

Chapter II

Babylonia and Assyria

THE LAND. THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES. THE DISCOVERY OF ANTIQUITIES: By Benjamin of Tudela. By Rich. By Botta and Place. By Layard. By Loftus and Rawlinson. By Oppert and Rassam. By George Smith. By Sarzec. By Peters, Ward, and Haynes. By Koldeway. By Andrae. By de Morgan. By Harper and Banks. By Genouillac. By recent explorers. THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS: By Niebuhr. By Grotenfend, De Sacy, and Rawlinson. Babylonian column. Babylonian-Semitic. CHRONOLOGY. OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY: The prehistoric period. Sumerians. The Pre-Babylonian period. "Stele of the Vultures." The early Babylonian period. Kassites, Pashe dynasty. The early Assyrian period. The second Assyrian period. The Neo-Babylonian period. The Persian period. The Greek and Parthian periods. DISCOVERIES WHICH ILLUMINE THE BIBLE.

1. THE LAND.—The Mesopotamian Valley, as the great region watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers is called, in many respects resembles Egypt, although in other respects it differs strikingly from Egypt. The country is like Egypt in that it is formed by rivers; it differs from Egypt in that it has two rivers instead of one. In late geologic time the Persian Gulf extended far up toward the Mediterranean. All of what was Babylonia has been formed by detritus (silt) brought down by the Tigris and the Euphrates. The process of forming land is still going on. At the head of the Persian Gulf about seventy feet a year is still formed in this way, or a mile in about seventy-five years.

Both the Tigris and the Euphrates rise in the mountainous regions of Armenia, on opposite sides of the same range of mountains, the melting of the snows on these mountains gives both rivers, like the Nile, a period of overflow. As the source of the Tigris is on the south side of the mountains, it begins to rise first. Its rise begins about the first of March; its overflow is at its height in May, and the water recedes in June or July. The Euphrates begins to rise about the middle of March, continues to rise until June, and does not recede to its ordinary level until September. The soil thus formed is of rich materials, and the retreating flood leaves it each year well watered and softened for agriculture. Here, as in Egypt one of the earliest civilizations of the world developed.

It was quite independent of that in Egypt, and consequently differed from the Egyptian in many respects. Unlike Egypt, Babylonia had a rainy season; nevertheless she was mainly dependent upon the overflow of the rivers for her irrigation and her fertility. As she possessed two rivers, her breadth was greater than that of Egypt, but she lacked the contiguity of protecting deserts, such as Egypt possessed. All through her history her fertile plains attracted the mountain dwellers of the East and the peoples of the West. Subject to frequent invasion by these, Babylonia had no long peaceful developments such as Egypt enjoyed before the Hyksos invasion. From before the beginning of written history race invasion. From before the beginning of written

history race invasion. From the beginning of written history race mingled with race in this great valley, invasions were frequent, and the construction of permanent empires difficult.

The breadth of the Mesopotamian Valley affected also the building materials and the character of the art. Stone was much more difficult to obtain than in Egypt. Clay only was abundant. All buildings were consequently of brick. These structures were far less enduring than those of Egypt; their upper parts have disintegrated and buried the lower portions. Babylonian ruins are accordingly all under ground. The abundant clay was also used by the Babylonians as writing material. When baked, it proved far more enduring than the Egyptian papyrus. Thus, notwithstanding the general similarities, which the Mesopotamian Valley presents to Egypt, its differences profoundly affected Babylonian history and Babylonian art.

2 The Preservation of Antiquities.---Babylonian cities were usually built on terraces of brick. The walls of the cities and their buildings were constructed of the same material. Refuse from the houses in these towns was always through out into the streets, so that, as the centuries passed, the streets were gradually elevated. The walls of the brick houses gradually became unstable in the lapse of time, and as the houses were repaired they were brought up to the level of the street. Consequently even in peaceful times the mounds on which the cities were built gradually grew higher. Most of these cities were at various times destroyed in warfare. Sometimes all the homes would be partially demolished and the site would be for a time practically uninhabited. When at length the place was re-peopled, the top of the mound would be smoothed off and the many centuries of Babylonian history the sites of her cities have become great mounds. When these cities finally fell

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into ruin, the clay of the upper part of the walls gradually disintegrated in the weather and formed a coating of earth over the whole, which preserved the foundations of the walls both of cities and houses, as well as the inscribed clay, stone tablets, and the works of art buried underneath.

Connected with each Babylonian and Assyrian temple was a kind of staged tower, shaped in a general way like the stepped pyramid of Zoser at Sakkarah in Egypt. The Babylonians called these towers Ziggurats. As the bricks of these towers decayed, they formed in connection with the city mound a kind of hillock or peak, which varied in accordance with the height of the tower. The ruin of the Ziggurat at Birs Nimrud, the ancient Borsippa, is one of the most imposing to be seen in ancient Babylonia; it was long thought to be the original tower of Babel (Gen. 11:9). It thus came about that no ancient temple of Babylonia, like some of those in Egypt, has remained above ground. Explorers have had to dig to discover antiquities: (see Fig. 22).

3. The Discovery of Antiquities:---

By Benjamin of Tudela.---The first man from western Europe who traveled through Babylonia and Assyria and noted their ruins was a Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre. Leaving home about 1160 A.D., he traveled through Palestine, crossed the desert by way of Tadmor, visited Mosul opposite ancient Nineveh, and went southward to the site of Babylon. He also saw the ruin of Birs Nimrud, and believed it to be the Tower of Babel. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries many other travelers visited the Mesopotamian Valley and described what they saw. Some of these, toward the close of the eighteenth century, described curious inscriptions which they had seen there on bricks. This information led the British East India Company in 1797 to instruct its resident at Bussorah, in southern Babylonia, to try to secure some of these inscriptions. This he did, and early in 1801 the first case of inscribed bricks arrived at the East India House in London, where they are still preserved.

By Rich.---Early in the nineteenth century Claude James Rich became the resident of the East India company at Bagdad. In his travels through the region he visited the mounds of Hillah (Babylon), Kouynjik (Nineveh), and others, where he made some slight excavations, and found

many inscriptions. The smaller ones he added to his collection, but many of them were of too monumental

a character to be removed. Through these efforts a wide-spread interest was aroused.

By Botta and Place.---In 1842 the French government created a vice-consulate at Mosul, opposite the site of ancient Nineveh, and appointed to the position Paul Emil Botta, who had served as French consul at Alexandria in Egypt. Botta's mission was made in part archaeological. In December, 1842, Botta began digging in the mound of Kouyunjik, the site of ancient Nineveh. Here he worked for three months. As he found only a few inscribed bricks and the fragments of some bas-reliefs, he became discouraged, and changed the field of his operations to mound called Khorsabad, situated about fourteen miles to the northeast of Kouyunjik. Here he discovered a palace filled with interesting inscribed bas-reliefs made of alabaster, as well as a city about a mile in circumference. Under the corner of the palace and under the city gates were many inscribed cylinders of clay. This proved to be the palace and city built by Sargon, King of Assyria (722-705 B.C.), as his new capital. He named it Dur-Sharrukin, or Sargonsburgh. His name had so entirely disappeared from ancient literature that only one reference to him had survived, that in Isaiah 20:1, but here was his palace arising from the dust together with abundant annals of his reign. (See Part II, p.466 ff.)

Botta and his successor, Victor Place, excavated intermittently at Khorsabad for ten years, uncovering the palace and making a plan of it, excavating the city walls and gates, studying the drainage of the ancient town, and fully describing the whole. Although a part of the antiquities found were lost in the Tigris by the wreck of a raft on which they were being floated down the river, a large collection reached France, where they are preserved in the Louvre.

By Layard.---The success of Botta fired the enthusiasm of Austen Henry Layard, a young Englishman of Huguenot descent, who began to excavate in 1845 at Nimrud, a mound further down the Tigris than Mosul, and the site of the Biblical Calah (Gen. 10:11). His money was at first furnished by a few friends, but as he soon discovered a royal palace there similar to the one Botta had unearthed at Khorsabad, the trustees of the British Museum commissioned him to excavate in 1845 at Nimrud, a mound further down the Tigris than Mosul, and the site of the Biblical Calah (Gen. 10:11). His money was at first furnished by a few friends, but as he soon discovered a royal palace similar to the one Botta had unearthed at Khorsabad, the trustees of the British Museum commissioned him to excavate for them. He thus continued the work intermittently until 1849. During this time he spent most of intermittently until 1849. During this time he spent most of his energy upon the mound of Kouyunjik, where he discovered another royal palace. This palace proved to be the work of Sennacherib, the son of Sargon (named in 2 Kings 18:13; Isa. 36),

who built the one at Khorsabad, while the palace of Calah was, in its final form, the work of Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib. (See 2 Kings 19:37.) The palace at Nineveh had in turn been repaired by Esarhaddon's son, Assurbanipal.

By Loftus and Rawlinson—As these excavations progressed, others were stimulated to make minor explorations. Thus in 1850 William Kennett Loftus carried on small excavations at the mound of Warka, the site of the Biblical Erech (Gen. 10:10), in southern Babylonia, from which he recovered important antiquities. From 1851-1855 the oversight of English excavations was entrusted to Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, the British vice-consul at Bagdad. Under his direction J.E.

Taylor, British vice-consul at Bassorah, made an excavation at the mound of Mugheir, the site of Ur of the Chaldees, where he unearthed important inscriptions. At the same time Loftus was traveling about Babylonia collecting antiquities.

By Oppert and Rassam.---In 1852 a French expedition under the direction of Jules Oppert reached Babylonia. Oppert made important excavations at Hillah, the site of the city of Babylon, and at Birs Nimrud, the ancient Borsippa. In 1852 Hormudz Rassam, who had been one of Layard's helpers, continued under Rawlinson's direction the excavation at Nineveh. This work continued until 1854; Rassam had the good fortune to find in a part of the mound previously untouched, still another palace. This was the palace of Assurbanipal, the last of Assyria's great kings, who ruled from 668 to 626 B.C., and who collected here a great library. This library Rassam discovered, and as it contained every variety of Babylonian and Assyrian literature, including dictionaries and grammatical exercises, it was one of the most important archaeological discoveries ever made. During the last part of the time Rassam was succeeded by Loftus. Finally, in the autumn of 1854, Rawlinson himself undertook an excavation at Birs Nimrud, and unearthed some important inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar II, King of Babylon, 604-562 B.C. (See 2 Kings 24, 25.)

After this interest in excavation waned for a time, while scholars were busy reading the tablets already found.

By George Smith.---In December, 1872, George Smith, an employee of the British Museum, announced that among the tablets from Nineveh he had found account of the flood which closely resembled that in the Bible. This aroused so much interest that the proprietors of the London Daily Telegraph contributed money.

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to send George Smith to Assyria to explore further the mounds there. George Smith thus led two expeditions of exploration, one in 1873 and the other in 1874. He extended the trenches of his predecessors at Nineveh and discovered many more important inscriptions. In 1876 he was on his way to Mesopotamia for the third time, when he died of fever at Aleppo. The British Museum immediately secured the services of Rassam again, who during that year and 1877 extended the work at Kouyunjik (Nineveh) and also found a palace of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria, 860-824 B.C. at a mound called Balawat, situated to the east of Kouyunjik.

By Sarzec.---Meantime, the interest of France was again aroused, and in 1877 her consul at Bassorah, Ernest de Sarzec, began the excavation of Telloh, a mound in southern Babylonia, which turned out to be a site of Shirpurla or Lagash, one of the oldest and most important of the ancient cities of Babylonia, which turned out to be the site of Shirpurla or Lagash, one of the oldest and most important of the ancient cities of Babylonia. Work was carried on at intervals here by Sarzec until his death in 1901, and then by Gaston Croz. In 1928 exploration of the site was continued by H. de Genouillac, who found that the place was occupied in the earliest period by a people whose pottery resembled that of El-Obeid and Susa (*Fouilles de Tello, Paris, 1934, by, Genouillac*). The results have not received the popular acclaim accorded to the discoveries of Botta and Layard, but scientifically they are equally important. Some of the oldest examples of Babylonian art have been discovered, as well as many thousands of tablets. One room alone contained an archive of business documents estimated at thirty thousand. Much of our knowledge of the history of early Babylonia is derived from the material found at Telloh.

By Peters, Wared, and Haymes.---In 1884 America began to take an interest in Babylonian exploration. This was due largely to the initiative of Dr. John P. Peters, then Professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania, later Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York. Through his efforts Miss Catherine L. Wolfe, of New York, contributed the money to defray the expenses of an expedition to Babylonia for a preliminary survey. This expedition was led by Dr. Williams

Hayes Ward, Editor of the New York Independent. It spent the winter of 1884-1885 in Mesopotamia, made many observations of the various mounds, and collected some archaeological material. Dr. Peters continued his efforts, and as a result a fund was raised in Philadelphia to defray

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the expenses of an excavation in the interest of the University of Pennsylvania. This expedition set out in 1888 under the direction of Dr. Peters. The site chosen for exploration was Nuffar, about sixty miles to the southeast of Babylon. The work was resumed under the general direction of Dr. Peters, with Dr. John H. Haynes as Field Director. Dr. Haynes, in the most self-sacrificing and heroic manner, continued the work both summer and winter until February 1896, laying bare many of the features of the ancient city of Nippur, which had occupied the site, and discovering many inscribed tablets. While this work was in progress Prof. Herman V. Hilprecht became nominal head of the expedition on account of the removal of Dr. Peters to New York. A fourth expedition under the guidance of Dr. Haynes began work at Nuffar (Nippur) in February, 1899, and worked until March, 1900. During this work Dr. Haynes discovered a large archive of tablets, the exact number of which is variously estimated. The find was similar to that made by Sarzec at Telloh (see Figs. 16 and 17).

Nuffar, the ancient Nippur, was one of the oldest centers of Babylonian civilization, and the work of the Americans there was for our knowledge of the history of ancient Babylonia, next in importance to that done by the French at Telloh. A large number of tablets discovered at Nippur are now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia. Meantime, the Turkish government had undertaken on its own account an excavation at Abu Haba, the site of the ancient Sippar in northern Babylonia. The direction of the work was committed to the oversight of the French Assyriologist, Pere Scheil, and the work was carried on in at the early part of the year 1894. Much interesting material was brought to light.

By Koldewey---Also during this decade a new Society, the Orient-Gesellschaft, had been formed in Berlin for the purpose of excavation. This society began in 1899 the excavation of the great mound which covered the ruins of the ancient city of Babylon. The work was committed to the direction of Robert Koldewey, who carried it steadily forward until the Great War. Koldewey laid bare at Babylon a number of the great works of King Nebuchadrezzar—the magnificent walls with which he surrounded Babylon, and the palace and temples with which he adorned it. As the work at Babylon progressed, Koldewey made a number of

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minor excavations in smaller mounds of Babylonia. During the season of 1912-1913 Dr. Julius Jordan undertook, under Dr. Koldewey's general direction, an excavation at Warka, the Biblical Erech, where Loftus had dug sixty years before. A part of the great temple of Ishtar was uncovered by Dr. Jordan, together with a portion of the city wall and many houses. Many tablets were also found, some of them having been written as late as the Seleucid and Parthian periods, 312-50 B.C. (see Fig 18).

By Andrae.--- While the excavation at Babylon was in progress, the Orient-Gesellschaft also conducted another at Kalah-Sherghat, on the Tigris, in ancient Assyria. This is the site of the city of Ashur, from which the country of Assyria took its name. (Cf. Gen. 10:10, 11.) The work was under the direction of Dr. Andrae and was in progress from 1902 to 1914. Temples and palaces were uncovered, and inscriptions from every period of Assyrian history were found. Objects

were discovered which connect the founding of the city with immigrants from Lagash in southern Babylonia.

By de Morgan.---In 1900 a French expedition began the excavation of Susa, in ancient Elam, the Shushan of the Bible. (See Neh. 1:1; Esther 1:2, etc., and Dan 8:2.) This work was under the direction of J. de Morgan. While Susa is not in Babylonia, the excavations here added greatly to our knowledge of Babylonian history and life, for during the first two seasons of the excavation, two inscribed stone pillars were discovered, which the ancient Elamites had at some time taken as trophies of war from the Babylonians. One of these was an inscription of Manishtusu, King of Kish, who ruled about 2700 B.C., and the other the pillar which contained the laws of Hammurabi, the most important single document relating to Babylonian life that is known to us. (See Part II, Chapter XIII.)

By Harper and Banks.---During the year 1903-1904 the University of Chicago sent an expedition to Babylonia. The expenses were borne by a contribution from John D. Rockefeller. The late Prof. Robert Harper was Scientific Director of the expedition, and Dr. Edgar J. Banks, Field Director. The work was conducted at the mound of Bismya, which proved to be the site of the ancient city of Adab, one of the oldest Babylonian cities, which seems not to have been occupied since about 2600 B.C. Many interesting finds were made, including a statue of a king, Lugaldaudu, and many tablets. Friction with the Turkish government brought the expedition to an untimely close, and owing to the

same cause the tablet discovered are hoarded at Constantinople and have been given to the world only in part.

By Genouillac.---During the early part of the year 1914 a French expedition under the direction of H. de Genouillac, excavated at Ukhaimir, the site of ancient Kish. They discovered the great Ziggurat of the temple of Zamama, the god of Kish, and other important finds.

By Thompson and Hall.---In the spring of 1918 the British Government sent the Assyriologist, R. Campbell Thompson, who had been during the Great War serving the government in Mesopotamia, to make some excavations at Abu Sharain, the site of ancient Eridu in southern Babylonia. Not a great deal of time was devoted to the work, but a number of trenches were sunk in different parts of the mound and important information gained. Babylonian inscriptions long ago led us to believe that Eridu was one of the oldest, if not the oldest city in Babylonia. Inscriptions also indicated that it was situated on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Thompson's discoveries confirm the first of these beliefs, but indicate that the race which first inhabited this site was neither Semitic nor Sumerian, but akin to the Elamites and the people of Anau, east of the Caspian Sea, where Pumpelly made his noteworthy excavation. This is proved by the discovery of pottery in the lowest levels identical in type with that found at Susa and Anau.

Thompson's exploration seems to prove, however that Eridu did not lie on the shore of the Persian Gulf. At almost every level of the mound he found the shells of a fresh-water mussel which the people had used as an article of food. This indicates that the city was on a fresh water lagoon formed by the overflow of the Euphrates. The mound appears to have been deserted about 2000 B.C.

Captain Thompson's expedition worked at Abu Sharain but about two months. When the summer heat came on, the work was discontinued. It was taken up again in the spring of 1919 by the British Museum, this time the excavator being Mr. H. R. Hall. Mr Hall devoted his work mainly to the mound of Mugheir, the site of Ur of the Chaldees, though he also extended the trenches of Thompson at Abu Sharain. At Ur his work confirmed that of

Thompson's report of his work is published in *Archaeologia, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, of London, Vol. XX, 1920 pp. 101-144.
See *Explorations in Turkestan*, by Raphael Pumpelly, Washington 1908

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Loftus and Taylor, exposing more of the great temple of the moon-god of Ur, and at Eridu his work similarly confirmed that of Thompson. The most noteworthy achievement of the expedition was the uncovering of a temple of the early Sumerian period at Tell el-Obeid, four or five miles southwest of Ur. Here Mr. Hall found remains of a temple rebuilt by the kings of Lagash about 3000 B.C. and also some remarkable lions. The heads were cast in bitumen, filled with straw and clay, over which a covering of bronze had been laid—a remarkable piece of work for a date so early.

By Woolley.—An excavation at Ur, and at Tell e-Obeid was carried on for two seasons (1922-1923 and 1923-1924) by Mr. C.L. Woolley, who afterward conducted a joint expedition for the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Philadelphia. Mr. Woolley exposed more of the temple of the moon-god—pavements and walls—built by Nebuchadrezzar; and walls and ziggurat constructed by kings of Ur have been further uncovered; also he discovered a deposit of jewelry and a statue of one of the rulers of Lagash, dating from about 2900 B.C. (See Figs. 306, 307.) He found evidence of the existence at Ur of a court with a colonnade, which was constructed by Kurigalzu, in the fourteenth century B.C. It was not previously known that the Babylonians used colonnades in building. At El Obeid he found additional examples of Sumerian work of surprisingly high quality, including flowers carved in stone, and a frieze of human and animal figures, dating from about 3000 B.C. or earlier.

At Ur Mr. Woolley, during the eight seasons, continued his excavation. The ziggurat of the Temple of the Moon god (Nannar or Sin) was explored, and a temple of Nin-gal, his consort, was also discovered. One of the interesting features of this discovery was a large and well-equipped kitchen adjoining the shrine, where there were great ovens for roasting the meat and also places for cauldrons in which meat could be boiled. The discovery recalls vividly the account of the preference of Eli's sons for roast meat instead of boiled, and their attempt to modify Israelites sacrificial customs.

It is not possible here to enumerate all the remarkable features of the history of this ancient city, which have come to light during

See proceeding of the society of Antiquaries, London 1919-20 pp 22-44; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VIII, 241 ff., and IX, 177, ff.

H.R. Hall and C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, Volume I, Al-Ubaid, Oxford, 1927. For the frieze see pp. 88 ff. and 111 ff and pl. XXXI

Cf. *Museum Journal*, Sept. 1926, pp 245 ff.

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these years of exploration. In one area the trenches were carried down to virgin soil. (See Fig. 322.) At the bottom of this area there were found the burials and pottery of a race that inhabited the country before the coming of the Sumerians, the implements of whose civilization were simple and crude. Above these graves Woolley found a stratum, eight feet thick, of a deposit of pure river silt, which showed that, after these burial were made, this part of the site was submerged for a considerable time. This submergence Woolley identified with the biblical Deluge and believed that he had discovered archaeological evidence for the Flood. Mackay and Langdon, excavating at Kish, found a similar stratum, which they, in like manner, took to have

been deposited at the time of the Deluge. There is, in reality, no evidence that these deposits of silt mean more than that for a time over parts of Ur and Kish that had previously been inhabited. The Euphrates and Tigris, like the great rivers of China, have changed their beds many times. Nippur, Erech, and other cities of Babylonia were once, as is well known, situated on the Euphrates, which now flows in quite a different channel far to the west of them, and there is no real proof that either of the beds of silt in question were deposited at the time of the flood described in the Bible. Frankfort, indeed, has since shown that, from the evidence of the pottery found above and below the strata of silt on the two sites, the two inundations did not occur at the same time, and were not even in the same century! They could not, then, have been the Biblical flood. They are evidence of a temporary submergence of the two sites by changes in the courses of the rivers.

A much more astonishing discovery at Ur is that of some royal tombs above this stratum of silt. The tomb of the king had been plundered of most of its treasures, but that of the queen, whose name was Shub-ad, was almost intact. The skeleton of the queen, her headdress, her golden ups and vessels, the seal bearing her name, her harps, and many other implements were recovered.

Most astonishing, however, was the discovery that queen Shub-ad had not been buried alone, but that ten women—her attendants—had been slain and buried with her, apparently to wait on her in the other world. One of them was her harpist; for her body was found near a harp. A chariot drawn by two

contained has been published by the Field Museum. A small publication was made in 1924 in a book by Langdon, with a discussion by Ninkhursag, had been excavated and tablets from various periods found, including one from Marduk-apal-iddina, the Merodachbaladan of the Bible. (See Isa. 39:1.) A tablet in very archaic picture writing was also found. The stratum of silt, believed by Langdon to be evidence of the Flood, has already been discussed.

One of the most significant discoveries of this expedition was made at Jemdet Nasr, a mound seventeen miles from Ukheimir, where about two hundred tablets in a very archaic script—a script which closely approached picture writing—were found. Of particular significance were the seal impressions on these tablets, the style of the art of which resembled the decorations on the pottery from the second stratum from the bottom of the mound at Susa. These have been thought to betoken a racial connection between the makers of these tablets and the inhabitants of the second stratum of the Elamite capital.

By Chiera, Pfeiffer, and Starr.---IN 1925 Professor Edward Chiera, then Annual Professor of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Bagdad, working jointly for the school and for the Department of Antiquities of the Government at Iraq, began excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, in the mountainous region southeast of ancient Nineveh. During the short season he cleared the house of one of the prosperous citizens of the place, and secured about a thousand clay tablets, which were records of business transactions. From these it was learned that the name of this place about 1500 to 1200 B.C. was Nuzi; and that it was occupied by a people who, though they employed on the Assyrian language, were not Semites. The seal impressions on the tablets revealed a hitherto unknown type of art.

In 1927 a joint expedition of the Bagdad School and Harvard University was organized, with Professor Chiera as field director to continue the work, and four seasons were spent in further exploration of the site. Chiera directed the work during the season.

In Langdon's *Excavation at Kish*, Paris, 1924
Watelin and Langdon's *Excavation at Kish*, Paris, 1930
Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. VII, Oxford, 1928
See Chiera: A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, (1926). pp 75-92

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of 1927-28. Professor Robert H. Pfeiffer of Harvard University, during the season of 1928-29, and Mr. Richard F.S. Starr, of the Fogg Museum, Harvard during the seasons of 1929-31

In addition to the house excavated by Chiera a large palace was unearthed, as well as many other smaller buildings. Although the structures had been destroyed by fire when the place was sacked, portions of frescoes of a type previously unknown were recovered, together with many additional tablets and works of art. A study of the documents found identity the inhabitants with the Hurrians, who are mentioned in the Hittite texts from Boghaz Koi. Among these there is a letter from Saushatar, the first known king of Mitanni, who lived shortly after 1500 B.C., to the governor of Nuzi. This letter definitely dates the stratum excavated. The documents also show that the region was called Arrapkha. This was the Arrapachitis of Ptolemy, and the Arrapachis of Genesis 10:22 and 11:10-12. The excavators confined their work mainly to the Hurrian stratum of the mound, and by so doing brought to light for the first time the remains of a Hurrian city.

During his last campaign, Mr. Starr sunk a shaft down to virgin soil in one part of the mound to ascertain the nature of the earlier occupations. He identified eleven strata before virgin soil was reached. The lowest level of occupation furnished pottery similar to that of stratum II, of Susa. In one of intermediate strata an archive of about two hundred Sumerian tablets, dating from 2500-2300 B.C. was found. One of these was the oldest known map yet discovered.

By Speiser---In the spring of 1927 Professor E.A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania, then Annual Professor in the American Schools of Oriental Research at Bagdad made an archaeological survey of the southeastern portion of ancient Assyria. Near the conclusion of his work he was impressed by archaeological importance of the mound of Tepe Gawra, about four miles northeast of Khorsabad. The mound was comparatively small in circumference at the base, but high, and the sides were steep. The height indicated long occupation. Potsherds found at the bottom resembled those of the earliest strata at Susa, while those at the top bore testimony that the mound

For the letter see E.A. Speiser in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIX, pp 269-275
Cf. Pfeiffer in *Bulletin No. 42 of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
(April 1931), T.J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, Cambridge, 1935.
Cf. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, IX (1929), p. 22 ff.

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had ceased to be inhabited before 2000 B.C. In October of the same year Professor Speiser returned and, with a small sum of money furnished by Dropsie College, sunk a trial trench up the side of the mound from bottom to top, crossing this near the top by another. This preliminary sounding revealed that in successive ages the place had been the home of three distinct civilizations, each of which had contributed several strata to the age, and was apparently contemporary with that at El-Obeid, 3250-2750 B.C. Six strata at the top of the mound were occupied by them; the mound then became so small and too pointed for further habitation. Among the numerous figurines from the sixth stratum are figurines of horses, which show that the horse was well known in Mesopotamia soon after the year 3000 B.C., a thousand years earlier than was hitherto thought. The people who left the remains of the next oldest civilization had

apparently migrated from southern Babylonia; for they built with clay bricks in a country where stone is abundant, and where those who preceded them and came after them constructed their buildings of stone. The use of bricks must have been due to having previously lived in a country like Babylonia, however no other building material is known. Further, there was found in their temple a clay phallus on which the marks of circumcision were imitated. It seems, therefore, that the inhabitants of Gawra of this period were Semites who lived in Babylonia. As their tools were wholly those of the late Stone Age, they must have left Babylonia before the coming of the Sumerians. The people who occupied Gawra during the earlier centuries of its history appear to have been kindred to those who made the pottery of the earliest strata of Susa.

During the years 1930-32 Professor Speiser returned to the further exploration of the mound as director of an expedition financed jointly by the Bagdad School, the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dropsie College. He systematically uncovered it, stratum by stratum, from top downward. The conclusions suggested by his first brief excavation were confirmed. The sixth stratum had been occupied by a people who used copper weapons. The eighth stratum (the seventh was very attenuated)

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. IX, pp 28 ff. and 39 f.

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had housed a purely stone-age civilization. The difference was great. How wicked a stone-age people thought those who could employ metal weapons is revealed in the stories of Cain and Lamech in Genesis, ch.4 In the eighth stratum from the top he uncovered a remarkable prehistoric Stone Age city, containing houses and a temple of stone, in the construction of which the arch and recessed walls were employed. The houses had windows and niches. There were streets and a market place. About the middle of this stratum a remarkable seal, depicting a man and a woman, and a serpent, was found. It strongly suggests that the story of the temptation (Gen. 3) is very old. (See Fig. 176 ½.)

Simultaneously with the excavation of Gawra, Speiser, during these years, carried on another excavation at Tell Billah, six or eight miles to the south of Tepe Gawra. Here he unearthed a palace of Ashurnasirpal (884-860 B.C.) and, in a lower stratum, remains of a Hurrian town. An archive of texts from about 1100 B.C. were also found. The work was continued by Mr. Bache, simultaneously with his work at Tepe Gawra.

From 1932-1936 the work at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah was carried on with Mr. Charles Bache as Field Director. The mound was cleared to the thirteenth stratum, revealing most important features of prehistoric stone-age civilizations. Unique among these were a temple in stratum nine and a round structure—a combination citadel and temple—in the eleventh stratum. See Figure 332. Professor Speiser took personal charge of the work again in Nov. 1936, and carried it on until March 1937. Strata XIII to XVI were explored and on one side of the mound a trench was sunk to virgin soil. Here a cistern was uncovered containing crude potsherds of a variety more primitive than any yet found in the parts of the mound uncovered. The most important discovery of the season was an acropolis in stratum XIII containing three temples. Their structure and architecture prove that the culture that produced them was quite different from that which produced the round temple of stratum XI. The buildings of strata XIV, XV, and XVI, as well as their pottery were again still different. The

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No 45 (Feb. 1932), p. 34

E.A. Speiser's *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, Philadelphia, 1935

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 41,42, 45, 46, 49, and 50; also Speiser in the *Museum Journal*, XXII, 1932, 249-308

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, April, 1934, 14-18 and April 1936, 10-14

bottom of the shaft in which virgin soil was reached is 95 feet below the level of the top of the mound before excavation. How many centuries it took to accumulate this depth of the remains of human habitation, we can only guess, but the beauty and delicacy of the pottery as well as of the architectural remains in stratum XIII metal tools—no longer permits us to regard the men of the Stone Age as uncivilized.

By Waterman.---In 1927 Professor Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan, then Annual Professor in the American Schools of Oriental Research in Bagdad, began the excavation of Tell Umar, in Iraq. Upon his return to America arrangements were made to carry on the work for a series of years under the joint auspices of the University of Michigan and the Toledo Museum of Art, and the exploration was systematically carried on every winter up to 1932. The strata explored belong to the time of the Seleucid and Parthian kingdoms, but inscribed stones from the Sumerian period prove that it was the site of the Opis of the early Babylonian period. It was also the site of Seleucia of the Hellenistic time. During the winter of 1936-37 the work was renewed.

By Jordan and Noldeke.---In 1912, Dr. Julius Jordan began the excavation of Warka, the biblical Erech, for the German Orient-Gesellschaft, but in 1914 his work was interrupted by the war. After the war it was resumed and was directed by Dr. Jordan until his appointment as Director of the Department of Antiquities at Bagdad, in 1931. Since that time the excavation has been carried on by Dr. Noldeke. Erech was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia and flourished far down into the Hellenistic period. As one approaches its mounds from the west they look like mountains. As yet the excavators have dug principally in the upper strata, and have traced the construction of some of the important temples of this time. At one point, however, they have sunk a shaft more than seventy feet to the virgin soil, thus laying bare successive strata back to 4000 B.C.

By Baron von Oppenheim.---In 1899 Baron Max von Oppenheim, then connected with the German consulate in Cairo, in traveling through Mesopotamia, discovered on the river Chabur

Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tell Umar, Iraq, by Leroy Waterman, Ann Arbor, 1931
Julius Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, Leipzig, 1928, and *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 66 (April, 1928).

a mound called Tell Halaf, which seemed to him a favorable site to excavate. Years later, in 1911, he returned and began its explorations. For two seasons, until 1913, the work was carried on; then came the Great War. It was not until 1927 that the Baron was able to resume his work on the mound; it was then carried forward until 1929. The city which occupied the site was one of the centers of the life of that central Asiatic people who made the black and red pottery. They continued to occupy it until after the fall of the kingdom of Mitanni, about 1300 B.C. During the later years of the settlements it was in the heart of the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni. The site is almost on the direct line from Nineveh to Harran, but much nearer to Harran than to Nineveh. Many massive stone monuments of the art of these people were recovered, as well as much pottery. Baron Oppenheim has collected this in his residence in Berlin, which he has turned into a Tell Halaf Museum. This he has incorporated and endowed, for perpetual preservation.

By Chiera and Frankfurt.---In 1928 the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago entered the field of Mesopotamian exploration. During the season of 1928-9 the late Professor Chiera

renewed the exploration of Khorsabad, which Botta and Place had partially explored during the years 1843-1855. In a brilliantly conducted campaign Chiera rescued what is believed to have been the best preserved reliefs in Sargon's palace. In 1929 Dr. Henri Frankfort became Field Director and spent part of each season until 1936 on the site. He has made some further explorations in Sargon's palace, excavated the one gate to the city which the French explorers did not excavate, located another large building apart from the palace, tired in vain to find the remains of some of the private houses of the ancient inhabitants and recovered a list of the Assyrian kings from about 2400 B.C. onward. It is reported that the names only of the earliest kings are given, but to the names of the others there is added the number of years they reigned. Like other records on clay, the list is broken here and there. It is hoped that the list will be published during 1937.

In prospecting to discover a mound in Babylonia that the Oriental Institute might properly excavate, Professor Chiera had noted that the mounds east of the Diyala, a river which empties into the Tigris about fifteen miles below Bagdad, a region now desert for lack of

Der Tel Halaf, 1931

Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad, Chicago 1934, pp 80-102

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water, contained numerous mounds on the surface of which fragments of inscribed bricks lay. Tell Asmar, about fifty miles northeast of Bagdad is the highest of these, and in 1930 Dr. Frankfort began its excavation. From the date to 1936 Dr. Frankfort season by season. Two large structures were uncovered, each of which served as a combination temple and palace. (For one of these see Fig. 334.) One of these was built about 2300 B.C. and the other about 2600 B.C. Inscribed bricks disclosed the name of the ancient city, of which these buildings were apart, to have been Ashnunak or, according to another reading, Eshnunna, a city of which we previously had knowledge through inscriptions, but the situation of which was unknown. It was founded by the pre-Sumerian occupants of this region. Seals and various objects connected with the civilization, including some children's toys were also found. One of the most interesting discoveries consisted of some inscribed seals from India, identical in type with those found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley. These seals are witness to the existence at this period of commerce between Mesopotamia and India.

At Khafaje, a mound near the eastern bank of the Diyala about fifteen miles east of Bagdad, excavations were also carried on simultaneously with those at Tell Asmar. An important building was unearthed not far from the surface of the mound, the corners of which were all curved. It turned out to be temple. A part of the structure was of plano-convex bricks, characteristic of the Sumerians. An inscribed vase, dating from the reign of Urumush, king of Akkad and Kish, was found which shows that the building was in existence about 2700 B.C. Fragments of statuary exhibiting Sumerian characteristics were also found, and parts of a square building were also uncovered. The ancient name of the site has not yet been determined.

After the conclusion of the work at Tel Asmar in 1936 a sounding was made in Tell Agrab about ten miles to the northeast of Tel Asmar, where a complex of buildings containing three temples was uncovered. Some statuettes were found, the noses of which exhibit in a somewhat exaggerated way the characteristics of that

G.A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, New Haven 1929, p. 152f.

Frankfort, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje*, Chicago, 1932

Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorasabad, Chicago, 1934

Archiv fur Orientforschung, XI (1936), pp 263, 264

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central Asiatic stock from which the original Hittite-Hurrian type sprang.

By King and Thompson at Kouyanjik---In 1903 the British Museum resumed the exploration of the site of ancient Nineveh. During the first season the work was carried on by the late Dr. L.W. King, who was joined the next year by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson. Thompson pursued the work a third season, in 1905 after which it was interrupted until 1927, when it was resumed. After that date he continued work up to the year 1932. An important temple of the god, Nabu, was discovered and explored, and among other valuable finds, it should be noted that in the lower strata colored pottery of the pre Sumerian type found in Babylonia, at Tell Billah, Tepe Gawra, and in Elam was recovered.

By Schmidt at Fara---Fara is the site of the ancient Surippak, the home of the Babylonian hero of the Flood. Some objects were found there by Arabs while the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania was excavating at Nippur, and sold to the Americans. In 1902-03 Dr. Andrae, then of the staff of Koldewey's expedition at Babylon, sunk a trench in one stratum of the mound and found many interesting tablets, from the period shortly after 3000 B.C. In 1931 the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania secured the right to excavate the site, and spent two months in making preliminary soundings to discover something of the character and history of the mound. Two main strata were discovered in the part of the mound through which shafts were sunk to the virgin soil. The upper stratum belongs to the period of earliest Sumerian occupations; the lower, to the period of the Jemdet Nasr tablets and the pottery of Susa II. In a granary of the upper stratum was found a burial of bodies of still later a time, together with tablets dated in the time of the third dynasty of Ur, 2400-2300 B.C., and pottery of that period. It is probable, therefore that at some part of the mound not yet explored there may have been a Sumerian settlement as late as the time of that dynasty. The work was directed by Dr. Erich Schmidt.

By Kuhnel and Schmidt at Ctesiphon---In 1928-1929 an excavation was made in a portion of the mounds at Ctesiphon by E. Kuhnel of the Berlin Museum. The expedition was jointly supported by a number of institutions. In 1931-32 it was carried on

R. Campbell Thompson, *Excavations on the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh*, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXXXIX, London, 1929 pp. 103-148
Schmidt's article, *Excavations at Fara*, 1931, *Museum Journal*, XXII, 1931, pp. 193-217

for another season under the direction of J. Heinrich Schmidt. The foundations of various buildings of the time of the Persian Sassanian dynasty (220-641 A.D.) were laid bare and some objects of art of that period were found.

By Mallowan---The mound of Tell Arpachiyah is a prehistoric mound lying less than four miles from the Tigris and on the east side of that river. Its importance was first noted by R. Campbell Thompson, who in 1932, while working at Nineveh, examined potsherds on the surface of Arpachiyah and ascertained from them that the site had not been occupied since the Chalcolithic age. In 1933-34 M.E.L. Mallowan conducted an excavation there for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Trenches were sunk through ten building levels. The pottery from the upper levels resembled that of Al-Ubaid; that of the lower level, that found at Tell Halaf.

In 1934-35, M.E.L. Mallowan, working under the same auspices explored the mound of Tell Chager Bazar thirty-five kilometers south of Nisibin. It was ascertained that the mound had been inhabited through fifteen strata of occupation, each of which had left its record of walls, pottery, and other objects above the virgin soil. It had ceased to be occupied about 1500 B.C. The six habitation levels nearest the surface yielded objects of the Hurrian type of art, showing that during the period represented by these levels it was inhabited by people kindred to those found at

Nuzi. They were, in the decades just before the site was abandoned, apart of the kingdom of Mitanni, and probably perished it the cataclysm which overthrew that kingdom.

By Lieutenant Cabane.---From December, 1933, to March, 1934, an excavation was conducted by the French to Tell Kharir, situated on the west of the Euphrates eastward across the desert from Damascus. Bedouins, in digging for stone to mark the graves of their dead, had exhumed a statue of a type that was at once recognized as belonging to one of the very early periods of Babylonian art. When this was seen by officers at the French military post of Abu Kemal, about thirty-five kilometers distant, the importance of the mound as an archaeological site was at once recognized. During the excavation a number of early tombs were cleared, and some

E. Kuhnel und O Wachtsmuth, *Die deutsche Ktesiphon-Expedition 1928-29*, Berlin, 1930 and *Kie Ktesiphon-Expedition, 1931-32*, Berlin, 1933, also J.H. Schmidt, *L'expedition de Ctesiphon en 1931-1932 in Syria XV*, 1-23
Iraq, II, 1935, 1-178; also M.E.L. Mallowan and J. Cruikshank, *Prehistoric Assyria—the Excavation at Arpachiyah*, Oxford Press, 1935
British Museum Quarterly, X, 1936, 119 f.

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buildings laid bare, including a temple of Ishtar. Pottery of a very early type was recovered and a number of other statues and statuettes, one of which bore an inscription, which the French scholars read, "Lamgi-Mari, king of Mari. The name of this city had long been known as the site of the city of Mari. The name of this city has long been known as the seat of an early Semitic kingdom which flourished at the dawn of history. From various references to it, it was known to have been situated on the Euphrates to the northwest of Babylon, but, until the recovery of this inscription its exact site had been sought in vain.

It is now reported that the excavation at Tell Kharir has been carried on for two more seasons and that an archive of more seasons and than an archive of more than 15,000 inscribed tablets from the time of Hammurabi and earlier periods has been found. The texts are said to consist of business documents and letters, which will reveal the nature of civilization of this ancient city.

By Breasted, Cumont, and Dussaud.---In 1920 Professor James H. Breasted was requested by the British military authorities to examine some remarkable paintings that had been accidentally laid bare in digging trenches in the process of occupying an old fort at Salikhiyah on the west of the Euphrates, twenty-seven miles from Abu Kemal. Breasted spent a day (May 3, 1920) copying them. The name of the ancient city which occupied the spot was then unknown, but he recognized the remains as belonging to a period of Roman occupation and the paintings as an earlier form of what is now called, "Byzantine" art. Two years later Franz Cumont visited the site and found the Arabs had defaced the paintings. The interest aroused was such that Yale University afterward undertook to explore the site and excavations were made there in 1928-1937, under the scientific direction of Professor Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Franz Cumont, and Rene Dussaud. The buried city proved to be Dura, a flourishing town of the Christian era. In the course of the excavations a number of Jewish synagogues and Christian churches were uncovered, the walls of which had been decorated with Biblical scenes in profusion. A

Syria, XVI, 1935 1-28 and 117-140
Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago, 1924
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 54 (Apr 1934), p. 18 f. and his Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura, being *Studies and Documents* edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Laeke, III London, 1935; C. Hopkins, P.V.C. Baur and A.D. Nock, *Christian Church at Dura Europos*, New Haven, 1936, and H.F. Pearson, C.H. Kraeling, C.C. Torrey and others, *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue at Dura*, New Haven, 1936

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number of written documents in a more or less fragmentary form were recovered, among which was a fragment of the Diatessaron of Tatian, a description of which will be found in Part II, page 583 f.

In India.--- Since 1922 excavations have been made at two sites in the Valley of the Indus, the results of which are of interest to every student of ancient civilizations. One of these sites, Harappa, is situated on an ancient bed of the Ravi, a river that flows into the Indus from the East; the other, Mohenjo-daro, is about 450 miles to the south of it on what was once the shore of the Indus. The constructions were of brick, as in Babylonia, and many of the objects found led scholars, when pictures were first published, to conclude that they were the work of the Sumerians. Further study has made it evident that this early opinion is wrong. This Indian civilization, while possessing certain features in common with that of Babylonia, was an independent development. It is clear, however, as already noted, that there was trade between India and Babylonia, when this civilization was flourishing, i.e., in the period 2000 to 3000 B.C. One of the most interesting features of these discoveries was the finding of more than a thousand inscribed seals or amulets, written in a script hitherto entirely unknown. Many of these seals bear pictures of oxen and elephants, similar to those found at Tell Asmar. The ox is often pictured standing by an altar, on which a fire is burning, which has led to the belief that they were records of sacrifices and, as such were preserved in the temple. The script is not yet deciphered.

4. The Decipherment of the Inscriptions.---The task of learning to read the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria was much more difficult than the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, for no such simple key as the Rosetta Stone was at hand. The key that finally unlocked the mystery came not from Babylonia, but from Persepolis in Persia. When Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon in 538 B.C. the Persians had not developed a system of writing. They accordingly adapted to their language the characters of the Babylonian script. The Babylonian script had begun,

Cf. A.H. Sayce in *The Illustrated London News*, Sept. 27, 1924, p. 566; C.J. Gadd and Sidney Smith in the same journal for Oct. 4, 1924, p. 614, 615. For information concerning these discoveries in India see *The Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-23, 1923-24, 1925-26, and Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 1931. G.R. Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro*, London, 1934. Also E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, London, 1935. Also: G.A. Barton's *The So-called Sumerian-Indian Seals*, and his *A Comparative List of the Signs of the So-called Indo-Sumerian Seals*, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol VIII (1928) and Vol X (1930)

like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, as a system of picture-writing, in which each picture represented an idea. These had gone through a long development, in which the original picture-forms had been supplanted by conventional characters derived there from. In making these characters on clay, one end of a line was always wider than the other, hence the characters are called "wedge-shaped" or "cuneiform." In the course of the ages the Babylonians had come to use the characters to express both syllables and whole words, and a scribe might mingle these uses of a sign at will in writing a composition. Many of the signs might also express any one of several syllables. In adapting this complicated system, the Persians had the wisdom to simplify it. They selected or constructed a character for each sound, making a real alphabet. Three of the Persian kings, Darius (521-486), Xerxes (485-465), and Artaxerxes II (405-359), wrote their inscriptions in three languages,--- Babylonia, Elamite, and Persian, ---Employing wedge-shaped scripts for all of them.

By Niebuhr.---In the ruins of the great palace of the Persian kings at Persepolis many of these inscriptions in three languages were preserved. These ruins attracted the notice of many travelers from the time that Odoric, a monk, saw them in 1320 A.D., and a number of travelers had made copies of some of them and brought them back to Europe. The inscriptions were a great puzzle.

After Alexander the Great (331-323 B.C.) Persia had been subject to foreign powers until 220 A.D., when the Sassanian dynasty (220-641 A.D.) Made Persia again an independent kingdom. In the revival of Persian letters that occurred in Sassanian times, a form of the Phoenician alphabet was used, because the old characters of these inscriptions had been forgotten. In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr, a Dane, visited Persepolis and made accurate copies; (see Fig. 20).

By Grotefend, de Sacy, and Rawlinson.---A number of scholars had studied Niebuhr's copies, but the first to read any of them correctly was George Friedrich Grotefend, a German scholar. He began with the assumption that the three languages, and that the first of these was George Friedrich Grotefend, a German scholar. He began with the assumption that the three groups of lines in the inscriptions contained respectively three languages, and that the first of these was the Persian of Cyrus and his successors. In the years 1787-1791 Sylvester de Sacy, a French Oriental scholar, had studied and in part expounded some Sassanian alphabetic inscriptions from Persia, which had also long attracted the notice of

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scholars. These Sassanian inscriptions were many of them cast in the same mould. They ran thus:

“X the great king, king of kings, the king of Iran and Aniran, son of Y, the great king,” etc.

Grotefend had these inscriptions before him, and compared this formula with the inscriptions from Persepolis. He noted that as often as the formula contained the word “king” the inscriptions from Persepolis contained the same group of signs, and that as often ending. He therefore rightly concluded that these signs, and that as often as it had “of kings,” they reproduced the group with a different ending. He therefore rightly concluded that these signs were the old Persian spelling of the Persian word for “king” with its genitive plural. Taking from the Sassanian inscriptions the word for king, he proceeded to parcel out its sounds among the characters with which the word was spelled in the Persepolis inscriptions. He also found a king, who was the son of a man not a king. This he rightly held, could be none other than Darius, the son of Hystaspes. Apportioning the proper groups of signs among the sounds of these names, he obtained still further alphabetical values. Thus a beginning was made. Grotefend was, however, unable to carry the work far, and in the years that flowed Eugene Burnouf, Christian Lassen, Isidore Lowenstern, Henry C. Rawlinson, and Edward Hincks all made contributions to the subject. The honor of having first correctly read and interpreted a long inscription belongs to Rawlinson. Rawlinson was a young army officer, who as a boy had been in India, where he learned Persian and several of the dialects of India. In 1833 he was sent to Persia with other British officer to assist in the reorganization of the Persian army. Here his attention was attracted by the great Persian inscriptions in the mountains near Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, and in the intervals of military duties he copied and studied several of them. He was, in the early stages of his work, quite unaware of the work done by Grotefend and others, but hit independently upon the method flowed by Grotefend. Owing to the fact that the inscriptions on which Rawlinson worked were longer than those accessible to Grotefend, and also contained more proper names, Rawlinson attained greater success than any of his predecessors, He did not publish his results, however until he had become thoroughly familiar with all that other had done. It was not until 1846 that he published a full interpretation of the Persian column of the great Behistun inscription of Darius I.

Babylonian Column.---This successful achievement related, however, only to the Persian column. The mysteries of the Babylonian column had not yet been solved. This task, as will be evident from the complicated nature of the writing mentioned above, was a much more difficult one. The decipherment of the Persian had, however, taught the sound of many cuneiform signs. These signs were carried over to the Babylonian column as a nucleus of information. Excavations were all the time also bringing new material to light, and a comparison of inscriptions, in many of which the same words were written in different ways, sometimes ideographically and sometimes syllabically, helped on the general stock of knowledge. Rawlinson, Hincks, Jules Oppert, and Fox Talbot were the men who at this stage of the work were still wrestling with the problem. Again Rawlinson was the man to achieve the first distinguished success. In 1851 he published one hundred and twelve lines of the Babylonian portion of the Behistun inscription with transliteration and translation, and accompanied the whole with copious notes in which the principles of the grammar were set forth. A list of the signs and their values was also added. From that day to this the study has steadily gone forward.

Babylonian-Semitic---The work of Rawlinson and his co-laborers proved that the language of the ancient Babylonians was a Semitic language, closely akin to Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Within the next few years after he had found the key to the cuneiform writing, Rawlinson announced that the inscriptions from Babylonia contained material in another and very different language. The researches of later years have fully confirmed this, and scholars call this language Sumerian. The people who spoke it were the inventors of several elements in the civilization of early Babylonia, and for many centuries at the dawn of history divided the country with the Semites.

5. Chronology.---The materials for constructing the chronology of Babylonia and Assyrian history are as follows:

(1) Claudius Ptolemy, an Egyptian astronomer who flourished in the second century A.D. made a list of the kings of Egypt, Persia, and Babylonia back to the accession of the Babylonian king, Nabonassar, in 747 B.C. This list was compiled as an astronomical aid and is very accurate.

(2) The Assyrian kings kept lists of years and of principal events, to which scholars have given the name "Eponym Lists," because each year was named after the king or some officer. Tablets

containing these lists have been recovered on which we can still read the chronology from 893 to 666 B.C. This list accordingly overlaps the list or "canon" of Ptolemy. Some of these Assyrian kings were also kings of Babylon, and where the lists overlap they agree. One of these lists mentions an eclipse, which occurred at Nineveh in the month of Silvan (May-June), 763 B.C. This eclipse has been calculated and verified by modern astronomers, so that the chronology covered these lists rests upon a secure scientific basis.

(3) For dates in Assyria history anterior to 893 B.C. we have to depend upon incidental notices in the inscriptions. Thus Sennacherib, whose date is fixed by the Eponym Lists at 705-681 B.C., relates that during his reign he recovered from Babylon the images of two gods that had been taken as booty by Marduknadinakhi, King of Assyria, 418 years before Sennacherib brought them back. It follows from this that Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria and Marduknadinakhi of Babylon were ruling from about 1120 to 1100 B.C.

We also have a long inscriptions from the Tiglath-pileser mentioned here, who relates that in his reign he restored a temple, which had been built by Shamshi-Adad, ruler of Assyria, son of Ishmi-Dagan, ruler of Assyria, 641 years before the time of Ashurdan, King of Assyria. Ashurdan, he tells us, pulled the temple down and it had lain in ruins 60 years until he (Tiglath-pileser) rebuilt it. By adding these numbers we reach 1819 or 1820 B.C. as the accession of Shamshi-Adad.

Again Sennacherib found at Babylon a seal, which bore the following inscription:

“Tukulti-Ninib, king of the world, son of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, conqueror of the land of Chaldaea. Whoever changes the writing of my name, may Ashur and Adad destroy his name. This seal was presented by the land of Assyria to the land of Akkad” (Babylonia).

To this Sennacherib added the following inscription:

“I Sennacherib, after 600 years conquered Babylon, and from its treasures brought it out and took it.”

We learn from this that Tutulti-Ninib was ruling in Assyria from about 1300 to 1290 B.C.

Andrae, in 1914 published an inscription of Tukulti-Ninib in which he states that he repaired a temple which had been built by his ancestor, Ilu-shumma, King of Assyria, 720 years before. Ilu-shumma was, accordingly, ruling in Assyria about 2020 to 2010 B.C.

(4) Among the tablets in the British Museum are two so-called “dynastic tablets” which contain lists of the kings of Babylon from the time that Babylon became the leading city of the country to its capture by the Persians. The kings are divided into eight dynasties, the length of the reign of each king was originally given, and at the end of each dynasty a statement was given of the number of kings in that dynasty and the total length of their reigns. These tablets are unfortunately much broken, so that they afford us little help after the year 1000 BC. We learn from them, however, that Marduknadinakhi, the king mentioned by Sennacherib as ruling about 1100 B.C. belonged to the fourth Babylonian dynasty, and, if we add together the years given for the previous dynasties, we are taken back nearly to the year 2400 B.C. for the accession of the first dynasty of Babylon. Evidence has, however, accession of the first dynasty of Babylon. Evidence has, however, come to light in recent years which proves that the first and second of these dynasties overlapped, one ruling in the north while the other ruled in the south. A reliable chronology cannot, therefore, be obtaining by adding these numbers together. In order to correct them recourse must be had to other evidence.

(5) Professors Langdon and Fotheringham have shown that an astronomical tablet which was published as long ago as 1870, and which notes for a series of years when Venus was the evening and when the morning star, contains a date formula which fixes its compilation in the reign of Ammi-zadugga, the tenth of the eleven kings of the first dynasty of Babylon. From mathematical calculations of the position of the Planet Venus, they are, accordingly, able to fix the accession of Ammi-zadugga as April 24, 1921 B.C. From the lengths of the reigns of the various kings of this dynasty, as given in the dynastic tablets, it follows that the first dynasty, as given in the dynastic tablets, it follows that the first dynasty of Babylon began its rule in 2151 B.C.

(6) Under Adad-nirari III, King of Assyria (810-782 B.C.), a so-called synchronistic history of Assyria and Babylonia was compiled. It covered about 600 years, beginning with a treaty of peace between Karaindash, King of Babylon, and

Ashur-rimnishu, King of Assyria. It aides in filling gaps left by breaks in other lists.

(7) A chronological tablet in the Babylonian collection of Yale University contains a list of the kings of Larsa. This city was conquered by Hammurabi, of the first dynasty of Babylon, in the 31st year of his reign. The tablet, therefore, counts Hammurabi one of the kings of Larsa, ascribing to him twelve years of rule. The tablet was apparently compiled in twelfth year of Samsuiluna, Hammurabi's successor, to whom twelve years are also ascribed. It gives the total length of the dynasty of Larsa as 289 years. That dynasty, accordingly, began its rule in 2303 B.C.

(8) In a chronological list of kings of Ur and Nisin on a tablet in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, it is stated that the kings of Ur ruled 117 years and the kings of Nisin 225 years and 6 months. A tablet has now been discovered which shoes that the dynasty of Nisin was not overthrown until 2061 or 2060 B.C. Its 225 years, therefore, were all parallel to the time of the dynasty of Larsa. As the dynasty of Nisin rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of Ur, the dates of the kingdom of Ur are therefore, fixed as 2399-2286 (tablets reckoned 2286 for the end of the dynasty; eclipse data from the Venus Tablet – Langdon & Fotheringham indicate 2282 for the eclipse in the year before the end of the dynasty).

(9) A chronological tablet published by Scheil in the *Comptes rendus* of the French Academy for 1911 gives a list of five early dynasties of Babylonia: a dynasty of Opis, one of Kish, one of Agade, and two of Erech.

(10) A group of chronological tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, which assign several dynasties to each of several well-known Babylonian cities, ascribe to their kings incredibly long reigns. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a duplicate. (*Both texts as well as the one discovered by Scheil are translated in G.A. Barton's Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad, New Haven, Conn., 1929, pp. 341 to 355*)

(11) Fragments of a work of Berossos, a Babylonian priest who lived after the time of Alexander the Great, contain a list of Babylonian kings. He based his work on such tablets as those in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. His statements abound accordingly in incredible numbers.

From these Tablets it appears that he dynasty of Ur was preceded by a king of Erech for 25 years; he by the dynasty of

Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol XX, No. 47. cf. 46

Gutium which ruled for 125 years; the dynasty of Gutium was preceded by a dynasty or Erech for 26 years; that, by a dynasty of Agade for 197 years; that, by one king of Erech, Lugalzaggisi, who ruled 25 years; he was apparently preceded by a dynasty of Kish for 106 years; that, by a dynasty of Opis for 99 years. These figures take us back to 3002 B.C., though the arrangement for the time before Lugalzagassi is in part conjectural. Four dynasties of what are known to have been historical kings existed before this time, which fill up the time until about 3200 B.C. To three other dynasties, the tablets assign 885 years, which added to the preceding, take us back to 4085 B.C. It is, however, probable that some of the dynasties which the compilers of the chronologies made successive were really contemporaneous, and that their actual antiquity is not so great.

Earlier than this there lived, as the tablets tell us, the legendary and mythical kings whose names are discussed in Part II, Chapter V.

Within the last few years many scholars have reached the conclusion that the use of copper was not discovered until about 3000 B.C. and that, if metal implements are found in connection with a king's inscriptions, he cannot have ruled before that date. If this criterion is sound, all the dates mentioned above anterior to 3000 B.C. would have to be brought down, and allowance would have to be determined within two centuries. It may have been as early as 3200 B.C. The lower limit of the Stone Age cannot be so definitely fixed as is sometimes supposed.

(12) Nabuna'id King of Babylon, 555-538 B.C. states that he found, in repairing the temple at Sippar (Agade), the temple-platform of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no one had seen for 3,200 years. As he made this statement about 550 B.C., it was long supposed that this fixed the date of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no one had seen for 3,200 years. As he made this statement about 550 B.C., it was long supposed that this fixed the date of Naram-Sin as 3750 B.C., and that of his father, Sargon, at about 3800 B.C. These dates will be found in many of the older books, but they are incredible. They would, if true, leave long gaps in the history that we have no information to fill. Since it has been clearly proved that the dynasties overlapped, it seems that Nabuna'id reached his date by adding together the totals of dynasties, some of which were contemporary. It now seems probable that he placed Naram-Sin about 1,100 years too early.

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(13) When it is published, the Assyrian king-list from Khorsabad mentioned above will doubtless afford material aid in correcting the chronology of the early history of Assyria.

The sources here enumerated afford us a tolerably accurate chronology back to about 2400 B.C. All dates earlier than this have to be estimated by combining statements of early dynastic tablets with archaeological and paleographic considerations.

6. Outline of the History.---The history of Babylonia and Assyria falls into eight different periods. Our information is not yet sufficiently complete to enable us to write the history of any one of them, but we can discern in outline a most fascinating course of events.

(1) The Prehistoric Period, or the period before the rise of written history, during which we can ascertain from various inferences the general course of events. This period must have lasted down to about 3100 B.C. Recent discoveries indicate that civilization was first brought to Babylonia by a race from central Asia. They were followed by Semites from Arabia, who as we have seen, entered the country in Neolithic Period, and pushed as far north as Tepe Gawra. They mingled with their predecessors. These combined peoples developed the culture of the palm tree, and learned to raise grain in the alluvial soil of the rivers, and invented a system of picture writing. The early cities of Babylonia were the fortified residences of different tribes, which were frequently at war with one another. One city would subjugate its neighbors for a time and establish a small empire. As long as it continued to rule, a certain degree of homage was paid to its god by all the cities over which it ruled. In prehistoric times settlements were made at Jemdet Nasr, near Kish; at Eridu, Ur, Erech, Nippur, Sippar, and at other places. At first the population lived largely by fishing, but in time dykes were built, the water confined by canals, and grains raised.

Sumerians.---At some time before the dawn of history a people whom we call Sumerians moved into Babylonia from the South. These people spoke a language, which possesses some features in common with Finnish and Turkish. They were neither Aryans nor Semites. The Semites wore thick hair and long beards; the Sumerians shaved both their heads and faces. These Sumerians

overran southern Babylonia as far north as north as Nippur and in this region became the ruling race. They grafted the worship of their own gods upon the worship of the deities of the cities, which they conquered, but the earlier elements of these local deities persisted even in Sumerian thought. It thus came about that the bald and even in Sumerian thought. It thus came about that the bald and beardless Sumerians picture their gods with hair and beards. After setting in Babylonia, the Sumerians developed a system of writing. It was at first hieroglyphic, like the Egyptian system. Afterward the Semites, who still retained the supremacy in the cities of Kish and Agade in the north, and who had probably been reinforced there by fresh migrations from Arabia, adapted this system of writing to their own language. As clay was the usual writing material and it was difficult to make good pictures on it, the pictographical form of the writing was soon lost. The pictures degenerated into those conventional symbols, which are today known as the "cuneiform" characters.

(2) The Pre-Babylonian Period of the history includes the period from about 3100 B.C. down to the rise of the city of Babylon, about 2050 B.C. This period, like the preceding, was a time of successive city kingdoms. One city would establish an empire for a while, then another, having become more powerful, would take the leadership. When first our written records enable us to trace the course of events, Lagash in the south and Kish in the north were the rival cities. Lagash was ruled by a king, Enkhegal. A little later Mesilim, King of Kish, conquered all of southern Babylonia, including Lagash. After Mesilim had passed away, Ur-Nina founded a new dynasty at Lagash and gained his independence. Ur-nina founded a new dynasty at Lagash and gained his independence. Ur-Nina's grandson, Eannatum, raised the power of Lagash to its greatest height, conquering all the cities of Babylonia, even Kish. The Elamites were always invading the fertile plains of Babylonia, so Eannatum ascended the eastern mountains and subjugated Elam.

"*Stele of the Vultures.*"---He celebrated his victories by the erection of one of the most remarkable monuments which the ancient world produced, the so-called "stele of the vultures." From the pictures on the monument were learn that the soldiers of Lagash, about 2900 B.C., waged their battles in a solid phalanx to have invented this form of attack, but were anticipated by 2,500 years (see Fig. 19).

Although this dynasty furnished several other rulers, the leadership of all Babylonia was lost after the death of Eannatum. It passed first to Opis and then again to Kish. Lagash continued to flourish, however, during 200 years, while these cities were the overlords of its rulers. Its wars had made it rich, and all the arts flourished there. Our best specimens of terra-cotta and stone work come from this period of this city. Under Entemena, the successor of Eannatum, a silver vase of exquisite workmanship and ornamentation was made (see Fig. 21). After a century or more of wealth and luxury, during which priests and officials became corrupt, a new king, Urkagina, seized the throne and endeavored to reform the administration. Naturally, his reforms were unpopular with the priesthood and the army, and though popular with the people, he unintentionally weakened the defensive power of his country.

At this juncture a new ruler named Lugalzaggisi arose in the city of Umma, who ultimately overthrew Lagash and became king of all Babylonia. He made Erech his capital. This was about

2750 B.C. Lugalzaggisi arose in the city of Umma, who ultimately overthrew Lagash and became king of all Babylonia. He made Erech his capital. This was about 2750 B.C. Lugalzaggisi claims to have overrun the country from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. If so, and there is no good reason to doubt his claim, Babylonian and the Palestinian coast-lands were under him brought together for the first time.

After Lugalzaggisi the city of Agade came to the fore. Its great King Sargon about 2725 B.C. founded a dynasty which ruled for nearly two hundred years. The kings of this line were Semitic and resided sometimes at Agade and sometimes at Kish. Sargon conquered Syria and a later chronicle says that he crossed the western sea. As a seal of this dynasty was found in Cyprus, it is possibly true. Naram-Sin, one of the most famous kings of this line, conquered the country of Magan, which some believe to be the peninsula of Sinai, but which others hold was situated in eastern Arabia.

About the time of this dynasty, or a little before, King Lugaldudu flourished at Adab, the modern Bismya, where Dr. Banks found his statue. In this same general period a king named Anubanni ruled in a city to the northward, called Lulubi.

Perhaps it was under the later kings of this dynasty of Agade, or under a dynasty of Gutti, which held sway for a century after them, that Gudea flourished at Lagash. This ruler does not claim to be a king, but his city enjoyed great prosperity under him, and he rebuilt it in fine style. He seems to have been on peaceful terms

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with much of the world, and brought for his structures stone from Magan, cedar wood from Amanus on the Mediterranean coast, and copper from Lebanon. After this time the land was overrun by hordes from Gutium, a region to the northeast beyond the Tigris.

In 2399 B.C. a dynasty arose in the city of Ur, situated far to the south. These kings were Sumerians and under them a great Sumerian revival occurred. By this time northern Babylonia was called Akkad, from the city of Agade, and southern Babylonia was called Sumir, from a corruption of the name of one of the quarters of Sumir, from a corruption of the name of one of the quarters of Lagash. These kings combined with the title "king of Ur" the title "king of Sumir and Akkad." Sumir is the Biblical "Shinnar" (Gen 10:10; 11:2, etc.).

Dungi, the second king of this dynasty of Ur, reigned 58 years and established a wide empire, which included Elam and the city of Susa. He established a wide empire, which included Elam and the city of Susa. He established a wide empire, which included Elam and the city of Susa. He established a system of government posts to aid the royal officers of army and state in the performance of their duties.

Upon the fall of the dynasty of Ur, the dominion of Babylonia was divided between two cities, Nisin and Larsa, each of which furnished a dynasty which flourished for more than two and a quarter centuries. Naturally, these kings were continually struggling with each other for the supremacy, and sometimes one city was the more powerful, sometimes the other. The Amorites, who had settled in Elam swooped down into the Mesopotamia Valley, overran Larsa and furnished the last two kings of its dynasty,---Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin. These kings have each been thought by different scholars to be the Arioch of Gen. 14:1. (See Part II, Chapter IX.)

The above sketch calls attention to a few only of the more prominent features and cities of Babylonia another period of the life of the country was ended.

The above sketch calls attention to a few only of the more prominent features and cities of Babylonia. There were many others which participated in her life during the millennium of the pre-Babylonian period. The recovery of more inscriptions will no doubt make this statement more true even than we now dream.

Each of these contributed its mite to the progress of civilization in this melting-pot of races in this far-off time.

(3) The Early Babylonian Period began with the reign of Hammurabi, who conquered all of Babylonia, and extended his sway also to the Mediterranean. He was as great as an administrator as he was a conqueror; he codified the laws of Babylonia and inscribed them on a stone pillar, which was set up in the temple of Marduk in Babylon. These laws have been recovered, and are one of the most valuable archaeological discoveries of modern times. (See Part II, Chapter XIII.)

Soon after the death of Hammurabi, a revolt occurred under one Ilumailu, who established in the region near the Persian Gulf a dynasty known as the dynasty of the sea lands." which was afterward was called the second dynasty of Babylon. Down to 1924 B.C. the two dynasties divided the country between them. In that year Babylonia was invaded by the Hittites, who came from the northwest, and the first dynasty of Babylon was overthrown. The Hittites appear to have ruled the country for a short time, when they were driven out by the "dynasty of the sea lands," which, so far as we know, controlled the country for the next hundred and fifty years.

Kassites.---About 1750 B.C., or shortly before, Babylonia was once more invaded by a race of barbarians from the east of the Tigris, called Kasites or Cossaens. They captured Babylon and founded the third dynasty of Babylon, which ruled for 576 years. The kings of this dynasty gradually absorbed Babylonian culture. Soon after 1700 B.C. they expelled the kings of the sea lands from the south and ruled the whole country.

Assyria, which under the first dynasty had been a Babylonian colony, gained her independence before 1400 B.C., so that after that the independent histories of the two lands run on parallel lines. During the long period of Kassite rule, Babylon experienced many vicissitudes. Assyria was at times friendly and at times hostile. In the reign of Kurigalzu, Elam was successfully invaded and spoil formerly taken by the kings of Elam was brought back to Babylonia. Kadashman-turgu and Burnaburiash, kings of this dynasty, carried down friendly correspondence with Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt, 1400-1350 B.C.

Pashe Dynasty.---About 1175 B.C. the Kassite dynasty was superseded by the Pashe dynasty, which ruled the country for more than a hundred and thirty years. The greatest king of this time was Nebucharezzar I, who reigned about 1150 B.C. He emulated with considerable success the career of his great predecessor, Hammurabi. After the fall of the fourth dynasty, the country was divided and fell a prey to the Elamites, who overran it about 1050. For the following 450 years Babylonia, though often independent, was of little political importance.

(4) *The Early Assyrian Period.*---Assyria's empire grew out of the domination of the city of Ashur, as that of Rome grew out of the domination of the city of Ashur, as that of Rome grew out of the domination of the city of Rome. Ashur, and by the name of Nineveh had been occupied by colonists from Sumer about 3000 or 2800 B.C. This is shown by archaeological remains found at Ashur, and by the name of Nineveh. We can trace the names of Assyria's rulers shortly before the year 2200 B.C. They do not call themselves kings, and were, perhaps, then subject to Babylon.

About 1430 B.C. we learn that Assyria had become an independent kingdom. Her king at that time, Ashur-rim-nishishu, was a contemporary of Karaindash, King of Babylon. Ashur-uballit about 1370-1343 was a contemporary of Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, and shared in the

correspondence with Egyptian kings contained in the El-Amarna letters. Shalmaneser I about 1300 B.C. conquered the region to the west of Assyria extending across the Euphrates in the direction of the Mediterranean. Ashurnasirpal, a later king (884-860 B.C.), says that Shalmaneser "made" the city of Calah as a new capital for his country. His son, Tukilti-Ninib I, turned his arms to the southward and conquered Babylon, which he held for seven years. After him Assyria's power declined for a time, but was revived by Tiglath-pileser I, who carried Assyria's conquests again across the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea and northward to the region of Lake Van. After the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, Assyria's power rapidly declined again, and the first period of Assyria's power rapidly declined again, and the first period of Assyria's history was closed. Our sources almost fail us for a hundred years or more.

(5) *The Second Assyrian Period.*---Assyria slowly emerged from the obscurity into which had fallen after the death of Tiglath-pileser I. The progress went forward through the reigns of eleven different kings. Finally, in the reign of Ashur-narsipal II, 884-860 B.C., a period of foreign conquest was once more inaugurated.

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This monarch again carried the conquests of his country northward and also to the Mediterranean. (See Part II, p.457.) Under him Assyria became the best fighting machine that was run with ruthless cruelty over all conquered peoples. This king set his successors the example of flaying and impaling numbers of conquered peoples, and of boasting of such deeds in his chronicles. Probably such deeds were not now committed for the first time, but so far as we know they had not been so gloated over.

Ashur-nasirpal's successor, Shalmaneser III, 860-824 B.C., made, besides campaigns into Armenia and elsewhere, six campaigns against the lands of Syria and Palestine. On his first campaign in 854 he was met at Qarqar by a confederation of kings, among whom were Ahab of Israel and Ben-Hadad of Damascus. (See Part II, p.457 ff.) On his fourth campaign in 842 B.C. Jehu, who had in that year usurped the throne of Israel, hastened to make his peace with Shalmaneser by giving him a heavy tribute. Thus Assyria gained a right to claim Israel as a vassal state. (See Part II, p. 459 f.)

The next two kings, Shasi-Adad IV and Adad-nirari IV, controlled Assyria until 783 B.C., and maintained her power. The last-mentioned king made three expeditions into the West, and claims to have received tribute not only from Israel but from Philistia and Edom, but no details of his campaign have survived.

After 783 the power of Assyria declined again, and the decline lasted until 745, when the reigning dynasty was overthrown, and an able general, whose name was apparently Pul, gained the throne (cf. 2Kings 15:19), and took the great name of Tiglath-pileser III was great both as a warrior and as a statesman.

He broke for the time being the power of the kingdom of Urartu in Armenia, conquered parts of Media on the east, and also annexed Babylon to Assyria. Babylon during the later Assyrian period had usually been permitted to retain a king of her own, though the kingdom was of little political importance as compared with Assyria. Tiglath-pileser made his power dominant in Babylonia at the beginning of his reign, and during the last two years of his life actually reigned there as king. The Babylonian scribes did not recognize his high-sounding name of Tiglath-pileser, but still called him Pul.

In the first year of his reign Tiglath-pileser III inaugurated a new policy with reference to conquered peoples. This was the

Policy of transporting to a distant part of his empire the wealthy and influential members of a conquered nation, and of putting similar exiles from other lands in their place. Individuals so transported would be unable longer to foment rebellion against him. It was a brutal policy but it was a measure designed to build up a permanent empire.

Tiglath-pileser made four expeditions to the west, though the first tow touched northern Phoenicia only. In 739, when he made his appearance in Palestine, Menahem, King of Israel, hastened to pay him tribute (2 Kings 15:19). Four years later, however, after Pekah had usurped the throne of Israel, that king formed an alliance with Rezin of Damascus for the purpose of throwing on the Assyrian yoke, and tried to force Ahaz of Judah to join in the enterprise. (see Isa. 7:1, ff.) This, Ahaz, supported by the prophet Isaiah, refused to do. In 733-732 Tiglath-pileser came again into the West, overran the territory of the kingdom of Israel, deported the chief inhabitants of Galilee to distant parts of his dominions (2 Kings 15:29, 30), and replaced Pekah, who had been killed, by King Hoshea, who ruled over a greatly diminished territory and upon whom a heavy Assyrian tribute was imposed. Tiglath-pileser then turned eastward and conquered Damascus, which his predecessors since the days of Shalmanesser III had been vainly trying to capture. While the Assyrian monarch was at Damascus, King Ahaz of Judah went thither and became his vassal. (See 2 Kings 16:10, f.) Thus Judah also passed under the Assyrian yoke. (See Part II, p. 465, f.)

Tiglath-pileser III was succeeded by Shalmanesser V, 727-722 B.C. and soon after the death of Tiglath-pileser, Hoshea of Israel was persuaded to join several petty rulers of Philistia and Egypt in rebelling against Assyria. In 725 an Assyrian army overran Hoshea's territory, and laid siege to Samaria. The military position of Samaria and its strong walls made it almost impregnable, and the siege dragged on for three years (2 Kings 17:5). Before the city fell, another king had ascended the throne of Assyria. He was a usurper, a general, who took the great name of Sargon, and who ruled from 722 to 705 B.C. Samaria succumbed in Sargon's first year and 27,290 of its inhabitants were deported. The discontent of the west not at once quieted. Other states remained in rebellion and an Assyrian army finally defeated them at Raphia, southwest of Gaza, in 719 B.C. Sargon then turned his arms in other directions, fighting at various times with the

kingdom of Uratu in Armenia, overcoming Carchemish, a Hittite kingdom on the Euphrates in 717 (see Isa. 10:9), and making an expedition into Arabia in 715. In 711 Ashdod revolted and Sargon's Tartan or chief officer to put the rebellion down (Isa. 20:1)

At the beginning of Sargon's reign his arms had been defeated in Babylonia, and Merodach-baladan, a Chaldaean (see 2 Kings 20:12), seized the throne of Babylon and held it from 721 to 709. Then he was defeated and Sargon took over the control of Babylonia. Merodach-baladan, however, escaped to the marsh lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, and survived to make trouble later. In 705 Sargon died and was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib, who ruled from 705 to 681 B.C. At the beginning of his reign troubles broke out in Babylonia, which cannot here be followed in detail. They lasted for years, and none of Sennacherib's measures gave the country permanent peace. At last Sennacherib became so incensed that he destroyed Babylon. Her buildings were burned and battered down, her walls overthrown, and the Euphrates turned through canals into the land on which she stood, to make it a marsh. One incident in the series of events which led up to this sad climax was the reappearance in 702 of Merodach-baladan, who seized the throne of Babylon and tried to stir up a rebellion against Assyria. He even sent letters to Hezekiah, King of Judah. (See 2 Kings 20:12.) At the beginning of Sennacherib's reign a number of the petty kings of Philistia had withheld their tribute. Into this revolt Hezekiah, King of Judah, had been drawn. Busied with other wars, Sennacherib was unable to quell this rebellion

until the year 701. In that year his army met the forces of the confederated kingdoms at Elteke in the valley of Aijalon and overcame them. Sennacherib then proceeded to Lachish, where he received the submission of the neighboring kinglets. From Lachish he sent a messenger who summoned Hezekiah of Judah to submit (cf. Isa. 36, 37). Hezekiah obeyed the summons and paid a heavy tribute. Space does not permit us to speak of the wars of Sennacherib against Elam and other countries.

It would seem that after Tirhakah ascended the throne of Egypt in 688 B.C., he persuaded the kingdoms of Palestine to rebel. The Assyrian came west again and threatened to invade Egypt and to destroy Jerusalem. Isaiah then predicted that Jerusalem would be delivered (Isa. 31:5), a prediction which was fulfilled. Sennacherib

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on the west, and to the borders of India on the east. In 538 B.C. Cyrus captured Babylon and overthrew Nabuna'id.

(7) *The Persian Period*---lasted from 538 to 331 B.C. During this time Babylonia was but a province of the Persian Empire, though the Persian kings made it one of their capitals. Cyrus reversed the policy of transportation, which had been practiced by the Assyrians and Babylonians for two hundred years, and permitted subject peoples to return to their lands and restore their institutions and worship. He sought to attach them to his government by gratitude instead of fear. It was owing to this policy that the Jewish state was once more established with Jerusalem as its capital, though still a Persian colony. Cambyses extended Persian power to Egypt in 525, and Darius I, 521-485 B.C., extended it to India and into Europe. Under Darius the temple at Jerusalem was rebuilt and the Jews there tried unsuccessfully to regain their independence. This they attempted once more under Artaxerxes III about 350 B.C., but his general, Bagoses, put down their rebellion with great severity. During the Persian period life in Babylonia went on as before. The old gods were worshipped, the old culture was continued, the same language was used, and many business documents written in it have come down to us. The earlier Persian kings employed it for their inscriptions, and in a short time the Persians made from it an alphabet of their own.

(8) *The Greek and Parthian Periods*.---Alexander the Great overthrew Darius III, the last of the Persian kings, in 331 B.C., when Assyria and Babylonia passed under the sway of the Macedonian. When Alexander returned from his conquests in India in 325 B.C., he planned to extend his empire westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and to make Babylon its capital. Plans for the enlargement and beautifying of the city, so as to make it a worthy capital for such an empire, were under way when Alexander suddenly died in June 323 B.C. In the final division of the world among Alexander's successors, Babylonia fell to Seleucus, together with all the territory from the Mediterranean to the borders of India. As Seleucus desired a capital on the Mediterranean, so as to watch more successfully the movements of his rivals, he built Antioch on the Orontes and made it his residence. Babylon was however; made the capital of the eastern half of the empire, and the King's son, as viceroy, made it his residence.

Soon after 269 B.C. Bactria and Parthia, in the eastern part of the empire of the Seleucidae, gained their independence. In course of

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time Parthia absorbed Bactria and became an empire, which lasted till 230 A.D. About 150 B.C. the Parthians conquered Babylonia, which remained with little interruption under their sway till

the establishment of the Sassanian kingdom of the Persians in 220 A.D. Babylonia was under the control of this last dynasty until the coming of the Mohammedans in the year 637 A.D. The old culture of the Babylonians, their religion, language, and writing were maintained well down toward the Christian era. Copies of old Sumerian hymns have been found in Babylonia which bear dates as late as 81 B.C. and business documents in Semitic are numerous.

7. Discoveries which illumine the Bible.---Discoveries in Babylonia and Assyria which illumine the Biblical narratives are numerous. The sites of many cities, such as Ur of the Chaldees, Erech, Babylon, Ashur, Nineveh, and Calah, have been excavated. The number of documents which have come to light which in one way or another have a bearing on the Bible is too numerous to mention here. An effort has been made in part light to translate examples of most of them. Indeed, the greater part of the material in Part II was recovered by excavations in these countries.

To Babylonia and to Egypt mankind owes the working out of the initial problems of civilization, the processes of agriculture, the making of bricks, the working of stone, the manufacture and use of the ordinary implements of life, the development of elementary mathematics and astronomy, etc. These problems were by slow processes independently worked out in each country through long ages. The higher spiritual concepts which have now become the heritage of man neither Babylonia nor Egypt was fitted to contribute. These came through the agency of other peoples.

Those who desire fuller accounts of the history should read L.W. King's *History of Sumer and Akkad*, London 1910; his *History of Babylon*, London, 1915 and A.T. Olmstead's *History of Assyria*, New York, 1923, and Sidney Smith's *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.*, London, 1928