processional display, and the use of magnificent vestments. These last are represented with great minuteness in the Nimrud sculptures.[6] The dresses of those

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[2] Jonah iii. 10.
[3] See above, vol. i. p. 278.
[4] The winged bulls and lions, which respectively symbolise Nin and Nergal.
[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 400.
[6] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments*, 1st Series, Pls. 5, 6, 8, 9, &c.

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engaged in sacred functions seem to have been elaborately embroidered, for the most part with religious figures and emblems, such as the winged circle, the pine-cone, the pomegranate, the sacred tree, the human-headed lion, and the like. Armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings were worn by the officiating priests, whose heads were either encircled with a richly-ornamented fillet,[7] or covered with a mitre or high cap of imposing appearance.[8] Musicians had a place in the processions, and accompanied the religious ceremonies with playing or chanting, or, in some instances, possibly with both.

It is remarkable that the religious emblems of the Assyrians are almost always free from that character of grossness which, in the classical works of art, so often offends modern delicacy. The sculptured remains present us with no representations at all parallel to the phallic emblems of the Greeks. Still we are perhaps not entitled to conclude, from this comparative purity, that the Assyrian religion was really exempt from that worst feature of idolatrous systems—a licensed religious sensualism. According to Herodotus, the Babylonian worship of Beltis was disgraced by a practice which even he, heathen as he was, regarded as "most shameful."[9] Women were required once in their lives to repair to the temple of this goddess, and there offer themselves to the embrace of the first man who desired their company. In the Apocryphal Book of Baruch we find a clear allusion to the same custom,[10] so that there can be little doubt of its having really obtained in Babylonia; but if so, it would seem to follow, almost as a matter of course, that the worship of the same identical goddess in the adjoining country included a similar usage. It may be to this practice that the prophet Nahum alludes, where he denounces Nineveh as a "well-favoured harlot," the multitude of whose harlotries was notorious.[11]

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[7] Botta, *Monument*, Pl. 43.

[8] Supra, vol. i. p. 570.

[9] Herod. i. 199. Αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων.

[10] Baruch vi. 43. "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

[11] Nahum iii. 4. It is, however, more likely that the allusion is to the idolatrous practices of the Ninevites. (See above, vol. i. p. 246, note [1].)

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

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CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

Τὰ παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὕρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξ ἧς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι.—THUCID. i. 20.

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

The duration of a single unbroken empire continuously for 1306 (or 1360) years,[2] which is the time assigned to the Assyrian

[1] See particularly the long Essays of the Abbé Sevin and of Freret in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vols. iv. and vii. (12th edition). Compare Volney, *Recherches sur l'Histoire ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 381-511, and Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. Ap. ch. iv.

[2] The latter is the number in the present text of Diodorus (ii. 21). But Agathias and Syncellus seem to have had 1306 in their copies. (See Agath. ii. 25, p. 120; Syncell. p. 359, C. Compare Augustin. *Civ. D.* xviii. 21.)

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

There can be no doubt that a monarchy lasting about six centuries and a half, and ruled by at least two or three different dynasties, is *per se* a thing far more probable than one ruled by one and the same dynasty for more than thirteen centuries. And, therefore, if the historical evidence in the two cases is at all equal—or rather, if that which supports the more improbable account does not greatly preponderate—we ought to give

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[3] See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxv. (vol. iv. pp. 251, 252, Smith's edition).

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 171.

[5] From B.C. 256 to A.D. 226. (See Heeren's *Manual of Ancient History*, pp. 299-304, E. T.)

[6] From B.C. 559 to B.C. 331, the date of the battle of Arbela.

[7] Herod. i. 130.

[8] From B.C. 625 to B.C. 538. (See the Historical Chapter of the "Fourth Monarchy.")

[9] Moderate Egyptologers refer the commencement of a settled monarchy in Egypt to about B.C. 2600 or 2500 (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 288-290; Stuart Poole in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary* ad voc. CHRONOLOGY). Mr. Palmer (*Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 896) brings the date down to B.C. 2224, and Mr. Nash (*Pharaoh of the Exodus*, p. 305) to B.C. 1785. The lowest of these dates would make the whole duration, from Menes to Nectanebus, fourteen and a half centuries.

[10] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 8.

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credence to the more moderate and probable of the two statements.

Now, putting aside authors who merely re-echo the statements of others, there seem to be, in the present case, two and two only distinct original authorities—Herodotus and Ctesias. Of these two Herodotus is the earlier. He writes within two centuries of the termination of the Assyrian rule,[1] whereas Ctesias writes at least thirty years later.[2] He is of unimpeachable honesty, and may be thoroughly trusted to have reported only what he had heard.[3] He had travelled in the East, and had done his best to obtain accurate information upon Oriental matters, consulting on the subject, among others, the Chaldæans of Babylon.[4] He had, moreover, taken special pains to inform himself upon all that related to Assyria, which he designed to make the subject of an elaborate work distinct from his general history.[5]

Ctesias, like Herodotus, had had the advantage of visiting the East. It may be argued that he possessed even better opportunities than the earlier writer for becoming acquainted with the views which the Orientals entertained of their own past. Herodotus probably devoted but a few months, or at most a year or two, to his Oriental travels; Ctesias passed seventeen years at the Court of Persia.[6] Herodotus was merely an ordinary traveller, and had no peculiar facilities for acquiring information in the East; Ctesias was court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon,[7] and was thus likely to gain access to any archives which the Persian kings might have in their keeping.[8]

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[1] The Assyrian rule terminated B.C. 625 (or, according to some, B.C. 606). Herodotus seems to have died about B.C. 425. (See the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. i. p. 27, 2nd edition.)

[2] Ctesias returned from Persia to Greece in the year B.C. 398. (See Mure's *Literature of Greece*, vol. v. p. 483.) He may have published his *Persica* about B.C. 395. Xenophon quotes it about B.C. 380.

[3] See the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. pp. 61-64, 2nd ed.) Compare Mure's *Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 351.

[4] Herod. i. 183.

[5] Ibid. i. 106 and 184. Whether this intention was ever executed or no, is still a moot point among scholars. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199, note [7], 2nd edit.)

[6] Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4.

[7] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 26.

[8] Ctesias appears to have stated that he drew his history from documents written upon parchment belonging to the Persian kings (ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν, Diod. Sic. l. s. c.).

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But these advantages seem to have been more than neutralised by the temper and spirit of the man. He commenced his work with the broad assertion that Herodotus was "a liar,"[9] and was therefore bound to differ from him when he treated of the same periods or nations. He does differ from him, and also from Thucydides,[10] whenever they handle the same transactions; but in scarcely a single instance where he differs from either writer does his narrative seem to be worthy of credit. The cuneiform monuments, while they generally confirm Herodotus, contradict Ctesias perpetually.[11] He is at variance with Manetho on Egyptian, with Ptolemy on Babylonian, chronology.[12] No independent writer confirms him on any important point. His Oriental history is quite incompatible with the narrative of Scripture.[13] On every ground, the judgment of Aristotle, of Plutarch, of Arrian, of Scaliger,[14] and of almost all the best critics of modern times,[15] with respect to the credibility of Ctesias, is to be maintained, and his authority is to be regarded as of the very slightest value in determining any controverted matter.

The chronology of Herodotus, which is on all accounts to be preferred, assigns the commencement of the Assyrian Empire to about B.C. 1250, or a little earlier,[16] and gives the monarchy a duration of nearly 650 years from that time. The Assyrians,

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[9] Phot. *Bibliothec.* Cod. LXXII., p. 107.

[10] Compare Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* § 32 et seq. with Thucyd i. 104, 109, and 110.

[11] For proofs see the author's *Herodotus*, Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. p. 63, note [8]).

[12] In the number of years which he assigns to the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis.

[13] *E.g.* he places the destruction of Nineveh about B.C. 875, long before the time of Jonah!

[14] See Arist. *Hist. An.* ii. 3, § 10; iii. sub fin.; viii. 26, § 3; *Gen. An.* ii. 2; *Pol.* v. 8; Plut. *Vit. Artaxerx.* 13; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* v. 4; Scaliger, *De emend. temp.* Not. ad Fragm. subj. pp. 39-43.

[15] As Niebuhr (*Lectures on Ancient History*, vol. i. pp. 21, 22, 28, 30); Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 432); Mure (*History of Greek Literature*, vol. v. pp. 487-497), &c.

[16] The Assyrian "Empire," according to Herodotus (i. 95), lasted 520 years. The Medes then revolted, and remained for some time without a king. After a while the regal power was conferred on Deïoces, who reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who reigned 22 years. Cyaxares then ascended the Median throne, and after reigning at least 30 years, took Nineveh and destroyed the Assyrian kingdom. This was (according to Herodotus) about B.C. 603. The commencement of the empire was $(520+x+53+22+30=)$ $625+x$ years earlier, or B.C. $1228+x$.

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according to him, held the undisputed supremacy of Western Asia for 520 years, or from about B.C. 1250 to about B.C. 730—after which they maintained themselves in an independent but less exalted position for about 130 years longer, till nearly the close of the seventh century before our era. These dates are not indeed to be accepted without reserve; but they approximate to the truth, and are, at any rate, greatly preferable to those of Ctesias.

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

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

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

According to Herodotus.	ab. B.C.	ab. B.C.
Great Empire, lasting 520 years .	1250	to 730
Revolt of Medes	730	
Curtailed Kingdom, lasting 130 yrs.	730	to 600
Destruction of Nineveh . .	600	

According to Berosus.	ab. B.C.	ab. B.C.
Assyrian Dynasty of 45 kings in Babylon (526 years)	1301	to 775
Reign of Pul (about 28 years). .	775	to 747
Assyrian kings from Pul to Saracus (122 years)	747	to 625
Destruction of Nineveh . .	625	

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In the case of a history so ancient as that of Assyria, we might well be content if our chronology were vague merely to the extent of the variations here indicated. The parade of exact dates with reference to very early times is generally fallacious, unless it be understood as adopted simply for the sake of convenience. In the history of Assyria, however, we may make a nearer approach to exactness than in most others of the same antiquity, owing to the existence of two chronological documents of first-rate importance. One of these is the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which, though it is directly a Babylonian record, has important bearings on the chronology of Assyria. The other is an Assyrian Canon, discovered and edited by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1862,[17] which gives the succession of the kings for 251 years, commencing (as in thought) B.C. 911 and terminating B.C. 660, eight years after the accession of the son and successor of Esarhaddon. These two documents, which harmonise admirably, carry up an *exact* Assyrian chronology almost from the close of the empire to the tenth century before our era. For the period anterior to this we have, in the Assyrian records, one or two isolated dates, dates fixed in later times with more or less of exactness; and of these we might have been inclined to think little, but that they harmonise remarkably with the statements of Berosus and Herodotus, which place the commencement of the Empire about B.C. 1300, or a little later. We have, further, certain lists of kings, forming continuous lines of descent from father to son, by means of which we may fill up the blanks that would otherwise remain in our chronological scheme with approximate dates calculated from an estimate of generations. From these various sources the subjoined scheme has been composed, the sources being indicated at the side, and the fixed dates being carefully distinguished from those which are uncertain or approximate.

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[17] See *Athenæum*, No. 1812. M. Oppert's claim to the first publication of this document (*Inscriptions des Sar-gonides*, p. 15) is simply (and literally) preposterous.

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KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

B.C.	B.C.			
—	—	Bel-sumili-kapi	Called the founder of the kingdom on a genealogical tablet.	Early Kingdom.
		• • • •		
—	—	Irba-vul	Mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I. as a former king. A very archaic tablet in the British Museum is dated in his reign.	
		• • • •		
—	—	Asshur-iddin-akhi	Mentioned by Tiglath-pileser as a former king.	
		• • • •		
Ab. 1440 to 1420		Asshur-bil-nisi-su	Mentioned on a synchronistic tablet, which connects them with the time of Burna-buriyas, the Chaldean king. Asshur-upallit mentioned on Kileh-Sherghat bricks.	
— 1420 to 1400		Buzur-Asshur (successor)		
— 1400 to 1380		Asshur-upallit (successor)		
— 1380 to 1360		Bel-kish (his son)	Names and succession found on Kileh-Sherghat bricks, vases, &c. Shalmaneser mentioned also on a genealogical slab and in the standard inscription of Nimrud.	
— 1360 to 1340		Pud-il (his son)		
— 1340 to 1320		Vul-kish I. (his son)		
— 1320 to 1300		Shalmaneser I. (his son)		
— 1300 to 1290		Tiglathi-Nin (his son)	Mentioned on a genealogical tablet. Called "the conqueror of Babylon," and placed by Sennacherib 600 years before his own capture of Babylon in B.C. 703.	
		• • • •		
— 1230 to 1210		Bel-kudur-uzur	Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet as the predecessor of Nin-pala-zira.	
— 1210 to 1190		Nin-pala-zira (successor)	Names and relationship given in cylinder of Tiglath-pileser I.	Great Empire of Herodotus, 526 years of Berosus.
— 1190 to 1170		Asshur-dayan I. (his son)		
— 1170 to 1150		Mutargil-Nebo (his son)		
— 1150 to 1130		Asshur-ris-ilim (his son)	Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet above spoken of. Date of Tiglath-pileser I. fixed by the Bavian inscription. Dates of the other kings calculated from his at 20 years to a generation.	
— 1130 to 1110		Tiglath-pileser I. (his son)		
— 1110 to 1090		Asshur-bil-kala (his son)		
— 1090 to 1070		Shamas-Vul I. (his brother)		
		• • • •		
		Asshur-mazur	Mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II.	
		• • • •		
— 930 to 911		Asshur-dayan II.	The kings from Asshur-dayan II. to Vul-lush III. are proved to have been in direct succession by the Kileh-Sherghat and Nimrud monuments. The last nine reigns are given in the Assyrian Canon. The Canon is the sole authority for the last three. The dates of the whole series are determined from the Canon of Ptolemy by calculating back from B.C. 680, his date for the accession of Esar-haddon (Asaridanus). They might also be fixed from the year of the great eclipse.	
911 to 889		Vul-lush II. (his son)		
889 to 883		Tiglathi-Nin II. (his son)		
883 to 858		Asshur-izir-pal (his son)		
858 to 823		Shalmaneser II. (his son)		
823 to 810		Shamas-Vul II. (his son)		
810 to 781		Vul-lush III. (his son)		
781 to 771		Shalmaneser III.		
771 to 753		Asshur-dayan III.		
753 to 745		Asshur-lush		
745 to 727		Tiglath-pileser II.	The years of these kings, from Esar-haddon upwards, are taken from the Assyrian Canon. The dates accord strictly with the Canon of Ptolemy. The last year of Asshur-bani-pal is to some extent conjectural.	Later Kingdom of Herodotus and Berosus.
727 to 722		Shalmaneser IV.		
722 to 705		Sargon		
705 to 681		Sennacherib (his son)		
681 to 668		Esar-haddon (his son)		
668 to 626 (?)		Asshur-bani-pal (his son)		
626 (?) to 625		Asshur-emid-ilin		

It will be observed that in this list the chronology of Assyria is carried back to a period nearly a century and a half anterior to B.C. 1300, the approximate date, according to Herodotus and

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Berosus, of the establishment of the "Empire." It might have been concluded, from the mere statement of Herodotus, that Assyria existed before the time of which he spoke, since an Empire can only be formed by a people already flourishing. Assyria as an independent kingdom is the natural antecedent of Assyria as an Imperial power; and this earlier phase of her existence might reasonably have been presumed from the later.[1] The monuments furnish distinct evidence of the time in question in the fourth, fifth, and sixth kings of the above list, who reigned while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing in Lower Mesopotamia.[2] Chronological and other considerations induce a belief that the four kings who follow likewise belonged to it; and that the "Empire" commenced with Tiglathi-Nin I., who is the first great conqueror.

The date assigned to the accession of this king, B.C. 1300, which accords so nearly with Berosus' date for the commencement of his 526 years, is obtained from the monuments in the following manner. First, Sennacherib, in an inscription set up in or about his 10th year (which was B.C. 694), states that he recovered from Babylon certain images of gods, which had been carried thither by Merodach-iddin-akhi, King of Babylon, who had obtained them in his war with Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, 418 years previously.[3] This gives for the date of the war with Tiglath-Pileser the year B.C. 1112. As that monarch does not mention the Babylonian war in the annals which relate the events of his early years,[4] we must suppose his defeat to have taken place towards the close of his reign, and assign him the space from B.C. 1130 to B.C. 1110, as, approximately, that during

[1] Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile Ctesias with Herodotus by supposing the former to speak of the beginning of the *kingdom* of Assyria, the latter of the commencement of the *empire*. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. Appendix, ch. iv.) But this is a mere forced and artificial mode of producing an apparent reconciliation, since it was really the *Empire* which Ctesias made to begin with Ninus and Semiramis (Diod. Sic. ii. 1-19).

[2] Infra, p. 55.

[3] This important statement is contained in a rock-inscription at Bavian. It is evident from the employment of an exact number (418), that Sennacherib believed himself to be in possession of a perfectly accurate chronology for a period exceeding four centuries from his own time. The discovery of the Assyrian Canon shows us the mode in which such an exact chronology would have been kept.

[4] Infra, pp. 65-68, and p. 77.

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which he is likely to have held the throne. Allowing then to the six monumental kings, who preceded Tiglath-Pileser, average reigns of twenty years each, which is the actual average furnished by the lines of direct descent in Assyria, where the length of each reign is known,[5] and, allowing fifty years for the break between Tiglathi-Nin and Bel-kudur-uzur, we are brought to (1130+120+50) B.C. 1300 for the accession of the first Tiglathi-Nin, who took Babylon, and is the first king of whom extensive conquests are recorded.[6] Secondly, Sennacherib in another inscription reckons 600 years from his first conquest of Babylon (B.C. 703) to a year in the reign of this monarch. This "six hundred" may be used as a round number; but as Sennacherib considered that he had the means of calculating exactly, he would probably not have used a round number, unless it was tolerably near to the truth. Six hundred years before B.C. 703 brings us to B.C. 1303.

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

The dates assigned to the later kings, from Vul-lush II. to Esarhaddon inclusive, are derived from the Assyrian Canon taken in combination with the famous Canon of Ptolemy. The agreement between these documents, and between the latter and the Assyrian records generally, is exact;[7] and a confirmation is thus

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[5] Two such lines only are obtainable from the Assyrian lists. The first extends from Vul-lush II. to Vul-lush III. inclusive; this contains six kings, whose united reigns amount to 130 years, furnishing thus an average of 21⅔ years. The other begins with Sargon and terminates with Saûl-mugina (Saosduchinus), his great-grandson, containing four reigns, which cover a space of 74 years. The average length of a reign is here 18½ years. The *mean* average is therefore, as nearly as possible, 20 years.

[6] See below, pp. 58, 59.

[7] The Assyrian Canon assigns 17 years to Sargon and 24 to Sennacherib, or 41 to the two together. Sargon's first year, according to an Inscription of his own, synchronised with the first of Merodach-Baladan, in Babylon. Now from this to the first of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son and successor, is exactly 41 years in the Canon of Ptolemy. Again, Sargon ascribes to Merodach-Baladan, just as Ptolemy does, a reign of 12 years. Sennacherib assigns 3 years to Belib or Belipni, as Ptolemy does to Belibus, and mentions that he was superseded in his office by Asshur-inadi-su—Ptolemy's Aparanadius or Assaranadius. Add to

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afforded to Ptolemy which is of no small importance. The dates from the accession of Vul-lush II. (B.C. 911) to the death of Esarhaddon (B.C. 668) would seem to have the same degree of accuracy and certainty which has been generally admitted to attach to the numbers of Ptolemy. They have been confirmed by the notice of a great eclipse in the eighth year of Asshur-dayan III., which is undoubtedly that of June 15, B.C. 763.[8]

The reign of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, which commenced B.C. 668, is carried down to B.C. 626 on the combined authority of Berosus, Ptolemy, and the monuments. The monuments show that Asshur-bani-pal proclaimed himself King of Babylon after the death of Saül-mugina, whose last year was (according to Ptolemy) B.C. 647; and that from the date of this proclamation he reigned over Babylon at least twenty years. Polyhistor, who reports Berosus, has left us statements which are in close accordance, and from which we gather that the exact length of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal over Babylon was twenty-one years.[9] Hence, B.C. 626 is obtained as the year of his death. As Nineveh appears to have been destroyed B.C. 625 or 624, two years only are left for Asshur-bani-pal's son and successor, Asshur-emid-ilin, the Saracus of Abydenus.

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

In the first place, then, if we ask ourselves where the Assyrians came from, and at what time they settled in the country which thenceforth bore their name, we seem to have an answer, at any rate, to the former of these two questions, in Scripture. "Out of that land"—the land of Shinar—"went forth Asshur,

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this that in no case has the date of a king's reign on any tablet been found to exceed the number of years which Ptolemy allows him.

[8] See Appendix A. "On the record of an eclipse in the Assyrian Canon."

[9] Polyhistor gave the succession of the later *Babylonian* kings as follows:—Sennacherib, his son (*i.e.* Esarhaddon), Sammughes (Saül-mugina), Sardanapalus, his brother (Asshur-bani-pal), Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, &c. The reign of Sardanapalus lasted (he said) 21 years. (Ap. Euseb. *Chr. Can.* Pars 1ma. v. §§ 2, 3.)

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and builded Nineveh."[1] The Assyrians, previously to their settlement on the middle Tigris, had dwelt in the lower part of the great valley—the flat alluvial plain towards the mouths ot the two streams. It was here, in this productive region, where nature does so much for man, and so little needs to be supplied by himself, that they had grown from a family into a people; that they had learnt or developed a religion, and that they had acquired a knowledge of the most useful and necessary of the arts. It has been observed in a former chapter[2] that the whole character of the Assyrian architecture is such as to indicate that their style was formed in the low flat alluvium, where there were no natural elevations, and stone was not to be had. It has also been remarked that their writing is manifestly derived from the Chaldæan;[3] and that their religion is almost identical with that which prevailed in the lower country from a very early time.[4] The evidence of the monuments accords thus, in the most striking way, with the statement of the Bible, exhibiting to us the Assyrians as a people who had once dwelt to the south, in close contact with the Chaldæans, and had removed after a while to a more northern position.

With regard to the date of their removal, we can only say that it was certainly anterior to the time of the Chaldæan kings, Purna-puriyas and Kurri-galzu, who seem to have reigned in the fifteenth century before our era. If we could be sure that the city called in later times Asshur bore that name when Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, erected a temple there to Anu and Vul,[5] we might assign to the movement a still higher antiquity; for Shamas-Vul belongs to the nineteenth century B.C.[6] As, however, we have no direct evidence that either the

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[1] Gen. x. 10 and 11. The true meaning of the Hebrew has been doubted, and our translators have placed in the margin as an alternative version, "He (*i.e.* Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh, &c." But the real meaning of מִן הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא יָצָא אַשּׁוּר would seem to be almost certainly that given in the text. So the Septuagint renders Ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθεν Ἀσσούρ, and the Syriac and Vulgate versions agree. (Compare Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Genes.* p. 215.)

[2] See vol. i. ch. vi. p. 338.

[3] Ibid. ch. v. p. 268.

[4] Supra, ch. viii. p. 1.

[5] Tiglath-Pileser calls Shamas-Vul and his father "high-priests of the god Asshur" (*Inscription*, p. 62), but says nothing of the name of the city at the time when the temple was erected.

[6] See vol. i. p. 164.

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city or the country was known as Asshur until four centuries later, we must be content to lay it down that the Assyrians had moved to the north certainly as early as B.C. 1440, and that their removal may not improbably have taken place several centuries earlier.[7]

The motive of the removal is shrouded in complete obscurity. It may have been a forced colonization, commanded and carried out by the Chaldæan kings, who may have originated the system of transplanting to distant regions subject tribes of doubtful fidelity;[8] or it may have have been the voluntary self-expatriation of an increasing race, pressed for room and discontented with its condition. Again, it may have taken place by a single great movement, like that of the Tartar tribes, who transferred their allegiance from Russia to China in the reign of the Empress Catherine, and emigrated in a body from the banks of the Don to the eastern limits of Mongolia;[9] or it may have been a gradual and protracted change, covering a long term of years, like most of the migrations whereof we read in history. On the whole, there is perhaps some reason to believe that a spirit of enterprise about this time possessed the Semitic inhabitants of lower Mesopotamia, who voluntarily proceeded northwards in the hope of bettering their condition. Terah conducted one body from Ur to Harran;[10] another removed itself from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean;[11] while probably a third, larger than either of these two, ascended the course of the Tigris, occupied Adiabêné with the adjacent regions, and, giving its own tribal name of Asshur to its chief city and territory, became known to its neighbours first as a distinct, and then as an independent and powerful, people.

The Assyrians for some time after their change of abode were

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[7] It is important to bear in mind that on the mutilated Synchronistic tablet the names of Asshur-bel-nisi-su, &c., occur *half way down* the first column; which makes it probable that ten or a dozen names of Assyrian kings preceded them.

[8] On the prevalence of this system in the East, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 405; vol. ii. p. 467; and vol. iii. p. 149; 2nd edition.

[9] See the account of this emigration in M. Hommaire de Hell's *Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea*, pp. 227-235.

[10] Gen. xi. 31.

[11] On the Phœnician emigration see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 46-48; and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 196-202, 2nd edition.

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probably governed by Babylonian rulers, who held their office under the Chaldæan Emperor. Bricks of a Babylonian character have been found at Kileh-Sherghat, the original Assyrian capital, which are thought to be of greater antiquity than any of the purely Assyrian remains, and which may have been stamped by these provincial governors.[12] Ere long, however, the yoke was thrown off, and the Assyrians established a separate monarchy of their own in the upper country, while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing under native monarchs of the old ethnic type in the regions nearer to the sea. The special evidence which we possess of the co-existence side by side of these two kingdoms is furnished by a broken tablet of a considerably later date,[13] which seems to have contained, when complete, a brief but continuous sketch of the synchronous history of Babylonia and Assyria, and of the various transactions in which the monarchs of the two countries had been engaged one with another, from the most ancient times. This tablet has preserved to us the names of three very early Assyrian kings, Asshur-bil-nisi-su, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-upallit, of whom the two former are recorded to have made treaties of peace with the contemporary kings of Babylon;[1] while the last-named intervened in the domestic affairs of the country, depriving an usurping monarch of the throne, and restoring it to the legitimate claimant, who was his own relation. Intermarriages, it appears, took place at this early date between the royal families of Assyria and Chaldæa; and Asshur-upallit, the third of the three kings, had united one of his daughters to Purna-puriyas, a Chaldæan monarch who has received notice in the preceding volume.[2] On the death of Purna-puriyas, Kara-khar-das, the issue of this marriage, ascended the throne; but he had not reigned long before his subjects rebelled

[12] See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 366, note [1].

[13] As the tablet is mutilated at both extremities, its date is uncertain; but it cannot anyhow be earlier than the time of Shalmaneser II., to whose wars it alludes. Most probably it belongs to the time of Esarhaddon or Asshur-bani-pal.

[1] Asshur-bel-nisi-su is said to have made a treaty with a Babylonian king otherwise unknown, whose name is read doubtfully as *Kara-in-das*. Buzur-Asshur, his successor, made a treaty with Purna-puriyas.

[2] See vol. i. p. 169.

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against his authority. A struggle ensued, in which he was slain, whereupon a certain Nazi-bugas, an usurper, became king, the line of Purna-puriyas being set aside. Asshur-upallit, upon this, interposed. Marching an army into Babylonia, he defeated and slew the usurper, after which he placed on the throne another son of Purna-puriyas, the Kurri-galzu[3] already mentioned in the account of the kings of Chaldæa.

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

After this one short lift,[4] the curtain again drops over the history of Assyria for a space of about sixty years, during which our records tell us nothing but the mere names of the kings. It appears from the bricks of Kileh-Sherghat that Asshur-upallit was suceeded upon the throne by his son,[5] Bel-lush, or Bel-likhus (Belochus?), who was in his turn followed by his son, Pudil, his grandson, Vul-lush, and his great-grandson, Shalmaneser, the first of the name. Of Bel-lush, Pudil, and Vul-lush I., we know only that they raised or repaired important buildings in their city of Asshur (now Kileh-Sherghat), which in their time, and for some centuries later, was the capital of the monarchy.

[3] See vol. i. p. 170.

[4] Asshur-upallit is also mentioned on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I. as having repaired a temple built by Shamas-Vul, which was again repaired at a later date by Shalmaneser I.

[5] The regular succession of these early Assyrian monarchs has been discovered since the first edition of this work was published. A brick of Pudil's, on which he speaks of his father, Bel-lush, *and his grandfather*, *Asshur-upallit*, has enabled us definitely to connect the first group of three Assyrian monarchs with the second group of five.

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This place was not very favourably situated, being on the right bank of the Tigris, which is a far less fertile region than the left, and not being naturally a place of any great strength. The Assyrian territory did not at this time, it is probable, extend very far to the north: at any rate, no need was as yet felt for a second city higher up the Tigris valley, much less for a transfer of the seat of government in that direction. Calah was certainly, and Nineveh, probably, not yet built;[1] but still the kingdom had obtained a name among the nations; the term Assyria was applied geographically to the whole valley of the middle Tigris;[2] and a prophetic eye could see in the hitherto quiescent power the nation fated to send expeditions into Palestine and to bear off its inhabitants into captivity.[3]

Shalmaneser I. (ab. B.C. 1320) is chiefly known in Assyrian history as the founder of Calah (Nimrud),[4] the second, apparently, of those great cities which the Assyrian monarchs delighted to build and embellish. This foundation would of itself be sufficient to imply the growth of Assyria in his time towards the north, and would also mark its full establishment as the dominant power on the left as well as the right bank of the Tigris. Calah was very advantageously situated in a region of great fertility and of much natural strength, being protected on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the Shor-Derreh torrent, while the Greater Zab further defended it at the distance of a few miles on the south and south-east, and the Khazr or Ghazr-Su on the north-east.[5] Its settlement must have secured to the Assyrians the undisturbed possession of the fruitful and important district between the Tigris and the mountains, the Aturia or Assyria Proper of later times,[6] which

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[1] It may be objected that these cities are mentioned as already built in the time of Moses (Gen. x. 11), who probably lived in the 15th century B.C. To this it may be replied, in the first place, that the date of Moses is very uncertain, and, secondly, that the eleventh and twelfth verses of the tenth chapter of Genesis are very possibly an addition made by Ezra on the return from the Captivity.

[2] See Gen. ii. 14, and compare above, vol. i. p. 6.

[3] Numbers, xxiv. 22.

[4] Shalmaneser is also called the founder (or enlarger) of the Temple of Kharris-matira, which was probably at Calah.

[5] See the Chart, *supra*, vol. i. p. 565.

[6] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 7.

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ultimately became the great metropolitan region, in which almost all the chief towns were situated.

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

With Tiglathi-Nin, the son and successor of Shalmaneser I., the spirit of conquest displayed itself in a more signal and striking manner. The probable date of this monarch has already been shown to synchronise closely with the time assigned by Berosus to the commencement of his sixth Babylonian dynasty, and by Herodotus to the beginning of his "Assyrian Empire."[7] Now Tiglathi-Nin appears in the Inscriptions as the prince who first aspired to transfer to Assyria the supremacy hitherto exercised, or at any rate claimed by Babylon. He made war upon the Southern kingdom, and, with such success, that he felt himself entitled to claim its conquest, and to inscribe upon his signet-seal the proud title of "Conqueror of Babylonia."[8] This signet-seal, left by him (as is probable) at Babylon, and recovered about six hundred years later by Sennacherib, shows to us that he reigned for some time in person at the southern capital,[9] where it would seem that he afterwards established an Assyrian dynasty—a branch perhaps of his own family. This is probably the exact event of which Berosus spoke as occurring 526 years before Phul or Pul, and which Herodotus regarded as marking

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[7] Supra, pp. 50, 51.

[8] The full inscription was as follows, according to Sennacherib:—

"Tiglathi-Nin, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Duniyas* (or Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may Asshur and Vul destroy his name and country."

[9] Hence, on the genealogical tablet he is called "king of Sumir and Akkad" (*i.e.* of Babylonia), a title not given to any of the other kings.

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the commencement of the Assyrian "Empire." We must not, however, suppose that Babylonia was from this time really subject continuously to the Court of Nineveh. The subjection may have been maintained for a little less than a century; but about that time we find evidence that the yoke of Assyria had been shaken off, and that the Babylonian monarchs, who have Semitic names, and are probably Assyrians by descent, had become hostile to the Ninevite kings, and were engaged in frequent wars with them.[10] No real permanent subjection of the Lower country to the Upper was effected till the time of Sargon; and even under the Sargonid dynasty revolts were frequent; nor were the Babylonians reconciled to the Assyrian sway till Esarhaddon united the two crowns in his own person, and reigned alternately at the two capitals. Still, it is probable that, from the time of Tiglathi-Nin, the Upper country was recognised as the superior of the two: it had shown its might by a conquest and the imposition of a dynasty—proofs of power which were far from counterbalanced by a few retaliatory raids adventured upon under favourable circumstances by the Babylonian princes. Its influence was therefore felt, even while its yoke was refused; and the Semitising of the Chaldæans, commenced under Tiglathi-Nin, continued during the whole time of Assyrian preponderance; no effectual Turanian reaction ever set in; the Babylonian rulers, whether submissive to Assyria or engaged in hostilities against her, have equally Semitic names; and it does not appear that any effort was at any time made to recover to the Turanian element of the population its early supremacy.

The line of direct descent, which has been traced in uninterrupted succession through eight monarchs, beginning with Asshur-bel-nisi-su, here terminates; and an interval occurs which can only be roughly estimated as probably not exceeding fifty years. Another consecutive series of eight kings follows, known to us chiefly through the famous Tiglath-Pileser cylinder (which gives the succession of five of them), but completed

[10] Infra, pp. 61, 62, 77, 78, &c.

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from the combined evidence of several other documents.[1] These monarchs, it is probable, reigned from about B.C. 1230 to B.C. 1070.

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

Nin-pala-zira succeeded. It is uncertain whether he was any relation to his predecessor, but clear that he avenged him. He is called "the king who organized the country of Assyria, and established the troops of Assyria in authority."[2] It appears that shortly after his accession, Vul-baladan of Babylon, elated by his previous successes, made an expedition against the Assyrian capital, and a battle was fought under the walls of Asshur, in which Nin-pala-zira was completely successful. The Babylonians fled, and left Assyria in peace during the remainder of the reign of this monarch.

Asshur-dayan, the third king of the series, had a long and prosperous reign.[3] He made a successful inroad into Babylonia, and returned into his own land with a rich and valuable booty. He likewise took down the temple which Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, had erected to the gods Asshur and Vul at

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[1] The chief of these are, 1. the Babylonian and Assyrian synchronistic tablet, which gives the names of Bel-kudur-uzur and Nin-pala-zira, and again those of Asshur-ris-ilim, Tiglath-Pileser, and Asshur-bil-kala, in apparent succession; and, 2. an inscription on a mutilated statue of the goddess Ishtar, now in the British Museum, which contains these last three royal names, and determinately proves the direct genealogical succession of the three monarchs.

[2] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* p. 62.

[3] Ibid. l. c. We may gather, however, indirectly from the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription that at least one considerable calamity took place in his reign. The Muskai (Moschi) are said to have occupied the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, and stopped their payment of tribute to Assyria *fifty years* before the commencement of Tiglath-Pileser's reign (ibid. p. 22). This event *must certainly* have fallen into the time either of Asshur-dayan or of his son, Mutaggil-Nebo. Most probably it belonged to the reign of the former.

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Asshur, the Assyrian capital, because it was in a ruinous condition and required to be destroyed or rebuilt. Asshur-dayan seems to have shrunk from the task of restoring so great a work, and therefore demolished the structure, which was not rebuilt for the space of sixty years from its demolition.[4] He was succeeded upon the throne by his son, Mutaggil-Nebo.

Mutaggil-Nebo reigned probably from about B.C. 1170 to B.C. 1150. We are informed that "Asshur, the great Lord, aided him according to the wishes of his heart, and established him in strength in the government of Assyria."[5] Perhaps these expressions allude to internal troubles at the commencement of his reign, over which he was so fortunate as to triumph. We have no further particulars of this monarch.

Asshur-ris-ilim, the fourth king of the series, the son and successor of Mutaggil-Nebo, whose reign may be placed between B.C. 1150 and B.C. 1130, is a monarch of greater pretensions than most of his predecessors. In his son's Inscription he is called "the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed."[6] These expressions are so broad, that we must conclude from them, not merely that Asshur-ris-ilim, unlike the previous kings of the line, engaged in foreign wars, but that his expeditions had a great success, and paved the way for the extensive conquests of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser. Probably he turned his arms in various directions, like that monarch. Certainly he carried them southwards into Babylonia, where, as we learn from the synchronistic tablet of Babylonian and Assyrian history, he was engaged for some time in a war with a Nebuchadnezzar (*Nabu-kudur-uzur*), the first known king of that name. It has been conjectured that he likewise carried them into Southern Syria and Palestine;[7] and that, in fact, he is the monarch designated in the Book of Judges by the name of Chushan-ris-athaim,[8] who is called "the king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim)," and is said to have exercised dominion over the Israelites for eight

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[4] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser*, p. 62.
[5] Ibid. p. 60.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 244, note [7]).
[8] Judges iv. 4.

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years. This identification, however, is too uncertain to be assumed without further proof. The probable date of Chushan-ris-athaim is some two (or three) centuries earlier; and his title, "king of Mesopotamia," is one which is not elsewhere applied to Assyrian monarchs.

A few details have come down to us with respect to the Babylonian war of Asshur-ris-ilim. It appears that Nebuchadnezzar was the assailant. He began the war by a march up the Diyaleh and an advance on Assyria along the outlying Zagrôs hills, the route afterwards taken by the great Persian road described by Herodotus. Asshur-ris-ilim went out to meet him in person, engaged him in the mountain region, and repulsed his attack. Upon this the Babylonian monarch retired, and after an interval, the duration of which is unknown, advanced a second time against Assyria, but took now the direct line across the plain. Asshur-ris-ilim on this occasion was content to employ a general against the invader. He "sent" his chariots and his soldiers towards his southern border, and was again successful, gaining a second victory over his antagonist, who fled away, leaving in his hands forty chariots and a banner.

Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-ilim about B.C. 1130, is the first Assyrian monarch of whose history we possess copious details which can be set forth at some length. This is owing to the preservation and recovery of a lengthy document belonging to his reign—in which are recorded the events of his first five years.[9] As this document is the chief

[9] This document exists on two duplicate cylinders in the British Museum, which are both nearly complete. The Museum also contains fragments of several other cylinders which bore the same inscription.

The translation from which the following quotations are made was executed in the year 1857, under peculiar circumstances. Four gentlemen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert, were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen, working independently, produced translations, more or less complete, of the document. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker, of the Strand, under the title of "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150. London, J. W. Parker, 1857."

A perusal of this work would probably remove any incredulity which may still exist in any quarter on the subject of Assyrian decipherment.

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evidence we possess of the condition of Assyria,[1] the character and tone of thought of the kings, and indeed of the general state of the Eastern world, at the period in question—which synchronises certainly with some portion of the dominion of the Judges over Israel, and probably with the early conquests of the Dorians in Greece[2]—it is thought advisable to give in this place such an account of it, and such a number of extracts, as shall enable the reader to form his own judgment on these several points.

The document opens with an enumeration and glorification of the "great gods," who "rule over heaven and earth," and are "the guardians of the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser." These are "Asshur, the great Lord, ruling supreme over the gods; Bel, the lord, father of the gods, lord of the world; Sin, the leader (?), the lord of empire (?); Shamas, the establisher of heaven and earth; Vul, he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands; Nin, the champion who subdues evil spirits and enemies; and Ishtar, the source of the gods, the queen of victory, she who arranges battles." These deities, who (it is declared) have placed Tiglath-Pileser upon the throne, have "made him firm, have confided to him the supreme crown, have appointed him in might to the sovereignty of the people of Bel, and have granted him pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power," are invoked to make the "duration of his empire continue for ever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of Kharris-Matira."[3]

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

[1] The British Museum contains another inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., but it is in an exceedingly bad condition, and has not been published. It is written on three sides of the broken top of an obelisk, and seems to have contained an account of the monarch's buildings, his hunting exploits, and some of his campaigns, *month by month*. He mentions as monarchs who have preceded him, and whose buildings he repairs, Irim-Vul, Asshur-iddin-akhi, Vul-lush, Tiglathi-Nin, Asshur-dayan, and Asshur-ris-ilim.

[2] The date of Eratosthenes for the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese was B.C. 1104. Thucydides, apparently, would have placed it seventy or eighty years earlier. (Thuc. v. 112.)

[3] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 18-20.

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Sun-god, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel; the mighty prince, whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions, and whose name he has made celebrated to posterity; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower country; the victorious hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions; the bright constellation who, as he wished, has warred against foreign countries, and under the auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Asshur."[4]

The royal historian, after this introduction, proceeds to narrate his actions—first in general terms declaring that he has subdued all the lands and the peoples round about, and then proceeding to particularise the various campaigns which he had conducted during the first five years of his reign. The earliest of these was against the Muskai, or Moschians, who are probably identical with the Meshech of Holy Scripture[5]—a people governed (it is said) by five kings, and inhabiting the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, parts (apparently) of Taurus or Niphates.[6] These Moschians are said to have neglected for fifty years to pay the tribute due from them to the Assyrians, from which it would appear that they had revolted during the reign of Asshur-dayan, having previously been subject to Assyria.[7] At this time, with a force amounting to 20,000 men, they had invaded the neighbouring district of Qummukh (Commagêné),[8] an Assyrian

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[4] *Inscription*, pp. 20-22.

[5] Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1, &c. They are constantly coupled in the Inscriptions with the *Tupalai*, just as Meshech is coupled with Tubal in Scripture, and the Moschi with the Tibareni in Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78).

[6] From the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser we can only say that these regions formed a portion of the mountain country in the vicinity of the Upper Tigris. In later times the main seat of the Moschian power was the Taurus range immediately to the west of the Euphrates. Here was their great city, Mazaca (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* i. 6; Mos. Chor. *His. Armen.* i. 13), the Cæsaræa Mazaca of the Roman Empire. Hence they seem to have been driven northwards by the Cappadocians, and in the time of Herodotus they occupy a small tract upon the Euxine. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 179-181.)

[7] Supra, p. 60, note [2].

[8] This is one of the very few geographic names in the early Assyrian records which seems to have a classical equivalent. It must not, however, be supposed that the locality of the tribe was the same in Tiglath-Pileser's time as in the days of Strabo and Pliny.

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dependency, and had made themselves masters of it. Tiglath-Pileser attacked them in this newly-conquered country, and completely defeated their army. He then reduced Commagêné, despite the assistance which the inhabitants received from some of their neighbours. He burnt the cities, plundered the temples, ravaged the open country, and carried off, either in the shape of plunder or of tribute, vast quantities of cattle and treasure.[9]

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

"The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 men and their five kings, in the country of Qummukh I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants, and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves."[1]

The second campaign was partly in the same region and with the same people. The Moschians, who were still loth to pay tribute, were again attacked and reduced.[2] Commagêné was completely overrun, and the territory was attached to the Assyrian empire.[3] The neighbouring tribes were assailed in their fastnesses, their cities burnt, and their territories ravaged.[4] At the same time war was made upon several other peoples or nations. Among these the most remarkable are the Khatti (Hittites), two of whose tribes, the Kaskians and Urumians,[5] had committed an aggression on the Assyrian territory: for this they

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Tiglath-Pileser's Qummukh or Commukha appear to occupy the mountain region extending from the Euphrates at Sumeïsat to beyond the Tigris at Diarbekr.

[9] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 22-30.

[1] Ibid. p. 24.

[2] Ibid. pp. 30-32.

[3] Ibid. pp. 32-34.

[4] Ibid. pp. 34-36.

[5] These Urumians (*Hurumaya*) were perhaps of the same race with a tribe of the same name, who dwelt near and probably gave name to Lake Urumiyeh. The name of the Kaskians recalls that of a primitive Italic people, the Casci. (See Niebuhr, *Roman History*, vol. i. p. 78, E. T.)

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were chastised by an invasion which they did not venture to resist, by the plundering of their valuables, and the carrying off of 120 of their chariots.[6] In another direction the Lower Zab was crossed and the Assyrian arms were carried into the mountain region of Zagros, where certain strongholds were reduced and a good deal of treasure taken.[7]

The third campaign was against the numerous tribes of the Naïri,[8] who seem to have dwelt at this time partly to the east of the Euphrates, but partly also in the mountain country west of the stream from Sumeïsat to the Gulf of Iskenderun.[9] These tribes, it is said, had never previously made their submission to the Assyrians.[10] They were governed by a number of petty chiefs or "kings," of whom no fewer than twenty-three are particularised. The tribes east of the Euphrates seem to have been reduced with little resistance, while those who dwelt west of the river, on the contrary, collected their troops together, gave battle to the invaders, and made a prolonged and desperate defence. All, however, was in vain. The Assyrian monarch gained a great victory, taking 120 chariots, and then pursuing the vanquished Naïri and their allies as far as "the Upper Sea," *i.e.*, the Mediterranean. The usual ravage and destruction followed, with the peculiarity that the lives of the "kings" were spared, and that the country was put to a moderate tribute, viz., 1200 horses and 200 head of cattle.[11]

In the fourth campaign the Aramæans or Syrians were attacked by the ambitious monarch. They occupied at this time the valley of the Euphrates, from the borders of the Tsukhi, or Shuhites[12] (who held the river from about Anah to

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[6] The chariots of the Hittites are more than once mentioned in Scripture. (See 1 K. x. 29 and 2 K. vii. 6.)

[7] *Inscription*, p. 38.

[8] The fact that the country occupied by the *Naïri* is, in part, that which the Jews knew as Aram-*Naharaim*, would seem to be a mere accidental coincidence. *Naïri* is a purely ethnic title; *Naharaim* is from נָהָר, "a river," and Aram-Naharaim is "Syria of the two rivers," *i.e.* Mesopotamia. (See above, vol. i. p. 2.) The *Naharayn* of the Egyptian monuments may, however, be "the Naïri country."

[9] This is the district which afterwards became Commagéné. It is a labyrinth of mountains, twisted spurs from Amanus.

[10] *Inscription*, p. 42.

[11] Ibid. p. 44.

[12] This identification is made partly on etymological and partly on geographical grounds. (See the author's article on SHUHITE in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 1298.)

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Hit), as high up as Carchemish, the frontier town and chief stronghold of the Khatti or Hittites. Carchemish was not, as has commonly been supposed, Circesium, at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates,[13] but was considerably higher up the stream, certainly near to, perhaps on the very site of, the later city of Mabog or Hierapolis.[14] Thus the Aramæans had a territory of no great width, but 250 miles long between its north-western and its south-eastern extremities. Tiglath-Pileser smote this region, as he tells us, "at one blow."[15] First attacking and plundering the eastern or left bank of the river, he then crossed the stream in boats covered with skins, took and burned six cities on the right bank, and returned in safety with an immense plunder.

The fifth and last campaign was against the country of Musr or Muzr, by which some Orientalists have understood Lower Egypt.[16] This, however, appears to be a mistake. The Assyrian Inscriptions designate two countries by the name of Musr or Muzr, one of them being Egypt, and the other a portion of Upper Kurdistan. The expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I. was against the eastern Musr, a highly mountainous country, consisting (apparently) of the outlying ranges of Zagros between the Greater Zab and the Eastern Khabour. Notwithstanding its natural strength and the resistance of the inhabitants, this country was completely over-run in an incredibly short space. The armies which defended it were defeated, the cities burnt, the strongholds taken. Arin, the capital, submitted, and was spared, after which a set tribute was imposed on the entire region, the amount of which is not mentioned. The Assyrian arms were then turned against a neighbouring district, the country of the Comani. The Comani, though Assyrian subjects, had lent assistance to the people of Musr, and it was to punish this insolence that Tiglath-Pileser resolved to invade their terri-

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[13] Circesium is identified by Mr. Fox Talbot with the Assyrian *Sirki*, which was apparently in this position. (*Assyrian Texts*, p. 31.)

[14] See *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 278. In the Syriac version of the Old Testament Carchemish is translated, or rather replaced, by Mabog.

[15] *Inscription*, p. 46.

[16] So Mr. Fox Talbot (*Inscription*, p. 48).

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tory. Having defeated their main army, consisting of 20,000 men, he proceeded to the attack of the various castles and towns, some of which were stormed, while others surrendered at discretion. In both cases alike the fortifications were broken down and destroyed, the cities which surrendered being spared, while those taken by storm were burnt with fire. Ere long the whole of the "far-spreading country of the Comani" was reduced to subjection, and a tribute was imposed exceeding that which had previously been required from the people.[1]

After this account of the fifth campaign, the whole result of the wars is thus briefly summed up:—"There fell into my hands altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-two countries with their kings, from the banks of the River Zab to the banks of the River Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings."[2]

From describing his military achievements, the monarch turns to an account of his exploits in the chase. In the country of the Hittites he boasts that he had slain "four wild bulls, strong and fierce," with his arrows; while in the neighbourhood of Harran, on the banks of the River Khabour, he had killed ten large wild buffaloes (?), and taken four alive.[3] These captured animals he had carried with him on his return to Asshur, his capital city, together with the horns and skins of the slain beasts. The lions which he had destroyed in his various journeys he estimates at 920. All these successes he ascribes to the powerful protection of Nin and Nergal.[4]

The royal historiographer proceeds, after this, to give an account of his domestic administration, of the buildings which he had erected, and the various improvements which he had introduced. Among the former he mentions temples to Ishtar, Martu, Bel, Il or Ra, and the presiding deities of the city of Asshur, palaces for his own use, and castles for the protection of his territory. Among the latter he enumerates the construction

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[1] *Inscription*, &c., pp. 48-52.
[2] See above, vol. i. p. 514, note [2].
[3] Ibid. pp. 52-54.
[4] *Inscription*, pp. 4-56.

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of works of irrigation, the introduction into Assyria of foreign cattle and of numerous beasts of chase, the naturalization of foreign vegetable products, the multiplication of chariots, the extension of the territory, and the augmentation of the population of the country.[5]

A more particular account is then given of the restoration by the monarch of two very ancient and venerable temples in the great city of Asshur. This account is preceded by a formal statement of the particulars of the monarch's descent from Nin-pala-zira,[6] the king who seems to be regarded as the founder of the dynasty—which breaks the thread of the narrative somewhat strangely and awkwardly. Perhaps the occasion of its introduction was, in the mind of the writer, the necessary mention, in connection with one of the two temples, of Asshur-dayan, the great-grandfather of the monarch. It appears that in the reign of Asshur-dayan, this temple, which, having stood for 641 years, was in a very ruinous condition, had been taken down, while no fresh building had been raised in its room. The site remained vacant for sixty years, till Tiglath-Pileser, having lately ascended the throne, determined to erect on the spot a new temple to the old gods, who were Anu and Vul, probably the tutelary deities of the city. His own account of the circumstances of the building and dedication is as follows:—

"In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair

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[5] *Inscription*, pp. 56-60.

[6] The most important points of the statement have been quoted in the earlier portion of this chapter, but as the reader may wish to see the entire passage as it stands in the original document, it is here appended:—

"Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—

"The son of Asshur-ris-ilim, the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed (?)—

"The grandson of Mutaggil-Nebo, whom Asshur, the Great Lord, aided according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria—

"The glorious offspring of Asshur-dayan, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel; who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a long and prosperous life—

"The beloved child of Nin-pala-zira, the king who organised the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked, and established the troops of Assyria in authority." (*Inscription*, pp. 60-62.)

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this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth; I took its dimensions (?); I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place, throughout its whole extent, I paved with bricks in set order (?); fifty feet deep I prepared the ground; and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundations to its roof I built it up better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers (?) in honour of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned everything with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars (?), and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine (?) for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. Anu and Vul, the great gods, I glorified inside the shrine. I set them up in their honoured purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted."[7]

The other restoration mentioned is that of a temple to Vul only, which, like that to Anu and Vul conjointly, had been originally built by Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon. This building had likewise fallen into decay, but had not been taken down like the other. Tiglath-Pileser states that he "levelled its site," and then rebuilt it "from its foundations to its roofs," enlarging it beyond its former limits, and adorning it. Inside of it he "sacrificed precious victims to his lord, Vul." He also deposited in the temple a number of rare stones or marbles, which he had obtained in the country of the Naïri in the course of his expeditions.[8]

The inscription then terminates with the following long invocation:—

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

[7] *Inscription*, pp. 64-66. [8] Ibid. p. 66.

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

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

"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off from my tablets, may Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, my lords, consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in

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the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessaries of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish!"[1]

The document is then dated—"In the month Kuzalla (Chisleu), on the 29th day, in the year presided over by Ina-iliya-pallik, the Rabbi-Turi."[2]

Perhaps the most striking feature of this inscription, when it is compared with other historical documents of the same kind belonging to other ages and nations, is its intensely religious character. The long and solemn invocation of the Great Gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of royal successes, whether in war or in the chase; the pervading idea that the wars were undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the establishment in an ever-widening circle of the worship of Asshur; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples, and the dedication of offerings; and the striking final prayer—all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people.[3] It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip-service, not a conventional piety, but a real, hearty, earnest religious faith—a faith bordering on fanaticism—a spirit akin to that with which the Jews were possessed in their warfare with the nations of Canaan, or which the soldiers of Mahomet breathed forth when they fleshed their maiden swords upon the infidels. The king glorifies himself much; but he glorifies the gods more. He fights, in part, for his own credit, and for the extension of his territory; but he fights also for the honour of the gods, whom the surrounding nations reject, and for the diffusion of their worship far and wide throughout all known

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[1] *Inscription*, pp. 64-72. [2] Ibid. p. 72. [3] See above, vol. i. pp. 239-241.

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regions. His wars are religious wars, at least as much as wars of conquest; his buildings, or, at any rate, those on whose construction he dwells with most complacency, are religious buildings; the whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious; besides formal acknowledgments, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are "in all his thoughts,"[4] and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life. The religious spirit displayed is, as might have been expected, in the highest degree exclusive and intolerant; but it is earnest, constant, and all-pervading.

In the next place, we cannot fail to be struck with the energetic character of the monarch, so different from the temper which Ctesias ascribes, in the broadest and most sweeping terms, to all the successors of Ninus.[5] Within the first five years of his reign the indefatigable prince conducts in person expeditions into almost every country upon his borders; attacks and reduces six important nations,[6] besides numerous petty tribes;[7] receiving the submission of forty-two kings;[8] traversing the most difficult

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[4] *E. g.* even when bent on glorifying himself, the monarch is still "the illustrious chief, who, *under the auspices of the Sun God*, rules over *the people of Bel*" (*Inscription*, p. 29), and "whose servants *Asshur has appointed* to the government of the four regions" (ibid.); if his enemies fly, "the *fear of Asshur* has overwhelmed them" (pp. 28, 36, &c.); if they refuse tribute, they "withhold the *offerings due to Asshur*" (p. 24); if the king himself feels inclined to make an expedition against a country, "his lord, *Asshur, invites him*" to proceed thither (pp. 34, 42, 48); if he collects an army, "*Asshur has committed* the troops to his hand" (p. 32). When a country not previously subject to Assyria is attacked, it is because the people "do not *acknowledge Asshur*" (p. 38); when its plunder is carried off, it is to adorn and enrich the temples of Asshur and the other gods (p. 40); when it yields, the first thing is to "*attach it to the worship of Asshur*" (pp. 38, 40, &c.). The king hunts "under the auspices of Nin and Nergal" (p. 54), or of "Nin and Asshur" (p. 58); he puts his tablets under the protection of Anu and Vul (p. 68); he ascribes the long life of one ancestor to his eminent piety (p. 62), and the prosperity of another to the protection which Asshur vouchsafed him (p. 60). The name of Asshur occurs in the inscription nearly forty times, or almost once in each paragraph. The sun-god, Shamas, the deities Anu, Vul, and Bel, are mentioned repeatedly. Acknowledgment is also made of Sin, the moon-god, of Nin, Nergal, Ishtar, Beltis, Martu, and Il or Ra. And all this is in an inscription which is not dedicatory but historical!

[5] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 19.

[6] The Moschi, the people of Commagênê, the Naïri, the Aramæans, the people of Muzr, and the Comani.

[7] As the Kaski and Urumi, tribes of the Hittites, the people of Adavas, Tsaravas, Itsua, Daria, Muraddan, Khanni-rabbi, Miltis, or Melitênê, Dayan, &c.

[8] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.*, p. 52.

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mountain regions; defeating armies, besieging towns, destroying forts and strongholds, ravaging territories; never allowing himself a moment of repose; when he is not engaged in military operations, devoting himself to the chase, contending with the wild bull and the lion, proving himself (like the first Mesopotamian king) in very deed "a mighty hunter,"[9] since he counts his victims by hundreds;[10] and all the while having regard also to the material welfare of his country, adorning it with buildings, enriching it with the products of other lands, both animal and vegetable, fertilizing it by means of works of irrigation, and in every way "improving the condition of the people, and obtaining for them abundance and security."[11]

With respect to the general condition of Assyria, it may be noted, in the first place, that the capital is still Asshur, and that no mention is made of any other native city.[1] The king calls himself "King of the four regions,"[2] which would seem to imply a division of the territory into districts, like that which certainly obtained in later times.[3] The mention of "*four*" districts is curious, since the same number was from the first affected by the Chaldæans,[4] while we have also evidence that, at least after the time of Sargon, there was a pre-eminence of four great cities in Assyria.[5] The limits of the territory at the time of the Inscription are not very clearly marked; but they do not seem to extend beyond the outer ranges[6] of Zagros on the east, Niphates on the north, and the Euphrates upon the west. The southern boundary at the time was probably the commencement of the alluvium; but this cannot be gathered from the Inscription, which contains no notice of any expedition in the direction

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[9] Gen. x. 9.

[10] See above, p. 68.

[11] *Inscription*, p. 60.

[1] The existence of "great fortified cities throughout the dominions of the king" is mentioned (p. 58), but none is named except Asshur.

[2] *Inscription*, p. 20. And a little further on he is "the exalted sovereign whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of *the country of the four regions*." What the four regions were we can only conjecture. Perhaps they were, 1, the country east of the Tigris; 2, that between the Tigris and the Khabour; 3, that between the Khabour and the Euphrates; and, 4, the mountain region upon the upper Tigris north of the Mesopotamian plain.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 193.

[4] Ibid. p. 14.

[5] Ibid. p. 198.

[6] *I. e.* the more westerly ranges. When the monarch crosses the Lower Zab, he is immediately in a hostile country. (*Inscription*, p. 38.)

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of Babylonia. The internal condition of Assyria is evidently flourishing. Wealth flows in from the plunder of the neighbouring countries; labour is cheapened by the introduction of enslaved captives;[7] irrigation is cared for; new fruits and animals are introduced; fortifications are repaired, palaces renovated, and temples beautified or rebuilt.

The countries adjoining upon Assyria on the west, the north, and the east, in which are carried on the wars of the period, present indications of great political weakness. They are divided up among a vast number of peoples, nations, and tribes, whereof the most powerful is only able to bring into the field a force of 20,000 men.[8] The peoples and nations possess but little unity. Each consists of various separate communities, ruled by their own kings, who in war unite their troops against the common enemy; but are so jealous of each other, that they do not seem even to appoint a generalissimo. On the Euphrates, between Hit and Carchemish, are, first, the Tsukhi or Shuhites, of whom no particulars are given; and, next, the Aramæans or Syrians, who occupy both banks of the river, and possess a number of cities, no one of which is of much strength. Above the Aramæans are the Khatti or Hittites, whose chief city, Carchemish, is an important place; they are divided into tribes, and, like the Aramæans, occupy both banks of the great stream. North and north-west of their country, probably beyond the mountain-range of Amanus, are the Muskai (Moschi), an aggressive people, who were seeking to extend their territory eastward into the land of the Qummukh or people of Commagêné. These Qummukh hold the mountain country on both sides of the Upper Tigris, and have a number of strongholds, chiefly on the right bank. To the east they adjoin on the Kirkhi, who must have inhabited the skirts of Niphates, while to the south they touch the Naïri, who stretch from Lake Van, along the line of the Tigris, to the tract known as Commagêné to the Romans. The

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[7] Six thousand are enslaved on one occasion (*Inscription*, p. 24); four thousand on another (p. 32). They are not reserved by the monarch for his own use, but are "given over for a spoil to the people of Assyria."

[8] Only two nations, the Moschi and the Comani, have armies of such strength as this. (*Inscription*, pp. 22 and 48.)

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Naïri have, at the least, twenty-three kings,[9] each of whom governs his own tribe or city. South of the more eastern Naïri is the country of Muzr—a mountain tract well-peopled and full of castles, probably the region about Amadiyeh and Rowandiz. Adjoining Muzr to the east or north-east, are the *Quwanu* or Comani,[10] who are among the most powerful of Assyria's neighbours, being able, like the Moschi, to bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. At this time they are close allies of the people of Muzr. Finally, across the Lower Zab, on the skirts of Zagros, are various petty tribes of small account, who offer but little resistance to the arms of the invader.

Such was the position of Assyria among her neighbours in the latter part of the twelfth century before Christ. She was a compact and powerful kingdom, centralised under a single monarch, and with a single great capital, in the midst of wild tribes which clung to a separate independence, each in its own valley or village. At the approach of a great danger, these tribes might consent to coalesce and to form alliances, or even confederations; but the federal tie, never one of much tenacity, and rarely capable of holding its ground in the presence of monarchic vigour, was here especially weak. After one defeat of their joint forces by the Assyrian troops, the confederates commonly dispersed, each flying to the defence of his own city or territory, with a short-sighted selfishness which deserved and ensured defeat. In one direction only was Assyria confronted by a rival state possessing a power and organization in character not unlike her own, though scarcely of equal strength. On her southern frontier, in the broad flat plain intervening between the Mesopotamian upland and the sea—the kingdom of Babylon was still existing; its Semitic kings, though originally established upon the throne by Assyrian influence,[11] had dissolved all connection with their old protectors, and asserted their thorough

[9] Twenty-three are particularised (*Inscription*, pp. 42-44). But it is not said that there were no others.

[10] The Comani in later times disappeared from these parts; but there are traces of them both in Pontus and in the Lesser Armenia, which was sometimes reckoned to Cappadocia. Each of these districts had a town called Comana, the inhabitants of which were Comani or Comaneis. (See Strab. xii. pp. 777 and 793; Ptol. v. 6 and 7; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 3; Greg. Nyss. *Vit. Thaumat.* p. 561.)

[11] Supra, p. 39.

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independence. Here, then, was a considerable state, as much centralised as Assyria herself, and not greatly inferior either in extent of territory or in population,[1] existing side by side with her, and constituting a species of check, whereby something like a balance of power was still maintained in Western Asia, and Assyria was prevented from feeling herself the absolute mistress of the East, and the uncontrolled arbitress of the world's destinies.

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

No mention is made during this time of any collision between Assyria and her great rival, Babylon. The result of the wars waged by Asshur-ris-ilim against Nebuchadnezzar I.[2] had, apparently, been to produce in the belligerents a feeling of mutual respect; and Tiglath-Pileser, in his earlier years, neither trespassed on the Babylonian territory in his aggressive raids, nor found himself called upon to meet and repel any invasion of his own dominions by his southern neighbours. Before the close of his reign, however, active hostilities broke out between the two powers. Either provoked by some border ravage or actuated simply by lust of conquest, Tiglath-Pileser marched his troops into Babylonia. For two consecutive years he wasted with fire and sword the "upper" or northern provinces, taking the cities of Kurri-Galzu—now Akkerkuf—Sippara of the Sun, and Sippara of Anunit (the Sepharvaim or "two Sipparas" of the Hebrews), and Hupa or Opis, on the Tigris; and finally capturing Babylon itself, which, strong as it was, proved unable to resist the invader. On his return he passed up the valley of the Euphrates, and

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[1] Assyria, within the limits above assigned to it (p. 75), must have contained an area of from 50,000 to 60,000 square miles. Babylonia contained about 25,000. The proportion is nearly that between England and Scotland, the actual size not being very different. Babylonia, however, was probably more thickly peopled than Assyria; so that the disproportion of the two populations would not be so great.

[2] See above, p. 62.

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