

Institut Catholique de Toulouse



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THE HISTORY OF TYRE

From the Beginning
of the Second Millenium B.C.E.
until the Fall
of the Neo-Babylonian Empire
in 538 B.C.E.

H. JACOB KATZENSTEIN



Aerial view of Tyre (1935)
From A. Poidebard, *Un grand port disparu: Tyr*, Paris 1939

AE
1649

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לזכר נשמות הורי היקרים

To the blessed memory of my parents

Senatspraesident Dr. RICHARD KATZENSTEIN

(Hanover, December 17, 1878 — Jerusalem, October 20, 1942)

and

LILLI KATZENSTEIN née DUX

(Hildesheim, January 2, 1887 — Jerusalem, November 3, 1950)

חנוכה

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PREFACE

THE PREPARATION of an *Ancient History of Tyre* has been a very stimulating, but difficult task. The scarcity of sources meant that bits and pieces of information had to be put together like little stones which finally form a complete mosaic. Nor do the sources present a balanced history of Tyre. Most of them reflect a one-sided account of events, recorded for the glory of Egypt, of Assyria, or ancient Israel.

Much attention has been paid to the sometimes very intricately interwoven history of Tyre and her neighbors, especially Israel and Judah, and in this respect one cannot overstate the importance of the Bible in providing help to the student. Biblical quotations in this volume are based on the MT; the English translations are mostly according to the *New English Bible*, (Oxford/Cambridge 1970), but have in each case been checked against the Hebrew text.

I cherish particularly those happy moments when verses of the Bible and quotations from the works of Josephus neatly dovetailed into events recorded in other sources. The abundance of material found in the works of Josephus was of great help in preparing this book, and I have come to the conclusion that his writings deserve much greater attention, even beyond that which has been given them.

Documents and records from the Near East are quoted, as far as possible, from *ANET*², because this source is easily accessible; however, they have been checked with other translations and, when possible, with the transliterations.

The writing of this book has taken many, many years. Its beginning lies in a thesis written for a Ph.D. degree at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, under the guidance of Professors B. Mazar and A. Malamat, in 1964. The thesis was subsequently reworked and rewritten as chapters I—VIII of this book. I am much indebted to my teachers.

I owe a great deal to the late Professor W. F. Albright, whose extensive studies of the Phoenicians are full of deep insights and always very exciting.

I would like to thank the American Academy for Jewish Research, New York, its officers, and especially Professor S. Lieberman, for their interest and help in writing and publishing this book. I am also much

Preface

indebted to the Schocken Foundation, New York for their generous grant, and to William, Milton, and Stanley Lasdon for their considerable contribution in memory of their late brother Jacob for the publication of this book.

This volume could not have been written without access to the resources of the National and Hebrew University Library, and the libraries of the Israel Antiquities Department, the Pontifical Institute, and the Schocken Institute, all in Jerusalem. My thanks are extended to their staffs, whose assistance made the riches of these institutions available to me. I am further indebted to Mrs. Ora Lipschitz who generously put her private library at my disposal.

Numerous friends have been most helpful, and this study has benefited from their advice. Among the many, I would like to mention Shmuel Ahituv, Professor Jonas C. Greenfield, Professor Sarah Groll, Renée Gutman, Dr. Joseph Naveh, Professor Anson F. Rainey, Abraham Rosenthal, Dr. Michael Sokoloff, Professor Haim Tadmor, and A. Yardeni. Special thanks are due to Professor Louis Finkelstein, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, who sent me every book I requested, in addition to hundreds of photostats.

Mr. David Segal of New York translated my Ph.D. thesis into English, and I admire his work. Mrs. Priscilla Fishman has edited this book for publication, and I must express my deep appreciation for her help. Needless to say any errors in this volume remain my own responsibility. I am also thankful to Dr. M. Spitzer for his advice and assistance in typography and to Messrs. Jacob and Zvi Goldberg for the care they have taken in the production of this book.

I owe a particular debt to my wife Emunah, who revised the many versions of the first eight chapters, typed the bulk of the manuscript, and checked hundreds of quotations. Her comments upon the contents of this book have been of the greatest help to me. Without her critical sense and assistance in preparing the manuscript, it would still be a draft.

Jerusalem
December 31, 1973

H. JACOB KATZENSTEIN

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ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLE

Old Testament

Gen.	Josh.	Isa.	Amos	Zech.	Lam.
Exod.	Judg.	Jer.	Obad.	Ps.	Dan.
Lev.	Sam.	Ezek.	Mic.	Prov.	Ezra.
Num.	Kings	Hos.	Nah.	Job	Neh.
Deut.		Joel	Zeph.	Ruth	Chron.

Aprocrypha

I Esd	Jth.	Ecclus.	I and II. Macc.
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New Testament

Matt.	Luke
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Versions of the Bible commonly referred to

- EV = English Version(s) of the Bible.
KJV = King James Version.
MT = Massoretic Text.
NEB = The New English Bible, Oxford/Cambridge 1970.

Septuagint

Vulgate

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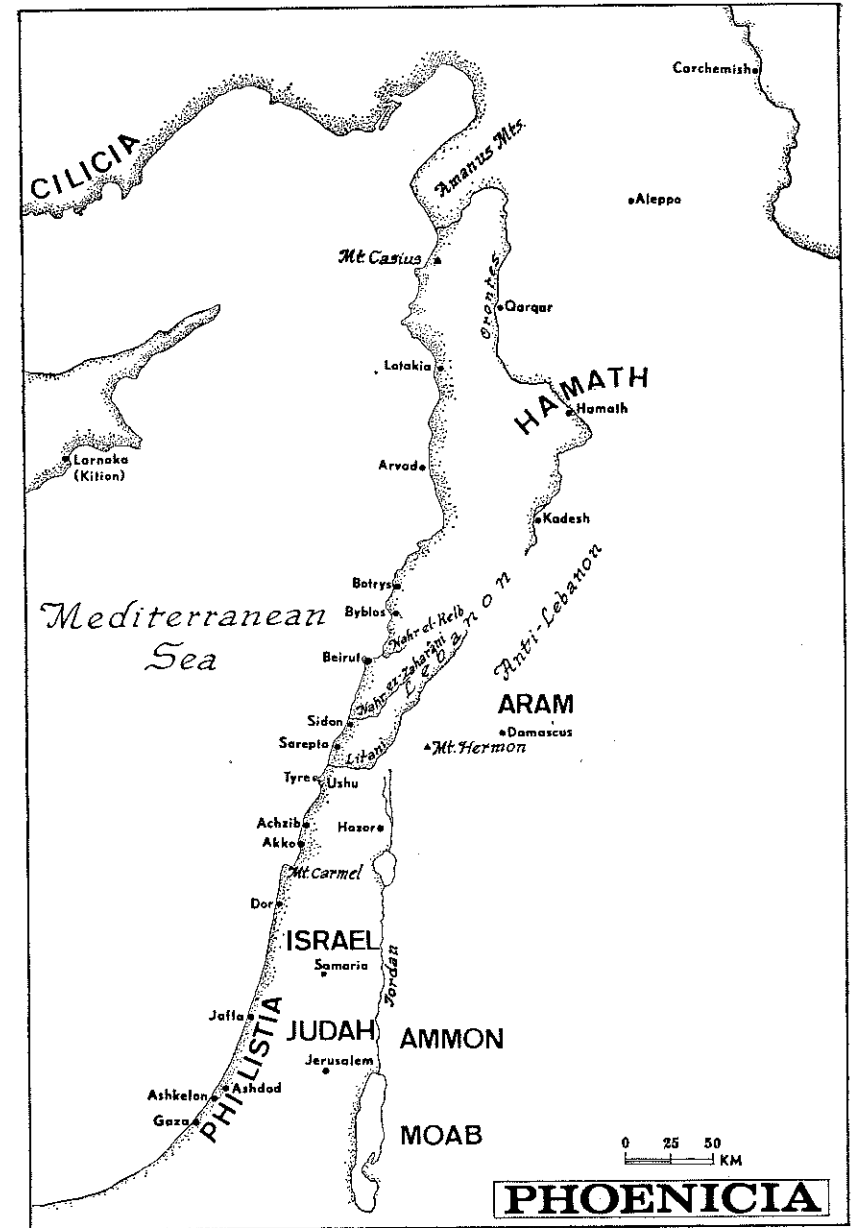
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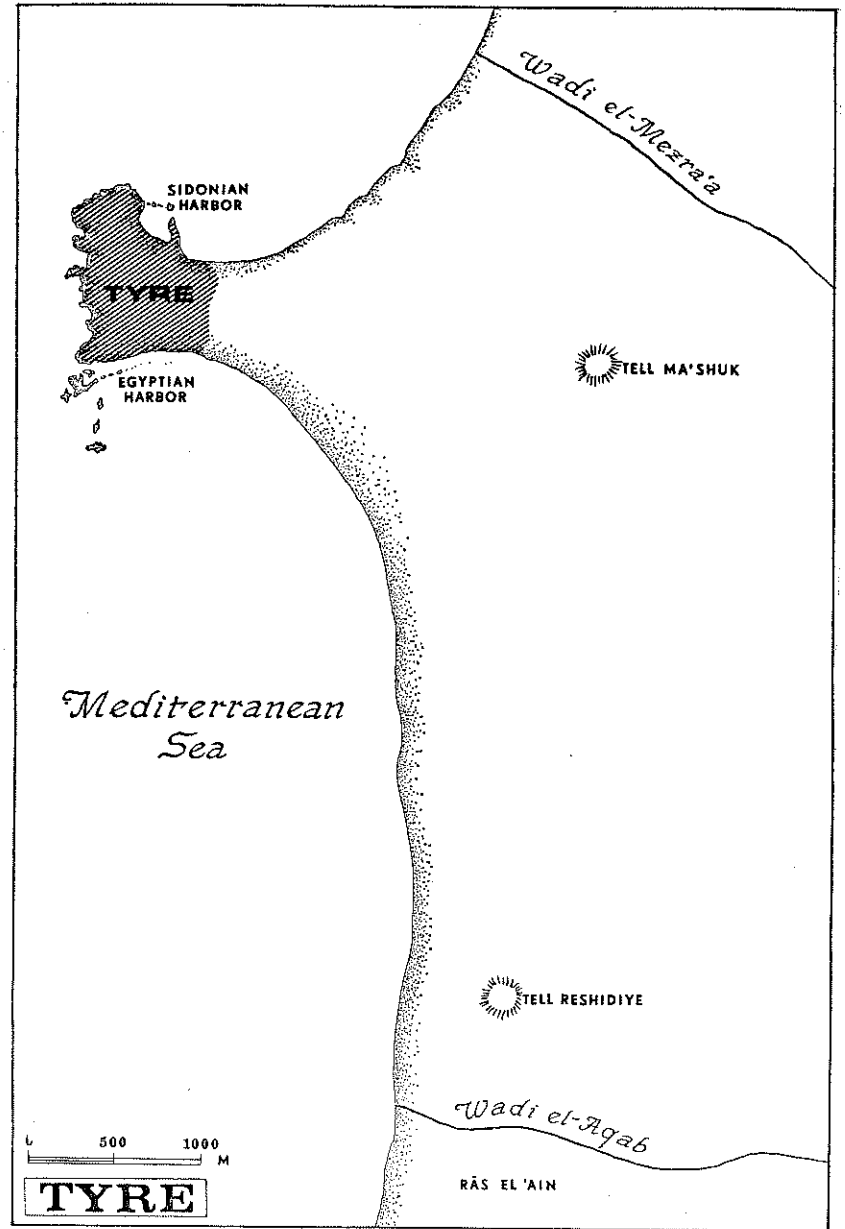
PERIODICALS

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AION	Annali Istitute Orientale Di Napoli
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Antiquity	A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
Archaeology	A Magazine Dealing with the Antiquity of the World
BAr	The Biblical Archaeologist
BAr-Reader	The Biblical Archaeologist — Reader
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Orient Research
Biblica	Biblica, Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (Hebrew) s. a. BJPES
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (Hebrew)
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
BzA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CRAIBL	Comptes-rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
DAO	Der Alte Orient
EI	Eretz-Israel, I — (Jerusalem 1951 —)
GLECS	Comptes Rendus du Groupe linguistique d'Etudes chamito-sémitiques
HBzAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKzAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IRAQ	Iraq, British School of Archaeology in Iraq
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCSt	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOR	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research
Kedem	Studies in Jewish Archaeology I-II (Jerusalem 1942–1945) (Hebrew)
KHzAT	Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament
KLIO	KLIO, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
Language	Journal of the Linguistic Society of America
Leshonenu	Quarterly for the Study of the Hebrew Language (Hebrew)
MDAIA	Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athen

Periodicals

MDIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEFQst	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PIASH	Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities I (1967), II (1968)
PJB	Palästina-Jahrbuch
PRU	Palais royal d'Ugarit
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopaedie der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft
Qadmoniot	Quarterly for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands, Jerusalem (Hebrew)
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RAO = RA	
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
Rheinisches Museum	Das Rheinische Museum für Philologie
RHJE	Revue de l'histoire juive en Egypte
RStO	Rivista degli studi orientali
Sefarad	Revista Del Instituto Arias Montano
Sumer	A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq
Syria	Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WO	Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZS	Zeitschrift für Semitistik





Historical and Geographical Surveys(a) *The Phoenician coast*

THE land called by the Greeks "Phoinike" (*Φοινίκη*) stretches along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, between the mountains of Lebanon and the sea, from Jebel el-Akra (Mons Cassius), near the mouth of the Orontes, in the north, to Mount Carmel in the south, a distance of about four hundred kilometers. The territory of Phoenicia, however, was somewhat elastic; sometimes it was restricted to the southern portion of this region, ending about two hundred kilometers north of Akko. This region, which varies in width from about fifteen to about fifty kilometers (the average width is perhaps twenty-five kilometers¹), is laced with small river beds and wadis. Its fertile earth yields rich harvests, and in ancient times its abundant forests afforded the choicest lumber, particularly to its neighbors, Assyria, Babylonia, Aram, Israel, and Egypt.

In earliest times, the Phoenician coast was not considered to be a distinct geographical entity, but part of a larger area, which the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom called the Land of Retenu².

In the period of the first pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a new term appears — the Land of Djahi³. This term, too, was not limited to the Phoenician coast, but at times included southern Syria and Palestine. Another name, Ḥa-rw, usually referred to present-day Syria, but at times it also included the Phoenician coast. Thus we read in the diary of an Egyptian border official of the time of Merenptah that Tyre is situated in "the Land of Ḥa-rw"⁴. Wen-Amun (at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty), sailing from Egypt to Byblos by way of Dor and Tyre, refers to the Mediterranean Sea as "the Great Sea of Ḥa-rw"⁵.

1 G. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia*, London 1889, 3 f.

2 Cf. i.a. Maisler (Mazar), *RHJE* I (1947), 39; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 142* ff.

3 Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 176 ff.; Meyer, *GA* II/1, 83 note 1; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 145* ff.; Helck, *Urkunden*, 9 note 3; "its origin is completely obscure" (Albright, *BASOR* 125 [1952], 29 note 24).

4 *ANET*², 258 b (note 4).

5 *ANET*², 26 a

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In the cuneiform sources, as well as in the Bible⁶, the Phoenician coast is called "the Land of Canaan". The meaning of the name "Canaan" (*kinahhi* or *kinahna* in the El Amarna letters) stems from the reddish-purple dye, which was the most characteristic product of the country⁷. E. A. Speiser pointed to the parallel semantic development of the Greek *φουβός*, which means red-purple: "In that case the land may have been the first to be designated after the product, *φουβίση* becoming "land of the purple dye", while the inhabitants became *φουβίτες* secondarily"⁸. The inhabitants of the neighboring countries called the coastal region and its hinterland "Canaan", as we learn from the story of Idrimi, who fled "to the land of Canaan"⁹. It appears that the Hittites distinguished between the north Phoenician coast, which they called *kinahhi*, and the countries of Sidon and Tyre¹⁰. From the writings of Ugarit we learn that a distinction was made between "a man of Ugarit" and "a man of Canaan"¹¹. The author of the Table of Nations defines the borders of Canaan as "... from Sidon towards Gerar all the way to Gaza..." (Gen. 10: 19). Isaiah, however, uses the term "Canaan" as synonymous with the southern Phoenician coast, the kingdom of Tyre (Isa. 23: 11). In the absence of indigenous documents, it is difficult to determine the name given the land by its inhabitants. In later times (the second century B.C.E.), the city of Laodicea (Latakia) minted coins inscribed "Of Laodicea, Mother in Canaan"¹². But we do not

6 Maisler (Mazar), *Untersuchungen*, 59 ff.; de Vaux, *JAOS* 88 (1968), 23 ff.

7 Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 102 (1946), 7-12.

8 E. A. Speiser: "The name *Phoinikes*", *Language* XII (1936), 121-126, contra K. Sethe and R. Eisler who explain the Egyptian word *Fnh-w* as a designation for Phoenicians (Sethe, *MVAG* XXI [1916], 327-328; Eisler, *ZDMG* 80 [1926], 159; and also in our days Helck, *Beziehungen*, 279-280; totally missed is the interpretation of Schedl, who proposed to derive the name *Phoenicia* from the colour of the land! (C. Schedl, *Geschichte des AT*, I, Innsbruck-Wien-München 1956, 330 note 26).

9 S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, London 1949, 14-15, 73.

10 *ANET*², 352 b; yet the original text reads only (line 55: "[im kina]-hhi..." (L. Zuntz, *Un testo ittita di scongiuri [=Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* XCVI/2, 1936/37, 496/497]).

11 Rainey, *IEJ* 13 (1963), 43-45; Nougayrol, *IRAQ* XXV (1963), 123.

12 Hill, *Coins of Phoenicia*, I, 52; the reading *ash[er]* instead of *em* does not appeal to us, as both Tyre and Sidon minted coins with the word: *em* (= the metropolis of the Sidonians [Tyre] or the metropolis of Cambe, of Hippo, of Citium, of Tyre [Sidon]; this is said contra J. Friedrich (*Festschrift f. O. Eissfeldt*, Halle 1947, 110) and B. V. Head (*Historia Numorum*², Oxford 1911, 790).

know, whether this name was commonly used by the Phoenicians, who looked upon themselves primarily as inhabitants of their cities—Tyrians, Sidonians, Gebalians, Zemarites, Sinites, Arvadites, and so on — rather than as a single people (cf. the Table of Nations, Gen. 10 : 17–18).

The varied geography of the coastal region, as well as the competition among the principal cities, prevented unification, although for nearly two centuries, during the reign of Ethbaal and his descendants, Tyre succeeded in imposing her suzerainty upon a large section of the Phoenician coast.

The geographical features of the coast dictated the occupations of its inhabitants. They founded their cities on small islands not far from the coast (Tyre and Arvad), or beside bays suitable for the anchorage of boats (Akko, Achziv, Sarepta, Sidon, Beirut, and Byblos). Undoubtedly most residents of these cities engaged in fishing and navigation from the earliest times, and as a result they became seafarers who excelled in maritime trade¹³. Their commercial control of the sea lanes also gave them naval supremacy and guaranteed them political independence. In addition, they had at their disposal the great cedar forests for which the cities of the region, particularly Byblos, were famous, as is attested to in ancient Egyptian documents¹⁴.

The Phoenicians also engaged — certainly in the winter — in various domestic manufactures, the production of small artifacts in metal, ivory, and glass, and, most important of all, the purple dye for textiles.

Egyptian writings contain descriptions filled with admiration for the natural riches of the land of *Djahi*. Amenhotep III speaks of the cedars of “the Land of Gardens”¹⁵ or “the Land of the God”¹⁶ (this last term was usually reserved for the Land of Punt). These appellations recall Ezekiel’s words on the king of Tyre : “You were in an Eden, a garden of God . . .” (28 : 13), and “the mountain of God” (28 : 16). We hear of the fertility of this region even in the Midrash. We read : “. . . when he (Abraham) reached the promontory of Tyre (Ras el Naqura)¹⁷ and saw them engaged in weeding in its proper season and in hoeing in its proper

13 cf. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 8, 11–16.

14 Cf. i. a. Köhler, *ZAW* 55 (1937), 163–165.

15 Helck, *Urkunden*, 231 note 1.

16 Helck, *Urkunden*, 197; the Egyptian term *t3ntr* already appears in the inscriptions of Thutmose III (cf. G. A. Reisner and E. B. Reisner, *ZAS* 69 (1933), 29; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 277).

17 At the time of Josephus the northern strip of 100 stades north of Akko was called “Ladder of the Tyrians” (*B.J.* II, 188) (one stade = 192,50 m.).

season, he exclaimed, ‘O that my portion might be in this land’ ”¹⁸. Archaeological findings have shown that a few cities, such as Byblos and Ugarit, were settled as early as the Chalcolithic Age; and we read that Tyre is “ancient in story” (Isa. 23 : 7). Its inhabitants boasted that the gods had founded their city¹⁹ and were the first to dwell and rule there²⁰. A legend relates that Tyre was the birthplace of Astarte, goddess of the city, and that she spent her life there²¹. This brings to mind the sentence in the book of Ezekiel concerning the king of Tyre : “I am god, I sit throned like a god on the high seas . . .” (Ezek. 28 : 2).

(b) *The City of Tyre*

THE location of the city of Tyre²² is not in doubt, for it exists to this day on the same spot and is known as Şûr. The city is situated about forty kilometers south of Sidon and about forty five kilometers north of Akko, at 35°15' longitude east and 33°15' latitude north. The character of the city has changed however. In ancient times it was situated on an island, but from the time of Alexander the Great (beginning in summer 332 B.C.E.) the city has been linked to the mainland by a dike, which has so broadened over the centuries through alluvial deposits that present-day Tyre is built upon a peninsula. In the period under consideration in this study, Tyre lay “in the midst of the sea” (Ezek. 27 : 32). This geographical feature is attested to by Egyptian, Assyrian, biblical, and classical sources. Phoenician mythology relates that Tyre was founded upon two rocks joined together by the roots of a (holy) olive tree²³. According to Tyrian sources, Hiram I linked the smaller island with the larger (*C.Ap.* I, 113). This legend also appears in a later period on Tyrian coins.²⁴

The reports we have about the distance of the island from the mainland do not agree. According to Pseudo-Scylax the straits between Tyre and

18 *Midrash Bereshit Rabba*, chap. 39, end of sect. 8 (in Theodor/Albeck edition, Berlin 1912, 371); *Midrash Rabbah, Genesis*, London 1951, 317.

19 Curtius IV, 4, 19; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XL, 505 ff.

20 Clemens, *Phönikische Religion*, 21 ff. (= Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1, 9 ff.).

21 Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (ed. R. Klotz), III, 33, 59.

22 In the Hebrew Bible שֵׁר (šûr); in classic literature : *Tύρος* (thus also in Herodotus, i.a. II, 44); yet one can also find the Semitic form, cf. Harris, *GPHL*, 142; on the other hand the Greek transcription of Şor into *Tύρος* is striking (cf. Şidon = Σιδων); cf. J. Friedrich, *PhPG*, 9 § 11.

23 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XL, 468 ff.

24 B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², Oxford 1911, 801; Hill, *Coins of Phoenicia*, pl. XXXIII, 14 f.

the mainland were about three stadia wide (approximately 600 meters)²⁵; Diodorus²⁶ and Curtius²⁷ both give the distance as four stadia (ca. 750 meters); Pliny speaks of 700 passus (about one kilometer)²⁸. This last figure seems exaggerated. Arrian is the only writer — as far as we know — to have described the strait, and these are his words: “At this part is a shallow strait; towards the mainland are shallows and patches of mud; but next the city where is the deepest part of the crossing is a depth of about three ὀργύλαι” (=about five meters)²⁹. The area of the island, which was the area of the city, cannot be determined today with exactitude. According to Beloch, it was about seventy-five hectares³⁰. Beloch appears to have based his estimate on Pliny, who says that the perimeter of the island was twenty-two stadia (about four kilometers)³¹. Pietschmann, however, (relying on E. Renan?) asserts that the area of ancient Tyre consisted of about 57.6 hectares on the western portion of the island³². This hypothesis, which is also accepted by Eissfeldt³³, seems realistic, since the island was 700 to 750 meters wide.³⁴

All scholars agree that the population of ancient Tyre was many times greater than the population of Šūr today. We shall not err greatly in assuming that at least 30,000 people (about 520 per hectare) lived in Tyre. Their numbers swelled greatly in time of war, when residents of nearby cities on the mainland (such as Ushu) found refuge on the island. Eduard Meyer is of the opinion that Tyre’s population numbered 40,000 at most³⁵. It seems to us that his authority for this estimate is Arrian, who wrote that about 8,000 men fell during the siege and battle against the Macedonians, and that 30,000 people, including women and

25 Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, 195, 204.

26 Diodorus XVII, 40, 4.

27 Curtius IV, 2, 7.

28 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 76.

29 Arrian II, 18, 3.

30 J. Beloch, *Historische Beiträge zur Bevölkerungslehre*, Leipzig 1886, 487.

31 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 76.

32 Renan, *Mission*, 552; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 61.

33 O. Eissfeldt, *Tyros, PW*, 2. Reihe, VII, col. 1880.

34 On its southern coast = the length of the embankment of the southern port, reaching from one end of the island to the other.

35 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 78; thus surely in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E.; cf. note 36; Droysen on the other hand believes that on the eve of the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great approximately 80,000 people inhabited the city (J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte Alexander d. Gr.*, Basel, 1952, 190 note 57).

children were sold into slavery³⁶. Curtius notes that hundreds of inhabitants were saved by Phoenician soldiers and sailors of other Phoenician cities which were allies of Alexander the Great³⁷.

Arrian, who described the city of Tyre on the eve of its conquest by Alexander the Great, noted that it had two harbors, one a natural bay, and the other artificial³⁸. The northern, natural harbor, called in the classical literature the “Sidonian”³⁹, was a closed harbor (λιμὴν κλειστός), or in the words of Pseudo-Scylax, “a port lying within the walls (of the city)”⁴⁰. It was at the northeastern end of the city, and a small strip of rocks protected its entrance and formed a kind of bay. Arrian, speaking of this bay, stresses “the narrowness of its mouth”⁴¹, and says that it was even possible to “spread sails across the mouth of the harbor”⁴². We may surmise that even in earlier times the entrance to the port was defended by a chain or by blocking its entrance in a similar fashion. This “Sidonian” port was the ancient harbor of Tyre.

In the ninth century, as it appears (we shall discuss this at greater length further on), an artificial harbor was added at the southern end, parallel to the vertical axis of the island. Called the “Egyptian” port³⁹, this was an open harbor (λιμὴν ἀνειμμένος), for it was constructed outside the southern wall and leaned against it at its two ends. The question arises, who built this port, or better who planned it and began its construction, for this planning took into account the reefs upon which the breakwaters and long quays projecting into the sea were constructed. Pliny tells us that a canal through the city connected the two harbors⁴³. However, as Arrian’s descriptions of the city, and its ports, and of the battles around Tyre never mention this canal, we may rightfully doubt Pliny’s statement.

In 1934 the French scholar A. Poidebard began an aerial and submarine study of Tyre⁴⁴. He found to the south of the present-day town

36 Arrian II, 24, 4–5.

37 Curtius IV, 4, 15.

38 Arrian II, 20, 10: “towards Sidon” and “towards Egypt”.

39 Strabo XVI, 2, 23.

40 Cf. note 25; Lehmann-Hartleben sees in the expression: “lying within the walls” a later scribal addition (Lehmann-Hartleben, *Hafenanlagen*, 69). There can be no doubt that the reference is to the “northern” (= the Sidonian) harbor, as Pseudo-Scylax comes from the north.

41 Arrian II, 20, 9.

42 Arrian II, 21, 8.

43 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 76.

44 Poidebard, *Un Grand Port Disparu: Tyre*, Paris 1939.

a submerged mole about 750 meters long and up to eight meters wide. This massive structure had been built from the southeast corner of the island in the direction of the reef, some dozens of meters distant from the southwest corner. Two other moles, one projecting northward from the reef at the end of the southern mole and the other projecting southward from the coast of the city, closed off the port from the western side. The ends of the moles partially overlapped, thus forming an entrance to the "Egyptian" port from the western side which was protected from the wind and waves of the open sea. The plan of this structure can be discerned to this day. Great rectangular hewn stones were used as foundation stones, all of them placed as headers. The seaward side of the moles were faced with blocks three meters long and 1.35 meter thick, all laid down as stretchers. The width of the southern mole was 7.5 to 8 meters, and the thickness of the two western moles was up to 10.30 meters. In the middle of the long southern quay was the main entrance to the port, with embankments on both sides. This entrance was evidently well guarded by towers. Another embankment divided the area to the east of the gate into two sections. The easternmost section, which was the smaller of the two, served as a shipyard and docking area, and also contained storehouses for nautical equipment.

By the shore, in the northern corner of the "Egyptian" port, a large pool was found. It is assumed that this was a reservoir supplying drinking water for the ships.

In the Sidonian" port, too, Poidebard found moles that projected into the sea, indicating that the port was a good deal wider in ancient times. The construction there is similar to that in the artificial southern harbor.

In addition Poidebard discovered two great breakwaters south of the island, one 390 meters long, the other 500 meters long, and each about 30 meters wide. In building these breakwaters, Tyrian engineers had utilized the reefs along the coast. Researches disclosed that the stones from which the breakwaters were built differed from those found in the sea, and had been brought out from the mainland, where similar rocks are to be found. Undersea divers provided measurements for the cornerstones as 3m. x 3m. x 0.75 m., and for the stones in the wall as 3m. x 1m. x 0.75m. We stand amazed at the building technique, which laid these foundations in shallow waters. Tyrian divers, famous in the ancient world, are to be credited with the work of laying these heavy stones in such a remarkable order that is still evident in our day.

The historian's question, who built these structures, is difficult to answer

precisely, but we can assume that these projects could have been executed only during an era of peace and stable government. Upon first examining the remnants of the northern quay of the "Egyptian" port, Poidebard discerned two clear stages of construction. One stage he attributed to the Byzantine or Roman period; the second stage he termed "very ancient", but lacked sufficient evidence to determine its date precisely⁴⁵. Other scholars have attribute the second stage to Hiram I⁴⁶. It is true that Hiram taught the architects and masons of Tyre to erect great and magnificent edifices, but if he had had a part in this great engineering feat, surely that would have been recorded in the accounts of Menander and Dius. It seems more plausible to assume that it was Ethbaal I and his descendants who laid the first foundations for the "Egyptian" port.

There is a marked resemblance in method of construction among the "Egyptian" port, Samaria of the time of Omri and Ahab⁴⁷, Megiddo⁴⁸, and Kition (Cyprus)⁴⁹. Both in Samaria and in this harbor the stones are hewn to the following proportions: 1.10 meters long, 30-35 centimeters wide, 50 centimeters high.

In this connection, note should be taken of the reliefs of the copperbands from the doors of the palace of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.E.), known as "the Gates of Balawat"⁵⁰. These reliefs include a picture of the inhabitants of Tyre coming from the island in ships, bearing tribute to Shalmaneser, who stands upon the shore. Tyre is depicted as a city surrounded by a wall, with five towers each slightly higher than the wall and each crowned with a projecting, battlemented platform. In the wall there are two vaulted gates, one larger than the other, each with two doors. The questions arises, do these two gates signify the ports of Tyre? If so, by the middle of the ninth century B.C.E. Tyre already had two ports.

A similar conclusion can be drawn from another relief showing the flight of "Luli, king of the Sidonians" from Sennacherib, king of Assyria⁵¹. In this relief, "Luli" and his family are shown boarding a vessel at the southwest corner of the city, the very corner, where Poidebard

45 *AfO* XI (1936/37), 278-279.

46 I. a. Saville, *Antiquity* XV (1941), 219-220; Gallig, *BRL*, col. 527.

47 Crowfoot, *SB*, 98.

48 Lamon/Shipton, *Megiddo* I, 13 f.; fig. 14, 15, 52, 66.

49 Birmingham, *AJA* 67 (1963), 20.

50 *ANEP* no. 356.

51 Barnett, *Archaeology* IX (1956), 93: fig. 9.

discovered the western entrance to the "Egyptian port". It would appear that this depiction lends credence to the existence of the second port in the time of Sennacherib. It is also possible to see an allusion to two ports in the verse: "And say, Tyre, throned above your harbors..." (Ezek. 27: 3)⁵². In this relief dating from the time of Sennacherib, we see that the soldiers of Tyre hung their shields on the city walls. This recalls the verse concerning the fortification of Tyre: "Men of Arvad and Cilicia manned all your walls, men of Gammad were posted on your towers and hung their shields around your battlements..." (*ibid.* 11)⁵³.

It appears that the strongest fortification was on the mainland side. Arrian declares that during the siege by Alexander the Great, the wall on the eastern side was about 150 feet, or 45 meters high⁵⁴. In addition to its strong fortifications, Tyre was surrounded on all sides by the sea. The local residents, with the help of mercenaries (Ezek. 27: 10) defended it from every enemy attack. No other Phoenician city withstood so courageously so many prolonged sieges as did Tyre.

The supply of water was one of the island's most important problems; the very lives of the inhabitants depended upon its solution. Normally water was brought to the city in boats from Ushu on the mainland. Ushu (called by the classical geographers "Old Tyre"⁵⁵) was located in a region rich in springs. Evidence that water was brought to Tyre from Ushu is found as early as the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E.⁵⁶. Menander, quoting from the "History of Tyre" mentioned this principal source of water, when he says: "But the king of Assyria... placed guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water, and this they endured for five years, and drank

52 I. a. Kraetzschmar, *Ezechiel*, 208; Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 139; contra i.a. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, 626.

53 Cf. Sukenik (Yadin), *BJPES* XIII (1946/47), 23 note 24 (Hebrew).

54 Arrian II, 21, 4.

55 The name "Old Tyre" (*Παλαιτυρος*) misled the latter geographers into claiming not only that the oldest settlement of Tyre was in "Old Tyre", but that it was the first actual site of the town (cf. Honigmann, *ZDPV* 47 (1924), 26); cf. also *Ὀύσωος* = the brother of Hypsouranios, who lived in Tyre (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 9-10) as the personification of the town of Ushu; ú-zu in *EA* (p. 1247); Albright, *Vocalization*, 35; Noth, *ZDPV* 60 (1937), 219; cf. also S. Loewenstamm, *נחל Encycl. Biblica* III (1958), cols. 233-234 (Hebrew). cf. also chapter IV note 119.

56 From the days of Akhenaten: *EA* 146, 147, 148, 149, 151 154, 155; from the days of Ramesses II: *ANET*², 477 b.

from wells which they had dug" (*Ant.* IX, 287). This siege took place in the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. The passage certainly refers to the supply of water that Tyre received from Ushu, for in Pseudo-Scylax we read concerning "Old Tyre: a city, and a river runs through it".⁵⁷

The identification of "Old Tyre"—Ushu is still a point of controversy. Papyrus Anastasi I gives the following sequence: the stream of Litani, Uzu (=Ushu), Tyre-the-Port, 'the crossing of Seram' (=the Ladder of Tyre?), Akko⁵⁸. Therefore, Ushu must be either north of or opposite Tyre, but not south of it. In the list of Pseudo-Scylax, on the other hand, "Old Tyre" is mentioned after Tyre, but before Achzib and Akko (going from north to south). Trying to reconcile these divergent sources, we must look for "Old Tyre" opposite, or nearly opposite, Tyre⁵⁹. Later this town was dismantled by Alexander the Great in his famous siege of Tyre⁶⁰ and disappeared totally with the change of the coastline brought about by the dike and the alluvial deposits that changed Tyre into a peninsula.

When the technique of lining cisterns with lime plaster was perfected (in the thirteenth century B.C.E.), the Tyrians were able to store up water and so reduce the city's dependence upon outside sources. It is likely that this also contributed to the further development of the city.

The beauty of Tyre is mentioned again and again when the city is described. Her "perfect beauty" (Ezek. 27: 3) is alluded to as early as the letters of Rib-addi, king of Byblos, who compares her to another famous city, Ugarit⁶¹. The king of Tyre himself, in a letter to Akhenaton, speaks of his city as "a great city"⁶². To these declarations we must add the reports of classical writers. Curtius, for example, writes that "Tyre excelled all the cities of Syria and Phoenicia in its size and glory"⁶³.

57 Galling *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, 195-196, 204.

58 *ANET*², 477.

59 Cf. the map in K. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*⁵, Leipzig 1900, between pages 300 and 301, or in J. Press, *Neues Palästina-Handbuch*, Wien 1934, 489; Noth identifies Old Tyre with Tell-Ma'ashuk (Noth, *ZDPV* 60 [1937], 219), Galling with Tell-Reshidie (Galling, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 91 ff. or between this tell and Ras el-'ain (Dussaud, *ThS*, 11); some scholars want to identify it with Hōsah (Josh. 19:29) cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *Encycl. Biblica* III (1958), cols. 223-234 (Hebrew).

60 Arrian II, 18 ff.

61 Albright/Moran, *JCS* IV (1950), 163.

62 *EA* 147:62 "(alu)Šur-ri alu rabitu".

63 Curtius IV, 2, 2.

The kings of Tyre adorned their city with many magnificent buildings. More will be said about the construction projects of Hiram I, the three temples to Baal-Shamêm, Melqart, and Astarte. To these must be added the royal palace, which we know from Pseudo-Scylax⁶⁴ and Arrian⁶⁵ to have been in the southwest sector of the city. The Assyrian relief from the time of Sennacherib, mentioned above, provides earlier evidence that the royal palace was located in the southwest corner of the city. In the vicinity of the palace were the archives, mentioned by Josephus (*c.Ap.* I, 107), the treasuries (Ezek. 28:4; cf. Zech. 9:3), and the other buildings that constituted the palace compound. The "pleasant houses" (Ezek. 26:12) of the great merchants were probably grouped together in the same area, as well as the houses of the residents who engaged in the many industries that characterized Tyre, particularly the weaving of linen, and the carving of ivories. The dyeing of fabrics purple must have taken place as far as possible from the palace. Tyre apparently excelled in its purple industry, for the "invention" of the purple color for dyeing garments was attributed by classical writers to Heracles (=the Tyrian god Melqart)⁶⁶. In much later times this invention was credited to Hiram I⁶⁷.

This city of merchants certainly had large marketplaces, which must have been located around the "Broad Place" (*ὁ Εὐρύχωρος*), which Lehmann-Hartleben regards as the "port marketplace" (*Hafenmarkt = Εὐρυχωρία*)⁶⁸. This area was added to the city by filling-in of earth (*C.Ap.* I, 113, 118), a vast *project* which was carried out under Hiram I (see below, Chapter V).

The city contained installations for the building and overhauling of ships and vessels. There were "dockyards" (*νεώρια*) and sheds, in which boats were kept, when they were taken out of the water or for repairs, particularly during the winter. Movers⁶⁹ and Renan⁷⁰ (following Diodorus⁷¹) look for these sheds on the eastern side of the island near the southern port. Lehmann-Hartleben opposes them⁷², relying on the accounts of

64 Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, 190, 195, 204.

65 Arrian II, 23, 6.

66 Pollux I, 45 ff.; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XI, 304 ff.

67 S. Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, London 1663, II, col. 722.

68 Lehmann-Hartleben, *Hafenanlagen*, 245.

69 Movers, 2/1, 212.

70 Renan, *Mission*, 568.

71 Diodorus XVII, 46, 1.

72 Lehmann-Hartleben, *Hafenanlagen*, 286.

Arrian⁷³, although he himself has no other suggestion.

The centers of the fishing industry for which Tyre was famous in the ancient world⁷⁴ were located near one of these two harbors. If we round out this picture with the other industries in which Tyre excelled, we see a thriving city of varied occupations, a city adorned by its kings with magnificent buildings, the city addressed by Ezekiel: "...you set the seal on perfection; full of wisdom you were, and altogether beautiful" (Ezek. 28:12).

73 It was from this southern side that Alexander stormed the city (Arrian II, 23, 1). Since Arrian describes this successful assault in the final stage of Tyre's conquest, his silence about any dockyard should, we feel, not be used as an argument.

74 *ANET*², 477 b; Ezek. 26:5, 14; Strabo XVI, 2, 23.

*The Kingdom of Tyre from the Twelfth Egyptian
Dynasty to the El-Amarna Age*

THE contention of the inhabitants of the Phoenician coast that they were autochthonous is bolstered by the Semitic names of the cities and mountains of Phoenicia. The antiquity of Tyre is reflected both in the Bible and in classical literature. Isaiah declares that Tyre's "antiquity is of ancient days" (Isa. 23 : 7). Strabo says of Tyre that it is "the largest and oldest city of the Phoenicians, which rivals Sidon, not only in size, but also in its fame and antiquity . . ." ¹.

Phoenician mythology relates that it was a Tyrian who "invented" the building by "having succeeded in building a hut of grasses, rushes and reeds" ².

When Herodotus visited Tyre in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., the priests of the temple of Heracles (i.e. Melqart) told him that "the temple was built at the same time that the city was founded, and that the foundation of the city took place 2300 years ago" ³. At this time, the beginning of the third millenium, Byblos (stratum IV : 3100-2300 B.C.E.) was already a well-built and well-planned city ⁴. The antiquity of the temple at Tyre is also mentioned by Arrian. According to his account, "There, in Tyre, is the most ancient temple of Heracles of which there is any record" ⁵. However, historical sources relating to Tyre yield no information of so ancient a period as that indicated by this Tyrian tradition.

There is no doubt that in the days of the Twelfth Dynasty (ca. 1991-1786 B.C.E. ⁶) Egypt extended its rule over Western Asia ⁷. From the story of Sinuhe (about 1960 B.C.E.) ⁸ we know that there were more

1 Strabo XVI, 2, 22.

2 Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 10.

3 Herodotus II, 44; cf. also Meyer, *GA* II/2, 80 note 4.

4 M. Dunand, *Byblos*, Beyrouth 1963, 21 f.

5 Arrian II, 16, 1.

6 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 439.

7 Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 54.

8 *ANET*², 18-22.

than commercial contacts between the Phoenician coast and Egypt, although Sinuhe himself did not visit the Phoenician coast.

The earliest written documents mentioning Tyre are the famous execration texts dating from the period of the last pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty, about the middle of the nineteenth century B.C.E. ⁹. These texts, written in red ink on a group of miniature statues are execrations apparently directed against the enemies of Egypt. The suggestion of Posener, who published these documents, that the *hkꜣ n Djwꜣwj* should be identified as the "ruler (king) of Tyre" has been accepted by the scholarly world ¹⁰. From the mention of the king of Tyre we learn that there had been firm ties between Egypt and Tyre at a slightly earlier period, and that thereafter Tyre had "freed" itself of the Egyptian yoke. The Egyptians believed that through the magic of these execrations they could bring the king of Tyre under their domination once more ¹¹.

From the execration texts, then, we learn not only that Tyre was independent, but that it was a monarchy at an early date, a form of government that continued even beyond the time of Alexander the Great, a period of more than fifteen hundred years.

The next reference to Tyre occurs in a Canaanite poem discovered in Ugarit, *The Tale of Keret* ¹². Even though this document is of the fourteenth century, it apparently reflects an earlier era. Albright believes that *The Tale of Keret* was composed in Phoenicia between the seven-

9 Horn has lowered this date by ca. 50 years (about 1785 B.C.E.) (S. H. Horn, *The Relations between Egypt and Asia during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* [unpublished Ph.D. thesis], Chicago 1951, 306); Albright who dated these texts in the years between 1850 and 1825 (Albright, *BASOR* 83 [1941], 32), has not changed his view (cf. Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 47 note 3).

10 Posener *PPAN*, 82; this reading has been fully accepted; cf. i.a. Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 66 ff.; Albright, *BASOR* 83 (1941), 34; Maisler (Mazar), *RHJE* I (1947), 56; J. A. Wilson apud *ANET*², 329a note 8; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 58.

11 Besides this group there is an older one, which was published by Sethe (K. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker, und Dinge auf alt-ägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin 1926). The date of this group is about one generation earlier than the group published by Posener. Sethe suggested that no. f 3 : Iw-tj be identified as Ushu (= Old Tyre). But that reading was corrected by P. Montet, who proposed to identify that name with the town of Ullaza (Montet, *Kêmi* I [1928], 23-24). Albright followed Montet (Albright, *JPOS* VIII [1928], 236), and this correction is now generally accepted. (cf. i.a. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 314).

12 *ANET*², 142 ff.

teenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.E.¹³ We read of Keret, the hero of the tale, who journeys together with his soldiers in the direction of the land of 'Udum. "They march a day and a second; / Then, at the su[n] on the third, / they co[me] to the shrine of Asherah of Tyre". There the hero Keret takes an oath, declaring: "As Asherah of Tyre exists . . ." ¹⁴ The fact that the hero Keret vows to bring Asherah an offering testifies to the status of the goddess ¹⁵. Centuries later we read that Asherah was the goddess revered by Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians (I Kings 18 : 19).

The spelling of "Tyre": *sr-m* has given rise to controversy among scholars. H. L. Ginsberg, who translates it "Tyre" notes "perhaps better, the "Tyrians" ¹⁶. Albright translates it "Tyre" ¹⁷. They are opposed by Cyrus Gordon who sees in the terminal *m* the dual form, and therefore translates "Asherah of the two Tyres", i.e. of "Great Tyre" (on the mainland) and of "Little Tyre" (on the island) ¹⁸. This reading would fit the story, for the hero Keret journeyed south on the mainland. Herodotus speaks of two temples of Heracles in Tyre ¹⁹; Curtius tells us that there was [also] a temple of Heracles outside the city, namely in Palœtyrus on the mainland ²⁰. If we can deduce from Curtius and kind of parallel with the temple of Asherah, then Gordon's suggestion could be plausible. The Bible, too, mentions "the stronghold of Tyre" (II Sam. 24 : 7), which may refer to "Old Tyre" ²¹ or to the fortress guarding the water-springs of Tyre.

13 Albright, *BASOR* 150 (1958), 36.

14. *ANET*², 145a.

15 Oldenburg points to the counterpart of the Asherah of the Tyrians, namely to Elah of the Sidonians. We are not sure whether one can learn from this "parallel" that the Elah of the Sidonians is the same goddess as the Asherah of the Tyrians. Certainly we do not agree with the notion of Oldenburg that the goddess is "perhaps a goddess of the sea" (U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, Leiden 1969, 29).

16 H. L. Ginsberg apud *ANET*², 145a note 17.

17 Albright, *BASOR* 94 (1941), 30-31, & note 5; J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra*², Leiden 1964, 16, 56.

18 Gordon, *UM*, 317 (§ 20.1649); idem, *UT*, 467.

19 Herodotus II, 44; it should be noted that even the temple of Zeus Olympios (= Baal-Shamēm) (cf. *Ant.* VIII, 145, 147) became in Herodotus' account a temple of Heracles (= Melqart). There can be no doubt that the temple of the "Thasian Heracles" in Herodotus' report is that of the "Tyrian Melqart" (cf. Pausanias V, 25, 12).

20 Curtius IV, 2, 4.

21 Cf. Z. Kallai, *The Tribes of Israel*, Jerusalem 1967, 182-183 (Hebrew).

On the other hand, there is no mention of this "second" Tyre in Egyptian or Assyrian documents; they speak only of a city called Ushu, opposite the island of Tyre. The same holds true of the letters of Abimilki, sent from Tyre to Egypt in the second half of the fourteenth century B.C.E. This evidence is of great significance, and if we add the linguistic considerations, we again concur with H. L. Ginsberg's version. At all events, the mention of Tyre in a poem, which is based on a historical episode ²² and is of local origin, is most interesting.

The first pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt penetrated swiftly into Asia as they pursued the "Hyksos" northward. From the time of Thutmosis I onward, Egyptian documents report contacts between Egypt and Syria. However, the successors of Thutmosis I, Thutmosis II and Queen Hatshepsut, did not lead their armies into Syria. Hatshepsut's interest was directed toward the Land of Punt, which held a position of primary importance in Egyptian reliefs and literary descriptions during her reign. We believe that this change in geo-political outlook was an important factor in the struggle between the queen and the party headed by Thutmosis III, which championed the expansion of Egypt in the direction of the Euphrates. It is no wonder, therefore, that immediately upon his accession to the throne, Thutmosis III, the great architect of the Egyptian Empire, set out upon a great military campaign against the "enemy" in Canaan.

We know of seventeen campaigns of Thutmosis III in Western Asia ²³, but in none of the descriptions that we have is there any mention of Tyre ²⁴ or Ushu, or of any other city of the Phoenician coast (such as Sidon, Beirut, or Arvad ²⁵), except Byblos. Eduard Meyer, citing Sethe's

22 This is said contra Follet, *Biblica* 37 (1956), 346 ff.

23 There are no documentary inscriptions of all these campaigns of Thutmosis III, cf. the conspectus of his campaigns in Breasted *AR* II, § 406 ff.

24 Contra Jirku, who again claims that Tyre "wird das erstmal in einer Grabinschrift aus der Zeit Thutmosis III erwähnt (Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, 891)" (A. Jirku, *Klio* Beiheft 38 [1937, reprinted 1962], 33 note 4; idem, *Geschichte Palästina-Syriens*, Aalen 1963, 87); but Sethe made use of the 'wrong' translation of Ebers: *sndjyr* [foreign (= Asiatic) country] = doppelte Tyrus (Ebers, *ZAS* 11 [1873], 4); the correct reading should be "the country of *Sendjar*" (cf. J. Wilson apud *ANET*², 241a).

25 Breasted's identification of Art-tu ('-r'-ty-wt) as Arvad (Breasted, *AR*, II, §§ 461, 465) is incorrect. The description of a siege does not fit a town "lying in the midst of the sea" like Arvad. It is, therefore, not surprising that Breasted has already been corrected on this point by other scholars, e.g. Meyer, *GA* II/1, 99, 100 note 1, 127 note 1; *ANET*², 239. We would not have raised this point again, had not Breasted's reading been accepted only

The History of Tyre

account²⁶, maintains that in the description of one of the first campaigns of Thutmosis III, the city of Tyre is mentioned. Sethe found his material in the book of Dümichen²⁷, but Dümichen himself noted that in reading the inscription (which has been lost in the process of time) he was unable to read the beginning and the end of the line. Only four signs in the middle were still legible: *Djyr = Tyre*²⁸. This inscription described, among other things, the first campaign of Thutmosis into Syria, and his conquest of Megiddo. Taking account of this, as well as of the fragmentary nature of the line and the omission of the names of all Phoenician coastal cities (except of Byblos), we believe that it is *H-djyr = Hazor* rather than Tyre, which is mentioned here. Moreover, Hazor is included in the lists of Thutmosis III²⁹.

This theory, which seems the most plausible to us, does not, of course, solve the problem of the omission of the names of the Phoenician coastal cities. This phenomenon calls for explanation. Thutmosis III relates in his annals that all of the more than three hundred princes whom he captured in Megiddo swore fealty to him, and he "appointed them anew in their cities"³⁰. We can assume that the rulers of the Phoenician cities, including the king of Tyre, were among these princes, and that they came to terms with Pharaoh and remained loyal to him throughout his reign. This theory is bolstered by the fact that although Sidon is not mentioned in the lists of Thutmosis III or of his successors, we know from the El-Amarna letters that Thutmosis IV visited Sidon³¹.

In addition, we know that all the coastal cities rendered yearly payments to Thutmosis III³². Sources from a later period (e.g., from the thirty-second year of Thutmosis III) reveal the taxes levied upon these cities and the nature of the supplies that had to be given to "(the army of) his majesty"³³. These supplies were principally agricultural, like those of

recently by P. K. Hitti (P. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, London 1957, 79-80).

26 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 122 note 1 (K. Sethe, *Urkunden* no. 760, 5).

27 J. Dümichen, *Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, Leipzig 1867-69, II, 38a.

28 Cf. Breasted, *AR* II, § 443.

29 *ANET*², 242 b; Albright, *Vocalization*, 52; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire*, IV, 24, 224.

30 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 127, 154.

31 *EA* 85:70; contra Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 20 & note 6, 40.

32 Breasted, *AR* II, § 483.

33 Breasted, *AR* II, § 472; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 140.

From the Twelfth Dynasty to the El-Amarna Age

which we read in the El-Amarna letters³⁴. For Tyre, however, the supplying of agricultural products, for which she herself was dependent on the mainland, would have been an additional burden, and we may assume that her taxes were paid either in merchandise (e.g., copper, wood, etc. cf. *EA* 157: 47-48), or in ships, or in the knowledge of ship-building which was put at the disposal of pharaoh, or in all of these.

Another fact must be considered: the Phoenician cities are never mentioned in Egyptian documents of this time. We know, however, that the coastal ports served Thutmosis III as stations for the transportation of his army to northern Syria. From this, Alt deduced that Thutmosis III set up a "chain of fortifications" containing Egyptian garrisons (*Stützpunktsystem*) along the coast of Palestine and Phoenicia³⁵. These fortifications, he held, served as bases for the Egyptian army both in offensive actions in northern Syria, as far as Mitanni on the further side of the Euphrates, and in consolidation of Egyptian rule in the land of Canaan. We do not agree with Alt: the payment of taxes on the part of Canaanite cities, and the funneling of such taxes to a coastal city, so that they might be sent on to Egypt or used for the maintenance of soldiers passing through en route to a distant action cannot prove the existence of a chain of permanent Egyptian fortresses that had no precedent and was never heard of again. We do not mean to deny that "Egyptian" garrisons were stationed at Gaza and Beth-Shean, which served as centers of the Egyptian administration (tax-collection). However none of the main cities of Phoenicia, not even Byblos, is mentioned in any Egyptian document as having served as a garrison-city for Egyptian troops.

In the chronicles of Thutmosis III ships are mentioned a good many times, and undoubtedly a fleet stood at the disposal of the Egyptians (cf. the description of the journey of five Egyptian vessels to the land of Punt during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut³⁶). Furthermore, we have proof that Thutmosis III used ships of Syrian lands, for in the description of the campaign in his twenty-ninth year, we read: "Now there was a seizing of two ships, . . . loaded with everything, with male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery, and every good thing, after his majesty proceeded southward to Egypt . . ." ³⁷ Obviously these were Phoenician ships that were seized as spoil, for the plundered merchandise

34 Cf. i.a. *EA* 144; *ANET*², 484 b (= *RA* XIX [1922], 100).

35 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 107 ff.; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 140.

36 Breasted, *AR* II, §§ 246 ff.

37 *ANET*², 239 a.

was typically Phoenician. Both in the poems of Homer³⁸ and in the prophecies of Amos (1:9) a few generations later, we learn that the slave trade was an important source of income for Phoenician mariners. We are also told of copper sent from Phoenician cities to Egypt in the letters of El-Amarna (EA 77). Indeed, we know that during the campaign of his thirty-third regnal year Thutmosis III built boats from the trees of Lebanon in the vicinity of Byblos, and then transported them on wagons to the Euphrates³⁹, and we may assume that Pharaoh utilized the Phoenicians' knowledge of shipbuilding⁴⁰.

In another record that mentioned vessels in the service of Thutmosis III, we read: "Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that [which] [his] majesty received in Djahi consisting of Keftiyew⁴¹ ships, Byblos⁴² ships, and Sektu (Sk-tw)⁴³ ships of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together with great trees for the [] of his majesty"⁴⁴.

The maritime knowledge of Phoenician cities is attested to in various sources in ancient tradition. Philo of Byblos relates, for example, that the city Tyre "invented" the building of ships. These are his words: "Then Usoos (Οὔσωος = Ushu) took a trunk of a tree, stripped it of its branches and was the first man to dare sail in it on the sea"⁴⁵. A similar tradition is preserved in classical literature⁴⁶.

38 Od. XV, 450 ff.

39 Wilson, *Ancient Egypt*, 181.

40 This is said contra Köster, who argues that "generally spoken the significance of Phoenician seamanship and skill has been exaggerated" (A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, Berlin 1923, 45). Thutmosis's annals certainly do not fit such a statement.

41 About these three types of ships cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 46 ff.

42 The Egyptians called this type of ship *kꜥnt* (g-b-l = Byblos); may be that this type was first built in Byblos, or in accordance with the plans of the shipbuilders of Byblos (Montet, *Kêmi XIII* [1954], 70). Another possibility exists: they were named after the port of their destination (cf. the "Tarshish"-ship).

43 H. L. Ginsberg proposed to identify this word (s-k-t) with שְׂכִית (Isa. 2:16) (Albright, *JAOS* 71 [1951], 261); cf. also Budde/Begrlich, *ZAW* 49 (1931), 198.

44 Breasted, *AR* II, § 492; Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 44 ff.

45 Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 10.

46 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 208; Tibullus VII, 20; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XL, 444 ff., 506 ff.; cf. γαῦλος = round-built Phoenician merchant vessel (Liddell-Scott⁹, 339 b); Eisler proposed to identify this Greek term with the town of Byblos (Eisler, *ZDMG* 80 [1926], 159-160) ! Cf. also chapter X, note 185.

The visit of Phoenician merchant ships to the city of Memphis, which is depicted in an Egyptian wall painting, must be ascribed to the reign of Thutmoses III⁴⁷. In this painting, we see Phoenician merchants dressed in colorful robes presenting their wares, agricultural products, such as oil, to port officials.

At *Prw-nfr*, near the capital, Memphis, were the royal shipyards⁴⁸, whose importance is attested to by the fact that the crown prince himself, Amenhotep II, was in charge of them⁴⁹. In an inscription concerning these shipyards, two kinds of vessels are mentioned, *kꜥ-tyw* and *škt*. Furthermore, in *Prw-nfr* Baal and Astarte, the gods of Tyre and Phoenicia, were worshipped⁵⁰, a fact that should suggest that the shipbuilders were Phoenicians. In this connection, we should note the "guilds" of shipbuilders in Ugarit⁵¹, and the shipyards in Tyre, mentioned by Diodorus⁵², which undoubtedly had traditions harking back to ancient times⁵³.

Amenhotep II, successor of Thutmosis III, campaigned against Greater Syria a number of times (we have reports of such campaigns from his second⁵⁴, seventh⁵⁵ and ninth⁵⁶ years), and some scholars claim that he even stationed a garrison in Ugarit⁵⁷. Helck believes that in the seventh year of Amenhotep II the border of the Egyptian Asian province was "north of Ugarit"⁵⁸, but it should be added that in the campaign of his ninth year Amenhotep II reached only northern Palestine⁵⁹.

Furthermore, on its way home, after the campaign in Amenhotep's

47 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 138; A. Köster, Beiheft 1 zum *AO*, 1924, 19.

48 Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 37 ff.; Barnett, *Antiquity* XXXII (1958), 226

49 Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 37.

50 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 482 (Baal), 490 (Astarte).

51 Gordon, *UM* § 20.668.

52 Diodorus XVII, 46, 1.

53 Cf. in the time of Solomon: the shipbuilding by the servants of Hiram of Tyre, and also the ship "Tyre" (Ezek. 27:4 ff.).

54 Breasted, *AR* II, § 780 ff. Helck suggest the year 3 (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 155).

55 *ANET*², 245 ff.

56 Gardiner *Egypt*, 202.

57 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 147; Gardiner, *Egypt*, 201; Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 164; Edel, however, puts a question mark after the word "Ugarit", as the reading is by no means clear! cf. *ANET*², 246 note 18: "... the two texts agree on the writing of the town Ikat, the location of which is unknown. By a simple amendment one could read *Ikarit*, Ugarit".

58 Cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 163; but on p. 157 Helck speaks only about "an Egyptian occupation army in Ugarit".

59 Cf. Helck, *Beziehungen* 159; Gardiner, *Egypt*, 202.

seventh year, the Egyptian army passed through Kadesh (-on-the-Orontês), the Bikâ' and the Sharon Valley. As the text then starts with the tale about the procession from *Prw-nfr* to the capital Memphis, Helck suggests that the troops (the main bulk) were shipped from Jaffa⁶⁰, or perhaps from another port, e.g. Dor. Thus we see that the Egyptian army by-passed the towns of the Phoenician (southern) coast. We may, therefore, assume that these towns, and among them Tyre, still enjoyed at least as much independence as they had in the days of Thutmosis III.

After the death of Amenhotep II peace and prosperity prevailed throughout the great Egyptian empire for two generations, and perhaps for even longer. During this period the Phoenician coast lay under the suzerainty of the kings of Egypt and profited from the relative calm, for friendly relations between Egypt and the neighboring countries exercised a beneficent influence on international trade. Perhaps this peaceful state accounts for the omission of the southern Phoenician cities from the Egyptian documents of this period.

We know that Thutmosis IV, son of Amenhotep II, visited Sidon, for in one of the letters to Amenhotep III from the king of Byblos we read: "Your father (i.e. Thutmosis IV) returned (by ship) from Sidon to Egypt"⁶¹. Perhaps this trip can be linked with the return of Thutmosis IV from his campaign in northern Syria⁶². We have here additional evidence that despite the omission of Phoenician cities from the Egyptian records, we must not underestimate their importance: Pharaoh, his entourage, and part of his army preferred to return to Egypt by ship, rather than by the long *via maris*.

An unusual source which mentions the land of Tyre, and should be dated about the first third of the fourteenth century B.C.E. is a Hittite incantation-text, a so-called *evocatio*, where we find: "... the country of Ugarit... the country of Kinahhi, the country of Amurru, the country of Sidon, the country of Tyre, the country of Nuḥassi..."⁶³.

60 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158.

61 *EA* 85:69-71 ("since your father has returned from Sidon..."); Gardiner cites strong evidence to the fact that Thutmosis IV was the father of Amenhotep III (Gardiner, *Egypt*, 206); cf. also Meyer, *GA* II/1,150; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 174; Malamet, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 230 note 38; on the other hand some scholars believe that that letter was sent to Akhenaten and that, therefore, the visit of Amenhotep III is alluded to (i.a. A. Goetze, *CAH* II, Fasc. 37 (1965), 13).

62 *ANET*², 248 a; Breasted, *AR* II, §§ 816 ff.

63 *ANET*², 352 b.

There is no mention of any other large Phoenician town (such as Arvad or Byblos). Furthermore, apart from Egypt (and perhaps Kinahhi = Canaan), Tyre is the southernmost location mentioned. The reference to Tyre shows us the important position it held at this period. It should be noted that Tyre does not belong to the realm of the king of Hatti.

A quick glance at the Greek sagas about the early relations between Tyre and the Greeks can be most instructive. According to those tales, it was Agenor, the son of Libya, who left Egypt to settle in Phoenicia, where he founded the town of Tyre⁶⁴. Herodotus relates that "at a later period, certain Greeks, with whose name they (= the Persians) are unacquainted, but who would probably be Cretans, made a landing at Tyre, on the Phoenician coast, and bore off the king's daughter Europe"⁶⁵. Although the mention of the Cretans may give rise to many allusions (cf. i.e. Gen. 10:14; II Sam. 20:23), one should not forget the tale of the rape of Europe by Zeus, in the guise of a bull. Agenor sends out his sons to search after the whereabouts of their sister Europe. One of them, Cadmus, comes to Greece, where he founds the town of Thebes⁶⁶. Later the Greeks tell us that this Cadmus taught the Phoenician letters to the Greeks⁶⁷.

With the accession of Amenhotep III, the Eighteenth Dynasty reached the summit of its greatness, not so much in military accomplishments, but in its cultural level⁶⁸. Fortunately for scholars of the ancient Middle East, we now have documentary evidence from Phoenicia itself, which sheds light on the political situation during the last period of Amenhotep's long reign and during that of his (coregent? and) successor Amenhotep IV, better known to us as Akh-en-Aton. This evidence consists of letters sent from the rulers of cities both in Canaan and Phoenicia to the court of the pharaohs: the famous El-Amarna letters.

64 Curtius IV, 4, 19.

65 Herodotus I, 2.

66 R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* I, 1955, § 58; we do not believe that one could build a "dated history" on those sagas (contra J. Zafiriopulo, *Mead and Wine*, New York 1956, 13, 54).

67 Herodotus V, 58.

68 The mentioning of Tyre in a newly discovered list from the time of Amenhotep III is highly significant (Giveon, *VT* XIV [1964], 251-252). If the reading of Giveon is correct, then we have before us the 'first' mention of Tyre in an Egyptian inscription since the "Execration-Texts" (i.e. after ca. 500 years!). However the spelling alone ('instead of *r*, *ibid.* 252) raises some doubts as to the accuracy of the identification.

Tyre in the El-Amarna Age

THE El-Amarna letters¹, the most important source for the history of the Egyptian province of *Canaan*² in the first half of the fourteenth century give clear evidence that Egypt's dominion over the province had been weakened before the reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten. Egyptian indifference to what was happening in Canaan is already apparent in the many letters that the city-princes sent to his father Amenhotep III. In the eyes of these princes the non-appearance of the Pharaoh in the province³ was an indication of Egyptian weakness. On the other hand there are many clear signs that Egypt's position was strengthened during the reign of Akhenaten. This Pharaoh was obeyed even by Aziru, king of Amurru (then expanding his own realm at the expense of the princes faithful to Egypt), when he was commanded to appear at the court in Egypt (*EA* 169)⁴. The letters from Ugarit (*EA* 45—49), too, clearly indicate the strength of the ties between Ugarit and Egypt in the days of Amenhotep III⁵. It appears that the political status quo in the north was maintained until after the death of Akhenaten, and that to his reign must be ascribed some of Ḥor-em-ḥeb's boasts of victory as a general⁶.

- 1 Inasmuch as the absolute chronology of the El-Amarna period in Egyptian history is still open to discussion, we have employed in this chapter only a relative chronology, i.e. the regnal years of Akhenaten. All passages of the El-Amarna letters are cited from the edition of J. A. Kundtson, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig 1915 (hereafter referred to as *EA*); letters are cited by number and line; notes (volume 2 = zweiter Teil) by page number.
- 2 "Canaan" in the El-Amarna letters included all the territory considered to be under Egyptian dominion (cf. letters *EA* 8, *EA* 30, *EA* 36), including the Phoenician coast (*EA* 148, *EA* 151) and even the land of Amurru (*EA* 162; but cf. also *EA* 73 for a contrary view).
- 3 Amenhotep III (*EA* 116: 61—63); it appears that Akhenaten never left his new capital at Amarna, because of an oath he had sworn (J. A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1951, 232).
- 4 This is not the place to examine Egyptian reactions to Aziru's activities; it is clear that Aziru was a vassal of Pharaoh (*EA* 164).
- 5 M. S. Drower, Ugarit, *CAH* II, Fasc. 63 (1968), 6.
- 6 ANET², 250-251; Breasted, *AR* III, §§ 1-21; the fact that Pharaoh's name

Tyre in the El-Amarna Age

Even so, it must be noted that Egypt's policy was to defend its territories, rather than to expand, at least from the last third of the reign of Amenhotep III that is from the end of the *pax Aegyptia*. During this period Tyre was Egypt's faithful ally. The city, which served occasionally as an anchorage-ground for the Egyptian navy (*EA* 155: 70), was one of the most important cities of the Phoenician Hanseatic League. As Tyre was the southern Phoenician coastal town nearest to Egypt and as its interests were pro-Egypt, it became both a factor and an objective in the struggle for power between Egypt and her enemies, open and covert, in Western Asia.

Besides the city itself, well-protected by its location on an island, the kingdom of Tyre included a strip of mainland, whose center was the town Ushu. At this time (too) Ushu supplied Tyre with drinking water (*EA* 148: 30—31) and was also the channel through which the island received most of its necessities. Furthermore, this was the site of Tyre's cemetery⁷. Consequently Tyre vigilantly guarded her dominion over this mainland area. Her chief opponent was Sidon⁸. If Tyre enjoyed the advantage of the sea's protection against land-based assaults, the city of Sidon had at its disposal all the hinterland, including the approaches to the forests of Lebanon. Thus her political and economic policies were principally influenced by events on the mainland. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sidon formed an alliance with Aziru, king of Amurru (*EA* 147, 149, 151, 154), who was expanding his realm during these years, until it included the greater part of northern Syria. Moreover, since Aziru's growing independence brought him into conflict with Egypt, Sidon too was brought into the anti-Egyptian camp, despite the submissive expressions which fill the letters from the king of Sidon to Pharaoh (*EA* 144—145). Both Aziru of Amurru and Zimrida of Sidon were still subject to the king of Egypt, but both strove to free themselves from this domination and saw in the king of the Hittites —

is not indicated in these inscriptions, suggests that the "heretic" Pharaoh, i.e. Akhenaten, is meant.

- 7 The fact that the Tyrians buried their dead on the mainland is of great interest. (Cf. Delos became a "purified" island, free of tombs only during the Peloponnesian War [Thucydides I, 8]). Perhaps the island was too small to include a cemetery.
- 8 The power of Byblos was declining steadily, and she was gradually drawn into Amurru's sphere of influence (cf. *EA* 137, *EA* 138, i.a.); in the last years of the Amarna period, Ugarit was in the Hittite sphere of influence (*EA* 151:58), and had signed a suzerainty-treaty as a vassal of the king of the Hittites.

certainly at the end of the El-Amarna period — a source of aid and support.

There are two groups of letters found in Tell El-Amarna which deal with Tyre :

A. Letters from Ribaddi, king of Byblos (*EA* 77, 89, 92, 114).

B. Letters from Abimilki, king of Tyre (*EA* 146–155).

The earliest of these letters is *EA* 77, sent by Ribaddi to Amanappa, a high Egyptian official and general well acquainted with the affairs of Western Asia (*EA* 73 : 9; cf. p. 1157), then at the court of Amenhotep III. This letter should be dated to the last decade of Amenhotep's reign⁹. Ribaddi tells Amanappa that he is unable to send the required amount of copper (apparently in payment of tribute), since all the copper that he had, has been given to the king of Tyre (whose name is not mentioned), in order to "save him"¹⁰. This transaction between Ribaddi and the king of the distant Tyre, which suggests the latter's importance at this time, resulted in a treaty that was sealed by the marriage of Ribaddi's sister to the king of Tyre¹¹. From the mention of sons and daughters born of this union, we learn that the alliance endured a number of years.

In letter *EA* 89, we are told that the king of Amurru, Abdi-aširta (the father of Aziru) murdered the king of Tyre, Ribaddi's brother-in-law and ally, together with the queen and children. As Abdi-aširta is blamed for murder of several other kings of cities faithful to the Pharaoh¹² — all these towns are situated on the northern Phoenician coast near Amurru — we may conclude that it was Abdi-aširta's intention to undermine the loyalty of those city-states, in order to draw them into his own camp. Ribaddi, who calls upon the inhabitants of the city to confirm his words, remarks that they are very much afraid of the new ruler (*EA* 89 : 43). It is interesting to learn that in addition to the ruler of Tyre, there was a group whom Ribaddi refers to as "the city" (*EA* 89 : 40–41) or "they" (*EA* 89 : 43). which was sufficiently important

⁹ Campbell, *Chronology*, 90, 134.

¹⁰ Thus Knudtson (*EA* 77:14), but perhaps the translation "in order to keep him alive" is preferable (*EA* p. 1388).

¹¹ This fact is mentioned in *EA* 89. Our analysis of this letter is based on the new translation of it by Albright/Moran, *JCS* IV (1950), 163 ff.

¹² E.g. in Ammia (=Ambi) (*EA* 73); there was also an attempt to kill Ribaddi of Byblos (*EA* 81); the king of Irqata, Aduna was killed by Abdi-aširta (*EA* 75) or according to a (later) version by Aziru, the son of Abdi-aširta (*EA* 140).

and strong to take an independent political stand. In later periods there are clear references to this institution¹³. A similar governmental body was to be found in Byblos ("the lords of the city" — *EA* 138 : 49), in Šumur ("the great ones of the city" — *EA* 157 : 11–12), in Arvad ("the men of Arvad", who appear as equals of the kings of Sidon and Amurru — *EA* 149 : 59) and in Ammia ("the men of Ammia" — *EA* 73 : 26–27)¹⁴.

Both the murdered king of Tyre and the usurper bore the title *ḥazanu* the usual title of the city-princes in the Egyptian province of "Canaan"¹⁵. Ribaddi believes that since the Tyrians are too frightened of the usurper to take any initiative (*EA* 89 : 41–43), Pharaoh has not yet heard of the murder and the revolution which followed it, and will be grateful for the information. This interpretation is strengthened by Ribaddi's urging Pharaoh to investigate the rebellion (*EA* 89 : 42–49). He appeals to his greed by stressing that the wealth of Tyre (*EA* 89 : 48) is so great as to have no peer. For greater emphasis he adds that "there is no governor's house like it; it is like the house of Ugarit, exceedingly great is the wealth within it" (*EA* 89 : 49–53). This comparison throws into relief not only the status of Ugarit, but the importance of Tyre. It also helps to date this letter, which was written, when Ugarit was still a flourishing city, while letter *EA* 151 from Abimilki, king of Tyre, to Pharaoh, tells of the great destruction which has visited Ugarit (*EA* 151 : 55–57). Campbell has suggested that letter *EA* 89, too, was written in the last ten years of the reign of Amenhotep III¹⁶. Kitchen dates

¹³ Cf. Ezekiel's mention of "the princes of the sea" (Ezek. 26:16). In the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre, the *amēlī par-shā-mutu shā māti-ka* (the elders of your country) are mentioned (Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 108; *ANET Suppl.* 534 a). Or "the important Tyrians" (Arrian II, 24, 5), or the "lords of Carthage" who are mentioned in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip V, king of Macedonia (Polybius, VII, 9, 5). It appears that the lords of Carthage were like the "princes" of Tyre (Isa. 23:8).

¹⁴ "The great ones of the city of Šumur" certainly had a saying in a town, where there was no king, but only an Egyptian governor. Cf. "the men of Succoth" and "the men of Penuel" (Judg. 8:5 ff.); cf. also Artzi, *RA* 58 (1964), 159 ff.

¹⁵ For the signification of the title *ḥazanu* see *CAD* VI. Pharaoh writing to Aziru calls the king of Byblos *ḥazanu* (*EA* 162:10), but the city rulers referred to themselves as "kings" both in their letters to Pharaoh (i.e. *EA* 88:46; *EA* 92:32–34), and among themselves (*PRU* III, Paris 1955, 9 [no. 11.723]).

¹⁶ Campbell, *Chronology*, 134.

this letter to the tenth year of Akhenaten¹⁷. At about this same time, letter EA 92 was also written, reporting that Abdi-aširta, king of Amurru, has begun an open war against Byblos. Ribaddi complains bitterly that Pharaoh has not answered all his pleas for immediate help. We learn that Pharaoh instructed the kings of Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre to aid the king of Byblos (EA 92 : 32 ff.), but they did not obey (EA 92 : 39). It may be assumed that Tyre did not send help because she was then under the domination of a usurper who was necessarily hostile to Ribaddi. On the other hand, it is not clear whether Pharaoh's instructions were sent before he knew of the change at Tyre, or (rather cynically) after, in which case Pharaoh did recognize the usurper at least *de facto*. As far as we can trace the course of events from his letters, Ribaddi succeeded in overcoming his enemies (EA 127 : 31-32) without receiving any military support from Beirut, Sidon or Tyre. Not only do we learn that at this time Pharaoh still expected these three cities to obey his instructions, but we particularly note the combination of these cities which we shall meet again in two letters that were apparently written when Abimilki was already king of Tyre (EA 114; 155; letter EA 114 from Ribaddi was written in the twelfth year of Akhenaten, or perhaps a little later, and EA 155 from Abimilki was written in the fourteenth year of Akhenaten, as we shall see below). In the eleventh year of his reign¹⁸ Akhenaten sent troops to Canaan to quell the mutinous spirit that was spreading throughout the region. Paintings have been discovered in two graves at El-Amarna, which depict Syrian and Nubian captives being shown before Akhenaten and Queen Nefertiti¹⁹. It has been also suggested that these pictures may be a record of the arrival of Aziru, king of Amurru, and his retinue²⁰. Akhenaten's military intervention did not have any important results in the long run, since Aziru's hostile attitude toward Egypt and her allies was strengthened on account of a treaty with the king of the Hittites, certainly after the death of Akhenaten. We may say, however, that in consequence of this intervention there appears to have been a change in the government of Tyre. The usurper disappeared, and the former (?) royal dynasty was returned to power. Thus the revolution that had begun with the murder of the king of Tyre was brought to an end as a result of the Egyptian campaign. Abimilki states explicitly that

17 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 41.

18 I.a. Meyer, *GA* II/1, 339.

19 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock of El Amarna*, II (1905), 40 ff.; III (1905), 9 ff.

20 Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 37.

Pharaoh "appointed me to keep his city" (EA 148 : 21). He also refers to his fathers as having been rulers before him (EA 147 : 24). Kitchen too believes that these changes in government took place in the eleventh year of Akhenaten²¹, i.e. during the campaign of Pharaoh's troops in Canaan; he even suggests that Abdi-aširta king of Amurru was put to death in the same year (cf. EA 101 : 5-6²²). All the rest of the letters mentioning Tyre that are in the El-Amarna archives were written after the death of Abdi-aširta, for they mention his son and successor Aziru.

In letter EA 114 Ribaddi complains bitterly about an act of piracy committed, according to him, by ships from Tyre, Beirut and Sidon, which took the men of Byblos captive at Wahlia (neither the name nor the place have been identified). Since all roads to Şumur, the seat of the Egyptian governor from whom Ribaddi expected help and assistance, were closed to the king of Byblos, he had to try his luck going by sea. No reason is given for Tyre's part in this hostile action against the king of Byblos.

In the letters sent by the king of Tyre to Akhenaten, we hear of a constant struggle between Tyre and Sidon. It appears, therefore, that EA 114 was written after the twelfth year of Akhenaten — since it mentions only Aziru of Amurru, and not his father Abdi-aširta — but before the beginning of the correspondence between Abimilki and the Egyptian court.

The letters of Abimilki are the only documents written in Tyre which have been preserved. Judging from their subject matter and the references contained in them, we can date these letters to the second half of Akhenaten's reign²³. Abimilki's letters are notable for their elegant style and richness of expression. Albright has shown that the frequent use of Egyptian loan-words and obvious translations from Egyptian phrases to Akkadian expressions indicate an Egyptian scribe²⁴. Abimilki's important position in the Egyptian hierarchy — he was *rabišu* (see below) — on the one hand, and various hints in his letters (EA 147 : 59-60; 148 : 20-21) that he had actually been at Pharaoh's court in El-

21 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 27-28, 42.

22 On the basis of letters EA 97 and EA 114 Weber suggested that the three cities that attacked Ribaddi were Arvad, Sidon and Tyre (EA p. 1197). From the text of letter EA 101 itself, however, we learn that the third city was Beirut (EA 101 : 23-26).

23 I.a. Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 195 f.; Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 29 f.; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 184; Campbell, *Chronology*, 72.

24 Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 191 ff.

Amarna on the other hand, supply grounds for the belief that the employment of an Egyptian scribe at Abimilki's court was not accidental. Perhaps the scribe was sent by Pharaoh himself; at all events, his presence emphasizes the political importance of Tyre to the Egyptians, at least at that time, when the wealth of Tyre was believed to be fabulous (*EA* 89 : 50-51).

Albright was also the first to identify the Egyptian royal name *Mayati* mentioned by Abimilki eight times in his letter (*EA* 155), as the name of the princess Meritaten, the oldest daughter of Akhenaten, and the wife of Semenkharē', who was coregent during the last years of his father-in-law's reign²⁵. This identification received further support from the new interpretations of letters *EA* 10 and *EA* 11, in which the princess is mentioned²⁶. Albright's dating of the letter, however, should be changed from the time of this brief reign of Semenkharē' (=fifteenth-seventeenth year of Akhenaten)²⁷. Kitchen is certainly correct in saying that the letter must have been written after Akhenaten had divorced Queen Nefertiti. Then Princess Meritaten was the first lady at her father's court, i.e. from the thirteenth to the fifteenth year of Akhenaten²⁸. Mention of Princess Meritaten, obviously for the purpose of flattery²⁹ teaches us that this letter was sent before Meritaten and her husband Semenkharē' had moved from El-Amarna to Thebes (No-Amon), and, of course, before Akhenaten's marriage with his third daughter, who bore him yet another daughter³⁰.

25 Peet, Woolley, Frankfort, Pendlebury, et. al., *The City of Akhenaten*, III (1951), 158, 231; H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1961, 304.

26 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 11; cf. also the title of the princess mentioned in *EA* 10 and *EA* 11 (v. Soden, *Orientalia* 21 [1952], 432).

27 Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 192 f. Albright ascribes this letter to Semenkharē's reign after the death of Akhenaten. Cf. also Campbell, *Chronology*, 70-71.

28 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 11.

29 We cannot agree with Albright that the phrase "the city of Meritaten" means that the taxes paid by Tyre were given to the princess as her private income. Cf. also Helck, *MDOG* 92 (1960), 10; Kitchen, too, suggests this possibility, with the reservation that the phrase may be merely for emphasis (Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 20 note 1). The interpretation of Albright and Helck appears to find a parallel (which they did not see) in the Amarna letters themselves: Tušratta, king of Mitanni, gives to his daughter, as part of her dowry, the income from two cities. But the two cases are not in fact similar, for the two cities Tušratta gave were an integral part of his kingdom, while Tyre was merely a vassal city. (In regard to the two cities, cf. *EA* p. 1053).

30 Kees believes that Semenkharē' with his wife Meritaten moved to Thebes

In letter *EA* 149 which reports among other things on the conquest of the city of Šumur by the "king's enemies"³¹ the term *šanti-qadi*, meaning "last year"³², appears twice. Thus the passage which concerns us must be translated: "since last year, there is enmity against me" (*EA* 149 : 74), or in other words, "this is the second year that the king of Sidon is my enemy". Consequently, the period of eight years which Albright suggested for the duration of the correspondence between Abimilki and Pharaoh appears to be too long. Campbell has already reduced this period to four or five years³³, and we believe that it must be further reduced to three years (maximum!). This conclusion necessitates changes in the chronological order in which Knudtzon published Abimilki's letters³⁴. Obviously, every re-arrangement is liable to mistakes and raises new difficulties. The chronology we suggest will certainly not be the last; but it seems to fit in best with the general framework. Our suggested arrangement is as follows:

Letter *EA* 146: Zimrida, the king of Sidon, "Pharaoh's enemy", attempts to draw Abimilki into the "anti-Egyptian" camp. (The text of this letter is broken, but this seems to be its general meaning).

Letter *EA* 147: The king of Sidon tells Aziru, king of Amurru, all that he hears from Egypt.

Letters *EA* 146 and *EA* 147 were written within a very short space of time, and it is possible that *EA* 147 is the first.

Letter *EA* 152: Abimilki stresses the enmity of Zimrida, king of Sidon.

in his third regnal year and that that was the last year of Semenkharē', Meritaten and Akhenaten (H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1961, 305; Seele, *JNES* XIV (1955), 174, H. Brunner, *ZAS* 74 (1938), 106 ff.).

31 *EA* 149:67; Šumur was conquered in Akhenaten's 13th year (Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 44), which was the first (?) year of Meritaten as "first lady" at her father's court, for Queen Nefertiti is still depicted in paintings from Akhenaten's 12th year.

32 Albright, *JEA* 23 (1937), 203.

33 Campbell, *Chronology*, 72, 89; thus also C. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, London 1968, 201.

34 So far as we have been able to determine, two new chronological arrangements of Abimilki's letters have been made since Knudtzon's grouping:

(a) J. De Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven*, Delft 1940, 137, suggests: *EA* 147, 155, 146, 148, 154, 152, 150, 149, 153, 151;

(b) Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 29-30, suggests: *EA* 146, 147, 148, 150, 153 (if any date can be given for this letter), 149, 151, 152, 154, 155.

Letter EA 154: Abimilki reports that one man has been killed and another taken prisoner.

Letter EA 148: Abimilki requests that Pharaoh instruct his governor (*rabišu*) to see to it that Tyre is supplied with drinking water (it appears from letter EA 155 that such instructions were given to the king of Sidon, but that he did not obey them), and that Pharaoh sent ten Egyptian soldiers to aid him. (Abimilki remarks in this letter that he has already written to Pharaoh that every day the king of Sidon kills one soldier and captures another, apparently alluding to EA 154, which therefore must have preceded EA 148).

Letter EA 151: Tyre is besieged by her enemies, and a reinforcement of twenty soldiers is requested.

Letter EA 150: The reinforcement has arrived, but it is not sufficient.

Letter EA 149: In the second year of the war, Abimilki, with the aid of the Egyptian soldiers, has succeeded in repulsing a direct attack (1. 64), but Şumur has fallen into the hands of Aziru king of Amurru.

Letter EA 153: All the preparations to receive Pharaoh's army have been completed.

Letter EA 155: The ships of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut have united with the Egyptian ships (to reconquer Şumur ?, 1. 67).

Letters EA 153 and EA 155 are closely connected (see below)³⁵.

Kitchen claims that the date of EA 153 cannot be determined³⁶, but its place appears to be among the letters sent by the Canaanite kings to Pharaoh, informing him that the preparations to receive his troops had been completed. We may note that the letters of Ammunira, king of Beirut (EA 141-143), tell not only of these preparations, but also of Pharaoh's ships, and of the presence of Ribaddi, king of Byblos in Beirut. This last circumstance determines the place of EA 141-143

35 The order we suggest is EA $\frac{146}{147}$, 152, $\frac{154}{148}$, 151 150, 149, 153, 155. The letters which we arranged one on top of the other are so close in time that it is impossible to determine which was written first (Cf. also the chronological chart at the end of this chapter).

36 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 30.

among the El-Amarna letters. Kitchen believes that the king of Byblos fled to Beirut in the fourteenth year of Akhenaten³⁷, and this suggestion accords with the mention of Meritaten in EA 155, which dates that letter between the thirteenth and fifteenth year of Akhenaten.

In summing up, we wish to emphasize that this analysis sharply limits the duration of the correspondence of Abimilki. We have already considered the hypothesis that in the course of Akhenaten's campaign in his eleventh year the usurper in Tyre was removed, and the dynasty of Abimilki restored to the throne. Since Abimilki's correspondence could begin only with his restoration, the earliest possible date is thus fixed. The latest date is determined by the flight of the king of Byblos to Beirut (EA 142: 15-17) and his death (cf. EA 162: 10 ff.), and the mention of Meritaten as the first lady of the Egyptian court. Consequently the correspondence probably began in Akhenaten's twelfth year and ended (at the latest) in his fourteenth year. For in his fifteenth year Meritaten had already left the court of her father³⁸.

Let us now deal with the contents of the letters in more detail. Abimilki is specifically named in all the letters as the sender³⁹. The correspondence was conducted on tablets which were carried by special messengers. Abimilki mentions several messengers: the king's messenger (EA 147: 17, 31; EA 151: 20, 28; EA 152: 56), an Egyptian (?) soldier (EA 149: 83), and Ilimilku, a Tyrian (?) (EA 151: 45). From time to time Abimilki quotes part of a letter that he has received from Pharaoh (e.g. EA 149: 56-57). At other times, he complains that he has received no answer to his letter (EA 149: 12-13). Like every vassal, Abimilki refers to himself as "the king's servant". From his letters we learn that he was appointed to defend the city of Tyre by Pharaoh, perhaps even by Akhenaten in person, when Abimilki stood before him at the court at El-Amarna; such a ceremony is referred to in EA 107⁴⁰.

Abimilki was given the title *rabišu* (EA 149: 48)⁴¹ We are inclined to

37 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 45.

38 Steindorff & Seele, *Egypt*, 221.

39 In EA 153 we find Iabimilki; this it apparently merely a scribal error (EA p. 630 note b).

40 "Placed a ring upon his finger" (EA 107:22); cf. the appointment of Joseph (Gen. 41:42).

41 This is also the title of the Egyptian governor (EA 58:19); the Canaanite gloss for *rabišu* is *zu-ki-ni* (EA 259:9) (= Hebr. יָבִי [Isa. 22:15]); see also the inscription of the *skn qrt-hdsh* from the time of Hiram II, king of the Sidonians (second half of the eighth century B.C.E.) (Cooke, *NSI*, 52 f.).

doubt that he was Pharaoh's governor (*EA* 148 : 29) and as such had jurisdiction (at least nominally) over the Canaanite kings, whose usual title was *hazanu*. Of all these kings, only Abimilki bears the title *rabišu*, but this does not mean that Abimilki was the "Egyptian" governor in Tyre, who was promoted to this rank⁴². It is the opinion of Alt that Abimilki — although a member of the royal Tyrian house — was an "Egyptian official"⁴³, for he never calls himself "the man of Tyre" as most kinglets do. Alt also feels that the term "the town of Meritaten" (*EA* 155 : 42, 50, 62)⁴⁴ points to a legal status of Egyptian ownership of the city, first by Pharaoh after the murder of the ruler of Tyre who was called only *hazanu* (*EA* 89 : 20), and later by the princess. But it is our consideration that these phrases which seem to support Alt's view, only reflect the official writing style of Pharaoh's court, used by Abimilki's Egyptian scribe⁴⁵.

It appears that when there were disputes between two kinglets, the Egyptian governor acted in the name of Pharaoh (*EA* 116 : 30). The function of the local Canaanite king was to guard the city, ensure its loyalty to the Egyptian king (*EA* 147 : 61–62; *EA* 155 : 49), and of course to collect the taxes. Pharaoh gave Abimilki (perhaps because of his high rank) the additional duty of serving as "Intelligence": "Whatever you hear about the land of Canaan, inform me" (*EA* 151 : 50–51). Accordingly, we find Abimilki sending reports on political events from Ugarit in the north (*EA* 151 : 55) to Hazor in the south (*EA* 148 : 45).

In letter *EA* 150 Abimilki writes: "In the days of my fathers, the gods of the city went forth to my lord, the king" (*EA* 150 : 36–37). This implies that the ties between Egypt and Tyre had existed even earlier. This may explain why Egypt dethroned the "usurper" and restored the former royal house. It is possible that Abimilki's name ("my father is king") itself testifies that he belonged to the royal family⁴⁶.

Tyre is mentioned in several ways in Abimilki's letters, as "his (i.e. Pharaoh's) city" (*EA* 149 : 19), "the king's city" (*EA* 151 : 16), "the city of my lord, the king" (*EA* 146 : 10; *EA* 153 : 15–16), "the king's maid-servant" (*EA* 149 : 10), "the city of Mayati (= Meritaten)" (*EA*

42 A. K. Mohammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom", *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, LVI (1959), 117.

43 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 117 ff.

44 Cf. note 29.

45 Cf. note 24.

46 Cf. Abimelech, the son of Gideon (Judg. 8:31).

155 : 42, 50, 62), and "the great city" (*EA* 147 : 62). Ribaddi, king of Byblos also describes Tyre in the following words: "This is not the city of a *hazanu*" (*EA* 89 : 41) from which we may deduce that even then Tyre enjoyed a special status. We have already noted the wealth of Tyre; Pharaoh gave consideration to her situation and demands, both by instructing his governor (*EA* 155 : 36–39) and by sending soldiers (*EA* 149 : 64) and ships (*EA* 155 : 71).

The Abimilki letters also report on the relations between Tyre and her neighbors. The hostility of the king of Sidon who had conquered Ushu (= "mainland Tyre") (e.g. *EA* 149 : 49) is mentioned in all of the letters except *EA* 153.

In his first letters (*EA* 146 and 147), Abimilki complains of the king of Sidon who sends him a messenger every day, apparently to persuade him to join the anti-Egyptian camp, instead of sending him drinking water. He also informs Pharaoh that the king of Sidon reports everything he hears about Egypt to Aziru, king of Amurru, every day. In letter *EA* 152 Abimilki complains further about "the man of Sidon", i.e. the king. It is unfortunate that this tablet is badly broken, for it is the only one of Abimilki's letters that mentions Byblos, but the lines dealing with Byblos can no longer be read. It is in fact strange that Abimilki never mentions Ribaddi of Byblos in all his letters (nor does the latter ever mention the former), even if we assume that Aziru's conquest of Byblos and Ribaddi's flight to Beirut took place at the very end of the correspondence between Abimilki and the Egyptian court or even after it⁴⁷; for at the very last Abimilki and Ribaddi shared the enmity of the kings of Sidon and Amurru⁴⁸. In letter *EA* 154 Abimilki tells Pharaoh that he has accomplished what was requested in connection with some (unknown) military activity, and repeats his complaints against the king of Sidon who does not allow the inhabitants of Tyre to come to the mainland to chop wood and draw water. If we accept Knudtzon's suggestion that we should supply the name Aziru in line 25, this would be the first mention of active hostility to Tyre on the part of Aziru⁴⁹. In letter *EA* 148 Abimilki repeats his previous letter adding, "I have already written to my lord, the king (in this matter)". Apparently Abi-

47 Kitchen made this suggestion without giving any reasons for it (Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 30 note 4).

48 In Pharaoh's letter to the king of Amurru, he speaks of the enmity between the king of Amurru and the king of Byblos (*EA* 162:9 ff.).

49 Knudtzon supplied the name of Aziru, apparently on the basis of *EA* 151:65–67.

milki has come to the conclusion that mere words will not stimulate Pharaoh to action, so he sends Pharaoh a bribe, a precious stone, and asks in return ten (!) soldiers, to aid him in recapturing Ushu. Again he pleads with Pharaoh to give his governor orders in this regard. Abimilki complains that the king of Sidon has broken a treaty between them by his hostile activities. At the end of the letter comes information about the province of Canaan: "the king of Hazor has left his acropolis and joined the men of *Sa. Gaz*⁵⁰ . . . Let the king ask his governor, who knows the (land of) Canaan" (*EA* 148: 41 f.). This last phrase presents some problems to which we have no answers. Yet we may be allowed to say that the allusion to "his (= the king's) governor" is to the Egyptian commissioner in charge of the province of Canaan (cf. *EA* 148: 29 or *EA* 151: 22 or *EA* 155: 37); whether this commissioner was residing in El-Amarna or in Canaan we do not know.

Letter *EA* 151 is written in diplomatic language. Abimilki wished to come and present himself before Pharaoh, but the king of Sidon has prevented him, "for he heard that I wished to come and therefore he began his acts of enmity". Now Abimilki requests twenty soldiers (and not, as formerly, ten). Repeating his wish to come to Egypt, he says that just as "I have set my face to see the king, . . . let the king, my lord, turn his face (to his servant) and give drinking water and wood to his servant". In other words, Pharaoh should cause Ushu to be restored to him. Abimilki sends many presents to strengthen his petition: five talents of bronze and considerable quantities of precious woods. In accordance with Pharaoh's demand: "All that you hear about the land of Canaan, tell me", Abimilki relates that the king of Danuna⁵¹ has died and the rule has passed peacefully to his brother. Likewise he describes the destruction that has come upon Ugarit: the palace of the king and half the city were consumed by fire, while the other half had already been destroyed⁵², and the Hittite king's soldiers have left Ugarit⁵³. Hearing

50 Cf. also letter *AO* 7094 (Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XIX, (1922), 96). The conquest of three cities by the king of Hazor is reported in this letter. Cf. also Eugen Täubler, "Chazor in den Briefen von Tell el-Amarna", *Festschrift für Leo Baeck*, Berlin 1938, 27.

51 Cf. Laroche, *Syria* XXXV (1958), 263 ff.; Albright, *CAH* II, 1966, Fasc. 51, 25.

52 Schaeffer believes that Ugarit was completely destroyed at that time (ca. 1365 B.C.E.) (by an earthquake?) (Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*, 39, 359).

53 Weber already suggested that Ugarit was a "Grenzpunkt" of the Egyptian sphere of influence, but that it was, during this period of time, in the hands

this, the kings of Qadesh⁵⁴ and Amurru have started to war against Biryawaza⁵⁵, king of the land of Upe⁵⁶. At the end of his letter, Abimilki returns to his own concerns and complains that the king of Sidon, with the help of the ships and soldiers of the king of Amurru, makes war against him, and adds that they fear only Pharaoh. This time Pharaoh acted, for we learn from letter *EA* 150 that reinforcement — an inadequate reinforcement in Abimilki's opinion — was sent. A break in the text makes it impossible to understand the end of the letter.

Letter *EA* 149 is the longest of Abimilki's letters. We have already remarked that it contains a relative date, which helps us to arrange the letters in chronological order. Abimilki writes: "since last year I (have wished) to come to see my lord, the king" (11. 27–29) and also, "since last year there is enmity against me (11. 74–75). Pharaoh has appointed him *rabišu* in Tyre, and he must report all the news from Canaan, no matter whether it is good or bad. He asks Pharaoh to send him twenty soldiers to defend the city! He gives two versions of Aziru's conquest of Šumur: (a) the Egyptian governor himself handed over the city to Aziru (11. 37–40)⁵⁷; (b) the city was conquered at the instigation of the king of Sidon (11. 67–68)⁵⁸. Apparently Abimilki wished to ascribe

of the king of the Hittites (*EA*, p. 1017). The ambiguous term "fortress of the king" (*EA* 151:55) could be interpreted as the "fortress of the Egyptian king" (cf. J. Gray, Ugarit, in *Archaeology And Old Testament Study*, Oxford 1967, 164 note 49). Albright's version that the text speaks about the "palace of the king of Ugarit" (Albright, *JEA* 23 [1937], 203) seems to us most preferable.

54 The king of Qadesh was an ally of the king of the Hittites and consequently an enemy of Pharaoh; cf. Pharaoh's letter to Aziru of Amurru, *EA* 162: 22 ff.

55 In accordance with the new reading proposed by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XXXVII [1940–41], 171) instead of Namaja(wa)za (*EA*, p. 1565). Cf. also *ANET*², 485 note 8.

56 We learn of this war also from Akizi, king of Qatna (*EA* 53). Akizi's letters were sent to Akhenaten and not to Amenhotep III (as Knudtzon believed). (Cf. Sturm, *KLIO* 26 [1933], 8–12; Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 16).

57 So also Ribaddi of Byblos (*EA* 127: 7; *EA* 132: 42–43).

58 In his letters, Ribaddi does not mention Zimrida of Sidon as being active in the conquest of Šumur. We have already noted that Ribaddi never mentions Abimilki at all. Albright believed that Yapa(h)-Adda (cf. *EA*, pp. 1168–1169), mentioned in several of Ribaddi's letters, might have been the usurper in Tyre (besides being an "Egyptian official" [Albright, *JNES* 5 (1946), 10; and also Campbell, *Chronology*, 92]). We cannot accept this suggestion, for in *EA* 116 Ribaddi speaks both of Yapa(h)-Adda and of the capture of Šumur; since Abimilki, as king of Tyre, also reports on the fall of Šumur, Yapa(h)-Adda cannot have been the usurper whom Abimilki replaced. Helck

to his great enemy, the king of Sidon, the hostile acts of the king of Amurru, too.

The conquest of Ushu by the king of Sidon created great difficulties for the inhabitants of Tyre. They could not get drinking water, or wood for fuel and building, nor could they bury their dead. The most important news in the letter is Tyre's victory over her enemies. Zimrida, king of Sidon, and Aziru, king of Amurru, had made a pact with the men of Arvad against Tyre and, having assembled their ships, chariots (!), and soldiers⁵⁹, they attacked. With the help of Pharaoh's troops, Tyre succeeded in repulsing the attack, and it was then — according to Abimilki — that Şumur, the seat of the Egyptian governor was conquered, at the suggestion of the king of Sidon (*EA* 149 : 67–68)⁶⁰. (Should we learn from the manoeuvre of Sidon and Amurru that Şumur, deprived of those [Egyptian] soldiers who had been sent to Tyre, now became the easy prey of the enemies of Egypt?)

The last two letters (*EA* 153 and 155) were written within a short time of each other. In letter *EA* 153 Abimilki says that he has fulfilled Pharaoh's commands about the reception of his troops and that Abimilki's men will board ships in order to meet Pharaoh's navy⁶¹. Several of the letters from kings in Canaan in the El-Amarna archive deal with the preparations for receiving Pharaoh's troops⁶². From letters *EA* 55 and *AO* 7095⁶³, we know that these preparations mainly consisted in supplying

suggested identifying Yapa(h)-Adda as king of Beirut (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 179, 193 note 29), but here too there is a difficulty. Was the time that elapsed between the conquest of Şumur and Ribaddi's flight to Beirut long enough to permit a new king to ascend the throne in Beirut? For when Ribaddi fled to Beirut, the king there was Ammunira. Helck apparently overlooked the fact that both Ribaddi (*EA* 116) and Abimilki (*EA* 149) mention the conquest of Şumur.

59 In the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Aziru, king of Amurru, there is a provision that Aziru must come to the aid of the Hittite king with "his soldiers and charioteers" (*ANET*, Suppl. 529b–530a).

60 Cf. in retrospect *EA* 138 : 34–35.

61 The importance of the activities of the Egyptian ships along the Phoenician coast during the reign of Akhenaten has not yet been properly appreciated; we do not know of any such activities during the Nineteenth Dynasty (cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 66 ff.).

62 E.g. from the king of Sidon (*EA* 144), and the king of Beirut (*EA* 141–142). The king of Beirut mentions that Ribaddi of Byblos has taken refuge with him (*EA* 142 : 15–17), and this fact gives us the relative date for all these letters.

63 Written by the prince of Achshaph (*ANET*², 484b).

provisions for Pharaoh's troops and chariots⁶⁴. We may assume that Abimilki's chief care was to provide for the Egyptian navy. This conclusion is supported by the emphasis placed on the employment of the Tyrian fleet, compared to the activities of the king of Beirut who speaks of his preparations for horses, chariots and soldiers (*EA* 141 : 24–30). It is noteworthy that *EA* 153 is the only one of Abimilki's letters in which he does not mention his quarrel with the king of Sidon.

A close connection between letters *EA* 153 : 4–5 and *EA* 155 : 43–46 appears also in the passage, in which Abimilki announces that he will carry out Pharaoh's orders for the reception of the Egyptian force.

The naval expedition appears again at the end of letter *EA* 155, but the letter is broken just at the important point at which the city, where all the activities were supposed to take place, is mentioned. Abimilki asks Pharaoh, "if they are (still?) residing in Şumur", and reports that the "man" (i.e. king) of Beirut has gone with one ship and the "man" of Sidon in two ships, while he (Abimilki) is going with all the ships of Pharaoh and of all his (Abimilki's) city. "Let the king give thought to his servant, and he will protect the king's ships . . ." (here the tablet is broken off). Kitchen believes that the three kings left their cities on their way to Egypt; consequently letter *EA* 155 is the last letter that Abimilki could write to Pharaoh from Tyre, and it was written not later than Akhenaten's fourteenth year⁶⁵. Letter *EA* 155 is undoubtedly one of the last letters Abimilki wrote, but we should not forget that the whole correspondence between the Phoenician cities and the Egyptian court comes to an end at this very time. Säve-Söderbergh interprets the passage quoted above (*EA* 155 : 69–70) as indicating that Egyptian ships were anchored at Tyre, which was then — according to the Swedish scholar — being besieged, and Abimilki could leave his city in an Egyptian ship⁶⁶.

In letter *EA* 155 Abimilki addresses himself not only to Pharaoh, but also to the latter's oldest daughter, Princess Meritaten, who was then the first lady at court⁶⁷. In addition to calling himself "the servant of Pharaoh" Abimilki calls himself "the servant of Meritaten" and Tyre "the city of Meritaten", and he says that the princess gives him "breath of life". All this flattery had only one purpose : to persuade pharaoh to

64 Cf. also *EA* 325 : 15–19 (written by Widia prince of Ashkelon).

65 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 20, 30.

66 Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 68.

67 Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, 19–20, 30.

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help him in his struggle with the king of Sidon for the town of Ushu. From the letter itself, it appears that Pharaoh had commanded his governor (?) (or even the king of Sidon?) to provide Abimilki with drinking water, wood, straw, and a burial place, but these commands had not yet been obeyed in the full sense of Abimilki's wishes.

In summarizing this discussion of Abimilki's letters, we must emphasize that the principal problem which appears over and over again, is the control of Ushu, which was vital to Tyre's economy. Abimilki succeeded in remaining loyal to Egypt (with the assistance of Pharaoh of course), despite the pressure put upon him by the kings of Sidon and Amurru, who cut him off from his economic hinterland. Pharaoh's readiness to come to the aid of Tyre shows, how important that city was, chiefly because of her navy. We shall not be exaggerating, therefore, if we number Tyre among the principal cities of the Phoenician coast in the El-Amarna Period.

Tyre in the El-Amarna Age

Chronological chart of the Abimilki letters (EA 146-155)

Regnal year of Akhenaten (approximately)	no. of EA letter	Tyre	Egypt	Amurru
11			Egyptian military campaign into Canaan; in the wake of this campaign	Abdi-aširta is assassinated
		the usurper disappears and is replaced by Abimilki		
12			Nefertiti's "last" year as queen in El-Amarna	
End of year 12	146 147	beginning of Sidonian king's hostility		
	152	Sidonian king's hostility increases	Princess Meritaten becomes the first lady of the court in El-Amarna	
13	154 148	open enmity between Tyre and Sidon		
	151	Abimilki asks for 20 soldiers		
	150	help arrives but it is insufficient		
14	149	this is the "second" year of the hostilities	Pharaoh announces the sending of troops	Šumur is conquered by Aziru, the son of Abdi-aširta
	153 155	preparations for the reception of Egyptian troops and fleet	"flattery" to Meritaten	
15			Meritaten moves to Thebes	

*Tyre during the Nineteenth and Twentieth
Egyptian Dynasties*

DURING the reigns of the last pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the military and political ties between Egypt and the province of Canaan appear to have become progressively weaker. The campaigns of Tut-ankh-Amon¹ and Ay² in Canaan did not strengthen the Egyptian rule in the province, but were merely raids for plunder and pillage³. Even when Ḥor-em-ḥeb was in command of the armies campaigning against the Hittites, he did not succeed in restoring Canaan to Egyptian domination⁴, nor was there any change in the situation after he ascended the throne. It appears that Ḥor-em-ḥeb gave up the attempt to reconquer Greater Syria, and came to some agreement with the king of the Hittites⁵.

At that time the king of the Hittites had completely subjugated the land of Amurru⁶, and even the king of Ugarit was his vassal. We may ask, therefore, to what extent Egypt was able to retain her influence along the southern Phoenician coast, especially of the great cities of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. In the absence of any pertinent documents or other references, no clear-cut answer can be given to this question, but it seems probable that despite the general weakness of Egypt, the southern Phoenician coast did not fall within the Hittite sphere of influence. We

1 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 185.

2 *Ibid.*, 186.

3 Cf. one of the inscriptions of Tut-ankh-Amon, which relates i.a.: "If [the army was] sent to Djahi to extend the frontiers of Egypt, no success of theirs came at all." (*ANET*², 251b).

4 Breasted, *AR* III, § 20; among the titles of Ḥor-em-ḥeb we find the title: "commissioner of the lands of the north" (Ball, *JEA* VII [1921], 52). Prior to his ascent to the throne Ḥor-em-ḥeb occupied the important positions as "head of the Egyptian administration" and as "commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army" (cf. Steindorff/Seele, *Egypt*, 242).

5 J. A. Wilson, *Ägypten, Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, I, Berlin-Frankfurt-Wien 1961, 467.

6 Hittite inscriptions lay particular emphasis upon the loyalty of Aziru, king of Amurru to the Hittite king (cf. *KUB* III, 14 obv. 3 ff.).

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believe that in the absence of a dominating power in this region, the Phoenician coast cities achieved a large measure of independence during the struggle between the two empires. The mention of Tyre among the cities reconquered by Sethos I⁷ strengthens this hypothesis.

During this period there was a great increase in maritime trade, for which the cities of the Phoenician coast may be given a certain credit. Between approximately 1375 and 1225 B.C.E.⁸ Canaan imported great quantities of "Mycenaean" ware⁹, whose elegant forms are to be found in every important excavation in Palestine and along the Syrian coast. Unfortunately we do not know what the Phoenician traders gave the "Greeks" in exchange. Presumably they traded in perishable items such as perfumes, spices, wines, and textiles¹⁰, for no remnants of Phoenician goods have been found in the areas of Greek settlement. On the other hand, the names for these objects, which entered the Greek vocabulary at that time, are of Semitic origin¹¹ and suggest that they were imported from Phoenicia.

New evidence shedding some light on this trade comes to us from Ugarit¹², where the "economic lists" tell of several fabrics sold to an agent, the most valuable having come from Tyre. The list mentions a "ktnt (t) šr", the color of which was "p-ḥ-m", i.e. reddish-purple¹³. This reminds us of the invention of the purple-dye by Tyre¹⁴. Another list includes "linen" from Tyre¹⁵. We may assume that the manufacture of expensive textiles was one of the most important and profitable

7 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 435, 452; Jirku, *Klio* Beiheft 38 (1937), Tyre: 33, 35, 38; Ushu: 32, 34, 35 (Ushu follows Tyre!); *ANET*², 242b-243a: Kumidi (no. 55), Ullaza (no. 56), Tyre (no. 57), Ushu (no. 58), Beth-Anath (no. 59).

8 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 337.

9 F. H. Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge 1951.

10 This contention is bolstered by the Semitic names of these objects, which entered into the Greek language (cf. V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, Paris 1927, I, 27; II, 143).

11 Cf. also Movers 2, 3/1, 97 ff.

12 Virolleaud, *Syria* XXX (1953), 193; *PRU* II, Paris 1957, 144: no. 110-15.04.

13 Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 75 note 5; the former rendering of p-ḥ-m as "precious stone" (thus Virolleaud, note 12; Gordon *UM*, Roma 1955, 312: no. 1534) no longer holds its ground. In the treaty between Suppiluliuma of Hatti and Niqmadu of Ugarit, the king of Ugarit had to give to the king of Hatti i.a. "wool dyed in purple color" (p-ḥ-m) (Dietrich & Loretz, *WO* III (1966), 231).

14 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XL, 300 ff.

15 *PRU* II, Paris 1957, 146: no. 112-1604.

branches of the Tyrian economy. Phoenician goods were valuable not only because of their raw materials and manufacture, but also for their artistic quality.

A stela erected by Tut-ankh-Amon tells us, among other things, of the building of sacred ships from special cedars, brought for this purpose from the forests of Lebanon¹⁶. The inscription does not specify whether the trees were part of a tribute from the kings of Phoenicia to Pharaoh, nor whether they were paid for in silver, in trade, or by "presents"¹⁷. In any case, this inscription gives no evidence of Egyptian domination or influence over the Phoenician coast. The same holds true for the time of Ḥor-em-ḥeb, whose attempt to win over Ugarit to the side of Egypt was unsuccessful¹⁸. During this period the Fertile Crescent was struck by a plague that lasted more than twenty years¹⁹, during which the barriers between different peoples were strengthened. One of the plague victims was the great king of Hatti, Suppiluliuma²⁰. During his rule, there was no hope for Egypt to regain its glorious position in Western Asia. Indeed we may even say that despite the efforts of succeeding pharaohs, the northern Phoenician coast never became again a part of the Egyptian Asian province.

After the death of Ḥor-em-ḥeb a new dynasty came to power in Egypt. The first pharaohs of this Nineteenth Dynasty tried to restore its former glory to the crown of Egypt, and to a considerable extent they re-established Egyptian dominion in Canaan, although never as broadly or strongly as in the days of Thutmose III. As usual, though, the accession of a new dynasty or new king was a signal for rebellious movements to break out among subject peoples. Sethos I, however, took swift action in his first year of reign, quelled the rebellions, and restored calm to the land of Canaan. The Egyptian army advanced rapidly along the *via maris*²¹, passed Akko and Ushu and moved toward Yenoam²². This

16 Bennett, *JEA* XXV (1939), 10, 13 note 41.

17 Cf. the payments/presents given by Wen-Amon to the prince of Byblos (*ANET*², 28a).

18 Nougayrol sees a connection between the rebellion of Ugarit against its own king and Ḥor-em-ḥeb's incursion to Ugarit (*PRU* IV, Paris 1956, 57 ff.); cf. also the mention of Ugarit in a topographical list from the time of Ḥor-em-ḥeb (Klengel, *OLZ* LVII (1962), col. 458 note 2).

19 Olmstead, *HPS*, 184; Malamet, *VT* V (1955), 2; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 200.

20 Goetze, *CAH* II, Fasc. 37 (1965), 21-22.

21 The main road from Egypt to Phoenicia: Raphia, Gaza, Megiddo, Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos etc. contra Smith, who interprets the *via maris* as the way from Damascus to the south "by the way of the sea of

military campaign was not directed against the kingdom of the Hittites, but was intended to establish Egyptian rule in Canaan and southern Syria, including the southern Phoenician coast.

In his following campaigns, Sethos I proceeded northward, reaching the town of Ullaza²³. We hear of battles for Kadesh-on-the-Orontes, but these did not result in a great Egyptian victory, for we know that in the time of Ramesses II, son of Sethos I, Kadesh-on-the-Orontes was in Hittite hands.

A wall relief at Karnak dating from the days of Sethos I shows the princes of Lebanon cutting cedars for Pharaoh²⁴ and suggests that this whole area was subject to Egypt. Our main sources of information about the activities of Sethos I in southern Phoenicia are four lists of cities which he conquered. In spite of small variations, these lists apparently stem from the same official war report, which documents, therefore, only a single campaign. We are unable to determine the order of events during this campaign. Even the progress of Pharaoh's army cannot be traced, as there is no clear geographical arrangement of the conquered cities. In any event, the conquest of Tyre and Ushu²⁵, mentioned in all four lists, is indisputable.

The reconquest of Tyre raises again the question set forth earlier, namely: had Tyre been under Egyptian rule before, so that its reconquest testifies only to an attempt by the Tyrians to throw off the Egyptian yoke; or did the Egyptians now subjugate the city for the first time? One thing is clear: the city Ushu — always mentioned together with Tyre — was now included in the Tyrian "kingdom". This indicates that Tyre had a foothold on the mainland. Tyre's fortunes, then, had undergone a change for the better between the time of Abimilki and the time of Sethos I. A new and still unpublished stela from the reign of Sethos I may help to clarify Tyre's role in Sethos' military campaigns. At present all we know of this stela, which was discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Lebanese government under the directorship of Emir M. Chéhab at Tyre, is that "it bears an important inscription" and that "it is incomplete"²⁶. We may assume that it may

Gennesaret" (G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, Fontana Library edition, 1966, 279, 291).

22 Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, 104.

23 The city of Ullaza was conquered by Thutmose III in his 31st year (Meyer, *GA* II/1, 127); however the city is already mentioned in the Execration-Texts (cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 53).

24 *ANEP* nos. 327, 331.

25 Noth, *ZDPV* 60 (1937), 220, 223; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 202.

be similar to those stelae of Sethos I and of Ramesses II discovered in Beth-Shean²⁷.

We have already noted (cf. Chapter II) that the island of Tyre could not have served as a base for an Egyptian garrison, and consequently we doubt that there had been an Egyptian governor in Tyre before the time of Sethos I, and even afterwards. If indeed Egypt had ruled Tyre, it was because the king of Tyre was himself the representative of Pharaoh.²⁸

Despite the discovery of a stela of Sethos I at Kadesh-on-the-Orontes²⁹ we can not assume that the Egyptian border extended this far north; more probably it lay slightly north of Tyre³⁰. This border remained constant, generally speaking, throughout the long reign of Ramesses II, certainly after the famous treaty between that pharaoh and Hattusilis of Hatti³¹. At that time, apparently, the river Nahr el-Kelb served as the boundary between the two empires. This conclusion is strengthened by the three stelae hewn into the rock at Nahr el-Kelb to the glory of Ramesses II. The "middle" stela clearly gives the year 4 (of Ramesses II)³², which was the year of his first campaign into Asia; the second campaign was in the fifth year and ended in the Battle of Kadesh when, despite his personal courage, Ramesses was in effect defeated. His third Asian campaign dates from the eighth year of his reign. In that campaign Ramesses II had also been obliged to storm Ashkelon, which had revolted against Egypt. From this revolt one may infer that if the towns near Egypt were in open rebellion, loyalty to the empire could not have been very strong in the more distant, northern part of the Egyptian province.

Another of Ramesses II Asian campaigns — and perhaps his last — dates from his tenth year of reign. Helck contends that the border line of Egypt's coastal Asian province must be moved further north, to include Şumur. He bases his argument on the epithet: "Şumur of Sessi", i.e. of Ramesses II, as the town is named in Papyrus Anastasi I³³. We

26 Leclant, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 394; Chéhab, *BMB* XVIII (1965), 112–113.

27 *ANET*², 255a.

28 Contra Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 119 note 4; cf. also the Egyptian *rabişu* in the El-Amarna period.

29 Pézard, *Syria* III (1922), 108–110; Albright *BASOR* 125 (1952), 27.

30 Scharff & Moortgat *Ägypten*, 155.

31 *ANET*², 199–203.

32 Porter-Moss-Burney, *TB*, 385; Weissbach, *Denkmäler*, 17 ff., plates V, VI, IX; Kitchen, *JEA* 50 (1964), 68.

33 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 231.

disagree, for we believe that the real description of the Egyptian Asiatic province, as defined in that papyrus begins with Byblos and ends with Jaffa (Joppa)³⁴. The first part, which enumerates the names of Hatti, Upi (= the land of Damascus), . . . , Şumur of Sessi, Aleppo, and Kadesh (actually in the hands of the king of Hatti) seems to be more a display of the scribe's knowledge than a description of the geographical-political situation. Şumur of Sessi may have been given that appellation when an Egyptian army came from Şumur to rescue Ramesses II at the Battle of Kadesh³⁵. It seems unlikely that when Amurru became an ally of the Hittites, after (or better even before) the Battle of Kadesh, Şumur remained an Egyptian enclave.

A detailed study of the sources enables us to trace the road by which Ramesses II reached the land of Amurru. It is of interest to us that the Phoenician ports are not mentioned; apparently Ramesses II did not transport either his army or supplies by ships³⁶. We are told that in the campaigns of both his fifth and his eighth years, Ramesses and his armies went by land. The last campaign (year 8) which seems to have been directed mainly against Palestine, Amurru, and Phoenicia, is commemorated on one of the pylons of the Ramesseum³⁷. We must also take into account the other stela of Ramesses at Nahr el-Kelb, which may perhaps be dated in the year 10 and serves as proof of further Egyptian activities in Phoenicia³⁸.

The conclusion of a peace treaty³⁹ between Hattusilis, king of Hatti, and Ramesses II in the latter's twenty-first year of reign, and the marriage between the two royal houses in his thirty-fourth year, were milestones in a long era of peace and prosperity. One may assume that this *pax Aegyptia atque Hethaea* fostered the material and cultural develop-

34 *ANET*², 477.

35 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 215.

36 Alt tried to explain this fact by proposing that Pharaoh used the sea only for reinforcements or messengers (Alt, *ZDPV*, 55 [1932], 4). However we feel that one should not deduce from this that the pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty did not have at their disposal a large merchant marine and war fleet (cf. Meyer, *GA* II/1, 490).

37 Noth, *ZDPV* 64 (1941), 52 ff.

38 Weissbach, *Denkmäler*, pl. VI; Helck, *Beziehungen* 222; R. O. Faulkner, *Egypt*, *CAH* II, Fasc. 52 (1966), 14.

39 It was proposed to include among the divine witnesses to this treaty also "the goddess of Tyre" (D.G. Hogarth, *CAH* II [1940], 266), which would lead to several implications. However, A. Goetze has rejected this reading (cf. *ANET*², 201a note 17).

ment of all the countries in the area, including the cities of Phoenicia⁴⁰, whose commercial connections with overseas nations grew stronger⁴¹. The initiative and activity of the Phoenician traders were largely responsible for the close ties which were formed between the culture of Phoenicia on the one hand, and the cultures of the Aegean islands and Egypt on the other. These ties are reflected in the archaeological finds from this period, which exhibit a "mixed" style.

Small boxes decorated with cartouches of Ramesses II have been found on the Phoenician coast⁴², and fragments of a stela of his were discovered during the excavations at Byblos⁴³. We may also mention the alabaster vessel with the seal of Ramesses II found in the grave of Ahiram, king of Byblos⁴⁴. In 1959 the remains of a stela of Ramesses II were found in the vicinity of Tyre⁴⁵ (in the region of the modern Shiite cemetery⁴⁶). Excavations on the Phoenician coast and in Palestine have also revealed a wealth of imported pottery from the Late Helladic III period⁴⁷. These finds confirm our previous generalization and demonstrate the flourishing commerce during this long period of peace. An echo of this can be heard in the boast of Ramesses II: "And so it was that if a man or woman proceeded on their mission to Djahi (=Phoenicia), they could reach the land of Hatti without fear around their hearts..."⁴⁸. An interesting and important document from the

40 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 489.

41 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 337. We find very appealing a suggested reading of *Tyre* by some scholars in one of the tablets discovered in Pylos, written in Linear B. (cf. M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, 426). But as far as we could read the tablet (cf. E. L. Bennett, *The Pylos Tablets*, Princeton 1955, 78: no. Jn. 693, line 8: last word), it shows that we have a list of smiths and of quantities of bronze issued and not issued to them (cf. also Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 279). We must, therefore, read those syllables (tu-ri-jo) either as a personal (Greek) name or as a person coming from such a place.

42 Kantor, *AJA* 51 (1947), 86.

43 P. Montet, *Byblos Et L'Égypte*, Paris 1928, 48 f.

44 *Ibid.*, 225.

45 Cf. note 26; the discovery of such a stela erases the question mark alongside "Tyre" in the table of *ANET*², 243a.

46 Jidejian, *Tyre*, 12.

47 Kantor, *AJA* 51 (1947), 79-81; LH III B = the period of the 19th Egyptian Dynasty (A. J. B. Wace, *The Last Days of Mycenae, The Aegean And The Near East*, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, New York 1956, 134).

48 *ANET*², 258a; Meyer, *GA* II/1, 485.

reign of Ramesses II⁴⁹ mentions the city of Tyre. This document, known as Papyrus Anastasi I⁵⁰ (cf. also *supra*), is a satirical letter which describes the geography of Canaan. Of Tyre it says: "They say another town is in the sea, named Tyre-the-Port⁵¹. Water is taken (to) it by boats, and it is richer in fish than the sands".

From this passage we learn several facts: 1) Tyre was a port. The reference is to the natural harbor on the north-east side of the island, for the harbor on the south side was built much later. 2) Tyre was dependent upon the mainland for drinking water. (We may note that at this time the mainland opposite the island again belonged to the city of Tyre). 3) Drinking water was brought to the island in boats⁵². 4) Tyre was distinguished for its fishing industry, which implies both a fishing fleet and skill in preserving fish⁵³.

The Egyptian scribe's familiarity with the geography of the Phoenician coast is apparent. After reviewing the lands of the Hittites and Northern Syria, he turns to the Phoenician coast and lists the following places: Byblos (and its goddess), Beirut, Sidon, Sarepta, the river Litani, Ushu, Tyre ("a town in the sea..."), D-r-'m (Seram)⁵⁴, the plain of Akko, Achshaph etc. We have therefore, an exact description of the *via maris* (the way of the sea — Isa. 8: 23) over which Pharaoh's armies passed on their way northwards to Kadesh-on-the-Orontes and beyond.

49 Mazar, *JBL* LXXX (1961), 19; Gardiner believes that this papyrus was "probably written in Merenptah's reign (Gardiner, *Egypt*, 274).

50 *ANET*², 475 ff.

51 *ANET*², 477a-b; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 185 note 1.

52 In Egyptian language: *br*; this word entered into the Greek vocabulary in the form: *βάρης* (Lidell/Scott, 307), and through the Greek into all West European languages; e.g. *barca* in Latin = a small boat (Lewis/Short, 223); Wen-Amon, too used such a boat (Alt, *Afo* 15 [1945/51], 70 note 15).

53 Cf. also Ezek. 26:5, 14; in the Report of Wen-Amon we read i.a. that 30 baskets of fish were sent to the prince of Byblos from Egypt (*ANET*², 28a); the Phoenician fish-industry was famous in classical days (cf. Justin XVIII, 3, 3: "Sidon is thus called, because the Phoenicians call fish thus in their language").

54 According to Wilson (apud *ANET*², 477b note 36) 'this should be Ras Naqura, the Ladder of Tyre', and likewise Helck, *Beziehungen*, 330. A place with a similar name *D¹-r²-(rw)-m* is mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi III (from the days of Merenptah). Scholars are not of the same opinion as to the site. Breasted reads "Upper Tyre" (Breasted, *AR* III, § 633); Gressmann reads "Hoch-Tyros" "(Zitadelle von Tyros?)" Gressmann, *AOTAT*², 96; Alt tends to accept the translation "The Ladder

When, after a reign of sixty-seven years, Ramesses II died, his thirteenth son, Merenptah, inherited the throne of the Pharaohs. He, too, assumed the traditional task, in which it appears he quickly succeeded⁵⁵, of subduing the rebellions which broke out in Canaan at the beginning of his reign. His relations with the Hittite empire were peaceful⁵⁶. We have a document from this period, Papyrus Anastasi III⁵⁷, the journal of an Egyptian official at the border station between Egypt and the province of Canaan, from which we learn of the administrative organization of Egypt. It is quite clear that this journal speaks only of people crossing the border on official business. Unfortunately only a very short piece of this document has been preserved, but in one of the entries the ruler of Tyre is mentioned. Thus we read: "Year 3, first month of the third season, day 15: The Guardsman Baal-roy, son of Zippor (a purely Semitic name) of Gaza, went up, who had two different dispatches for Syria (Ḥa-rw): the Commander of the Garrison Khay, one dispatch; the Prince of Tyre, *Baal-termeg* [?]⁵⁸, one dispatch". In spite of the distortion in the transcription we can see that the Prince of Tyre had a Semitic name. Despite its brevity, this passage indicates that Tyre was then a monarchy. This form of government endured, as far as we can trace it, from the first half of the nineteenth century B.C.E. (with a very short interruption of seven years⁵⁹) until after the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E.⁶⁰, i.e. more than a millenium and a half.

of Tyre" (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 116); Wilson on the other hand also opts for "Sar-ram" (apud *ANET*², 258b) and Galling, *Textbuch*, 33 note g) seeks it south of Gaza! Helck also raises the possibility that we have before us a scribal error. In his opinion we should read "Amurru" here; then the place could be identified with "Zemar" (=Simyra, Şumur) (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 262). A place *D-r'-m* also appears in the Asiatic town-list of Shishak (cf. Jirku *Klio* Beiheft 38 [1937] 48: no. 57), but this place has been identified by Mazar as "Zemaraim" in Benjamin (Josh. 18:22) Mazar, *Suppl. VT* IV [1957], 60.

55 Cf. the end of the "Israel Stela" of Merenptah (*ANET*², 378a); Gardiner *Egypt*, 273.
56 Attested too by the shipments of wheat to the land of Hatti.
57 *ANET*², 258b-259a.
58 The name is written as one word (A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bruxelles 1937, 31); Wolf *ZAS* LXIX (1933), 40; the name appears only in this form and only in this document (R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954, 108, 111). Helck transcribes it as follows: "b(a)-^l-al-ut-ar-m-g" (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 246).
59 Josephus, *C.Ap.* I, 157.
60 Arrian II, 15, 7; 24, 5.

Alt believes that the letter to the Prince of Tyre is "the only document among the seven mentioned letters in this papyrus, which is characteristic of a correspondence between the overlord and his vassal"⁶¹. Alt assumes that we have here [new] instructions from Pharaoh to his commissioner in Tyre, for it is sent by an Egyptian royal courier, and therefore can hardly be an answer to a question of the Prince of Tyre, who would have transmitted his letter by his own [native] messenger. Moreover, Alt believes that the same instructions were sent to the Egyptian officer who is mentioned together with the ruler of Tyre, since "both letters were transmitted by the same messenger".

We agree with Alt's opinion that Pharaoh's letter is not an answer to a question from the king of Tyre. Rather we believe that this document is an official letter from the Egyptian court, perhaps similar to those written in the days of El-Amarna dealing with the preparations to be made by the princes of the towns to supply provisions for Egyptian troops.

It is possible that the same events and actions were dealt in the two letters, on one hand the change of the garrison and on the other the transport of this garrison via the sea from Tyre. There can be no doubt that we have two different dispatches, for here as well as in paragraph III — which tells about another messenger who passed the frontier station a week later, again with two letters, one to an army commander, another to a civil high official — the same term appears. Both paragraphs contain the Egyptian word *wḫ st*⁶², which is generally translated as implying "different"⁶³. We need not wonder that the same messenger was charged with several different letters, nor are we justified in deducing more about the contents of those letters than we are told in the papyrus itself.

Alt's hypothesis was supplemented by Edel, who suggested that both letters were to be brought to the city of Tyre, and that the officer in charge of the Egyptian garrison was stationed in Tyre itself⁶⁴. It seems

61 Alt, *PJB* 32 (1936), 30.
62 This Egyptian word is translated by Gardiner as: "specify it, a phrase serving to introduce details of accounts" (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 538); by Erman/Gradow as: "im Einzelnen" (Erman/Gradow, *Wörterbuch* I, 302).
63 J. A. Wilson apud *ANET*², 258b: "two different despatches", Erman/Ranke: "Zwei Briefe verschiedener Bestimmung (A. Erman/H. Ranke, *Ägypten*, 645).
64 E. Edel, *Alt-Festschrift*, Tübingen 1953, 60; idem, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 164.

to us that if this suggestion is correct, Tyre would be mentioned as the destination, and not merely *Haru* (=Greater Syria). In addition, we cannot ignore the difficulty of stationing an Egyptian garrison in Tyre, a "town in the sea".

However Papyrus Anastasi III is of decisive importance in determining the character of the royal dynasty of Tyre. Alt believes that the (former) royal dynasty of the city regained the kingship of Tyre only during the reign of Sethos I, who "renounced the [personal] possession of the town" ⁶⁵.

Merenptah, the last Pharaoh to mention the kingdom of the Hittites, refers to them in connection with trade. Sometime before his fourth year (that is, about the same time as Papyrus Anastasi III), a large quantity of wheat was sent from Egypt to the land of the Hittites ⁶⁶. There is some reason to believe that the Phoenician trading ships played a part in the task of transportation, for trade relations between the Phoenician cities and Egypt were certainly very close at this time. A sword found in the excavations at Ugarit is inscribed with the name of Merenptah ⁶⁷.

Trade with the west, however, must have been interrupted during this period. Indeed, archaeological finds indicate that the import of Mycenaean vessels to Egypt, Syria and Canaan came to an end during the reign of Merenptah ⁶⁸. In his fifth year, various Sea-Peoples joined the inhabitants of Libya in invading Egypt ⁶⁹, and this first wave of invasion was followed by repeated attacks by the Sea-Peoples, which weakened Egypt's military power and interfered with her commerce with the outside world. During Merenptah's fifth year too, there was a great famine in the land of Hatti, and Egyptian grain was transported there. We may be allowed to assume a connection between this famine and the invasions of the Sea-Peoples, although one may argue about cause and effect, whether the famine was the outcome of the migrations,

65 Alt believes that Tyre became royal Egyptian property after the revolt against its ruler (cf. *EA* 89), and later the property of the Egyptian princess Meritaten. Here Alt accepted the view of Albright (Albright, *JEA* 23 [1937], 194). However, Albright states that "it is possible that Tyre had been designated to provide revenue for Meritaten's pin-money, but . . . may be it is simply intended as flattery to a powerful queen" (*ibid.*), (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 117 ff., 119 note 4).

66 Helck, *Beziehungen*, 233.

67 Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, 169 ff.

68 Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 166.

69 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 270.

or whether the migrations resulted from a drought. In any event, the Sea-Peoples, driven from their original homes, invaded Egypt and later the eastern coast of the Mediterranean in waves of constantly increasing magnitude and power, which finally endangered the entire Phoenician littoral. Merenptah, indeed, succeeded in defeating the invaders, but Egyptian power continued to decline.

After the death of Merenptah, there was a quick succession of Pharaohs, and even an interregnum of several years. Ramesses III, who founded the Twentieth Dynasty, was the last Pharaoh to reign over a great and powerful Egypt. Immediately after his death, Egypt entered a period of military and political deterioration and severe economic depression.

A "new" document ⁷⁰, preserved in the archives of Ugarit, seems to be contemporaneous with the reign of Ramesses III. Ch. Virolleaud believes this document to be a letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit, written in Akkadian ⁷¹ and translated after its arrival into Ugaritic, which is the version that was found. Unfortunately, neither the name of the sender nor the name of the recipient is mentioned. The letter deals with a trading vessel sent to Egypt by the king of Ugarit, which was badly damaged by a "mighty rain" ⁷² when it was in the vicinity of Tyre. The king of Tyre writes, among other things, that a certain (Tyrian? ⁷³) official ⁷⁴, the *rb tmtt*, took the cargo for himself, but he, i.e. the king of Tyre, caused it to be returned to the sailors. He adds that (at present) the ship is in Akko (?), and reassures the king of Ugarit about the fate of the ship by concluding, "Let not my brother worry".

If we take into consideration the sections of the treaty between Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and Baal, king of Tyre ⁷⁵, which deal with the ownership of property saved from shipwreck, we shall perceive a special

70 Virolleaud, *CRAIBL* 1955, 76-77; *idem*, *GLECS* 3 (1957/60), 65; *PRU*, V, 78.

71 As in the *EA*; the letter of the king of Sidon to the king of Ugarit was also written in Akkadian (*PRU* III, 9: 11.723 = AO 19.950); Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, 41, 91.

72 Cf. the expression "heavy rain" in I Kings 18:45.

73 Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, 41.

74 There is no doubt that this man is an official (and not a "pirate" - thus Virolleaud). Still, at this time, we can not offer any reasonable explanation for the title. Cf. also Sasson: "The *rb tmtt* was probably a high functionary at the Tyrian court, perhaps in charge of coast guard and salvage operations" (*JAOS* 86 [1966], 137).

75 *ANET Suppl.* 534a: (15)-(17); cf. also chapter XI, pp. 272 ff.

purpose in the intervention of the king of Tyre in the (legitimate?) action of the *rb tmitt*, whose function was certainly to deal with shipwrecks. It appears that the king of Tyre was interested in preserving his status as equal to the king of Ugarit: perhaps there had been an earlier formal treaty between them⁷⁶. We do not know the reason for the ship's anchoring at Akko; it may have been for repairs.

Another document discovered during the excavations at Ugarit (in Room 204 of the "Little Palace"⁷⁷), is apparently contemporaneous with the letter of the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit. As this document has not yet been published, we must rely on Schaeffer's report of its contents. It consists of a list — preserved only in fragments — divided into many paragraphs, of which the first five mention the names of women, and the rest the names of men, always with the name of a coastal city (e.g., Arvad, Byblos, Tyre, Ashkelon). Schaeffer suggests that this is a list of subjects of the king of Ugarit, who served as his commercial representatives in the various ports. He adds that these representatives appear to have enjoyed extra-territorial rights⁷⁸. Whatever the explanation may be, what emerges clearly from this document is the manifold trading connections among the coastal cities. The mention of Tyre in this context, even if it may be casual should be noted. It again shows Tyre's importance as a trading place on the Phoenician coast.

The invasion of the Syrian / Phoenician coast by the Sea-Peoples, and their movement south toward Egypt, brought about far-reaching political changes. Although Ramesses III managed to repulse the invasion of Egypt itself, he could not expel the Sea-Peoples from Canaan. The Philistines were settled in the five cities of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gath, and the Tjeker (another tribe of the Sea-Peoples) occupied Dor. This period also marked the disappearance of the power-

76 Cf. the expression: "ah" (brother). This term we find also in the Bible: cf. Hiram's remark to Solomon: "What kind of cities are these you have given me, my brother?" (I Kings 9:13), or the words of the king of Israel to the servants of Ben-hadad of Aram: "Is he still alive?, my brother is he" (I Kings 20:32). Cf. also the royal correspondence among the EA.

77 Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, 140-144.

78 Much later we find a similar institution of agents in the Report of Wen-Amon (I, 55-II,2) (*ANET*², 27a). Later we find even foreign "trading quarters" in Damascus, in Samaria (I Kings 20:34), in Jerusalem (Neh. 13:16), in Memphis: the Tyrian quarter (Herodotus II, 112), and much later the cooperations of the Phoenician merchants in Greece and Italy cf. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ III, 97 ff.).

ful Hittite Empire from the scene of history. This confluence of events marked the destruction of Egyptian dominion over all the land of Canaan.⁷⁹

The trail of destruction wrought by the Sea-Peoples can be traced along the entire eastern Mediterranean coast, from Ugarit⁸⁰ (destroyed, never to rise again) in the north, through Arvad⁸¹, Sidon⁸², Tyre (?)⁸³, Tell Abū Huwām⁸⁴ and Dor⁸⁵, to Ashkelon⁸⁶ in the south. The Phoenicians were able to retain only a narrow strip of land between Arvad and Akko⁸⁷. It is remarkable that the Phoenicians managed to survive the terrible destruction of their principal cities. Part of the explanation is certainly to be found in their highly developed fleet which provided them with a refuge, for even in those dark days they had a fleet at their disposal, as we learn from the re-establishment of both Tyre and Arvad (both islands!) by Phoenician seamen. In Justin's *Epitomes* we find evidence of the invader's defeat of the Phoenicians, and of the subsequent re-"foundation" of Tyre. There we read: "Many years later, these (the Phoenicians, apparently those who founded Sidon) who had been conquered by the king of the Ashkelonians⁸⁸ (=the Philistines) embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre, one year before the conquest of the city of Troy"⁸⁹. Our identification of the Ashkelonians with

79 Eissfeldt, *DAO* 34/3 (1936), 5.

80 Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie*, Tableau I.

81 Breasted, *AR* IV, § 64; Strabo relates that the city of Arvad was founded (anew) by refugees from Sidon (Strabo XVI, 2, 13). Is this really true, or is the re-foundation of Tyre by the exiles from Sidon the base of this tale of Strabo?

82 According to Justin the inhabitants of Sidon fled before the king of the Ascalonians (=Philistines) to Tyre (Justin XVIII, 3, 5). Cf. also note 89.

83 Albright thinks that "Tyre was probably destroyed..." (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites* 340) contra Meyer, who asserts that the sea-peoples could not have conquered the island of Tyre, in which the fugitives from Sidon found refuge (Meyer, *GA* II/2, 81).

84 Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 124 (1951), 25.

85 Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 170.

86 Pythian-Adams, *PEFQS* (1923), 62, 77-78.

87 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 341.

88 Winckler attributed this event to the days of Esarhaddon by correcting Ascaloniorum (thus Justin XVIII, 3, 5) into Assyriorum (Winckler, *AOF* I, 440); cf. also chapter XI, note 37.

89 Justin XVIII, 3, 5: "post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati, navibus appulsi, Tyre urbem ante annum Trojanae cladis condiderunt". The Phoenicians are the subject of the main clause in the text

one of the Sea-Peoples reflects the general notion that in this source Justin preserved a reference to the encounters between the Philistines and the Phoenicians. Yet in recent years, the notion that this account reflects a raid by the Sea-Peoples and their destruction of Sidon has been rejected by B. Mazar⁹⁰. Mazar sees this narration as a historic account of a war of the king of Ashkelon against the metropolis of the Phoenicians.

We do not agree with him, for there is no source of a thalassocracy of Ashkelon or even of the Philistines, either at this time or later⁹¹. From the very scarce references in the Bible, we learn that Gaza was the leading city of the Philistine pentapolis. In the stories about Samson — note that the tribe of Dan is still in the south — both Gaza and Ashkelon are mentioned, but it is in Gaza that the main temple of Dagon was found. Much later, in the story of the victory of the Philistines over Israel at Aphek (the date of this battle is close to the date of the Report of Wen-Amon), it is to Ashdod that the ark is brought (I Sam. 5 : 1 ff.). In the Philistine leaders' enumeration of the pentapolis, Gaza again proceeds Ashkelon (I. Sam 6 : 17); the fact that Ashdod is mentioned even before Gaza may be explained by the fact that it was Ashdod to which the ark was first brought. Attention should also be paid to the parallelism in the Report of Wen-Amon. Here, Ne-su-be-eb-ded, the ruler of Tanis, and Zakar-baal, the prince of Byblos are mentioned on one hand, and on the other there are B(W)erket-el⁹², the Phoenician

of Justin, and not the Sidonians — they had also founded the town of Sidon. Cf. note 81.

90 Mazar, *The Philistines*, 3 ff.

91 As far as we can determine no word has been handed down to us about a sea trade of the Philistinian coastal towns. Must we deduce from this silence that the overseas trade (to and from the Western Asian coast) was already (in the first Iron period) firmly in the hands of the Phoenicians? Or is it only that we lack sources that may have dealt with any extensive Philistinian maritime activity? However Albright believes that the three persons, Waraktir (W/lktr/1), Waret (Wr/lt) and Makamar (Mkmr/1) — mentioned in the Report of Wen-Amon — are Philistinian merchant princes (Albright, *CAH II*, Fasc. 51 (1966), 30). If one accepts this view, one could bring forward a "proof" for Philistinian commercial enterprises! Cf. also further evidence for Philistinian mercantile activities submitted by Mazar, *The Philistines*, 4 ff.).

92 The exact reading of the name remains a source of controversy among the Egyptologists. Erman proposed to read Birket-el, and identifies him as a Phoenician merchant residing in Egypt (A. Erman, *Literatur*, 230 note 5); Edel agrees with him (cf. Gallig, *Textbuch*, 39 note e.). J. A. Wilson

merchant prince (and / or agent of the king of Sidon⁹³) residing in the Delta, possibly in Tanis too, and the king of Sidon. As long as there is no further material in favor of Mazar's opinion, we feel that we need not change our view.

This date of the re-foundation of Tyre (one year before the fall of Troy⁹⁴) is further attested by Josephus. Josephus apparently used a source of a Hellenistic historian, who himself drew from the annals of the city of Tyre⁹⁵. Thus we read in the eighth book of the *Jewish Antiquities*: "And at the time when the temple [in Jerusalem] began to be built — in that same year, Eiomos (=Hiram I) was already in the eleventh⁹⁶ year of his reign at Tyre; from the founding [of this city] to the building of the temple there was an interval of two hundred and forty years" (*Ant.* VIII, 62). This dating of the re-founding of Tyre is also the earliest dated in the "annals of Tyre" that has reached us. We have before us a system of chronology numbering years "since the founding of the city" (*ab urbe condita*⁹⁷). This may be a fiction of Josephus.

(apud *ANET*², 27a note 18) calls him "an Asiatic merchant living in Egypt". Albright points out that actually "only the consonants are known with certainty" — Wr/1ktr/1 — (Albright, *CAH II*, Fasc. 51 (1966), 30). Gardiner transcribes the name as Waraktir(Gardiner, *Egypt*, 309).

- 93 Mazar identifies him as "the ruler of Ashkelon, who had a *hubâr* with the king of Sidon" (Mazar, *The Philistines*, 6).
- 94 Cf. the Trojan Era (The dates for the fall of Troy vary from 1270 to 1135 B.C.E. The date of 1183, established by Eratosthenes of Alexandria, is now almost generally accepted (*CAH I* [1970], 246–247).
- 95 In chapter V we shall consider the significance of this passage as it relates to the reign of Hiram I (cf. pp. 83–84).
- 96 The same passage is also cited in Josephus's *Contra Apionem*. There Josephus declares that the event took place in the 12th year of Hiram (*C.Ap.* I, 126).
- 97 Gutschmid thinks of a "Stadtära" (Gutschmid, *KL Schr.* IV, 488). We would like to stress that the counting of years "from the foundation of a city" (as understood by Gutschmid, a scholar of classical background) is not customary in the ancient Near East. Still the verse: "...Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Num. 13:22) is of interest; cf. also the Era of the city of Tanis (= Zoan) (*ANET*², 252–253a). See also Bickerman's statement that an era *ab urba condita* did not exist in the ancient world. (E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*², Ithaca 1969, 77); still the term itself was already known in the days of Josephus: cf. Titus Livius: "Quae ab condita urba Roma ad captam urbem eandem Romani... gessere" (Livy VI, 1, 1). Furthermore the tale of the priests, "that the foundation of the city (= Tyre) took place 2,300 years ago" (Herodotus II, 44) clearly points to a relative dating.

Such a system was certainly in use in Tyre from 274 B.C.E.⁹⁸ If we add these two hundred and forty years to the eleventh (or twelfth) regnal year of Hiram I, we again emerge with the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.E. as the time of the rebuilding of the city of Tyre.

We may note here the mention of Tyre in one of the lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu⁹⁹, where it appears between the cities of Hamath (no. 120)¹⁰⁰ and *krna* (Qeren, Goren?) (no. 122)¹⁰¹. Apparently this is the first mention of Tyre after it was "founded anew" according to Justin.

On the basis of the accounts of Justin and Josephus, we may assume that the period under consideration marked a turning point in the history of Tyre. The tradition of the founding of Tyre by Sidonian refugees is mirrored in inscriptions on Sidonian coins¹⁰². Echoes of Sidon's importance at the outset of the Iron Age are to be found in the Table of Nations in Genesis 10, where we read: "Canaan begat Sidon, his first-born" (vs. 15). There is no allusion to any other cities of Southern Phoenicia, for according to the author of the Table of Nations, "the Canaanite border ran from Sidon towards Gerar, all the way to Gaza" (*ibid.* vs. 19). This wording also explains why, in the Bible, "Sidonian" (not always "Sidon") has the meaning of "Phoenician"¹⁰³, certainly until the end of the ninth century B.C.E. Indeed, this usage of "Sidonian" can help to a certain extent to determine the date of the source. We need not wonder that Ugarit is not mentioned in the Bible, for it had been destroyed a short time before the arrival of the Israelites in coastal Canaan, while Byblos was already in decline during the El-Amarna period.¹⁰⁴

There can be no doubt that this is the period in which the name "Sidonian" took on the meaning of "Phoenician" for the Greek world as well. (These years saw increased "Greek" settlement of the island of Cyprus, which was most likely the place of the first regular contact between the two peoples¹⁰⁵.) Homeric epics mention "Sidonians" and

98 Schürer, *GJV*⁴, II, 98 note 8.

99 W. M. Mueller, *Egyptological Researches*, Washington 1906, pl. 71 (no. 121); Jirku, *Klio* Beiheft 38 (1937), 46.

100 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire* I, 72.

101 *Idem* V, 207.

102 Hill, *Coins of Phoenicia*, 155-156.

103 v. Selms, *OTS* XII (1958), 187.

104 During the 11th century B.C.E. Byblos declined from its position of eminence (Albright, *AJA* 54 [1950], 165).

105 Hill, *Cyprus* I, 98; Meyer, *GA* II/1, 552-555.

"Phoenicians"¹⁰⁶, but neither "Tyre" nor "Tyrians"¹⁰⁷. However, we would like to remark here that the Homeric epics describe a period much later than is generally assumed¹⁰⁸.

However one should not forget that by the total destructions of the great mercantile centers, such as Alalakh¹⁰⁹ and Ugarit, in the wave of the invasion of the Sea-Peoples, the Phoenician town-states inherited a monopoly over trade between the East and the West.

In inscriptions dating from the time of Tiglath Pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.E.), Sidon is mentioned among several Phoenician cities rendering tribute to the Assyrian king¹¹⁰, while the city of Tyre is absent. The omission of Tyre can be interpreted as proof of Tyre's strong position¹¹¹, which freed it of the obligation of paying tribute; but it can also be interpreted, with more likelihood, as an indication that Tiglath Pileser I never ventured that far down the coast. Indeed, there is no proof that he went as far as Sidon. He says that he received tribute from Byblos and Sidon, but not that he went there. The indications are that he stayed in Arvad, and that the two cities farther south sent him presents, probably to discourage a visit on his part.

The silence of our sources in regard to Tyre should not mislead us into underestimating the importance of that city. A. Malamat's notion that "the silence concerning Tyre may indicate that it was at that time under the hegemony of its sister city, Sidon"¹¹² does not appeal to us. For

106 Seventeen times (four times in the Iliad: VI, 290, 291; XXIII 743, 744; thirteen times in the Odyssey: IV, 83, 84, 618; XIII, 272, 285; XIV, 288, 291; XV, 118, 415, 417, 419, 425, 473).

107 Note the spelling of "Tyre" (ἶσρ) and "Sidon" (σιδων) in Greek: *Τύρος* and *Σιδών* showing that the two names either were known to the Greeks at different (?) periods or were pronounced differently to the Greek ear (cf. Friedrich, *ZS* 2 [1924], 4).

108 Perhaps these terms entered into the Homeric epics at a time when the king of Tyre was already called "king of the Sidonians". It is Lorimer's conclusion that the Homeric references to the Phoenicians reflect the archaeological evidence from the 8th century B.C.E. (H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 78 ff.). This late date is not accepted by Muhly, who feels that a direct contact between the Greeks and the Near East was "not before 1000 or after 700 B.C.". He also claims that Homer "knows only of the Phoenician merchants and their ware. The Near Eastern world is for Homer *terra incognita*" (Muhly, *Berytus* XIX [1970], 63).

109 L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, Pelican Book, 162 ff.

110 *ANET*², 275a.

111 Meyer, *GA* II/1, 382; Scharff/Moortgat, *Ägypten*, 399.

112 A. Malamat, *The World History of the Jewish People, First Series*:

example, if we had to rely solely on Egyptian sources, and did not have the El-Amarna letters, our concept of Sidon, which appears in Egyptian sources for the first time in Papyrus Anastasi I, and only once again in the Report of Wen-Amon, would be far from the truth. Similarly while there is no mention of Byblos as a town in the historical parts of the Bible¹¹³, nor in the Homeric epics¹¹⁴ such a silence should not lead us to any hasty conclusions about the status of Byblos. These two examples must also guide us when the sources about Tyre seem to be discontinuous, or even silent.

Albright holds that during the twelfth century B.C.E. the inhabitants of Phoenicia recovered from the invasions of the Sea-Peoples and the upheavals that accompanied the appearance of the Aramean nations "and made a fresh start under the hegemony of Sidon with a political capital on the island of Tyre"¹¹⁵. In the absence of documents, it is difficult to contest this thesis. We do not see the problem as being all that simple, however; the ancient rivalry of Tyre and Sidon must be taken into account.

Tyre and Sidon appear as independent states in the El-Amarna records, and even after the re-foundation of Tyre, we find them existing side by side in the Report of Wen-Amon (see below). The latter document must be dated approximately one generation after the refusal of Tyre to pay tribute to Tiglath Pileser I, a refusal that could be interpreted as a sign of a feeling of power on the part of Tyre and its king.

About two generations later, we have evidence that there was already a Tyrian colony on Cyprus¹¹⁶. All this taken together does not show any weakness on the part of Tyre. This point must be stressed, for some scholars have deduced a certain "greatness" of the town of Sidon by comparing Sidon with Byblos in the *Wen-Amon Report*. Nor can we see any hint that Tyre was the head of a Phoenician confederation or state at this early time. Neither the Bible nor Josephus' writings contain

Ancient Times, III, Tel-Aviv 1971, 37.

113 Cf. Josh. 13:5; I Kings 5:32 (EV 5:18). For a defense of the authenticity of this citation, cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 138, 140.

114 In spite of Thierry (*VT* I [1951], 130-131) there is no connection at all between the Greek word "biblos" (book) and the Phoenician town "Byblos", which is a transcription of gubl (g'bal)m cf. Rosén, *VT* I (1951), 306; but cf. also Albright, *AJA* 54 (1950), 165-166.

115 Albright, *ARI*⁴, 69.

116 Cf. Hiram's campaign against the inhabitants of Kitium in Cyprus (*C.Ah.* I, 119); cf. also pp. 84 ff.

any hint of a federation or an all-encompassing Phoenician kingdom. In this respect, the passage in II Samuel 24 : 6-7 is of great interest : "... and they came to Dan, Ya'an (others : Iyyon¹¹⁷), and so around Sidon, and they came to Mibšar Šor..." Both Sidon and the strong hold (=the fortress) of Tyre are mentioned as being beyond the borders of David's kingdom. Concerning the border of the tribe of Asher we read (Jos. 19 : 28-30) "... as far as Great Sidon; and the boundary turned at Ramah, going as far as the 'city' (and here one should read with the Septuagint : 'yn — the spring, instead of 'yr — the city¹¹⁸) of Mibšar Šor and the border turns to Ḥosah¹¹⁹; and its limits to the sea (=to the west) were Meḥalbeh, Achzib, Akko (the MT has 'umah), Aphek, and Rehob..."

Tyre, which was an island, is not mentioned; instead we have Mibšar Šor, or "the fortress of Tyre", which may be interpreted as "Old Tyre" from which, as we have learned, drinking water was brought to the island. We may assume that there was a fortification next to the springs. It is clear that neither "the fortress of Tyre" nor even Ḥosah are within the borders of David's kingdom. On the contrary, it appears that the whole "ladder of Tyre" until Achzib was firmly in Tyrian hands. Consequently, two separate city-states, Sidon and Tyre, are mentioned, and again we find no hint of a unified Phoenician state at the time when Hiram I of Tyre established political and commercial ties with Israel. Later, we shall see that there was a change in the political map of the southern Phoenician coast when the king of Tyre took the title "king of the Sidonians" (first documented during the reign of Ethbaal I, father-in-law of Ahab; see below).

The first contacts between the Israelite tribes and the Phoenicians occurred, apparently, in the second half of the twelfth century B.C.E. The hostility between the Israelites and the Sea-Peoples, particularly the Philistines, does not seem to have extended to the relations between the Israelites and the Phoenicians, which may have been similar in some way or other to those relations that prevailed between the Phoenician

117 Cf. the different commentaries.

118 Version B; cf. also Z. Kallai, *The Tribes of Israel*, Jerusalem 1967, 182 f. (Hebrew).

119 On Ḥosah as "Old Tyre" = Ushu see the discussion in Z. Kallai, *ibid.*, 182 ff.; Noth, *Josua*, 119. We do not accept Kallai's notion that Ushu and the "town Mibšar Šor" are identical with "Old Tyre" (Kallai, *ibid.*, 185); we feel that Ushu is "Old Tyre", and that "Mibšar Šor" is the fortress of the Tyrians protecting the watersprings.

city-states and the semi-nomads in the El Amarna period¹²⁰. It was about this time that the tribe of Dan, hard-pressed by the Philistines in their original settlement in the lowlands between the tribe of Judah and the sea, had to search for a new territory (Jud. 18)¹²¹. Five Danites went far to the north "and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, living a carefree life, in the same way¹²² as the Sidonians, quiet and carefree... and they were far from the Sidonians" (vs. 7)¹²³. In Numbers (13:29) we read: "... the Canaanites who live by the sea, and by the Jordan". This refers, obviously, to the Phoenician coast and the city of Laish.

The resettlement of Dan in the north is dated by the Song of Deborah, which Albright believes to have been written about 1125 B.C.E.¹²⁴ At that time the tribe of Dan was already settled in Laish, as we can learn from the order in which the tribes that did not take part in the battle are mentioned, going from south to north: Reuben, Gilead, Dan and Asher (Judg. 5:16-17)¹²⁵. We read: "... And Dan, why did he tarry by the ships?" We may question the connection between the tribe of

- 120 This is said despite the verse: "The Sidonians... oppressed you..." (Judg. 10:12); cf. also Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Shoftim*, Jerusalem 1962, 216 (Hebrew). Perhaps the word לְחַצוֹ should be understood as a forced levy. At any rate a change did take place during the second half of the reign of David; then Israel enjoyed stable relations with Phoenicia.
- 121 At the close of the 12th century B.C.E. the Danites dwelled in Laish (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 340).
- 122 The word "mishpat" has been interpreted variously as "the way of life" (Gesenius¹⁷, 473), as "fashion" (Koehler/Baumgartner, 580) as "custom" (Y. Kaufmann, *ibid.*, 273). This last suggestion also corresponds with the expression "as was their custom" (כַּמִּשְׁפָּט) (I Kings 18:28); cf. also the version in the Septuagint and in the Targum.
- 123 One can argue that the reference here is to the inhabitants of the city of Sidon who lived in Laish, and not to the Sidonians (in the meaning of Phoenicians), in accordance with the verse 28 of the same chapter (18). In this connection cf. also Alt's comment on the paucity of the sources for this episode of the settlement of the Upper Galilee (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 369 note 3).
- 124 Albright, *BASOR* 62; (1936), 29; idem, *ARI*⁴ (1956), 227 note 35 Täubler, *Studien*, 166; cf. also Bright, *Israel* 157 note 70.
- 125 Contra S. Yeivin, who feels that the verse: "and Dan, why did he tarry by the ships" (Judg. 5:17) alludes to the settlement of the tribe of Dan on the coast in the vicinity of Joppa (Jaffa). (Cf. *Encyclop. Biblica* II [1954], col. 680 [Hebrew]). One should also note that there is no hint of any maritime services rendered by the tribe of Dan to the Philistines in the stories of Samson.

Dan and "ships". We cannot accept the suggestion of Eduard Meyer that the Danites were μέτοικοι¹²⁶ or "Ruderknechte"¹²⁷. We prefer the interpretation of Täubler, according to which the Danites were "seasonal workers" in the ports of Tyre (and Sidon)¹²⁸. A further aspect of the relationship between Dan and the Phoenicians may be found in the story of Hiram, whose father was a Tyrian and whose mother was from the tribe of Dan (cf. II Chron. 2:14). This was certainly not the only intermarriage between the two groups, and certainly the process did not begin in the days of David.

The tribe of Asher¹²⁹, too, had ties with Phoenician cities. We read in the book of Judges (1:31): "Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Akko, and the inhabitants of Sidon, of Ahlab, of Achzib, of Helbah, of Aphik, and of Rehob". That is, the tribe of Asher did not succeed in occupying the Canaanite town-states along the Phoenician coast between Sidon and Akko. We may note that neither Tyre nor Ushu ("Old Tyre")¹³⁰ is mentioned. Unlike the other tribes, Asher is not said to have conquered the indigenous population, but on the contrary: "... the Asherites lived among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land..." (vs. 32).

The prophetess Deborah rebuked the tribe of Asher for not having taken part in the battle against Sisera: "Asher lingered by the sea shore, by

- 126 Meyer, *IN*, 494.
- 127 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 85; similarly Eissfeldt, who looks upon the Danites as "doing services on (Phoenician) ships" (Eissfeldt, *DAO* 34/3 [1936], 31).
- 128 Täubler, *Studien*, 91-92; 121 note 3. No scholarly proof has yet been advanced for the thesis that there is a connection between the tribe of Dan and one of the Sea-Peoples. Gordon's article on this subject is very speculative (Gordon, *Suppl. VT.* IX [1963], 21); nor does Yadin's article convince us (Y. Yadin, "And Dan, Why Did He Abide with the Ships?", *Western Galilee And the Coast of Galilee*, Jerusalem 1965, 42 ff. [Hebrew]). Cf. also Albright: "The frequently supposed connection with the Gr. Δαναοί is very doubtful, and the name (Da-nu-na = Amarna Danuna) is probably Anatolian" (Albright, *Vocalization*, 46). Cf. also *EA* 151:52-54, and Azitawadda, king of the Danunites (*ANET Suppl.* 653-654).
- 129 On the mention of the tribe of Asher as early as the period of Ramesses II, cf. i.a. Meyer, *GA* II/1, 467; *ANET*², 477b note 42. The theory linking Asher to the goddess is incorrect (Meyer, *IN*, 540).
- 130 The book of Joshua (19:24-31 = the portion dealing with the tribe of Asher) does not mention the city of Tyre. The author fixes the boundary at "Mibšar Šor" (vs. 29 = David's time!). Cf. the different commentaries and also Noth's interpretation of this chapter (Noth, *Josua*, 117-119).

its creeks he stayed" (Judg. 5 : 17) ¹³¹. The description of Asher in the book of Judges is applied to Zebulun in the Blessing of Jacob : "Zebulun dwells by the sea shore, his shore is a haven for ships..." (Gen. 49 : 13) ¹³². There we are also given a more precise geographical description : "... and his frontier rests on Sidon" ¹³³.

In Moses' blessing of Asher and Dan (Deut. 33 : 22, 24) no mention is made of the sea nor of any link whatever with the cities of Phoenicia. On the contrary, these verses reveal that the tribes were pushed eastward, far from the Mediterranean Sea. This fact, of course, fixes the date of the document ¹³⁴. If we have given the correct historical interpretation to this verse, then only the tribe of Zebulun still bordered on the sea during the period under consideration ¹³⁵. By the time that Solomon divided the land into administrative districts, the tribe of Zebulun had disappeared ¹³⁶.

There can be no doubt that the assimilation of Israelite tribes into the Canaanite-Phoenician population left an imprint upon the latter ¹³⁷, and that the increment of human resources was advantageous to Tyre. The eleventh century B.C.E. witnesses the first widespread use of the alphabetic Phoenician script ¹³⁸. This is not the place to discuss the revolutionary impact of this simple script, which in the course of time superseded all others in the Western world. Undeniably, alphabetic writing was the greatest gift of the Phoenicians to Western civilization. Still it is amazing that the people credited by most scholars with having in-

131 Yamin (=seas = the Mediterranean Sea; cf. Täubler's explanation of this verse) (Täubler, *Studien*, 117 ff.).

132 Jacob's blessing is later than Song of Deborah (in disagreement with Gunkel [H. Gunkel, *Genesis*³, Tübingen 1910, 483]); Meyer, *IN*, 537; Täubler, *MGWJ* 83 (1939), 45 note 91.

133 Cf. the Septuagint (Gen. 49:13); cf. also the citation of "Greater Sidon" as one of the points of the boundary of Asher (Jos. 19:28), the census of David (II Sam. 24:6), and Josephus's description of Asher's boundary (*Ant.* V, 85).

134 Mowinckel, *ZAW* 48 (1930), 270 note 1.

135 Albright suggested that Zebulun should be added to the district of Asher (Albright, *JPOS* V [1925], 36).

136 Cf. I Kings 4:8 ff.; G. E. Wright, *Eretz Israel* VIII (1967), 67*.

137 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 341.

138 The lapidary inscription on the coffin of Ahiiram of Byblos (*ANET*², 504b) is apparently from the beginning of the 10th century B.C.E. (Albright, *JAOS* 67 [1947], 154). Similarly we can assume that this inscription had a tradition of at least a few decades.

vented alphabetic script ¹³⁹ should not have left behind them plenty of written documents. This fact has led some scholars to deduce that even in this area the Phoenicians were not originators, but merely served as middlemen ¹⁴⁰. Nonetheless, the Greek tradition that Cadmus the Phoenician (he came from Tyre!) brought the alphabetic writing to Greece ¹⁴¹ is so strong that it can scarcely be denied, and certainly must contain more than a grain of truth ¹⁴². Pliny, too, emphasizes that it was the Phoenicians who invented the alphabet ¹⁴³. The scarcity of inscriptions cannot be used as evidence that the Phoenicians did not write; rather it is evidence that they wrote on perishable material ¹⁴⁴.

The wide-spread use of metal, iron in particular, is one of the most distinguishing characteristics in the thirteenth century B.C.E. New techniques in the processing of metal led to the increased use of iron, thereby giving a tremendous boost to the building of larger and stronger ships that could sail great distances. It is not surprising that the classical tradition ascribed to a Tyrian the invention of the cargo-ship ¹⁴⁵, known in the Bible as "ships of Tarshish" (cf. I Kings 10 : 22; 22 : 49 [EV 48]). This in turn led to the phenomenal development of the Phoenician fleet. Henceforth, Phoenicia's merchants ruled the sea. This domination expressed itself in the founding of trading posts at various points about the Mediterranean sea ¹⁴⁶. The founding of cities that served as trading posts was the direct result of burgeoning international trade seeking new markets for manufactures and, above all, new sources for the acquisition of raw materials.

139 I. a. Meyer, *GA* II/2, 67 ff.

140 K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I/1, Strassburg 1912, 224 ff.

141 Herodotus V, 58-59; Diodorus V, 74, 1; Josephus, *C.Ap.* I, 10.

142 Note both the arrangement and the names of the letters in the Greek alphabet. Albright holds that the Greeks did not adopt the Phoenician alphabet before the end of the 9th century B.C.E. (Albright, *AJA* 54 [1950], 164). It seems to us that this date should be moved up at least one century. The (first) contacts between the Phoenicians and the Greek peoples must have taken place in Cyprus.

143 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 67.

144 Cf. also the great need for writing material in the court of Zakar-baal, the prince of Byblos, to whom the Egyptian rulers sent i.a. 500 papyrus-rolls (*ANET*², 28a; cf. also note 166), and the keeping of journal-rolls at the court of Zakar-baal (*ANET*², 27a).

145 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 208.

146 E.g. Utica (in North Africa) ca. 1100 according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XVI, 216), Cadiz (in Spain) a few years before Utica (Velleius Paterculus

Unmistakably, the development of maritime trade brought with it the need for its organization through mercantile companies¹⁴⁷; large sums were called for to finance these ventures, and individual merchants would not have been able to shoulder the risks of sea commerce. It is of interest to note that the Phoenician word *hbr*, which is used in the Report of Wen-Amon and connotes "commercial liaison", also appears in the Bible (II Chron. 20:35-37) and in the Apocrypha (Ecclus. 41:18; 42:3). There is no doubt that the word denotes the same guilds as the Roman *navicularii*¹⁴⁸.

The only Egyptian document that speaks of Egypt's ties with Western Asia from the time of Ramesses III to the reign of Shishak (approximately from 1150 to 930 B.C.E.) is the Report of Wen-Amon, the account by an emissary of the god Amon about his official mission from Tanis to Byblos (and apparently back) about 1080 B.C.E.¹⁴⁹. This document (as we have it) mentions Tyre only once, in passing, but it throws light upon the political and economic situation of the Phoenician coast at that time.

While Ramesses III still had had at his disposal a fleet of ships¹⁵⁰, that

I, 2, 4). Albright interprets the word "Tarshish" as a "smelting plant" (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 347); cf. also Haupt's explanation: "Aufbereitungsort" (Gesenius¹⁷, 776a, 890a-b). Rieger (in his unpublished dissertation) disagrees with the interpretation of Albright — no doubt in reaction to Albright's reading: Tarshish (in line 1 of the Nora-Stone (H. P. Rieger, *Das Tyrusorakel*, 60 ff.) [cf. also chapter VII, note 136]. Donner/Röllig reads here (KAI no. 46): b-th r-sh sh (= Temple [am] Kap von). We shall return to Donner/Röllig's wishful readings, cf. p. 186.

147 Cf. Isa. 23:8. On the guilds cf. also Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 102 [1946], 10 and our notes 78 and 148.

148 Movers 2/3 117 ff.; *PW* XVI, cols 1899 ff. A thorough research of these guilds is much to be desired. We would like to add an interesting detail here: in the Schechter edition of *Facsimiles Of The Fragments Hitherto Recovered Of The Book Of Ecclesiasticus In Hebrew* (Oxford-Cambridge 1901) we find the words (מחבר) or חובר respectively as a correction/addition in the marginal notes to the words: שותף (מ) or שותף in Eccl. 41:18c and 42:3 respectively of R. Smend's text *Jesus Sirach* (Berlin 1906). But the *Ben Sira Scroll From Massada* (edited by Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1965) has in the text only משותף and שותף (cf. *ibid.* plates 3 and 4; = page 20 line 18c and page 22 line 3 respectively). In that scroll the word h-b-r is not mentioned at all. We dare not decide which version, that of the Schechter edition or that of Massada, is nearer to the original text.

149 J. Černý, *CAH* II, Fasc. 27 (1965), 37.

150 Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, 127; Breasted, *AR* IV, §§ 19,387.

served military¹⁵¹ and commercial¹⁵² ends, Wen-Amon relates that he sailed upon a state mission in a non-Egyptian (Phoenician¹⁵³?) ship from Tanis to Dor (and apparently to Byblos). In Dor he was robbed by one of his men, and since the prince of Dor would not or could not help him regain the valuables and the money, Wen-Amon left for Byblos stopping (certainly one night) in the harbor of Tyre on the way. We do not know if he slept aboard ship, or in a tent on shore as he did later at Byblos. At this time, Tyre had only one harbor, the natural port on the northeast side of the island, well protected by a tongue of rocks which created a kind of bay. From Tyre, Wen-Amon journeyed northward to Byblos in the early morning hours, without making any stops on the way (at least the text gives no hint of a stopover), and pitches his tent in the port of Byblos. There was a difference, therefore, between the port and the city. In our opinion, the prominence of Byblos cannot be established on the basis of the Report of Wen-Amon. True, Zakarbaal¹⁵⁴, Prince of the city, stresses Byblos's independence of Egypt. However, he lacks the forces needed to defend Wen-Amon beyond the boundary of the port of Byblos, when Wen-Amon leaves in a Byblian ship on his way home¹⁵⁵. The mission of Wen-Amon is a religious one, with a long-standing tradition behind it. It was this mission, and not necessarily Byblos's importance or prominence, that led to the visit of the Egyptian emissary to that city¹⁵⁶.

Little can be deduced from a comparison of the number of ships docked in the ports of Byblos and Sidon respectively, for the translation of the Egyptian terms would lead us astray. While Zakar-baal speaks of twenty *mnš* (sea-going ships¹⁵⁷) in the port of Byblos, and of fifty *br* (coastal vessels¹⁵⁸) in the port of Sidon, he does not stress the difference in the total capacity of the vessels. It is conceivable that the twenty sea-going

151 Steindorff/Seele, *Egypt*, 255: fig. 99; *ANEP* no. 341; Breasted, *AR* IV, § 229.

152 Breasted, *AR* IV, § 211.

153 Cf. i.a. Galling, *Textbuch*, 36 note 1.

154 The name of the husband of Elissa/Dido, who founded the city of Carthage (i.a. Josephus, *C.A.p.* I, 125), was Sicharbas (Justin XVIII, 4, 5); Harris, *GPHL*, 99.

155 Report of Wen-Amon II, 62 ff. (*ANET*², 28b).

156 *Ibid.*, II, 3-5 (*ANET*², 27a).

157 Erman/Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 89; cf. also the determinative of the Egyptian word *mnsh* in Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 85 fig. 12.

158 Erman/Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 465; cf. the *br*-(boats) in which water is taken to Tyre, Papyrus Anastasi I (*ANET*², 477b); cf. also note 52.

ships might carry more than the fifty coastal vessels. Furthermore, the ships in the harbor of Byblos are in commercial liaison with Nesbanebbed, the ruler in Tanis (=first king of Manetho's Dynasty XXI¹⁵⁹), who sent Wen-Amon on this mission; while the fifty ships in Sidon are doing business with Werek-EI¹⁶⁰ (or Waraktir¹⁶¹), apparently a Phoenician¹⁶² merchant in Tanis, also on the basis of *h-b-r*¹⁶³. Černý already pointed out that the "profitable trade with Asia" (read Phoenicia) lay in Nesbanebbed's hands; yet Nesbanebbed has to "rely chiefly or solely on Syrian (again we like to say: Phoenician) ships and crews"¹⁶⁴. It has to be assumed that Zakar-baal would give a merchant higher credit than the ruling prince of Tanis. On the other hand, the comparison that the king of Byblos makes, is interesting. Apparently he is comparing his port with Sidon, the largest and most important port of the Phoenician coast at that time.

From the words of Zakar-baal, we learn much about the Phoenician shipping companies¹⁶⁵ which had branches (or trading posts, agents) both in Tanis in Egypt, and along the Phoenician coast.

Three other facts from the account of Wen-Amon are of interest to us. One is the payment of five hundred papyrus scrolls¹⁶⁶ to the king of Byblos, which clearly testifies to the great need of writing materials

159 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 447.

160 Cf. note 92; Eisler, *ZDMG* 78 (1924), 61-63; this article of Eisler is in Albright's words "the most ingenious and wildest combination" (Albright, "The Eastern Mediterranean About 1060 B.C.", *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, St. Louis 1951, I, 228 note 21).

161 Gardiner, *Egypt* 309.

162 Cf. note 92.

163 Cf. also Albright, *The Eastern Mediterranean About 1060 B.C.*, 1951, 226. Wilson's translation "and which are drawn up to his house?" (apud *ANET*², 27a) especially if it is based on his own commentary (*ibid.* 27a note 18) is not at all clear. A better translation is that of Edel: "...und nach seinem Hause fahren?" (Galling, *Textbuch*, 39).

164 J. Černý, *CAH* II, Fasc. 27 (1965), 39; the name of the captain of the ship, "M-n-g-b-t", is not an Egyptian name (J. A. Wilson apud *ANET*², 26a note 4). Cf. also Edel: "Ein Phöniker? Jedenfalls kein Ägypter..." (Galling, *Textbuch*, 36 note 1).

165 Cf. note 148; Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 102 (1946), 10; Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, 145.

166 Gardiner translates instead of 500 (rolls of) finished papyrus, "plain mats: 500" (Gardiner, *Egypt*, 311). However this correction has not been accepted by Albright (Albright, *The Eastern Mediterranean About 1060 B.C.*, 1951, 226-227) or by Edel (Galling, *Textbuch*, 41). Cf. also note 144.

in the royal court¹⁶⁷. We also learn that it was customary to keep a record on the "annals" of the kings of Byblos. Josephus, too, maintains that even in his time similar lists were to be found in the Tyrian archives (*C.Ap.* I, 107, 112). Apparently these lists also served as a ledger of sorts in conducting trade¹⁶⁸. Furthermore, the transport of thirty baskets of fish for the king of Byblos and five baskets of fish for Wen-Amon teaches us that we must not underestimate the importance of the fish industry and the knowledge of fish preservation. We have already learned from Papyrus Anastasi I that Tyre was "rich in fish", and we shall say more on this subject later¹⁶⁹. The most important fact that emerges from the Report of Wen-Amon, however, is that in the eleventh century Egypt had declined in the eyes of the Phoenicians from a first-class power to an equal trading-partner.

The first mention of Tyre in the Bible appears, and here we follow B. Mazar¹⁷⁰, in Psalm 83, which should be dated to the period between the Report of Wen-Amon and the kingdom of Saul, i.e. the last third of the period of Judges. Thus, on the eve of the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, the policy of the Tyrian state was hostile towards the Israelites. In this respect the phrase "the inhabitants of Tyre (Ps. 83: 8) — analogue to the "inhabitants of Sidon" (Judg. 1: 31) — seems

167 We may assume that these records (*ANET*², 27a) were written in the Phoenician language.

168 Wen-Amon II, 8-9 (*ANET*², 27a). There must have been similar records about the delivery of cedar-woods etc. to King Solomon by the Tyrians.

169 Cf. also Ezek. 26:5,14; Neh. 13:16; and note 53.

170 Maisler (Mazar), *BJPES* IV (1936), 47ff. (Hebrew); yet the opinions about the historical background of this psalm are much divided. Generally it is assumed that it belongs to the Maccabean period (cf. i.a. R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen*³, Leipzig/Erlangen 1922, 277-78; or Finkelstein, *HTHR* 36 [1943], 32 ff.); Gunkel proposed a time "from Ezra till Alexander the Great" (H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, Göttingen 1926, 365); Kissane dates it "to the period of the Assyrian invasion of Judah, and probably to the period of Sennacherib's invasion..." (E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms*, II, Dublin 1954, 61); Kraus proposed a pre-Exilic date (H. J. Kraus, *Psalmen* 2, Neukirchen 1960, 577), a dating accepted also by Dahood (M. Dahood, *Psalms* II [The Anchor Bible], Garden City N.Y. 1968, 273). Weiser argued against any dating; he claims that one must abandon any historical explanation in favor of an interpretation based on a cultic situation, "in der das Volk alle seine möglichen und wirklichen Feinde, die Gegner von einst und jetzt... dem Gericht Gottes überantwortet" (A. Weiser, *Die Psalmen*, II Teil, Göttingen 1950, 369).

worthy of being noted¹⁷¹. The words "Philistia and the inhabitants of Tyre" (Ps. 83 : 8) may even allude to historical events of this period. (From the words of Zakar-baal we learn about the Sea-Peoples' unhindered domination of the entire coast from Gaza to Mount Carmel, and perhaps even farther north¹⁷²). We have already noted the Bible's allusions to the cooperation between Tyre and the Philistines. Another instance of joint Philistine-Phoenician activity may be hinted at in Judg. 10 : 11-12 ("... the Philistines; the Sidonians...")¹⁷³. The description by the author of the book of Joshua of Joshua's pursuit of the enemies of Israel "as far as Greater Sidon" (Josh. 11 : 8), from there north-eastward may be still a further allusion to a hostile action, although this pursuit could also be a later projection from the days of David. In this connection one should pay some attention to a statement of Josephus, according to which the nations of Syria and Phoenicia fought alongside the Philistines (*Ant.* VII, 74)¹⁷⁴.

The attitude of the kings of Tyre toward Israel appears to have changed after David's victories over the Philistines. It may be that Abibaal¹⁷⁵, the father of Hiram I (*Ant.* VIII, 144) and a contemporary of David founded a new dynasty in Tyre, and inaugurated a change in Tyrian foreign policy. Abibaal, reigned in the first third of the tenth century B.C.E., and died in ca. 970 B.C.E.

Albright has suggested that the Tyrians suffered greatly as a consequence of the Philistines' resolve to rule over both land and sea, and that Abibaal, king of Tyre, made some sort of pact with David, king of

171 It is a general notion that *Gebal*, mentioned in Ps. 83 : 8; is not the town of Byblos in Phoenicia, but a region in the south (cf. i.a. H. Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar z.d. Psalmen*, II, Breslau 1883, 482). We would not have raised this point, had not a contradictory opinion been recently expressed by M. Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100*, The Anchor Bible, Garden City 1968, 274.

172 *ANET*², 28b-29a; however the Tjeker-people had at their disposal only the small vessel (br); cf. notes 52 and 158.

173 And again, much later, both in the Greek and in the Syrian version of Ecclesiasticus 46 : 18 (cf. i.a. NEB, Apocrypha, 184). However this reading has not been accepted by Bible scholars (cf. R. Smend, *Ben Sira*, Berlin 1906, 53; M.Z. Segal, *Ben Sira*, Jerusalem 1953, 321-322 [Hebrew]).

174 Contra Eissfeldt, who maintains that in general the relations between Israel and the Phoenician cities (Tyre and Sidon) were amicable (Eissfeldt, *DAO* 34., 3 [1936], 7). We believe that the improved relationship came about only in the days of David.

175 Harris, *GPhL*, 73.

Israel for the purpose of finally breaking the power of the Philistines¹⁷⁶. If this notion is correct, it was David's task to strike at the Philistines on the land, while the king of Tyre sought to destroy their control of the sea lanes. The defeat of the Philistines on the land, probably about 975 B.C.E.¹⁷⁷, and on the sea opened up new possibilities for the establishment of Tyre as a maritime power, and the second half of the tenth century witnessed the beginnings of Tyrian establishment of trading posts in the Mediterranean to an extent hitherto unknown. Tyre's emergence as a major power for a period of more than three hundred years was made possible by her exploitation of the political situation in the Near East. The power of Egypt had declined, and the vacuum thus created had not yet been filled either by Assyria in the east, or by the Greek expansion to the west.

At the beginning of the Iron Age the revolutionary invention of plastering cisterns with lime to prevent the seepage of stored water¹⁷⁸ was in use. This innovation facilitated the rapid development of Tyre. Hitherto the city had depended on Ushu, on the mainland for its water supply¹⁷⁹. Now, however, water could be conserved on the island, and the expansion of the population was possible. In this connection we recall Strabo's description of the multi-storied houses characteristic of Phoenician cities, particularly Tyre¹⁸⁰. We can assume that this mode of construction had a longstanding tradition behind it.

The key to Tyre's achievements lay in the city's maritime power. Tyrian colonization of North Africa and Spain is dated as early as 1100 B.C.E. by the classical historiographers¹⁸¹. However, this seems to be about 100 years too early¹⁸². Rather, beginning at this time, Tyre attained pre-eminence over her rivals, Sidon and Byblos, and also founded her first

176 Oral communication.

177 W. F. Albright, *CAH* II, Fasc. 51 (1966), 42.

178 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 341, 358 note 72.

179 Note also that all the letters of Abimilki to Akhenaten (cf. chapter III) deal with the problem of the supply of drinking water from Ushu. On the water cisterns of Tyre at a later period cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* IX, 287; (cf. p. 229).

180 Strabo XVI, 2, 23; cf. the "pleasant houses" in Tyre (Ezek. 26 : 12).

181 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 216; cf. note 146.

182 Here it is not our task to deal with the Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean countries. About the different opinion, especially concerning the dates, cf. i.a. Meyer, *GA* II/2, 82 ff., 92; R. Carpenter, *AJA* 62 (1958), 35-53; Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 343 ff.; cf. pp. 124 ff.

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overseas settlements. It is known that Hiram I had to cross the sea, apparently at the beginning of his reign, in order to suppress a rebellion of the people of Kiti(um) (=Larnaka) on the island of Cyprus. Consequently this colony, which marked the beginning the Tyrian expansion overseas, must have been under Tyrian rule in the days of Abibaal. This means that Tyrian colonization and the establishment of trading posts dates from the beginning of the tenth century B.C.E.¹⁸³

183 Gutschmid was the first to amend the 'corrupted' text; he read *τοῖς τε Ἰτυκίοις* in *C.Ap* I, 119 (thus also Dindorf in his edition of Josephus's works, in the parallel text: *Ant.* VIII, 146). This would mean "the people of Ἰτυκίη or, in Latin, *Utica*". (Cf. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 479; Gutschmid thought that this Utica should be identified with the Utica in Tunisia, and he quoted Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 216). Much later Albright proposed to read *τοῖς τε Κιτιίοις* or "the people of Kiti(on)" (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 348, 361 note 101) (cf. i.a. Gen. 10:4; Jes. 23:1, 12). Cf. pp. 84 ff.

CHAPTER V

The Period of Hiram I

THE tenth century B.C.E. marked a new era in the history of Tyre. During this period, Tyre surpassed all her rivals, particularly Byblos and Sidon, and became the principal and dominant city on the Phoenician coast. We know of this development essentially from two sources: one is Tyrian (but not first-hand), and the other is the Bible.

The Phoenicians, like all the peoples of the Fertile Crescent, kept lists and records of the important events relating to their rulers and their kingdoms. We have evidence of such annals, which also served to record commercial matters, in the Report of Wen-Amon¹ (see above, Chapter IV).

A similar practice undoubtedly existed at the court of Solomon, and we may assume that the account of the trade in horses and chariots (I Kings 10: 28—29), for example, is taken from the "annals of Solomon" (I Kings 11: 41). The Phoenician system of keeping records may have passed into the royal court of Israel by way of the local Canaanite scribes².

The principal evidence for the writing of Phoenician chronicles in general, and for Tyrian chronicles in particular, comes from the books of the Jewish historian, Josephus Flavius. In his book, *Contra Apionem*, Josephus says that the earliest written accounts of historical events were Egyptian and Babylonian, but he adds, "among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing" (*C.Ap.* I, 28). In another passage, Josephus explicitly mentions "the Tyrian archives" (*Ant.* IX, 283, 287). As evidence of what he says in *C.Ap.* (whose Greek title is "On the antiquity of the Jews"), he declares that the Phoenician chronicles prove his assertions: "For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations" (*C.Ap.* I, 107). In the chapter that deals with the proofs of the antiquity of the

1 The Report of Wen-Amon II, 8-9 (*ANET*², 27a).

2 Maisler (Mazar), *BJPES* XIII (1947), 105 ff. (Hebrew).

Jewish nation that are found in official documents of the nations bordering Israel, mention is similarly made of "Phoenician records" (*C.Ap.* I, 215; II, 18). This evidence is of decisive importance, for it was written as a polemic against the enemies of Israel, and we may assume that Josephus cited facts that he was able to prove (*C.Ap.* I, 160).

Not only did the Tyrians note events relating to the kingdom of Tyre, but they preserved the documents themselves, and consequently Josephus can add: "To this day there remain copies of these letters (=the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon) preserved not only in our books but also by the Tyrians, so that if anyone wished to learn the exact truth, he would, by inquiring of the public officials in charge of the Tyrian archives find that their records are in agreement with what we have said" (*Ant.* VIII, 55). Josephus refers to this correspondence again in *C.Ap.* where he writes: "Many of the letters which they [=Hiram and Solomon] exchanged are preserved at Tyre to this day" (I, 111). But he does not quote these letters.

We find another reference to this correspondence in the writings of the Jewish-Hellenistic author, Eupolemus³, who quotes (!) some letters exchanged between Solomon and Hiram⁴; they are, of course, not real letters, but the creations of Eupolemus's pen, based upon biblical material.

Philo of Byblos, too, claims that his book on the Phoenician religion and ritual is based upon very ancient written sources, which were preserved in Phoenicia⁵.

The great importance of Josephus, however, is that he has preserved for us several passages from Dius and Menander of Ephesus⁶, two Hellenistic historians who drew upon a translation of the annals of Tyre. We know of these two writers only from Josephus's works; apparently they were well thought of in his time. Of Dius we read that he "is regarded as an accurate historian of Phoenicia". The passage quoted by Josephus is taken from Dius's book, *The History of the Phoenicians* (*Αἱ περὶ φοινίκων ἱστορίαι*).

3 Schürer suggests that he may be identical with the Eupolemos of I. Macc. 8:17 and II Macc. 4:11 (*GJV*⁴ III, 350 ff. and 474 ff.). See also J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 82-130, 208-215, 225 ff.

4 Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 33-34.

5 *Ibid.*, IV, 16, 11.

6 Dius's account: *C. Ap.* I, 113-115 = *Ant.* VIII, 147-149. Menander's account: *C. Ap.* I, 117-120 = *Ant.* VIII, 144-146; *Ant.* VIII, 324; IX, 284-287. Apparently from Menander's account: *C.Ap.* I, 121-125, 156-158. Josephus also mentions (much later) a certain Philostratos (*Ant.* X, 228).

Josephus describes Menander as follows: "Menander, who translated the Tyrian records from the Phoenician language into Greek speech" (*Ant.* VIII, 144). In another place we read concerning Menander: "This author has recorded the events of each reign, in Hellenic and non-Hellenic countries alike, and has taken the trouble to obtain his information in each case from the national records" (*C.Ap.* I, 116). And again, "Menander, the author of a book of annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language" (*Ant.* IX, 283). Thus we have before us a historian who was diligent in collecting his material. Pietschmann has objected that it is difficult to imagine Menander journeying from city to city, translating his sources into Greek⁷, but not even Pietschmann can ignore the impression of authenticity conveyed by the account quoted in his name. Gutschmid dates Menander to the second century B.C.E.⁸, but Albright thinks he may have written earlier, "in the third(?) century B.C."⁹. Scholars have already noted that both Dius and Menander used the same source, an edition of the annals to Tyre. Movers has set the accounts of Dius and Menander side by side and pointed out the similarity not only in Greek words but in whole sentences that appear in both of them¹⁰. These passages, translated from Phoenician to Greek, certainly passed through the hands of many transmitters and revisers before reaching us. Consequently it is amazing that these passages display the same distinctive annalistic style known to us from the historical books of the Bible; furthermore, these passages contain no facts that are not paralleled in the biblical accounts of Solomon. Evidently, therefore, the Phoenicians influenced not only Hebrew script, but the style and editing of the annals of the kings of Israel as well¹¹.

In the passages from the annals of Tyre which Josephus gleaned from the histories of Phoenicia (the immediacy of the material and the relation to the source are not important) the Jewish historian found evidence to prove the truth of his assertions, for these passages mention King Solomon. Dius calls Solomon "the sovereign of Jerusalem" (*ὁ τύραννος Ἱεροσολύμων*), while Menander refers to him as "the king of Jerusalem" (*ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς*). This appellation is clear proof of the Tyrian source of these passages, for the kings of the Phoenician coast, who ruled

7 Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 8.

8 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 470-471.

9 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 351.

10 Movers, 2/1, 190 note 4.

11 Albright, *ARI*⁴, 120.

principally over one city, looked upon Solomon as a monarch of a city, like themselves; nor did Josephus correct this "flaw", even in an account where he endeavors to exalt the greatness of Solomon. Great weight must be attached to the testimony of Dios and Menander as cited by Josephus, for these are the only mentions of Solomon's name in a foreign source — perhaps a Tyrian source that stems from the time of Solomon himself!

In the passage dealing with the kings who succeeded Hiram¹², a certain amount of editing can be discerned. It may be that Josephus found these passages in the work of another historian who quoted Menander. Menander (of Ephesus) is identified by Gutschmid as Menander of Pergamum who tells stories of Solomon and Hiram (and Menelaus)¹³. Since Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 105–40 B.C.E.) belonged to the school of Pergamum, Gutschmid believes that his great work: *Περί Ιουδαίων*, in which he quoted epitomes from any foreign authors who wrote about the Jews¹⁴, was the source from which Josephus drew his citations of Menander and Dios¹⁵. Schürer believes that Eusebius, too, copied the long passage in his book *Praeparatio Evangelica* (I, X, 17–38), from Alexander Polyhistor¹⁶. Pietschmann regards Pompeius Trogus (or the summary of his work which was made by Justin) as an additional source¹⁷.

One of the most difficult problems in the history of Tyre is to determine the absolute chronology of the reigns of the kings of Tyre from Hiram I until Pygmalion (*C.Ap.* I, 122–125). Our sole source of information for the sequence of kings and their dates during this period is Josephus. We believe, however, that we may rely on him. In order to demonstrate that the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem was built a hundred and fifty years before Carthage was founded (*C.Ap.* I, 108, 121–126; II, 18), Josephus adduces the list of Tyrian kings who reigned from the death of Hiram I until the founding of Carthage in the seventh year of Pygmalion (*C.Ap.* I, 121–126). The regnal years and the life-spans of the rulers are not given in round numbers, so there is no reason to doubt the veracity

12 This is said in relation to the stories about Ethbaal (*Ant.* VIII, 324); these stories do not appear in *C. Ap.* I, 123. Cf. also our discussion of this topic in Chapter VII.

13 A quotation from Tatian. Cf. note 59.

14 Schürer, *GJV*⁴ III, 469.

15 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 470, 527, 529–30. Cf. Freudenthal, *op. cit.*

16 Schürer, *loc. cit.*

17 Pietschman, *Phönizier*, 8.

of this tradition¹⁸. Moreover, Josephus does not digress from listing the kings of Tyre even to comment on Ethbaal (Ithobal), the father-in-law of Ahab, although he is mentioned in the Bible. The major chronological difficulty stems from the different traditions as to the founding of Carthage¹⁹. In this work we accept the chronology of Eduard Meyer, with some emendations. (See our discussion on this topic in the next chapter).

The sources that Josephus had at his disposal certainly did not tell of an earlier tie between Israel and Tyre than the correspondence mentioned in the Bible. We do not believe that because Josephus begins his list with Hiram son of Abibaal, we may deduce that Abibaal was the founder of a new dynasty in Tyre²⁰, even though the parallel between the rise of a new dynasty in Tyre and of the Davidic dynasty in Israel is attractive. Abibaal²¹ is mentioned because of his son Hiram, and there is insufficient evidence to decide whether or not he founded the dynasty.

According to the chronology that we have adopted in this work, Hiram I²²

18 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 63

19 Kugler, *Moses*, 172 ff.

20 Movers was the first to make this suggestion (*Movers* 2/1, 322).

21 The name Abibaal was common among aristocratic Phoenician families (cf. i.a. *ANET*², 291a, =294a, 296a). The name also appears on the Ostraca of Samaria (*ANET*², 321a). Cf. Harris, *GPhL*, 73. Sanchuniaton dedicated his book to Abibaal, king of Beirut (Clemen, *Phönikische Religion*, 8 ff.). Abibaal king of Byblos reigned, according to Albright's calculation ca. 930 B.C.E. (Albright, *JAOS* 67 [1947], 160).

22 This is a shortened form of 'Aḥîrām; both forms appear side by side, among Phoenician names. Cf. Harris *GPhL*, 75; cf. also J. Kutscher, "Two Hebrew Seals", and E. L. Sukenik, "A Further Note on Hebrew Seals", *Kedem* I (Jerusalem, 1942), 44–46 (Hebrew).

We know of four kings of Tyre named Hiram: (a) the contemporary of David and Solomon; (b) the contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser III (*ANET*², 283a); (c) the contemporary of Cyrus (*C.Ap.* I, 159); (d) the contemporary of Darius (Herodotus VII, 98) (It seems to us unlikely that Mapen, the son of Sirom, the Tyrian had reigned more than fifty years at the time he sailed in Xerxes's fleet) (*ibid.*).

On the writing of the name, cf. Harris, *GPhL*, 75, to which we must add the Punic *hyr(m)* (A. Berthier – R. Charlier, *Le Sanctuaire Punique d'el-Hofra à Constantine*, Texte, Paris 1955, no. 176: 1.3; Eupolemos writes Σουρον apparently influenced by the name of Tyre (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 33–34; cf. J. Freudenthal, *op. cit.*, 209). On the meaning of the name, see i.a.: Baudissin, *Kyrios* III, 78; Friedrich, *WZKM* 52 (1953/55), 92. Cf. also the name of Ahirom, father of Ethbaal, king of Byblos, who

ascended the throne of Tyre ca. 970 B.C.E., after the death of his father Abibaal. He was nineteen-years-old, when he came to the throne and he reigned for thirty-four years (*C.Ap.* I, 117) ²³.

Hiram's title was "king of Tyre" (I Kings 5 : 15; II Chron. 2 : 2), but the inhabitants of his country were called "Sidonians" (I Kings 5 : 20 [EV 5 : 6]). Later (certainly from the time of Ethbaal, the father-in-law of Ahab), the king of Tyre is called "king of Sidonians" (I Kings 16 : 31). The same title is used by the governor of Carthage (in Cyprus) in referring to his master, Hiram II of Tyre ²⁴. Josephus calls Hiram I "king of the Tyrians" (*Ant.* VII, 66; VIII, 50, 57, 141, 143). Eupolemus calls him "king of Tyre and Phoenicia" ²⁵, or "king of Tyre, Sidon, and Phoenicia" ²⁶. In thus designating Hiram, Eupolemus was influenced, of course, by the political geography of his time.

Now we must consider Josephus's synchronization of the regnal years of Hiram with the building of Solomon's Temple. In *C.Ap.* Josephus claims that "... the temple at Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of King Hiram's reign..." (I, 126), while in *Ant.* he says that when the building of the temple in Jerusalem was started, "Eiromos was already in the eleventh year of his reign at Tyre; from the founding [of this city] to the building of the temple there was an interval of two hundred and forty years" (VIII, 62).

Eduard Meyer accepted the eleventh year of Hiram as the year in which King Solomon started to build the temple, while the twelfth year seemed to him a mistake ("fälschlich") ²⁷. J. Liver is also of this opinion, on the grounds that "the round number 12 is doubtful *a priori*" ²⁸. We cannot accept Rowton's suggestion that the building of Solomon's Temple was mentioned in the official archives of Tyre ²⁹. It is much more likely, as Gutschmid suggested that Josephus found in the annals

reigned in the first quarter of the tenth century B.C.E. (Albright, *BASOR* 92 [1943], 20; Milik & Cross, *BASOR* 134 [1954], 11).

23 The terminology recalls the Book of Kings or the Book of Chronicles; of course the similarity between Josephus's text and the Septuagint is even more pronounced. The average age of the Judean kings at the outset of their reigns was twenty-five years, and at their deaths, forty-six years (cf. Thiele, *MNHK*, 284).

24 Cooke, *NSI*, no. 11; *KAI*, no. 31.

25 Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 30, 4.

26 *Ibid.*, 31,1.

27 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 79 note 2.

28 Liver, *IEJ* 3 (1953), 115 note 6.

29 Rowton, *BASOR* 119 (1950), 20-22.

of Tyre that in the eleventh and twelfth years of Hiram's reign the king rebuilt the temples of Heracles and Astarte in Tyre ³⁰, and transferred these dates to the construction of the temple in Jerusalem. Menander and Dius both tell us that Hiram was engaged in various tasks in the first years of his reign, and only later pulled down the old temples of Heracles and Astarte and started to rebuild them (*C.Ap.* I, 113, 118 = *Ant.* VIII, 146, 147). (Cf. the great repair of the temple in Jerusalem in the twenty-third year of king Joash [II Kings 12 : 7], i.e., about one hundred and fifty years after the temple was built.) This may have happened in his eleventh or twelfth year, and Josephus may have created the synchronism by transferring these dates to the building of the temple in Jerusalem. But neither Menander nor Dius give any dates for the rebuilding of the temples in Tyre.

On the other hand, in I Kings 6 : 38, we read that Solomon finished "the house of the Lord" in his "eleventh year, in the month of Bul, which is the eighth month". The dedication ceremony took place in "the month of Ethanim, the seventh month" (I Kings 8 : 2). If we follow A. Sanda ³¹, this ceremony took place in the following year, i.e. in the twelfth year of Solomon. We suggest that in these dates lies the source of Josephus's numbers, and that he merely transferred these years to the Tyrian king. We think, therefore, that there is no historical value to Josephus's synchronism between the eleventh or twelfth year of Hiram and the fourth year of Solomon. Sanda also feels some uneasiness about the synchronism given by Josephus, and in order to defend it, he amends the twenty years of building — seven years for the temple (I Kings 6 : 38) and thirteen years for the palace (I Kings 7 : 1) — to thirteen years, and thus arrives at the conclusion that the seventeenth year of Solomon coincided with the twenty-fourth (or twenty-fifth) year of Hiram.

Josephus advances an additional synchronism of 240 years between the (new) foundation of Tyre and the beginning of the construction of Solomon's Temple. But this synchronism, too, does not seem convincing, if only because of the round number 240. There is no legitimate connection between the founding of Tyre and the building of the temple in Jerusalem. Josephus himself, in attempting to justify his synchronism, seems conscious of its improbability, for he says : "There was good reason

30 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* II, 63; IV, 488-89; cf. Meyer, *GA* II/2, 124 note 1.

31 Sanda, *Könige* I, 213. It is interesting that the Midrash, too, says that the Temple in Jerusalem was closed for nearly a whole year. (Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends* IV [1913], 155; *Pesikta Rabbati* [ed. M. Friedmann, Wien 1880], 24b).

why the erection of our temple should be mentioned in their records, for Hiram, king of Tyre, was a friend of our king Solomon, a friendship which he had inherited from his father" (*C.Ap.* I, 109).³² On the other hand, it is reasonable to connect the founding of the city with the beginning of Hiram's reign which opened a new era in the history of Tyre or, perhaps even more probable, with his reconstruction of the temples of Heracles and Astarte (cf. I Kings 6 : 1). This synchronism, which would reflect the earliest date preserved in the annals of the city, would place the re-founding of Tyre early in ca. 1200 B.C.E., i.e. at the time of the invasions of the Sea-Peoples, as we have mentioned above.

We learn of the beginnings of Tyrian colonization from Menander, who says that Hiram "undertook a campaign against the Itykaians, who had not paid their tribute, and when he had again made them subject to him, returned home" (*Ant.* VIII, 146 = *C.Ap.* I, 119). It appears that this revolt of a Tyrian colony took place at the beginning of Hiram's reign. Apparently during the reign of Abibaal, father of Hiram, Kition was conquered and became a Tyrian trading post.

Scholars differ as to the correct reading of the name of the city against which Hiram campaigned. In the last century, it was identified with Utica in North Africa, which was founded, according to classical historians, at the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.E., if not earlier³³. Thus a rebellion of the inhabitants of Utica against Hiram was conceivable³⁴. Gutschmid added a paleographic reason for reading 'Ιτυκαῖος as Utica³⁵. On the other hand, the suggestion first made by

32 Note that according to Josephus Hiram inherited his affection for Solomon from his father, whereas in I Kings 5:15 (EV 5:1), Solomon inherited the friendship of Hiram from his father, David.

33 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 216, "ubi cedrorum Numidicarum traves durant, ita ut positae fuere prima urbis eius origine, annis MCLXXVIII" (i.e., 1178/77-77/8 = 1101/1100 B.C.E.). According to Aristotle (*De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 134 = Loeb Classical Library: Aristotle, *Minor Works*, pp. 306/307) Utica was built 287 years before the founding of Carthage, i.e. in 1101 B.C.E. However, Albright believed that Ed. Meyer "overshot the mark in accepting Timaeus's date for the foundation of Utica near Carthage in 1100 B.C." (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 345). According to Albright the cities of Gades and Tartessus in Spain were founded about 950 B.C.E. (*ibid.*, 348). According to Velleius Paterculus, Utica was founded a few years later (Vel. Paterculus I, 2, 5).

34 Cf. also G. Ville, "Utica", *PW* Suppl. IX (1962), col. 1876 ff.

35 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 479. This identification was also accepted by Pietschmann (*Phönizier*, 296), and Meyer who asserted that Hiram sub-

Movers³⁶, that the reference was to Kition on Cyprus was taken up and emphasized by Landau, who was the first, as far as we know, to spell out the reason for this thesis. Landau maintained that "Utica (in Tunis) was too far for Hiram ... the island of Cyprus was much closer ... and without a foothold in Cyprus it is almost impossible to speak of a maritime rule ...". Therefore he suggested reading *Κιταῖος* for 'Ιτυκαῖος holding that the city of Kition (= "Kiti") on Cyprus was referred to here³⁷. We would add another factor to uphold this suggestion: Hiram apparently set out on this expedition at the beginning of his reign, when it would have been dangerous for him to travel a great distance and be absent a long time. It seems likely to us that Kition was the first colony of the Tyrians in Cyprus, while the "New City" (= Carthage) was at Limassol³⁸.

The city of Kition³⁹, present-day Larnaka, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, thereafter became the Tyrian stronghold on Cyprus and belonged to the Tyrian Empire for a long period of time, apparently until the sixth century B.C.E.⁴⁰ Kition was the springboard for Tyrian expansion, which then spread westward across the Mediterranean Sea. It is of interest that Kition is one of the most ancient cities on Cyprus⁴¹. Sir Arthur Evans pointed out that Kition is mentioned in the lists of

jugated anew the inhabitants of Utica in North Africa, who had not paid him their taxes (Meyer, *GA* II/2, 124). Shalit agrees with Meyer and Gutschmid (see his Hebrew translation of *Ant.* VIII, 146 and also his note 204 on this passage).

36 Movers 2/1, 331.

37 W. v. Landau, "Die Bedeutung der Phönizier im Völkerleben", *Ex Oriente Lux*, 1 (Leipzig 1905), 179. Beloch, dismissing any Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean at "so early a date", suggested that "Utica" be sought in Syria! (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I/2, 250 ff.). Albright supports Landau's position, suggesting that the rebel city be identified as Kition (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 348).

38 Pieces of a bronze bowl on whose lip was an inscription telling of "the governor of Carthage" were found in Limassol in 1877. They originated, then, in Limassol (*KAI* no. 31). Furthermore Limassol was called "Neapolis" in Roman times (E. Oberhummer, "Kypros", *PW* XII (1925), cols. 98-99; Peckham, *Late Phoenician Scripts* (1968), 14 note 7; idem, *Orientalia* N.S. 37 (1968), 321 ff.

39 Note the Semitic name "Kiti"; cf. also "Kittim" (i.a. in Gen. 10:4; Isa. 23:1, 12; Ezek. 27:6).

40 See also E. Oberhummer, "Kition", *PW* XI (1922), cols. 535 ff.; Hill, *Cyprus* I, 98-99.

41 *The London Illustrated News*, December 22, 1962, "In Kition remnants of the Early Bronze Age were uncovered". Cf. also V. Karageorghis, "Ex-

Ramesses III⁴², and conjectured that there was already a strong tie between Phoenicia and Cyprus in the time of Wen-Amon. He based this hypothesis on Max Müller's suggestion⁴³ that the name of the princess Ha-ti-bi of Alashiya, mentioned by Wen-Amon⁴⁴, is a Phoenician name. It is difficult to determine, whether at the time of Abibaal, Hiram, and their immediate successors the colony was ruled directly, by means of a governor appointed by the king of Tyre, or whether the governor was an official appointed by the king of Tyre in the court of the local king⁴⁵.

Hiram's activities at home were in large measure concerned with the rebuilding and adorning of the temples of Tyre. We are told that he went up to Mount Lebanon and had timber cut for the construction of temples; Menander adds more precisely "for the roofs of temples" (*C.Ap.* I, 118)⁴⁶.

Herodotus, who visited Tyre ca. 450 B.C.E. tells us of two temples of Heracles in Tyre⁴⁷. According to Arrian "in Tyre there existed a temple of Heracles, the most ancient of all those which are mentioned in history", and consequently Alexander requested permission from the Tyrians to offer a sacrifice there⁴⁸. It seems to us that this request had a political rather than a religious purpose⁴⁹. According to Justin and Curtius, the Tyrians replied that the most ancient temple of Heracles was to be found in "Old Tyre"⁵⁰. The answer of the Tyrians, of course, was also politically motivated. Arrian identifies the Heracles worshipped at this temple with the Heracles worshipped at Tartessus in Spain, i.e. Melqart.

cavations At Kition", *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (Cyprus 1963), 10-11.

42 Sir Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxford 1909, 75.

43 Max W. Müller, *MVAG* V (1900), 26 note 2; contra Bilabel who thinks that the name is of Hurrian origin (Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, 133 note 4).

44 *ANET*², 29a.

45 Cf. the *n'sibîm* (commissioners) stationed by David in Aram-Damascus (II Sam. 8:6) and in Edom (ibid. 14); or in much later time the *qêpu* installed by Esarhaddon near the king of Tyre (see pp. 268 ff.).

46 Yehimilk of Byblos (ca. 950 B.C.E.) also tells in his inscription of the building of a temple (*ANET*², 499a).

47 Herodotus II, 44.

48 Arrian II, 15,7 — 16,7.

49 Arrian II, 17, 1-4.

50 Justin XI, 10, 11; Curtius Rufus IV, 2, 4; Curtius Rufus writes "Palaeotyros", Justinus "Tyros vetus".

We are told by Dius (*C.Ap.* I, 113) that Hiram built a causeway uniting the temple of the Olympian Zeus, which was on an island, with the city, and adorned the temple with offerings of gold. The Olympian Zeus mentioned by Dius was identified by Movers⁵¹ and Jeremias⁵² with the Tyrian Melqart, in accordance with the account of Herodotus, who mentions two temples of Heracles (Melqart). Gutschmid was the first to suggest that the deity worshipped at this temple was Baal-Shamêm⁵³.

It is significant that Hiram adorned the temple of the Olympian Zeus, but did not build it; the temple and its ritual were already in existence. The fact that the temple stood on a small island by itself (until the time of Hiram) is further proof of its antiquity.

While Dius merely remarks that Hiram adorned the temple with offerings of gold, Menander goes into greater detail. According to his account, Hiram "dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus" (*C.Ap.* I, 118).

Herodotus tells us that he found the temple of Heracles, which was very ancient, "richly adorned with a number of offerings, among which were two pillars, one of pure gold, the other of emerald, shining with great brilliancy at night"⁵⁴. (Was this a lighthouse for sailors?) In a drawing of an Assyrian relief, published by Barnett, we see the (main) temple of Tyre and set in its entrance two pillars⁵⁵, which may have been similar to "Jachin" and "Boaz" (I Kings 7:21)⁵⁶. The "strong pillars" of Tyre (*mass^cbôt uzzeq*) mentioned by Ezechiel (26:11) are

51 Movers 2/1, 171 ff.

52 Jeremias, *Tyrus*, 4.

53 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 468.

54 Herodotus II, 44. Apparently Herodotus's story served Pliny as the source of his statement "se autem scribente esse in Tyro Herculis templo stantem pilam e smaragdo, nisi potius pseudosmaragdus sit" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII, 75). Albright has pointed out that Herodotus places the gold column, which Menander and Dius locate in the temple of the Olympian Zeus (i.e. Baal-Shamêm), in one of the two temples of Heracles, while there is no mention at all of a temple of Zeus (Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 202). Cf. also note 19 of Chapter II.

55 Barnett, *Archaeology* IX (1956), 91, 93: fig 9; Harden, *Phoenicians*, plate 50.

56 Cf. the two stelae (*δύο στήλαι*) that Usôdos (*Οὔσωδος*) erected in honor of the fire and wind (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 10). Cf. also Albright *BASOR* 85 (1942), 18 ff.; S. Yeivin, *Eretz Israel* V (1955), 97-104 (Hebrew); Kornfeld, *ZAW* 74 (1962), 50 ff.

generally interpreted as documentation of those two pillars in Tyre⁵⁷. If that is so, special interest attaches to the *mass' bôt bêt habba'al* in the temple of Baal (II Kings 10 : 26) built by Ahab in Samaria (I Kings 16 : 32). The splendor and wealth of Tyre is attested to by the fact that in the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem the two pillars were made only of bronze (I Kings 7 : 15; Jer. 52 : 17).

A late legend, apparently based on the mention of Solomon's Sidonian wives (I Kings 11 : 1)⁵⁸, relates that Solomon married the daughter of Hiram⁵⁹. It is possible that this legend in turn gave rise to the tale that Solomon, during a visit to Tyre⁶⁰, presented to Hiram a pillar of gold (referring to the pillar of gold set up by Hiram in the temple of Zeus). It is said that a bust of Solomon's wife, the daughter of Hiram, was carved upon this pillar⁶¹. Olmstead even suggests that Solomon worshipped in the temple of Baal-Melqart (!) when Hiram renewed the old covenant by giving his daughter to Solomon in marriage⁶².

Eupolemos says that Solomon dedicated a golden pillar in the temple of Zeus. The similarity of wording between Eupolemos and Menander

is obvious⁶³. We may ask whether the similarity is accidental, or whether both writers draw from a common source. Even if we do not assume that the common source is Phoenician, the picture is clear, for not only Dios and Menander, but also Eupolemos speak of the temple of Zeus. Furthermore, Herodotus, Menander, and Eupolemos, all mention the golden pillar. Since Menander specifically mentions three temples in Tyre — of Zeus, of Heracles, and of Astarte (*C.Ap.* I, 118) — it seems to us that we must distinguish between Heracles-Melqart⁶⁴ and the Olympian Zeus⁶⁵, who is almost certainly to be identified with Baal-Shamêm⁶⁶.

Mazar has not only recognized some direct connection between the cult of Baal-Shamêm and Hiram's assistance to Solomon in building a temple in Jerusalem according to the Phoenician pattern, but even believes that "the deity worshipped in this temple appropriated some characteristics of Baal-Shamêm"⁶⁷.

57 I. a. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel, Handbuch z.AT*, Tübingen 1955, 152; Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, 609, 618. Cf. also the two pillars of Hercules (=Melqart) on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar.
 58 The Bible speaks only of Sidonian women. Josephus tells us of Sidonian and Tyrian women (*Ant.* VIII, 191), but perhaps what we have here, is a mistake in the reading of *Tyrolas* for *Syrolas* (this in the Septuagint) — Edomite women in the Bible, not Aramean women as in the Septuagint.
 59 Clementis Alexandrini *Stromata* I, XXI, 140; cf. also note 85 in the Migne-edition of the above mentioned paragraph. Clemens Alexandrinus maintains that such is the account of Menander of Pergamon and Laïtos in their histories of the Phoenicians. Thus also Tatian (*Oratio ad Graecos*, Oxford 1700, 128–129); see also Graetz *Geschichte der Juden* I, 307. Jeremias also alludes to the possibility of a marriage between Solomon and Hiram's daughter (Jeremias, *Tyrus*, 20), apparently under the influence of Ewald (H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*³, Göttingen 1866, III, 407 note 1). And again, a more recent study, L'Esnoyers, *Histoire Du Peuple Hébreu*, Paris 1930, III 39–40. A. Malamat doubts (rightly) the historicity of this tale (Malamat, *JNES* XXII [1963], 9).
 60 Eupolemos (apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 34, 18); Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, XXXIV, 8. However, Justin does relate that Solomon performed idolatrous service in Sidon, stemming from a literal interpretation of I Kings 11 : 5:
 61 Theophilus apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* 34, 19.
 62 Olmstead, *HPS*, 340; F. Thieberger maintains that Solomon visited Tyre prior to David's death (Thieberger, *Solomon*, 143, 148–149).

63

Eupolemos (Eusebius, <i>Pr. Ev.</i> IX, 34, 18)	Menander (Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> VIII 145)
τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα	τὸν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα
τὸν ἐν Τύρῳ ἀναικείμενον	τὸν ἐν τοῖς
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ	τοῦ Διὸς
τοῦ Διὸς.	ἀνέθηκεν.

64 Many bilingual texts (in Phoenician and Greek) attest to the identification of Heracles with Melqart; cf. i.a. *KAI* no. 47; Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 27; Meyer, *GA* II/2, 81 note 3, 89; Albright, *BASOR* 128 (1952), 39.
 65 Contrary to Movers, who sees in Zeus also the Tyrian Heracles (Movers 1, 176–177); Similarly A. Shalit in his Hebrew translation of Josephus's *Antiquities* (*Ant.* VIII, note 202 of his translation to this book).
 66 Philo Byblius writes that "they (the Phoenicians) spread their hands to the sun (ἥλιον) for they consider it, so they say, the only god, the lord of heaven (οὐρανοῦ κύριον), whom they (the Phoenicians) call Beel-Shamên (Βεελαμην), what is with the Phoenicians the Lord of Heaven and with the Greeks Zeus" (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 7). If we compare the above paragraph with Solomon's prayer (I Kings 8:22 ff.), we find a number of interesting parallels. Compare also the poem of the dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem, which is more complete in the Septuagint than in the MT (I Kings 8:12–13). In the Septuagint we read in verse 53a: "Ἥλιον ἐγνώρισεν ἐν οὐρανῷ κύριος" In this first line we find three words identical with those used by Philo. This is not the place for a discussion, but the "parallelism" deserves careful study. Cf. also Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 200–201, who gives a new translation of this poetic dedication.
 67 Mazar, *The Philistines*, 20.

In the Phoenician inscriptions that have reached us, Baal-Shamêm appears for the first time in the inscription of Yehîmilk, king of Byblos, apparently from the tenth century B.C.E.⁶⁸, i.e., very nearly from the time with which we are dealing. Baal-Shamêm is also mentioned in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre, as the chief deity (among the gods of the sea, who are perhaps also the gods of the sailors)⁶⁹. Despite the paucity of epigraphic material from Phoenicia and Aram, we can point to two other documents mentioning Baal-Shamêm, which fill the gap between Yehîmilk of Byblos (tenth century B.C.E.) and the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal (ca. 670 C.E.). These are the inscription of Azitawadda, king of the Danunites (probably from the ninth century B.C.E.⁷⁰), and the inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath (beginning of the eighth century B.C.E.)⁷¹. In regard to Baal-Shamêm, Gressmann's article on Hadad and Baal⁷² is highly interesting, even if some of his conclusions cannot stand up in the light of recent discoveries.

In Herodotus's account of his visit to the (main) temple of Heracles in Tyre, which we suggested was in fact the temple of Baal-Shamêm, he adds that he noticed another temple where the same god was wor-

68 ANET², 499a.

69 ANET Suppl., 534; cf. also Zeus Meilichios (= the inventor of the fishing) (Philo Byblius apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 11-12). Ewald suggested that the name Meilichios may derive from the Phoenician word m-l-h (sailor) (H. Ewald, *Abhandlung über die Phönikischen Ansichten von d. Welt-schöpfung und d. geschichtl. Werth Sanchuniathon's*, *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, V, (1851), 17-18).

70 ANET², 500b; Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 220, 221 note 2.

71 ANET², 501b.

72 Gressmann, *BZAW* 33 (1918), 191 ff., 210-216. To the extent that we have been able to examine the material relating to the mention of Baal-Shamêm in Gressmann's article, we find two inscriptions from the period of Ramesses II mentioning a Baal-(in the) Heaven(s) (cf. ANET², 294b). In Egyptian it could be also Baal-Heaven (Baal-Shamên), and the "hyphen" stands for the ideogram or determinatives, "a part of the body" (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 542 signs Aa 13-15). Whether this expression is the Egyptian counterpart for Baal-Shamêm or whether it means only the Baal (who is) in Heaven (cf. EA 149:7 "kima addi ina same" [as Adad-Baal in Heaven]) one cannot say with certainty. I have to thank Prof. Sarah Groll for her explanations in this matter. In the event that we read here Baal-Shamêm, these inscriptions would be, for the time being, the earliest ones mentioning Baal-Shamêm, about 300 years (or even 400 years if we accept such a reading in EA 149) before the days of Hiram.

shipped as the Thasian Heracles⁷³. Herodotus went to Thasos, where he "found a temple of Heracles, which had been built by the Phoenicians who colonized that island". Thus we learn that at the time of Herodotus there was a temple of Heracles-Melqart in Thasos⁷⁴.

Melqart, the chief god of Tyre, is in fact an enigma. From the activities of Hiram (*C.Ap.* I, 118) we learn that the temples of Heracles (Melqart) and Astarte were already ancient in his time. No doubt they were rebuilt when Tyre was "founded" by the Sidonians fleeing from the king of Ashkelon⁷⁵, for in later times it was customary for the Tyrians to build a temple to Melqart when a new trading colony was founded⁷⁶.

These Phoenician trading places overseas were all founded by Tyrians, as we know from both biblical sources (Isa. 23:4) and classical tradition⁷⁷. Indeed, it is astonishing that the Baal of Tyre, Melqart⁷⁸, is never mentioned by name in the Bible, even though it was in his name that the Tyrians founded their colonies⁷⁹. In addition to the commercial advantages of the relationship the religious link between mother city and the daughter colonies (such as Carthage) endured for centuries⁸⁰.

It is therefore even more astonishing that Melqart appears in the sources only from the days of Hiram, and that thus far we have found no local (Tyrian) evidence of that deity; nor does the name of Melqart appear in the name of any Tyrian king known to us.

From Menander we know that Hiram "demolished the ancient temples and built new shrines⁸¹ dedicated to Heracles⁸² and Astarte (*C.Ap.*

73 Herodotus II, 44; *PW*, Suppl. III (1918), col. 964.

74 Herodotus II, 44.

75 Justin XVIII, 3, 5.

76 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 81.

77 See i.a. Meleager: "ματέρα Φοινίκων, τὰν πολύπαιδαν Τύρον" (*Anthol. Graeca* VII, 428, 14) or Pliny: "Tyrus... olim partu clara urbibus genitis..." (*Hist. Nat.* V, 76).

78 But he is mentioned e.g.: in Cyprus: *KAI* nos. 43, 47; in Aram-Damascus: *KAI* no. 201; in Carthage: *KAI* no. 86; in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal: ANET Suppl. 534a.

79 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 81 ff.

80 As late as the time of Alexander the Great a delegation from Carthage visited Tyre in order to bring offerings to Melqart (Arrian II, 24, 5); even later, Demetrius Soter fled from Rome to Syria on a ship of Carthage that was to have brought the first fruits of Carthage to Tyre (Polybius, XXXI 12, 11-12).

81 Albright (*Jordan Lectures*, 199) has drawn attention to the "fine difference" between the expression 'temple' (ἱερόν; cf. this word as used for the Jewish Temple [Liddell/Scott, 822b]), for the temple of the Olympian

I, 118). He adds "that of Heracles he erected first in the month Peritius", - *πρωτόν τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερωσιν ἐποιήσατα ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί* (*C.Ap.* I, 119).

Since the last century, the word *ἔγερωσις* has been translated as the "(feast of) awakening"⁸³ (perhaps under the influence of the feast made by Solomon: "So Solomon celebrated the pilgrim-feast at that time..." [I Kings 8 : 65]). Furthermore, the presumed feast has been accepted by most of the historians dealing with the time of Hiram⁸⁴, and has been fully dealt with in a special article by Clermont-Ganneau⁸⁵. The translation, the "awakening"⁸⁶ of Heracles, naturally recalled the "awakening" of Adonis⁸⁷, for most scholars applied the word *ἔγερωσις* as it is in the New Testament, namely, "the awakening from death" (= the resurrection)⁸⁸.

Zeus in Dius's account, and the construction of 'sanctuaries' (*ναοί*) for Heracles (=Melqart) and Astarte in the accounts of both Dius and Menander. Albright concludes, "evidently the cult of Baal-Shamên occupied a favoured place in Phoenicia at the time of Solomon". But Menander's text reads, "he demolished the ancient temples (*ἱερά*) and built new shrines (*ναοί*)". We feel, therefore, that the change of expressions is more probably to be looked for in the field of writing than of theology. Moreover, some texts have only 'temples' (*ἱερά*) for all three temples (cf. *Ant.* VIII, 1146-147). (In *C. Ap.* I, 108, 109, 126 the Temple of Solomon is always *ναός*). Albright's note is of interest, but any conclusions should be based on firmer arguments.

82 Heracles = Melqart: *KAI* no. 47; Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 27.

83 Thus Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* II, 39: "Hauptfest"; Movers 2/1, 330: "Fest der Auferweckung" (des Herakles). It should be mentioned that G. Dindorf in his edition of Josephus's *Contra Apionem* has here quite another text; even the word *ἔγερωσις* does not appear here! (G. Dindorf, *Flavii Josephi Opera* II, Paris 1865, 348). Yet in his edition of *Ant.* VIII, 146 he has the usual text, and he translates *ἔγερωσιν* by 'fanum' (= sanctuary) (*ibid.* I, 299).

84 See i.a. Meyer, *GA* II/2, 124, 168; Baudissin, *Kyrios* III, 479 note 1; Albright, *ARI*⁴, 81.

85 C. Clermont-Ganneau, "L'Egersis d'Heracles", *RAO* VIII (1924), 149-167.

86 E.g. by R. Marcus of Josephus, *Ant.* VIII, 146 (vol. V, 651 of The Loeb Classical Library).

87 J. G. Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris* I, London 1922, 224 ff.

88 Matt. 27:53; however the verb *ἐγείρειν* in the sense of resurrection is already found in the Septuagint (Isa. 26:19; cf. also Arndt/Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Cambridge 1968, 214: "*ἔγερωσις* = resurrection, lit. 'awakening' of a dead person (so Menander of Ephesus in Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 146;...").

As *ἔγερωσις* is a *hapax legomenon* in the works of Josephus⁸⁹ we have to look in other books which may have been known to him in order to find its meaning. We believe that we have found such a book in I Esdras. Here we read: "... ἐπὶ τῇ ἐγέρσει τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ κυρίου" (I Esd. 5 : 62 = for the rearing up of the house of the Lord"⁹⁰. If we accept this meaning, there is no basis for the notion that Hiram introduced a new cult, similar to that of Adonis, but only that he built (anew) temples. Dius relates that Hiram added embankments to the eastern parts of the city and made the town larger"⁹¹; "and the temple of Zeus Olympios, which stood apart by itself, he joined to the city by filling up the space between them" (*Ant.* VIII, 147)⁹². Jeremias believed that this small island, on which the temple of Zeus had been built, was called "the holy island", but it is clear that this term applies to the city of Tyre⁹³. Menander refers to this activity, when he states that Hiram "made the Eurychoros (Broad Place)-embankment" (*Ant.* VIII, 145)⁹⁴, meaning we believe the area, where the marketplace of the port (*Ἐδρονχωρία*)⁹⁵ was erected. At all events, these projects of Hiram give proof of the great engineering skill of the Tyrian builders, and remind us of the construction of the Millo in Jerusalem (I Kings 9 : 15), carried out, perhaps, with the help and plans of Tyrian engineers.

These ambitious construction projects demonstrate the stature of Hiram as king, as well as the great professional skill of the Tyrian artisans; they give evidence of strong internal organization and great wealth. At this time Phoenician technical proficiency began to influence

89 H. St. J. Thackeray/R. Marcus, *A Lexicon to Josephus*, Paris 1955, 209.

90 Cf. Liddell/Scott, 469: "... 2. raising, erection, ... cf. Men. Eph. ap. J. AJ 8.5.3." (= *Ant.* VIII, 146); see also Septuagint to I Chron. 22:19.

91 We accept Gutschmid's interpretation of the word *ἄστυ* (contra Movers 2/1 191) that is the large city compared with the city in the narrow meaning (*πόλις*) (Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 467); see also Liddell/Scott, 263.

92 Translated by R. Marcus. The parallel passage in *C.Ap.* I, 113 has been translated by H. St. J. Thackeray somewhat differently.

93 Jeremias, *Tyrus*, 8; cf. also i.a. the statement of Philo Byblius: "... ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ ἀγία νήσῳ" (apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* I, 10, 31) or in the writings of Meleager 'ὀβλιστη νήσων ἱερά Τύρος' (*Anthol. Graeca* XII, 256, 11); cf. also Ezek. 28:2.

94 = *C.Ap.* I, 118.

95 Cf. also Lehmann-Hartleben, *Antike Hafenanlagen*, 245 (contra Movers 2/1, 190 ff.); cf. also Josephus, *BJ* V, 139: "... the Hasmonians, ... both filled up the ravine, with the object of uniting the city to the Temple..." (the same verb — *χώω* — is used in both passages).

the neighboring peoples. Undoubtedly the great construction projects in Tyre, i.e. the *Ἐὐρωχώρας* which changed the face of the city, amazed local inhabitants, and their neighbors even more. Their influence, indeed, reached as far as Jerusalem. Hiram apparently built other public buildings, such as the king's palace. At this time there must have been great activity in the dockyards of Tyre, especially in the building of large ships for long journeys. The Bible gives evidence that the king of Tyre had a monopoly on sea transport (II Chron. 8 : 18). On the other hand, the building of the great southern port, which was artificial⁹⁶, must be ascribed to Ethbaal, as far as one can deduce from the archaeological soundings (see below Chapter VII).

Various industries — fishing, weaving, the production of purple dye and dyeing, glass-work, and small manufactures, including ivory-carving and metalwork — were to some extent concentrated in the kingdom of Tyre. When we add to these activities the great trading expansion along the Mediterranean, which may have begun even before the reign of Hiram, we can understand, why Tyre was epitomised as “trader of the nations” (Ezek. 27 : 3), “the crowning city” (Isa. 23 : 8), which was, in the eyes of its beholders, “of perfect beauty” (Ezek. 27 : 3). Undoubtedly Hiram's role in this development of Tyre was decisive.

While Tyre assumed dominion of the sea, which she was destined to retain for more than three hundred years, the situation on the mainland was different; there, David annexed to his kingdom the large cities of the valley of Jezreel and Galilee⁹⁷. Treaties with the kings of Geshur and Hamath, and victories over the small Aramean states which led to the stationing of garrisons in Damascus (cf. II Sam. 8 : 6) and elsewhere, gave David sole dominion over the trade and caravan routes to the rear of Tyre. There can be no doubt that the king of Tyre was vitally concerned with the expansion of David's realm, and he hurried to congratulate David — and not with empty hands⁹⁸.

96 Poidebard, *Un Grand Port Disparu Tyr*, 6 ff., 25 ff.

97 According to Eupolemos, a Jewish-Hellenistic historian (cf. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ III, 474-477) David also smote *Σουρον* king of Tyre and Phoenicia (cf. Freudentahl, *Hellenistische Studien* II, 115, 225). Freudentahl suggests that Eupolemos was influenced by Psalm 83. The name *Σουρος* (instead of *Σορ* = Tyros = Tyre) is mentioned in connection with an exchange of letters between Solomon and the king of Tyre. We cannot believe that there is any historical value to these letters whatsoever.

98 We must include in these payments the cedar trees brought to David by the Sidonians and Tyrians (I Chron. 22:4). Josephus places the Tyrians before the Sidonians! (*Ant.* VII, 335).

The control of all the trade routes in a single hand was certainly very beneficial to Tyrian trade, even if Tyre had to pay for transit privileges and the use of roads. It is possible that the Tyrian custom, known to us from the time of the Assyrian empire, of paying a tax for commercial privileges came into being at this period. The Bible hints that such a tax was paid to David. We read: “Hiram king of Tyre sent a delegation to David; he sent cedar logs, and with them carpenters and stonemasons, who built David a house” (II Sam. 5 : 11 = I Chron. 14 : 1). Tyrian skill and the building materials they possessed, constituted partial payment for the use of roads to the east and the south. That we do not read in the Bible what the king of Tyre received in exchange, cannot be interpreted as evidence that Tyre was a vassal state⁹⁹. The payment was in exchange for permission granted to the merchants of Tyre to travel over the roads of the kingdom of Israel. The builders of a great maritime empire, whose rule of the coast was undisputed, could not have been the vassal of a king on the mainland, even if they depended on his good will, and had to win his favor through gifts and payments.

Support for the contention that the Phoenician coast was independent is preserved in the quotation Josephus brings from the fourth book of Nicolas of Damascus, where we read that the king of Damascus, named Hadad, “became ruler of Damascus and the rest of Syria excepting Phoenicia. He waged war against David, king of Judaea, and . . . was defeated, . . .” (*Ant.* VII, 101)¹⁰⁰. Even the term that Hiram uses in regard to both David and Solomon — “my lord” (II Chron. 2 : 13, 14) instead of “my brother” (cf. I Kings 9 : 13) — is not sufficient proof that Hiram was a vassal. The covenant between Solomon and Hiram (“and they concluded an alliance” (I Kings 5 : 26 [EV 5 : 12]) was a covenant of equals.

Phoenician skill in construction and metal-work certainly influenced David's relationship with Tyre, which became very cordial toward the end of his life (I Kings 5 : 15 [EV 5 : 1]). We must understand in this spirit Josephus's declaration that Hiram “wrote to him (David), proposing friendship and alliance — *φιλιαν και συμμαχίαν* — (*Ant.* VII, 66)¹⁰¹.

99 I. a. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957, 59.

100 Note David's title in this quotation from the book of Nicolas of Damascus: “king of Judah” (*βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας*), a title applicable to King Herod. We feel sure of the veracity of the quotation. Hence we have before us a citation of King David in a non-Jewish source, of late origin, but which may be based on an ancient source.

101 Ewald holds that Hiram's grandfather, also named Hiram, is intended

It is doubtful whether the terminology suits the period under discussion but one thing is clear, the phrase *φιλικὰ καὶ συμμαχία* is equal to the Roman expression *Socius et amicus*¹⁰² of Josephus's own days. Perhaps Josephus attributed the relations existing during the reign of Solomon to the reign of David¹⁰³. Although the term is Roman, Josephus's account is based, of course, on II Sam. 5:11 (= 1 Chron. 14:1).

The verse in II Samuel, which occurs in the middle of the narrative of the victories of David, is not in its proper chronological place; if we look at the parallel text in Chronicles, we see that this verse opens a new account. Thus there is no need to go to the extreme of viewing this mission as a political-commercial delegation which forged an alliance between David and the king of Tyre¹⁰⁴.

The problem is whether Hiram himself sent messengers to David, for Hiram ascended the throne only toward the end of David's reign. Consequently, Kittel (and others) suggested that it was Abibaal, the father of Hiram, who sent the delegation¹⁰⁵. We believe that while Abibaal sent the mission, it was headed by the young Hiram, just as Toi, king of Hamath, sent his son Joram to congratulate David on the latter's victories over Hadad-ezer (II Sam. 8:10). Thus Hiram is mentioned as the sender of the messengers.

Another solution is to refer the verse to the very end of David's reign, when both kings ruled contemporaneously¹⁰⁶. Against this background, we can understand the reasons for sending a Tyrian delegation to congratulate Solomon upon his accession to the throne (I Kings 5:15 [EV 5:1]; cf. II Sam. 10:2). The author of I Kings claims that Hiram

sent his servants to Solomon — the king himself does not head the delegation — because "he had always been a friend of David". Was this the only reason? In the Septuagint (and also in Lucian's version) we find a somewhat strange text, according to which the servants of Hiram were sent to Jerusalem "to anoint Solomon (king) in place of his father David"¹⁰⁷. We are unable to offer an explanation of this version.

Another addition, apparently a kind of interpretation, is to be found in the Peshitta, which says concerning the purpose of the Tyrian mission to Jerusalem, "And Hiram sent to Solomon and congratulated him".

As a continuation of the story of the Tyrian delegation, we read of an exchange of letters between the kings. We may assume that the kings addressed each other as "my brother" (I Kings 9:13), according to the accepted diplomatic usage signifying equality of the parties¹⁰⁸. It appears that these negotiations continued for a number of years, for some time elapsed before "Solomon's royal power was securely established" (I Kings 2:46). Thus some years passed between the arrival of the Tyrian delegation in Jerusalem and the carrying out of the agreement¹⁰⁹, signified by the beginning of the building activities in Jerusalem in the fourth year of Solomon (I Kings 6:1)¹¹⁰.

Solomon appears to have welcomed the delegation from Hiram graciously. A sincere friendship developed out of this contact, culminating in the forging of an alliance between Solomon and Hiram (I Kings 5:26 [EV 5:12]). Bright sees in this alliance a continuation of the agreement between David and Hiram¹¹¹, but the covenant between Solomon and Hiram certainly went far beyond the "trade agreement" between David and Hiram. We feel that this "alliance" (I Kings 5:26

here (H. Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*³, III, Göttingen 1866, 307 note 1).

102 Cf. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ I, 402; King Herod held apparently this Roman title (*Amt.* XVII, 246). Cf. also the "covenant" between Judah Maccabee and the Roman people in I Macc. 8:20 (E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum*, Berlin 1913, 239 ff.).

103 Kittel holds that Hiram (or Abibaal) came to terms with David and that the agreement held during Solomon's reign (Kittel, *GVI*³ II, 216). Bright maintains that David, during the later period of his reign, signed an agreement with Hiram (Bright, *History of Israel*, 183, 191), although elsewhere he indicates that the signing of this treaty took place during the reign of Abibaal, but that no information about such an event has been passed on to us (*ibid.*, 183 note 43).

104 C. Schedl, *Geschichte des A.T.* III, 159, 239–241.

105 Kittel, *GVI*³ II, 205 note 3; Winckler does not accept the veracity of this verse (II Sam. 5:11) (Winckler, *GI* II, 198).

106 So Budde, *Samuel*, 223.

107 Cf. also *EA* 34.

108 Cf. I Kings 20:33; PRU V, 78; in general we base our assumption on the version in the book of Kings, wherein both parties sign the agreement as equals, despite the tendency in Chronicles to magnify Solomon at Hiram's expense. Our position is supported as well by Hiram's addressing Solomon as "my brother" (I Kings 9:13).

109 Fensham, *JBL* 79 (1960), 59–60; *idem*, *Suppl. VT XVII* (1969), 71 ff.

110 Tadmor argues for a co-regency of Solomon with his father for three years (*Encycl. Biblica* IV [1962], cols. 300 ff.). As the preparations for the building started in the fourth year of Solomon, this would also mean in his first year as sole ruler. In this respect it may be of interest to note that Eupolemos — perhaps only in order to magnify the glory of the Temple in Jerusalem and of its builder? — contends that Solomon began the construction during his first year (cf. also Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien* II, 210–211).

111 Bright, *History of Israel*, 191.

[EV 5 : 12])¹¹² was reciprocal, and that the note: "There was peace between Hiram and Solomon" (*ibid.*) expresses its real meaning. It is of utmost interest that Hiram proceeds Solomon in this context¹¹³. Thus one can say that the aim of the alliance was even more commercial than political¹¹⁴. We might surmise that the trips to Ophir (and other enterprises of which we do not know) were all covered in this agreement. The alliance between Hiram and Solomon was certainly of advantage to Tyre; on the one hand she was protected from attack by a neighbor who practically surrounded her (Israel territory certainly extended to the east of Tyre), and on the other hand, she was assured of access to the main trade routes on the continent.

At the time of the signing of the commercial treaty between Solomon and Hiram, Solomon was perhaps the stronger party, but by the end of twenty years the balance had shifted in favor of Hiram. In this connection we may note the tale told by both Menander and Dius of a young man, Abdemun¹¹⁵, who always solved the riddles set by Solomon, king of Jerusalem¹¹⁶. Dius adds details which are missing in the text quoted from Menander: the competition was originally between Hiram and Solomon; large sums of money were wagered upon results; Hiram failed first, and was only saved afterwards by Abdemun, who succeeded in posing problems that Solomon did not know how to solve. It is interesting that in these sources it is the Tyrian who excels in wisdom, recalling Ezekiel's description of the king of Tyre: "What, are you wiser than

Danel?" (Ezek. 28 : 3)¹¹⁷. Jewish legend, too, recalls an exchange of riddles between Solomon and Hiram¹¹⁸. When Josephus, himself, mentions this competition between Hiram and Solomon, it is Hiram who starts it, and it is Solomon who knows how to solve all the riddles (*Ant.* VIII, 143)¹¹⁹. The praise of Solomon as "a wise son" (I Kings 5 : 21 [EV 5 : 7]) is possibly the basis of these legends, but they certainly reflect the shrewd reply of a merchant to his new customer.

This is not the place to consider the great changes that took place in Israel, when Solomon opened the gates of his kingdom to the neighboring countries. We will merely point out that in the wake of the treaty with Tyre, came a long series of other agreements, such as the alliance with Egypt (I Kings 3 : 1; 9 : 16), and the agreement with the Queen of Sheba (I Kings 10 : 1-10).

The commercial treaty between Solomon and Hiram was based primarily upon an exchange of Tyrian building materials and technical assistance, for Israelite agricultural products and silver. Hiram was willing to satisfy Solomon's demands, but he required full recompense; this is a sign not of vassalage, but of equal status¹²⁰. Hiram's words are worthy of note: "You, on your part, will meet my wishes, if you provide the food for my household" (I Kings 5 : 23 [EV 5 : 9]). "Food for my household" here signifies maintaining the entire royal house, including the royal family, the servants, and the court¹²¹. The choice products specified also testifies to their royal destination¹²². The quantity of grain supplied by Solomon to Hiram appears to have been slightly more than sixty percent of the amount consumed in Solomon's own court¹²³. The

112 See also "B'rith" in *Encycl. Biblica* II (1954), particularly col. 348; (Hebrew); Albright, *BASOR* 121 (1951), 21-22.

113 Cf. also Kutsch, *BZAW* 105 (1967), 137.

114 Cf. the covenant between Asa king of Judah, and Hadad king of Aram, which was directed against the king of Israel (I Kings 15:19).

115 Cf. also Shalit's note 205 to his Hebrew translation of Josephus, *Ant.* VIII; Gutschmid sees in the tautology of *παῖς νεώτερος* (*c. Ap.* I, 120) — the epithet of Abdemun — a proof of Menander's literal translation of the Tyrian source (Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 480); Müller identifies Abdemun as a younger brother of Hiram! (J. G. Müller, *Des Flavius Josephus Schrift Gegen Den Apion*, Basel 1877, 137-138); עבד־חמון may have been his Phoenician name (cf. Harris, *GPhL*, 129); see also the Tyrian tyrant Abdemon who played a role in the history of Salamis (Cyprus) (Diod. Sicilius XIV, 98, 1).

116 Note the title of Solomon: Dius calls him "τύραννος Ἱεροσολύμων" (*C. Ap.* I, 114), Menander δ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς" (*C. Ap.* I, 120); cf. also the story of the queen of Sheba who came to Solomon in Jerusalem "to test him with riddles" (I King 10:1).

117 Cf. Sh. Spiegel, "Noah, Danel, and Job", *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, New York 1945, English Section, 305 ff.

118 Ginzberg, *Legends* IV, 141-142; VI, 288 note 36.

119 An additional proof of how accurately Josephus quoted his "Tyrian" sources.

120 Cf. also the expression "my brother" (I Kings 9:13); see also Sanda, *Könige* I, 252.

121 Cf. also the term מַכְלָה לְבֵיתוֹ ("food for his house[hold]") (I Kings 5:25 [EV 5:11]) or בֵּית וְלֶחֶם (a "house and maintenance") given by Pharaoh to Hadad the Edomite (I Kings 11:18).

122 The products are of the very finest. On olive oil see also Exod. 27:20; cf. also Ezek. 27:17 "wheat from Minnith, . . . oil . . .", as well as Jacob's statement to Asher (Gen. 49:20), and Moses's blessing (Deut. 32:24). The Chronicler relates that these provisions (with barley included) were given to the workers of Hiram (II Chron. 2:9 [EV 2:10]).

123 Cf. Sanda, *Könige* I, 106 and I Kings 5:2 (EV 4:22).

Chronicler gives a slightly different list of staple foods which he says were to be paid to Hiram's workers (II Chron. 2:9 [EV 2:10]). The payment was carried out on an annual basis, for it is written: "Solomon gave this yearly to Hiram" (I Kings 5:25 [EV 5:11]). We do not know what the balance of payment was, for although we are told what King Solomon paid, we do not know the amount of building material and technical assistance he received.

The Tyrian mission of technical assistance was headed by a man named Hiram (according to I Kings 7:13, where it is said that he was brought by Solomon) or Hiram-Abi (according to II Chron. 2:12 [EV 2:13], where he is sent by Hiram)¹²⁴. His father was a Tyrian and his mother a widow from the tribe of Naphtali (I Kings 7:14)¹²⁵ or Dan (II Chron. 2:13 [EV 2:14])¹²⁶. J. Liver has resolved the apparent contradiction by explaining that the tribal territory of Dan lay in the district of Naphtali¹²⁷.

Apparently the Danites and the Tyrians were closely connected even before the period of the Israelite monarchy. We have already seen that the Danites were "seasonal workers" in the ports of Tyre and Sidon (see above, Chapter IV). Evidently the Danites also excelled in metalwork. Aholiab, the principal assistant of Bezalel in the erection of the Tabernacle, was a Danite (Exod. 31:6). Perhaps this artistic tradition was an inheritance from the former inhabitants of Laish¹²⁸, who were closely related to the Sidonians (Judg. 18:3)¹²⁹. The name of Aholiab's

124 Generally the term *abi* is understood as "artist, master"; see also Giesebrecht, *ZAW* 1 (1881), 239 ff.; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 200; cf. also the translation of *New English Bible* ad loc.

125 Josephus has him bearing the name *Χειρωμοσ*, with his mother from the tribe of Naphtali and his father Uriah of Israelite origin (*Ant.* VIII, 76). It seems that the name *Ουριος* (Uriah) is either a corruption of *Τουριος* (so A. Shalit, his Hebrew translation of *Antiquities* in his notes 120-121 to *Ant.* VIII) or that Josephus had in mind *Ουρειας* (Uri) the father of Bezalel (Exod. 31:1). Josephus writes: "*Βασάηλος Ουρι*" (*Ant.* III, 105).

126 Thus also Eupolemos (apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 34,2).

127 *Encycl. Biblica* III (1958), col. 123; as a compromise between the genealogy of Kings and that of Chronicles rabbinic exegesis considers Hiram a Naphtalite on his father's side and a Danite on his mother's, and as a descendent of Oholiab (EV Aholiab) the Danite, chief assistant of Bezalel (see also L. Ginzberg, *Die Haggadah bei den Kirchenvätern*, Amsterdam 1899, 74-75; 100-101; idem, *Legends* IV, 295 note 61; Sanda, *Könige* I, 170).

128 See Budde's interpretation of this verse (Judg. 18:3): "eine mehr gewerbetreibende, wenig kriegerische Stadt" (Budde, *Richter*, 119).

129 Cf. also "Sidon abounding in copper/bronze" (*Od.* XV, 425).

father, Ahisamach, containing the element 'hî also suggests the period from which this information comes (cf. the many names containing this element from the time of David and Solomon). Furthermore, Aholiab is described as "an engraver, a seamster, and an embroiderer in fine linen with violet, purple, and scarlet yarn (Exod. 38:23; cf. Exod. 35:34-35). Both the textile and the purple-dye industries were among the main industries of Tyre. We may add that the names of the months *Siv*¹³⁰ (I Kings 6:1, 37), *Bul*¹³¹ (I Kings 6:38) and *Ethanim*¹³² (I Kings 8:2), which are associated with the construction of Solomon's Temple, are mentioned in late Phoenician inscriptions. Is it merely coincidence that in the Bible they are called by their Phoenician names?

Hiram's men brought the cedars from Mount Lebanon to the shore, bound them together in rafts, and floated them by sea "to the roadstead at Joppa" (II Chron. 2:15 [EV 2:16]); (the parallel passage in I Kings 5:23 [EV 5:9] says merely "the place you appoint"¹³³). Both the transport, and the unloading of the timber was carried out by Tyrian workers ("... and I [= Hiram] will have them broken up there, and you [= Solomon] can remove them..." (*ibid.*)).

In the account of the preparation of hewn stones for Solomon's buildings, the Bible states explicitly that the Gebalites (i.e. men of Byblos) worked alongside the men of Solomon and Hiram in the work of construction (I Kings 5:32 [EV 5:18]). Can we learn from this that the Gebalites were in some way subject to Hiram, king of Tyre? We do not believe so. On the contrary, because of their expertise in construction work, Solomon asked the Gebalites to participate in the preparatory work along with the Tyrian experts (cf. also Ezek. 27:9). At all events, during this period Gebal (i.e. Byblos) was an independent kingdom¹³⁴.

130 M. Lidzbarski *KI*, no. 99:4.

131 *KAI* nos. 14:1; 32:1; 38:2.

132 *KAI* nos. 37A:1,2; 41:4.

133 Montgomery regards the identification of "Jaffa" (Joppa) as "a good tradition" (Montgomery, *Kings*, 136). It seems to us that the author of Chronicles was influenced by the statement in the book of Ezra (3:7 "to the roadstead at Joppa"). Winckler disputes the transport of cedars via the sea. He holds that Solomon had his servants bring the trees over land (as did the kings of Assyria) from the Lebanon to Jerusalem (Winckler, *GI* II, 261-262). Josephus does not disclose the destination of the rafts (*Ant.* VIII, 54), yet Jaffa (Jopê) is given as the destination of the cedar-rafts during the Second Temple period (*Ant.* XI, 78).

134 Cf. the busts of Shishak and Osorkon, with the inscriptions of the Byblian kings 'Abi-baal and 'Eli-baal respectively (*KAI* nos. 5 and 6).

The plan of the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem was Phoenician, as we know from comparing the descriptions in the Bible with archaeological findings in Syria and along the Phoenician coast¹³⁵. The architects and chief builders in Jerusalem were certainly the servants of Hiram and not, as has been suggested, Egyptians¹³⁶. In recent years, Miss Kenyon has found some remnants of Solomonic buildings. "It is constructed of enormous blocks, up to 2 m. long and 90 cm. high. They have a peculiar type of boss and margins, which at Samaria has been shown to be Phoenician..."¹³⁷. The proto-Aeolian capital¹³⁸, which we know from excavations in Israel (from the ninth century B.C.E.), originated in Phoenicia as well¹³⁹. The great proficiency of the Phoenicians at this time in the building and applied arts has been amply demonstrated by Albright¹⁴⁰.

The temple in Jerusalem was not the only temple built by Phoenicians abroad. Herodotus tells us that the temple of Aphrodite (Urania) on the island of Cythera¹⁴¹ and the temple of Heracles (= Melqart) on the island of Thasos¹⁴² were built by Phoenicians.

Whether or not we accept the statement that the buildings in Jerusalem were completed in a period of twenty years (I Kings 9:10)¹⁴³, there can be no doubt that Hiram kept his part of the contract, a fact that shows the profitability of the enterprise. According to the account in the *Book of Kings*, Solomon was unable to meet his obligation to Hi-

135 K. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas I*, Leipzig 1933, 88 ff.; Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 110-115; Bright, *History of Israel*, 196 note 75; Kuschke, *BZAW* 105 (1967), 124 ff.

136 Only Eupolemos relates that Solomon turned to Pharaoh for assistance in carrying out his building plans (apud Eusebium, *Pr. Ev.* IX, 34). The Eupolemos story is naturally based on the Jewish legend that Solomon wrote to Pharaoh asking him to send builders to Jerusalem (cf. Ginzberg, *Legends IV*, 141); cf. also *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (ed. Mandelbaum), New York 5722-1962, I, 60. Why Leclant (J. Leclant, *Relations entre l'Égypte et la Phénice, The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilization*, Beirut 1968, 11) believes that Solomon built for his Egyptian wife a palace "qu'on peut penser inspiré par l'architecture égyptienne", we do not know.

137 Kenyon, *IEJ* 17 (1967), 276-277.

138 Barnett, *Archaeology IX* (1956), 91; cf. also chapter VII, note 96.

139 W. F. Albright, *Recent Discoveries in the Bible Lands*, New York 1955, 99.

140 Albright, *Eretz Israel V* (1958), 1* ff.

141 Herodotus I, 105.

142 Herodotus II, 44.

143 Cf. i.a. Sanda, *Könige I*, 251.

ram, for we read: "King Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee" (I Kings 9:11). However it may be that Hiram paid for them, for we learn that "Hiram sent a-hundred-and-twenty talents of gold to the king" (*ibid.* vs. 14)¹⁴⁴. "But when Hiram went from Tyre to inspect the cities which Solomon had given him, they did not satisfy him" (*ibid.* vs. 12). Just as Hiram had left Tyre to suppress the rebellion of the people of Kiti(on), had gone and cut down cedar wood on mount Lebanon, he now left Tyre for the mainland, in order to take over twenty towns in Galilee¹⁴⁵. Hiram, dissatisfied with the cities, called them "the land of Cabul"¹⁴⁶. According to Josephus, "Chabalon in the Phoenician tongue is interpreted to mean 'not pleasing'" (*Ant.* VIII, 142)¹⁴⁷. The Chronicler, on the other hand, tells us that "the cities which Hiram had restored to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there" (II Chron. 8:2).

There have been many attempts to resolve this contradiction between the Books of Kings and Chronicles¹⁴⁸. One gets the impression that the author of the Book of Kings recorded a historical fact, which the Chronicler found difficult to accept. Josephus also struggled with this problem and attempted to solve it by saying that Solomon made Hiram "a present of some cities in Galilee, twenty in number, which lay not far from Tyre; but when Eirômos went to them and looked them over, he was ill-pleased with the gift and sent word to Solomon that he had no use for the cities" (*Ant.* VIII, 142). Josephus's remark that the cities

144 Montgomery, *Kings*, 204-205.

145 Cf. also the account of Ahab going down to possess the vineyard of Naboth (I Kings 21:16). Thieberger goes wide of the mark by linking this visit of Hiram on the mainland with a meeting with Solomon (Thieberger, *Solomon*, 145).

146 This verse is translated (literally) in KJV "and he called them the land of Cabul unto this day". But how could Hiram call them Cabul "unto this day"? Even Josephus felt the contradiction, for he writes "and from that time on they were called..." (*Ant.* VIII, 142). Sanda also proposed to read the verb in the passive form "and it was called" (Sanda, *Könige I*, 253); this reading is accepted by Montgomery (*Kings*, 205). The *New English Bible* reads: "And so he called them the Land of Cabul, the name they still bear". But one does not need the impersonal use of the singular verb, for this form of expression ("and he called... unto this day") is a common term in the Bible, e.g. Deut. 3:14; Josh. 5:9; Judg. 6:24; II Sam. 6:8; II Kings 14:7.

147 "ὄν ἀρέσων"; apparently Josephus only paraphrases the Greek translation to this verse (III Kings 9:12).

148 Cf. also Rudolph's interpretation (Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 219).

were "not far from Tyre" fits in with Hiram's desire to expand his mainland territory. If so, why should he have returned them to Solomon? We have no new explanation to offer, for in both instances we have ancient historical traditions which cannot easily be dismissed.

An additional problem concerns the location of the "land of Cabul" (I Kings 9: 13), i.e., the town of Cabul and its environs¹⁴⁹. The Bible speaks of it lying in the land of Galilee, so we must seek this area near the kingdom of Tyre, on the one hand, and near the city of Cabul, east of the valley of Akko, on the other. In Jos. 19: 27 Cabul is mentioned as a border town of Asher¹⁵⁰. Kaufmann thinks that Cabul was

149 Graetz, *Geschichte* I, 313/14 note 5) and Sanda (*Könige* I, 253) emend the verse, relying upon the Peshitta: "and he (the people) called them (the cities) Cabul"; so that Hiram was not the first to designate them. On "the land of Cabul" cf. "Cabul" *Encycl. Biblica* IV (1962), cols. 6-8 and the many commentaries. The Septuagint translates "Cabul" as "border" (g'bul) (ἄβουλον); Josephus includes the following interpretations, in addition to that mentioned in note 147:

- a) Solomon gave Hiram many gifts, including the territory of some cities in Galilee, . . . , which lay not far from Tyre; . . . And from that time on they were called the Land of Chabalôn, . . . (*Ant.* VIII, 142).
- b) In *Vita* Chabalôlô is mentioned as a village in the vicinity of Akko (*Vit.* 213).
- c) *B.J.* (III, 38) states that Chabalôn is a fortress city in the Galilee on the border, not far from Akko.

The Jewish commentators interpret the name, e.g. Rashi: "muddy soil, wherein one's foot sinks and is caught"; Ralbag: "a sandy land that does not bear fruits". Eduard Meyer speaks of the "land of Cabûl" in Galilee ("Grenzbezirk Kabûl in Galiläa") (Meyer, *GA* II/2,124). Alt notes that the Land of Cabul, rather than the City of Cabul is spoken of and seeks out the territory east of the valley of Akko (Alt, *PJB* 33 [1937], 35). Alt indicates elsewhere that the ninth of Solomon's districts (I Kings 4:16), "in Asher and in-Aloth" contains a "cabul" (b'aloth is a corruption of b'kabûl" (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 84-85; 85 note 1). Alt rightly remarks that the Tyrians could be interested in gaining the "Land of Cabûl" only after the whole valley of Akko was already in their possession (*ibid.* 144, 366 note 1). Noth too looks for a region in the mountains of Galilee (M. Noth, *Die Welt des AT*², Berlin 1953, 51. Aharoni looks for the "Land of Cabul" in the valley of Akko and along the Phoenician coast up to the Litani River (Y. Aharoni, "Erez Kabul", in *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee*, Jerusalem 1965, 176 [Hebrew]). Kallai prefers to leave the question open (Z. Kallai, *The Tribes of Israel*, Jerusalem 1967, 66-67 [Hebrew]). Cheyne (apparently using the first edition of Josephus printed in Basle 1544) reads *Zaβουλων* instead of *Xaβουλων* (cf. B. Stade, *Bibliographie*, "Cheyne, The Land of Kabûl", *ZAW* 20 (1900), 204).

150 Thus i.a. Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 84 note 3.

outside the territory of Asher¹⁵¹. Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, distinguishes between two Galilees. One was called "Galilee of the Nations" (cf. Isa. 8: 23 [EV 9: 1]) and was in the tribal territory of Naphtali, near the Tyrian border; there Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities. The second was in the vicinity of Tiberias¹⁵². When Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in Galilee (I Kings 9: 11), he certainly did not give the king of Tyre an enclave inside Israel territory, but rather a tract of land in Galilee which bordered on the kingdom of Tyre.

In this connection, we must note Josephus's account of the Solomonic districts. (Graetz believed that Josephus had before him a "different" list of the division of districts¹⁵³.) Josephus says that the district of Gabarês (i.e. Ben-Geber) extended up to Mount Lebanon (*Ant.* VIII, 36). In Josephus's list, Achinadab, who is listed in the Bible as governor of Mahanaim (I Kings 4: 14), is said to have "administered all of Galilee as far as Sidon, and he was also married to a daughter of Solomon, named Basima" (*Ant.* VIII, 36)¹⁵⁴. The ninth district ("in Asher and Aloth"¹⁵⁵) is restricted by Josephus to "the coast about Akê (*ibid.*, 37). It is not clear, whether Akko was included in this division, but we strongly believe that it was not. Graetz's theory does not necessarily explain this discrepancy with the text of the Bible¹⁵⁶.

We may ask from what period the whole valley of Akko, from the Ladder of Tyre to Mount Carmel, was included in the territory of the kingdom of Tyre. We believe that this geographical situation already existed in the days of David. The census of David (II Sam. 24: 5-7)¹⁵⁷

151 Y. Kaufmann, *The Book of Joshua*, Jerusalem 1959, 225 (Hebrew).

152 Eusebius, *Onomastikon* (ed. Klostermann), Leipzig 1904, 72/73; cf. also the division of the Galilee into upper Galilee and lower Galilee given by Josephus (*B.J.* III, 35).

153 Graetz, *Geschichte* I, 309 note 1; this opinion has not been accepted by Z. Kallai ("The Biblical Geography of Flavius Josephus", *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Papers, I, Jerusalem 1967, 207).

154 Josephus here combines two governors into one: Ahinadab governor of Mahanaim, and Ahimaaz governor of Naphtali, who married one of Solomon's daughters.

155 Täubler, *Studien*, 133-134; we may add that in the list of districts, seven through twelve, no cities are mentioned (I Kings 4:14 ff.). The Septuagint's reading of *Maalath* instead of B'aloth (III Kings 4:16) led to many additional interpretations such as *Maaloth* = steps of Tyre (Simons, *Geographical Texts*, 352).

156 Cf. note 153.

157 Cf. the rendering of the Targum of II Sam. 24:7 עירי=עיר) כריכין=לקריין "מבצר" (*without צר*) cf. V. Aptowitzer, *Das Schriftwort In Der Rabbi-*

has no bearing upon our contention. There is no doubt that the meaning of vs. 7 ("They went as far as the walled city of Tyre and all the towns of the Hivites and Canaanites . . .") is that these towns were outside the kingdom of David, and this was its western border¹⁵⁸. The Bible says explicitly: "Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Akko and Sidon, of Aḥlab, Achzib, Ḥelbah, Aphik, and Rehob. Thus the Asherites lived among the Canaanite inhabitants and did not drive them out" (Judg. 1:31-32)¹⁵⁹. Moreover, from the account of the Tyrian delegation sent to David, we learn that Tyre had access to the Lebanon.

A. Alt has suggested that the region of Mount Carmel was lost to Israel in the century between David and Ahab, and that the change in cultus — signalized by the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal — was linked with changes in the political map¹⁶⁰. There can be no doubt that the coast, including the coastal cities, such as Achziv and Akko, belonged to the territory of the Tyrian kingdom; and that at the time that these towns were mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions they belonged to the Tyrian empire, and not to any Assyrian province formed from parts of the former kingdom of Israel. Nor do we find anything in the Bible that would contradict this statement. One should also remember that this period marked the beginning of a great expansion of the Tyrian holdings in the Mediterranean; could such a movement have been supplied solely from a small island? David's census-taking (II Sam. 24:6-7) must have been instructive to the king of Tyre, for he

nischen Literatur, III. & IV. Heft, Wien 1911, 92 (= XVIII. Jahresbericht d. Isr.-Theol. Lehranstalt in Wien).

- 158 On the location of the "stronghold of Tyre" see i.a. Dussaud, *ThS*, 11; Noth, *Josua*, 119; Z. Kallai, *The Tribes of Israel*, Jerusalem 1967, 183 (Hebrew). Tell-Mashouq; cf. also Judg. 3:3; see also Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 50 note 4. Noth believed that the valley of Akko still belonged to the kingdom of David (Noth, *Geschichte Israels*⁴, Göttingen 1959, 195 note 3). Simons views the "inclusion of Sidon and the stronghold of Tyre in the census of David" as an "astonishing exaggeration", for relations between David and the Phoenician cities were most amicable (Simons, *Geographical Texts*, 347 note 252). cf. also Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 86 note 5. Aharoni's view that David had conquered Ushu (= Mibzar Zor) does not appeal to us (Y. Aharoni, *The Conquests of David* according to Psalms 60 and 108, *Bible And Jewish History*, Studies in Bible and Jewish History dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver, Tel-Aviv 1971/72, 16-17 [Hebrew]).
- 159 This is also said in spite of the borders given by the book of Joshua to the Asherites (Josh. 19:24 ff.).
- 160 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 144.

demanded compensation in territory rather than in money. Tyre had need of the strip of land along the coast for security as well as for economic growth. From this time until the days of Nebuchadnezzar (with the exception of some short periods of time) this coastal hinterland belonged to the kingdom of Tyre, and the domination of the hinterland became one of the goals of Tyrian diplomacy.

Alt has called attention to the interesting fact that the consolidation of broad areas along the Phoenician coast into a united kingdom resembles the formation of the neighboring kingdoms: Israel and Aram¹⁶¹. This "coincidental" development sprang up, of course, as a result of the conditions prevailing at that time. Yet we cannot accept Albright's suggestion that Tyre was the capital of a federation of Phoenician cities (including Sidon), whose purpose was solely commercial, without territorial ambitions on the mainland¹⁶². It is unlikely that the Phoenician cities could overcome their characteristic divergence and rivalry. Although Sidon is mentioned (not as a political unit) in David's census, together with Mibzar Ṣor (= the stronghold of Tyre) (II Sam. 24:6-7), and although the sources are silent with regard to Sidon, from the time of Hiram until at least the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.), we do not believe that Sidon was subject to Hiram I. We have already noted above that at this time Byblos was independent.

Certainly in the days of Solomon¹⁶³, the land of Tyre reached as far as Mount Carmel in the south. Much later, at the time of the establishment of the Assyrian provinces of Dor and Megiddo, Mount Carmel was again the border of the Tyrian Empire, and it persisted as the natural border until the time of the Romans.

We may note that two sons-in-law of Solomon were appointed governors in the districts bordering the kingdom of Tyre (the districts of Dor¹⁶⁴ [I Kings 4:11] and of Naphtali [*ibid.* vs. 15]). Was this co-incidence? During this period, Solomon fortified a number of important cities in his realm, including "Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer" (I Kings 9:15).

161 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 25 note 2.

162 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 347 ff.

163 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 144.

164 Abraham doubts that the city of Dor was included in the district of Dor (I Kings 4:11) (A. Abraham, *Die Schiffsterminologie d. A.T.*, Leipzig 1916, 6). We hold, however, that there can be no doubt. The large Canaanite cities conquered by David are always mentioned together, as Beth-Shean, Ibleam, Dor, (En-dor), Taanach, Megiddo (Josh. 17:11); Beth-Shean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, Megiddo (Judg. 1:27); Beth-Shean, Taanach, Megiddo, Dor (I Cron. 7:29).

Alt saw in the building of Megiddo the erection of a fortress against Tyre, and he adds that such a fortification suggests that Solomon had to cede the whole bay of Akko to the Phoenicians¹⁶⁵. However, it appears that this project was not the erection of a fortress, but merely the fortification of a city that stood at an important cross-road. This later hypothesis is buttressed by the proximity of the words "the wall of Jerusalem" (I Kings 9 : 15), and we may interpret the "building" of Megiddo to mean the construction of a casemate wall with storehouses around a relatively small city¹⁶⁶. (Ahab's Megiddo was much larger.) Megiddo, therefore, should be considered as one of Solomon's "store-cities".

Yadin has shown the similarity of the layouts of both the gate and the casemate wall in Megiddo, Hazor and Gezer¹⁶⁷. In regard to the store-cities, we read : "... and he carried out all his cherished plans for building in Jerusalem, in the Lebanon and throughout his whole dominion". (I Kings 9 : 19)¹⁶⁸. The mention of Mount Lebanon, which belonged to the kingdom of Tyre, is surprising. Montgomery¹⁶⁹ suggested that "in Lebanon" is a later intrusion, and noted "the cryptic passage" in the Septuagint : τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου (III Kings 2 : 46c). Winckler saw behind these words an original Hebrew *ba'alôt hall' banon*, which he interpreted to mean the "mines" of Lebanon¹⁷⁰.

We have already noted Hiram's sole ownership of Mount Lebanon, from which he took the cedars needed for the erection of the Tyrian temples and the buildings in Jerusalem. Even in Josephus's lists of the districts of Solomon, the district of Gabarēs (i.e. Ben-Geber) reaches "up to Mount Lebanon" (*Ant.* VIII, 36), that is, Mount Lebanon was not included in Solomon's districts. The same conclusion is suggested by the verse that states that Solomon sent workers "to Lebanon in monthly relays of ten thousand..." (I Kings 5 : 28 [EV 5 : 14]); these workers came to assist the workers of Hiram.

Solomon's fortifications were certainly connected with the rebellions that broke out both within the kingdom of Israel itself and in the states David annexed to the kingdom, i.e. Edom and Damascus (I Kings

11 : 21 ff.)¹⁷¹. The interest taken by the king of Tyre in these rebellions is understandable, for the caravans of the Tyrian merchants passed eastward through Damascus and southward through Edom, to Ophir, the land of gold¹⁷².

We read : "King Solomon built a fleet of ships at Ezion-geber, near Elath on the shore of the Red Sea, in Edom. Hiram sent men of his own to serve with the fleet, experienced seamen, to work with Solomon's men; and they went to Ophir and brought back four hundred and twenty talents of gold, which they delivered to king Solomon" (I Kings 9 : 26-28)¹⁷³. The parallel text in Chronicles, which is shorter, begins : "Then Solomon went to Ezion-geber..."¹⁷⁴, and the amount of gold is four hundred and fifty talents (II Chron. 8 : 17-18). Josephus also gives us the whole account, adding a geographical note : "the land anciently called Sôpheir, but now the Land of Gold; it belongs to India (*Ant.* VIII, 164, 176). Josephus agrees with the Septuagint in calling "the Land of Gold" Sôpheir¹⁷⁵. However, the accuracy of the Massoretic Ophir has been proved by an eighth century ostrakon found at Tell Qasile¹⁷⁶, on which is inscribed the legend : "Gold of Ophir to Beth-horon, 30 shekels"¹⁷⁷. This completely disproves the theory proposed by those who relying on Josephus and the Septuagint, held that Ophir was in India. The suggestion that Ophir is to be sought in the Arabian peninsula is likewise not convincing, for caravans could have brought gold from there to the kingdom of Israel; a navy and the assistance and expertise of Hiram would not have been necessary. Consequently we prefer to follow Albright, who seeks Ophir "on the African coast in the general region of Somaliland"¹⁷⁸ perhaps in the vicinity of the Land of Punt, whence the ships of Queen Hatshepsut brought also gold to Egypt in former times¹⁷⁹.

171 Tamar (I Kings 9:18) against Edom (cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 208), and Hazor against Aram-Damascus.

172 Cf. also E. S. Hartum, *Encycl. Biblica* I (1955), col. 163; A. Herrmann, Ophir, *PW* XVIII/1 (Stuttgart 1939), cols. 647-649.

173 Cf. J. Braslavy, "The Tarshish Ships, Ezion-geber, and the Ophir Sailings", *Elath — 18th Archaeological Convention*, Jerusalem 1963, 30 ff. (Hebrew).

174 Montgomery holds that the word "ר" (= then) shows that the original document apparently contained the exact date (Montgomery, *Kings*, 204).

175 Σωφίρα, Σουφιρ, Σωφηρα.

176 Maisler (Mazar), *Eretz Israel* I (1951), 67 (Hebrew); Albright, *Recent Discoveries*, 94.

177 Maisler (Mazar), *ibid.*, table X.

178 Albright, *ARI*⁴, 133.

179 Breasted, *AR* II, § 265; cf. also the midrash about a rich man who lived

165 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 60 note 1; 144.

166 Taanach, not Megiddo is the capital of the fifth Solomonic district (I Kings 4:12).

167 Yadin, *IEJ* 8 (1958), 80 ff.; Yadin, *BAr* XXXIII (1970), 66 ff.

168 = II Chron. 8:6.

169 Montgomery, *Kings*, 209.

170 Winckler, *ATU*, 175.

We have learnt that in the dockyards of Ezion-geber Solomon built a fleet (*ʾnī*)¹⁸⁰, in which the servants of Hiram sailed with the servants of Solomon to the land of Ophir and brought back a great quantity of gold (I Kings 9: 26–28); i.e., the ships (or ship) belonged to Solomon, and the crews consisted of servants of Hiram and servants of Solomon. The following chapter in the Book of Kings provides a partial explanation of this joint commercial venture¹⁸¹: “Besides all this, Hiram’s fleet of ships, which had brought gold from Ophir, also brought in from Ophir cargoes of sandalwood and precious stones” (I Kings 10: 11). Here it is explicitly said that the fleet belonged to Hiram; nothing is said of Solomon or of his servants. Sanda believes that we have two sources before us, but that the whole enterprise was undertaken by both kings, even if skill and experience were on the Tyrian side¹⁸². It seems to us that I Kings 10: 11–12 constitute a gloss to the gold and precious stones mentioned in the tale of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, where they are inserted. In the list of the sons of Joktan, Ophir is mentioned immediately after Sheba (Gen. 10: 28–29); gold is brought from Ophir (Isa. 13: 12) and from Sheba (Isa. 60: 5; Psalms 72: 15); in Ezekiel (27: 22) dealers from Sheba deal not only with gold but also with every kind of precious stone.

We are told explicitly that Hiram “sent ships under the command of his officers and manned by crews of experienced seamen, and these, in company with Solomon’s servants, went to Ophir and brought back . . . gold” (II Chron. 8: 18). We have here a description of an essentially Tyrian operation carried out through the use of an Israelite port.

There is no need to stress the importance of these trips to Ophir or the profit they brought to the two kings; Jehoshaphat’s attempt to renew these voyages (I Kings 22: 49) is proof of their significance.

Both the Tyrian merchants and Solomon reaped great commercial benefits from the trips to distant lands. The standard of living rose in Israel, particularly in Jerusalem, and a new urban class accustomed to luxuries, was formed.

The voyage of “ships of Tarshish” to the Land of Gold was possible

in the days of King David and whose son went in a boat to Africa (A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* IV, Jerusalem 1938, 145 [Hebrew]).

180 In the Septuagint only one ship (singular) (III Kings 9:26 or 10:11).

181 Cf. the Phoenician shipping companies in the Report of Wen-Amon (I, 59 — II, 2) (*ANET*², 27a); and the partnership between Jehoshaphat of Judah and Ahaziah of Israel (I Kings 22:49–50; II Chron. 20:35–36).

182 Sanda, *Könige* I, 280.

only because of the weakness of Egypt. This joint maritime project must have been strongly influenced on the one hand by the decline of Egypt and its division into many principalities toward the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and on the other hand by the great demand for precious metals. This attempt to break the Egyptian monopoly¹⁸³ by taking gold directly from Ophir was certainly regarded by Egypt as a hostile act, and was one of the many factors in the worsening of relations between Egypt and the northern kingdoms of Tyre and Israel. The warm welcome and hospitality which rebels against Solomon — Hadad of the royal house of Edom (I Kings 11: 14–22) and Jeroboam son of Nebat (*ibid.* vs. 40) — received in Egypt are sufficient evidence of Egyptian hostility to Israel, and we may assume that it extended to Tyre, too.

Sanda has attempted to determine the amount of time the trips to Ophir took¹⁸⁴. The biblical calculation of three years for one trip cannot be accepted literally¹⁸⁵. There cannot have been many such trips, for we learn that all the gold and precious commodities brought from the Land of Ophir did not suffice to pay Solomon’s debts or to satisfy his luxurious tastes. To add to the difficulties and expenses of the trip, the partners had to go to the comparatively distant Red Sea to begin the venture.

We read: “The king had a fleet of merchantmen (*ʾnī taršīš*) at sea with Hiram’s fleet; once every three years this fleet of merchantmen came home, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes¹⁸⁶ and monkeys¹⁸⁷” (I Kings

183 Cf. Egypt’s status as a source of gold in the El-Amarna period (e.g.: *EA* 20:52).

184 “about eight or nine years”, Sanda, *Könige* I, 251.

185 Albright, *ARI*⁴, 134; Bright, *History of Israel*, 194; cf. also the circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician sailors in the days of Pharaoh Necho, which lasted “three years”, where it is explicitly said that the sailors went ashore to sow and to reap the wheat (Herodotus IV, 42); or the story of Eumaios, who tells Odysseus that the Phoenician merchant vessel stayed a full year in the harbor (Od. XV, 455 ff.); it left it in its third year.

186 On an Assyrian relief from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (i.e. about a century after Solomon), we see a Phoenician merchant with his servant, who is holding two monkeys (R. D. Barnett, *Illustrations Of Old Testament History*, London (1966), Fig. 20).

187 Cf. also Albright, *ARI*⁴, 212 note 16; Wörpel has suggested that the word *tukkiyim* (I Kings 10:22) is an onomatopoeic word meaning “turkey” (*ZAW* 79 [1967], 360). This theory, however, was shattered by Bernhardt (*ZAW* 81 [1969], 100), who pointed out that the turkey came to Europe

10:22). Just as the Egyptians called certain of their vessels by geographical names, apparently to designate their destinations, e.g. ship-of-Byblos (*kḫnt*) or ship-of-Crete (*kftj[w]*)¹⁸⁸, the Tyrians apparently called the large ship in which they travelled great distances ship-of-Tarshish.

This Tarshish-ship, designed for freight transport, brings to mind Pliny's statement that a Tyrian invented the cargo ship¹⁸⁹.

Sanda has suggested that this is an account of another joint enterprise, this one on the Mediterranean Sea. He believes that this was the price that Hiram had to pay for permission to participate in the trip to Ophir¹⁹⁰. While the Book of Kings speaks of "a fleet of merchantmen" (*ni taršiš*), the parallel text in Chronicles reads "a fleet of ships plying to Tarshish" (*niôt lammelek hōlkôt taršiš*) (II Chron. 9:21). The Septuagint, too, understood Tarshish to be the goal of these voyages, for in both *Kings* and *Chronicles* *ni(ôt taršiš* is translated "ship(s) from Tarshish". The use of the term "ship of Tarshish" in the Bible shows the influence of the Phoenicians upon the Hebrews in maritime matters. (We may note that while the Septuagint version of *Kings* speaks of "a ship" of Solomon, it attributes "ships" to Hiram). To this we must add Josephus's account that Solomon had "many ships stationed in the Sea of Tarsus, as it was called" (*Ant.* VIII, 181). On the other hand, we know from Herodotus, that, while Tarshish in Spain was an important source of silver (cf. also Ezek. 27:12), it was only by accident that the Greeks discovered this in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.¹⁹¹. But it seems to us that the name of the ship should be connected with Albright's suggestion that the term "Tarshish" is associated with trading post or refinery¹⁹². The kinds of merchandise

from North America in 1524 C.E. This is only one of many strange etymologies which we have encountered in our research.

188 Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 47 ff.

189 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 208.

190 Sanda, *Könige* I, 290.

191 Herodotus IV, 152.

192 Albright, *BASOR* 83 (1941), 21-22; idem, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 348, 361 note 103; P. Haupt suggested a similar explanation already in 1902 (cf. Gesenius¹⁷, 776: שרש). Significantly Eusebius does not mean by "Tarshish" a city in Spain; here Eusebius quotes Josephus's statement on the Tarshish of Asia Minor (*Ant.* VIII, 181). Generally he writes "Carthage" for Tarshish, following the Septuagint (Eusebius, *Onomastikon* [ed. E. Klostermann], Leipzig 1904, 100 ff.). However if we accept the notion that this trading-ship was called after the town of Tarshish (in

enumerated in the Bible suggest that there is no reference here to the western parts of the Mediterranean Sea, but that the voyages spoken in I Kings 10:22 were, in fact, to Ophir¹⁹³.

The ships of Solomon and Hiram returned from Ophir with the very same products brought back from the Land of Punt by the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut's five ships¹⁹⁴. The same merchandise is also mentioned in "The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor"¹⁹⁵. Josephus, too, speaks of the same commodities, but instead of *tukkiyim* (monkeys) he speaks of Ethiopians (*Ant.* VIII, 181). (Reading *kušiyim* instead of *tukkiyim*?)¹⁹⁶

In the historical books of the Bible, we read of Solomon's trade in horses¹⁹⁷ and chariots carried out through the medium of "royal merchants" (I Kings 10:28-29; II Chron. 1:16-17). Despite corruptions in the text, the general content can be understood¹⁹⁸. Albright accepts the report of trade in chariots with Egypt as reliable, but suggests that "Egypt" be deleted from verse 28 as dittography. In opposition to Albright, most scholars read Mušri (*mšry*) instead of Egypt (*mšrym*) in verses 28-29: that is, the Land of Mušri (somewhere in Anatolia) known from Assyrian inscriptions¹⁹⁹. We believe that the reading Mušri

Cilicia? in Sardinia? in Spain?) we could proponder such an early contact with a distant country already in the days of Hiram.

193 Cf. also Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 224.

194 Breasted *AR* II, § 265.

195 A. Erman, *The Literature of The Ancient Egyptians*, London 1927, 34. There are two types of monkeys in that story (line 165); cf. also Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 461: signs 32 and 33; Albright, *ARI*⁴, 133-134, 212 note 16.

196 These Ethiopians (or perhaps as Weil suggested חושיים instead of חוכיים [Loeb Classical Library edition of *Josephus*, vol. V 669 note g]) could again be taken as a hint to Africa, cf. also II Chron. 12:3: חוכיים (together with Libyans and Cushites), S. Ahituv, *Encycl. Biblica* V (1968), cols. 1043-1044 (Hebrew), and Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 234.

197 In connection with the horses that were stabled in Jerusalem and in the chariot cities (I Kings 10:26; cf. also I Kings 5:6 [EV 4:26] and Septuagint III Kings 2:46i), Josephus declares that their riders "were dressed in tunics of Tyrian purple" (*Ant.* VIII, 185 (cf. Ezek. 23:6)). In a preceding passage Josephus mentions among the gifts and tribute tendered to Solomon, "sea-purple garments" (*Ant.* VIII, 185). Neither of these details is to be found in the Bible.

198 See also Albright's suggested correction of these verses in his review of Montgomery's *Kings*, *JBL* 71 (1952), 249.

199 See i.a. Montgomery, *Kings*, 226 ff.; but cf. also Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), 143 ff.

may be correct in verse 28 (and this would fit to the mentioning of the other country : Que [in Cilicia]), but that there is no need to amend verse 29. The Book Ezekiel (27 : 14) speaks of trade in horses between Tyre and Togarmah in Cilicia. It is astonishing, indeed, that the king's merchants traded with Egypt and Cilicia, so distant from Jerusalem, and it is conceivable that we have here another joint venture of Solomon and Hiram²⁰⁰. This thesis may receive additional support from the Septuagint, which translates "by sea" (*κατὰ Θάλασσαν* = *bayyam*) instead of "by their means" (*b'yādām*)²⁰¹ (I Kings 10 : 29)²⁰². In this connection we recall the "ships for transport of horses" mentioned by Arrian in his description of the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great²⁰³.

We may assume that this trade, which was a royal monopoly²⁰⁴ and very profitable, came to an end, when the Twenty-second Dynasty arose in Egypt in the second half of the tenth century B.C.E.²⁰⁵ and Pharaoh Shishak began to dream of re-establishing Egyptian suzerainty in Canaan. It seems unlikely that Hiram I was alive when Shishak rose to power; certainly he died before the Egyptian king appeared upon the political scene in Asia. Shishak's contemporary must have been Baal-ezer, son of Hiram (*C.A.p.* I, 121).

Even as the reign of Solomon constitutes Israel's age of splendor, so the reign of Hiram comprises the (first) Golden Age of Tyre. It was Hiram who laid the foundations for the great Tyrian sea empire that knew no equal in ancient history. Hiram knew how to exploit the opportunities presented by the crumbling state of the "Great Powers". The weakness of Egypt, the unification of the tribes of Israel under David who imposed his rule over the peoples of Syria, the peaceful relations between Hiram and Solomon, the unification of the Arameans around Damascus — all these were important factors that raised the Tyrian kingdom to greatness. It is not surprising that Hiram, perhaps

200 W. F. Albright, *The Biblical Period From Abraham to Ezra*, New York 1963, 54.

201 On the term *b'yad* in Ugaritic texts see also Virolleaud, *Syria* XIX (1938), 131 ff.

202 There is also a reading *κατὰ Κιτιαν* instead of "the Hittites", which suggests (the town of Kition on) Cyprus.

203 Arrian II, 19, 1; see also F. Miltner, "Seewesen", *PW* Suppl. 5 (Stuttgart 1931), cols. 947 ff., 958.

204 On the king as a royal merchant cf. also the letter of Burnaburiash to Akhenaton (*EA* 8).

205 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 448.

also as a result of his help in construction of Solomon's Temple, entered Jewish legend. Who knows, moreover, what place he held in Tyrian/Phoenician legend? At least three later kings of Tyre were named after him.

A local legend links Hiram's name with a monumental structure, the grave of an important personage. This monument, known to-day as the "tomb of Hiram"²⁰⁶, was first examined scientifically by Renan's mission²⁰⁷, which found therein a monolithic coffin, whose cover was in the shape of a pyramid. There is no historical evidence whatever that this grave belongs to Hiram the Great; but it is significant that the people associated this imposing edifice with his name.

As the power of Tyre rose, Tyre became "the mother of the Sidonians"²⁰⁸, for it was from Tyre alone that the Phoenician colonial movement spread across the sea. The change in title from "king of Tyre" to "king of the Sidonians", which we know of in the time of Ethbaal symbolizes this historical process.

We must distinguish between two principal stages in the rise of Tyre, which culminated in the reign of Ethbaal. First, Tyre succeeded in reducing the major Phoenician cities (except Arvad) to second rank; and second, she imposed her sovereignty upon them. We learn this from the history of Byblos, the names of whose kings are unknown to us for approximately a century and a half (ca. 900-ca. 750 B.C.E.). Moreover, we know that Ethbaal founded a Tyrian trading post in the vicinity of Byblos, i.e., he extended his sphere of influence and thus reduced Byblos to a minor rank.

Hiram I, who merited the title "the Great", made Tyre a mighty kingdom and left his son an empire that stretched from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. His reign marked the extension and intensification of Tyrian power on the seas, a dominion that was absolute for more than two hundred years. A local poet sang in admiration: "Your frontiers are on the high seas, your builders made your beauty perfect" (Ezek. 27 : 4).

206 G. Perrot/Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, III: Phénice-Cypre, Paris 1885, fig. 113; cf. also R. Boulanger, *Lebanon*, Hachette World Guide, Paris 1955, 196.

207 Renan, *Mission*, 297 ff., planches XLVII-XLVIII; the coffin belongs to the Roman period.

208 Hill, *Coins of Phoenicia*, CXXXIII, 338.

The House of Hiram

Authentic sources for the history of Tyre under Hiram's successors are meager indeed, being confined to the list of kings who ruled Tyre from Hiram's days until the founding of Carthage. This historical document has been preserved in Josephus's *Contra Apionem* (I, 121–125¹. There we read :

- (121) On the death of Hiram the throne passed to his son Balbazer², who lived forty-three years and reigned seventeen.
- (122) His successor Abdastratus³ lived thirty-nine years and reigned nine. The four sons of his nurse conspired against him and slew him. The eldest of these, Methusastartus, son of Deleastartus⁴, mounted the throne and lived fifty-four years and reigned twelve.
- (123) He was followed by his brother, Astharymus⁵, who lived fifty-eight years and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Phelles⁶, who seized the throne and reigned eight months, having reached the age of fifty, when he was slain by Ithobal⁷, priest of Astarte, who lived forty-eight years⁸ and reigned thirty-two.

1 The translation is by H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, vol. 1 (Loeb Classical Library).

2 Harris suggests (with a question mark) that this name was Ba'al-'azôr (*GPhL*, 90). Albright identifies the name with the name of a later king, known from an Assyrian inscription: Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri (*The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 3 f.). The possibility that the name Βαλεζωρος which Josephus gives for Ithobal's son and successor, is also a corruption of Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri is rejected by Albright, who prefers the traditional rendering Ba'al-'azôr. See also Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 241. One of the Phoenician bronze bowls found in Nimrud by Layard (now in the British Museum) bears the inscription: *lb'Vzr spr'* (= belonging to Ba'al-'azôr the scribe), (Barnett, *Eretz-Israel VIII* [1967], 4* and plate IV, 2).

3 Cf. Harris, *GPhL*, 130; Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 334.

4 Niese has De-Astartos, a reading which should be preferred.

5 Cf. Harris, *GPhL*, 135–136.

6 *Ibid.*, 137. Cf. *KAI* no. 49:20.

7 Harris, *GPhL*, 84.

8 We shall see that sixty-eight years should be preferred to forty-eight years

(124) He was succeeded by his son Balezor², who lived forty-five years and reigned six.

(125) He, in turn, was succeeded by his son Mettên⁹, who lived thirty-two years and reigned twenty-nine; and he by Pygmalion¹⁰, who lived fifty-eight years and reigned forty-seven. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya.

Josephus took this list from the account of Menander of Ephesus "who translated the Tyrian records from the Phoenician language into Greek speech" (*Ant.* VIII, 144). The historic significance of this document, apparently based upon the annals of the kings of Tyre which were in turn an abstract of the annals of each king (e.g. the annals of Hiram; *Ant.* VIII, 144–149; *C.Ap.* I, 113–120), and its re-working by Hellenistic historiographers, have already been discussed in connection with the reign of Hiram.

Josephus also quotes chronicles of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians (*αι' Ιθωβάλον τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξεις*) in Menander's name [*Ant.* VIII, 324]¹¹.

We can assume that the reduction of the document to a mere list of names was the work of Josephus himself. He was interested in proving his claim for the antiquity of the Jewish people, based on the testimony of neighboring peoples (*C.Ap.* I, 70). The list of Tyrian kings furthered his goal, for it attested to the relationship between Solomon and Hiram a hundred and fifty years before the founding of Carthage, which was dated by the Hellenistic historians about forty years before the first Olympic games and about sixty years before the founding of Rome.

The assumption that Josephus did indeed edit Menander to produce a brief list proving early relations between Tyre and Israel is bolstered by his not having exploited the unusual opportunity provided by the mention of Ithobal, i.e. Ethbaal. This could have been used to advertise the family ties between the royal houses of Tyre and Israel, in a polemic

(cf. Katzenstein, *IEJ* V [1955], 195; Albright, *The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 7).

9 Harris, *GPhL*, 108. Cf. also Chapter VIII note 2.

10 *Ibid.*, 136. Cf. also Chapter VIII note 3.

11 Josephus alone preserves the dates of the kings of Tyre. *Αι' Ιθωβάλοῦ τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξεις* (*Ant.* VIII, 324) parallels *Αι τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις* (*C. Ap.* I, 116). Cf. also "the book of the acts of Solomon" (I Kings" 11:41), the source of the history of Solomon's reign set down in the book of Kings, or "the annals of the kings of Judah", in general.

against the enemies of the Jews and an attempt to glorify the Jewish people.

The reliability of the document is uncontested by scholars, and the fact that the numbers which pertain to the life-spans of the kings or their regnal years are not rounded, underscores the veracity of the list and its contents ¹².

In the light of the above, it is regrettable that so many errors have been introduced in copying the years of the kings. Josephus's calculations clearly show that from the time of Hiram's reign until the founding of Carthage in the seventh year of Pygmalion, one hundred and fifty-five years and eight months passed (*C. Ap.* I, 126) ¹³. By means of this number, Josephus preserved (in Menander's name, of course) the date of the founding of Carthage according to Tyrian sources. All other sources about the date of Carthage's foundation derive from Hellenistic historiographers.

If we add up the regnal years of the various kings — for example, in the most important manuscript, the *Codex Laurentianus*, or in the early editions (including some scholarly editions) — we find that the total number falls short of that advanced by Josephus, sometimes by as much as twenty years ¹⁴. This phenomenon has opened the door to a flood of emendations on the part of editors and scholars. However, in order to describe the events of this period in Tyrian history we must arrive at a fixed chronology that would seem to be plausible.

E. Meyer's proposed chronology ¹⁵ (with two suggested revisions), on the one hand, and H. Tadmor's new chronology of the kings of Israel ¹⁶ on the other, show the possibility of contact between Hiram and David and Solomon, as well as between Ethbaal and Ahab, as we shall discuss later.

Clearly any absolute chronological scheme must take into account a new Assyrian inscription which establishes an absolute date, 841 B.C.E. ¹⁷. In this inscription, Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri is mentioned as king of Tyre. Relying on Josephus's list of the kings of Tyre, we assume that this name,

12 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 80.

13 Elsewhere Josephus rounds off the number as "more than 150 years" (*C. Ap.* II, 18).

14 See Niese's introduction to *Contra Apionem*, especially pp. XI–XIII; and the tables in J. N. Peñuela's "La Inscripción Asiria IM 55644 y la Cronología de los reyes de Tiro", *Sefarad* XIV (1954), 41 ff.

15 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 125 note 2, 437–438.

16 *Encycl. Biblica* IV (1962), cols. 245 ff., especially cols. 300, 302.

17 Safar, *Sumer* VII (1951), 11–12, pl. II.

somewhat corrupted, appears as Balezor, son of Ethbaal. We cannot accept Albright's contention that the name Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri cannot be identified with Balezor (*Βαλεζωροζ*) for linguistic reasons, but rather that it so closely resembled the preceding or following name that it was deleted from Josephus's list ¹⁸. His contention is weakened by the many errors that have been introduced in both the Greek and Latin editions.

In disagreement with most scholars, we ascribe to Balezor twenty-six years of rule (instead of six), reducing by twenty years the reign of Mettên, the grandson of Ethbaal. (This correction applies to the figures of E. Meyer, Gutschmid ¹⁹, Rühl ²⁰, Niese ²¹, and others ²². Albright ascribes these twenty years to the Tyrian king whose name was omitted, in his opinion, from the list of the kings of Tyre ²³). Our suggestion is strengthened by the fact that otherwise Mettên would have been only three years old upon his accession to the throne of Tyre. While this is possible, it certainly was not desirable from the Tyrian point of view, since this was a period of political turmoil, marked by two campaigns of Shalmaneser III against the nations of the west ²⁴. To this we must add as a general consideration the continuity of Tyrian colonization, a phenomenon difficult to imagine under an unstable regime. Moreover, Mettên's successor, Pygmalion, ascended the throne at the age of eleven. The youth of Pygmalion is attested to by other sources in classical literature. Thus, according to the accepted chronology, two successive kings would have been children at the outset of their reigns. Taking into consideration the fact that the *Codex Laurentianus* speaks of nine regnal years of Mettên, we may say that all the arguments for the transfer of these twenty years from the reign of Mettên to the reign of Balezor accord well both with the calculation of the regnal years of Balezor and with the new Assyrian synchronism.

Our calculations are corroborated by the classical tradition regarding the founding of Carthage, preserved in the writings of Timaeus, who

18 Albright, *The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 5.

19 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 485: 29 years.

20 Rühl, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 48 (1893), 575–576: 29 years.

21 B. Niese (editor), *Flavii Josephi Opera*, V (Berlin 1889), XII: 29 years.

22 For the latest reconstructions of a Tyrian chronology, cf. Harden, *Phoenicians* (1962), 51, 53; Jidjian, *Tyre* (1969), 245–46; Lipiński, *RSIO* 45 (1970), 63–64; Cross, *BASOR* 208 (1972), 17 note 11.

23 Albright, *The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 7; cf. Albright, *BASOR* 141 (1956), 27.

24 Albright also pointed to the unlikelihood from the Tyrian point of view (Albright, *The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 7 note 2).

was born in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E., in Sicily, at a time when a large part of the island was controlled by Carthage; his statements about the age of the Phoenician colonization in Sicily are, therefore, based on good sources and traditions²⁵. According to Timaeus, Carthage was founded thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad, that is, in 814/813 B.C.E.²⁶. This date is also found in other classical authors²⁷. It is likely that a number of them relied in one way or other upon Timaeus, which attests to their high regard for his work. This date is contested only by Pompeius Trogus, who gives 825 B.C.E.²⁸ for the founding of Carthage. This date is advanced by no one else. It was again propounded by J. Liver²⁹, because by this date he could retain the synchronism between the fourth year of Solomon ("...in the fourth year of Solomon's reign... he began to build the house of the Lord", I Kings 6:1) and the eleventh year of Hiram, which Josephus gives as the year, in which Solomon began to build the Temple in Jerusalem (*Ant.* VIII, 62). We have already raised doubts as to the correctness of this synchronism of Josephus in Chapter V.

Archaeological findings in Carthage have been so meager³⁰ that we cannot come to any definite conclusion in regard to the ten years separating Timaeus's date from that of Pompeius Trogus.

Having considered the difficulties raised by the record of years in the list of the kings of Tyre, we return to our analysis of the list itself. There

25 R. Laqueur, "Timaios", *PW* (2. Reihe), VI, Stuttgart 1937, cols. 1076 ff.

26 Timaios apud Dion. Halic., *Antiq. Rom.* I, 74.

27 Cicero, too, speaks of 38 years (*De Republica* II, 23 [ed. K. Ziegler]). According to Velleius Paterculus, Carthage existed 667 years (= 667 + 114 = 813 B.C.E.) (Vel. Paterculi *Hist. Rom.* I, 12, 5; in a number of editions I have discovered DCLXXII instead of DGLXVII). Another calculation is based upon the founding of Utica 287 years before the founding of Carthage, according to Aristotle (*De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 134). According to Pliny, the cedar beams in the temple of Apollo in Utica lasted for 1178 years in the same condition as when they were first installed (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 216). Pliny wrote his book in 77/78 C.E., hence 1178/77 — 78/77 = 1101/1100 — 287 = 814/13 B.C.E. Servius, in his commentary on the Aeneid, writes that Carthage was built sixty years before the founding of Rome in 753 B.C.E. (Servii *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* I, 12).

28 Seventy-two years before the foundation of Rome (753 + 72 = 825 B.C.E.), Justin, *Epitome Pomp. Trog.* XVIII, 6, 9; *Pomp. Trogi Fragmenta* (ed. O. Seel) (Leipzig 1956), 9; (Orosius, *hist.*, 4, 6).

29 Liver, *IEJ* 3 (1953), 112 ff.

30 Harden, *IRAQ* IV (1937), 85 ff.; Harden, *Phoenicians*, 66.

we read that following the death of Hiram I, the Tyrian throne was occupied by his son Balbazer (*C.Ap.* I, 121) who reigned seventeen years, i.e., ca. 935 to ca. 919 B.C.E. Balbazer³¹ was forty-three years old at his death that is, he was born in 962/61 B.C.E. or in the eight or ninth regnal year of Hiram, when the latter was twenty-seven years old.

The reign of Balbazer saw the rise of a new and powerful enemy, Pharaoh Shishak, founder of the Twenty-Second Dynasty in Egypt. Under his rule, Egypt grew so strong that she was able once more to constitute a force on the international scene. However, in the end, Shishak's attempt to renew Egyptian hegemony over the "province of Canaan" was frustrated; it concluded with a campaign of pillage in the land of Israel.

The appearance of the Pharaoh in the land of Israel was accompanied by other important phenomena which are only hinted at. In the famous relief on the outside of the south wall of the great Karnak temple in which Pharaoh Shishak I triumphs over the kneeling captives, one of the accompanying inscriptions reads: "... smiting the chiefs... of all the lands of the Fenkhu..."³². Along the same line of bravado we note a fragmentary inscription which represents Pharaoh Shishak addressing Amon and offering him the tribute of the land of Haru (= Greater Syria) and Nubia³³.

As far as Tyre was concerned, Shishak tried to support Byblos, restoring that city's power and renewing Egypt's contact with it³⁴. This involvement with Byblos could only mean an attempt on the Pharaoh's part to break Tyre's commercial and maritime predominance. Undoubtedly Shishak had not forgotten the trips to Ophir initiated and carried out by Tyre, which constituted a blow against Egypt's near-monopoly of the gold trade. We can assume that Balbazer was not indifferent to these hostile diplomatic machinations. The failure of Shishak's scheme can no doubt be partially credited to the energetic reaction of the Tyrian monarch. Despite the efforts of Shishak (and apparently of his son and successor Osorkon I³⁵), Byblos did not regain the position of eminence it had enjoyed during the Bronze Age, al-

31 It is a curious coincidence that the successors of both Hiram and Solomon, Balbazer and Rehoboam, each ruled seventeen years. Furthermore, the reign of the son of Hiram was exactly half the length of his father's.

32 Breasted, *AR* IV, § 719.

33 *Ibid.*, § 724.

34 Cf. *KAI*, no. 5.

35 *KAI*, no. 6.

though it remained outside the sphere of direct Tyrian domination. The line of the kings of Byblos at this period was a line of succession, as far as we can judge from the inscriptions found at the excavations of Byblos related to this time ³⁶.

During the reign of Abdastratus, son of Balbazer, Byblos was governed by Eli-baal, known to us from his votive-inscription on the statue of Osorkon I ³⁷. This inscription, as well as that of Abi-baal on the statue of Shishak I, shows that by the end of the tenth century B.C. Phoenician writing was so cursive that it had influenced even the lapidary script. This points to the constant and widespread use of the Phoenician alphabet, and further indicates the high level of Phoenician civilization. The statue of Shishak suggests the constancy of Egyptian foreign policy, which apparently bore little fruit, for undoubtedly Eli-baal wanted to express Byblos's independence from Egypt. The line of succession appears to come to a (sudden?) end with Shipit-baal I. We shall deal with this break in the following chapter.

We must examine events on the Philistine coast from a similar perspective. In the absence of documents it is, of course, difficult to ascertain to what extent Egypt tried to restore the maritime tradition of the Philistine seaports, but it was not successful in establishing its aim — the overthrow of Tyrian control of the sea. The decline of the Philistine port cities could not have been due solely to the weakening of the Hebrew states following the division of the Davidic kingdom. It appears to us that the silence of the sources lends itself to only one interpretation, namely, that no port on the coast of the Land of Israel was able to compete with Tyre ³⁸. Furthermore, we find no allusions whatever to any maritime rivalry of note between the Philistine seaports and mighty Tyre. This conclusion is important in relation to the rule of Balbazer. It fits in well with the uninterrupted success he enjoyed in the expansion of Tyre's sea empire. The seventeen years that Balbazer reigned saw the continuation of the effort initiated by his father. Another indication of this is provided by the continuity of the dynasty of Hiram in Balbazer's successor.

36 Latest publication (with all the bibliographies) in *KAI*, nos. 4-7. See also Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 158-160.

37 *KAI*, no. 6; Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 158.

38 It was Hiram who supplied the sailors and the maritime experience to Solomon; nothing is said about sailors from the Philistine coastal cities. On the other hand, some scholars argue that the Philistines served as mercenaries in the wars inland.

During the reign of Balbazer the kingdom of David was split into two parts: the northern Israelite kingdom, bordering on the kingdom of Tyre, and the kingdom of Judah in the south. The division of the kingdom, and the weakening of Judah by the invasion of Shishak (I Kings 14 : 25-27; II Chron. 12 : 2-10) ³⁹ led to the loss of the Tyrian merchants' most important market for luxury items, Jerusalem, as well as the loss of contact with Ophir. But this small loss was more than compensated for by Tyre's gain in another area.

The consolidation of Aram-Damascus as a powerful, united Aramean state began with the revolt of Rezon, "who fled from his master Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah" (I Kings 11 : 23) during the reign of Solomon, and became the founder of a new state with Damascus as its capital (*ibid.*, 24). The power of Aram-Damascus grew gradually, reaching its climax at the time of Ben-hadad I ⁴⁰, the contemporary of Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah. It was then the leading state among all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, and it held this position, with some breaks, for more than a century and a half, eventually swallowing up the smaller Aramean town-states (cf. I Kings 20 : 24). Damascus was on the main road from the West to the East, and consequently this new state became an important factor in the political calculations of the merchant-kings of Tyre. It can be assumed that the territorial aspirations of the new state were extended in all directions except the west, and that it sought to expand especially to the south, where the main road ran from Tyre to Damascus via the northern territory of the kingdom of Israel.

The unification of the Aramean tribes around Damascus played into the hands of the Tyrian king. It is, of course, difficult to know to what extent the constant warfare among Tyre's neighbors affected Tyrian trade with those lands or Tyre's relations with Israel and Aram-Damascus. We may assume that the geographical proximity as well as business instinct prompted Tyre to extend the hand of friendship to Aram-Damascus, for it was through Damascus that the merchant caravans passed, heading east, south, and north. Tyre was repaid for its benevolent non-intervention by respect for its territory, and also by facilities granted to its traders. By inducing their neighbors to buy luxury articles, the

39 Mazar, *Suppl. VT* IV (1957) 60 ff.

40 It is beyond any doubt that in the campaign against Baasha king of Israel "the commanders of [Ben-hadad's] armies" (cf. I Kings 15:20) were involved, while the king himself remained in Damascus (perhaps because of old age?).

Phoenicians stimulated their desire to imitate the luxury of the merchant-princes of the sea. Consequently the Tyrian merchants were prepared to pay all necessary transit taxes and tributes in order to carry out their business effectively. Henceforth luxury items and small handicrafts streamed uninterruptedly into the kingdom of Aram, and many such have been unearthed in archaeological excavations in various locales in greater Syria, beginning with this period.

The ivories of Samaria and of Arslan-Tash, although from a later period, and the stela erected by Ben-hadad I in honor of Melqart (see below), can in one way or another throw some light on this little known period. The "trading quarters" in Damascus and Samaria (I Kings 20: 34) are but small examples of the interlocking, international world trade in which Tyre, the "merchant of the nations" excelled. Our knowledge of these matters is very scanty despite the fact that this institution apparently provided a framework for the maintenance of international trade⁴¹.

Certainly from the second half of the tenth century B.C.E. i.e. from the latter part of Hiram's reign and through the reigns of his immediate successors, one can follow the great Phoenician mercantile expansion in the Mediterranean. Generally one speaks about "colonization", but this expression is erroneous⁴². The Phoenicians did not colonize, as did the Greeks who left their homeland in order to find new places because of the land-hunger in their overpopulated towns. Phoenician colonization was built on trading posts, built like fortresses, easily defensible owing to their geographical characteristics, and always provided with a well-protected harbor⁴³. According to the classical tradition, these trading places were established by Tyre alone⁴⁴; Melqart, the Tyrian Baal, was the founder and patron of them all.

Only after Tyre had become the leading city on the Phoenician coast,

41 Cf. also — in the Persian period — the Tyrian "streets" in Jerusalem (Neh. 13:16) or the Tyrian "camp" in Memphis (Herodotus II, 112).

42 Cf. also Thucydides VI, 2, 6: "... The Phoenicians at one time had settlements all around Sicily. They fortified headlands on the sea-coast and settled in the small island adjacent, for the sake of trading with the Sicels;..." (translated by B. Jowett, in *The Greek Historians* I, New York 1942, 852).

43 Preference was given to small islands not far from the mainland (similar to Tyre!), e.g., Thasos (off the coast of Thrace), Motya (off the western coast of Sicily), Gades and Tartessos (= Cadiz and Tartessus in the vicinity of Cadiz).

44 I.a. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 76; Meleagros *Anthol. Graeca* VII, 428, 13.

and had at her disposal a strong and large fleet, could she venture such enterprises. As long as the Sea-Peoples ruled the seas, such ventures had been impossible. Thus we have to reckon that regular voyages to distant places and the permanent establishment of trading centers took place from the time of Hiram, as already said. These ventures were no longer based on coastal navigation and agents in foreign harbors⁴⁵. The state — the king and the great merchant princes — had become the entrepreneur.

From Menander we have learned of a Tyrian stronghold in Cyprus (see Chapter V). From Cyprus the Tyrian merchants went either to Rhodes (cf. Septuagint I. Chron. 1: 7 = Gen. 10: 4; Septuagint Ezek. 27: 15) and on into the Aegean sea⁴⁶, or via Crete⁴⁷ to Libya⁴⁸ and Tunisia⁴⁹, to Malta and Gozo⁵⁰, to Sicily⁵¹ and Sardinia⁵², and along the northern coast of Africa as far as Spain, even passing through the Straits of Gibraltar to Gades⁵³ and Tartessos⁵⁴. In the retrospect of our days, the culmination of all these ventures was the foundation of Carthage in North Africa in 814/13 B.C.E. This "New City" served the mother town as a real colony. It became Tyre's main emporium in the west and served as a huge warehouse and mercantile base. Much later, Carthage expanded both its continental territory and its colonial possessions in the western Mediterranean.

Albright has shown that the archaic Phoenician inscriptions both from

45 Cf. the *hbr* (the companies) between Sidon and Werket-El in Tanis, Egypt (*ANET*², 27a note 18).

46 Cf. Herodotus II, 44 and Thucydides I, 8. The denial of any Phoenician enterprises in the Aegean Sea (cf. J. Beloch, *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. 49 [1894], 111–132) belongs to the past; we believe that the Tyrian merchants came to Greece, but they never colonized there. (Cf. the story of the Phoenician ship which stayed for more than a year in the same Greek harbor, trading and bating, *Odys.* XV, 455).

47 Dunbabin, *The Greeks*, 40 ff.

48 A Tyrian source tells us about the foundation of Auza in Libya (= North Africa) by Ethbaal, the father-in-law of Ahab (*Ant.* VIII, 324).

49 E.g. Utica which was founded in 1101 B.C.E. according to the classical historians (cf. note 27).

50 Harden, *Phoenicians*, 63.

51 Cf. Thucydides VI, 2, 6.

52 Cf. the Phoenician settlements: Nora (cf. Albright, *BASOR* 83 [1941], 17 ff.), Tharros, Sulcis, and Karalis (cf. i.a. Harden, *Phoenicians*, 39; Moscati, *Phoenicians*, London 1968, 208).

53 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 90 ff.

54 A. Schulten, *Tartessos*², Hamburg 1950; Meyer, *GA* II/2, 94 ff.

Cyprus and from Sardinia belong to the first half of the ninth century B.C.E.⁵⁵; these inscriptions, which are inscribed on local stone, certainly do not belong to the first visits of the Tyrian merchants. On the other hand, we may say that the classical dates for the foundation of Utica in North Africa⁵⁶ and Gades in Spain⁵⁷ ca. 1100 B.C.E. are too early. But we feel strongly that the Tyrian traders had penetrated these regions already in the second half of the tenth century B.C.E.⁵⁸. We doubt that the famous "ships of Tarshish" were called after the Spanish town of Tartessos (40 km. north of Cadiz)⁵⁹; we prefer the notion of Albright that Tarshish means "smelting plant"⁶⁰, and thus Tartessos was only one of many "Tarshish" towns, but it became the most famous.

After the death of Balbazer, the throne was occupied by Abdastratus, who ruled nine years (approximately 918–910 B.C.E.) and died at the age of thirty-nine. According to the list of the kings of Tyre, Abdastratus was the son of Balbazer (*C.Ap.* I, 122). If, however, we note Balbazer's age at the time of the birth of Abdastratus, justifiable doubts arise as to whether the former was his father. Abdastratus was born in 948 B.C.E., at which time Balbazer was only thirteen years old and Hiram only forty.

It is true that Abdastratus certainly belonged to the royal Tyrian house, to the dynasty of Hiram. Other facts attest to this: 1) the transfer of sovereignty unmarked by disturbances — for we hear of none; 2) the coup carried out by the four sons of the nurse (cf. below) — to keep a nurse certainly is an indication of a family of rank — shows that the assassination apparently took place in the palace. On the other hand, the age of the murdered king is corroborated by the age of the assassins (supporting the reliability of the unrounded numbers in the list of the kings of Tyre); Abdastratus was born in 948 B.C.E. and the two eldest sons of the nurse were born in 951 and 946 B.C.E., according to their ages reported in the list of the kings of Tyre (*C.Ap.* I, 122–123).

If we assume, however, that Abdastratus, too, was a son of Hiram, we then have two children who ascended their father's throne bearing names referring to the principal deities of Tyre: the eldest named Balbazer, after

55 Albright, *BASOR* 83 (1941), 20.

56 See note 49.

57 Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* I, 2, 4.

58 Contra J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I, 2, Strassburg 1913, 245 ff. and Carpenter, *AJA* 62 (1958), 35 ff.

59 Contra A. Schulten, *Tartessos*², Hamburg 1950, 28.

60 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 347; cf. Chapter V note 192.

Baal (i.e. Melqart, the Baal of Tyre), and the second named Abdastratus, that is, "servant of Astarte". We have already noted that it was Hiram who pulled down the two temples of Melqart and Astarte in order to rebuild them.

If we have already touched upon the question of the divine element in the royal names, it is worthy of mention that combinations built on Baal and Astarte were common in Tyre and recur in the names of the kings on the list. Never do we encounter, however, a royal name which has the element Melqart (unlike the Punic names). This is surprising, but it was no doubt intentional, and originated in the religious outlook prevalent in Tyre. Another phenomenon, as yet unexplained has aroused philological speculations. This is the appearance of the shortened name, such as Hiram (there were four kings who bore this name; none was called Ahiram), or Metten (appearing three times in the list of kings and once as the name of a priest of Baal — he was undoubtedly a Tyrian — in the days of Athaliah [II Kings 11 : 18]) or Baal king of Tyre in the days of Esarhaddon (cf. Chapter XI). This phenomenon appears only in Tyre.

Abdastratus was murdered by the four sons of his nurse in approximately 910 B.C.E. The account in Josephus of the nurse's four sons is not devoid of scribal errors. In this work, we rely on the version published by Niese, in which only three brothers are mentioned. The fourth name is missing; therefore a number of versions mention a fourth brother, but without naming him. Other scholars have thought to discover the missing name in the first name, given as *Μεθουσαστατος*. This name has been interpreted as *μεθ ον Αστατος* that is "after him Astartos". (Of course, this version calls for a slight correction, from the plural to the singular⁶¹.) Another correction, based on the view that we have a coregency here, interprets the name *Μεθουσαστατος* as "Astarte with him". These changes have led to the creation of a nameless king, called, for simplicity's sake, "the usurper", who ruled, according to Movers, twelve years⁶²; according to Gutschmid he was an anonymous coregent alongside the legal monarch⁶³. All these corrections arise from the desire to bring the sum of the regnal years of the kings of Tyre up to the total figure advanced by Menander (or Josephus) for the period commencing

61 The shortened name Astarte is, of course, the equivalent of the (personal) names, Anat or Baal (Albright, *The New Assyro-Tyrian Synchronism*, 6 note 2).

62 Movers, 2/1, 341.

63 Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 481–482.

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with Hiram and ending with the founding of Carthage — one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. This figure, as we explained above, has an authentic historical tradition behind it.

None of these emendations seems acceptable to us. The inclusion of the name of the father of only one of the assassin-brothers does not detract from the historicity of the list and certainly cannot be adduced as proof for any of the above-mentioned theses. On the contrary, it seems to us that the inclusion of *Δελαίαστартος* as the name of the father of the eldest son, together with the names of the brothers implies his paternity of the other three (or perhaps the name of the eldest's father was included because of his [the son's] long reign). Menander only stresses that the rebels were the sons of the nurse of the assassinated ruler. The name *Μεθουσίαστартος* seems Semitic enough to enable us to recognize it as a compound like others we are familiar with, such as Mot-Baal⁶⁴. Therefore we accept Niese's reading that after the assassination, the first-born son among the rebels, named Methusastartus son of Deleastartus, ascended the throne. He lived fifty-four years and ruled over Tyre for twelve (approximately 909–898 B.C.E.). After his death, the throne was ascended by his brother, Astharymus (Astarte-Ram?), who lived fifty-eight years and reigned nine (approximately 897–889 B.C.E.). Astharymus was killed by his brother Phelles, who ruled only eight months.

During these twenty-two years, Tyre was governed by a tyrannic regime that was unable to strike roots and found a new dynasty. At this juncture, Tyrian expansion in the Mediterranean received a new impetus, which Movers attributes to the exodus of the aristocratic Tyrian families from their homeland in the wake of the oppressiveness of the new regime; it was they, then, who were responsible for the founding of colonies and trading stations in the Mediterranean basin⁶⁵.

The rule of "the nurse's sons" came to an end, when Phelles (as well as the fourth brother, perhaps, unless he had been killed earlier) was put to death by Ethbaal, priest of Astarte, who reigned in his stead. With the ascension of Ethbaal to the Tyrian throne a new chapter in Tyre's history was ushered in. She now became "... the famous city, whose strength lay in the sea, she and her inhabitants..." (Ezek. 26:17).

64 EA 255, 256; ANET², 486b; Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 319; Harris, *GPhL*, 116.

65 Movers, 2/1, 345.

CHAPTER VII

Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians

When Ethbaal¹, priest of the goddess Astarte (*C.Ap.* I, 123)², ascended the throne of Tyre, he was thirty-six years old. He reigned thirty-two years (approximately 887–856 B.C.E.) and died at the age of sixty-eight³. Ethbaal's title and position in Tyre on the eve of the coup d'état seem to testify to his links with and perhaps relation to the royal house of Hiram. This theory is affirmed by Josephus who claims that Jezebel "came of a line of kings" (*Ant.* IX, 123); the Bible only says that "she is a king's daughter" (II Kings 9:34). Furthermore, the priestly class in Tyre was generally related to the royal family. Thus the sister of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, wed her uncle, who was the priest of Melqart

1 Harris, *GPhL* 84; P. J. van Zyl, *Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of "Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika"*, 1966, 150 ff. Niese writes *Ειθώβαλος* (cf. also his note to the different readings in *C.Ap.* I, 123); Thackeray, *Ἰθώβαλος* (*C. Ap.* I, 123); Marcus, *Ἰθώβαλος* (*Ant.* VIII, 324). In the Bible the name is written *יזבל* (I Kings 16:31); in the Septuagint *Ἰεθεβάαλ*. Cf. also Koehler/Baumgartner, 100. Tubail of Tyre (Ethbaal II?) is mentioned in a stele of Tiglath-Pileser III (Louis D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, Royal Ontario Museum, Occasional Paper 23, 1972, 18/19; I am much indebted to Dr. Levine for having kindly allowed me to see parts of his manuscript before publication). Ethbaal (III?) ruled over Tyre at the time of Nebuchadnezzar (*C. Ap.* I, 156; *Ant.* X, 228). Cf. Ethbaal, king of Byblos (*KAI* no. 1), and Tuba'lu, crowned king of Sidon by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (*ANET²*, 287b).

2 Tabnit and Eshmun'azar, kings of Sidon, were, like Ethbaal, priests of Astarte (*ANET²*, 505a). In *Midrash Samuel*, chapter 2 (beginning) we read: "Jezebel was the daughter of (idolatrous) priests". The question arises, where did this tradition originate?

3 The reading that Ethbaal was forty-eight when he died (thus Niese, and others) does not withstand critical examination (cf. Katzenstein, *IEJ* 5 (1955), 195). We must add that so young an age for Ethbaal does not correspond with the age of his daughter Jezebel, who was killed with her young son, Jehoram, king of Israel (II Kings 9) in 842 B.C.E. The same applies to the number of forty years suggested by Theophilus (Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum*, Oxford 1970, II, 22). For Ethbaal would then become a father at the age of one year and a murderer at the age of eight!

and second to the king⁴ — the latter position possibly resulting from the former.

Movers maintains that Ethbaal was the son of Abdastratus⁵. His suggestion is based upon his chronology, which differs from the one we have adopted here. We find it difficult to accept the idea that during the entire twenty-two years of their rule, the usurpers did not touch the son of the king they had killed.

According to our calculations, Ethbaal was born ca. 922 B.C.E., that is, when Balbazer, son of Hiram, was still king of Tyre, and Abdastratus was twenty-seven years old. Ethbaal was, therefore, thirteen years old, when the nurse's sons seized control of Tyre. We doubt that he could have then been the "chief priest" of the goddess Astarte, because of his tender years⁶. And, as a priest would he not have had a legitimate claim to the throne, and so have been considered dangerous by the rebels? At any rate, he retained the privileges of chief priest even after becoming king.

While the Bible speaks of Hiram I as: "the king of Tyre" (II Sam. 5: 11; I Kings 5: 15 [EV 5: 1]; 9: 11), Ethbaal's title in the book of Kings is "king of the Sidonians" (I Kings 16: 31)⁷. Josephus calls Ethbaal "king of the Tyrians and Sidonians" (*Ant.* VIII, 317; IX, 138; in shortened form, "king of the Tyrians", *Ant.* VIII, 324)⁸. What was the historical significance of these changes of title? We should bear in mind the double meaning of "Sidonian", which sometimes stands explicitly for the inhabitants of Sidon, and sometimes for the Phoenicians, as it is used both in the Bible (cf. I Kings 5: 20 [EV 5: 6]) and in the poems of Homer. The later coins of Sidon (from the second century B.C.E.) bearing the inscription "belonging to (the city of) the Sidonians, the metropolis of Cambe (= Carthage), of Hippo, of Citium, of Tyre"⁹

4 Justin XVIII, 4, 5; Meyer, *GA* II/2, 123.
 5 Movers 2/1, 345. The very name Abdastratus ("servant of Astarte") prompts the suggestion that it was he (as father?) who appointed the young Ethbaal (his son?) to serve the goddess whose name he bore. Cf. II Sam. 8:19, "David's sons were priests".
 6 For the minimum age for priests in Israel cf. II Chron. 41:17 (twenty years); Num. 8:24 (twenty-five years); Num. 4:3 (thirty years).
 7 Sanda comments on the parallelism in the titles of Tabnit and Eshmun'azar, kings of Sidon (Sanda, *Könige* I, 408). See also note 2.
 8 Joh. Zonaras in his *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* II, 13 (ed. Dindorf) speaks of Jezebel as the daughter of the king of Tyre and Sidon. But it is clear that Zonaras depends here on Josephus (as he also does in his definition of the geographical site of Sarephtha [= Zarephath]).
 9 B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², Oxford 1911, 797.

must be considered more as boasting than as historical evidence. Apparently in the time between Hiram I and Ethbaal the kings of Tyre had enlarged their power to such an extent that they could assert dominion of all southern Phoenicia, and call themselves "kings of the Sidonians", i.e., of the Phoenicians¹⁰.

There is another possibility, namely that Ethbaal was the priest of Astarte in Sidon, and that his *coup d'état* brought about the fusion of the city-states of Tyre and Sidon¹¹. This event could then be dated to the year when Ethbaal took possession of the throne of Tyre.

The process which led to Tyre's supremacy over her neighbors (including Sidon and its dependencies) reached its peak in the last years of the first decade of Ethbaal's reign. The *terminus a quo* of this amazing development was the third decade of the ninth century, when Ahab, king of Israel, took to wife "Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians" (I Kings 16: 31), sometime between 876 and 872 B.C.E. We learn from a quotation by Josephus from Menander's Greek adaption of the "Book of the Chronicles of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians" that Ethbaal founded two colonies, Auza in Libya, and Botrys, north of Byblos (*Ant.* VIII, 324). This testifies to Ethbaal's desire to widen the boundaries of his territory to encompass the northern section of the Phoenician coast. By means of Botrys, the Tyrian king was able to keep an eye on the nearby city of Byblos and thus draw it under Tyrian sway (cf. also Ezek. 27: 9). In this connection we wonder whether it is mere coincidence that the list of kings of Byblos terminates with Shipit-baal I, who reigned at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the ninth century B.C.E. (i.e., on the eve of the revolt of Ethbaal in Tyre), and is renewed in the second half of the eighth century with Shipit-baal II who is mentioned in the documents of Tiglath-Pileser III¹². Although we are fully aware that this silence of the sources cannot be used as proof, the fact itself is worthy of mention.

The title "king of the Sidonians" remained in use for more than 170 years. We find that the Tyrian governor residing in Carthage (on Cyprus) calls his sovereign, Hiram II, "king of the Sidonians"¹³, at the same time that Tiglath-Pileser III speaks of him as "Hiram the Tyrian"¹⁴.

10 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 126.
 11 Thus Winckler, *KAT*³, 130. But his suggestion that Sidon became independent again after the death of Ethbaal is by now certainly obsolete.
 12 Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 160.
 13 Cooke, *NSI* no. 11; *KAI* no. 31.
 14 *ANET*², 283a; Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 123, 125.

This fact is most important for the proper evaluation of Assyrian documents.

One thing stands out in the Assyrian inscriptions that speak of the Phoenician coastal cities during this period of Tyrian hegemony, namely that Tyre is always mentioned first. Of course, it is possible that the cities were always listed in a fixed geographical order, from south to north, beginning with the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, when the Assyrians renewed their contacts with the Phoenician cities, through the time of Sennacherib. In the ninth century, the name of Sidon still appears alongside that of Tyre, but it disappears in all the inscriptions from the days of Tiglath-Pileser III¹⁵ until Sennacherib's description of his campaign against King Luli (= Eloulaios) of Tyre. Here we are confronted with a new phenomenon: in the inscriptions of Sennacherib Luli is merely called "king of Sidon"¹⁶. (this, of course, is propagandistic in intent.) Yet Luli, "king of Sidon", fled from the city of Tyre to Cyprus to escape the Assyrian king¹⁷. This escape is depicted upon an Assyrian relief showing the flight of the royal Sidonian (= Tyrian) family from a city on an island, that is from Tyre¹⁸. Hence we can say with certainty that from the time of Ethbaal until the end of the eighth century B.C.E. the city of Sidon with its dependencies was an integral part of the kingdom of Tyre, at first perhaps as a vassal state, but eventually as part and parcel of the Tyrian empire.

In this connection we note the sentence cited by Josephus from Menander, that is from the annals of Tyre, declaring that in the days of Eloulaios and Selampsas, the king of the Assyrians, Sidon belonged to the Tyrian kingdom, for at the time of the invasion by the Assyrian king, Sidon rebelled against Tyre and surrendered to the Assyrian con-

15 Hence von Landau concludes that the omission of the king of Sidon attests to the unity of the two cities from the time of Ethbaal until Hiram II, even though during this period Sidon may have been separated from Tyre briefly (W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, Heft 1 [Leipzig 1893], "Die Inschriften Hiram II, König der Sidonier," 17—29). In 1955 Saggs published two "new" letters (XII—XIII) from Nimrud which mention Tyre and Sidon. The editor stresses that the chronology is not clear (Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 126 ff.). It seems to us that these two letters must be attributed to the time of Sargon (see chapter X, pp. 232 ff.). In addition, if there is new documentary material that can be attributed to the period of Tiglath-Pileser III, again Sidon is not mentioned (Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII [1956], 121 ff.).

16 I.a. *ANET*², 287b.

17 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 309.

18 Barnett, *Archaeology* IX (1956), 93 fig. 9.

queror (*Ant.* IX, 284 ff.). Consequently Ethbaal's title in Josephus's writings, "king of the Tyrians and Sidonians"¹⁹, accurately reflects the political situation at that time.

Eissfeldt maintains, more cautiously, that Ethbaal "apparently brought Sidon under Tyre's sphere of influence"²⁰.

The status of Byblos and its relationship to Tyre is more problematic. We must bear in mind Ethbaal's (re-) founding of the city of Botrys²¹, north of Byblos, and the silence of the Assyrian (and other) sources until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (with one exception, a record from the twenty-first regnal year of Shalmaneser III, 838 B.C.E.²²). We find a corresponding political situation in the poem preserved in chapter 27 of the book of Ezekiel, in which all the cities of Phoenicia are under the control of the Tyrian king. We shall have more to say concerning this poem later.

Tyre's elevated position is expressed by an inscription of Ashurnasirpal II, dated by the editor ca. 879 B.C.E.²³. Here the only two Phoenician city-states invited to be Ashurnasirpal's guests at the official festival in celebration of the dedication of the new royal palace in Calah are Tyre, followed by Sidon²⁴. Or should we see already here in the mentioning of Tyre and Sidon one state only?

This political unit "Tyre and Sidon" headed by the "king of the Sidonians" was clearly a reality by the time of Shalmaneser III, as we may see in three documents from his reign. The first, is a band from the "Gates of Balawat" depicting the tribute brought by "Tyre and Sidon" in the first campaign of Shalmaneser III to the west, in 858 B.C.E.²⁵ (We shall speak of this depiction in greater detail later). The accompanying inscription reads: "I received the tribute (brought) in ships from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon . . ." ²⁶. The crucial fact here is that the tribute was brought in ships, that is, from the island of Tyre. The picture, too, bears out our conclusion, for we see on the left side of the band the Tyrian monarch standing on the shore on a island

19 Note that in Josephus's time the cities of Tyre and Sidon were independent of each other.

20 O. Eissfeldt, "Tyros", *PW* 2. Reihe, VII (1948), col. 1885.

21 Batroun of today (Dussaud, *THS*, 82). Cf. also *EA*, p. 1165.

22 *ANET*², 280b.

23 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XIV (1952), 24.

24 *ANET Suppl.*, 560b.

25 Olmstead, *HA*, 125.

26 *ANET*², 281a.

(= Tyre) with his back to the city; in the middle are ships, some of which are in the channel and some along the shore; on the right side of that band Shalmaneser is standing on the mainland in order to accept tribute²⁷.

The second piece of evidence (admittedly *ex silentio*) is the omission of Tyre and Sidon (and we maintain of Byblos too²⁸) from Shalmaneser's enumeration of the participants in the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C.E.²⁹ The fact that these cities took no active part in the battle, in contrast to the cities of the north Phoenician coast: Shian, Irqanata, and Arvad, points to the political reality that beginning with Ethbaal's reign Tyre and Sidon were linked together in a process which saw the emergence of the kingdom of the Sidonians, headed by the king, of the Sidonians residing in Tyre.

The third document, originating in Shalmaneser's eighteenth regnal year (841 B.C.E.), speaks of the tribute given to the Assyrian king by the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, and by Jehu, "son of Omri"³⁰. Paralleling this inscription, another text states that "at this time I (=Shalmaneser) received the tribute of Ba'li-ma-An-zêri the Tyrian, and of Jehu son of Omri"³¹. That is, instead of "Tyre and Sidon", the head of the political unit is named.

It appears to us that this political unit still existed in the time of Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.E.). In a record dealing with the countries (of the west) which the Assyrian king subjugated or from which he received tribute, the following countries are named: "... the land of the Hittites, all the land of Amurru, the land of Tyre, the land of Sidon, the land of Omri (= Israel), the land of Edom, the land of Philistia..."³². Thus, only complete states are spoken of here. Moreover, Tyre as head of the kingdom of the Sidonians, is mentioned before Sidon, even though a geographical ordering would have placed Sidon before Tyre.

In this connection, a number of allusions in Jewish prophecy are pertinent, although they are from a later period (eighth century). In our opinion, Amos 1, Zechariah 9, and Isaiah 23 (on Ezekiel 27, see below), all attest to the political unity of both cities under the king of Tyre,

27 ANEP, nos. 356-358.

28 Contra Tadmor (Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII [1961], 245).

29 ANET², 279a.

30 ANET², 280b

31 Safar, *Sumer* VII (1951), 11 ff., plate II.

32 ANET², 281b.

known as the "king of the Sidonians"³³. In naming the neighbors of Israel and Judah, Amos does no mention Sidon at all. Here Tyre stands for all of (southern) Phoenicia (Amos 1 : 9; in contrast to his list of all five Philistine cities : Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and the "remnant of the Philistines", *ibid.*, 6-8). In Zechariah 9 : 2 we read : "Tyre and Sidon, for she is very wise", and the sentence that follows speaks only of Tyre. The singular form of the verb alongside the two cities (similarly in the Targum, as opposed to the Septuagint) has led many scholars to amend the text. The prophet, however, is speaking of a single state³⁴. The same holds true for Isaiah's prophecy, wherein Sidon appears in the oracle on Tyre (Isa. 23 : 1-14)³⁵. Here, too, there is no need for erasures or substitutions, for what is spoken of is a united kingdom, as we see by the use of the geographic term "Canaan" for the Tyrian state (vs. 11). These allusions dovetail with the fact that the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III make no mention of Sidon, as we have noted above.

Let us now return to the history of the period of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians. We are confident that shortly after the revolt that put an end to the regime of the tyrants, Ethbaal was in full control of the state and showed skill and firmness in the exercise of his new power. During his long reign, Ethbaal succeeded in elevating Tyre's fortunes to such a degree that the country entered a new golden age, so that it was "perfect in beauty" (Ezek. 27 : 3) in the eyes of all its beholders. Ethbaal extended Tyre's mainland frontiers to a degree unknown hitherto. He was also the first Tyrian ruler whose name was linked with the founding of new overseas trading stations. Josephus quotes Menander's Greek version of the Tyrian chronicles about Ethbaal's foundation of a city in Libya (North Africa) : "He (Ethbaal) founded the city of Botrys in Phoenicia, and Auza in Libya" (*Ant.* VIII, 324). We have already referred to the foundation of Botrys; the site of Auza has not yet been identified³⁶, but we must look for it on the coast of Tunisia.

These efforts are characteristic of Ethbaal's drive to expand Tyrian trade and seek out new sources for raw materials. There can be no doubt that in order to travel so far, the town of Kition (= Larnaka in Cyprus) must have been firmly in Ethbaal's hands. The excavations of Kition by V. Karageorghis have uncovered a large Phoenician temple dating

33 For the background of the prophecies of Amos and Zechariah, see Chapter IX, for Isaiah, see Chapter X.

34 Cf. Winckler, *ATU*, 133.

35 Katzenstein, *Bible and Jewish History*, Tel-Aviv 1972, 147 ff. (Hebrew).

36 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 108 ff.; Harden, *Phoenicians*, 222 note 36.

apparently from the days of Ethbaal's grandson or great-grandson³⁷. Here we should mention the archaic Phoenician inscription from Cyprus, which should be dated to the first half of the ninth century B.C.E.³⁸, i.e. in the days of Ethbaal.

One of the most interesting, but most obscure aspects of international relations at this time is the place of Egypt. Despite the boastful inscription of Osorkon II, "all lands, all countries, Upper Retenu, Lower Retenu, all inaccessible countries are under the feet of this good God"³⁹, Egypt was in reality only a second — or third-rate power. Even the fragment of a statue of Osorkon II found in the excavations of Byblos⁴⁰ fails to convince us that Byblos was allied with Egypt⁴¹ against the Tyrian state. Friendship and mercantile connections between Egypt and Israel are shown by a big alabaster vase bearing the cartouche of Osorkon II, which was found in the palace of Ahab during the course of the excavations at Samaria⁴². Commerce between Tyre and Egypt is reflected in the discovery of some alabaster jars in a tomb in a "Punic" (!) cemetery in Almuñécar (a coastal town south of Granada, Spain), bearing cartouches of Osorkon II, Shishak II, and Takehot II, and even one bearing Phoenician graffiti⁴³; it is also indicated in Ezekiel 27:7 ("patterned linen from Egypt"), which we date for this time (cf. below).

Ethbaal paid much attention to the founding of trading posts and to good diplomatic and mercantile relations with all his neighbors. The most important and powerful of these neighbors was Ben-hadad I⁴⁴, "king of Aram, whose capital was Damascus" (I Kings 15:18). Since the revolt of Rezon against Solomon (cf. I Kings 11:23), the Aramean

37 V. Karageorghis, "Les Fouilles de Kition en 1968", *CRAIBL* (Paris 1969), 8 ff.; on the technique of building with headers and stretchers cf. Chapter I, p. 13.

38 *KAI* no. 30; Honeyman, *IRAQ* VI (1939), 106-108; Albright, *BASOR* 83, (1941), 15-17.

39 Breasted, *AR* IV, § 749.

40 M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Texte I, Paris 1939, 115-117, no. 1741.

41 On Tadmor's reading of "Byblos and Egypt" (Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 [1961], 143-150) for the usual "Que and Mušri" (*ANET*², 279a); Cf. Chapter VIII, notes 15, 19, 72-75.

42 G. A. Reisner et alii, *Harvard Excavations in Samaria*, I (Cambridge, Mass. 1924), 247; II, pl.: 56g.

43 A. Garcia y Bellido, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (Jerusalem 1967), 49 ff. figures 21-24.

44 Cf. S. Loewenstamm, *Encyclop. Biblica* II (Jerusalem 1954), cols. 155-157; Sanda, *Könige* II, 432.

kingdom had become the most powerful state in greater Syria. In all the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III that deal with the Western Sea Countries, Hadad-esser, the son of Ben-hadad (?), always leads the great coalition⁴⁵. Ethbaal paid much attention to the improvement of his relations, both commercial and political, with his eastern neighbor. One should not forget that Tyre's strength lay in her cash and in her fleet. Tyre may have had some mercenary or police units, but she did not keep an army on the mainland. As we never hear of Tyrian soldiers, we must assume that it was good will, fostered by large sums of money under a cover of good trade relations, which protected Tyre's continental possessions. From the sources at our disposal we learn that Ethbaal succeeded greatly in this policy of good relations as early as the first decade of his long reign. During this period he formed most amicable ties with both Aram-Damascus and Israel.

When Ethbaal became king of Tyre ca. 887 B.C.E., Baasha "son of Ahijah of the house of Issachar" (I Kings 15:27)⁴⁶ was "king of all Israel", residing in Tirzah (I Kings 15:33), while Ben-hadad (I) son of Tabrimmon was "king of Aram, whose capital was Damascus" (I Kings 15:18). It was, apparently, at the very end of Baasha's long reign that Asa king of Judah succeeded in bribing Ben-hadad to interfere in his favor against the king of Israel. Consequently, Ben-hadad "ordered the commanders of his armies⁴⁷ to move against the cities of Israel, and they attacked Iyyon, Dan, Abel-beth-maacah, and that part of Kinnereth which marches with the land of Naphtali" (I Kings 15:20)⁴⁸. This war took place in 883 B.C.E.⁴⁹, and the line of attack followed exactly one of the important roads between Tyre and Damascus. The destruction of the Israelite strongholds and the immediate results must have attracted Ethbaal's attention. A rapprochement with Aram now became more urgent than before.

Fortunately, we now have a document which bears witness to a master-stroke in Ethbaal's dealings with the Aramean king. In 1939 Dunand

45 Cf. i.a. *ANET*², 278b; 279b; 280a and b; 281a.

46 There is no doubt that Baasha was a strong and able king. The Bible calls him *nagid* (I Kings 16:2), as it does Saul, David, Solomon, Jeroboam I, and Hezekiah.

47 Attention should be paid to the fact that Ben-hadad himself did not participate in that campaign! cf. Chapter VI note 40.

48 The parallel text in II Chron. 16:4 reads "Iyyon, Dan, Abel-mayim, and all the store-cities of Naphtali."

49 Tadmor, *Encycl. Biblica* IV (1962), col. 297.

published the now famous stela erected by Ben-hadad in honor of Melqart, the Tyrian deity⁵⁰. The inscription reads: "A stela set up by Bar-hadad, son of Ṭ(. . . .) king of Aram for his Lord Melqart which he vowed to him and he (then) heard his voice"⁵¹. The Aramaic text is apparently a "translation form of the Phoenician language"⁵². We believe that this stela was erected by Ben-hadad I, the contemporary of Ethbaal, Asa, and Baasha. There is no question that the writing belongs to the first half of the ninth century B.C.E.⁵³, but scholars differ about the problem of the identity of Ben-hadad (the first or the second?). The text in *ANET Supplement* has "T" as the first letter of the father's name, suggesting that the stela speaks of Ben-hadad son of Ṭabrimmon, i.e. of Ben-hadad I, but there are some scholars who deny this reading. The title of Bar-hadad is "king of Aram", corresponding exactly to the title of Ben-hadad whom the king of Judah bribed to assist him against Baasha, king of Israel (I Kings 15:18). Furthermore, the style of the stela "is still entirely pre-Assyrian"⁵⁴.

Thus we may say that the stela (especially the representation of the god) belongs to the first third of the ninth century B.C.E. As there can be no doubt that the concord between Tyre and Aram preceded the agreement with Israel, and as the alliance between Tyre and Israel should be dated to the second half of the third decade of the ninth century, we again arrive at the same date. This date also fits in with the background events and reason for putting up the stela. It was erected at a time (or shortly after) when the king of Aram was relieved from anxiety over an extremely dangerous event. At that time Ben-hadad

50 *ANET Suppl.*, 655; *ANEP* no. 499.

51 The translation in itself includes several commentaries. Cf. the bibliographies both in *ANET*², 501 and in *KAI* no. 201. The letter "Ṭ" (by its completion to "Tabrimmon") gives the person and the date of the inscription: Ben-hadad son of Ṭabrimmon (I Kings 15:18), the contemporary of Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah. But de Vaux, after examining the stela in the museum of Aleppo, feels that Albright's restoration: "son of Tabrimmon, son of Hezion", is impossible (De Vaux, *BMB* V [1941], 9). The suggestion of Donner-Röllig (*KAI* II, pp. 203-204) that this stela was put up by a minister of the king of Aram, is without any foundation.

52 Levi Della Vida, *BASOR* 90 (1943), 31.

53 W. F. Albright: about 850 B.C.E. (*BASOR* 87 [1942], 27); thus also A. Malamat (*Encycl. Biblica* I [Jerusalem 1955], col. 578). A Jepsen: shortly before 860 B.C.E. (*AfO* 16 [1952/53], 317). Donner-Röllig: ninth century B.C.E. (*KAI* no. 201).

54 Albright, *BASOR* 87 (1942), 29; *idem*, *EI* V (Jerusalem 1958), 4*.

had vowed that if he and his country would be saved from that danger by the intervention of Melqart, he would put up such a stela⁵⁵.

That Ben-hadad vowed such a stela to Melqart, because it was Melqart who had saved the Aramean king and his kingdom, is of utmost interest to us. We do not know whether Ben-hadad made such a vow to the Tyrian god alone. Enough for us that this stela shows that at this period of time the cultural influence which followed in the wake of the mercantile and political relations between Tyre and Aram was already so strong that Ben-hadad thought it necessary to pray for help and assistance to the principal Tyrian deity. Levi Della Vida (and Albright agrees with him) has suggested that a family relationship similar to that between Ahab of Israel and Jezebel of Tyre should be assumed for the royal houses of Tyre and Aram as well⁵⁶. Yet one important point is still a riddle to us: We have no parallel in all the ancient world for such a stela dedicated to a "foreign" deity⁵⁷.

What was the event which caused the erection of this stela, which was apparently erected far from Damascus the capital? ⁵⁸ We believe that it was the unexpected appearance of Ashurnasirpal II in the west. Although the exact date of this event has not yet been fixed, we are inclined to accept Wiseman's notion that it must have taken place before the inauguration of the new palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Calah in 879 B.C.E.⁵⁹. One should not underestimate this event of the Assyrian

55 Cf. the monument that Saul set up in honor of his victory over the Amalekites (I Sam. 15:12); the noun in the Bar-hadad inscription and the verb in I Sam. 15:12 are from the same root, *nšb*; cf. also Gressmann, *ZAW* 29 (1909), 118.

56 *BASOR* 90 (1943), 31 ff.

57 *נצבה הכעל* (II Kings 3:2; 10:27) is not the same as the stela of Bar-hadad. No archaeological twin has yet been found. The story of Naaman (II Kings 5:17) does not offer a complete parallel, nor can one see any resemblance in the offerings of the Egyptian kings to Canaanite gods which had been long adopted by them. The same applies to the offering by Necho of a dress worn in victorious battle to the Greek god Apollo (Herodotus II, 159). Still we must add that Albright does not think "that the god Melqart in this stela has anything directly to do with Tyre. My own view that Melqart was the god of the underworld is confirmed. . . . It is, of course, possible that the cult of Melqart was directly borrowed from Tyre but not as a Tyrian god, but as a well-known cosmic divinity". (from a letter of the late Professor Albright to the author, November 14, 1966).

58 It was found in secondary use (not *in situ*) about 7 kilometres north of Aleppo.

59 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XIV (1952), 25.

invasion. After a period of about two hundred years, an Assyrian king had again appeared in the west. A great tremor must have shaken all the kingdoms of the western sea coast, and especially Aram-Damascus, which had never before faced such a mighty adversary. We may imagine the anxiety of the old king, when he heard of the approach of a large Assyrian army marching in the direction of Carchemish. An echo of this can be deduced from the words of Ashurnasirpal himself: "... I advanced towards Carchemish. (There) I received from him(self) the tribute of Sangara, the king of the Hittites... The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon forming my vanguard. I departed from Carchemish... I proceeded and crossed the river Apre [= Afrin of to-day] (where) I passed the night. From the banks of the Apre I departed and advanced towards the town of Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina... From Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina, I departed; I crossed the river Orontes... At that time I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Amurru country. I cleaned my weapons in the deep sea... The tribute of the seacoast — from the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallata, Maiza, Kaiza⁶⁰, Amurru, and (of) Arvad, which is (an island) in the sea, (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, copper, copper containers, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, large and small monkeys⁶¹, ebony, boxwood, ivory from walrus tusk — (thus ivory) a product of the sea — (this) their tribute I received and they embraced my feet. I ascended the mountains of the Amanus..."⁶². Then he went home. Before we discuss the contents of this record, we wish to point out that the route taken by Ashurnasirpal II is quite clear; he bypassed Aram-Damascus⁶³ and did not even come near the kingdom of the Sidonians. It was this event which gave, we believe, an impetus to the erection of the stela. Far from Damascus, perhaps in (or near) Aleppo the Aramean king was observing the movements of the Assyrian king. It is even pos-

60 Mahallata, Maiza, and Kaiza are mentioned only by Ashurnasirpal II cf. Luckenbill, *AR* I, §§ 479, 518; S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, 188, 233, 234. These towns (much later) "were to amalgamate into the Phoenician Tripolis" (Olmstead, *HA*, 95).

61 Cf. the two different species of monkeys brought back by the Tarshish-fleet of Hiram and Solomon (I Kings 10:22 = II Chron. 9:21) (cf. Chapter V, pp. 111, 113 and note 71 of Chapter VII).

62 *ANET*², 275b-276b

63 Already noted by Winckler (*ATU*, 76).

sible that Ashurnasirpal did not go south, because of the Syrian army. The depiction of Melqart on the stela, — in his left hand he holds a battle-axe, in his right hand the *ankh*⁶⁴ — falls in line with our assumption: Melqart had defended his supplicant and had saved him from peril. This "victory" over the mighty invader and the deliverance from great danger, because Melqart had "heard his voice" (i.e. had accepted the prayers of Bar-hadad), had far-reaching consequences. Tyrian influence grew; Tyrian culture became worthy of imitation. Its reputation and authority now spread over the whole of greater Syria. Nor should the use of Phoenician letters in this large area (cf. i.a. the inscriptions of Azitawada of Adana⁶⁵, of Kilamuwa of Y'dy-Sam'al⁶⁶, of Mesha of Moab⁶⁷, and one should add in Israel and Judah), which was one of the many indications of this development, be underrated in respect to its value for Tyre's mercantile expansion in all these countries.

The enumeration of the main Phoenician towns — Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Tripolis (Mahallata, Maiza, Kaiza), and Arvad — in the inscription of Ashurnasirpal is noteworthy. Arvad alone (and not Tyre) is distinguished by its description as "(an island) in the sea". Is this because Ashurnasirpal, or the scribe, had seen only Arvad?⁶⁸ The geographical order starts in the south and ends in the north; perhaps it was Tyre's important position which dictated this order. Why did the king of the Sidonians pay "tribute"? We doubt that it was the threat of military action. Rather we suggest that these payments were made because of Tyrian trade; they constituted transit taxes. Only thus can we understand the eagerness of Ethbaal to send gifts such a distance to the Assyrian king. That the Assyrian king recorded these gifts as tribute is quite understandable. Olmstead has remarked that the "Phoenician merchants saw in the Assyrian advance not the danger of conquest, but the opportunity of securing valuable commercial concessions..."⁶⁹. Later we shall see that Ethbaal's far-sightedness bore fruits.

64 Cf. the "ankh"-sign on the ivories of Samaria (J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London 1938, 14-16; pl. II, 2).

65 *ANET Suppl.*, 653-654.

66 *Ibid.*, 654-655.

67 *ANET*², 320-321.

68 In the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, it is said about Arvad: "I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore..." (*ANET*², 275a).

69 Olmstead, *HA*, 95.

The list recorded by Ashurnasirpal II is one of the earliest and also one of the most detailed enumerations of Phoenician merchandise ⁷⁰. Nearly all the items mentioned can be found in the catalogue of goods brought by way of trade to Tyre as given in chapter 27 of the book of Ezekiel. But while iron is mentioned in the book of Ezekiel (27:12), this metal is conspicuously missing from the Assyrian list. The mention of large and small monkeys is reminiscent of an Assyrian relief from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II ⁷¹, in which a bearded Phoenician merchant, wearing the typical Phoenician dress — turban, long shirt with multi-colored trimmings, a cloak thrown over his shoulder, and up-turned shoes — is followed by his Aramean (?) servant, who holds two monkeys, one in each hand.

From an Assyrian document, first published in 1952, we learn that Olmstead was right in his analysis of the payments of the Sidonians. Ethbaal had conquered a new market; he had made firm trade connections with the Assyrians. For among the "important people, delegates from the countries . . ." who were invited by the Assyrian king in honor of the inauguration of his new palace, the Phoenician city-states are represented only by Tyrians and Sidonians ⁷², i.e. by the one unit of the kingdom of the Sidonians. No mention is made of the Arameans. This is the best indication of Ethbaal's far-sightedness and political understanding; the suppliers of wood, ivories, and other luxuries were entertained by their satisfied customer. This document, therefore, provides important evidence of the cultural history of the period as well as the honored status of the Tyrian empire and its far-reaching mercantile connections.

In ca. 882 B.C.E., Elah, the son of Baasha, king of Israel, was assassinated by Zimri, who declared himself king of Israel (I Kings 16:10). Zimri was swiftly defeated by Omri, a military commander, whom the army had proclaimed king instead of the usurper (I Kings 16:16 ff.), but a civil war waged in Israel for four years (ca. 882–878 B.C.E.) between Tibni ⁷³ son of Ginath (I Kings 16:21–22) and his brother Joram (thus in the Septuagint only, III Kings 16:23) representing the ruling circles, on the one hand, and Omri ⁷⁴, commander of the army,

70 It is much more detailed than that in the Bible from the days of Solomon (I Kings 10:22 = II Chron. 9:21).

71 R. D. Barnett, *Illustrations of Old Testament History*, London 1966, Fig. 20.

72 *ANET Suppl.*, 560b.

73 Cf. the Sidonian king Tabnit (*ANET Suppl.*, 662).

74 Omri's patronymic is not mentioned in the Bible (in contrast to all the

on the other. Omri had achieved this position by his personal valor and talent, since no mention is made of his line of descent. This struggle was certainly watched carefully by Ethbaal.

Sanda's view that possibly Tibni was supported by Damascus, and that, therefore, Omri sought an alliance with Tyre ⁷⁵, is mostly based on the stories of the wars between Ahab and Ben-hadad (I Kings 20 and 22). But the Melqart stela erected by Bar-hadad, which was discovered in 1939 (i.e. long after the time of Sanda), contradicts this idea, since it shows that the relationship between Tyre and Aram was cordial at this very time, and may even have been based on familial ties. We strongly believe that the wars recounted in I Kings 20 and 22 do not belong to this time, but to the days of the house of Jehu ⁷⁶.

other usurpers of the throne of Israel: Baasha, Jehu, Shallum, Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea; yet he founded a new dynasty (cf. Ethbaal in Tyre, whose father's name is also unknown). The general notion is that he was a member of the tribe of Issachar (cf. I Chron. 27:18), because Baasha was from the tribe of Issachar (I Kings 15:27), and this may have induced him to appoint a member of his tribe as commander of a military unit. The argument that the Omrides possessed lands in Jezreel (as Sanda, *Könige* I, 402) is unacceptable, as the crown property of the house of Baasha became Omri's property, when he ascended the throne. Kittel's notion that Omri was a foreign mercenary (*GVI*³ II, 369) has no foundation in the sources.

75 Sanda, *Könige* I, 409.

76 In spite of the quotation of Josephus from the History of Nicolas of Damascus, "Upon his [Adados's] death, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each receiving from his father both his authority and his name, as did the Ptolemies in Egypt" (*Ant.* VII, 102); the notion that Ben-hadad is a throne name does not appeal to us; Ben-hadad I and Ben-Hadad II are both mentioned in the Bible with their patronymics (I Kings 15:8; II Kings 13:3) and the Zakir stela also speaks of "Barhadad, the son of Hazael, king of Aram" (*ANET Suppl.*, 655b).

Sanda proposed another Ben-hadad, who ruled over Damascus between the reigns of Hadad-ezer (Ahad-idri) and Hazael. By this proposal, Sanda hoped to save I Kings 20 and 22 for the days of Ahab (Sanda, *Könige* I, 474 ff.; II, 67 ff.; thus also Jepsen, *AfO* 16 (1952/53), 316). But, as has been shown most lately by J. M. Miller (*JBL* LXXXV [1966], 441 ff.), I Kings 20 and 22 do not describe the days of Ahab, but the time of the house of Jehu; the identification of the king killed by Hazael as Ben-hadad (II Kings 8:7–15) was a mistaken extrapolation by the ancient historian from the already misplaced accounts in I Kings 20 and 22 (*ibid.*, 449 note 37; 454). The poetical parallel in Amos 1:4, "The house of Hazael"/"Benhadad's palaces", could be easily based on a source like II Kings 13:24. Bar-hadad II is called "Mari" in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari III (*ANET*², 281b); this is not a throne-name but a title like "Pharaoh".

Our interest lies, naturally, in the covenant between Tyre and Israel, and we ask to ascertain, when Ethbaal was willing to make such a close alliance with Israel. Certainly not before the struggle for the throne of Israel had been decided in favor of Omri, in 878 B.C.E.⁷⁷. At this time Ethbaal was already engaged in trade relations with the Assyrians, and in political and mercantile connections with Aram. In 876 B.C.E. Omri shifted his capital to Samaria; according to Tadmor's chronology Ahab became coregent with his father in 873 B.C.E. There is a good possibility that Omri nominated Ahab as coregent, in order to make him a more suitable son-in-law for the king of the Sidonians. The verse, "he [i.e. Ahab] contracted a marriage with Jezebel daughter of Ethbaal" (I Kings 16: 31) suggesting that Ahab himself, not Omri⁷⁸, was the matchmaker, is further evidence for this hypothesis. This marriage could not have taken place before 878 B.C.E. or much later than 872 B.C.E.⁷⁹. Both sons of Ahab and Jezebel, Ahaziah and Jehoram, died at an early age, leaving no heir old enough to ascend the throne after their deaths. This supports our theory of a "late" date for the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel. From 878 B.C.E., when Omri became king of all Israel (I Kings 16: 22) and founded a new dynasty (like Ethbaal), we have to reckon with a *rapprochement* between Tyre and Israel. So impressive a king was Omri that even after the overthrow of his dynasty the Assyrian inscription call Israel "land of Omri" down to the time of Sargon⁸⁰.

77 Cf. the chronological chart of H. Tadmor, *Encycl. Biblica* IV (1962), col. 302. The MT tells us only that Tibni died (I Kings 16:22), but Josephus says that Tibni was killed by "those who wanted (Omri) to rule" (*Ant.* VIII, 311); the version in the Septuagint, "and Tibni died, and Joram his brother at that time", supports Josephus's story.

78 Noth thinks that this match was made in the reign of Omri, and he stresses the political aspects of the marriage (Noth, *Könige* [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968], 354).

79 If Ahaziah of Judah was the first-born of Athaliah and Jehoram of Judah, his parents may have married in 866 B.C.E. Ahaziah was twenty-two years old, when he ascended the throne in Jerusalem; he reigned "one year", and was murdered in 842 B.C.E. His father, Jehoram of Judah, died in 843 B.C. E. at the age of forty. Thus Jehoram was born in 882 B.C.E. and was a lad of sixteen in 866. It may be noted that according to Tadmor's dates, Jehoram's grandfather, Asa, died in 867 B.C.E. Thus, Jehoram became crown-prince in that year, and as much became worthy to marry into the royal house of Israel. Furthermore, we may assume that Ahaziah of Judah was named after Ahaziah of Israel, while Jehoram of Israel was named after Jehoram of Judah, and thus he was born after the marriage of Athaliah to Jehoram of Judah.

80 *ANET*², 285a.

The fact that Omri bought the hill of Samaria "for two talents of silver and built a city on it" (I Kings 16: 24) clearly shows that he had already, in this short time, amassed a fortune. Not only was the place well chosen, becoming thereafter the center and symbol of Israel, but Omri linked it with his dynasty as David had done with Jerusalem. The pacification of Israel and its rebuilding dictated its friendly attitude toward its neighbors. And since Tyre was interested in good relations with its neighbors for the sake of its commercial enterprises, we may assume that a common interest brought these countries together. Exactly as in the days of Solomon, this new phase in Israel's history presented Tyre with a new customer. New opportunities for trade and construction works unfolded before the eyes of the king of merchants. Omri did not turn a deaf ear to Ethbaal's suggestions of technical assistance. The contact, at first only economic, broadened over the years to include political and even familial ties. This course of events is also suggested by the words of Elijah to Ahab: "It is not I who have troubled Israel, but you and your father's house" (I Kings 18: 18).

Whether the first steps toward a common understanding were made by the Tyrians or by Omri we do not know. Such an understanding was profitable to both sides, and an alliance could be built on the mutual interest of both parties. Those who prefer to say that the first feelers came from Omri's side also assume that "the alliance was doubtless of political purpose to counteract the growing power of Damascus"⁸¹. We feel that Omri recognized a certain hegemony of Aram among the western sea countries, and therefore directed his aspirations southward: Israel made peace with the house of David by contracting a political marriage (II Kings 8: 18); upon Moab, Omri laid a heavy yoke (II Kings 1: 1)⁸².

The relations between Tyre and Israel became more and more intensive from 876 B.C.E. on, until they were crowned by a marriage between the two royal houses, a great success for the new Israelite dynasty, which must have cost a fortune to the king of Israel in the commercial and perhaps even in the political fields. This event had enormous influence on the secular, spiritual, and religious life not only of Israel, but even of Judah. Just as Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh only after "the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon" (I Kings 2: 46-3: 1), so after the Omrides were firmly seated upon the throne

81 Montgomery, *Kings*, 285.

82 Cf. the Moabite Stone, *ANET*², 320-321.

of Israel, Ahab "took to wife Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians" (I Kings 16:31). Sanda explains the second part of this verse, "and he went and worshipped Baal; he prostrated himself before him", as evidence that Ahab went to Tyre in order to worship there⁸³. The worship of Baal in Tyre itself was probably a necessary maneuver on the part of the king of Israel to seal the alliance with Tyre. Psalm 45, which is a paean in celebration of the wedding of a Tyrian princess and a king of Israel⁸⁴, indicates the great esteem in which the Tyrian royal house was held at that time.

This is not the place to discuss Jezebel's aggressive personality⁸⁵. Certain-

83 Sanda, *Könige* I, 410.

84 Compare "the palace panelled with ivory" (Ps. 45:9) and "the ivory house" of Ahab (I Kings 22:39). Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Die Psalmen als Geschichtsquelle, Near Eastern Studies In Honor Of W. F. Albright*, Baltimore & London 1971, 102.

A rich bibliography of this wedding psalm can be found in Ph. J. King, *A Study of Psalm 45* (44), Rome 1959, VII ff. Yet it should be borne in mind that this psalm plays an important part in the liturgy of the church, and many commentators have been strongly influenced thereby in favor of a much later date.

85 The name Jezebel has not yet been fully explained (cf. Sanda, *Könige* I, 407-408). Possibly the form אֵיזַבֵּל is an intentional distortion (cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *Encycl. Biblica* I [Jerusalem 1955], col. 258). We may have here an abbreviation, אֵ instead of אֵיזַבֵּל. Thus Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1863, 170; Maisler (Mazar), *Leshonenu* XV (1947), 39-40 (Hebrew); L. Bromer, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha*, Leiden 1968, 11. The name would then be אֵיזַבֵּל. Compare אֵיזַבֵּל in Num. 26:30 and אֵיזַבֵּל in I Chron. 7:18, both heads of Gileadite clans. The Septuagint has Ἀχιζέβη for the reading in Numbers. Still אֵיזַבֵּל as the *lectio difficilior* should be preferred. Albright wants to explain the name by two elements: אֵ = "where" and זַבֵּל = "the exalted one" (Albright, *JAOS* 74 [1954], 226). N. Avigad has published a very beautiful seal from the eighth or ninth century B.C.E. with the letters *yzbl* inscribed on it (*IEJ* 14 [1964], 274-276). Since the letters were inscribed *subsequently* on the seal, and there may have been one or two other letters written beneath the upper brim, which is damaged, we feel that the seal cannot be attributed to the wife of Ahab. F. M. Cross suggests that "it may be a simple *yaqtul* form, "May DN be exalted". (*BASOR* 184 [1966], 9 note 17). The spelling of Jezebel's name in the Septuagint Ἰεζαβελ may have been influenced by the rendering of her father's name as Ἰεθεβααλ. Perhaps we should connect Jezebel's name with Zabûl-Yam, mentioned in the Ugaritic epics (cf. *ANET*², 129 ff.). Any connection between Baal-Zebul (read this instead of Baal-Zebûb in II Kings 1:2) and Jezebel is mere guesswork. The feminine name בעל־זבול appears much later in a Punic

ly she played a crucial role in the government of Israel both in Ahab's days, as queen, and in the days of her sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram, as queen-mother. The author of the book of Kings characterizes her tersely: "She is a king's daughter" (II Kings 9:34). Josephus states that she "came of a line of kings" (*Ant.* IX, 123). Jezebel's political and cultural influence over a thirty years period should not be underestimated. There are clear hints that she took an active part in the government⁸⁶, perhaps as coregent with her husband or in his name (cf. the story of Naboth's vineyard, I Kings 21), or even in her own right (cf. her revenge on Elijah, I Kings 19:2)⁸⁷. She was the only reigning queen in Jewish history except Athaliah (and much, much later, Queen Alexandra)⁸⁸. Jewish legend includes Jezebel and Athaliah among the four women who "seized governance in the world"⁸⁹.

By their ability as rulers, Ahab and Jezebel created a powerful state, as we know from the great number of chariots Ahab had at the battle of Qarqar⁹⁰, from the Mesha-inscription⁹¹, and from the relationship of the king of Judah to Israel⁹². The good relations between Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahab, king of Israel (the initiative apparently came from Judah: "And Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel; I Kings 22:45⁹³) culminated in the wedding of Jehoram, crown-prince of Judah, with the Samaritan princes Athaliah⁹⁴, ca. 866 B.C.E. No doubt this match opened up new markets for the Tyrian merchants in Judah, Edom and Arabia. Whether, at this early stage, the king of Tyre dreamed of reopening the sea-routes to Ophir, we do not know; an unsuccessful attempt was made later, in the days of

inscription from Tharros (*KAI* no. 67; cf. also M. Held, *JAOS* 88 [1968], 90 ff.).

86 Cf. Jezebel's own court officials (e.g. I Kings 18:19; 19:2, II Kings 9:32) and "the families of the king and of the queen mother" (II Kings 10:13), who are also high court officials.

87 Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Suppl. VT XVI* (1967), 65 ff.

88 We may assume that Jezebel was not the only wife of Ahab, but there can be no doubt that she was the first lady and the queen of Israel.

89 *Esther Rabba*, chapter 3, sect. 2.

90 *ANET*², 279a.

91 *Ibid.*, 320.

92 Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, "The Omrid-Davidid Alliance and Its Consequences", *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (Jerusalem 1967), 91 ff.

93 Cf. the story that "Asa made a marriage-match between a daughter of Omri and his son Jehoshaphat" (*Seder Olam Rabba* [ed. B. Ratner], Wilna 1897, 70 = *Tosefta* [ed. Zuckerman] Sota XII, 3 [= p. 317]).

94 Katzenstein, *IEJ* 5 (1955), 194-197.

Ahaziah, the son of Ahab. The link between Jerusalem and Samaria, which was at first only political, also became strongly religious, when Jehoram ascended the throne in Jerusalem. The close ties with Tyre certainly lasted for thirty years, until Athaliah was killed in 836 B.C.E.

Ahab's wealth and power were also exhibited in the royal building program, distinguished by its advanced construction techniques, its well-hewn stones⁹⁵ and planning, and its use of Phoenician patterns⁹⁶. Just as Phoenician master-builders were employed by Solomon, Phoenician architects and builders must have played an important part in all the ambitious building projects mentioned by the author of the book of Kings (I Kings 22 : 39; cf. I Kings 16 : 34), and which we know of in part through the excavations in Samaria⁹⁷, Hazor, and Megiddo.

Here we would do well to call attention to the lovely and delicate vessels known as "Samaritan ware", since they were first discovered in Samaria. Today, every large excavation on the Phoenician coast unearths these vessels⁹⁸, and it is high time they were called after their country of origin, that is "Phoenician ware".

Israel, and especially its capital Samaria were inundated with luxuries that introduced a veritable social revolution, and a *nouveau riche* class began to form around the court in the capital. Because of the ravages of time and the nature of the Tyrian goods, we now have, besides some metal vessels and figurines, only the famous Samaritan ivories (and those of Arslan-Tash, about a generation after Ahab⁹⁹). This is not the place to discuss the peculiar, mixed style; at its beginning it certainly relies more on Egyptian and Syrian (Hittite) motifs¹⁰⁰. These peoples were among Tyre's best customers, and the artifacts express the taste of that time. This luxury was lavishly employed, i.e. in the "ivory house" (I Kings 22 : 39) built by Ahab for himself in Samaria, in which a great ivory screen overlaid the mud-brick walls of the throne room (or rooms)

95 Cf. Chapter I, p. 12.

96 On the "proto-ionic" capitals, cf. Crowfoot, *SB*, fig. 7. Other examples appear in Megiddo (H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, Tübingen 1951, figs. 1012, 1013), in Kition (*ibid.*, fig. 17), and in Tamassos (*ibid.*, fig. 19). in Hazor (Y. Yadin et alii, *Hazor*, vol. III-IV, Jerusalem 1961, pl. XLVIII, CCCLXII-CCCLXIII); in Judah (Ramat Rahel) (Aharoni, *IEJ* 6 [1956], 141; pl. 27B).

97 C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas I*, Leipzig 1933, 97 ff.

98 Cf. Du Plat Taylor, *IRAQ* XXI (1959), 87-88.

99 F. Thureau-Dangin et alii, *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, 89 ff., pl. XIX ff.

100 Harden, *Phoenicians*, 184 ff.

in the royal palace. It should be added that excavations have also uncovered some unworked and incomplete ivories at Samaria¹⁰¹. This suggests that there was a workshop in the Israelite capital. Furthermore, the finding of a hieroglyphic transcription on one of those pieces, which A. Rowe reads as "Eliashib"¹⁰², points to "a complex relation of some kind between Egypto-Phoenician and Israelite craftsmen"¹⁰³.

It is difficult to determine whether the worship of Baal entered Israel in Ahab's days as the result of the queen's influence (cf. II Kings 3 : 2), or whether the Tyrian "trading quarter"¹⁰⁴ in Samaria, which must have preceded the marriage by a number of years, led to the Tyrian cult in Israel's new capital. Undoubtedly it was Jezebel who determined the status of Baal and his worship in the life of Israel, for henceforth it was the official religion of the queen of Israel. It may even be argued that by this step Ahab recognized the power of the Tyrians (and their god), and accepted willingly this foreign service¹⁰⁵, although he did not become a follower of the Tyrian Baal, any more than Solomon worshipped the Egyptian gods.

In Samaria (in the royal quarter), the house of Baal¹⁰⁶ was built by Ahab according to the biblical account (I Kings 16 : 32), and by Jezebel according to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII, 318; elsewhere by Ahab — *Ant.* IX, 138). This structure, which was certainly built by Tyrians, followed Phoenician design. "The (sacred) pillars of the house of Baal" (II Kings 10 : 26) bring to mind the pillars, Jachin and Boaz (I Kings 7 : 21), as well as "the pillars (of your strength)" (*מצבות עֹז*) (i.e. of Tyre) in the prophecy on Tyre in Ezek. 26 : 11. An "asherah" was set up either by Ahab (I Kings 16 : 33) or by Jezebel (*Ant.* VIII, 318). An altar to Baal

101 J. W. Crowfoot & G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London 1938, 50.

102 *Ibid.*, 28-29; please note that name.

103 Albright, *ARI**, 180 note 16.

104 Cf. also Herodotus II, 112: The "Tyrian camp" in Memphis; "within the enclosure stands a temple, which is called that of Aphrodite the Stranger" (translated by G. Rawlinson, *The Greek Historians I*, New York 1942, 134).

105 This is not similar to the Assyrian idol-worship introduced by Ahaz in Jerusalem (II Kings 16:10) and by Manasseh (II Kings 21:5), for they did so as vassals of the Assyrian king. On the other hand, the "Baal and Asherah" of Manasseh testify to a connection between Jerusalem and Tyre (see below, Chapter XI, pp. 263-64).

106 Thiersch suggested that this temple might be sought under the ruins of the temple built by Herod in honor of Emperor Augustus (*ZDPV* XXXVI [1913], 55).

was erected (I Kings 16 : 32) and services were held (cf. II Kings 10 : 18 ff.). The enormous number of the prophets of Baal and prophets of Asherah¹⁰⁷ who ate at Jezebel's table (I Kings 18 : 19)¹⁰⁸ constitutes proof of the importance of the worship of the gods of Tyre¹⁰⁹ in Samaria.

The queen did not content herself with introducing the worship of the gods of her native city¹¹⁰; she also persecuted the prophets of the Lord of Israel (as we hear from the stories about Elijah). Such large-scale worship — so forcefully fostered — must have shown an intent to influence the broader population, and not merely the royal court. Striking evidence of this goal is afforded by the names of the ostraca of Samaria, many of which have compounds with "Baal"¹¹¹. The verse, "...and all the worshippers of Baal came... and they came into the house of Baal, and the house of Baal was filled from end to end" (II Kings 10 : 21) may be interpreted similarly.

On the other hand, we can assume that the priests of Baal, who certainly came from Tyre (cf. II Kings 11 : 18), brought with them the customs and needs of residents of the international metropolis. This led to the imitation of their foreign mores and their daily life patterns by the inhabitants of Samaria and by the higher ranks in Israel. The Tyrian Baal was worshipped by the Tyrian engineers, architects, laborers, and crafts-

107 Cf. "the wizard" of Asherah in one of the Taanach letters (*ANET* 2 490b), who may be similar to the "prophet" of Asherah (I Kings 18:19) (Albright, *BASOR* 94 [1944], 18). A reference to both gods may be deduced from Jezebel's threat, "the gods do the same to me and more" (I Kings 19:2); the Septuagint, to be sure, has the singular: $\delta \theta ε ο ς$ but the plural form appears in some MSS.

108 The numbers 450 for the prophets of the Baal and 400 for the prophets of Asherah (I Kings 18:19) should not be taken literally; in the story of the kings of Israel and Judah and Micaiah son of Imlah, we have again "about 400 prophets" (I Kings 22:6). Still we do not accept the general opinion that the reference to the prophets of Asherah is a gloss cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 300, 310; cf. also the 100 prophets of the Lord, hidden by Obadiah (I Kings 18:13).

109 Sanda, *Könige* I, 430.

110 Ethbaal was priest of Astarte on the eve of his usurpation of the throne of Tyre (*C. Ap.* I, 123).

111 On the ostraca of Samaria, the ratio of the names formed with $b'l$ to those formed with yhu (or yw) is roughly 7:11 (Albright, *ARI*⁴, 160). Noth pointed out that of the royal officials (and their fathers) only two bear a name formed with $b'l$ compared with five formed with $y(h)w$, while among the vine-dressers eight names are formed with $b'l$ as against six with $y(h)w$ (Noth, *IP*, 120).

men engaged in the many royal building projects, as well as the Tyrian merchants, but these religious services quickly attracted the upper classes, first in Samaria, and later also in Jerusalem¹¹². The foreign influence exerted not only upon Samaria's upper stratum but also upon the people at large could not have been to the liking of the faithfully devout Israelites.

The Bible does not give us any clue which could enable us to identify the Baal whose cult was introduced by Ahab and Jezebel in Samaria (I Kings 16 : 32)¹¹³ and by Athaliah in Jerusalem (II Kings 11 : 18).

112 It can be assumed that there was only one temple of the Tyrian Baal in Samaria, and there was one more in Jerusalem. Cf. the command of Elijah: "but now, send and summon... the 450 prophets of Baal... and the 400 prophets of the goddess Asherah, who are Jezebel's pensioners" (I Kings 18:19); and later the destruction of the temple in Samaria by Jehu (II Kings 10:27) and in Jerusalem by Jehoiada (II Kings 11:18).

113 Noth thinks that the Baal in I Kings 16:32 is the "tyrische Hauptgott" (Noth, *Könige*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, 355). Thus already Winckler, *GI* I, 163. In this connection, we must recall briefly the episode of Elijah on Mount Carmel. Alt holds that the Baal of Carmel was identified — by a later — as the Baal of Jezebel (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 137). Albright points out that Jezebel propagated the cult of the Tyrian Baal (Albright, *ARI*⁴, 156–157; 229 note 47; cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* VIII, 318; IX, 136, 138). The story includes a significant detail encountered later in Heliodorus's account of a celebration at the time of a sacrifice to the Tyrian Melqart (= Heracles): there the dancers (Tyrian merchants) leaped (cf. I Kings 18:26) around an altar in a special dance (Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* IV, 17). The "450 prophets of Baal... and the 400 prophets of the goddess Asherah" (I Kings 18:19) were not the prophets of Baal of Carmel, for they had to be summoned from Samaria. While Elijah "repaired the altar of the Lord, which had been torn down" (*ibid.*, 30), the prophets of Baal had to erect one (*ibid.*, 26). (On the contrast between the singular verb in the MT in contrast to the plural form in the Septuagint, cf. the different commentaries). This too teaches us that the prophets of Baal were not affiliated with the cult of Baal of Carmel. We may note that when Herodotus visited Tyre, he identified the temple of Baal-Shamên as a temple of Melqart (he speaks of two temples of Heracles; Herodotus II, 44); this teaches us that in the fifth century B.C.E. Melqart had become so important as to supplant Baal-Shamên.

Eissfeldt's identification of Baal of Carmel with Baal-Shamên (Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 57 [1939], 1ff., 19 ff.) has been confirmed by the publication of an inscription by M. Avi-Yonah (*IEJ* 2 [1952], 118 ff.). This inscription deals with a dedication to Zeus of the Carmel, verifying the identification of the "Baal of Carmel" in the geographical description of Pseudo-Scylax "*Κάρμηλος ὄρος ἐπὶ Διός*" [Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minores* I, § 104]). Alt has suggested that Elijah demanded a change of cult on Mount Carmel

The same Baal is mentioned again in the days of Manasseh (II Kings 21 : 3)¹¹⁴, and both Ahab and Manasseh also made an "asherah" (I Kings 16 : 33; II Kings 21 : 3). Bearing in mind the Asherah of the Tyrians in the Legend of Keret¹¹⁵ and the story of Menander about the restorations of the temples of both Heracles (Melqart) and Astarte¹¹⁶ by Hiram I (*C.Ap.* I, 118), we feel that the scale is weighed in favor of an identification with Melqart. To this we have to add that in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre¹¹⁷, Melqart belongs to the gods ruling over land (in contrast to Baal-Shamêm, who is a "sea/weather" god). This is an important distinction¹¹⁸. We, therefore, believe that the Baal of Ahab and Jezebel was the "Tyrian Baal", or Melqart, exactly as a temple was built to him in each new Tyrian trading-post overseas¹¹⁹.

The Bible tells us of a severe drought that afflicted the kingdom of Israel during the latter half of Ahab's reign. The end of the drought has been connected with one of the tales of Elijah and Mount Carmel¹²⁰. This drought is also mentioned by Menander in his account

because the close friendship between Tyre and Israel had brought about a return of Mount Carmel to Israel (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 276-277). We are not so sure that Mount Carmel was restored to Israel; it was still the border between Phoenicia and Israel.

114 Cf. Chapter XI, pp. 263 ff.

115 Cf. *ANET*², 145a.

116 Without going into details about the characteristics of the goddess, one should not forget that Astarte and Asherah "seem to interchange repeatedly in the Hebrew Bible, where both are mentioned with Baal" (Albright, *ARI*⁴, 74).

117 *ANET Suppl.*, 534a.

118 Cf. all other inscriptions in which Baal-Shamêm is mentioned. With one exception, the Zakir inscription, they all come from harbor towns.

119 Cf. note 113; also Alt *Kl. Schr.* III, 274 and Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 202; cf. also the Melqart stela of Bar-hadad, line 1: נצבת (= "stela") and מצבת הבעל (= "the sacred pillar of the Baal", II Kings 3 : 2).

120 It seems that the drought that also afflicted the kingdom of the Sidonians, was more severe in Israel (Israel was an agrarian state), for Elijah spent most of the time of the drought in Zarephath, on the Phoenician coast, between Tyre and Sidon (cf. I Kings 17 : 9-10). The definition "Zarephath, a village of Sidon" (*ibid.*) is no evidence of a separate state of Sidon, independent of Tyre, for it is only a geographical definition in a "prophetic tale", which is not interested in historical data, but only in its hero. Josephus declares that Zarephath is "a town not far from Sidon and Tyre" (*Ant.* VIII, 320). In the geographical description by Pseudo-Skylax, Zarephath is a "city of Tyre" (*Τυρίων πόλις Σάραπτα*); Galling believes

of the history of Ethbaal, as follows : "There was a drought in his reign, which lasted from the month Hyperberetaios¹²¹ until the month of Hyperberetaios in the following year. But he made supplication (to the gods¹²²), whereupon a heavy thunderstorm broke out" (*Ant.* VIII, 324)¹²³. We learn from this passage that special records of the deeds of Ethbaal were kept in Tyre¹²⁴. At a time of severe drought, Ethbaal, who had been priest of Astarte (*C.Ap.* I, 123) prior to ascending the Tyrian throne, prayed on behalf of his people. Each nation, or more properly each tradition, took credit for calling down the rain after prayers and supplications to its deity.

The long and prosperous reign of Ethbaal undoubtedly left its mark on the city of Tyre itself. The Balawat reliefs show Tyre well protected by a huge wall and strong towers¹²⁵ (see below and cf. Ezek. 27 : 10-11). The expansion of international trade demanded an enlargement of the possibilities of docking the "ships-of-Tarshish" coming to Tyre from afar. We believe that during this period of time the artificial southern port was built¹²⁶, which is called in classical writing the "Egyptian

that Zarephath is named "mit bewusst akzentuierter Voranstellung", because once it had belonged to Sidon (Galling, *Studien*, 195). We doubt that Pseudo-Skylax knew his Bible so well. Cf. also Achilles Tatius: Σάραπτα νόμην Τυρίων (II, 17, 2). Of great interest is the tale about a possibility of extradition (I Kings 18 : 10), but to deduce from it a supremacy of Tyre over Israel (cf. Winckler, *KAT*³, 175) seems to us unwarranted.

121 I.e. the seventh month = Tishri (Sanda, *Könige* I, 146).

122 The text is corrupt, and the translation of R. Marcus is based on his emendation. The Latin text has the singular form (deo) (cf. A. Shalit his note 425 to Book VIII, or the Dindorf edition [Paris 1865], I, 320).

123 Kugler sought to demonstrate that the drought began in Adar (February/March) that is in the last month of the year, and ended in Tishri (i.e. the seventh month) of the "third" year. Therefore he sees no contradiction between the biblical story of a three years drought and Menander's account (Kugler, *Moses*, 142 ff.).

124 Cf. the "chronicles of Solomon" (I Kings 11 : 41); see also Chapter VI note 11.

125 *ANEP* no. 356. See the discussion on these bands *infra*. A possible representation of Tyre occurs on the Balawat Gate of Ashurnasirpal (unpublished) (cf. R. D. Barnett, "Ezekiel and Tyre", *Eretz Israel* 9 [Jerusalem 1969], 6 note 6).

126 Cf. Poidebard, *Un Grand Port Disparu Tyr*, Paris 1939. If Hiram I had built this port, we should expect to have heard of it in the accounts of Menander or Dios. In the days of Eloulaios (cf. Chapter X) it already existed (Barnett, *Archaeology* IX [1956], fig. 9; *ANEP* no. 356: the town gates in the city wall may be the two harbors).

port" ¹²⁷. Not only are the measurements of the dressed blocks in the walls of this harbor exactly the same as those in the palace of Ahab in Samaria ¹²⁸, but the construction is also similar, the stones laid with a single stretcher alternating with one, two or three headers, as in Samaria ¹²⁹, Megiddo ¹³⁰, and Kition ¹³¹.

The depiction of two gates in the city-wall of Tyre in the relief-bands of Balawat ¹²⁵ also suggests Tyre's two ports, as does the description of Tyre as "throned above your harbors" (Ezek. 27 : 3). We are of the opinion that the historical background of the description of Tyre as a glorious ship, and the catalogue of her world trade (interwoven into this lamentation), do not suit the period of time of the prophet Ezekiel. The omission of both Bablyon ¹³² and Carthage ¹³³ from this unique document, as well as the subjugation of the major town-states on the Phoenician coast to Tyre, brings us again to the period of Ethbaal and/or his immediate successors. (One can hardly assign this chapter to the period of Hiram I.) B. Mazar believes that this chapter is based on an older Phoenician tradition that was rediscovered in the period of the New Babylonian Empire, when priests and scribes concerned themselves with the antiquities of their homeland ¹³⁴. Apparently Ezekiel (or a compiler) made use of a Phoenician *Vorlage* in this lament over Tyre ¹³⁵.

Thus we read ¹³⁶ :

127, Arrian II, 20, 10.

128 Crowfoot, *SB*, 98.

129 *Ibid.*, 5-9; pl. XIII.

130 Lamont-Shipton, *Megiddo* I, 13 ff.; figs. 14, 15, 52, 56.

131 Birmingham, *AJA* 67 (1963), 20.

132 The speculations about this omission are as numerous as the commentaries; one should not forget that Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Tyre for thirteen years (*C. Ap.* I, 156; *Ant.* X, 228) (cf. also Chapter XII, . . .) On the other hand, Ezekiel calls Babylonia and Babylon "a land of commerce" and "a city of merchants" (Ezek. 17:4, cf. Ezek. 16:29).

133 This contra the Septuagint (and subsequently the Vulgate), which render Tarshish (Ezek. 27:12) as Carthage.

134 Albright, *FSAC*, 175, 240 ff.

135 Cf. Maisler (Mazar), *IEJ* 2 (1952), 83-84.

136 We made use of the translation of *The New English Bible*, Oxford/Cambridge 1970, although its translation is in itself a commentary, sometimes based on versions and corrections in regards to the MT. But the reader will get an excellent conception of Tyre's vast trade, and it is this point which is of importance to us. For deeper understanding, the reader should make use of the commentaries. We believe (contra Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 649 ff.) that a pattern is perceivable in this catalogue (vv. 12-24). We like to add that Zimmerli's commentary is helpful (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*,

2. "... raise a dirge over Tyre ¹³⁷,
3. and say, Tyre, throned above your harbors ¹³⁸, you who carry the trade of the nations to many islands (to many coasts), thus spoke the Lord God: Tyre, you said: 'I am perfect in beauty' ¹³⁹.
4. Your frontiers are on the high seas, your builders made your beauty perfect.
5. They fashioned all your timbers (= ship boards) of pine trees from Senir ¹⁴⁰; they took cedar from Lebanon to raise up a mast over you.
6. They made your oars of oaks from Bashan; they made your deck strong ¹⁴¹ with box-wood from the coasts (islands) of Kittim ¹⁴².
7. Patterned linen ¹⁴³ from Egypt was your canvas to make your sails;

600 ff.); there the reader will also find a rich bibliography. Furthermore we would like to mention i.a. S. Smith, "The Ship Tyre", *PEQ* 85 (1953), 97-110; J. H. Kroeze, *The Tyre-Passages in the Book of Ezekiel*, *Studies on the Book of Ezekiel*, Potchefstroom 1961, 10 ff.; H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy On Tyre*, Rome 1968. Although this last book calls itself "A New Approach", we have to confess that we looked in vain for this new approach. However it stresses the great dependency of the language used in these chapters (26-28) on the Ugaritic literature. But van Dijk did not follow up his thesis, nor did he come to any conclusion regarding this phenomenon. Here we would like to express our thanks to Dr. H. P. Rüger, who kindly put at our disposal his yet unpublished dissertation: *Das Tyrusorakel, Ezechiel 27*, Tübingen 1961.

- 137 The metre is that of a *qinah* (lamentation); cf. i.a. H. Jahnow, "Das Hebräische Leichenlied", *BZAW* 36 (1923), 212-218; Long, *JBL* LXXXV (1966), 86.
- 138 The plural form may refer to the two harbors of Tyre: the Sidonian and the Egyptian harbors (Arrian II, 20, 10); but the Septuagint (and the Vulgate) have both the singular form; perhaps it is actually the singular fem. form, ending in *-at* and pronounced *-ôt* (J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, Roma 1951, 99:§ 228).
- 139 This expression is found again for Tyre in Ezek. 28:12, and for Jerusalem in Lam. 2:15.
- 140 Cf. Deut. 3:9; the mountain Senir is already mentioned by Shalmaneser III in a record from 841 B.C.E. (*ANT*², 280b); cf. also Michel, *WO* Heft IV (1949), 266 note 2.
- 141 כִּי־אֲשֵׁרִים should be read as כִּי־אֲשֵׁרִים = in ship-timber (Gesenius¹⁷, 869; Koehler-Baumgartner, 1017); perhaps it should also be understood as a description of the deck, its wood inlaid with ivory?
- 142 The wood of the deck came from the Tyrian stronghold: Kiti(on) on Cyprus; thus a further source for the wood used by the shipbuilders in Tyre has been mentioned.
- 143 This word (shsh) is found in the Egyptian language (Erman/Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 539 f.).

your awnings were violet and purple¹⁴⁴ from the coasts (islands) of Elishah.

8. Inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were your oarsmen; you had skilled men within you, o Tyre¹⁴⁵, they served as your helmsmen.
9. You had skilled veterans from Byblos caulking your seams; you had all sea-going ships and their sailors to market your wares.
10. (Men of) Pharas,¹⁴⁶ and Lud, and Put served as warriors in your army. They hung shield and helmet around you; it was they who gave you your glory.
11. Men of Arvad¹⁴⁷ and Cilicia¹⁴⁸ manned all your walls, and men of Gammad¹⁴⁹ were posted on your towers, and hung their shields around your walls; it was they who made your beauty perfect.
- 25.¹⁵⁰ Ships of Tarshish were the caravans for your imports; you were

144 One must differentiate between two different kinds of purple. blue-purple (חבלת) and red-purple (ארגמן) (Gesenius¹⁷, 878, 63; Koehler-Baumgartner, 1028, 83); cf. also *takiltu* and *argamannu* in one of the tribute-lists of Tiglath-Pileser III (*ANET*², 283a; *ibid.* note 6).

145 Kraetzschmar proposed the correction: Zemer instead of Tyre (R. Kraetzschmar, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, Göttingen 1900, 209); his correction has been generally accepted. The town of Zemer should be looked for on the northern Phoenician coast between Arvad and Botrys, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir (Eleutheros); cf. also Gen. 10:18 = I Chron. 1:16. But Eduard Meyer did not accept this correction (Meyer, *GA* II/2, 128 note 1) nor, more recently, Moriarty, *Gregorianum* 46 (1965), 83 f.

146 In Ezek. 30:5 we read: Cush and Put and Lud, certainly as people in Africa. The suggestion that the poet wanted to emphasize the distant peoples: Pharas=Paras=Persia in the east, Lud (= Lydia?) in the north, and Put in the south, has not been proven. Zunz's observation that פרס (Persia) is to be found "nur bei den Schriften der persisch-griechischen Epoche" (J. L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Frankfurt 1892, 170) is now antiquated, as the "land Parsua and the land of the Medes" are already mentioned in the "Black Obelisk" Inscription of Shalmaneser's 24th year (= 833 B.C.E.) (Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 581).

147 Cf. also the 200 soldiers of Arvad, who participated in the battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III in 853 B.C.E. (*ANET*², 279a).

148 This is an "interpretation" of the NEB; this interpretation has been already proposed by Sarsowsky, *ZAW* 32 (1912), 147.

149 Gammad should be identified with Kumidi (cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 193, 396; B. Mailser (Mazar), *Untersuchungen*, 8 note 2; Noth, *ZDPV* 60 (1937), 221-222; *EA*, pp. 1214-1215; 1923).

150 Vv. 12-24 are written in prose; they give a catalogue of the different countries and the merchandise to be sold and to be bought by Tyre (the discussion cf. *infra*). The lamentation (= the poem) starts again with v. 25.

deeply laden with full cargoes on the high seas.

26. Your oarsmen brought you into many waters, but on the high seas an east wind wrecked you.
27. Your wealth, your staple wares, your imports, your sailors and your helmsmen, your caulkers, your merchants, and your warriors, all your ship's company, all who were with you, were flung into the sea on the day of your disaster.
28. At the cries of your helmsmen the troubled waters tossed.
29. When all the rowers disembark from their ships, when the sailors, the helmsmen all together, go ashore,
- 30.¹⁵¹ they exclaim over your fate, they cry out bitterly; they throw dust on their heads and sprinkle themselves with ashes.
31. They tear out their hair at your plight and put on sackcloth, they weep bitterly over you, bitterly wailing.
32. In their lamentation they raise a dirge over you, and this is their dirge: 'Who was like Tyre . . . in the midst of the seas?'
33. When your wares were unloaded from the sea, you met the needs of many nations; with your vast resources and your imports you enriched the kings of the earth.
34. Now you are broken by the sea in deep water; your wares and all your company are gone overboard.
35. All who dwell on the islands (on the coasts) are aghast at your fate; horror is written on the faces of their kings and their hair stands on end.
36. Among the nations the merchants jeer in derision at you; you have come to a fearful end, and shall be no more for ever".

The end of this lamentation (vv. 25-36), although written in the same qina-metric surely demonstrates eloquently the status of Tyre in the ancient world. So lordly was Tyre, linked with all the nations of the earth in trade that her demise seemed to be the end of the world. Thus the sinking of the "Ship Tyre" in the midst of the seas creates repercussions to the ends of the earth. The beginning and the end of the poem are separated by prose section (vv. 12-24)¹⁵², which reads as follows:

12. Tarshish¹⁵³ was a source of your commerce, from its abundant re-

151 In vv. 30 ff. we have a valuable description of the mourning rites; however the lamentation is not limited to Tyre, it affects all the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea.

152 The division is in round numbers of the verses, in order to facilitate the reading.

153 The Septuagint translates "Carthaginians"; but all these metals can be

- sources offering silver and iron, tin and lead, as your staple wares.
13. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech¹⁶⁴ dealt with you, offering slaves and vessels of bronze as your imports.
 14. Men from Togarmah offered horses, mares and mules as your staple wares.
 15. Rhodians¹⁶⁵ dealt with you, great islands were a source of your commerce, paying what was due to you in ivory and ebony.
 16. Edom¹⁶⁶ was a source of your commerce, so many were your undertakings, and offered purple garnets, brocade and fine linen¹⁶⁷, black coral and red jasper, for your staple wares.
 17. Judah and Israel¹⁶⁸ dealt with you, offering wheat from Minnith¹⁶⁹, and meal, syrup, oil and balsam, as your imports.
 18. Damascus was a source of your commerce, so many were your undertakings, from its abundant resources offering wine of Helbon¹⁶⁰ and wool of Şahar;
 19. and casks of wine¹⁶¹ from Izalla¹⁶² for your staple wares; wrought iron, cassia, and sweet cane were among your imports.

found in Southern Spain (cf. A. Schulten, *Tartessos*², Hamburg 1950, 29; cf. also E. A. Speiser, *The Anchor Bible, Genesis, Garden City 1964*, 66).

- 154 These three countries are also named together (in the same sequence) in Gen. 10:2; cf. also E. A. Speiser, *ibid.*, 66.
- 155 As Dedan is mentioned again in v. 20, we accept the correction into R(h)odan(im), which is also in conformity with the Septuagint: *ῥοδοί* 'Ροδίων.
- 156 The MT has here: Aram (cf. also verse 18: Damascus); one should read here "Edom" (similarly Targum and Vulgate; the Septuagint has: *ἀνθρώπους* (ed. Swete) = אדם !
- 157 Accadian *bûsu* (cf. Kilamu-inscription [*ANET* Suppl., 655a]); Gr. *βύσσος* = undoubtedly one of the Phoenician commodities sold to the Greeks.
- 158 The MT has ארץ ישראל; the Septuagint reads *ῥοδοί τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*; both readings have their difficulties.
- 159 We do not know whether the wheat was grown in the vicinity of Minnith, a town in the territory of the Ammonites (cf. Judg. 11:33; Josephus, *Ant.* V. 263; Alt, *Kl. Schr.* I, 159 note 3). As Ammon is not mentioned in this catalogue, there may also exist a fair possibility that we have here a lacuna which spoke about Ammon.
- 160 The wines of Helbon and of Izalla were famous; cf. also a text from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, which speaks i.a. "of the wine of Izalla, . . . of Hülbunim, . . ." (Langdon, *NBK*, 90/91; 154/155). The wine of Helbon was the table wine of the Persian kings (Strabo XV, 3, 22); cf. also Millard, *JSS* VII (1962), 201 ff.
- 161 This is a correction; cf. the different commentaries.
- 162 Cf. note 160.

20. Dedan¹⁶³ dealt with you in coarse woollens for saddle-cloths.
21. Arabia and all the chiefs of Kedar were the source of your commerce in lambs, rams, and he-goats; this was your trade with them.
22. Dealers of Sheba and Raamah dealt with you, offering the choicest spices, every kind of precious stone and gold, as your staple wares.
23. Harran, Kanneh, and Eden¹⁶⁴, dealers from Ashur and all Media dealt with you;
24. They were your dealers in gorgeous stuffs, violet cloths and brocades, in stores of coloured fabric rolled up and tied with cords; your dealings with them were in these.

This prose section describes the various countries of the ancient world that were linked by trade to Tyre. Indeed, without this list it would not have been able to imagine the scope of Tyre's international trade. These thirteen verses give us a stunning picture of Tyre, "whose merchants were princes, and her traders most honored men on earth" (Isa. 23:8). According to this description all the goods of the ancient world flow to Tyre¹⁶⁵. We may also assume that each nation sold its characteristic products, which were then re-sold to other customers. Thus this catalogue represents a unique document for the cultural (or economic) history of the period.

- 163 Cf. also "Sheba and Dedan", the traders of Tarshish (Ezek. 38:13). Here the daughter, Tarshish, stands instead of her mother, Tyre.
- 164 The MT has here, after Eden *וכלי שבא* ("the dealers of Sheba") as in v. 22; the Septuagint has immediately after Kanneh: "*οὗτοι ἔμποροί σου*" "they were your dealers" (cf. vv. 17, 22, 24).
- 165 We may be allowed to say (even a bit roughly, yet for the sake of better understanding) that there are four main parts in each statement: a) the country which is in commercial relations with Tyre, b) the description of its mercantile relationship to Tyre, c) the merchandise which it offers to Tyre (perhaps is demanded by the customer?) and d) the definition of the barter between this country and Tyre. b) is expressed by two terms, either *סחרתך* (=A) (cf. Koehler/Baumgartner, 655) or by *וכליך* (=B) cf. *ibid.*, 892). d) is also described in two terms, either *עוֹבוֹן* (=α) (cf. *ibid.*, 694) or *מַעֲרָב* (=β) (cf. *ibid.*, 550) (cf. also Graetz, *MGWJ* 25 [1876], 98 ff.). Thus we always have, alternately, either A/α or B/β, in other words, we find Aα in vv. 12, 14 (here A is missing), 16, 18 (here α "slipped" to v. 19), 21 (here we have α in v. 22); on the other hand we find B/β in vv. 13,15 (here β is given as *אשכנז* 17, 20 (here β appears in 19), 22 and 23 (here B only in the Septuagint/ 24 (here at the end we have another expression). We doubt that the compiler of this catalogue had different lists before him (thus Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 649 ff.). The construction of this chapter shows us that some parts of

It is hard for us to accept the notion that Tyre was only a go-between, and we are, therefore, tempted to see in verse 24b-25a a fragment of a list of merchandise offered by Tyre itself to its customers. With more certainty we can say that the trading place was in the 'Eurychōros' (the Broad Place) built by Hiram (*Ant.* VIII, 145), and certainly was enlarged and adapted to the immense size of the trade.

A perusal of the list of nations¹⁶⁶ enables us to distinguish three groups that accord with the geographical outlook of the biblical genealogist of nations¹⁶⁷. The author starts in the west, passes over to Asia minor and greater Syria, and concludes with the Arabian nations and those in the east. One misses such important countries as Egypt and Cyprus, which are in some way or other mentioned in the poem of this chapter (cf. vv. 7 and 6 respectively). Ammon and Moab may have been omitted, as vassals of Israel (if Minnith is identified as a town in the territory of Ammon¹⁶⁸). But we wonder about the omission of the Philistine coastal towns¹⁶⁹. Perhaps as competitors in trade they do not appear in this *Tyrian* document, just as all other Phoenician coastal towns appear only as vassals and not as traders.

According to the Tyrian poet, Tyre is the port not only of the Phoenician

it have been lost. But this fact does not decrease the importance of the document.

166 Albright pointed to the source of these names of places and countries in Ezek. 27. He believed that they "certainly rest on Phoenician sources"; as exactly as "most of the names in Gen. 10 were also derived through Phoenicia" (Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 193 note 36). For the ethnic list in Gen. 10 cf. also E. A. Speiser's discussion in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* III (1962), 235 ff.; idem, *The Anchor Bible, Genesis*, Garden City 1964, 64 ff.

167 Thus also Smend: "... auf die Völker des Mittelmeeres (vv.12-14) folgt das Morgenland in drei von Süden nach Norden parallelen Linien (vv. 15-18, 19-21, 22-24)" (R. Smend, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, Leipzig 1880, 201); cf. also G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, Heidelberg 1949, 45 ff. Rüger's new interpretation (cf. note 136) that these verses cite the four major highways of the Persian empire, does not appeal to us. Did the Persian king really rule as far west as Tarshish in Spain?

168 Cf. note 159.

169 The prophet Ezekiel certainly knows them, and he denounced them in his oracles against the nations (Ezek. 25: 15-17). On the other hand there can be no doubt that the Philistine town-states were in existence in the days of Ethbaal (cf. I Kings 16:15). However they do not appear among the participants in the battle of Qarqar; but II Chron. 17:11 or II Kings 1:2.

coast, but of the entire Mediterranean¹⁷⁰. It may be said here that biblical sources also affirm that Tyre was the sole port on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean during the period of the Solomonic Temple,¹⁷¹ and therefore the only gateway to the western world! Thus Tyre, was in the eyes of the poet, also the navel of the world¹⁷². These facts add weight to the description of the great metropolis, which resembled a "glorious ship", which all the nations of the ancient world vied with each other in ornamenting. We learn about the skill and competence of the Tyrian shipbuilders and ship engineers from the variety of fine woods that were at their disposal to build such a "ship of Tarshish". The firs of Senir (Mount Hermon), the cedars of Lebanon, the oaks of Bashan, the planks of wood from Kittim (=Cyprus) — that is, from far across the sea — are among the building materials used by the workers in the Tyrian shipyards. In addition, other materials used for the sails and for the ornamenting of the ship were all brought to Tyre from afar. Eduard Meyer assumed that the various nations brought their goods to Tyre in their own ships, rather than Tyre importing the merchandise in Tyrian vessels¹⁷³. This view seems implausible, and wholly inconsistent with the Phoenician spirit. Tyrian trade was based upon the Tyrian commercial fleet.

It was this manifold trade that enriched Tyre or, in the words of the poet, "You were deeply laden with full cargoes on the high seas" (Ezek. 27: 25), or "Clever and shrewd as you are, you have amassed wealth for yourself, you have amassed gold and silver in your treasuries; by great cleverness in your trading you have heaped up riches..." (Ezek. 28: 4-5).

Many parts of the "word to the prince of Tyre" (Ezek. 28) also exhibit a very ancient character¹⁷⁴. The archaic expressions and comparisons

170 Cf. A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischem des A.T.*, Leiden 1954, 1. Surely patriotic pride dictated such a statement, for there must have been other ports on the coast of Palestine and Phoenicia. Perhaps to the common man in Jerusalem Tyre was the port on the coast (naturally limited for the time of the House of David). However the verse in Deut. 28:68, which speaks about "ships" which will bring back the Jews to Egypt, is not easy to understand, particularly if this passage belongs to the days of the Deuteronomist (cf. Deut. 17:16).

171 The port of Joppa (Jaffa) (cf. II Chron. 2:15) is here hinted at, perhaps only in consideration of the record which tells us about the transport of cedars in the time of the Second Temple (Esr. 3:7).

172 Exactly as Jerusalem in the eyes of the prophet (Ezek. 38:12).

173 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 129.

174 Albright, *JPOS* XII (1932), 194 note 26. Contra i.a. Morgenstern who

do not suit the days of the prophet Ezekiel. It is difficult to decide whether or not Ethbaal's having been both priest and king influenced that "word". At any rate, the reader of chapter 28 can sense the non-Jewish mythology of many verses, which can be only interpreted as stemming from a "Canaanite" (= Phoenician) origin¹⁷⁵. In this chapter, too, Tyre is depicted as being consummate beauty, wealth and splendor. All these pictures and terms could well suit the period of Ethbaal and his immediate successors, whose long reigns ushered in prosperity and new greatness for the Tyrian empire.

In the last years of Ethbaal's reign the Assyrians renewed their campaigns toward the Mediterranean coast. Following in the footsteps of his father, Shalmaneser III started out in his first year (858 B.C.E.) on a great military campaign against the Land of Amurru and the kingdoms of northern Syria and southern Anatolia. According to the Assyrian records Shalmaneser III reached the Mediterranean coast. Here (where?) "I received tribute from the kings of the seashore. I marched straightaway unopposed . . . throughout the wide seashore. I fashioned a stela with an image of myself as overlord in order to make my name/fame lasting forever and erected it near the sea. I ascended the mountains of Amanus, I cut cedar and pine timber. I went to the mountain region Atalur, . . . I departed from the sea . . ." ¹⁷⁶. Shalmaneser boasted of this campaign and commemorated the receiving of the tribute from the king of the Sidonians in one of the bronze bands of the "Balawat" reliefs¹⁷⁷. These bronze bands were long strips showing different reliefs attached to the main gates (to the throne room?) of Shalmaneser's palace, apparently by means of nails.

In those bands which are to be found in the British Museum¹⁷⁸ the

proposes as a date for this chapter "The period of 490—480 B.C.E." (Morgenstern, *VT* X [1960], 152).

175 This is how we understand the analysis of Ezekiel 28:11–29 by Brock-Utne, though he seeks to attribute these verses to the time of Ezekiel (A. Brock-Utne, *Der Gottesgarten*, Oslo 1936, 107 ff.).

176 *ANET*², 278.

177 These bronze bands — known as the Bronze Bands from Balawat — (cf. *ANEP*, nos. 356 ff.) are supposed to have been found on a mound near the village of Tell Balawat; some scholars doubt this alleged provenance. Yet the discovery of these bronze bands in 1878 stirred great excitement in the scholarly world.

178 In 1908 Billerbeck and Delitzsch published the first serious study of all the material that had reached England and France (A. Billerbeck & F. Delitzsch, "Die Palaststore Salmanassars II von Balawat" Leipzig 1908,

procession of the tribute-bringers of the king of the Sidonians starts on the left and ends on the right. Unger was able to piece together some bands found partially in France and partially in England¹⁷⁹. Another small section showing the tribute of the Tyrians and Sidonians, in which the procession goes from the right to left, is now kept in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore¹⁸⁰. The beginning and the end of the band are lacking, but the end can be completed by one of the pieces studied by Unger¹⁸¹. Thus Unger was right when he proposed that these bronze bands were affixed to the two wings of the main gate facing each other¹⁸², and were nearly mirror images¹⁸³. Band III (of those in the British Museum) is inscribed "tribute (brought) on ships from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon"¹⁸⁴. On the piece in the Walters Art Gallery we read: "the tribute of Tyre and Sidon, silver, gold, lead, bronze, purple-dyed wool I received"¹⁸⁵. As the band is broken we may assume that the text was even longer. Surely ivory is missing, but the omission may only be accidental.

If we examine the bands in the British Museum we see that the tribute is brought in ships from a city built in the "midst of the sea" (= on an island). There can be no doubt that it comes from Tyre, and from Tyre only. On the shore, before the city, stands the king. All scholars agree that band III represents a picture of the first regnal year of Shalmaneser III and his campaign to the west, so that this band can be dated

1–144; pl. I–IV, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. VI, Leipzig 1909). In 1915 L. W. King published a deluxe edition of the bands which are to be found in the British Museum (L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs From The Gates Of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria* London 1915; the bands of Tyre & Sidon: 23 ff.; pl. XIII–XVIII). Cf. also *ANEP* nos. 356–358.

179 E. Unger, *Zum Bronzetur von Balawat*, Leipzig 1912.

180 I would like to thank the Walters Art Gallery and its curator Dr. D. K. Hill for letting me have a photo of the piece in their possession, listed as no. 54.2335 A.

181 E. Unger, *Zum Bronzetur von Balawat*, Leipzig 1912, pl. 1.

182 E. Unger, "Die Wiederherstellung des Bronzetur von Balawat", *Mitteilungen d. Deutsch. Archäolog. Instituts, Athen. Abteilung*, Berlin XXXV (1920), 1 ff.

183 Not only do they differ in the pictures, but in the bands of the British Museum the procession starts on the left side and ends on the right while in the bands of the Walters Art Gallery and in the piece published by both Unger (cf. note 181) and Olmstead, *H.A.*, fig. 69 the procession goes from the right to the left.

184 *ANEP* nos. 356–358; *ANET*², 281a.

185 I have to thank Prof. A. Shaffer of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, who kindly read that inscription for me.

858 B.C.E.¹⁸⁶. Thus these bands constitute a "picture" of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, standing before the capital of his country and looking towards the mainland, where Shalmaneser III and his entourage stand facing the sea. (Surely this does not mean that the Assyrian king was standing opposite to Tyre in Ushu).

This band in the British Museum which is the most complete begins, as has been said, on the left side. At that edge we see the city of Tyre built upon an island in the sea. It is surrounded by high walls fortified with slightly protruding turrets. The walls as well as the turrets are crenelated. There are two gates in the wall. Are they a symbol of the two ports of Tyre? (Cf. "Tyre, throned above your harbors" [Ezek. 27:3].) The old king stands on the shore to the right of his city. The artist has succeeded in making the viewer aware of the advanced age of the Tyrian monarch (according to our chronology Ethbaal was then about 65 years old). His beard is trimmed and he wears a special turban, wrapped about with bands. He is draped in a long robe and holds (a vessel?) in his partially raised hands. Behind him stands the sole woman in the picture (the queen?), who holds her hands (and a similar vessel?) like the king. Her headgear and her attire differ from that of the men¹⁸⁷.

In the "midst of the sea" (i.e. the sea between the island and the mainland) — the artist indicates the water by a succession of waves — are two ships, differing slightly in size. Both have horses' heads for and aft¹⁸⁸. In the boats sit two sailors, each holding an oar. The load includes squares of material (purple-dyed wool? metals?) and trays¹⁸⁹ laden with elephant tusks(?) and kettles. Two men are pulling the ves-

186 Cf. Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 613; Luckenbill's date should be corrected to 858 B.C.E.

187 It should be stressed that Ethbaal is not leading the procession of the tribute-bringers. He is shown as remaining next to his town (= Tyre). One should bear this fact in mind, for on the Black Obelisk Jehu kneels before Shalmaneser III (cf. *ANEP* n. 355). Cf. too the visit of Ahaz before Tiglath-Pileser III in Damascus (II Kings 16:10); or the visits of the Judean royal family in Samaria/Jezreel. Thus we feel that Ethbaal's non-appearance should carry some weight with regard to the general meaning of "tribute" given by the king of the Sidonians to the Assyrian king.

188 The horsehead may have been the origin of the aetiological tale that "Hippos, the Tyrian, invented the cargo-ship" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 206); Olmstead still describes the heads as heads of camels (Olmstead, *HA*, 126).

189 Similar trays can be seen on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (Cf. *ANEP* no. 351 panel V, no. 354 panel II (= Jehu's tribute).

sels ashore, holding ropes on their arms. They are preceded by 11 porters (the last three are still wading through the water). Seven of them carrying square bundles on their shoulders are preceded by four porters each bearing a big kettle (made of metal) on his shoulder. Before them are two men who hold tablets (with tusks?) over their heads, and before these are two men each holding a vessel in their hands. At the head of these bearers of gifts stand two Tyrian dignitaries, one may be the crown prince Baal-esser II.

These Tyrian noblemen holding their partially extended palms together (in a symbol of supplication) are introduced to Shalmaneser by four high Assyrian officials. The whole procession heads toward Shalmaneser, who faces the Tyrians with a sword girt on his left side and the royal turban on his head. Shalmaneser holds a bow and arrow; his bodyguard and his chariot stand behind him.

Thus we learn that the tribute was shipped to the Assyrian king from the island of Tyre. Perhaps one could learn that the tribute was shipped north, from Tyre to the place where Shalmaneser "washed his weapons in the sea"¹⁹⁰. This may explain why Ethbaal did not lead the delegation. The band Unger studied¹⁹¹, as we have already said, starts from right to left, is lacking the city and Ethbaal on its right side, and is continued on its left side by the fragment which is now in the Walters Art Gallery. In that fragment we can still see a porter bearing a square package (purple-dyed wool?). Here the ropes of the two men pulling the vessels ashore lie on their shoulders. In one of the ships (both have horses heads fore and aft) we can see bundles and one tray with tusks, while the other carries bundles and metal cauldrons. The procession of porters begins with five men carrying square packages on their shoulders. They are preceded by a pair of men (we can only see the second; the other one is already depicted in the band kept in the Walters Art Gallery) carrying over their shoulders a pole from which "multicolored garments" are hanging, led by another pair with such a pole and garments. Before them we see another pair of servants carrying little trays, apparently with precious metal bars (gold/silver). They are preceded by a pair of men holding above their heads tablets with ivory tusks, each man followed by some smaller figure (the width of the trays does not allow for them to be depicted the same height), who hold in their uplifted hand some object, certainly something precious. These

190 *ANET*², 278a.

191 Cf. note 181.

servants follow two others each holding in his right hand a metal vessel with one handle, with a sack (apparently a wine-skin) slung over the left shoulder. All these 11 servants follow a Tyrian high official, who is distinguished by a multicolored garment (in contrast to his followers); we can see three wide stripes which embroider his tunic. Apparently this leader has lifted his hands (hands and forearms are missing) for the sake of supplication. Above the heads of this procession is engraved the inscription telling about the tribute. Although the conception of the British Museum band, and that of Unger and the Walters Art Gallery, is the same, there are enough differences, to indicate that each side and band was executed separately.

The kind of the tribute depicted in those bands reminds us of the so-called "Monolith-Inscription" of Shalmaneser III. Here we are told that in his third (regnal) year (= 856 B.C.E.), i.e. in the year of Ethbaal's death, the Assyrian king received "the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast . . . silver, gold, lead, copper, copper vessels, cattle, sheep brightly colored woolen and linen garments"¹⁹². We may assume that Ethbaal or his son Baal-eser was among those kings, although we can not prove it.¹⁹³ This payment of tribute to the Assyrian king, booked in the ledger of Tyre as expenses, must have influenced Tyre's foreign policy and its commitments to its neighbors. The payments of those small nations must have created a common feeling among them at that particular moment, even if Tyre's payments originated from a different reason.

Thus the time had passed when Tyre could stand aloof from events in greater Syria. From now on it was bound to play its part in the long struggle between Assyria and the western sea countries. This development will become clearer in the days of Ethbaal's successors.

Ethbaal died about 856 B.C.E. at the age of 68, having reigned in Tyre for 32 years. Ethbaal had been a blessing for the Tyrian kingdom. He had extended its boundaries and established a mighty empire. We do not exaggerate by saying that his reign marked the golden age of the Tyrian kingdom, "the famous city that was strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants" (Ezek. 26 : 17).

192 Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 603.

193 The annals of Shalmaneser III speak about the tribute of "the kings of the sea coast" [1st year (= 858 B.C.E.) (*ANET*², 278a) or 3rd year (= 856 B.C.E.) (Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 603)]. Another record speaks about the tribute of all the kings of the sea coast" (1st year: Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 618; Hulin, *IRAQ* 25 [1963], 51/52); however we feel that one should not build a theory on such a stylistic divergence.

The House of Ethbaal

ETHBAAL was succeeded by his son Baal-azôr (Balezoros)¹. The tradition of his regnal years is the most faulty of those preserved by Josephus; we have already discussed the problems and proposed revisions above. However, in order to establish as accurate a chronology as possible, we must take into account the reigns of Baal-azôr II, of Mattan I² (grandson of Ethbaal), and of Pygmalion³, as well as a new Assyrian synchronism from 841 B.C.E.

In that new Assyrian inscription, which is dated from 841 B.C.E., a man by the name Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri⁴ is mentioned as king of Tyre in that year. According to Justin⁵, Pygmalion was a "youth⁶ when he ascended the throne of Tyre". According to Josephus's figures⁷, Pygmalion was 11 years old, when he became king in approximately 820 B.C.E. (according to our calculation). Thus 35 years remain for the reigns of both Baal-azôr II and Mattan I. Relying upon the discussion at the outset of *Chapter VI*, we assign 26 years of these 35 years to Baal-azôr, whom we also identify with Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri⁸, and 9 years to Mattan I. If this is the case, then Baal-azôr II was born ca. 874 B.C.E., and came to power ca. 855 B.C.E. He died, after reigning 26 years, in approximately 830 B.C.E. His son, Mattan I, was born ca. 852 B.C.E., ascended the throne ca. 829 B.C.E. and died ca. 821 B.C.E. Then Pygmalion ruled Tyre beginning about 820 B.C.E. In his seventh year, that is in 814 B.C.E., his sister Elissa (= Dido) fled from Tyre and founded the city of Carthage in North Africa. It was, therefore, Baal-azôr II who

1 Harris, *GPhL*, 90; Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 241.

2 Harris, *GPhL*, 108; Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 319; E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, Leipzig 1911, 278; *KAI* nos. 18, 65, 120, 160; Naveh, *Leshonenu XXX* (1966), 238 no. 17 (Hebrew).

3 Harris, *GPhL*, 136-137; Lidzbarski, *HNSE*, 171-172; Lidzbarski, *KI* no. 70; cf. *KAI* nos. 32, 33, 73.

4 Safar, *Sumer VII* (1951), 11-12, 19, pl. II.

5 Justinus, *XVIII*, 4, 4.

6 *Puer*, not *infans*.

7 *C. Ap.* I, 125.

8 See chapter VI, pp. 118-119; cf. also Lipiński, *RStO* 45 (1970), 62.

witnessed the westward expansion of the Assyrian Kingdom under Shalmaneser III.

In 853 B.C.E., in the vicinity of Qarqar⁹, Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria clashed with the coalition of the kings of Greater Syria, headed by Hadad-esser, king of Aram (-Damascus)¹⁰ and Irhulini, king of Hamath. Among the "12 kings of Hatti-land" (or of the sea-shore) were Ahab of Israel¹¹, and some kings and cities of the northern Phoenician coast, such as Mattan-baal of Arvad (with 200 soldiers), the cities of Usanat(a)¹² (with 200 soldiers), Irqanata (= Tell 'Arqa¹³), and Shian¹⁴ (cf. "the Arkites, the Sinites" [Gen. 10 : 17]). The last two towns are each credited with 10,000 soldiers (!) which is obviously an error; probably 100 soldiers each was intended. There is no mention whatsoever of the big cities of the southern Phoenician coast, Byblos¹⁵, Tyre, and Sidon. Can we conclude from this significant omission that Tyre and its towns remained aloof while their best customers were being attacked? Even if the omission of Byblos, Sidon and Tyre means that at the time there was only one united kingdom ruled by the king of the Sidonians, who resided in Tyre, we have only succeeded in limiting the question,

9 Cf. Hallo, *BAR-Reader* 2 (1964), 159 ff.

10 *ANET*², 278b-279a.

11 The Monolith-inscription records 2000 chariots (this is the largest number of chariots among the confederates !) and 10,000 foot soldiers under Ahab's command. How complicated the problem of forage, etc. must have been. In I Kings 20:15 Ahab has only 7232 soldiers at his disposal; this too shows clearly that chapter 20 does not belong to the days of Ahab; cf. also further down.

12 Dussaud, *ThS*, 133.

13 *Ibid.*, 80 ff.; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 177.

14 El-Amin, *Sumer* IX (1953), 45.

15 Contra Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 245; as this Monolith-inscription is written "rather carelessly by a provincial scribe" (Tadmor, *ibid.*, 244), it contains a great many scribal errors. Therefore the town/land Gu-a-a must not be just corrected: Gu-[bal-] a-a (thus Tadmor). Why can the error(s) not be in the writing of Quê? Quê appears first in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (cf. Goetze, *JCS* XVI [1962], 51). Besides the Monolith-inscription Quê appears in the "Black Obelisk" (cf. Albright, *BASOR* 120 [1950], 23 note 10), and now also in the inscription of the "Kurba'il"-statue of Shalmaneser III (Wilson, *IRAQ* 24 [1962], 96). Furthermore in Byblos' long history we could not find any episode in which such a great number of soldiers are mentioned. (cf. 200 soldiers of Arvad against 500 soldiers of "Byblos"; this is said without debating the necessity of keeping a number of soldiers in the home city because of the strained relationship between Byblos and Tyre at that very moment.

for it is still important to determine why the kingdom of the Sidonians is not mentioned among the confederates of the Greater Syria coalition.

We have already hinted that the non-participation of these three cities is a proof of our contention that at this very time they constituted a "political union". We need, therefore, determine only the reason for the absence of the head of this group, that is the "king of the Sidonians", in this account. It is difficult to propose an answer. We imagine that in one way or other the king of the Sidonians was called upon to contribute his share to the joint effort of all the western nations in order to halt and to ward off the aggression of the Assyrian invader. In all the long history of Tyre, however, we never hear of any military action of Tyre on the mainland. Moreover, thus far no documents have been discovered offering any evidence of a Tyrian campaign on the continent. While the inhabitants of Tyre defended their city valiantly, they did not go to the mainland to fight, let alone to locales farther off. Tyre's strength lay in its large fleet, not in its footsoldiers. Mercenaries served in the Tyrian "army" (cf. Ezek. 27 : 10-11). One may also assume that there was a silent agreement between Tyre and Shalmaneser III ever since Tyrian emissaries had met the Assyrian king on the northern Phoenician coast (north of the river Orontes) in 858 B.C.E.¹⁶. Nonetheless, taking into account the influence that so domineering a person as Jezebel must have exerted, her brother Baal-azôr II surely could not have stood aloof, while Ahab and other allies sought to contain the Assyrian invaders. Tyre's help in the war effort of the western sea kings undoubtedly confined itself to a large monetary contribution to the allies' war chest.

As far as we can interpret the Assyrian sources, the king of the Sidonians apparently continued to pay his tribute to Shalmaneser III in all those years, when the Assyrians were fighting in the west. Thus we understand the report on the Black Obelisk from Shalmaneser's sixth year (= 853 B.C.E.). There it is said i.a.: "I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. I received tribute from [all] kings of Hatti. At that time Hadad-ezer [of] Damascus, Irhulini from Hamath, as well as the kings of Hatti and [of] the seashore put their trust on their mutual strength and rose against me to fight a decisive battle..."¹⁷. We must distinguish

16 Cf. the Balawat-inscriptions and the bronze bands of Balawat (*ANET*², 281a; *ANEP* nos. 356-358).

17 *ANET*², 279b; one may argue that the inscription on the "Black Obelisk" distinguishes between the kings of Hatti and the kings of the seashore.

here between those kings who paid their tribute, and those kings who preferred to put up a strong resistance against the Assyrian king. There can be no doubt that the king of the Sidonians was among those kings who were willing to pay in order to be able to trade and who viewed such a payment more as a tax than a real tribute. Actually, in the long run, it was the customer who had to pay for such a tribute. Surely there was not much sense in paying and then in fighting.

This assumption also falls in line with a "new" inscription of Shalmaneser's days, published in 1963¹⁸. Here we read in lines 29–34 about the defeat of Hadad-er and of Irhulini of Hamath and of the 12 kings of the sea-coast at the battle "from the town of Qarqara to the town of Diliziau". Lines 34–35 give a summary of Shalmaneser's ten crossings of the Euphrates in his first thirteen years of reign (13th year = 846 B.C.E.). Lines 35–36 read: "... the splendor of my lordship I spread over the lands of Hatti, Meşri, Tyre, Sidon, and Hanigalbat". Then follows the record about the conquest of Enzi (in 856 B.C.E.). Surely the phrase about the spreading of "Shalmaneser's splendor" should be understood in terms of these countries paying tribute instead of putting up a fight¹⁹. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the great coalition of the kings of the sea-coast succeeded in blocking the advance

For the text of (e.g.) the eleventh year reads: "... at that time Hadad-er of Damascus (and) twelve kings of the land of Hatti..." (Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 568), while the inscription on the "Bull-Clossus" from Calah (*ANET*², 279b) reads: "In the eleventh year of my rule ... at that time, Hadad-er of Damascus ... together with the 12 kings from the seacoast..." We see here a mere scribal phrase.

18 Hulin, *IRAQ* 25 (1963), 48 ff.

19 We too feel that Hulin is right in his division: first comes the summary of the number of Shalmaneser's crossings of the Euphrates (cf. Hulin, *IRAQ* 25 [1963], 61: lines 34–36), then follows the account about Shalmaneser's "overlordship" over Hatti, Meşri, Tyre, Sidon Hanigalbat (*ibid.*, 50: lines 35–36). Still one can not date this "overlordship" because that story follows the year of the loth crossing (847 B.C.E., or here, erroneously, 846). The importance of this inscription lies in its indirect date, which is an additional proof of a payment of tribute by Tyre at an early date (we believe in Shalmaneser's first regnal year), and certainly before Shalmaneser's 18th year (= 841 B.C.E.), when the Assyrian king mentioned the tribute of Tyre, Sidon and Jehu. Of great importance too is the mention of Meşri (= Muşri) and the context in which it is mentioned (cf. also Hulin, *IRAQ* 25 [1963], 61–62). Muşri appears among the twelve kings of Hatti in the "Monolith-inscription" of Shalmaneser's sixth year (= 853 B.C.E.). The identification of Muşri in this inscription with Egypt (thus Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 [1961], 143 ff.) does not convince us.

of the Assyrian king in spite of his boastful words that "the kings of the sea-coast dispersed themselves to save their lives"²⁰. It must be assumed that Shalmaneser turned north; it may even be that it was at this very time that he "embarked upon boats and made a journey into the high sea"²¹. Still, during the next four years of his reign, Shalmaneser III did not go west again and did not appear in Greater Syria.

About one full year after the battle of Qarqar, Ahab, brother-in-law of the king of the Sidonians died, and Ahaziah, the son of Ahab and Jezebel, ruled in his stead over Israel (I Kings 22: 40)²². We feel that we are not much mistaken, if we claim that Jezebel's influence as queen mother was even greater than in the days of Ahab. The close connections between Tyre and Samaria now became even stronger than before. It may be no accident that in that very year — perhaps even at the request of the king of the Sidonians; surely with his knowledge and full support — Ahaziah suggested to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah that he assist him in a joint enterprise: the renewal of the trips to the Land of Ophir, the land of gold (I Kings 22: 49; II Chron. 20: 35 ff.).

Both biblical accounts clearly show two stages in this joint project. The author of Chronicles relates: "Later Jehoshaphat king of Judah allied himself with Ahaziah king of Israel; he did wrong; and he joined with him to build ships to go to Tarshish²³ and they built ships in Ezion Geber". We note with interest the Phoenician term "h-b-r"²⁴ used for this joint venture dealing with a shipping company, known to us also from the report of Wen-Amon²⁵. Perhaps because of the Judeans' lack

20 Cf. also the increasing number of the dead claimed to have been killed by Shalmaneser in the battle of Qarqar in the different inscriptions. This to should be interpreted as a sign of his wishful victory (Michel, *WO*, Heft II [1947], 60 note 13).

21 *ANET*², 279b.

22 We follow the chronology proposed by Tadmor, *Encyclop. Biblica* IV (Jerusalem 1962), col. 302.

23 The text does not speak about ships that sail from Ezion-Geber around Africa to Tartessos, Spain. The expression used means a "cargo/merchant ship" fitted for remote voyages. Of course only one ship is mentioned (cf. Septuagint: III Kings 16:28).

24 Cf. chapter IV note 148; here we may add that these large-scale commercial naval enterprises became ventures of the kings (=states), because both profits and losses could be high, and by such a joint sponsorship the partners shared profits and losses (like an insurance policy); cf. also S. E. Loewenstamm, "Beith Haber", *Encycl. Biblica* II (Jerusalem 1954), col. 72 (Hebrew); Harris, *GPhL*, 100.

25 *ANET*², 27a.

of experience in matters of navigation, perhaps because of other deficiencies and mistakes, the experiment of the Judean king failed, and the ships were wrecked while in Ezion Geber. "Then ²⁶ Ahaziah son of Ahab said to Jehoshaphat: my servants should go with your servants in the ships; but Jehoshaphat would not" (I Kings 22: 50 [= NEB 49]). Apparently Jehoshaphat was disheartened, perhaps because of religious or other reasons and was no longer interested in renewing such a project. Winckler interprets Jehoshaphat's unwillingness as refusal of an obligation due to an overlord ²⁷, but we do not accept this interpretation. The political connections between Israel and Judah (and Tyre) remained strong until 842 B.C.E. (cf. also the visit of Ahaziah of Judah at the court at Jezreel — II Kings 8: 29).

One may question how Ahaziah's servants gained the maritime experience needed to guide the servants of the Judean king, for they too were inhabitants of an inland Israel. (This is said in spite of the fact that the port of Dor was located in the kingdom of Israel.) Nor does the Bible contain any allusion to a naval project of the kingdom of Samaria or of the kingdom of Judah, other than this fruitless enterprise in Ezion Geber. The answer to our question may be found in the firm bonds between the kings of Israel and the king of the Sidonians. If this is the case, we might guess that the Tyrian merchant king was behind the scheme to forge cheaper and more direct links with the Arabian nations and with land of gold.

Josephus, apparently paralleling his account of Solomon's Tarshish-ships in the sea of Tarshish (Tarsus in Asia Minor) (*Ant.* VIII, 181), says of Jehoshaphat: "He was also friendly with Ahab's son, who ruled over the Israelites, and joined with him in building ships to sail to Pontus and the trading stations of Thrace" (*Ant.* IX, 17) ²⁸. Josephus decidedly erred here, for the Sidonians surely would have agreed to bring outsiders into their Mediterranean trade or form a "h-b-r" (company) with outsiders; precisely the opposite was the case.

In 851 B.C.E. Jehoram of Judah became co-regent with his father Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem, and beginning with that year Tyrian influence in Jerusalem and Judah grew ever stronger. Jehoram's wife, Athaliah, who grew up under the influence of Jezebel, must have been one of the most outspoken proponents of imitation of the mores of the Samaritan royal

26 Montgomery, *Kings*, 204.

27 Winckler, *KAT*³, 252.

28 Cf. R. Marcus' note to his edition of Josephus, *Ant.* IX, 17 (Loeb Classical Library), vol. VI, 10 note b.

court. The building of the Tarshish-ships in Ezion Geber took place in that same year. Was it mere a coincidence? Jehoram's ascent to the throne in Samaria, after the death of his brother Ahaziah, in 851/850 B.C.E. certainly did not lead to any change in Israel's foreign policy as long as Jezebel, the queen mother, influenced political life in Samaria directly or indirectly.

After a lull of four years Shalmaneser III renewed his military campaigns against the west in 849 B.C.E., when he was met again by Hadad-esser of Damascus and his allies.²⁹ He did likewise in 848 B.C.E. ³⁰ and again in 845 B.C.E. ³¹. Usually Shalmaneser reached the border of the kingdom of Hamath. Though great victories were recorded by the Assyrian king, the results were only destruction and pillage. Never do the annals speak about payments of tribute collected from the "twelve kings of the sea-shore". Some time after 845 B.C.E. a *coup d'état* took place in Damascus, bringing a military usurper, Hazael, to the throne of Aram,³² as noted in both the Bible (II Kings 8: 15) ³³ and the Assyrian sources ³⁴. This coup changed the political relations between the new ruler of Damascus and the former allies of Hadad-esser. From that time on the great coalition ceased to exist; it is never again mentioned by Shalmaneser III. While the Assyrian king always speaks about Hadad-esser and his allies in all his inscriptions dealing with the campaigns of the years 853, 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E., the campaigns of 841 and 838 B.C.E. are called only campaigns against Hazael of Damascus.

The hypothesis of Levi Della Vida that Bar-hadad I was married to a Tyrian princess ³⁵ suggests that the good relations between Ahab and Jehoram of Israel on one hand, and Hadad-esser on the other, documented by Israel's assistance to the king of Aram at the time of the clashes with Shalmaneser III may also hint at such family bonds and political liaisons. They came to an immediate end when Hazael strangled

29 I.a. *ANET*², 279b.

30 I.a. *ANET*², 279b, 280a.

31 I.a. *ANET*², 280a.

32 Both Hazael and Jehu (cf. II Kings 9:1 ff.) were army-commanders before they usurped the throne in Damascus and in Samaria respectively.

33 The Bible gives the name as Ben-hadad (II Kings 8:7 ff.). Here we follow the Assyrian records for obvious reasons (Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 681: "... Hadad-esser died. Hazael, the son of a nobody, seized the throne..."); the expression used here is "šad-dā-šu emid" = he died of an "unnatural death" = he was murdered (cf. Weidner, *AfO* 13 [1939/40], 233 f.).

34 Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 681.

35 Levi Della Vida, *BASOR* 90 (1943), 31-32.

Hadad-esser and usurped the throne in Damascus. This deed ended any alliance between both royal houses and families in Tyre/Samaria and in Damascus; now the former became anti-Damascus, certainly in Israel where Jezebel was presumably hurt personally by the murder of her sister's family. Soon thereafter we find Jehoram of Israel as an opponent of Hazael (cf. II Kings 8 : 28). Whether Elisha interfered as a "conspirator" against the Aramean king and thus against the Aramean royal family, in order that his plans against Jezebel and her family might be more quickly realized, we do not know; still the interference of Elisha as kingmaker outside of Israel³⁶ is not only strange, but unique.³⁷

Thus Hazael became the only enemy of Shalmaneser III in the west. Yet Hazael was still so powerful that he could refuse any payment, for Shalmaneser mentions only pillage and plunder, but never tribute.

On the other hand Hazael did not forget the passive attitude shown him by the former allies of Aram, who apparently refused to be subordinated to Damascus. This negative stand would eventually bring great trouble to Israel.

Israel had become much weaker in those years; it had lost Moab (II Kings 1 : 1); and "Edom revolted against Judah" (II Kings 8 : 20), with whom there were family and political bonds, Aram had not only occupied the whole of Bashan — this must have been in the days before Omri became king in Israel — but had penetrated deeply into the Gilead. Ramoth-Gilead was still successfully defended by Jehoram, and perhaps for a short time also by Jehu. Only Judah remained faithful to Israel, for Ahaziah of Judah, mainly because of the royal family-bonds "allied himself with Jehoram son of Ahab to fight against Hazael king of Aram at Ramoth-Gilead" (II Kings 8 : 28). This war may be dated ca. 842 B.C.E., at which time Hazael was powerful enough to press southwards into Israel. The revolt stirred by Jehu in 842 B.C.E. in Israel, and the seizure of the Judean throne by queen mother Athaliah at that very time broke even the last connection among the western sea-coast states, certainly between Israel and Judah.

Thus, when Shalmaneser III reappeared in the west in 841 B.C.E.³⁸,

36 Winckler, *KAT*³, 248 ff.

37 Cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 392-393; Montgomery had in mind the activity of the prophet in a foreign country (he also quotes the Balaam oracles), but it is the active interference in the affairs of a foreign state which is a unique phenomenon. In spite of the many layers in this story it is this point which is worthy of research.

38 *ANET*², 280.

he found his only real foe in Hazael. It appears that Hazael, though much pressed by the Assyrian king who followed him to Damascus in order to conquer the city, was able to hold his ground and to defend the city successfully. Shalmaneser then turned to the defenseless places in Hauran (either personally or by sending some contingents), and finally wheeled around to the sea.

There is a difference of opinions about the road taken by Shalmaneser from Hauran to the Phoenician coast, as well as disagreement regarding the identification of where the route ended, "the mountains of Ba'li-rā'si". There are two main versions which tell us about the battle against Hazael of Damascus in 841 B.C.E., about the flight of the Aramean king, the fruitless siege of Damascus his capital, and about the route taken by the Assyrian king after (?) all these events. Although these inscriptions are nearly identical, there are still some divergences. They read as follows :

A ³⁹		B ⁴⁰
I marched as far as the mountains of Hauran, destroying, tearing down and burning innumerable towns, carrying booty away from them which is beyond counting.		I
I (then/also)		marched as far as the mountains of Ba'li-rā'si, which is at the side of the sea
		and which is opposite the land of Tyre,
		and erected (there) a stela with my image as king.
At that time		I received the tribute of
the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon		Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri, the Tyrian and of Jehu son of Omri.
		On my return I climbed up Mount Lebanon. I erected (there) a stela of my image as king next to the stela of Tiglath-Pileser, the great king who preceded me.

39 Luckenbill, *AR I*, § 672 = *ANET*², 280b = Michel, *WO*, Heft IV (1949), 266-267. This text now has a companion: Wilson, *IRAQ* 24 (1962), 94 ff.

40 Safar, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 11-12, 19 = Michel, *WO* 2 (1954), 38/39.

Text B tries to fix the place of Ba'li-rā'si more exactly. The promontory is not only near the sea (or, more precisely, on the Phoenician coast), it is also opposite to the *land* of Tyre. This fact limits the identification to two points: to the northern borderpoint of the Tyrian mainland territory, or to the southern border with Israel. The last identification was again propounded recently by Aharoni⁴¹. His view is that the Assyrian army marched from "Northern Transjordan (= the Hauran mountains in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser) to the Phoenician coast by the easy and nearest way, i.e. via the valley of Jezreel". Therefore Aharoni identifies Ba'li-rā'si with the Carmel⁴². As against this stands Winckler's old proposal⁴³ which is accepted by most scholars⁴⁴. Winckler identifies Ba'li-rā'si with the promontory at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb.

Weissbach, the editor of the inscriptions at Nahr el-Kelb, suggests that one of the six Assyrian reliefs there, is that of Shalmaneser III, because of its similarity to Shalmaneser's image at the Tigris tunnel⁴⁵. Because of the poor state of most Assyrian reliefs, however, he cannot make his suggestion with certainty, despite his belief that there are many good reasons for its consideration. After all, there was already a long tradition for such representation at the rocks of the Nahr el-Kelb⁴⁶. On the other hand there is neither a tradition for such representation on the Carmel, nor are there any remnants which could be interpreted as a relief at Mount Carmel.

Nor does Dussaud's notion that the geographical site of the Carmel

41 Aharoni, "The Carmel as Israel-Tyre Border, in *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee*, Jerusalem 1965 (Hebrew), 61; A. Malamat agrees with Aharoni's identification, but he also raised another possibility for an identification: the site of Râs-en-Naqura (A. Malamat, *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger*, Chicago 1965, 372). This last identification has been proposed again by Lipiński, although he stresses that such an identification should not mean that Râs en-Naqura was the southern border point of the kingdom of Tyre (Lipiński, *RB* 78 [1971], 91).

42 Aharoni's argument that the Carmel was a center of the cult of Baal (the Tyrian Baal) does not appeal to us (Y. Aharoni, *Carta's Atlas of the Bible*, Jerusalem 1964, 86 [Hebrew]).

43 Winckler, *AO* X, 4 (1909), 16; idem, *KAT*³, 43-44, 190.

44 I.a. E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, New York 1918, 80; Luckenbill, *AR* I, 228 note 1; Michel, *WO*, Heft IV (1949), 267 note 6.

45 F. A. Weissbach, *Nahr el-Kelb*, 25; Weidner, *OLZ* 27 (1924), col. 645 ff.

46 There are certainly 3 Egyptian reliefs (nos. 1, 8, and 10); one of them represents Ramesses II (cf. Gressmann, *AOBAT*², no. 146: "Asarhaddon und Ramses II [Nahr el-Kelb]"; but Gressmann corrected this caption to read: "Salamassar III und Ramses II" [*idem*, 50]).

offers a "much more favourable place" for the camping of the Assyrian army than the vicinity of Nahr el-Kelb⁴⁷ convince us. Undoubtedly the army (and the king) did not wait until the sculptor had finished his work.

In considering the possibility of the route via the valley of Jezreel, one may also ask why Shalmaneser mentioned neither Jezreel nor Samaria, and why he had to receive Jehu at the very moment when he had left the territory of Israel. After all by that time any payment for the sake of keeping away the Assyrian king from pillage and plunder (cf. II Kings 12 : 18 ff. = NEB 17 ff.) was useless or even too late. Furthermore, one should not forget that by travelling via Israel Shalmaneser would be right in the back of Hazael. One may doubt whether the Assyrian king would be willing to expose himself to such a potential hazard. Barring new information that could tip the scale in favor of the Carmel we are inclined to accept the general notion identifying Ba'li-rā'si with the promontory near the narrow pass at the Nahr el-Kelb. This identification also dovetails, we believe, with the route taken by Shalmaneser III from the mountains of Ba'li-rā'si to Assyria. For he "climbed up Mount Lebanon and erected (there) a stela⁴⁸ of his image next to the stela of Tiglath Pileser (I), the great king who had preceded" him⁴⁹. There can be no doubt that this indicates the northern part of Phoenicia.

We have tried to represent this question as fully as it deserves, because of the importance of its conclusions. By the identification of Ba'li-rā'si with the mountains (or better, with the rocks) at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb, where the old road passed between the sea and the mountains, we now know the northern border of the Tyrian state. Thus the king of the Sidonians was ruling over the whole southern Phoenician coast, from Akko in the south to Nahr el-Kelb in the north, or a stretch of more than 100 km. (This does not mean that the whole coastal strip belonged entirely to the Tyrian state.) There are about 20 km. between Nahr el-Kelb and Byblos, and another 15 km. north of Byblos we come to Botrys (= Baṭrûn of to-day), a town which was (re)founded by Ethbaal,

47 R. Dussaud, *Syria* 29 (1952), 385.

48 Shalmaneser III erected many stelae. However a treatise about these stelae is still missing (cf. Michel, *WO*, Heft II [1947], 62 note 21).

49 Safar, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 11-12; cf. also the stela of Shalmaneser next to the one of his predecessors on Mount Atalur ("...to Mount Atalur, where the image of Anhirbi had been set up, I marched. My image I erected alongside of his") (Luckenbill, *AR* I, §600); Olmstead identifies this king with Ashur-rabi (Olmstead, *HA*, 75).

the father of Baal-azôr II (*Ant.* VIII, 324), both as a checkpoint for the independent (?) Byblos and as a fortress on the way toward the north. These facts certainly throw an incontestable shadow on Byblos as an independent state; but we know neither the shape nor the strength of this shadow because of the paucity of our sources.

We also believe that one should not connect the payment of the king of the Sidonians to Shalmaneser III, nor the tribute of Jehu with the erection of a stela at the mountains of Ba'li-râ'si. For this story starts with the formula "at that time"⁵⁰. Shalmaneser received the tribute of the Tyrians (and Sidonians) and of Jehu, and there can be no doubt that these payments were given to him when he was in the west, possibly, when he was engaged in his war against the king of Damascus. We are not sure, however, whether the king of the Sidonians really preceded Jehu in paying the tribute, as we are told in the Assyrian records. It might have been the quantity or even the regularity of the payments of the Tyrians which determined the sequence in the Assyrian inscriptions. On the other hand there can be no doubt that Jehu's payment was something new, and by itself of great importance in the eyes of the Assyrian recorder, for the scene is also represented on the famous Black Obelisk⁵¹, as was the tribute of the Tyrians and Sidonians in the bands of the Bronze Gates of Balawât⁵² in 868 B.C.E.

Contrary to Kraeling, who stated that actually "none of these states needed to pay tribute"⁵³, we strongly believe that there were good motives for both Baal-azôr II and for Jehu to pay it. But the sources of their motives were of quite different character. Jehu's coup had not only destroyed the good relations between the courts of Tyre and Samaria, but had also weakened Israel's political position vis-à-vis its neighbors. We may surmise that Israel had lost its hold on Ramoth-Gilead at this very time. Israel had become a *quantité négligeable*. Having lost his friends and allies and being harassed by Hazael, Jehu hurried to pay his respects to Shalmaneser III in the hope of buying a pro-

50 "In those days" (*ina ûmê me shúma*) (Michel *WO* Heft IV [1949], 266/67). Cf. also i.a. II Kings 10:32; 15:37; 20:1 or the Hebrew expression "IN" (=then) in e.g. "the annals of Solomon" (Montgomery, *Kings*, 204).

51 *ANET* nos. 351-355; it is Shalmaneser's farthest penetration to the west/south. Perhaps that distance was one of the *leitmotives* for the representation of these five peoples in the five rows on the "Black Obelisk".

52 Cf. *ANET*², 281a; *ANEP* nos. 356-358; Michel, *WO* Heft IV (1949), 267, notes 7 & 8.

53 E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, New York 1918, 80.

tektor. On the other hand, the tribute of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon was in fact the payment of the king of the Sidonians. For it is Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri who appears in the second (parallel) text, instead of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon. Just as his father Ethbaal had paid his tribute for the right of trade in 858 and 856, Baal-azôr had paid tribute in 853, and now again in 841 B.C.E. The tribute of Baal-azôr included silver, gold, lead, bronze and purple wool⁵⁴, products typical of a Phoenician tribute.

In 838 Shalmaneser III once more went out against Hazael, king of Aram. He claims that he conquered four of the latter's strong cities and he adds: "I received tribute from the countries of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos"⁵⁵. This information confirms our belief about the regularity and continuity of the Tyrian payments. This was the price the merchant prince had to pay for Assyrian goodwill, and for the permission to trade.

The notation of Byblos is surprising and we have no explanation for it. Another entry in the annals of Shalmaneser from his 25th year of reign (= 834 B.C.E.): "the gifts of the kings of Hatti, all of them, I received"⁵⁶ may also hint at a further documented payment of the Tyrians.

Besides these regular dues there was certainly another motive for the Tyrians to buy the goodwill of the Assyrians. This reason lay in the rivalry and competition among the main Phoenician cities, Tyre and Arvad, at this very time. Arvad, which had appeared as a foe in the text dealing with the battle of Qarqar, is now mentioned in the Assyrian sources as a city which is near to the heart of the Assyrian king. In a "Brick Inscription" Shalmaneser records the making of a golden image of the god Armada⁵⁷. By paying homage to the god of Arvad, Shalmaneser must have desired not only to recall the historical connections between Arvad and Tiglath Pileser I, but also to win himself a friend on the northern Phoenician coast.

This *rapprochement* apparently started very early, for in another ver-

54 A. Billerbeck & F. Delitzsch, *BzA* VI/1 (1909), 78-82 (cf. also Chapter VII note 178).

55 *ANET*², 280b; we now have a bit more detailed text about the campaign of Shalmaneser's 21st year (= 838 B.C.E.) (Laessøe *IRAQ* 21 [1959], 154-155). However the entry about the tribute of the Phoenician town-states is the same as in *ANET*².

56 Luckenbill, *ARI*, § 582.

57 Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 709; Michel, *WO* Heft IV (1949), 268-269.

sion of the Assyrian annals we find an interesting addition to the story of the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C.E. There Shalmaneser tells us that after he had beaten Hadad-esser and the 12 kings of the seacoast, he "embarked upon boats and made a journey into the high sea"⁵⁸. We believe that Matinu-ba'lu, king of Arvad (thus the king of Arvad is called by Shalmaneser in his list of the 12 kings of the sea coast) had made his peace with the Assyrian invader as soon as Shalmaneser wheeled around to the northern Phoenician coast after the battle of Qarqar. And exactly as Tiglath Pileser I had been treated by the Arvadians to an excursion on the "sea", from Arvad to Zemer⁵⁹, thus also Shalmaneser was entertained by Matinu-ba'lu. Therefore in neither 841 and 838 is Arvad included in the list of Phoenician towns which paid tribute to Shalmaneser. We may then understand the eagerness of the king of the Sidonians to send his tribute regularly to Shalmaneser as the Tyrian reluctance to accept any priority of Arvad in the commercial field. The close relationship between Arvad and Shalmaneser may also be deduced from the Assyrian records which deal with the latter's many campaigns against Que and other Cilician town-states, and to his many visits to Mount Amanus for cutting cedar timbers. This is particularly obvious in the second half of Shalmaneser's reign⁶⁰ and these operations support the thesis of good relations between Arvad and Shalmaneser III.

On the other hand Tyre's relations with Aram prospered. Tyre became now the harbor of Damascus: "Damascus was a source of your commerce, so many were your undertakings..." (Ezek. 27:18). Now with Hazael's conquest of large parts of Israel's "territory eastwards from Jordan: all the land of Gilead, Gad, Reuben, and Manasseh, from Aroer, which is by the gorge of the Arnon, including Gilead and Bashan" (II Kings 10:33), and the revolt of Edom in the south, the main route — the "king's way" and the "way of Bashan" — which ran from Arabia and Egypt to Damascus and to the Euphrates, by-passed Israel. This fact influenced existing political and commercial thinking in Tyre, and fostered the latter's relations with Aram. The ivories of Arslan Tash — one has the name of Hazael inscribed on it⁶¹ — bear some witness that mercantile relations between Tyre and Aram were pros-

58 ANET², 279b.

59 ANET², 275a.

60 Luckenbill, AR I, §§ 574-583 = the years 842, 840, 839, 837, 836, 834, and 833 B.C.E.

61 F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. XLVII, 112a.

pering. (Much later, in the days of Amos, we shall find an echo of the profits made by Tyre out of the wars between Aram and Israel [Amos 1:9]⁶². The scale of commerce must have been larger than we can imagine to-day. Here we should also mention that the oldest Iron Age oriental object found in Greece is a "Syrian bronze bowl" of the third quarter of the 9th century B.C.E.⁶³. The question of how this Phoenician art object found its way to Athens can be answered only by guess-work. But the reader should remember that the metal work of the Phoenicians is praised highly i.a. in the poems of Homer⁶⁴. With the murder of Ahaziah of Judah by Jehu's servants in 842 B.C.E., his mother Athaliah seized the reigns of government in Jerusalem (II Kings 11:1ff.)⁶⁵. The worship of Baal of Tyre (= Melqart) had been introduced into Jerusalem in the days of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 8:18) and was certainly fostered by the queen after the death of Jehoshaphat. Tyrian influence and mores came in its wake, thus benefiting Tyrian trade. The foreign priesthood was headed by Mattan, priest of Baal, no doubt a Tyrian himself, well-versed in the rites of the Tyrian god (II Kings 11:18 = II Chron. 23:17). Yet with the execution of Athaliah Jehoiada obliterated all external signs of the Tyrian influence. Thus we may assume that during the first part of Jehoash's reign over Judah commercial and political links between Tyre and Judah must have suffered greatly.

Before continuing with the events in Tyre's illustrious history, we feel that some consideration should be given to an important phenomenon in the history of the Near East. During the whole 9th century B.C.E. (the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, and Shamshi-Adad [= 883-811 B.C.E.]) we do not hear of any active role played by Egypt in Western Asia. (We do not accept the notion that the 1000 soldiers of "Musri" mentioned in the Assyrian list of Shalmaneser among the 12 allies of Hadadeser of Aram at the time of the battle of Qarqar

62 Cf. Chapter IX pp. 196 ff.

63 Cf. Dunbabin, *The Greeks*, 36 ff.

64 *Iliad* XXIII, 743; *Odyssey* IV, 615-619; XV, 425.

65 Even before her ascension to the throne of Judah, Athaliah's influence in the government must have been very strong. One should not forget that her husband Jehoram was ill during his last years of reign (II Chron. 21:19). Again, as queen mother (II Chron. 22:3), and as regent in the absence of the king, her son, who had gone to visit his cousin King Jehoram of Israel, she already had *de jure* and *de facto* power. We feel therefore, that the usual wording about *usurpation* (thus again Bright, *Israel*, 233) should be re-examined.

should be read as 1000 soldiers of "Egypt"⁶⁶.) Besides some vases bearing the cartouches of the Egyptian Pharaohs — one large alabaster vase with the cartouche of Osorkon II was found in the excavations of Samaria⁶⁷, and a fragment of a statue of the same Pharaoh was discovered in the excavations of Byblos⁶⁸ (and some vases with the cartouches of Osorkon II, Shishaq II and Takelot II [= ca. 870–820 B.C.E.], found in Almuñecar⁶⁹, on the southern coast of Spain, one with Phoenician letters on it, evidently traded by Phoenicians) — we have no sources which may shed light on this inactive period in Egyptian relations with Western Asia. Thus there was no real power which could stem the Assyrian invasions of this period, and later Hazael's supremacy in Greater Syria remained uncontested.

Both Amos and Hosea speak about Egypt (in the first half of the eighth century B.C.E.), but they actually refer only to Israel's sojourn in Egypt and to Israel's exodus⁷⁰, in other words about an earlier period of history. To this we must add the verse: "The king of Israel has hired the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt to attack us (= the Arameans) . . ." (II Kings 7:6). This verse dealing with a siege of Samaria and its miraculous raising, does not belong to the days of the Omrides, but to the period of Jehoahaz, who was "subject to Hazael king of Aram and Ben-hadad son of Hazael in all the days" (II Kings 13:3; the NEB translates: for some years!)⁷¹.

We firmly believe that the "kings of Egypt" must be the "kings of Muzri", the same Muzri mentioned by Shalmaneser as one of the participants in the battle of Qarqar. For how odd to call for help from

66 Cf. i.a. Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), 143 ff.; idem, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 245; cf. also note 19.
67 G. A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations in Samaria*, Cambridge, Mass. 1924, I, 247; II, pl. 56g; cf. also some of the ivories of Samaria with their Egyptian motives (J. W. Crowfoot & G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories From Samaria*, London 1938, e.g. plates I–III).
68 M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Texte I, Paris 1939, 115 ff.
69 A. García Y Bellido, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Papers, I, Jerusalem 1967, 50; fig. 22–24.
70 Cf. Amos 2:10; 3:1; 4:10; 9:7 Hos. 2:17 (=NEB 2:15); 8:13 (the MT "does not" have the second clause about Assyria, which appears in 9:3); 11:1,5; etc. The characterization of Egypt as a counterweight against Assyria are very few, e.g. Hos. 7:11; 11:11; 12:2 (NEB 12:1); still the reader should not forget that more than seventy years have passed since the days of the battle of Qarqar.
71 Note that Elisha calls the king of Israel "son of a murderer" (II Kings 6:32).

far Egypt⁷² and from the Hittites, if these peoples did not live in some proximity to Aram (cf. Asa king of Judah bribing Ben-hadad of Aram against Baasha king of Israel — I Kings 15:18 ff.). Certainly one could not raise a siege quickly, if an army had to march from the valley of the Nile up to Aram. We feel, therefore, that "Mizrajim" should be interpreted as "Muzri", a state which should be sought somewhere in the border area between Syria and Asia Minor⁷³. If this assumption is correct, then the identification of Musri as Egypt in the famous Monolith inscription, also becomes doubtful⁷⁴. This doubt is strengthened by a "new" Assyrian inscription, which names as bearers of tribute "the lands of Hatti, Mešri, Tyre, Sidon, Hanigalbat"⁷⁵. Perhaps further new material will help solve this problem.

We have already noted Jehu's motives in paying tribute to Shalmaneser. The Bible gives a vivid picture of Hazael's hostile actions against Jehu, and the loss of all Israel's territories east of the Jordan. We may assume that Baal-azôr II did not lift a finger to help Israel. He had not forgotten the murder of his sister and her family. Despite the deterioration of relation between Tyre and Israel, however, we do not think that there were active warlike actions between the countries. The successor to Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V (824–811 B.C.E.), did not renew the western campaigns. This is indirectly attested to from the words of Adad-nirari III, his successor, who says that all the "numerous hostile kings . . . had rebelled in the time of my father Shamshi-Adad and had withheld their regular tributes . . ."⁷⁶. No wonder that the kingdom of Aram-Damascus grew strong during the days of Shamshi-Adad and not only subjugated the kingdom of Israel, but also the kingdom of Judah.

It appears that Aram-Damascus' expansion started after Shalmaneser's last campaign against the west in 838 B.C.E. However Aramean aggression reached its peak in the days of Jehoahaz, when "Hazael had left Jehoahaz no armed force except fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand (?) infantry"⁷⁷; for all the rest the king of Aram had destroyed and made like dust under foot" (II Kings 13:7).

72 Cf. i.a. Sanda, *Könige* II, 61; Montgomery, *Kings*, 387.
73 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 230.
74 Cf. *ANET*², 279a note 9.
75 Hulin, *IRAQ* 25 (1963), 53/54; cf. also that same pair: "the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Mizrayyim" (II Kings 7:6).
76 *ANET*², 282a.
77 Cf. also the 10,000 soldiers under Ahab's command at the battle of Qarqar. Without going into any further investigation about such a large

We think that we are not incorrect in claiming that the Aramean expansion was not directed against the king of the Sidonians, but chiefly southwards (cf. Hazael's campaigns against Jehu and Jehoahaz, kings of Israel, and Joash king of Judah; and the campaigns of Hazael's son Ben-hadad against Israel, and northward, against Zakir king of Hamat and Lu'ath)⁷⁸.

We can but guess the price the king of Tyre had to pay for this benevolence on the part of the king of Aram. Hazael's aims in his southern campaigns were to bring under his control the two main routes to Damascus from the south: the *via maris* from Egypt, and the *king's highway* from Arabia. It must be at this period of time that Hazael humbled Jehoahaz of Samaria and established "for himself a trading quarter in Samaria" (cf. I Kings 20: 34). We may doubt that these actions were easily swallowed by the merchant king in Tyre who may have lost part of his transit trade, and also had to suffer from the proximity of a too-powerful neighbor. How great Damascus' wealth became, we may learn from the tribute paid by Ben-hadad the son of Hazael to Adad-nirari III⁷⁹. We may even assume that some of the valuables originated from Phoenicia. In general, however, the relations between Tyre and Aram must have been concentrated in the commercial field. The carved ivories found in Arslan Tash, one bearing the name of Hazael⁸⁰, clearly attest to such close commercial ties in the days of this new dynasty in Damascus as well. Even if we may assume that these ivories constituted in part, tax-payments for transit rights, there also must have been a barter between the countries, for Aram too was interested in selling her home products and exchanging them for wares from far distances through the good services of the Tyrian merchant. We have already learnt the nature of the products from Damascus: "wine of Helbon⁸¹ and wool of Şahar"⁸² (Ezek. 27: 18). We may also suppose that Tyrian architects and craftsmen played a prominent role in

number of soldiers left to Jehoahaz, we feel that those *alafim* stand for a military unit. Such a unit does not need to consist of a full *elef* (= 1000 soldiers).

78 ANET Suppl., 655b-656a.

79 ANET², 281b-282a.

80 F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, pl. XLVII, 112; *KAI* no. 232.

81 Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 655; Millard, *JSS* VII (1962), 201-203; cf. also note 160 of Chapter VII.

82 A word of uncertain meaning (Gesenius¹⁷, 681); cf. also Dussaud's identification with Şadad (Dussaud, *ThS*, 282 ff.).

the ambitious building projects carried out in Damascus by Hazael and his successors (*Ant.* IX, 93).

A word or two must be added about the payment of taxes/tribute to neighboring and distant nations by Tyre. Many opinions have been voiced on this subject. Thus, for example, Mommsen, who could not find words enough to praise Tyrian colonization and initiative, castigated the Phoenicians for "preferring to buy off their conquerors rather than to defend their freedom as the Greek cities did in their wars against the kings of Persia"⁸³. The Phoenicians, however, had almost no hinterland and their cities' modest populations were dwarfed by the vast armies of the kings of Assyria and Babylon. We have already noted that Tyre had (apparently only) mercenary troops, and those certainly in small numbers and chiefly for police-duties. Many of the cities' residents must have been officers on the Tarshish-ships, and merchants and agents in the trading stations overseas. In other words, the structure of the Phoenician city society in no way resembled the structure of a Greek city society. Taxes and/or tribute were reckoned as a commercial expense, and the Phoenicians were prepared to pay for the right of transit; for, as traders par excellence, they understood very well that commerce is a two-way street. Their practical mercantile sense was very much developed, and it dictated the course of their actions. However, if the Phoenician city became convinced that the demanded payment was out of proportion to the expected benefits, that city would not hesitate to withhold the tax or tribute; in other words, it would revolt against the overlord. The valor of the Tyrians, and their sacrifices in the defense of their mother-town can be easily deduced from the many long sieges the town had to suffer.

When Baal-azôr II died, ca. 830 B.C.E., at the age of 45, he was succeeded by his son Mattan⁸⁴. Baal-azôr II was a capable king, who had ably guided his country through all the storm stirred up by Shalmaneser III on the Phoenician coast and in Greater Syria. Assuming that his personality resembled that of his aggressive and active sister Jezebel, then Baal-azôr II was also a worthy son to his great father. We are, therefore, sure that Tyre's dynamic growth and its widespread commerce did not come to a halt. The decline of the Assyrian grip on the west, which had started during the last years of Shalmaneser's reign — and which was only briefly reserved during the reign of Adad-nirari III —

83 T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* I², Berlin 1856, 459.

84 Cf. note 2.

must have been much exploited by the Tyrians for the expansion of their trading empire. It appears that Kition became not only the center of the Tyrians in Cyprus, but also the focal point of Tyrian exploitation of the island's natural riches and resources. In this respect we must mention the discovery of some fragments of a bowl, inscribed in Phoenician letters, in the excavations of Kition carried out by V. Karageorghis. From the text offered by Dupont-Sommer⁸⁵ of this much damaged inscription we may deduce two important facts. 1) The offering (of hair) to the goddess Astarte (cf. Num. 6: 18) was made in Kition; this means that a temple to Astarte, perhaps the chief temple, was located in Kition. 2) The offering was made by an inhabitant of the town of Tamassos, which lies about 35 km. west of Kition. (Tamassos is an important center of the copper mines in Cyprus⁸⁶.) The date of the inscription is given as the second half of the 9th century B.C.E. This agrees with the date suggested by the excavator for the first phase of the big Phoenician temple excavated at Kition in 1968⁸⁷.

This information is in harmony with our knowledge about Tyrian colonization in the western Mediterranean. Here the trading centers must have been more numerous than has been generally estimated. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII, 324) tells us about the foundation of the city of Auza in Libya (= North Africa) by Ethbaal. We learn about a Tyrian Tarshish in Sardinia from the famous stone of Nora, the date of which is the 9th century B.C.E.⁸⁸ Still Donner-Röllig's reading⁸⁹ is erroneous, though very tempting ("Tyre mother of Kition", or even the name (of the king) "P-M-J" (cf. Pumiya-ton = Pygmalion)⁹⁰! We have no suggestion to make, because of the state of that inscription; however, we are con-

85 A. Dupont-Sommer, *CRAIBL* XLIV, Paris 1970, 9 ff.

86 E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cyprien*, München 1903, 176, 177, 181; in the days of Esarhaddon (cf. *ANET*², 291b) – and perhaps already in the days of Sargon – Tamassos was ruled by a local king.

87 V. Karageorghis, *CRAIBL*, Paris 1969, 8.

88 Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 236 note dd.

89 *KAI* no. 46; Mentz claims that his reading is based "on an accurate separation of the letters" ("nur wenn man die Wörter richtig abtrennt") (A. Mentz, "Beiträge zur Deutung der Phönizischen Inschriften", *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIX, 2, Leipzig 1944, 18). However the result of his reading is not equal to his effort.

90 This reading has also been accepted by Galling, *ZDPV* 88 (1972), 148 and by Cross, *BASOR* 208 (1972), 14ff., while Peckham proposes to see in the name of *p-m-y* a deity (Peckham, *Orientalia* N.S. 41 [1972], 459, 465).

tent with the discovery in itself⁹¹. At all events, it was this western mercantile empire which added so strongly to the greatness of Tyre, and it deserves special research. For it seems to us that the kings of the House of Ethbaal played a crucial role in Tyre's unequalled effort to widen its mercantile posts in the Mediterranean⁹². Tyre became the mother of many children⁹³. This relationship is also expressed by Isaiah much later. For he states that Sidon did not have "young sons to rear, no daughters to bring up" (Isa. 23: 4).

When Mattan I ascended the throne of Tyre, he was 23 years old, and he ruled 9 years. We call him Mattan the first, for in an inscription from the days of Tiglath-Pileser III there appears another Mattan, ruler of Tyre, who pays 150 talents of gold to the Assyrian king⁹⁴. Much later, in the Babylonian period, a certain Myttnos is mentioned by Josephus as one of the judges who ruled in Tyre at the time of Nebuchadnezzar (*C.Ap.* I, 157). It seems to us that his Phoenician name was Mattan too. Again, in the days of Xerxes, the Tyrian king who was among the commanders of the Phoenician-Persian fleet is called by Herodotus "Mapen, the son of Siromos"⁹⁵. This should be read, of course, as Mattan the son of Hiram. But at that time Mattan IV was only the second-in-command, being listed after the king of Sidon.

During the reign of Mattan I, Shalmaneser died (824 B.C.E.). We doubt whether Tyre sent its tribute to the new king Shamshi-Adad, because a discontinuity in the payments is hinted at by his son Adad-nirari III. We read in the latter's annals: "As to the numerous hostile kings who had rebelled in the time of my father Shamshi-Adad and had withheld their regular tributes, the terror-inspiring glamor overwhelmed them... they seized my feet... I received all the tributes..."⁹⁶.

Mattan I died ca. 820 B.C.E. Justin relates that the Tyrian king left a will wherein he asked his people to confer the rule after his death upon his son Pygmalion⁹⁷ and his daughter Elissa⁹⁸. The people, however, placed the crown upon Pygmalion alone, who according to Josephus

91 Cf. also Lane, *Handbook*, 551 ff. A new, serious attempt to read the Nora-Stone has been made by Peckham (*ibid.*, 468). Yet we have to confess that we are not persuaded by his endeavors.

92 Thucydides VI, 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 76; Meyer, *GA* II/2, 81.

93 Meleagros, *Anth. Graeca* VII, 428, 14.

94 *ANET*², 282b.

95 Herodotus VII, 98.

96 *ANET*², 282a.

97 Cf. note 3.

98 Harris, *GPhL*, 133.

was 11 years old at the death of Mattan (*C.Ap.* I, 125). The text of Josephus does not give the relationship between Mattan and Pygmalion, but only says that "(Mattan) was succeeded by Pygmalion, who lived fifty-eight⁹⁹ years and reigned forty-seven; in his seventh year his sister took flight and built the city of Carthage in Libya". Justin tells us that their father was "[Mutto] Tyro"¹⁰⁰. Surely both sister and brother belonged to the royal family. As 'their father' Mattan died at the age of 32, both 'his children' must have been very young¹⁰¹. Justin claims that Pygmalion was still a "youth" when he ascended the throne of Tyre¹⁰².

Elissa, so Justin goes on to tell, married her uncle (avunculus = the brother of the mother!), called Zakar-baal¹⁰³. He also relates that Zakar-baal was the (chief) priest of Heracles (= Melqart)¹⁰⁴, and thus second to the king. However, Justin gives the tale of Elissa's marriage to her maternal uncle after the story of the bestowal of the kingship on Pygmalion by the people of Tyre. This may be interpreted as indicating that Elissa was married after the death of her father, and that perhaps the dowager had a hand in this political match. On the other hand, Justin's story about the potentiality given to Mattan in the determination of his successor(s) attests to the entrenchment of the house of Ethbaal and to the people's loyalty to the dynasty. Justin also recounts that Pygmalion was extremely greedy and sought to seize the treasures of his uncle Zakar-baal, the husband of his older sister Elissa, who is called by the Latin writers Dido¹⁰⁵. After Zakar-baal was murdered by command of Pygmalion, Elissa-Dido fled from Tyre to North Africa via Cyprus, accompanied by a number of aristocrats¹⁰⁶. Here she

- 99 Theophilus writes 56 years (Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum*, Oxford 1970, II, 22).
- 100 Justin XVIII, 4, 3; for various readings of the name of the king cf. *Movers* 2, 1, 353 note 64.
- 101 Perhaps very early the word *υιός* (son) (followed by the words: *δς βιώσας*) was dropped by a scribe (haplography).
- 102 Justin XVIII, 4, 4.
- 103 Justin XVIII, 4, 5 ff.; the name is recorded in such corrupt form as *Sicherbas*, *Acerbas*, and others; Harris, *GPhL*, 99; cf. the name of the prince of Byblos: Zakar-baal in the report of Wen-Amon (*ANET*², 26a).
- 104 Cf. the story of Jehosheba, who was a "daughter of King Jehoram of Judah and (the) wife of Jehoiada, the priest" (II Chron. 22:11).
- 105 I.a. Velleius Paterculus I, 6, 4; cf. Meyer, *GA* II/2, 111.
- 106 Justin writes *Principes* (Justin XVIII, 4, 9); the name of one of those Tyrian aristocrats is given as Bitias (Vergil, *Aen.* I, 738); Servius in his

founded the town of Carthage. According to Menander this event took place in Pygmalion's seventh regnal year, i.e. when he was 18 years old (*C.Ap.* I, 125)¹⁰⁷. These stories undoubtedly contain grains of truth. Consequently we need not doubt the basic story, which is also supported by the classical accounts about the foundation of Carthage¹⁰⁸.

Jacob Burckhardt interpreted the assassination of the priest of Melqart as a sign of the Tyrian aristocracy's unwillingness to allow the priesthood to have a say in the secular government¹⁰⁹. Burckhardt viewed Ethbaal as the originator of such a double rule. Thus Pygmalion was put on the throne, because the sea-princes opposed this double regimen. This thesis, however, is not supported by all that we know of the history of Tyre.

It seems that Tyre was beset by political unrest in the very early period of Pygmalion's reign. On the one hand stood the young king, apparently supported by the masses of the people; and on the other side stood the aristocracy headed by the priest of Melqart, who was both the princess' husband and the uncle of the king¹¹⁰.

In his fifth year (= 805 B.C.E.) Adad-nirari III started out in a large westward campaign against Damascus, which made him "conquer... the country of the Hittites, Amurru-country in its full extent, Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, Philistia, as far as the shore of the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, I made them submit all to my feet, imposing upon them tribute"¹¹¹. This was in the 16th year of Pygmalion's reign. Further Assyrian campaigns followed, but in more northern directions (Arpad,

commentary to Vergil states that Livy described this Bitias as the commander of the Tyrian fleet. (cf. also B. Niese, "Bitias 2", *PW* III (1899), col. 544). Another one, named Barcas, became the ancestor of the famous Barcides: Hamilcar and his son Hannibal (Silius Italicus, *Punica* I, 72-75); cf. also Josephus, *BJ* II, 380.

- 107 Timaios calls Pygmalion "king of the Tyrians" (apud *Fragm. d. Gr. Historiker* [ed. Jacoby], *Dritter Teil*, B, Leiden 1950, 624: fragm. 82; *Dritter Teil* b, Leiden 1955, 549: [7]).
- 108 Kugler, *Moses*, 172 ff.; J. Liver, *IEJ* 3 (1953), 116; cf. Chapter VI, pp. 119-120.
- 109 J. Burckhardt, *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*⁷, Stuttgart 1949, 120 note 2; cf. also the Tabnit and Eshmun'azar inscriptions, which may teach us that familial ties between king and priest were by no means limited to Tyre alone (*ANET*², 505).
- 110 Cf. also the parties in Jerusalem (ca. 836 B.C.E.): the priests (Jehoiada) and the aristocracy (the *am-haaretz*) on one side, and the people on the other side ("The *am-haaretz* rejoiced and the city was quiet", II Kings 11:20).
- 111 *ANET*², 281b-282a.

Hazanu, Ba'li in 805, 804, 803 B.C.E. respectively)¹¹². In 802 B.C.E. the Assyrian king reached the Mediterranean Sea¹¹³. There are two inscriptions of Adad-nirari III in which Tyre is mentioned as paying tribute to the Assyrian overlord. In the stone slab from Calah, Adad-nirari gives account of his victories (cf. above). In a stela of the Assyrian king found at Tell Al Rimah we read: "... He (should be read I) received the tribute of Ia'asu the Samaritan, of the Tyrian, of the Sidonian. I marched to the Great Sea, where the sun sets, and erected a stela of my royal self in the city of Arvad, which is in the middle of the sea. I went up the Lebanon mountains and cut down timbers: one hundred mature cedars, material needed for my palace and temples..."¹¹⁴.

We do not know with certainty, whether these two reports speak about two different events, or whether they deal with one and the same campaign. However they contain some valuable information, which we feel worthy to be pointed out: the friendly relations with Arvad; the route taken by the Assyrian king on his way home — from the northern Phoenician coast via the mountains of Lebanon; the variant mentioning of Tyre, once before Israel, once after Israel (while in both places Tyre precedes Sidon, one could nonetheless argue that in the second list the numeration goes from south to the north). We are inclined to say that we have to reckon with several — perhaps even yearly — payments of tribute to the Assyrian king, starting in 805 through 796 B.C.E., when Adad-nirari defeated the Arameans at Mansuate¹¹⁵. The variations in the tribute-lists of Aram may also be interpreted as different payments at different stages. On the other hand, the appearance of Adad-nirari in the west, and his victory over the king of Aram, was hailed as that of a "deliverer of Israel" (II Kings 13 : 5)¹¹⁶.

112 Thiele, *MNHK*, 289.

113 St Page, *IRAQ XXX* (1968), 147; Tadmor, *Qadmoniot II* (1969), 136 (Hebrew); Millard and Tadmor, *IRAQ XXXV* (1973), 60.

114 St. Page, *IRAQ XXX* (1968), 139 ff.

115 Thiele, *MNHK*, 289; Tadmor, *Qadmoniot II* (1969), 136 (Hebrew), Millard and Tadmor propose that "it was probably either in Mansuate or in Damascus that Israel, Edom, and Philistia formerly vassals or dependencies of Aram, sent tribute to Adad-nirari... recognizing his overlordship" (*ibid.*, 64).

116 Maisler (Mazar), *JPOS XXI* (1948), 127. I would like to thank Mr. Y. Boksenbaum of Jerusalem for drawing my attention to an expression in the book of Hosea: "Assyria shall not save us..." (Hos. 14:4 [NEB 14:3]). So great must have been the impression of that salvation by the Assyrian king, that Assyria now became the redeemer *par excellence*.

It appears that this year should also mark Adad-nirari's last appearance in the south-west; for more than 50 years there was no further Assyrian campaign to the Mediterranean Sea. In consequence, the many western countries not only enjoyed the downfall of Aram, but also saw a most prosperous period in their histories.

We may also be allowed to argue such a prosperity for Tyre, where Pygmalion ruled at this period. Surely the Tyrian king knew to exploit the Assyrian weakness. We have already heard about Pygmalion's love of treasure. The magnitude of the royal treasure may be guessed at from some quotations from the books of the prophets. In Zech. 9 : 3 we read: "And Tyre has built herself a rampart; and she has heaped up silver like dust and gold like mud in the streets". And in the book of Ezekiel: "Clever and shrewd as you are, you have amassed wealth for yourself, you have amassed gold and silver in your treasuries; by great cleverness in your trading you have heaped up riches and with your riches your arrogance has grown" (28 : 4-5). In those times a nation's status was measured by its wealth; consequently such testimony strikingly illustrates the role of the dynasty of Ethbaal in building a mighty empire that ruled the seas for more than 300 years, even as it was assaulted from the east by Assyria and later by Babylon, and from the west by the Greek colonists.

It was about this very period of time that Kilamuwa, the king of Y'dy-Sam'al¹¹⁷, succeeded in strengthening his position and rule in northern Syria. (It is not our task here to analyze the different shiftings of power and the alterations of the political map of Greater Syria. It is sufficient for this work to keep these developments in mind.) In the eyes of the merchant king such a new power became a new customer on the one hand, on the other hand it weakened the dominating position held till then by the king of Aram-Damascus, who was a direct neighbor of the land of the Sidonians. The decline of the Aramean power can also be deduced from the Zakir-stela¹¹⁸, which should be dated some years later, for we think the events spoken of here took place after the campaigns of Adad-nirari against Ben-hadad, the son of Hazael. Ben-hadad and his coalition of "ten kings" had tried in vain to conquer the town of Hadrakh. This clearly shows that the power of Damascus was declining.

About the beginning of the new century (the 8th B.C.E.) Joash of

117 *ANET Suppl.*, 654-655.

118 *ANET Suppl.*, 655-656.

Israel gained the "prophesied" victory at Aphek (cf. Elisha's prophecy: II Kings 13: 17)¹¹⁹. We also believe that we have to place the story about the wars between the "king of Israel" and Ben-hadad, the king of Aram (I Kings 20) in that same period¹²⁰. The victory of Aphek (I Kings 20: 26-30) corresponds to the victory of Joash at Aphek (II Kings 13: 17); Ben-hadad gives back the cities taken from Israel by his father Hazael (I Kings 20: 34 = II Kings 13: 25). Therefore the tale of the *huṣoṭh* (= trading quarters) in Damascus and in Samaria (I Kings 20: 34) must belong to that period. The reaction of the Tyrian traders can be anticipated. Israel again became a customer worthy of all the attention the merchant king Pygmalion could pay.

About 785 B.C.E. (= the 14th year of Amaziah — cf. *Ant.* IX, 203) Jehoash king of Israel gained a smashing victory over Amaziah, king of Judah at Beth Shemesh (II Chron. 25: 21 ff.). By virtue of this victory Israel again became the leading state in Greater Syria. But the fruits of Jehoash's victory were really collected by his son Jeroboam II, as Jehoash must have died shortly after that battle (cf. II Kings 14: 17).

The reign of Pygmalion opened a new leaf in the illustrious history of Tyre with the foundation of Carthage; his reign also brings a chapter of Tyre's glorious history to an end. Greek tradition starts the history of the Greek city-states officially with the first Olympic year (in 776 B.C.E.)¹²¹, i.e. about one year before the death of Pygmalion (!), and about forty years before the first official foundation of any Greek colony either in Sicily or in Magna Graecia.

This last fact would change the course of the Tyrian establishment of trading centers tremendously. And it must have influenced and been reflected in the attitude of the mother town, and in Tyre's history, certainly from the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. on. But at this hour Tyre was "a seal of perfection, full of wisdom . . . and altogether beautiful" (Ezek. 28: 12).

119 Miller, *JBL* LXXXV (1966), 443.

120 Cf. also Jepsen, *AfO* XIV (1941-44), 155 ff.

121 E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*², Ithaca 1969, 75 ff.

Tyre in the Days of Ethbaal II and Hiram II

THE Tyrian king-list quoted by Josephus from the excerpts of Menander of Ephesus (*C.Ap.* I, 121-125) closes with the death of Pygmalion, which occurred, according to our chronology, ca. 774 B.C.E.¹ For the following thirty years, i.e., approximately the period until the ascension of Tiglath-Pileser III (in 745 B.C.E.), there are no sources on which we may rely other than hints in the Bible, or some artifacts made surely by Phoenician artists. Yet this was the period of the long reigns of Jeroboam II of Israel (789-748 B.C.E.)² and of Azariah of Judah (785-733 B.C.E.)³. The Bible states that Jeroboam "re-established the frontiers of Israel from Lebo-Hamath to the Sea of the Arabah" (II Kings 14: 25)⁴. We are also told about Uzziah's (= Azariah) victorious campaigns against the Philistines, about his wars against the Arabs, his overlordship over the Ammonites, his fortifications of Jerusalem, his administrative and military reforms and reorganizations (II Chron. 26: 6 ff.). The expansions of the borders of both Israel and Judah were at the expense of the smaller states bordering them, but we do not hear about any clashes of arms or of wars with the Tyrian kingdom.

There is no doubt that in those days the whole southern Phoenician coast was under the rule of the king of Tyre, whose title must still have been "king of the Sidonians"⁵. For it was Sennacherib who re-installed a king in Sidon, and this deed resurrected the kingdom of Sidon in 701 B.C.E.⁶ On the other hand we are unable to commit ourselves to any, even vague, statement about the relationship between Tyre and Byblos. Although the Byblian king-list has a long lacuna of about 150 years between the reigns of Shipit-baal I (ca. 900 B.C.E.) and Shipit-

1 One should not forget that the "official" Greek chronology starts with the first Olympiad in 776 B.C.E.

2 Tadmor, *Encyc. Biblica* IV (Jerusalem 1962), col. 302.

3 *Ibidem*, col. 301.

4 The northern part of Syria fell under the overlordship of the king of Uratu.

5 Cf. *KAI* no. 31. Hiram king of the Sidonians ruled over Tyre in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (cf. *infra*).

6 Cf. Chapter X, pp. 247 ff.

baal II (ca. 740 B.C.E.)⁷, we feel that this silence is not sufficient to build any theory on. Furthermore we think we must hold to our view despite the fact that in both inscriptions of Adad-nirari III, in which Tyre, Sidon and Arvad are mentioned⁸, Byblos is not referred to at all.

Generally speaking we may assume that because of the great weakness of the Assyrian empire at this period, reflected by the non-appearance of the Assyrian ruler in Amurru and in Hatti, the Western Sea Coast states profited greatly, as we have already said. And we have no doubt that the Tyrian state flourished as well. We may also suppose that the king of the Sidonians ruled over a country that stretched from the Nahr el-Kelb in the north to the Carmel in the south.

One of the many questions we have is how many kings ruled in these thirty years, i.e. between Pygmalion, who died ca. 774 B.C.E. and Ethbaal, who is named in a stele of Tiglath-Pileser III, which should be dated in the early years of the Assyrian king⁹. As Hiram II is named among other Syrian kings in a list the date of which is 738 B.C.E.¹⁰, we may say that Ethbaal reigned until ca. 740 B.C.E. We do not know how long Ethbaal ruled over the Sidonian state, but we doubt that he was the immediate successor of Pygmalion. We are not even sure, whether he belonged to the royal house. On the other hand we must reckon with a further king¹¹ between Pygmalion and Ethbaal II, whose name has not been handed down to us.

The Assyrian Eponym List says i.a. for 773 B.C.E.: "against Damascus"¹² or in other words: the Assyrian army (and the king?) campaigned against Damascus in that year. This is the point nearest to the Phoenician coast to which the Assyrian forces advanced in this period. Still we may say that this campaign was not a serious threat to the

7 Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 160; *KAI* II, 9.
 8 *ANET*², 281b and St. Page, *IRAQ* XXX (1968), 139 ff.
 9 L. D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, Occasional Paper 23, Royal Ontario Museum, Ontario 1972, 11 ff.; cf. of the discussion about the approximate date of that inscription infra. (Cf. also chapter VII note 1).
 10 Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 256 ff.
 11 This assumption is based on a comparison with the Judean kings (cf. Thiele, *MNHK*, 254). Pygmalion lived 58 years. We compare his age with that of Rehoboam and Jehoshaphat, who died 59 years each, and with Amaziah and Hezekiah, who lived 54 years. The reigns of these Judean kings were, according to the MT, 17, 25, 29 and 29 respectively.
 12 Thiele, *MNHK*, 290.

kingdom of the Sidonians, and we doubt, whether the Assyrian king was then able to extract a special tribute from the merchant king.

From the words of the prophets, especially Amos and Hosea, we learn about the great renaissance in both Israel and Judah, about the many luxuries in which the new "aristocracy" indulged, especially the rich landowners of Samaria (cf. Amos 6:4 ff.). We shall not be too far from the truth, if we guess that the Phoenician merchant profited greatly from the *nouveaux riches* of Israel (cf. II Chron. 28:12). It may be said here that the ostraca of Samaria, which deal mostly with taxes, reflect the end of that period, dating the reign of Menahem of Israel (747/6-737/6 B.C.E.)¹³. In these ostraca the names which are composed with Jahu and Baal, are in a ratio of 11:7¹⁴. Whether this most interesting fact reflects foreign (= Phoenician) influence during the days of Jeroboam, or whether the roots of this phenomenon are to be sought in much earlier days, seems an open question which cannot be solved here, if only because of our ignorance regarding the naming of children in Israel in general.

One should not forget that the Sidonian empire had no territorial aspirations towards its neighbors. The relations were based mainly, indeed almost exclusively, on mercantile interests. This can be easily deduced from the allusions we find in the book of Amos. It should be stressed, however, that Amos speaks only of Tyre¹⁵, and no other Phoenician town is mentioned by him. Other than the kingdom of Tyre, Aram-Damascus and Ammon are the only states which bordered Israel in Amos' days. His oracles against the Philistine towns, Edom and Moab reflect the point of view of a Judean prophet who speaks against Judah's

13 Yadin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 17 ff.; Cross, *BASOR* 165 (1962), 35.
 14 Albright, *ARI*⁴, 160.
 15 Only a very few commentators believe that Amos is the author of this oracle (e.g. i.a. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*², Göttingen 1929, 203; or A. Kapelrud [following A. Bentzen] who believes that the oracle against Tyre forms an integral part of a broader prophecy, and that the "covenant of brotherhood" refers to the friendship between David/Solomon and Hiram [*Suppl VT* XV, Leiden 1966, 197 ff.], or in our days: Priest, *JBL* LXXXIV (1965), 406; Paul, *JBL* XC [1971], 397 ff.) or Müller, who claims that this word should be dated to the immediate post-Exilic period ("nach 587": Müller, *WO* VI [1971], 193 ff.). But the general opinion is that these verses of Amos are a much later addition (cf. i.a. Weiser, *BZAW* 53 [1929], 87-88, 290, 327; Schmidt, *ZAW* 77 [1965], 174 ff.; Kutsch, *BZAW* 105 [1967], 135 note 10).

neighbors. It is the oracle against Tyre in which we are interested, and this is generally explained as a later insertion¹⁶.

The accusations against Tyre and against Tyre alone, are easily explicable against the background of the many wars between Aram (thus we feel we have to read, instead of Edom)¹⁷ and Israel. These wars started in the days of Hazael king of Aram (cf. II Kings 8 : 29), increased in the days of Jehu, and became disastrous for Israel under the rule of Jehoahaz (cf. II Kings 13 : 7). The tide turned in favor of Israel during the reign of Jehoash, when the king of Israel "recaptured the cities which Ben-hadad had taken in war from Jehoahaz his father; three times Jehoash defeated him and recovered the cities of Israel" (II Kings 13 : 25).

A further problem involves the actual meaning of the "ties of kinship" (brith-ahim)¹⁸, but also its allusion to such a state of relations. Mazar believes that the ties between Israel and Tyre which "had already begun in the days of David, reached their peak during the reign of Solomon, . . . were renewed by the dynasty of Omri and endured so long that Amos was still able to call them a 'covenant of brothers' (Amos 1 : 9)"¹⁹. This could mean that the relations between Tyre and Israel remained firm, in some way or other, for more than 200 years, only to be "broken" when an opportunity presented itself for "big business". And indeed the countries would continue to share mutual interests in the days of Jeroboam and his successors, as well, when we find Tyre in alliance with Menahem, Pekah and Hoshea, kings of Israel²⁰. But apparently this *entente cordiale* was broken at the time of the wars between Aram and Israel.

16 Cf. J. Morgenstern: "The ascription to Tyre of the sin of selling Israelites in great numbers into slavery enables us to fix the date of this editorial insertion fairly accurately. We know that following the great catastrophe which befell the Jewish people in 485 B.C.E. . . . a large number of Jewish captives were sold in the slave market of Tyre to the Greeks of the Mediterranean world" (Morgenstern, *HUCA* XXXII [1961], 341).

17 Cf. again Haran, *IEJ* 18 (1968), 206.

18 This translation of the NEB is already an interpretation. But the term alludes to an alliance between equals; K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, Tübingen 1904, 162 wants to apply the term to the relationship between the Jews and the Edomites ! ! Cf. also Rashi who thinks that this expression applies to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram, while A. Ibn Ezra thinks of a league between Edom and Israel.

19 Mazar, *The Philistines*, 16.

20 Cf. infra and Chapter X, p. 226.

This, we believe, is the background to the reproach of Amos against Tyre. For they did not "remember"²¹ the good relations which had prevailed in the days of the House of Omri, but only the blood shed by Jehu. Still we cannot blame Tyre and its kings. After all, Jehu had not only murdered the royal family, but he had also destroyed the temple of the Tyrian Baal, and had killed "all the prophets of Baal, all his ministers and priests" (II Kings 10 : 19), some of whom were surely Tyrian citizens. Furthermore the *coup d'état* in Jerusalem in 836 B.C.E., which was also directed against the Tyrian cult and its personnel must have increased Tyre's negative attitude to its former allies. Generally it can be said that Amos is not only concerned with the fate of Judah and with its sufferings, but also with the fate and sufferings of Samaria. We learn this from the reason for his reproof, the sin noted in his oracles against Tyre and Gaza: the delivery of a "whole band of exiles" to Aram/Edom²². This theme is repeated in a prophecy of much later times (Joel 4 : 4 ff. = NEB 3 : 4 ff.)²³. (One should not forget that in history the same constellation may easily reappear.) Fine nuances exist, however, in the exact naming of the culprits, and the victims by Amos. He mentions only Tyre, i.e. the empire of the king of the Sidonians; in Joel we find Tyre and Sidon. Amos lists all the five Philistine towns: Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and the remnant of the Philistines (= Gath)²⁴; in Joel "all the districts of Philistia" are mentioned. While Amos reproaches Tyre for having "delivered a whole band of exiles to Aram", Joel blames "Tyre and Sidon" for having "sold the people of Judah and Jerusalem to the Greeks". We believe that these differences are based on actual geopolitical and historical situations. The words of Amos fit well into his time; those of Joel belong to much later, post-exilic days.

21 Cf. also the meaning of זכר in the lexica, and J. Pedersen, *Israel* I-II, London/Copenhagen 1954, 106 ff.

22 There is a fine difference in the Hebrew wording: "they *deported* a whole band of exiles" (verse 6 [Gaza]), and "they *delivered* a whole band of exiles" (v. 9 [Tyre]); cf. I Sam. 23 : 11, 12, 20; 30 : 15.

23 We do not accept any dependency of Amos on the words of Joel (through the good service of a later interpolator).

24 Still Amos speaks about Gath of the Philistines (6:2). It is here mentioned together with Calneh (= Kullani, cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 57, 68; Abel, *GP* II, 101) and with Hamath (as a town). But Gath was conquered and its walls broken by king Uzziah, apparently before he was stricken by leprosy (cf. II Chron. 26:6). On the question of whether Gath of the Philistines existed after its conquest (and destruction?) by Uzziah in spite of the word of Amos, cf. *Encycl. Biblica* II (Jerusalem 1954), cols. 571-572.

Many questions rising from the oracle of Amos against Tyre still lack precise answers. Apparently Tyre had handed over to Aram fugitives (prisoners?). Perhaps it had to do so under a special treaty between Tyre and Aram. Perhaps by virtue of such a treaty the king of the Sidonians bought his peace with Hazael and Ben-hadad, kings of Aram. Surely such an extradition was only one of the many clauses of such a treaty (cf. the treaty between Judah and Egypt in the days of Jehoiakim — Jer. 26 : 22–23.) As Hosea still remembered the blood shed by Jehu in Jezreel (Hos. 1 : 4), thus Amos — actually a generation earlier than Hosea — could remember not only the evil deeds of Tyre, but also the *brith aḥim*. Furthermore, the accusations against Israel's other neighbors, Damascus (the terrible slaughter of the people of Gilead [Amos 1 : 3]) and the Ammonites (their greedy occupation of parts of Gilead [Amos 1 : 13]) point clearly to events taking place in the days of Hazael.

Another, perhaps far-fetched possibility is that the oracle relates to the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war against Judah in about 734/33. The deportation of Judean prisoners of war both to Aram and Samaria, the expansion of Philistia on account of Judah, the campaign of Rezin to Elath, and the restoration of that harbor to Edom, may reflect those crucial years (cf. also Amos 5 : 3)²⁵. However A. Malamat has shown in a short but lucid paper²⁶ that “the sceptred ruler of Beth-Eden” (Amos 1 : 5) must be related to the Assyrian governor and nobleman Shamshi-ilu, who is mentioned as eponym in 780, 770, and 752 B.C.E., dates included in Jeroboam's long reign.

Israel under Jeroboam II was one of the best customers of the Tyrian merchant king, and we can assume that the relations between both countries must have been very friendly. Amos speaks about “houses of ivory” (3 : 15), and of “beds of ivory” (6 : 4). Certainly this does not mean that there were houses built of ivory or even beds made of ivory. We have to understand that there were panels of ivory which covered (parts of) the walls (probably in the throne room)²⁷, and beds made of

25 The book of Amos opens with a date: “two years before the earthquake” (1 : 1). Josephus (*Ant.* IX, 225 ff.) connects this earthquake with the illness of Uzziah. Thus it would mark the start of the coregency of Jotham (cf. II Kings 15 : 5). J. Morgenstern took the story of Josephus for granted, and dated according to his chronology the “words of Amos” (*HUCA* XII–XIII [1937/38], 47–48); but the story of Josephus is based on a tale of the Midrash (cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends* IV, 262; VI, 358 notes 30–31).

26 Malamat, *BASOR* 129 (1953), 25–26.

27 As the ivories of Samaria were found in the debris scattered over the

wood inlaid with ivory. Surely Phoenicia was the main supplier for these luxuries. These “palaces” (Amos 3 : 10) were apparently (even if partly) built like the palace of the king, “of hewn stones” (Amos 5 : 11). This Phoenician technique has also been found in Cyprus and in the “under-water harbor” of Tyre²⁸, and had a long tradition, for we find it in the days of Solomon, where its Phoenician origin has been stated (I Kings 5 : 31–32 = NEB 5 : 17–18)²⁹.

Hosea too speaks about the pagan worship in Israel. Whether the calf-gods of Samaria, made by local (?) craftsmen (Hos. 8 : 5–6; 13 : 2) hint at a Phoenician deity, we cannot say, because of some possible reflection of the images of Dan (not mentioned in Hosea!) and Beth-El (cf. Hos. 10 : 15). But we may be allowed to state that the Tyrian merchantmen and the Tyrian artists were certainly devotees of their own gods, even outside Tyre.

In the last years of the reign of Pygmalion, or in the first years of his immediate successor, at a time when both kingdoms of Israel and Judah became powerful and extended their borders, we find a similar phenomenon in northern Syria, where Zakir was able to build a powerful state based on the towns of Hamath and Lu'ath³⁰. It was Zakir who defended Hatarikka (the biblical Hadrach) successfully against Ben-hadad,

whole surface (Reisner-Fisher-Lyon, *HES* I, 103, 110, 137), it is hard to say whether they belonged to the palace only, or whether some rich nobleman enjoyed this Phoenician luxury too.

28 In Samaria: Crowfoot, *SB* 98; in Cyprus: Birmingham, *AJA* 67 (1963), 20; in Tyre: Poidebard, *Un Grand Port Disparu Tyr*, Paris 1939, 27.

29 The Septuagint has a further mention of Tyre in the book of Amos. For it reads in Amos 3 : 11 *ṣor* (= Tyre) instead of the MT *ṣar* (= stronghold), and thus by it the entire verse takes on quite a different meaning. However one should prefer the *lectio difficilior*, for there can be no doubt that Amos had in mind the “stronghold” (of Samaria). Another more difficult passage is found in Amos 8 : 14, which is sometimes explained as a misspelling of the Tyrian goddess Asherah. Here the NEB version becomes a real interpretation by rendering that verse as: “all who take their oath by Ashimah, goddess of Samaria” (cf. the Asherah which remained in Samaria even in the days of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu [II Kings 13 : 6]; cf. also E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*³, Leipzig 1912, 58 f., and other commentaries). Weiser sees in Amos 8 : 4–14 a “späterer Einschub” (Weiser, *BZAW* 53 [1929], 64); Alt's notion that this was the local deity of the town of Samaria is rooted in his conception of a “Stadtstaat Sammaria” (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 294 ff.); cf. also a possibility of אשמת שמרון with אשמת the deity of the “men of Hamath” (II Kings 17 : 30; cf. Weiser, *ibid.*, 39).

30 *ANET Suppl.*, 655–656.

the son of Hazael, king of Aram and his allies. It is not our task to investigate the repercussions of Zakir's victory over the king of Aram; nor is it our assignment to comment on Kraeling's notion that Benhadad was killed in the battle of Hadrach against the Assyrian in 772 B.C.E.³¹ (Kraeling based his claim upon the Assyrian Eponym List for that year, which reads: "against [the land of] Hatarikka"³².)

Zakir commemorated his victory in a stela³³ which deserves our attention by the important position, Baal-shamêm plays in the inscription. For Baal-shamêm precedes Zakir's home-god Ilu-wer, to whom the stela is actually dedicated. This fact should not be underestimated, even when recognizing that religious syncretism was rapidly expanding at that time. The great prestige in which the Phoenician deity was held also reflects the great prestige of the king of the Sidonians. We can but conclude from that estimation that Tyre's trade was flourishing. "And Tyre . . . has heaped up silver like dust, and gold like mud in the streets" (Zech. 9: 3)..

It was just about that time that another city-state, Gaza, became most powerful and respected because of its being a centre of trade³⁴. Its king Hanno would play a leading role in all the revolts against Tiglath-

- 31 Kraeling, *Aram*, 102; Landsberger dates that war in about 800 B.C.E. (Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 64). Jepsen suggested that the victory of Zakir over the Aramean king should be linked to the campaign of Adad-nirari III "against Manšuate" in 796 B.C.E. (Jepsen, *AfO* 14 [1941-44], 170). This view is again set forth by E. Lipiński, *AION* XXXI (1971), 397. On the other hand Lidzbarski dated that event in 772 B.C.E. ("against Hatarika"). He also raised the possibility that Ben-hadad was killed at that time (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* III, 8 ff.).
- 32 Further campaigns "against (the land of) Hatarikka" in 765 and 755 B.C.E. (Thiele, *MNHK*, 289-90). However even in this time of Assyrian weakness the Assyrian military efforts were directed not to the west, but mainly to the east and to the south (cf. Hallo, *BAr-Reader* 2 [1964], 166-167).
- 33 The fragments of this stela were found in Afis in 1904 (ca. 45 km SW of Aleppo). It was composed in honor of Zakir's god Ilu-Wer (cf. *ANET Suppl.* 655-656; *KAI* no. 202). For a new dating of the Zakir-stela: "Before 805 B.C., i.e. prior to Adad-nirari's Syrian ventures rather than immediately after them" cf. Millard and Tadmor, *IRAQ* XXXV (1973), 64.
- 34 Adad-nirari III is the first of the Assyrian kings who mentions the Philistines (cf. *ANET*², 281b); already in the book of Amos Gaza is the leading city on the Philistinian coast. All the Philistine towns (mentioned in Amos 1:6-8) are mentioned in a letter from Çalah informing Sargon about the arrival of foreign rulers with their tributes (Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 134; cf. also Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX [1966], 92-93).

Pileser, who had once led a special campaign against Gaza in 734 B.C.E.³⁵. We would like to know more, especially about the relations between Gaza and Tyre. We may assume certain rivalries between these trading centres; perhaps we may even assume Tyre's loss of the Arabian trade. Certainly the relations between Tyre and Gaza dictated their policies towards each other, and mainly toward the immediate neighbors and customers. On the other hand there is no source permitting us to argue for considerable maritime traffic from or to the Philistine coastal towns carried out by a local merchant fleet. On the contrary it was still Tyre that ruled the sea, and a possible destruction of Tyre created anxiety and havoc among the Philistine coastal towns (cf. Zech. 9: 5-6). However we may rightly guess a certain interconnection between the Philistine towns headed by Gaza as their metropolis, and the towns of the southern Phoenician coast, with Tyre as their capital. It should be noted that in both prophecies, that of Amos (1: 6-10) and that of Zechariah (9: 2-6) both towns (together with their dependents) are mentioned in one breath. (In Amos Gaza precedes Tyre; in Zechariah Tyre is followed by Gaza.) We confess that we feel a deliberate, perhaps commercial, connection between the towns, however we cannot prove it³⁶.

The famous inscriptions of Azitawadda of Adana³⁷, king of the Danunites³⁸, whose reliefs show their "Phoenician" source, both in their depictions and in the "embroidered cloth"³⁹ (also the ship depicted in one of the reliefs is a "Phoenician" ship⁴⁰) are to be dated in the third to the fifth decades of the eighth century B.C.E. Naturally our main interest lies in the long Phoenician inscriptions, the longest found to date. It is most remarkable that Azitawadda "translated" his Hittite

- 35 Ia. *ANET*², 283b; in the Eponym List named as "against Philistia" (Thiele, *MNHK*, 290).
- 36 This relationship can be followed in later times as well. It existed even in the days of Alexander the Great.
- 37 J. Oberman, Discoveries at Karatepe, *Suppl. to JAOS* no. 9 (1948), *KAI* no. 26; *ANET Suppl.*, 653-654; about the date see i.a. *KAI*, *ANET Suppl.*, Peckham: "last half of the eighth century B.C." (J. B. Peckham, *Late Phoenician Scripts* 116 f.).
- 38 There is no connection between the D-n-n-i-m and the tribe of Dan (cf. also note 128 in chapter IV); a king of the Danunites is also mentioned in a dedication-inscription of Kilamuwa of Y'dy-Sam'al (of ca. 825 B.C.E.) (*ANET Suppl.*, 654-655).
- 39 H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth 1954, 187.
- 40 Cf. Mellink, *BiOr* VII (Leiden 1950), 147.

hieroglyphs into Phoenician, and not into Aramaic⁴¹. The Phoenician influence, even here, should therefore not be underestimated, and was of great advantage to the Phoenician merchant.

Generally speaking we may say that the first half of the eighth century was a time of great activity not only in the political field, but also in cultural enterprises. One should not overlook the sudden growth of inscriptions in Phoenician letters belonging to this period, which were discovered in the last 50 years. This is a most interesting phenomenon, and it is extremely important to us because of Tyre's supremacy among the Phoenician towns in this very period. It was a great advantage for the Phoenician trader and merchant to be able to use the Phoenician letters and language in Greater Syria. The adaptability of these letters to every Semitic language should not be underrated. It opened the way to the Aramaic language which slowly displaced the use of the other scripts in official correspondence and display-inscriptions. At the end of the second quarter of the eighth century Aramaic had already become the *lingua franca* of the diplomats, and was in use even in the Assyrian chancellery (cf. II Kings 18 : 26)⁴².

Reverting to political events we may say that by the middle of the eighth century Assyrian power had sunk to a very low ebb. We learn this both from the inactivity of the Assyrian kings against the western sea countries, and from the fact that half of Ashur-nirari's reign (754-746 B.C.E.) was spent "in the land" (the years 753-750, 747 B.C.E.)⁴³. In his accession year (755) he had marched against Hatarikka (= biblical Hadrach), and in his second year (754) he had campaigned against Arpad in northern Syria, where he signed a treaty with Mati'-ilu, king of Arpad⁴⁴. The weakness of Assyria is also shown by the fact that this treaty was broken only a few years later, when Mati'-ilu signed a treaty of vassal with Barga'yah king of Ktk⁴⁵. In short, the Syrian states had become more and more independent, and were engaged in petty wars against each other. From these wars the king of the Sidonians, about whose active intervention on either side we never hear, profited greatly (cf. Amos 1 : 9; Zech. 9 : 3).

The usurpation of the Assyrian throne by Tiglath-Pileser III in 745

41 Note that the Zakir-inscription is written in Aramaic.

42 Cf. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 44 note 108.

43 Thiele, *MNHK*, 290.

44 *ANET Suppl.*, 532-533.

45 *ANET*², 503-504; *KAI* nos. 222-224; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic inscriptions of Sefire*, Rome 1967.

B.C.E. ushered in a period of greatness of the Assyrian empire, changing the balance of power in the Near East, crushing conspiracies and rebellions in the Greater Syrian states, and wiping many countries off the political map. To us, the encounters between Tiglath-Pileser and the Tyrian state are of special interest. However these encounters never became fatal or even destructive collisions. While some states disappeared completely in this Assyrian expansion to the west by becoming provinces in the empire, Tyre retained its kingdom on the mainland. The reason for the exceptional phenomenon will be explained below; here we will merely add, briefly, that in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III Tyre had to pay an (annual?) tribute to the Assyrian king. In the days of his immediate successors the situation varied; sometimes the Assyrian king attacked Tyre, sometimes he came to an agreement with the king of the Sidonians.

The Assyrian campaigns during the next decades covered not only Syria and the Mediterranean coast, but even reached as far as the Egyptian borderland. Our main sources of information for these events are the Assyrian inscriptions. Every scholar who deals with the period of Tiglath-Pileser knows in what poor state the annals and the inscriptions of this powerful Assyrian king have come down to us⁴⁶. However, for Tyre we have a fragment from the Tyrian annals quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* IX, 28 ff.). Although this fragment, which in its beginning is certainly grossly distorted, deals with Tiglath-Pileser's immediate successor, Shalmaneser V, it hints at the great Assyrian conqueror, by mentioning him with his later Babylonian throne name: *Πύλας* = Pul (cf. II Kings 15 : 19; I Chron. 5 : 26)⁴⁷. A further source is the Bible. There is no Egyptian documentation for this period, although we know that the rulers in Palestine, Phoenicia and Syria looked to Egypt for help against the Assyrian invader⁴⁸.

The Assyrian Eponym List⁴⁹ gives, next to the name and the title, the following entry for 743 B.C.E.: "A defeat on Urartu was inflicted in Arpad". The next three years: 742-740 tell us "against Arpad", and in the year 741 we read in addition: "within three years conquered". Much ink has been spilled about the vexing question of the real sequence of the events connected with the conquest of Arpad⁵⁰. We would merely

46 Cf. Tadmor, *PIASH II* (1968), 173 ff.

47 Cf. chapter X.

48 Cf. Hanno's flight to Egypt (*ANET*², 283b).

49 Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana VIII* (1961), 252-253.

50 *Ibid.*, 253-256.

like to say that by the breaking of the resistance of the king of Urartu and the conquest of Arpad the door to the Phoenician coast was thrown open to Tiglath-Pileser III.

At this very hour Ethbaal II was ruling over the Sidonian state. This was a flourishing period for the Tyrian empire which now reached from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to its western shores in Spain. Again it was the Tyrian king who did not misjudge the tremendous consequences of Tiglath-Pileser's great victory in northern Syria. Thus, when the Assyrian king reorganized the political map in that corner of the Near East, receiving the former allies of the king of Urartu, we find Ethbaal among them, paying respect and tribute to the new overlord. These kings appeared before Tiglath-Pileser in Arpad: "... Rezin [of Damascus] ... Kushtashpi of Kummuh (= Commagene), [Tubail⁵¹] of Tyre, Uriaik [of Que], Pisisis of Carchemish, Tarhulara of [Gurgum], ... iron, elephant hide, ivory, purple (wool), ... [products] of their lands, in large (quantity) ... in Arpad I received"⁵². There can be no doubt that mercantile interests dictated the payment of the Tyrian king, who was actually far from the scene of the conquest.

Other than Rezin of Damascus, Ethbaal is the only "Syrian" king. Even if one could argue that we could place other names (e.g. that of Menahem of Samaria) in the lacunae, we doubt that there is enough space for as many names as we find in later lists.

We know of Ethbaal II only since 1972, when L. D. Levine published a new stele of Tiglath-Pileser⁵³. Although the stele is much damaged, it contains a long list of kings who apparently had paid their tribute to the Assyrian overlord. This list almost corresponds with a later list of Tiglath-Pileser III of his eighth *palû* (= 738 B.C.E.)⁵⁴. In both lists Menahem of Israel (Samaria) is mentioned. His reign (747/6-737/6⁵⁵) gives, therefore, the *termini quo* and *ante*. There are two differences in these lists. While Levine's list contains only 17 kings of the "setting sun" (= Hatti), the other has 18 kings⁵⁶. However one name is changed: it is the name of the king of Tyre. In the new list we find in the fourth

51 Luckenbill still completes "[Hiram]" of Tyre (AR I, § 769); but it should now be corrected into [Tubail] of Tyre (cf. infra).

52 Luckenbill, AR I, § 769.

53 Cf. note 9.

54 ANET², 283a.

55 Tadmor, *Encycl. Biblica* IV (Jerusalem 1962), col. 302.

56 ANET², 283a; but it may be that P'nil king of Hamath was omitted in the list published by Levine owing to an error of the Assyrian scribe.

place Tubail of Tyre (= Ethbaal II), while in the other Hiram of Tyre is in the fourth place. As this Hiram is also named in another fragment which should be dated to events during the second half of the thirty years, ca. 735-732 B.C.E.⁵⁷, we feel, contra Levine, that we have to date the events in his stele earlier than 737 B.C.E., a date proposed by him. Surely this new stele is later than the passage quoted above, where we supplemented the name of the king of Tyre. While in that passage the date of 743 B.C.E. is possible, but certainly before the conquest of Calneh in 738 B.C.E. In other words this new stele should be dated during the four year gap in Tiglath-Pileser's annals between the years 743 and 739 B.C.E.⁵⁸. Accordingly we would like to propose a change of the rulers in Tyre about this time, ca. 740 B.C.E. Thus Hiram II ascended the Tyrian throne at a time of unrest and geopolitical changes.

Chapter 9 of the book of Zechariah gives us a very vivid picture⁵⁹ about the events of these crucial years (739/38 B.C.E.⁶⁰). We would like to stress again the "parallelism" of these oracles with those in the book of Amos against Tyre and against the Philistine coastal towns. Furthermore

57 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 120 ff.

58 Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 258.

59 The discussion about the so called "Deutero-Zechariah" is a very old one (cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*³, 586 ff.) but Eissfeldt's conclusions seem old to us too (*ibid.*, 599). Stade re-examined the question of the "Deutero-Zechariah" in 1881 (*ZAW* 1 [1881], 1 ff.; *ZAW* 2 (1882), 151 ff., 275 ff.). At that time Stade felt that the oracles against Tyre (*ZAW* 1, 47 ff.) and against the Philistine town-states (*ibid.*, 49 ff.) were dependent on the oracles of the Book of Ezekiel. At the end of his essay he proposed the years 306-278 B.C.E. as the time for the whole oracle (*ZAW* 2, 305). Winckler reviewed the whole problem again and proposed that the oracle "in the land of Hadrach" (Zech. 9:1-8) referred to events of the year 733 B.C.E. (Winckler, *ATU*, 126 ff.; this article of Winckler is not quoted by Eissfeldt!). Again a post-exilic period (= fifth century B.C.E.) has been proposed by Jones (*VT* XII [1962], 243). A more recent methodological approach has been made by Hanson, who claims that we have before us (in Sech. 9) a "Divine Warrior Hymn, which has been mistaken for a poetic report of a historical event" (Hanson, *JBL* 92 [1973], 37 ff.). His argument did not convince us.

60 Cf. also Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 269. We cannot accept Elliger's view that Zech. 9:1-8 is "ein Zeugnis aus der jüdischen Gemeinde im Alexanderjahr 332 v. Chr." (*ZAW* 62 [1949/50], 63-115); we feel that Elliger has not succeeded in refuting the arguments i.a. of Kraeling, who dated the events to the year 720 B.C.E. (Kraeling, *AJSL* 41 [1924/25], 24-33).

we note the precedence of Ashkelon before Gaza (Zech. 9 : 5) ⁶¹ and the threatening punishment of Tyre by fire in both oracles (Amos 1 : 9; Zech. 9 : 4). However the difficulty in understanding verse 2 in Zech. 9 is immense. And to it one has to add the listing of Sidon besides Tyre. Whether the verb (f. sing.) ⁶² should belong to the united state of Tyre/Sidon ⁶³, or to an unknown subject (if so, apparently "Jerusalem"), we do not know. But if we connect it with Tyre as the subject of the clause, then we also have a parallelism with the book of Ezekiel: "Clever and shrewd as you are, you have amassed wealth for yourself, you have amassed gold and silver in your treasuries" (28 : 4) or in Zechariah: "... she (Tyre) has heaped up silver like dust and gold like mud in the streets" (9 : 3).

Winckler proposed the year 733 B.C.E. for the oracle "in the land of Hadrach" (Zech. 9 : 1-8) ⁶⁴. Surely at this very moment, i.e. in the days when Tiglath-Pileser III appeared in northern Syria we are able to recognize two important facts deduced from the oracle: first that Sidon belonged to the Tyrian state at this time, i.e. the king of Tyre was still the king of the Sidonians; and second that the wealth of Tyre was fabulous and proverbial. Her "merchants were princes, and her traders the most honored men on earth" (Isa. 23 : 8). Indeed, Tyre fulfilled what was said about the town in the book of Ezekiel: "... with your vast resources and your imports you enriched the kings of the earth" (27 : 33). Nor should we forget that in ancient history wealth was synonymous with might and power. There can be no doubt that the oracle warned both the Phoenician state and the Philistines of the forthcoming doom. We feel that these words belong organically to the period when it became clear that Tiglath-Pileser's appearance was not a sporadic one. The Judean seer recognized the immediate danger, but he could only speak about a punishment of the proud coastal towns. He failed to see the special positions which both Tyre and Gaza would enjoy as trade centers in the policy of Tiglath-Pileser III.

61 Cf. also the precedence of the king of Ashkelon before the king of Gaza among the kings of the western sea coast, who paid their tributes to Tiglath-Pileser III (*ANET*², 282).

62 "For she is very wise"; about the wise Tyre cf. also Ezek. 27 : 8; 28 : 3-5, 17.

63 Cf. Winckler, *ATU*, 133; in the days of the Second Temple one should expect: Sidon and Tyre (cf. I Chron. 22 : 4), and not Tyre and Sidon; the Septuagint uses a plural form of the verb. As far as we have searched in the different Greek editions, we have found the singular form only in the Aldus-edition (Venice 1518).

64 Cf. note 59.

This is particularly true of Tyre, whose vast trading empire in the Mediterranean was the backbone of its power. Luckily we have an authentic Tyrian document from Hiram's reign, which names Hiram (II) and gives us a small glimpse about the administration of his enormous empire. We have in mind the fragments of two copper bowls which were found in a shop in Limassol in 1877 ⁶⁵. Bowl "A" consists of 6 fragments, bowl "B" of two parts. Although the inscribed inscriptions are not complete, they are of much interest. The English translations of Cooke read as follows ⁶⁶ :

A) ... governor of Qarth-ḥadasht servant of Ḥiram king of the Sidonians gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze

B) ... ḥb governor of Qarth-ḥadasht ... to Baal of Lebanon, his lord ...

Hill in his *History of Cyprus* gives more details about the place, where these pieces were found, before they were discovered in a shop of a second-hand dealer in Limassol. He tells us that they were "found at a spot on the hill Mouti Sinoas, about 12 miles NE of Limassol and 7 miles N of Amathus". Hill adds that the Sinoas is in "the region of the copper mines" ⁶⁷.

If this statement is based on a truthful source, and we do not doubt that it is, we have further proof for the identity of Limassol as the Neapolis of the Romans for this period of time. One should not forget that pieces (perhaps there were even more than those discovered by ? in 1877) were not recognized as valuable antiquities at the time, they reached the shop in Limassol. This circumstance in itself proves that the place of their origin must have been very near Limassol, which also must have been the seat of the governor of Qarth-ḥadasht. The idea of bringing these bronze pieces from Larnaka, which is generally identified with Carthage ⁶⁸, to distant Limassol in order to sell them at a shop of a second-hand dealer, does not appeal to us. Thus Larnaka is Kiti(on) ⁶⁹,

65 *CIS* 5; Winckler, *AOF* I, 64; W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, I, Leipzig 1893, 17 ff.; *idem* II, Leipzig 1899, 12-13; Lidsbarski, *KI* no. 17; *KAI* no. 31; v. Landau claims that the pieces were found in Larnaka (cf. *ibid.* II, 13 note 3); we were unable to trace the sources of his information.

66 Cooke, *NSI* no. 11 = p. 52 ff.

67 Hill, *Cyprus*, I, Cambridge 1940, 107.

68 Cf. e.g. E. Schrader, *Zur Geographie des assyrischen Reiches, Sitzungsbericht d. königl. preuss. Akad. XVII* (1890), 337 ff.

69 Cf. chapter V, 85.

and Limassol – Carthage. The reader will agree with us that the exact identification of Carthage with Limassol is important for our knowledge of Tyrian territorial holdings in Cyprus.

This great expansion in the days of Hiram II is further proof of a much earlier and wider colonization in the Mediterranean than that propounded by Beloch⁷⁰ and renewed in our days by Rhys Carpenter⁷¹. There is no doubt that Cyprus was not only a trading station but also a great source of raw material for the Tyrian traders. Certainly at an early date Cyprus also became the springboard to the Phoenician, i.e. the Tyrian, expansion to the west.

The rich historical material provided by the Greek and Roman historians is not only valuable and important for events in Greece or in Rome, but also for the exploits of the Semitic Tyrians. To these sources we must add the manner of the Tyrian colonization which was based mainly (perhaps even only) on the founding of a commercial empire. The many Semitic place names in the western Mediterranean area give evidence of their Phoenician origin. Archaeological evidence, which is still regrettably scarce, is steadily increasing and adding weight to the hypothesis of early Phoenician colonization⁷².

In this respect we would also like to call attention to the vases inscribed with the names of Osorkon II, Shishak II, and Takelot II (ca. 870–820 B.C.E.) found in Almuñécar (Spain)⁷³. The question of when these vases were brought to Spain remains open. But they, together with the Carmona ivories⁷⁴, provide proof that the Phoenician penetration into the western part of the Mediterranean preceded that of the Greeks. This, again, does not support the theory of Beloch and his followers. Sentiments and bias toward Greek culture, which certainly nobody wishes to underestimate, have dimmed the judgment of those scholars. Here we can but emphasize the importance of special research in this field, for a longer discussion would fall beyond the frame of our work.

70 K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I/2², Strassburg 1913, 245 ff.

71 Carpenter, *AJA* 62 (1958), 35 ff.

72 Cf. Solá-Solé *CBQ* XXIX (1967), 487 ff.

73 A. García y Bellido, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I, Jerusalem 1967, 50; fig. 22–24; cf. chapter VIII, p. 182.

74 W. F. Albright writes i.a.: "Even now, it is clear that the Spanish ivories of Carmona, which correspond in technique and repertoire with the Phoenician ivories of comparable age, belong to the tenth-eighth centuries rather than to the seventh, where they are usually dated" (Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 347).

Nonetheless we felt that we had to mention this problem, because of its importance for the mother-town Tyre, and thus we are not entitled to pass it by in silence.

As Hiram II is mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III both in 738 and ca. 734–32 B.C.E.⁷⁵, we feel that one has to place the inscriptions on the copper bowl fragments found in Limassol within that decade. Both inscriptions tell us about an offering by the governor of Carthage to his lord, Baal Lebanon. In inscription "A" we have more details: the governor calls himself "servant of Hiram king of the Sidonians", and the nature of the offering is stated: "a first offering of copper of the..." On the right edge of inscription "B" we can still recognize the last two letters of the name of the governor. As they are *teth* and *beth*, we may read them as — *ṭob*⁷⁶. "Baal Lebanon" appears only in these two inscriptions. One may guess at a connection with this deity and the mountain of the Lebanon on the mainland.

The Phoenician title of the "servant"⁷⁷ of Hiram is of great interest. He is called סכך (sokhen). This title corresponds exactly to the Accadian *zu-ki-ni*⁷⁸. It appears also in the Bible in Isa. 22:15. Shebna whose rank is "Who is over the House"⁷⁹ is called, in addition to the title סכך. For this reason many commentators hypothesized that Shebna was a Phoenician upstart.

We may assume that these bowls had to be (or were) put in a sanctuary in/near Carthage, when the first copper from the mines was received by the governor (each year?). It was certainly the task of the governor to arrange for the transportation of that copper to Tyre (cf. Ezek. 27:12). It appears to us that the governors of inscriptions "A" and "B" are not identical. "B"'s name ends with — *ṭob*, but the last letter in "A"'s name

75 *ANET*², 283a; Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 120, 123, 125.

76 In Hebrew we have names with that suffix: Ahi-ṭob (I Chron. 5:33), Abi-ṭob (I Chron. 8:11).

77 "Servant" (עבד) means a high official at the court of the king (cf. i.a. II Kings; 22:12; 25:8); cf. also the many seals of such high officials, i.a.: לשמע עבד ירבעם; לשכני עבד עזי. Alt's notion that the governor calls himself "Sklave des Königs" (a slave of the king) is wrong (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 193). עבד is a title and not a "humble designation".

78 Cf. the Canaanite gloss in Mut-ba'lu's letter to the Egyptian governor (*EA* 256:9); this title סכך also appears in an Aramaic inscription found in Hama and dated in about the same time (eighth century B.C.E.) (*KAI* no. 203); Ch.-F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire Des Inscriptions Sémitiques De L'Ouest*, Leiden 1965, 193.

79 Cf. Katzenstein, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 149 ff.

is certainly not a "b"; it may be a "w"⁸⁰. We do not know whether the title and the task of the governor of the king of the Sidonians exclude any possibility of a local prince residing in "Carthage"⁸¹, because Esarhaddon names a "king of Carthage" among the 10 kings of Cyprus who paid him their tribute⁸². It may be that such a local authority was created by the Tyrian king himself, when Eloulaios (Luli) of Tyre fled to Kiti(on) before Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.⁸³ (This fact does not interfere with the identification of Limassol with Carthage).

Just as the letters of Abimilki are, to this day, the only documents written by the Tyrian king in Tyre itself, the copper-bowl fragments are the only Tyrian documents bearing the name of a Tyrian king, even if they originated only from a Tyrian colony.

Perhaps one should add here a local inscription which is unique, discovered by Emir Chéhab in 1942, when he excavated a series of tombs in the locality of Tell-el-Rashidiyeh⁸⁴ (= Palaityros?) According to the excavator, the pottery found there, is to be dated to the eighth century B.C.E. On an amphora-type of jar we read the Phoenician letters: l-mlk-t (= to the queen, or belonging to the queen's household)⁸⁵.

Reverting to the activities of Tiglath-Pileser III we would like to note that in all the lists in which the vassal kings are mentioned⁸⁶, there is no reference to a king of Sidon. This silence about Sidon, together with the fact that the governor of Carthage in Cyprus calls his lord "Hiram king of the Sidonians", leads us to state that Hiram (like his predecessors) ruled over the whole southern Phoenician coast, including Sidon, and certainly over the strip between Sidon and Tyre, where i.a. Maḥlib is situated. For this Maḥlib is called by Tiglath-Pileser a "stronghold of his (= Hiram)"⁸⁷. It may even be argued that from the borders of the

80 Cf. Winckler, *AOF* I, 64; W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients* I, Leipzig 1893, 17; Cooke, *NSI*, 52; N. Sloucsz, *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions*, Tel-Aviv 1942, 66/67 (Hebrew); this "waw" does not appear in Lidzbarski, *KI* no. 17 and in *KAI* no. 31.

81 Analogue to the Egyptian rabiṣu (=governor/commissioner) next to the kings in the El-Amarna age (e.g. *EA*, pp. 1157, 1158; 1190; 1344) or the Babylonian shandabakku in Tyre in the days of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. chapter XII, pp. 333 ff.

82 *ANET*², 291b.

83 Cf. chapter X, pp. 247 ff.

84 Emir Chéhab, *BMB* VI (1942-43), 86.

85 Harris, *GPhL*, 118.

86 *ANET*², 282a, 283a; Luckenbill, *AR* I, §769; L. D. Levine, (cf. note 9), 18/19; Wiseman *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 119.

87 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 124/125.

provinces created by Tiglath-Pileser, one may deduce that the state of the king of the Sidonians on the mainland⁸⁸ had an even larger extent.

It should be stressed that the island of Tyre was never incorporated into any Assyrian province, in contrast to the cities of the northern Phoenician coast (with the exception of Arvad), which were fused into the province of Šimirra (Zemer). Forrer⁸⁹ gives as the borders of this province Šimirra: the mountains of Sana (= Zâwie) and the mountains of Djebel 'Akâr (both east of Tripolis) in the south. In the east: the province of Hamath. The southern border of the province Šimirra on the coast was certainly the "independent territory" of Byblos, the king of which appears in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser⁹⁰.

The question about the "sudden" re-appearance of Byblos is legitimate. Can a century of silence about Byblos⁹¹ be interpreted as meaning that Byblos — perhaps even under its own princeling — was a satellite of the Sidonian empire? The absence of any source forbids us to come to a firm conclusion, but the fact that Ethbaal had founded the town of Botrys (= Baṣroun of today) north of Byblos, and the total silence about the affairs of Byblos in all the sources at our disposal is noteworthy.

We may assume that it was again the Nahr el-Kelb which was the northern border of the kingdom of the Sidonians. In the south we can determine the border more positively. The account of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser tells us about the creation of the provinces of Dor and Megiddo ca. 734-732 B.C.E., and the reference to these events in the Bible (II Kings 15:29) makes it nearly certain that Mount Carmel remained the border also in that time. The whole bay of Akko belonged, therefore, to the king of the Sidonians⁹². On the other hand, even we, with all our prejudice for the glory of Tyre, are unable to follow Alt's suggestion that the Sidonian territory may have included the northern part of the mountains of the Galilee to the Jordan river; Alt quotes for this thesis Judg. 18:7, 28 (cf. Num. 13:29)⁹³. In delineating the Sidonian empire, too, we must add all the trading-stations overseas.

88 Here we do not speak about the Mediterranean empire of Tyre, which deserves a special study.

89 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 56-57.

90 *ANET*², 282a; 283a. L. D. Levine (cf. note 9), 18/19.

91 Cf. the list of kings of Byblos: Albright, *JAOS* 67 (1947), 160.

92 Cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 61.

93 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 376 note 2; but there is no source about such a widespread occupation of the Galilee by the Phoenicians at this period of time.

Tiglath-Pileser understood the value and the importance of an "independent" Tyre. Surely the main reason for his lenient attitude toward the kings of Tyre must be sought in the mercantile sphere. In case of incorporation the center of the Tyrian state would move either to Cyprus or even to Carthage in North Africa. But Tyre, in remaining an independent state, became a valuable source of income to the Assyrians. The same considerations apparently governed Tiglath-Pileser in his dealing with the cities of the Philistine coast, especially with Hanno of Gaza. Although this king was much more involved in open rebellion against his Assyrian overlord than the king of Tyre (cf. the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser in 734 B.C.E. which is called "against Philistia" in the Assyrian Eponym List⁹⁴). From such an entry in the Eponym List and from the huge tribute⁹⁵ extorted by Tiglath Pileser from the king of Gaza, we can guess the importance of this Philistine metropolis and its trading center. It is an open question how much the trade of Tyre was affected by the competition from Gaza, for there is no doubt that Gaza soon became again one of the most important trading centres on the eastern Mediterranean coast.

The Assyrian Eponym List shows that during the years 737-735 B.C.E. Tiglath-Pileser III was engaged in the East. This period was used by the small states along the Mediterranean coast to form a new anti-Assyrian coalition, in which, we may assume, Rezin of Damascus was one of the leading figures. This coalition, in which Hiram II of Tyre took an active part, was also responsible for the so-called Syro-Ephramite war, waged by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus against Ahaz of Judah. Although the confederates did not succeed in their ultimate goal of forcing Ahaz into the anti-Assyrian camp, this war would have important consequences. Aside from the large number of Judean prisoners taken by the invaders (II Chron. 28 : 5, 8) Judah was devastated and its boundaries were curtailed, for Rezin captured the harbor of Elath (what a campaign, from Damascus to Elath!)⁹⁶, Judah's only outlet to the Gulf of Aqaba, and "restored" it to Edom (II Kings 16 : 6). It can be said positively that Edom also participated in this war against Judah (II Chron. 28 : 17), and that the Philistines enlarged their ter-

94 Thiele, *MNHK*, 290.

95 E.g. P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pileasers III*, I, Leipzig 1893, 78/79; Wiseman, *IRAQ XIII* (1951), 23.

96 But apparently it was the king of Edom who made use of Ahaz's difficult situation and captured the port of Elath (cf. also Montgomery, *Kings*, 458 contra e.g. Sanda, *Könige II*, 198).

ritories at the expense of Judah (II Chron. 28 : 18; Isa. 9 : 12). In this perilous situation Ahaz sent a call for help to Tiglath-Pileser (II Kings 16 : 7 ff.).

It may be that this call speeded Tiglath-Pileser's action against the countries of the Mediterranean coast. The Eponym List mentions the campaigns "against Philistia" in 734 B.C.E. and "against the land of Damascus" in 733-732 B.C.E. It was in those years that Tiglath-Pileser eradicated the kingdom of Damascus and curtailed the kingdom of Israel, the states of the leaders of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, both bordering the Tyrian state.

That Tyre was a partner in this league has been disclosed by a newly discovered fragment of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, which was found in Nimrud and was published by Wiseman in 1956⁹⁷. Although the text dealing with Tyre is severely damaged, it contains valuable information which helps us to understand some part of the history of those fateful years. Wiseman stresses that this new fragment is of the same general type of historical writing as the annals, with each paragraph that covers a defined area marked by a distinctive dividing line⁹⁸. Lines 5-8 of the reverse of that record speak about Tyre (lines 3-4 about Damascus-Israel; lines 9-11 about Judah). It should be stressed that the section about Tyre, unlike the sections dealing with Damascus, Israel and Judah, has no parallel in the *Kleinere Inschriften* published by Rost. The text concerning Hiram reads as follows (in Wiseman's translation) :

- line 5 : ... H]jiram of (the land) Tyre who with Rezin of [Damascus ...
 6 : ... the town M]jahalab his stronghold together with great towns
 I conquered⁹⁹. Spoil ...
 7 : ... came into my presence and kissed my feet. 20 talents of
 xx ...
 8 : ... decorated [garments], linen garments, officials, singers, song-
 stressesses ...

There is no exact date for this new inscription, but the background is quite clear. Hiram had made a league with Rezin of Damascus. Such an agreement was regarded by the Assyrian king as a conspiracy against him. Another partner to this conspiracy was the king of Ashkelon¹⁰⁰. But

97 Wiseman, *IRAQ XVIII* (1956), 117-129.

98 *Ibid.*, plates XXII-XXIII.

99 Wiseman translated *akshud* as "I left"; but the usual translation "I conquered" is to be preferred.

100 Luckenbill, *AR I*, § 779.

it should be noted that all these kings paid bitterly for their rebellion. Rezin's land became an Assyrian province; Pekah's kingdom was curtailed, and in consequence of it he was murdered; Mitinti of Ashkelon lost the throne¹⁰¹. Only Hiram was pardoned. The king of Tyre crossed over to the mainland, and "kissed Tiglath-Pileser's feet", i.e. he was pardoned and acknowledged the Assyrian overlordship. We may even suggest that this meeting was not too far from Tyre. For Tiglath-Pileser says explicitly that he conquered a great part of the Tyrian mainland, i.e. Maḥalab¹⁰², which is about six kilometers northeast of Tyre. In the Assyrian text the town of Maḥalab is called "a fortress of his"¹⁰³. Its fall to the Assyrians must have been preceded by Tiglath-Pileser's conquest of other cities as Sidon, Zarephath, etc.¹⁰⁴. Now after the fall of the fortress which was protecting Ushu Hiram hurried to pacify the Assyrian king. And he did not come with empty hands. We may complete the text that his tribute consisted of twenty talents of gold and X talents of silver (the land of "Beth-Agusi" paid 30 talents of gold and 2,000 talents of silver to Tiglath-Pileser¹⁰⁵; Menahem, king of Israel had to pay to the Assyrian king 1,000 talents of silver [II Kings 15:19], and Hezekiah king of Judah sent to Sennacherib 30 talents of gold and 300 talents of silver). The records have further blanks, and then we hear about decorated garments and linen garments (both typically part of Phoenician tribute), followed by "officials, singers, songstresses..." For the last categories we have no explanation to offer.

Another historical text evidently dealing with the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III against Philistia was published by Wiseman in 1951¹⁰⁶. This

101 Damascus: Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 62; Israel: II Kings 15:29-30; Ashkelon: Luckenbill, *AR I*, § 779.

102 Mentioned also in the annals of Sennacherib (*ANET*², 287b), probably *khirbet el Mahālib* of to-day. In the Bible it is identified with *Mehebel* (Josh. 19:29) (by metathesis), and with *Aḥlab* (Judg. 1:31) (Abel, *GP II*, 384).

103 This does not mean that the king was the proprietor of the town of Maḥlab; cf. the phrase "the city of David, his father" (I Kings 11:27); cf. also *EA* 151:6, where Tyre is called "the town of the king" (i.e. of Pharaoh).

104 Cf. the list of the Tyrian towns conquered by Sennacherib: "his strong cities (such as) Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Ushu..." (*ANET*², 287b).

105 Wiseman, *IRAQ XVIII* (1956), 123.

106 Wiseman, *IRAQ XIII* (1951), 21 ff.

new text has been discussed by Alt¹⁰⁷ and by Vogt¹⁰⁸. The first paragraph, above the dividing line, reads as follows:

- line 2: ... on dry land ...
 3: I caused to pour out, that city I ...
 4: in the midst of the sea I trod them down, to ...
 5: [fear of my battle] fell on him and his courage failed, he clothed himself in sackcloth ...
 6: ... of willow set with nuggets of gold together with ...
 7: ivory, fine oil, spices of all kinds, horses from ...
 8: from Kashpuna which is on the sea-coast ...
 9: I entrusted to the charge of my official, the town-governor of Ši[mirra]
 10: ... like grass I filled [the plain] with the corpses of their warriors ...
 11: their possessions, their cattle and flocks, their asses ...
 12: within his palace ...
 13: I received from them their tribute (?) and [spared (?)] their land ...
 14: Ḥanunu the man of Gaza was terrified before my mighty weapons and ... [fled] ...
 15: ... gold, 800 talents of silver, peoples with their possessions, his wife, his sons ...

(lines 16-19 continue until the dividing line.)

We may assume that we have here another record about the campaign "against Philistia" in 734 B.C.E. After having crossed the river Orontes, Tiglath-Pileser followed the road next to the coast, the *via maris* (Isa. 8:23) until he encountered his first adversary, the king of Arvad. We agree with Wiseman that the "city... in the midst of the sea", i.e. a city built on an island, has to be identified with Arvad (which is also mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser¹⁰⁹) rather than with Tyre. This identification seems to be supported by two facts. First, with the exception of ivory, none of the objects enumerated in the tribute-list of the king of the town (and they are themselves of utmost interest, giving us, as they do, a glimpse of the trade of that town) are ever mentioned in all the many lists speaking about the tribute of Tyre. Secondly, the

107 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 150 ff.

108 Vogt, *Biblica* 45 (1964), 384 ff.

109 *ANET*², 282a; cf. also Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 152 ff.

tribute was forwarded to the governor of Šimirra¹¹⁰. We may, therefore, conclude that it was Matan-baal of Arvad who had revolted together with the kings of Greater Syria against Tiglath-Pileser, who appears in this fragment as a supplicant trying to obtain pardon¹¹¹.

The next lines of the fragmentary inscription tell us about a battle. It is unfortunate that no name has been preserved, for there is no doubt that this paragraph speaks about a new event which must have followed the dealings with Matan-baal of Arvad. However it is unlikely that the enemy engaged by Tiglath-Pileser on his march south was Tyre itself, for it would go against the Tyrian character to offer any military resistance on the mainland. Therefore, we assume that the unknown enemy must be identified either with Rezin of Damascus (and his allies), or, as Alt proposed¹¹², with Israel. If we are right in our assumption, line 13 must refer to the tribute of those countries and not, as Wiseman tentatively proposed, to Sidon, Tyre, and Ashkelon¹¹³. In the immediate following lines the campaign against Hanno of Gaza is mentioned. That battle resulted in a total defeat of the coalition (the text always uses the plural form!), and apparently the annexation of some districts of those countries (cf. II Kings 15:29; I Chron. 5:26). We have interpreted this paragraph with the help of the resemblance of this new fragment, especially with regard to the order of events, to a previously known Assyrian inscription¹¹⁴. The section dealing with Hanno of Gaza and his submission fits well with our proposal. This victory changed the political map of the west and marked the beginning of a new orientation of the western countries, toward Egypt and against Assyria. This orientation formed the basis of Tyrian policy for more than 160 years, and even in the days of Nebuchadnezzar impelled the king of Tyre to defend his city against the Babylonian assault for about 13 years (cf. Ezek. 29:18; *C.Ap.* I, 156). The sea-coast countries submitted to the

110 There is no question that Wiseman is justified in his completion, as there was no other Assyrian province in Phoenicia or Greater Syria, which began with the syllable *Ši*; at that time Sidon was not a province, but belonged to the kingdom of Tyre.

111 Cf. also an Assyrian relief-fragment from the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (R. D. Barnett & M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of ... Tiglath-Pileser III*, London 1962, 17; plates LVI-LVII). It shows a "Phoenician" island city; this can represent either Arvad or Tyre, both towns are mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser.

112 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 155.

113 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XIII (1951), 22.

114 Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 815.

Assyrian overlord against their will, but this submission ended abruptly whenever Assyria was engaged in wars which were far from the western front. In their struggle the small countries were fully encouraged, if not given active help, by the rising power of Egypt.

The flight of Hanno to Egypt on one hand and the installation of a checkpost on the border of Mušur (= Egypt) on the other, clearly point to a new stage in Egyptian foreign policy¹¹⁵. Egypt must have become strong enough to take an active interest in the political play of the western sea states, although she was stronger in her promises than in her deeds. From then on she became the instigator of the anti-Assyrian struggle, which would place the sea-coast kings in the midst of a difficult political entanglement. But in the beginning, in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III, these kings thought that they had the power to choose between the Big Powers, or as Hosea put it, "... now calling upon Egypt, now turning to Assyria for help" (7:11).

However it should be noted that just as the attitude of Assyria to Tyre differed from its attitude to the other countries in Greater Syria, Tyre's political outlook toward its formidable new neighbor was different from that of the other sea-coast countries. There were two main factors which dictated Tyrian policy: trade, and its geographical situation. Situated, as it was, "on an island in the midst of the sea", Tyre's chief interest was her wide-spreading trade. While her mainland was vulnerable to attack, her splendid isolation was Tyre's trump card, which the king of Tyre knew how to play. We have no doubt that the Assyrian kings, too, knew the reasons why they never incorporated Tyre into their system of provinces¹¹⁶. Still we are amazed by the length of this struggle, which actually always ended in a compromise. We must not forget that while Tyre was engaged in warding off the Assyrian invader, either by payments of huge tribute, or by creating coalitions and alliances, sometimes participating actively in the struggle against the Assyrian kings, but mostly indirectly, by paying great sums to the war-chest, she was also engaged in another struggle far from the homeland. For it was just at this time that the Greeks were founding their colonies in Sicily: Naxos in 734 B.C.E. and Syracuse in 733 B.C.E.¹¹⁷. We shall deal

115 *ANET*², 282a.

116 We are convinced that even in the days of Ashurbanipal, when the mainland of Tyre became the Assyrian province, "The land of Tyre" (cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 70), i.e. Tyre the island was not incorporated in that province (cf. chapter XI, pp. 291 ff.).

117 J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth 1964, 183, 178;

neither with the expansion of the Tyrian trading stations overseas nor with Tyre's contact with the Greeks, but the reader should not forget this double burden, which thereafter weighed heavily upon the king of Tyre and the merchant princes.

Tiglath-Pileser was more than a conqueror. He apparently learned a great deal about the culture and the life in the western sea countries, and it may be said that it was this Assyrian king who, directly and indirectly introduced to Assyria the art of building, in vogue in the west, by building for himself "a palace of cedar . . . and a portico (= bit hitlanni) patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace . . . in Calah"¹¹⁸. He used for the roofs "long cedar beams, . . . products of Amanus, Lebanon and Ammanana (Anti-Lebanon) . . ." We must assume that the king of the Sidonians had a fair share both in the art of building and in the supply of the building material.

With the conquest of Damascus in 732 B.C.E. Tiglath-Pileser III became the master of the great metropolis situated at the junction of the trade routes. Damascus became an Assyrian province¹¹⁹, and the powerful Aramean state vanished from the political arena. The breaking of "the bar of Damascus" (Amos 1 : 5) certainly gave rise to joy and hopes at Tyre, similar to those described by Ezekiel a century and a half later, when Jerusalem was conquered : "Aha, she that was the gateway of the nations is broken, her gates swing open to me; I grow rich, she lies in ruins" (Ezek. 26 : 2). The profits from the concentration of trade in the hands of Tyre must have been tremendous. The wealth of that city became a legend based upon fact.

Thus, when Tiglath-Pileser III sent his officer (his title was *rab-šaḳū* [cf. Rab-shakeh in II Kings 18 : 17]) to Tyre, he received from Mattan II the enormous sum of 150 talents of gold¹²⁰,— and here the text breaks off; who knows how many talents of silver, etc. were added! —). Any explanation for this large sum will remain guesswork. Perhaps Mattan II was a usurper who had seized the throne in Tyre and sought

cf. Thucydides VI, 3.

118 Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 804.

119 Forrer, *Provinzenteilung*, 62, 69.

120 *ANET*², 282b; this is the highest sum in gold ever mentioned by an Assyrian king in his tribute lists. The king of Damascus paid Adad-nirari III 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, . . . (Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 735); Hezekiah of Judah sent to Sennacherib in Nineveh 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver . . . (Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 240); the Bible lists 30 talents of gold and 300 talents of silver (II Kings 18:14).

to buy the goodwill of the Assyrian overlord by paying that large sum. We feel that there must have been a "break" in the regular payments, and when the tribute was not delivered in time, the official appeared¹²¹; perhaps it was a result of the usurpation. Mattan II became frightened and paid that sum; he also paid with his life, for he was killed by the merchant princes. For Mattan was apparently succeeded in 729 by Eloulaios — the Luli of Sennacherib¹²² — who reigned over Tyre for 36 years (*Ant.* IX, 284) or according to our chronology from ca. 729–694 B.C.E.¹²³.

In conclusion we can not offer an absolute chronology for Hiram II and Mattan II. Until new documents are discovered, we must be satisfied with dates which give the approximate years : Hiram II ca. 740–730 B.C.E., and Mattan II ca. 730/29 B.C.E. Whether Mattan II belonged to the royal house, we do not know, and refrain from speculation.

The creation of the province of Damascus and its incorporation into the Assyrian empire meant that Assyria was now bordering certainly in the east and in the south, the Tyrian mainland. Tyre had to reckon with such a neighbor. There is no doubt that Eloulaios understood very well the lesson of the Mattan II affair, and we shall see that it was he who was destined to lead Tyre to new and glorious heights. Of him, of his city, and of his subjects the prophet Isaiah said : ". . . the crowned Tyre, whose merchants are princes, her traders the most honoured men on earth" (23 : 8).

121 Thiele too believes that the missions of the rabsaqū to Tyre and to Tabal (Luckenbill, *AR* I, §§ 803 and 802) are "events which took place toward the close of Tiglath-Pileser's reign" (Thiele, *MNHK*, 91). We would not have stressed this point, if a reign of Mattan II before that of Hiram II had not been proposed in recent years (cf. Jidejian, *Tyre*, Beirut 1969, 45, 246).

122 Cf. *ANET*², 287b.

123 Cf. the following chapter.

Eloulaios (Luli), King of the Sidonians

In the ninth book of Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* we read¹:

And the king of Assyria came with an army and invaded all Syria and Phoenicia. Now the name of this king is recorded in the Tyrian archives, for he marched upon Tyre in the reign of Eloulaios. This is also attested by Menander, the author of a book of Annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language, who has given the following account: "And Eloulaios, to whom they gave the name of Pyas², reigned thirty-six years. This king, upon the revolt of the Kitiéis (Cyprians), put out to sea and reduced them to submission. During his reign Selampsas, the king of Assyria, came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia and, after making a treaty of peace with all (its cities), withdrew from the land. And Sidon and Arke³ and Old Tyre⁴ and many other cities also revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria. But, as the Tyrians for that reason would not submit to him, the king turned back again and attacked them after the Phoenicians had furnished him with sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen. Against these the Tyrians sailed with twelve ships, and, after dispersing the ships of their adversaries, took five hundred of their men prisoners. On that account, in fact, the price of everything went up in Tyre. But the king of Assyria, on retiring, placed guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians

1 Josephus, *Ant.* IX, 283–287. The text is given according to the translation of R. Marcus in the Loeb Classical Library.

2 Πύας; in a number of manuscripts the name is written Πύλας, which is preferable.

3 Ἀρκε. We should, however, read Ἀκη i.e., Akko, in accordanc with some MSS (cf. also A. Schalit, *Flavii Josephi Antiquitates Judaicae* IX, note 327 *ad loc.*) (Hebrew). Cf. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ II, 142 note 195; *Flavii Josephi Opera*, ed. G. Dindorf I (Paris 1865), 365; Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 239. Ἀρκε, Iraqata of the EA-letters, lies twenty kilometers north-east of Tripolis, too far from Tyre and Sidon to be referred to here. See Dussaud, *ThS*, 80 ff.

4 Ushu of the Assyrians (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66).

Eloulaios (Luli), king of the Sidonians

from drawing water, and this they endured for five years, and drank from wells which they had dug". This, then, is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Salmanassēs, the king of Assyria.

This passage from the annals of Tyre, translated, worked over, and adapted for the Greek reader by Menander, contains extremely important material about the reign of Eloulaios, king of the Sidonians. In spite of copyings and abridgements, the annalistic style is easily recognizable. We should not forget that Josephus probably did not quote directly from Menander⁵, but from citations that he found in the great work of Alexander Polyhistor⁶. This passage from Menander is an important document for the history of Assyria, despite the corrupt text, for to this day we have no Assyrian documents from the reign of Shalmaneser V. Menander's account fits in well with the history of the kingdom of Israel, as it is preserved in II Kings 17: 3 ff.

We can be almost certain that some sentences have dropped out of Menander's text, as we have it, and others have been excessively curtailed. Such a corrupt text has given rise to a host of interpretations, each of which makes use of the variations between the different manuscripts and early editions of Josephus. The difficulties appear at the very beginning: "And Eloulaios, to whom they gave the name of Pyas (Pylas, as we have seen), reigned thirty-six years". Eloulaios is certainly "Luli" who is mentioned in Sennacherib's inscriptions, but Pylas (Πύλας) cannot be identified with any king of Tyre. Lévy suggested, therefore, that Pylas should be corrected to Lylas (Λύλας) i.e. Luli⁷. We, however, have no doubt that the correct interpretation was given by Landau, who saw that this Greek name stood for Pul⁸, the name of Tiglath-Pileser III, when he took the throne of Babylon. Thus, even at the beginning of the quotation from Menander several words have dropped

5 The faithfulness of Josephus to his text is shown by the fact that he transcribes Pul (Tiglath-Pileser) here as Πύλας; when he did not have a Greek text before him, he transcribes the name Φοῦλας like the Septuagint (cf. *Ant.* IX, 232 paralleling II Kings 15:19).

6 See chapter V, p. 80.

7 J. Lévy, "Deux Noms Phéniciens altérés chez Josephé", *Mélanges Syriens*, II (Paris 1939), 545. The correction of Π to Λ had already been proposed by G. Reisner in 1894 (cf. Lehmann, *Klio* II [1902], 130 note 2).

8 Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, I (Leipzig 1893), 14; Eiselen (*Sidon*, 48 note 1) believes that the mention of "Pul" (i.e., Tiglath-Pileser) suggests that he, too, conducted a campaign against Tyre. But Tiglath-Pileser's special attitude toward Tyre contradicts such a possibility.

out which must be restored, approximately as follows: "And Eloulaïos reigned (from the days of Tiglath-Pileser) to whom they gave the name Πύλας⁹, thirty-six years".

Tiglath-Pileser III was called Pul from the beginning of Nissan, 729 B.C.E.¹⁰. Consequently, Eloulaïos must have ascended the throne between that date and the death of Tiglath-Pileser III in 727 B.C.E.¹¹. He continued to rule throughout the reigns of Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.E.), Sargon (721-705 B.C.E.), and into the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.E.). This date for the beginning of Eloulaïos's reign fits in well with what we know from the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser that deal with his last years.

Unfortunately the inscriptions do not enable us to determine fixed dates, but it is clear that in 733/732 B.C.E. Hiram II was reigning in Tyre, for he is mentioned in a "new" inscription of Tiglath-Pileser which was discovered during the excavations of Nimrud¹². We hear that Hiram who is called "the ally of Rezin king of Damascus" presented himself before the Assyrian king (in Ushu (?) or in Damascus) in that year (like Ahaz king of Judah; II Kings 16: 10). On the other hand, when Tiglath-Pileser III sent his representative to Tyre to demand "tribute", Mattan II was reigning there¹³. This embassy took place, apparently, between 731 and 729 B.C.E.¹⁴. The fact that Mattan immediately paid the Assyrian high official 150 gold talents — a sum that has no parallel among the payments of tribute either in this period or later — must be interpreted, we believe, as a complete surrender to the king of Assyria. We may assume that this enormous payment infuriated the great merchants and the nobility of Tyre. Their rage appears to have brought Mattan's reign to a comparatively swift end, and raised Eloulaïos to the throne. Additional testimony to this course of events may be found in Eloulaïos's policy of hostility to Assyria, which he began immediately upon his accession, as we shall see below.

9 Cf. II Kings 15:19; I Chron. 5:26.

10 Anspacher, *Tiglath-Pileser*, 68; Olmstead, *HA*, 181.

11 Thus the date proposed by Ed. Meyer (*GA* II/2, 438): ca. 725 B.C.E., is too late.

12 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XVIII (1956), 119, 121, 123.

13 P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pileser's III*, I, Leipzig 1893, 72-73; *ANET*², 282b.

14 The date according to Kraeling (*AJSL* 41 [1924], 27) was about 729 B.C.E.; Jeremias suggested the last years of Tiglath-Pileser III, 728-727 B.C.E. (Jeremias, *Tyrus*, 29); the date proposed by Eiselen (*Sidon*, 46-47), 734 B.C.E. has been refuted by the new epigraphic material (see note 12).

Menander tells us that Eloulaïos reigned thirty-six years (*Ant.* IX, 284)¹⁵. Winckler suggested emending this number to twenty-six (727-701 B.C.E.)¹⁶, and a number of scholars have followed in his footsteps¹⁷. Winckler's emendation is based principally upon a passage in the inscriptions of Sennacherib: "Luli, king of Sidon . . . fled far overseas and perished"¹⁸. This took place in Sennacherib's third campaign "against Hatti" in 701 B.C.E. Hence the thirty-six years of Eloulaïos's reign would have to begin in 736 B.C.E., which is absolutely impossible. But we do not have to accept Winckler's emendation, for the word "perished" (*šad-dā-šu emid*) may be translated merely as "he disappeared", instead of the customary "he died"¹⁹. Nor should we link the eponym for 727 B.C.E., "against Damascus . . ." ²⁰, with the mission to Mattan II, for Tiglath-Pileser III, who died in 727 B.C.E.²¹ was still able to tell in the first person the story of that embassy, which must, therefore, have preceded his death²². Consequently we believe that Menander's account need not be changed, and that Eloulaïos's reign should be dated approximately 729-694 B.C.E.

We may well ask²³ whether in the report written immediately after the third campaign of Sennacherib, in 700 B.C.E., in the so-called Rassam-Cylinder²⁴ we would find the expression: *šadāšu emid*. The lines which deal with Luli (= Eloulaïos) are in very bad condition, but they hardly leave much place for such a long phrase²⁵. The phrase does appear in the "Taylor Prism" from the year 691 B.C.E.²⁶, in the "Chicago

15 The Latin translation of Josephus (Venice 1481) reads: "Hylyseus nomine regnavit annis triginta et septem" (!).

16 Winckler, *AOF* II, 67.

17 E.g. Sanda, *Könige* II, 438.

18 *ANET*², 287b; Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 29; R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, Heft II, Roma 1963 67.

19 This phrase, *šad-dā-shu emid*, appears in all the known inscriptions of Sennacherib which mention the flight of Luli (Eloulaïos) to Cyprus (Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 29, 68-69, 77; *CAD* IV, 140a: *šadāshu imid* — he disappeared forever. Cf. also Tadmor, "Historical Implications of the Correct Rendering of Akkadian *dāku*", *JNES* XVII (1958), 134, 1. 8. Cf. also note 209 (*infra*).

20 Thiele, *MNHK*, 291.

21 Anspacher, *Tiglath-Pileser*, 69; Luckenbill, *AR* I, § 761.

22 See note 13.

23 Cf. Lehmann (—Haupt), *Klio* II (1902), 125-140, 466-472; Evetts, *ZA* III (1888), 324, 330.

24 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 283.

25 G. Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, London 1878, 70.

26 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 232.

Oriental Institute Prism" ²⁷, and in the newly discovered "Octagonal Prism" in the Iraq Museum ²⁸, the last two both from 689 B.C.E. But we may note that all three of the last-mentioned texts were written after the death of Eloulaios, according to our proposed dating. Menander's text includes three personal names, Πύλας (Pylas), Ἐλουλαῖος (Eloulaios) and Σαλάμψας (Selampsas). Having found a reasonable identification of Pylas, we must investigate the remaining names. The identification of the Tyrian king Eloulaios (*Ant.* IX, 284) ²⁹ with Luli, whom Sennacherib calls "king of Sidon", cannot be doubted ³⁰. Honigmann's hypothesis that Luli king of Sidon must be distinguished from Eloulaios king of Tyre ³¹, contradicts what we know today of the history of the Phoenician cities, for there is no question that from the days of Ethbaal I, the father-in-law of Ahab, until 701 B.C.E., Sidon was an integral part of the kingdom of Tyre. Nor can we accept the suggestion of Pietschmann that the name Eloulaios is taken from the Assyrian-Babylonian month name "Elul", revealing, in his opinion, Assyrian influence ³². At the utmost, it is possible that the similarity between the name of Eloulaios (Ἐλουλαῖος) king of Tyre and the Babylonian name of Shalmaneser V, who is called Iloulaios (Ἰλουλαῖος) in the Ptolemaic Canon ³³, influenced the copyists.

This last possibility has great importance for the identity of Selampsas, which is a difficult problem. Most scholars have been influenced by the opinion of Smith ³⁴ and Eduard Meyer ³⁵ that the revolt of the Phoenician cities against Tyre (*Ant.* IX, 285) is the revolt of the cities recounted in the annals of Sennacherib ³⁶, and consequently that we should read "Sennacherib" for "Selampsas". This identification is the more astonishing because Ed. Meyer himself knew very well that Selampsas was Shalmaneser ³⁷. Even Landau, who entitled his article "Die Bela-

27 Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 21.

28 Heidel, *Sumer* IX (1953), 130/131.

29 The mention of Eloulaios in *Ant.* IX, 283 is based on the account in 284.

30 A similar omission of the initial ' occurs with the name Ethbaal, which is written Tuba'lu in the inscription of Sennacherib.

31 E. Honigmann, "Sidon", *PW*, 2. Reihe, II, col. 2218.

32 Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 300 note 2.

33 C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig 1895, 305.

34 G. Smith, *History of Sennacherib*, London 1878, 69 ff.

35 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 127 ff.

36 *ANET*², 287b.

37 "Menander ... nennt den Gegner des Eluläos fälschlich Σελάμψας, d.i.

gerung von Tyrus durch Salmanassar bei Menander", accepted the hypothesis of Smith and Ed. Meyer, claiming that this section of Menander dealt with the campaign of Sennacherib. Landau believed that this passage was compounded from three separate elements: one told of Pul, but only the name was preserved; the second told of Sennacherib's actions in regard to the revolt of the Phoenician cities against Tyre; and the third, dealing with the campaign of Esarhaddon, told of the five-year siege of Tyre ³⁸. On the other hand, the identification of Selampsas with Shalmaneser is supported by the Latin text ³⁹, in which the name is written Salmanassar, apparently on the basis of the manuscript which lay before the Latin copyist (translator?). Josephus, himself, moreover, identifies Selampsas with Salmanassēs (*Ant.* IX, 287), and the sequence of events points in the same direction (*ibid.* 277-287).

There is, however, another difficulty: Shalmaneser V reigned only five years (726-722 B.C.E.) and the siege of Tyre also lasted five years. Shalmaneser did not begin his reign by laying siege to Tyre, for this siege was preceded by his first campaign, in 727-726, "against Damascus" as it is called in the Assyrian Eponym List ⁴⁰, in the course of which he "came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia, and, after making a treaty of peace with all (its cities), withdrew from the land" (*Ant.* IX, 284). After Shalmaneser's return to the east, he was "in the land", as the Eponym List puts it, in 726/25, and it was only in 724/23 that he started out on his second campaign "against . . ." ⁴¹, during which siege was laid to Tyre, as we learn from Menander (*Ant.* IX, 285). Menander, however, does not explicitly say that the same king who laid siege also

Salmanassar". (Meyer, *GA* III, 54 note 3).

38 Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, I, Leipzig 1893, 5, 9, 15; this suggestion was accepted by Winckler (*AOF* II, 66 ff.).

39 Ed. Venice 1481; this identification was already noted by C. F. Lehmann, who remarked that the account of Menander and Josephus fits excellently the days of Shalmaneser (Lehmann, *Klio* II [1902], 139-140). Dindorf (in his Josephus-edition) reads ἐπὶ τούτους πέμψας for ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμψας, but this is only an emendation.

40 Thiele, *MNHK*, 291; The events took place in this year (727 B.C.E.) are, according to the Eponym List: "against Damascus; Shalmaneser took his seat on the throne". The order of the sentences shows that this campaign probably began in the last days of Tiglath-Pileser III with Shalmaneser leading it, at first as his father's representative in the west.

41 "Samaria" is usually supplied here, and in fact the siege of Samaria began in this year (Tadmor, *JCS* XII [1958], 37).

presided over its end. We read only: "But the king of Assyria, on retiring, places guards at the river . . . and this they endured for five years" (*Ant.* IX, 287). Consequently we believe that these five years began during the reign of Shalmaneser V, but ended in the reign of his successor, Sargon II⁴².

When Hoshea king of Israel rebelled against Assyria — certainly at the beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser V — "Shalmaneser king of Assyria made war upon him and Hoshea became tributary to him" (II Kings 17:3). The king of Assyria made war not only against Hoshea, but also against Eloulaios king of the Sidonians, who had rebelled against Assyria no doubt because of the demand for a strong anti-Assyrian policy which arose in Tyre after the complete submission of Mattan II. The change of kings in Assyria encouraged anti-Assyrian activity in Tyre as in Samaria. This is the rebellion to which Menander alludes, when he says: "During his (Eloulaios's) reign Selampsas (i.e., Shalmaneser, see above), the king of Assyria, came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia" (*Ant.* IX, 284), i.e., all of Eloulaios's kingdom, which certainly extended northward to Sidon and southward to Akko.

Menander relates: "Sidon and Akko, and Old Tyre (= Assyrian *ušu*) and many other cities also revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria" (*Ant.* IX, 285). We have no information concerning the formation of a "Phoenician" province in the days of Shalmaneser. Menander only tells us that the king of Assyria made treaties of peace with all these cities (except Tyre); we may assume that this means they became tributary vassals. Thus ended Shalmaneser's first campaign against the kingdom of the Sidonians, and he returned to his own land.

After Shalmaneser had left, Eloulaios worked vigorously for a year or more to restore the southern Phoenician coast to the *status quo ante*. It seems likely that in the course of these efforts Eloulaios made a treaty with Hoshea king of Israel, who, on his part, turned to the king of Egypt for help (II Kings 17:4).

At this time a surge of restlessness, paralleling the revolt of the Phoenician coastal cities against Tyre, swept over the colony of Kiti(on) on Cyprus. Josephus, indeed, begins his quotation from Menander with the account that Eloulaios, with the aid of his navy, reduced the inhabitants of Kiti(on), who had revolted against him, to submission.

42 Among contemporary scholars who hold this opinion, see Malamet, *IEJ* I (1950/51), 151-152.

Ed. Meyer suggested that Eloulaios's campaign against Cyprus took place in the first or second year of Sennacherib that is, before Sennacherib's campaign against Eloulaios in 701 B.C.E.⁴³ Meyer thought that Kiti(on) had been conquered by Sargon, as shown by the stela erected in 707 B.C.E., which was found in Cyprus, and that Eloulaios reconquered Kition after the death of Sargon. Sennacherib's campaign against Eloulaios was directed against this annexation. But this hypothesis is mistaken.

It is almost certain that the campaign of Eloulaios could only have taken place between the two campaigns of Shalmaneser to the west⁴⁴. The whole rebellion of the Kiteies was an internal affair between the mother city and her colony. Eloulaios had a navy, of course, but it appears that in this case there was no need for military action. Of Hiram I Menander told us: "And he undertook a campaign against the Itykaians⁴⁵ and when he had again made them subject to him, returned home" (*Ant.* VIII, 146). The explicit allusions to military action used in connection with Hiram (cf. the verbs *ἐπιστρατεύω*, *ὑποτάσσω*) are missing in the passage relating to Eloulaios, where we read merely: "Upon the revolt of the Kiteies, he put out to sea (*ἀναπλεύσας*) and restored them to his side (*προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν*), (*Ant.* IX, 284)⁴⁶. We must distinguish, therefore, between the campaign of Hiram and that of Eloulaios; the suggestion of Peckham that there was a naval battle between Eloulaios and the men of Kition has no basis⁴⁷. One can hardly speak, therefore, of a real rebellion of the inhabitants of Kiti(on) against Tyre; we shall consider this further, when we deal with the relations between Eloulaios and Sargon.

The control of Kiti(on) was an object of first importance to the king of Tyre, for the commerce with the colonies or trading stations depended upon the rule of Cyprus. We must not forget that this was the period, when the Greeks were penetrating Italy and Sicily⁴⁸ (they were already well-established on Cyprus itself; see below). The imperativeness of complete Tyrian control of Kiti(on) took precedence, therefore, over all

43 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 127.

44 Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel*, 113.

45 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 361 note 101; cf. IV, note 183.

46 In this case we must differ with the translation of R. Marcus (Loeb Classical Library): "reduced them to submission"; cf. the use of the same verb in Herodotus II, 172.

47 J. B. Peckham, *Late Phoenician Scripts*, 15 note 13.

48 K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², I, 2 Strassburg 1913, 221 ff.

other military activities. Consequently Eloulaios acted immediately and vigorously in Kiti(on), while in regard to his rule over the Phoenician coast, he restricted himself to political activity, which led to a coalition against Assyrian overlordship. But the Phoenician cities did not join in this conspiracy, and Shalmaneser himself, moving swiftly to suppress the rebellion, "invaded the whole country and, reaching Samaria, besieged it for three years" (II Kings 17 : 5).

This was Shalmaneser's second campaign against Hoshea ⁴⁹, which paralleled his second campaign against the Sidonian kingdom. Josephus also combines the second campaign (see *Ant.* IX, 277 ff.) of Shalmaneser against Tyre with his campaign against the other countries of the West, and writes: "And the king of Assyria came with an army and invaded all Syria [including, of course, the kingdom of Israel] and Phoenicia" (*Ant.* IX, 283). In this respect Menander writes: "But, as the Tyrians... would not submit to him, the king *turned back again* and attacked them" (*Ant.* IX, 285). He goes on to tell that the cities of Phoenicia, certainly under the leadership of Sidon, rebelled against the metropolis of Tyre, and took part in Shalmaneser's second campaign against Tyre, furnishing him with a large navy, sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen (*ibid.*) (If the numbers are correct ⁵⁰, there were approximately twelve sailors plus an officer on each ship). "Against these (ships) the Tyrians sailed with twelve ships ⁵¹ and, after dispersing the ships of their adversaries, took five hundred of their men prisoners" (*Ant.* IX, 286). Thus Tyre's victory at sea was decisive. About sixty per cent of the

49 Goedicke, too, speaks of two campaigns of Shalmaneser against Samaria (727/26 and 724 B.C.E.) (Goedicke, *BASOR* 171 [1963], 64 ff.).

50 Movers assumed that there was an error in the number given, and we should read sixteen instead of sixty; then, there would be 800 oarsmen in 16 quinqueremes, that is 50 sailors to each ship (Movers, 2 3/1, 174). This hypothesis has no foundation (cf. the Phoenician ships depicted on the relief of Sennacherib, which have two banks of oars: *ANEP* no. 106). There is no doubt that the numbers — both of the ships and of the sailors — are stereotypes. In the description of the sea-battle of Alaia in ca. 540 B.C.E., each of the three participants is described as having a fleet of sixty ships (Herodotus I, 166). In a drawing by Layard of an Assyrian relief from the time of Sennacherib (cf. note 180) the long ships with pointed rams are warships: biremes "having a complement of some 15 or 25 oars a side in two banks, that is 30 or 50 oars". (Barnett *Antiquity* XXXII [1958], 227).

51 Fleming wishes to explain this small number of ships by saying that the attack by a hostile fleet surprised the king of Tyre, and therefore, he was able to summon only a small fleet against the invaders (Fleming, *Tyre*, 60).

sailors who had been supplied to Shalmaneser by the Phoenician cities were taken captive, and we may assume that accordingly about forty ships were captured or sunk.

Shalmaneser withdrew from the Tyrian kingdom, but before he returned to Assyria, he "placed guards at the river and the aqueducts" (*Ant.* IX, 287). It seems to us that the base of this garrison was in "Old Tyre", i.e. Ušu, for in the geographical description of Pseudo-Scylax we read: "Old Tyre: this is a city and a river runs through it" ⁵². This Assyrian garrison was to prevent "the Tyrians from drawing water" (*Ant.* IX, 287) ⁵³. Now began the siege which lasted five years. "But the Tyrians endured for five years, and drank from wells which they had dug" (*ibid.*). The method of storing water had evidently been perfected by this time, and there were reservoirs sufficient to supply drinking water to the inhabitants of Tyre. The method of storing water in plastered cisterns was a decisive factor in the rise of Tyre even in the days of Abibaal, father of Hiram the Great.

Between the account of the naval victory of Tyre and the account of the stationing of a garrison in Ushu, Menander tells us: "On that account, in fact, the price of everything went up in Tyre" (*Ant.* IX, 286). Apparently this passage is not in its place, and belongs to the description of the siege of Tyre, unless we accept the version of Dindorf, who believes that the passage is where it belongs, and translates: "For this reason [i.e., the brilliant victory] the glory of the Tyrians increased" ⁵⁴. Whatever the proper interpretation of this passage may be, for us it is sufficient to know that Shalmaneser withdrew from Tyre and, in leaving, stationed a garrison in Ushu. The siege, which was a sort of mainland blockade, lasted from ca. 724–720 B.C.E., that is, during the last three years of Shalmaneser, and the first two years of Sargon's reign.

The siege of Tyre was parallel, therefore, to the siege of Samaria, but — unlike the siege of Samaria — it failed, principally because of Tyre's geographical characteristics. It was ended by a treaty between Eloulaios and Sargon. As far as we have been able to discover, Jeremiah was the first to emphasize that the siege of Tyre ended apparently in the reign of Sargon, in 720 B.C.E. ⁵⁵. We cannot accept Winckler's suggestion

52 C. Mueller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.* §104: Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, 204.

53 In connection with the supplying of water from the mainland to the island cf. *EA* 148–151, 154, 155, and Papyrus Anastasi I (*ANET*², 477b).

54 *Flavii Josephi Opera* (recognovit G. Dindorfus) I, Paris 1865, 299.

55 Jeremiah, *Tyrus*, 30; later Lehmann-Haupt returned to this hypothesis

that Shalmaneser, by coming to an agreement with Eloulaios, was able to isolate Samaria⁵⁶. Winckler based this claim on a passage from the famous treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre⁵⁷, but he misread this passage, as Borger has now proved⁵⁸. Malamat, recognizing correctly that the action of the Assyrian kings against Samaria paralleled their action against Tyre, has suggested linking the prophecy in Zechariah 9:1-6 to the action of Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor, against the kingdom of Tyre⁵⁹. On the conclusions in regard to the relations between Sargon and Eloulaios, king of Tyre, we shall speak further below.

The conquest of Samaria took place in the year 722/21 B.C.E.⁶⁰, and Shalmaneser died in December 722 or January 721 B.C.E.⁶¹. It is clear that Sargon ascended the throne almost immediately, without a long pause between one rule and the next⁶².

When Sargon assumed the rulership of Assyria, a change took place in the relations between his kingdom and Tyre. The Assyrian sources make no mention of Tyre's participation in the great rebellion of the peoples of Syria, Israel, Gaza, and Egypt against Sargon at the beginning of his reign⁶³. This rebellion was led by the kings of Hamath and Gaza, supported by Egypt. It is astonishing, therefore, to find scholars who insist that Tyre took part in this rebellion. Olmstead, for example, in his *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria* thought that "Tyre too seems to have taken part in this revolt"⁶⁴. In his *History of Assyria*

(Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel*, 99).

56 Winckler, *KAT*³, 62-63.

57 Winckler, *AOF* II, 14-16.

58 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 107-108.

59 Malamat, *IEJ* I (1950-51), 151 ff.

60 Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 37.

61 *Ibid.*, notes 132, 136.

62 *Ibid.*, 94.

63 We cannot accept the suggestion that Sargon campaigned twice in the west at the beginning of his reign (in 721 and again in 720 B.C.E.) even though it appears to be based on the Annals of Sargon (cf. Lie, *Sargon*, 4-5 = rêsh sharrûti = 722/21 B.C.E.; 6-7 = palû 2 = 720 B.C.E.) A. Malamat, "The Wars of Israel and Assyria", in *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, ed. J. Liver, Tel-Aviv 1964, 254,260 note 44 (Hebrew); cf. also Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 22, 33, 36-38, 94.

64 A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, New York 1908, 49.

Olmstead alludes to the participation of Tyre only obscurely⁶⁵, but in his *History of Palestine and Syria*, when enumerating the rebel kingdoms, he says: "Elu-eli of Tyre felt no longer bound by the agreement with Shalmaneser"⁶⁶. (What agreement?) Kraeling, recognizing the importance of the non-mention of Tyre in Sargon's account of the rebellion, expresses himself more cautiously⁶⁷, but he tries to explain this phenomenon by the speed with which Sargon acted⁶⁸.

We see the course of events differently. Apparently the rebellious cities, particularly the provinces, which considered themselves absolved of their oath of fidelity when Sargon seized power by a revolution, expressed their mutiny by ceasing to pay tribute to the Assyrian king. Tyre could not participate in this gesture for the simple reason that, having been at war with Assyria, she had not paid any tribute for a number of years. It is even possible that just at this time Eloulaios decided to send gifts to Sargon, because he discerned that this was his opportunity to obtain from the Assyrian king an agreement to restore his dominion over the cities and territory of the southern coast of Phoenicia. It is true that the southern Phoenician coastal cities did not take part in the rebellion against Sargon either, to judge from the silence of the sources, which do not list them among the rebel states. Perhaps, having only recently received their freedom from Shalmaneser, they did not want to participate in the rebellion.

At all events, Eloulaios knew how to make good use of the opportunity afforded him by the change of kings in Assyria, when a new king replaced his enemy Shalmaneser V. Eloulaios's policy of non-intervention during the rebellion could only benefit him; on the one hand, it insured him against being among those vanquished by Sargon, with all the punishments that the Assyrians would be sure to inflict; on the other hand, if the peoples of Syria were victorious, the siege laid on Tyre by the Assyrian garrison would automatically be lifted.

Sargon, on his part, was certainly interested in restricting the scope of the rebellion, as much as possible, since he had to send a sizeable portion of his troops back to the east to suppress a mutiny on the part of the king of Babylon. Consequently a common interest developed between Sargon and Eloulaios, which led to negotiations between them,

65 Olmstead, *HA*, 207.

66 Olmstead, *HPS*, 457.

67 "The fact that Tyre is not mentioned at all by Sargon... is in itself significant" (Kraeling, *AJS* 41 [1924], 27-28).

68 *Ibid.*, 28.

even before the siege of Tyre was ended; but as soon as these negotiations began, Sargon gave orders to the local Assyrian commander to ease the situation of the Tyrians in certain respects.

We believe that we must assign the new Assyrian epigraphic material to this period, i.e. before real peace was made between Sargon and Eloulaios. This material, which was discovered in the excavations of Calah and which is known as "The Nimrud Letters, 1952" was published by H. W. Saggs⁶⁹. The twelve letters are ascribed to the period between the last half of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III and the first half of the reign of Sargon, but Saggs emphasized that only for two of them it is possible to fix an exact date. He ascribes Letter XV (ND 2696) to ca. 740 B.C.E.⁷⁰, and Letter XVIII (ND 2645) to ca. 721 B.C.E.⁷¹. But in the latter, mention is made of the death of Ilu-bi'di (king of Hamath?), and consequently it must have been written in 720 B.C.E.⁷². On the other hand, Enurta-ilaia of Letter XV may be Enurta-ilaia who gave as *tartan* his name to the year 722 B.C.E. in the Eponym List⁷³. Surely one of those letters, which can be dated exactly in Saggs's opinion, belong to the beginning of Sargon's reign. We might then infer that the letters dealing with Tyre (Letter XII [ND 2715] and Letter XIII [ND 2686]) were written to Sargon in the first years of his reign (or more precisely, in the period after his victory over the king of Hamath)⁷⁴. Saggs's translation of Letters XII and XIII which deal, among other things, with Tyre, is as follows:

XII [ND. 2715]

Obverse:

To the king my lord your servant Qurdi-aššur-lamur.

Concerning the people of Tyre, about whom the king said thus: "Reply.

5 It is well with it?", all the wharves are occupied by the people. Its

69 Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII (1955), 126 ff.

70 *Ibid.*, 149.

71 *Ibid.*, 153.

72 Lie, *Sargon*, 6/7; Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 94.

73 Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII (1955), 133; Thiele, *MNHK*, 291. We agree that the reserve of Letter XV (lines 9-11) strongly favors a much earlier date, for Tutamu of Unki was defeated in the first years of Tiglath-Pileser III, and Unki became an Assyrian province (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 56).

74 Saggs believes that these two letters were written in the period between 738 and 734 B.C.E., i.e., after the reorganization of the Assyrian provinces in Syria (which took place according to Forrer's dating in 738 B.C.E.) and before the military campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III against the South Arabian states in 734 B.C.E. (Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 150).

subjects (i.e. those of Tyre) who are within them (i.e. the wharves) enter (and) leave the warehouses, give (and) receive (in barter), ascend (and) descend Mount Lebanon which is in front of it (i.e. of Tyre) as they will, (and) they have timber brought down here. 10 I exact a tax (on it from) those who have timber brought down. (As to) the tax-collectors (who were) over the wharves of Mount Lebanon, the people of Tyre attacked and killed (them). I then appointed, when he came down to me, a tax-collector who (had 15 been) in the warehouses of Sidon. The Sidonians then attacked him. Thereupon I sent the Itu'a contingent to Mount Lebanon: they made 20 the people jump around! Afterwards (when the people) had fled (and) the tax-collector had come out (and) I had sent him back into Sidon, I spoke to them in this manner: "Henceforth have timber 25 brought down here, do your work upon (it), (but) do not sell it to the Egyptians (or) to the Palestinians.

Reverse:

Otherwise I will not free you (and) you shall not go up the mountain".

30 Concerning the city of Kašpuna about which the king said: "Why do you delay (its) their fortification?" while they had still sent no message from the palace I took hold (of the affair myself) and duly did the job. Afterwards, when they did send a sealed tablet, it did 35 not come to me. Subsequently I tore away the surrounding rubbish at the side, from near to far, and I did indeed repair the great gate of the inner (wall). It (i.e. Kašpuna) had collected . . .-four soldiers at (my) disposal. Twenty of them I took (under my control and) they went with me: the royal officer (who is) chief of the garrison 40 I appointed over them. I made thirty regular soldiers enter into the middle (of Kašpuna): they will keep guard. The soldiers will relieve them by thirties.

As to what the king said, that is, "Cause ten households of the 45 Iasubaeans to enter into Kašpuna", the water therein is 'strong' (and) people fall sick. When they have been duly equipped with their own water from Immiu I will cause them to enter . . . into Kašpuna.

XIII [ND. 2686]

Obverse:

To the king my lord your servant Qurdi-aššur-lamur.

I have had Nabu-šezib bring this sealed Aramaic document from within Tyre.

5 (I report) thus: in the palace of Tyre verily it is well, (that is), in

the palace which is in the Usse-quarter ⁷⁵.

8 Nergal-iddin had cut the watercourse of its temples which (is at)
10 the head of Sidon. (I report thus:) When I took up (the affair)
for Tyre I duly made him stop this. The watercourse which he cut
15 is hemmed in at the foot of the mountain(s).

Reverse :

20 Nabu-šezib . . . (lines 18 to 20 are damaged) . . . these . . . I duly sent
out . . . they will go to the town of Immiha. Verily he set out (and)
25 went. I cultivated their corn-land : as to their slaves, verily they have
gone.

The two letters are similar in three respects : (a) both are written by
Qurdi-aššur-lamur; (b) both are strikingly brief in addressing the king;
(c) both deal, among other matters, with the administration of Tyre
and Sidon.

Qurdi-aššur-lamur is a very high official, residing neither in Tyre nor
in Sidon. In Letter XII, Qurdi-aššur-lamur mentions his responsibility
for the fortification of Kašpuna, a city mentioned in the days of Tiglath-
Pileser III as having been annexed to Šumur ⁷⁶. Šumur was the capital
of a province of the same name, and the residence of Shalmaneser [V]
as representative of his father Tiglath-Pileser III in the west. We prob-
ably shall not err greatly, therefore, if we suggest that Šumur was the
residence of Qurdi-aššur-lamur ⁷⁷. This hypothesis is not contradicted by
the fact that Šumur is mentioned among the cities that rebelled against
Sargon ⁷⁸, since the letters in question were apparently written after
Sargon had suppressed the rebellion in Syria at the battle of Qarqar,
toward the end of spring, 720 B.C.E. ⁷⁹.

75 The translation "quarter" is erroneous; it should be read: "in the (city)
Ushe". Qurdi-ashshur-lamur speaks about the town of Tyre (which is on
the island) and the town of Ushu (which is on the mainland).

76 Wiseman, *IRAQ* XIII (1951), 22.

77 Thus also Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX (1966), 88. Another possibility is the city
Ushu (see Letter XIII), where an Assyrian garrison was certainly stationed.
But the letters of Qurdi-ashshur-lamur indicate in our opinion, that his
residence was in a city that had opposed Sargon before the rebellion, and
was afterwards the capital of an Assyrian province.

78 *ANET*², 285a; Lie, *Sargon*, 6/7.

79 Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 38. It appears that the Assyrian provinces
Arpad, Šumur, Damascus, and Hadrach (on Hadrach see Thureau-Dangin,
RA XXX [1933], 55; cf. Letter XVIII, in which the city Hadrach is
mentioned in line 5 [Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII (1955), 137]) were perhaps forced
to join in the rebellion by the king of Hamath. We may learn this, it
seems to us, from Sargon's exceptional attitude toward these cities after

We may learn of the high office of Qurdi-aššur-lamur from the follow-
ing facts : (a) he addresses the king very shortly, without the usual ad-
dition; (b) he gives orders to a lesser Assyrian official, located, perhaps,
in Sidon; (c) he has at his disposal a special police unit, the *Itu'a*
troops ⁸⁰; (d) his is empowered to make certain decisions without hav-
ing previously received approval from the royal court.

The chronological order of Letters XII and XIII is not clear. It seems
probable, indeed, that Letter XII tells of a new stage in the relations
between the Assyrian governor and the city of Tyre, a stage succeeding
the events of which Qurdi-aššur-lamur informs the king in Letter XIII.
But there can be no doubt that both letters were written within a short
time of each other. In both letters the new Assyrian policy toward Tyre
is obvious; the affairs of Tyre are of the greatest concern to the king,
and the official makes this clear by placing them at the beginning of
each report. At the beginning of Letter XII we read : "Concerning the
inhabitants of Tyre, about whom the king commanded (me) thus : Treat
(Tyre) with conciliation . . ." ⁸¹. These instructions emphasize clearly the
change in Sargon's foreign policy toward Tyre. From both letters it
appears that the official rules the shore, but not the city of Tyre. Hence
the letters were written during the siege, although it is clear that the
conditions of the siege are no longer as severe as they had been, an im-
portant fact in determining the exact date of the letters.

From Letter XIII we learn that a special messenger, named Nabu-
šezib ⁸², is bringing with him a sealed letter (sealed by whom?), written
in Aramaic, from (the palace of) Tyre (to the king of Assyria). This
"official and secret" letter — which unfortunately has not been pre-
served — was written in the diplomatic language of the time ⁸³, that is,

his victory, for we do not hear of any punishment inflicted on them, in
contrast to the measures which Sargon took in Samaria (Tadmor, *JCS*
XII [1958], 38-39, 94).

80 "Itu'a troops, a tough tribal body used for police", Saggs, *Babylon*²,
108, 259.

81 This translation, which we prefer, is in accordance with Saggs's notes
(Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 128 notes [line 4]) rather than with the text
of his translation, which we have given above.

82 A messenger named Nabu-shezib is (also) mentioned in Letter XVIII which
is dated by Saggs to 721 B.C.E. approximately (Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII
[1955], 137, 138, 151, 153).

83 Cf. II Kings 18:26. The letter referred to is the earliest official letter
written in Aramaic that is known to us (A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient*
Mesopotamia, Chicago 1968, 370 note 20; *CAD* A/II, 293b, s.v. *armû*).

in a different language from the one used by the Assyrian official in his correspondence with the king. We believe that Nabu-šezib was bringing with him a letter from Eloulaios, king of Tyre, to Sargon.

Qurdi-aššur-lamur not only wrote an accompanying letter to this official letter, but stressed that "in the palace of Tyre verily it is well, (that is), in the palace which is in Ušše". "In the palace which is in Ušše" is not, as Saggs believes, an explanation of the words "in the palace of Tyre". Qurdi-aššur-lamur is referring to the situation in two separate places. The palace of Tyre was outside the territory controlled by the Assyrian garrison, unlike the palace of Ushu.

This hint of Qurdi-aššur-lamur gives an opening for many conjectures, but we shall content ourselves with noting that the king of Tyre made use of the Assyrian high official and an Assyrian messenger to transmit his letter to the king of Assyria. The "kid gloves" policy toward Tyre is also underlined by the intervention of Qurdi-aššur-lamur on behalf of Tyre, after the local Assyrian commissioner in Sidon had made changes in the water supply system that were not, in the opinion of Qurdi-aššur-lamur, to the benefit of Tyre.

A spirit of conciliation breathes from Letters XIII and XII. They give no hint of the presence of an Assyrian governor in Tyre. The friendly attitude toward Tyre certainly does not fit the reign of Shalmaneser, and since we have no knowledge of a governor in Ushu or Sidon in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III, both the content and the background of these letters indicate that they are from the beginning of Sargon's reign⁸⁴.

The first part of Letter XII tells of a lively traffic of Tyrians on the wharves (of Ushu) and in the warehouses (of timber?). The subjects (of Eloulaios!) enter and leave. They are permitted to buy and sell, even to ascend Mount Lebanon in order to cut the trees, although they must pay a certain tax to the Assyrians for the timber. The subsequent events are not quite clear because of gaps in the text. According to the translation of Saggs, it appears that the Tyrians opposed a (new?) tax that was to be imposed on them in the warehouses on Mount Lebanon, and therefore fell upon the tax-collectors there and killed them. After Qurdi-aššur-lamur has reported that the police troops succeeded in restoring the order that had been disturbed by the Sidonians, he goes on to say that he has permitted the Tyrians⁸⁵ to continue to cut timber on

84 On an additional (?) letter of Qurdi-ashshur (-lamur?) (Letter XIV, Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 131-133), see Albright's translation (Albright, *BASOR* 140 [1955], 34-35). This letter does not deal at all with Phoenicia.

85 The sequel proves that Qurdi-ashshur-lamur refers here to Tyrians and not

condition that they will not sell it to the Egyptians or the Philistines; if they do not observe this condition, they will not be permitted to go up the mountain. This condition suits the beginning of Sargon's reign, when the centers of rebellion were Hamath and "Philistia" (i.e., Gaza), while Egypt backed them⁸⁶.

Letter XII also tells us that Qurdi-aššur-lamur had to fortify the city of Kašpuna. From the interest taken by Sargon, and the detailed reply of Qurdi-aššur-lamur, we learn that the fortification of Kašpuna was important to the Assyrian king. Since, apart from the fact that it was on the northern Phoenician coast⁸⁷, the location of Kašpuna has not yet been discovered, we do not know what impelled the fortification of the city. It is possible, of course, that we have here the rebuilding of the city fortifications that had been destroyed during the rebellion of the king of Hamath and his allies against Sargon, but it appears that Kašpuna served not only as an Assyrian fortress on the coast, but also as a base for defense against the Greek (?) pirates.

Somewhat later in his reign, Sargon boasted of his action against Greek pirates⁸⁸, and we have a letter written by Qurdi-aššur-lamur that appears to deal with this matter. The letter was found in Nimrud and published by Saggs in 1963⁸⁹. Saggs's translation is as follows:

Letter LXIX [ND 2370]

Obverse:

To the king my lord your servant Qurdi-Ashur-lamur.

The people of the land Iauna have come. They have made an attack
5 on the city *Usi* . . . , on the city *Haridiu* (and) on *the* city . . . Concerning the . . . -man, he went to the city . . . The people, the zakkû-class, (*are*) *in the hand* [i.e. *control*] of . . . I kept going back. No-

to Sidonians, for the demand that timber not be shipped either to Egypt or to Philistia, the enemies of Assyria, makes sense only in connection with the Tyrians. Sidon, as a vassal of the Assyrian king, would certainly not take such a step. It is doubtful, if she even had the necessary ships after the Tyrian victory over the navy of the united Phoenician cities. The threat of Qurdi-ashshur-lamur, too, "Otherwise I shall not free you", has no meaning in regard to the Sidonians, but makes good sense in regard to the Tyrians, whose right to cross to the mainland depended on the goodwill of the Assyrian officer.

86 Cf. Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 5, 118; perhaps even then an Assyrian invasion of Egypt was being planned (*ibid.* § 55).

87 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 153 ff.

88 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 92 (see below).

89 Saggs, *IRAQ* XXV (1963), 76 ff.

10 *one had taken until they* [past tense of a verb] . . . inside his ships . . . the centre of revolt . . .

(The extant remains of the Reverse are too fragmentary to give more than isolated words.)

There can be no doubt that this letter is closely linked with the two letters dealing with Tyre. The name of Qurdi-aššur-lamur, the absence of the usual greeting to the king⁹⁰, and the fact that a unit of Itu'a troops is at the disposal of Qurdi-aššur-lamur (on the Reverse it is possible to read in line 5 the word [i]-tu[a-a]), prove that this letter was written not only by the same official, but also at the same period of time. It is possible, therefore, that it was the attacks of the Greeks that led to the fortification of Kašpuna. The other matters mentioned in the letter do not belong to our subject.

Another letter (Letter XXI [ND 2430]) which also belongs to this period is unfortunately badly damaged, but it does mention a tax paid by Sidon⁹¹. This detail fits in very well with the time we are dealing with. Unlike Tyre, which paid no tribute because of the war between her and Assyria, Sidon, which had been liberated by Shalmaneser, certainly had to pay tribute in exchange for her independence. The special relationship of Sargon to Tyre, as shown in the letters cited above, and in the negotiations mentioned in those letters, indicates clearly that the siege ended not with a surrender⁹², but with a treaty between Sargon and Eloulaios, after which the siege was lifted and sovereignty over the southern Phoenician coast was restored to Tyre. This treaty, which ensured the loyalty of Eloulaios to Sargon, certainly went into effect together with the new political arrangement with Sargon imposed on Syria in 720 B.C.E.⁹³

The improvement in the relations between Tyre and Assyria which began with the ascent of Sargon to the Assyrian throne increased in the course of time. This is evident even though in the Assyrian inscriptions from the time of Sargon collected by Luckenbill, Tyre is mentioned only once⁹⁴. And even this single passage is not translated correctly, as H. Tadmor has noted⁹⁵. He translates line 21 of this inscription as fol-

90 *Ibid.*, 77 note (obv. 2).

91 Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII (1955), 141.

92 Contra W. F. Hallo, who says: "Finally, the siege of Tyre begun by Shalmaneser V was brought to a successful conclusion in this campaign". (Hallo, *BAR-Reader* II [1964], 179).

93 Cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 63.

94 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 118.

lows: "[Sargon caught the Jonians (who live) in the midst of the sea like fish", thus "quieting (= bringing peace) to (the people of) Que and Tyre". Sargon's claim that by clearing the Mediterranean Sea of the Greek pirates he pleased both Que and Tyre, must be seen against the background of ever-increasing Greek penetration into Cilicia and Cyprus during the eighth century B.C.E. At that time there was already a large and important Greek colony at Al-mina, near the mouth of the Orontes River⁹⁶. This is not the place to discuss the penetration of Cyprus by the Greeks and their expansion there; but we may be allowed to say that the affection of Greece (and sometimes also the dislike of Phoenicia) has clouded the view of many historians and led them to conclusions that are far from reality⁹⁷.

We cannot fix an exact date for Sargon's war with the pirates; the annals of Sargon make it seem probable that this campaign took place in his eighth (or ninth) year⁹⁸. (Perhaps there were several campaigns.) At all events, it did not take place in the first years of his reign, since neither then nor later did he have the necessary ships. We learn this from the reliefs of Khorsabad, which depict Phoenician vessels transporting cedars to the northern Phoenician coast to provide the valuable building material for Sargon's palace⁹⁹.

There is no doubt that in order to clear the sea of pirates, Sargon had need of a Phoenician navy; in the light of the change in the relationship between Tyre and Assyria, it is very possible that their common interest led to real cooperation. Tyre put her ships (the largest fleet in Phoenicia, without which the action would probably have failed) at the disposal of Sargon for this campaign which also benefitted her greatly. The result of the campaign was that the Mediterranean Sea was cleared of pirates from Tyre in the south, to Que in the north, and to Cyprus in the west.

We find testimony to the extent of this action both in the inscription we have already mentioned and in a stele of Sargon which was found

95 Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII (1961), 269 note 91. It is surprising that Luckenbill mistranslated "subued Cilicia and Tyre", since Winckler had already correctly translated this passage, "...und ruhe verschaffte Kuî und Tyrus", (Winckler, *AOF* I, 364).

96 J. Boardman, *The Greeks*, 61 ff.

97 E.g. Winckler, *AOF* I, 366 ff.

98 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 92 (note the sequence of events); see also Winckler, *AOF* I, 364 ff.

99 *ANEP* no. 107; cf. also the annals of Sennacherib, Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 319.

in Cyprus in 1845¹⁰⁰, and which is now in Berlin¹⁰¹. The back of the stele was split off many years after it had been inscribed¹⁰². Sargon himself says that he set up the stele "at the base (?) of a mountain ravine, ... of (I)atnan (Cyprus)"¹⁰³. Additional information about this stele has recently been discovered on a new prism, published by Gadd in 1954, in which it is said that Sargon set up the stele "in the land of Ia', a district of the land Iadnana"¹⁰⁴. The *terminus ad quem* for the stele is given in the inscription itself, which mentions Sargon's third year as king of Babylon, that is his fifteenth year as king of Assyria, 707 B.C.E.¹⁰⁵. We read that in that year there appeared before Sargon in Babylon seven [ambassadors (?) of] kings of Ia', a district of Iatnana, who brought with them presents to Sargon: gold, silver [copper is not mentioned!], and furniture made of two kinds of precious woods¹⁰⁶.

Jeremias suggested that the offerings of the seven kings of Cyprus mentioned in the stele were connected with the clearing of the sea of pirates¹⁰⁷. On the other hand, Olmstead, on the basis of his conclusions about the relations between the Greek cities on Cyprus and Assyria, particularly in the days of Sargon, claimed that the presents of the Greek kings were given in order to obtain commercial privileges throughout the Assyrian provinces¹⁰⁸.

There are different opinions as to where the stele was found, but even if it was found in Larnaka (= Kition)¹⁰⁹, as most scholars write, it is

100 Luckenbill, *AR II*, §§ 179 ff.

101 Ed. Schrader, *Die Sargonstele des Berliner Museums*, (Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie zu Berlin, 1881, [Berlin 1882]); and now, H. Tadmor, "Fragments of a Stele of Sargon II from the Excavations of Ashdod", *EI 8* (Jerusalem 1967), 242 (Hebrew).

102 Ed. Schrader, *op. cit.*, 4.

103 Luckenbill *AR II*, § 188; Ed. Schrader, *op. cit.*, 25: 11. 52-53: "(In ... ba-il Schluchten der Berge/(...) des Landes Atnan richtete ich (es) auf". H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, I (Leipzig 1889), 182-183: 11. 52-53: (ich errichtete es ...) in einer gebirgsschlucht/ ... auf Cypern".

104 Gadd, *IRAQ XVI* (1954), 193: 11. 43-44.

105 Or, at the latest, 706 B.C.E. (Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana VIII* [Jerusalem 1961], 243 note 18).

106 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 196; the appearance of the kings of Ia' before Sargon is also mentioned in his annals (*Lie Sargon*, 11. 457-466).

107 Jeremias, *Tyrus*, 31. Weissbach's tentative proposal "that Sargon had perhaps visited the island himself" ("Sargon", *PW*, 2. Reihe, I [Stuttgart 1920], col. 2509) may be dismissed with certainty.

108 Olmstead, *HA*, 226-227.

109 Ed. Schrader, *Die Sargonstele des Berliner Museums* (Abhandlungen der

clear that that is not the place in which Sargon commanded that it should be erected; the vicinity of Kition does not in the least suit the description that Sargon gives of the place where the stele was set up. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the stele was erected in the territory of one of the seven kings mentioned, but Kition was a colony of Tyre, not an independent city-state. The mistaken identification of Kition with Carthage on Cyprus has contributed to the confusion¹¹⁰. The name of Kition does not appear even in the inscription of Esarhaddon, which speaks of "ten kings from Cyprus"¹¹¹. The Greek name of the king of Carthage on that inscription in no way contradicts the Tyrian character of Kition.

In the inscription of Esarhaddon Ekištura king of Idalion is mentioned first among the kings of Cyprus who paid tribute to the Assyrian king. It is, therefore, possible that already in the days of Sargon the king of Idalion was the chief Greek king on Cyprus. One would expect that such a stele as Sargon's would be erected in the realm of the most important of the local kings, and indeed the geography of Idalion, situated in a plain surrounded by hills, suits Sargon's description of the location of the stele. Thus there is no reason to doubt the words of Sir Samuel Baker, who wrote in 1879 that the stele was found in Dali (i.e., Idalion)¹¹². Eduard Meyer's suggestion that Kition was conquered by

königl. Akademie zu Berlin, 1881 [Berlin 1882]), 4: "Der Stein wurde ... 1845 bei dem heutigen Larnaka auf Cypren unter den Ruinen des alten Kition in einem Schutthaufen gefunden, ... Ob dieses die ursprüngliche Stelle war, wo einst das Monument aufgestellt war, ist freilich damit nicht gesagt ... Der Stein kann somit erst später und von einer anderen Localität hierher gebracht worden sein". (cf. also E. Schrader, *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen 1878, 244-46). Winckler (*AOF I*, 365) also says that the stele was erected in Kition. E. Oberhummer (*Die Insel Cypern*, München 1903, 8-9) even changes the "Schutthaufen" into the acropolis of Kition! Luckenbill calls the stele "The Cyprus (or Larnaka) stele of Sargon" (*AF II*, § 179). J. L. Myres too writes that "an inscription of Sargon himself (was) found at Citium ..." ("Cyprus", *Encycl. Britannica*¹³ VII (1926), 698). Similarly, Hill (*Cyprus I*, 104): "There is no reason to doubt that the stele was originally set up at or near Citium although not necessarily on the actual spot where it was found". Also, recently, H. Tadmor (*EI 8* [1967], 242 note 16): "This stele, which was discovered in Kition-Larnaka on Cyprus".

110 See also chapter V note 38.

111 *ANET*², 291b. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 60.

112 Sir Samuel W. Baker, *Cyprus As I Saw It*, London 1879. 54; cf. G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, New York 1881, 150.

Sargon¹¹³ lacks corroborative evidence. Kition was, in fact, an integral part of the Tyrian empire. Apparently the Greeks not only competed with the Phoenicians for the sea trade, but expanded on Cyprus itself to such an extent that they posed a real threat to the Phoenician colonies. In order to ensure the sea-routes between the mother-city and the colonies, Tyre needed a base on Cyprus. She was also interested in her colony on Cyprus for its own sake, and therefore did all she could to prevent Greek expansion in any form. Sargon's campaign against the Greeks, in which, as we have said, Tyre took an active part, certainly served as an effective warning to the kings of Cyprus to cease threatening the Phoenician colonies.

Since the days of Tiglath-Pileser III there had been a steady growth of Assyrian interest in commerce, particularly along the Phoenician and Philistine coasts. Assyria's increased sensitivity to what was happening in the west also affected her policies. Sargon's attitude to the two commercial centers, Tyre and Gaza¹¹⁴, was not different from that of Tiglath-Pileser III. Unlike other rebellious cities which Tiglath-Pileser, and later Sargon, turned into Assyrian provinces, Tyre and Gaza suffered no loss of independence. This special attitude is certainly the reason that we do not hear of any mutiny against Sargon after 720 B.C.E., when the rebellion in Gaza was suppressed¹¹⁵.

In regard to Egypt, however, Sargon opened a new era in Assyrian policy. In the field of commerce he tells us, "I opened the sealed [harbo]r of Egypt/The Assyrians and the Egyptians/I mingled to[gether]/ and I made them trade [with each other]"¹¹⁶. In the field of politics he revealed an aggressive impulse which eventually led to the conquest of Egypt by his successors.

After the suppression of the rebellion in Ashdod, in 712 B.C.E., Sargon never came back to Syria and Palestine¹¹⁷. It is difficult to know how much his absence influenced the politics of the "Hittite" lands; at all events, peace continued to reign in Sargon's dominions, not only along

113 Meyer, *GA* II/2, 127.

114 On Gaza as a commercial center, see A.T.E. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, New York 1908, 54. The strategic position of Gaza for the Assyrians must also be taken into account. From the time of Sargon Assyria maintained an aggressive policy toward Egypt itself, and Gaza served as a base for the Assyrian armies.

115 Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX (1966), 91.

116 Gadd, *IRAQ* 16 (1954), 179-80; Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX (1966) 92; *idem.*, *JCS* XII (1958), 34.

117 Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 84.

the Phoenician coast, but also in Syria, Philistia, Ammon, and Edom. We may assume that Tyrian trade profited from this peace. Certainly Sargon's heavy-handedness toward Philistia and Que was advantageous to the Phoenician merchants¹¹⁸. Among the reliefs from Khorsabad¹¹⁹ are several showing the typical Phoenician ships, with their horse-head prows and their horse-tail sterns¹²⁰, transporting cedar logs by sea¹²¹. The cedar logs are either piled on the ships themselves or are towed behind¹²². According to Parrot¹²³, the two cities represented in the relief are Tyre and Arvad. If so, we have a depiction of logs being transported from Mount Lebanon, via Tyre (cf. above, the letter of Qurdi-Aššur-Lamur, Nimrud Letters, no. XII), to Arvad¹²⁴. Thence they were, apparently, sent overland to Assyria, to Sargon's new capital at Khorsabad. The relief shows the loaded ships sailing from Tyre to Arvad, and an empty ship returning from Arvad to Tyre. It was not for nothing that Isaiah said of Sargon's death, a few years later, "The pines themselves and the cedars of Lebanon exult over you: Since you have been laid low, they say, no man comes up to fell us" (Isa. 14:8)¹²⁵. This timber may have been part of the heavy tribute that Eloulaios apparently had to pay in exchange for Sargon's friendship.

A letter sent by a high official residing in Nineveh (?) to the crown prince Sennacherib residing it seems in Calah, should probably be ascribed to

118 On Philistia, see i.a. Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX (1966), 91 ff.; on Que, see i.a. Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 16, 42, 92.

119 Cf. *ANEP* no. 107; also Barnett, *EI* IX (1969), pl. II, and A. Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1962, fig. 48.

120 Compare the aetiological story of Pliny that a Tyrian by the name "Hippus" invented cargo ships ("onerarium Hippus Tyrius invenit", Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 208); cf. also Homer's epithet for ships: "horses of the sea" (*ἀλόεῖ ἵπποι* *Od.* IV, 708).

121 It is striking that the oarsmen face toward the prow of the ship, in the direction of the voyage, unlike the reliefs of Sennacherib. Was this an error on the part of the artist?

122 Harden, *Phoenicians*, pl. 48.

123 Parrot, *Sumer* VI (1950), 117. The second city cannot be identified with "Old Tyre" (as in Olmstead, *HA*, 274) or with Sidon (thus Barnett, *EI* IX [1969], 7).

124 Cf. the transport of timber by sea from Mount Lebanon to Jerusalem (via Jaffa) in the time of Solomon (I Kings 5:22-23 [EV 5:8-9] = II Chron. 2:15 [EV 2:16]).

125 H. L. Ginsberg connects the ode on the death of the "oppressor" in Isaiah 14 with the death of Sargon (Ginsberg, *Conservative Judaism* XXII [1967], 11 ff.).

the last years of Sargon¹²⁶. In this letter the official gives a report (apparently in order to justify himself) on several permanently resident Sidonians¹²⁷ who have remained in Nineveh instead of being sent to the crown prince in Calah. There is no hint as to why they are staying in Nineveh or how they got there.

In summary: As far as we can learn from the inscriptions of Sennacherib, it appears that during the reign of Sargon, Eloulaios succeeded in realizing completely his political ambitions. Once more he ruled the southern Phoenician coast from Sidon in the north to Mount Carmel in the south, and Kition on Cyprus in addition. Thus, in little more than sixteen years Eloulaios succeeded in restoring the kingdom of Tyre to the position of the largest and strongest power on the Phoenician coast, whose center was "Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traders are the honourable of the earth" (Isa. 23: 8). Sargon was interested in good relations with Tyre, and these relations, a kind of *entente cordiale*, continued, as far as we can judge from the scanty documentary material, throughout his reign.

The high level that Phoenician civilization had reached at this time is attested by the bi-lingual (Phoenician and Hittite) inscriptions of Karatepe. The very fact that a Phoenician inscription was found as far away as Anatolia indicates the influence of this culture. Since the first publication of these inscriptions, their date has been disputed; the earliest date suggested is the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.E.), and the latest is the end of the reign of Sennacherib¹²⁸. We incline to accept a date toward the end of the eighth century, principally on the basis of the identification of 'WRK with URIK, king of Que, the contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser III¹²⁹. From these inscriptions we may learn of the constant competition between the cities of Phoenicia and the peoples of Greece for the market of Anatolia.

The high level of Phoenician art is reflected in the Nimrud ivories, which Barnett dates to the reigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon¹³⁰, and which were made for the Assyrian royal court at Calah. To these works

126 L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* I (Ann Arbor 1939), no. 175 (= Harper, *ABL* II no. 175).

127 A new translation of this passage has been published in *CAD* D, 58b (s. *dâlu*).

128 For the literature see *KAI* II, 35 ff.

129 He is mentioned together with Hiram II of Tyre (P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III*, I, Leipzig 1893, 26/27: 1. 151).

130 R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957, 133 ff.

of Phoenician art we may add the metal utensils, particularly the bowls decorated in Phoenician style, which were found not only in Calah, but also in Cyprus, Greece and Italy¹³¹, and the red-slipped and burnished ware which has been found in Israel, Syria, Egypt, and even Spain. Among the glass vessels, the most interesting for us is the vase on which the name of Sargon is inscribed¹³². From this vase we learn that there were Phoenician artists residing at the court of the Assyrian king. It may be of them that the high official in Nineveh speaks in the letter to Sennacherib mentioned above. Phoenician influence on Assyrian architecture is similarly striking in this period. A relief from Nineveh is called by Olmstead, "Garden Scene: the 'Ionic' temple"¹³³. But the temple is Phoenician, not "Ionic", as we may see both from the capitals (like those found in excavations in Israel, and in the ivory plaques of "the woman at the window"¹³⁴), and from the typically Phoenician boats in the lake.

The death of Sargon in 705 B.C.E. on a battlefield somewhere in Anatolia (?)¹³⁵, and the impossibility of burying him in a royal grave¹³⁶, caused a wave of joy throughout the western countries. His fate was seen as the punishment of a tyrant (Isa. 14: 4b-7)¹³⁷:

- 4b How is the taskmaster vanished,
tyranny ended!
5 Broken is the staff of the godless,
the rod of oppressors;
6 that smote people in wrath,
with stroke unceasing,
that belabored nations in fury,

131 Harden *Phoenicians*, 186 ff.; Moscati, *Phoenicians*, 70 ff.

132 A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, 1. Teil, Leipzig 1908, 47, 102; British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London 1908, 110-11.

133 Olmstead, *HA*, 280, fig. 115 (cf. also *bît-hilani* [Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 100, 102, 105, 110, 112, 121], which also gives evidence of foreign influence on Assyrian architecture).

134 *ANEP* no. 131; C. Decamp de Mertzfeld, *Inventaire Commenté Des Ivoires Phéniciens*, Album, Paris 1954, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVII. Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel*, Seasons 1961 and 1962, Roma 1964, 56 ff.; fig. 38, 1; pl. 48, 1-2.

135 Tadmor, *JCS* XII (1958), 97.

136 Winckler, *AOF* I, 411 ff.

137 Ginsberg, *JAOS* 88 (1968), 49 ff.

unsparingly beating!
7 All earth is calm, untroubled,
and shouts for joy.

The sudden fall of Sargon led the subject nations to believe that at last the time had come when they could liberate themselves and resume their independence.

In 704 B.C.E. Sennacherib ascended the throne of Assyria. From his annals we learn that the change in rulers brought about widespread mutiny throughout the Assyrian empire. First the Babylonians revolted against Sennacherib, and their insurrection seemed to have a good chance of succeeding¹³⁸. Subsequently the western nations rose in rebellion against the Assyrian rule. Even Eloulaïos, whose good relations with Sargon we have already noted, seems to have rejoiced at the opportunity to free himself from the heavy yoke of the tribute that he was obliged to pay to the Assyrian king. As Isaiah suggests (14: 8): "Even pines rejoice at your fate and cedars of Lebanon: 'Now that you have lain down, there shall none come up to fell us'".

As the strongest king on the Phoenician coast, Eloulaïos headed the rebellion, together with Hezekiah of Judah, who had his own reasons for opposing the Assyrians. (The Assyrians, in their campaign against Ashkelon in 712, had taken Azekah, which belonged to Judah¹³⁹.) Each ruler tried to create as broad an alliance as possible with the small nations roundabout. Just as Hezekiah acted in the south and along the Philistine coast, so Eloulaïos wished to prevent the outbreak of a new mutiny of the Phoenician cities against Tyre. The western countries remained free of the Assyrian yoke for four years (705-701 B.C.E.). The rebels used this time to make the necessary military preparations against the expected Assyrian invasion (cf. e.g. II Chron. 32: 2-6).

Not until his third year (= 701 B.C.E.) was Sennacherib at liberty to campaign westward "against the Hittite-land", but as soon as he appeared, the whole anti-Assyrian alliance fell apart. We have already noted the opinions of Jeremiah and Ed. Meyer, who believe that the war between Sennacherib and Eloulaïos broke out as a consequence of the latter's campaign against Kition, which had rebelled against Tyre under the influence of the Greek cities on Cyprus who were emboldened by the good relations that they had established with Sargon. Sennacherib, see-

138 Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel*, 112.

139 Tadmor, *BIES XXIV* (1959/60), 31 (Hebrew).

ing in this action of Eloulaïos a kind of declaration of war, set out on a campaign against him¹⁴⁰. While it is possible that the links between Sargon and the kings of the Greek cities (who were the competitors of the Tyrian colony Kition) caused the relations between Sargon and Eloulaïos to worsen, the principal claim of Jeremiah and Meyer is based on a mistaken hypothesis, as we have seen¹⁴¹. On the other hand, Lehmann-Haupt believed that in Sidon the pro-Assyrian party overcame those who were loyal to Tyre, so that Sidon and the rest of the coastal cities refused to cooperate with Eloulaïos in the anticipated battle against Sennacherib; seeing that his chances were poor, Eloulaïos fled to Cyprus before Sennacherib came¹⁴².

It appears, indeed, that Sidon and her daughters delivered themselves up to Sennacherib, for we do not hear of any punishment inflicted on them by the Assyrian king¹⁴³. In contrast, Sennacherib acted strongly against Sidqia king of Ashkelon, who did not submit, and was removed from the throne and exiled with all his family. From Sennacherib's account of the payment of tribute by "all the kings of Amurru" — among them the kings of Arvad and Byblos, as well as the king of Sidon — we learn of the swift surrender of these kings¹⁴⁴, who thus preserved their thrones. Even Hezekiah king of Judah "sent a message to the king of Assyria at Lachish: 'I have done wrong; withdraw from my land, and I will pay any penalty you impose upon me'" (II Kings 18: 14). Eloulaïos could have done exactly the same thing. But Eloulaïos does not appear with the kings of Arvad and Byblos to tender his submission to Sennacherib. Apparently he was no longer in the vicinity, having already fled to Kition. Yet Sennacherib did not lay siege to Tyre, for he did not have the necessary ships. Moreover, he may have been influenced by the failure of the former siege under Shalmaneser and Sargon. The non-appearance of Eloulaïos caused Sennacherib to feel more animosity toward Tyre than toward the other cities. He separated Sidon and her daughters from the kingdom of Tyre; from 701 B.C.E. the king of Tyre ruled only over that city and her suburbs on the mainland.

140 Jeremiah, *Tyrus*, 32; Meyer, *GA II/2*, 127.

141 See above, pp. 240 ff.

142 Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel*, 113.

143 *ANET*², 287b.

144 *Ibid.*

In his inscriptions Sennacherib boasts of his victory over Eloulaios¹⁴⁵ :

“In my third campaign I marched against Hatti. Luli, king of Sidon, whom the terror-inspiring glamor of my lordship had overwhelmed, fled far overseas and perished. The awe-inspiring splendor of the “Weapon” of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed his strong cities (such as) Great Sidon¹⁴⁶, Little Sidon¹⁴⁷, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba¹⁴⁸, Ushu (i.e. the mainland settlement of Tyre), Akzib (and) Akko, (all) his fortress cities, walled (and well) provided with feed and water for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission to my feet. I installed Ethba’al (*Tuba’lu*) upon the throne to be their king and imposed upon him tribute (due) to me (as his) overlord (to be paid) annually without interruption”.

The news of the new political situation which the Assyrian king had set up seems to have frightened “all the kings of Amurru” into coming to Sennacherib, “in the neighborhood of the city of Ushû”¹⁴⁹; each brought his present, “fourfold”, according to Sennacherib, who lists them¹⁵⁰ :

“Menahem (*Mi-in-hi-im-mu*) from Samsimuruna, Tuba’lu from Sidon, Abdili’ti from Arvad, Urumilki from Byblos, Mitinti from Ashdod, Buduili from Beth-Amon, Kammusunadbi from Moab (and) Aiarummu from Edom”.

Probably Tuba’lu of Sidon was obliged to pay the yearly tribute that the “king of the Sidonians” owed to his Assyrian overlord, including the debt of Eloulaios for the preceding years, just as Hezekiah of Judah was obliged to pay tribute for the years of rebellion (II Kings 18 : 14–16)¹⁵¹.

That Sennacherib’s account is tendentious emerges from the narrative itself : Sennacherib did not succeed in conquering Tyre, and therefore he speaks of Eloulaios only as “king of Sidon”¹⁵². He hides his failure

145 *Ibid.* (there are parallel versions in Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 309, 326, 347).
146 See “Greater Sidon” in Jos. 11:8; 19:28.
147 See *šdn ’rš ym* in the inscription of Eshmun’azar, king of the Sidonians (*KAI* no. 14: 1.16).
148 This is apparently Ahlab (Judg. 1:31), Abel, *GP* II, 67.
149 Luckenbill *AR* II, § 310; Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 69: 1.20.
150 *ANET*², 287b.
151 *Ibid.*, 288a.
152 *Ibid.*, 287–88.

to conquer Tyre by not mentioning the city, which at this period was the most important city of Phoenicia. Even so, one of the inscriptions states explicitly that “Lulî, king of Sidon — my terrifying splendor overcame him, and from Tyre he fled to Iadnana (Cyprus) in the midst of the sea, and died”¹⁵³. Consequently Eloulaios’ flight to Cyprus must be regarded not as a surrender to the Assyrian armies¹⁵⁴, but as a kind of transfer of the capital. A picture of the flight of the Tyrian court to Cyprus has been preserved on reliefs which we shall describe in detail below.

We believe that we have a document clearly describing the kingdom of Tyre at about the time of Sennacherib’s campaign in 701 B.C.E.; we refer to Isaiah 23 : 1–14¹⁵⁵. The subject of this lament is the condition of the kingdom of Tyre just before Sennacherib’s campaign and the break-up of the kingdom by the Assyrian conqueror. Despite its poetic character, this chapter may be regarded as a historical source, for in it two elements are combined, one, a prophecy which was fulfilled, and the other, words which were later adapted to the actual events. Certainly, changes were introduced by copyists, but even in their present state these verses suit the period when Tyre’s dominion over Sidon ended, and the ruling center was transferred to Cyprus, certainly for a short period of time.

The prophet contrasts Tyre’s former greatness with her present wretched condition. On the one hand, Isaiah describes the wealth and glory of Tyre before her fall. The city, which had existed “in antiquity, in ancient days”, was a “joyous” and “crowning” city¹⁵⁶, her commerce flourished abroad, her ships sailed “the great waters”, she was “the mart of nations”, “whose merchants were princes and her traders the most honoured men on earth”¹⁵⁷. On the other hand — a catastrophe is

153 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 309 (but cf. note 19, above); cf. also Ezek. 28:8.
154 Contra B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, London 1963, 72.
155 Katzenstein, *Bible and Jewish History*, Tel-Aviv 1972, 147–153 (Hebrew); H. Jahnow called this poem “ein Leichenlied auf den Untergang Sidons” (Jahnow, *BZAW* 36 [1923], 191 ff.), but Sidon was, in fact, “resurrected” by Sennacherib’s division of the kingdom of the “king of the Sidonians”.
156 This is the Massoretic reading; but the Dead Sea Scroll, as well as the Syriac and the Vulgate, reads “the crowned”; see also note 155.
157 It appears that the prophet wished to stress the distinction rather than the likeness between “merchants” and “traders”. The “merchant” מַרְכָּאָה in the Bible is not the same as the “trader” כַּנְעָנִי ; on the contrary, the former has an honored position. Already in the story of Abraham and Ephron the Hittite, the term is used in connection with a very large

described: the ports of Tyre are closed, and rumors of her destruction arrest her ships in Kition; the royal court must flee from Tyre to Cyprus, and even from there to Tarshish (?)¹⁵⁸; the Phoenician coast has been devastated by the Assyrian armies. Sidon, "sorely oppressed" by Tyre, naturally rejoiced at the latter's fall. The destruction of Tyre was a Divine punishment, like the destruction of Babylon, and Sennacherib, king of Assyria, had been chosen as "the staff of [God's] wrath". Thus, verse 13 must be interpreted: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people — was not [has become nothing], Asshur had appointed it for desert-creatures [= Asshur has destroyed it]¹⁵⁹; they [the Chaldeans] erected her fortresses¹⁶⁰; raised up¹⁶¹ her palaces — [and Assyria] laid it [the land of the Chaldeans] in ruins". There can be no doubt that

transaction: "four hundred shekels of the standard recognized by merchants" (Gen. 23:16; cf. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, [The Anchor Bible], Garden City N.Y. 1964, 171; for our purposes, it is unimportant when the story was written). We must interpret the expression "some Midianite merchants passed by" (Gen. 37:28) in the same way; these were merchants who had contact with the courtiers, men of the highest rank in Egypt. The "royal merchants" of Solomon (I Kings 10:28) are, of course, not mere traders. In Ezekiel 27 the merchant is always engaged in international commerce; even the princes of Kedar are called "merchants" (v. 21). On the other hand כַּנְעָנִי means a kind of shopkeeper (cf. Zech. 11:7,11; 14:21; Prov. 31:24 [in contrast to the merchantships which come from far off: v. 14]; Job 40:30 [=EV 41:6]). We even find כַּנְעָנִי meaning a nation of shopkeepers: Hos. 12:8 [=EV:7]; Zeph. 1:11. Cf. also the parallelism "land of commerce" (אֶרֶץ כַּנְעָנִי) and "city of merchants" (עִיר רַבִּלִּים) (Ezek. 17:4) (Maisler [Mazar], *BASOR* 102 [1946], 10). Cf. also Landsberger, *Suppl.* VT XVI (1967), 176 ff., 184, 188.

- 158 Perhaps the flight of Eloulaios to Tarshish is the explanation of *šad-dā-šu ʔmid* ("he disappeared forever"); cf. note 19 above. The Septuagint translate "make your way to Tarshish", ἀπέλατε εἰς Καρχηδόνα (v. 6), and this — although it is only in the Septuagint — is the first mention of Carthage in the Bible (thus the Septuagint also translates "ships of Tarshish" (v. 1,14) (πλοῖα Καρχηδόνας). Ehrlich wished to emend עברו תרשישה to עברו אניות תרשיש, i.e. the ships of Tarshish do not enter the port (of Tyre) (A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebr. Bibel*, IV, Leipzig 1912, 18); but this emendation is unnecessary.
- 159 Koehler-Baumgartner, 386; cf. also W. Rudolph, "Jesaja 23, 1-14", *Baumgärtel-Festschrift*, Erlangen 1959, 167.
- 160 With the reading of IQIsa^a (=scroll of Isaiah from Cave I, Qumrân = *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, I: *The Isaiah Manuscript*, [ed. M. Burrows], New Haven 1950).
- 161 עוררו parallels והקימו; cf. Isa. 14:9; 51:17. This is in opposition to Winckler, *ATU*, Leipzig 1892, 118-19; for a new interpretation of v. 13, see Ginsberg, *JAOS* 88 (1968), 53 note 43.

the prophet intended these words as warning to the king of Judah and his ministers in the year 701 B.C.E.

In the last analysis, Sennacherib failed in his military campaign in the west; neither Tyre nor Jerusalem was conquered. The prophet could have had Tyre in mind as well, when he taunted Sennacherib: "The virgin daughter of Zion disdains you, she laughs you to scorn" (Isa. 37:22)¹⁶². Sennacherib's boast, "... I have gone up high in the mountains, into the recesses of Lebanon. I have cut down its tallest cedars, the best of its pines, I have reached its highest limit of forest and meadow" (*ibid.* v. 24) is in truth only empty words, as the prophet shows..

Even after Sennacherib's campaign, the kingdom of Tyre continued to exist, within restricted boundaries, and Eloulaios may have continued to rule from Cyprus. It is, on the other hand, possible that a regent reigned over Tyre from this time¹⁶³, and that Eloulaios never ruled again after his flight to Cyprus¹⁶⁴.

In Sidon a new king, Tuba' lu¹⁶⁵, was enthroned by Sennacherib. Tuba'lu's lineage is not clear, but he certainly was not a "nobody"¹⁶⁶, and Sidon was thereafter numbered among the four principal cities of Phoenicia. This does not mean that Sidon ruled the whole southern Phoenician coast. Olmstead¹⁶⁷, indeed, believed that, as in Ekron, a pro-Assyrian party in Sidon competed with Eloulaios for dominion over southern Phoenicia¹⁶⁸, and that Sennacherib also gave Tyre to Tuba'lu¹⁶⁹; but this hypothesis is untenable, for Sennacherib could not give Tuba'lu what he did not have. Fleming, on the other hand contends that when Sennacherib saw that he could not conquer Tyre, he

- 162 Note the parallel in the prophet's words: "virgin daughter of Zidon" (Isa. 23:12) and "virgin daughter of Zion" (Isa. 37:22).
- 163 Cf. the regency of Jotham, "the king's son", during the reign of his father Azariah (II Kings 15:5).
- 164 Cf. the story of Amaziah king of Judah (II Kings 14:17). The case of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah is perhaps even more to the point, since it is clear that Jehoiachin was still regarded as the legitimate king of Judah throughout the reign of Zedekiah (Jer. 28:4); cf. Albright, *BAR* V (1942), 49 ff. (reprinted in *BAR-Reader* I [1961], 106 ff.).
- 165 See above, note 30.
- 166 He appears to have been succeeded by Abdi-Milkutti, who was probably his son.
- 167 Olmstead, *HPS*, 474.
- 168 *Ibid.*, 471.
- 169 *Ibid.*, 474.

made Sidon the capital of Phoenicia (?), and appointed Tuba'lu, a local prince, as his representative¹⁷⁰. This theory also has no basis. From the Assyrian documents it is clear only the "empire of the Sidonians" came to an end, when Eloulaios fled to Cyprus, and that in its place arose two kingdoms which divided the southern Phoenician coast between them: the kingdom of Sidon in the north and the kingdom of Tyre in the south. Sennacherib followed the same method he used with the kingdom of Judah, when he gave part of its territory to the king of Ekron¹⁷¹.

The town Zarephath and its suburbs was certainly given to Tuba'lu king of Sidon, for after Esarhaddon destroyed Sidon¹⁷² and turned it into an Assyrian province¹⁷³, he gave Baal king of Tyre the towns of Ma'rub (= Ornithonpolis)¹⁷⁴ and Zarephath. It appears, therefore, that the boundary between the kingdoms of Tyre and Sidon once again was the ancient natural boundary, the river Litani. The southern Phoenician coast was again included in the realm of the king of Tyre, although not before the sudden retreat of Sennacherib from the west¹⁷⁵. This was before the return of the territories taken by Sennacherib from the kingdom of Judah, a process which Alt rightly maintains did not begin until the reign of Manasseh and was completed during the reign of Ashurbanipal¹⁷⁶. It is possible that after the departure of the conquering Assyrian army, the kings of Tyre and Sidon came to an agreement between themselves on the division of the territories of the former Tyrian empire¹⁷⁷. At the southern boundary of Tyre lay the Assyrian province of "Dor"¹⁷⁸. The border between them certainly was near Mount Carmel; consequently Akko and the whole bay area were also part of the kingdom of Tyre at this time¹⁷⁹.

170 Fleming, *Tyre*, 36.

171 *ANET* 2, 288a; Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 240; Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 33: 11. 31-34.

172 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 48-49; Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 512.

173 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 65.

174 *Ibid.*, 65-66.

175 II Kings 19: 35-36 = Isa. 37: 36-37; II Chron. 32: 21. We may ask, why Rab-shakeh did not mention the gods of Phoenicia along with the gods of Syria in his speech (II Kings 18: 34 = Isa. 36: 19).

176 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 248.

177 Similar, perhaps, to the arrangement between Solomon and Hiram (I Kings 9:11).

178 Rudolph, *PJB* 25 (1929), 62.

179 Alt believes that the cities Akko and Akzib belonged to the Assyrian

Tyre's attitude toward Sidon was reciprocated; they were rival sisters, and as a general rule they were to be found in opposing political camps.

We have already noted above that we have a copy of an Assyrian relief depicting the flight of Eloulaios to Cyprus; at least that is how Barnett interprets two drawings made by Layard of Assyrian reliefs which unfortunately have not been preserved¹⁸⁰. The lack of precision in Layard's drawing¹⁸¹ makes it impossible to rely on details, and consequently the interpretation here given is merely hypothetical. Barnett was the first to recognize that Layard's two drawings were really parts of a whole¹⁸². The relief does not depict Eloulaios himself; all that we see is a child (perhaps the crown prince?) being handed by a servant (?) to his nurse (?). It appears that the flight was made from the artificial southern port of Tyre. Unlike the natural northern harbor, on the northeast side of the island, which was exposed to the Assyrian army on the coast, the southern port was protected and faced west, toward Cyprus. In the drawing most of the ships appear to be sailing out of this port toward Cyprus.

The drawing also shows a ship anchored in the port of Tyre (though there is no sign of an anchor¹⁸³), with its prow facing the city. We see

province of "Megiddo" (Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 377 ff.), since they are mentioned neither among the cities of the province of "Sidon" nor among the cities that Esarhaddon gave to the king of Tyre. We do not accept this opinion; there was no need to mention cities that already belonged to the kingdom of Tyre!

180 Barnett, *Archaeology* IX (1956), 91; cf. Olmstead, *HA*, 298.

181 This may easily be seen by comparing the drawing with a relief depicting a Phoenician ship from the same period, in the British Museum (S. Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, London 1937, pl. XL; *ANEP* no. 106).

182 Barnett, *EI* IX (1969), pl. I; pp. 6-7 (English Section).

183 At this time the anchor had not yet been invented (no anchor can be detected in any of the Assyrian reliefs of this period, or even later); cf. A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, Berlin 1923, 182. In the Balawat bands the ships are held by ropes (*ANEP* no. 356). The term *gîstarkulla* in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal is translated as "Anker" by Winckler (*AOF* II, 13), as "Ankerpfahl" by Borger (*Asarhaddon*, 109), and as "mooring pole" by Reiner (*ANET Suppl.* 234a), but as "Schiffspfahl" by Muss-Arnolt (*A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* II, Berlin 1905, 1193-94) and as "Grossmast" by A. Salonen (*Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, Helsinki 1939, 111 ff.; but cf. the translation "Ankerpfahl", (*ibid.*, 127). We feel that in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal the translation "mast" is preferable to "mooring pole".

five sailors with oars, and four more oars below them, held by a row of unseen sailors. Thus the ship was a bireme manned by (at least) eighteen sailors. Above the sailors, just below the edge of the upper deck, is a row of ten shields. In addition to the "nurse" and the captain, three soldiers can be seen at each end of the ship, two with spears, one with a bow. There are also two other women of high rank, to judge from their dress. The woman in the center is raising her hands (perhaps to encourage the child, in which case she may be his mother, the queen). In all, twelve persons can be seen on the ship, to whom we must add at least thirteen more sailors. The number of men in this ship is thus greater than the number that Josephus gives for the ships of Shalmaneser V (*Ant.* IX, 285), and the latter number is probably a stereotype, as we suggested above.

When the two parts of the picture are joined, we see at least twelve ships of two different kinds, arranged alternately. The first type is a battleship, always with sails, three decks, two rows of oars, and a prow pointed like an arrow for ramming enemy ships¹⁸⁴. The second type consists of round ships, which were mainly coastal and river vessels. In these ships, also biremes, both prow and stern end in a horse-tail¹⁸⁵. The steering oars do not emerge from the lower deck. Usually the captain (?) sits at the end of the topmost deck, facing the direction in which they are going. The sailors, the soldiers, and the officers are all bearded and dressed alike; among the women two types of headgear can be distinguished: a) a cloth covering the hair and neck and b) a kind of crown, of which the back part is covered by a cloth which also covers the neck. (This seems to indicate a lady of higher rank.)

In the British Museum¹⁸⁶ there is a contemporary Assyrian relief depicting a Phoenician war ship which is also three-decked, with a pointed

184 Cf. the long fifty-oared galley used by the Phocaeans for long voyages (Herodotus I, 163).

185 These Phoenician trading vessels were called γαῦλος in Greek (Herodotus III, 136; VI, 17; VIII, 97). Barnett gives an illustration of a "Terracotta model of a gôlah from Amathus, Cyprus, which is now in the British Museum, and which shows housing for the helmsman, steering oars, deckboards, and four thwarts" (Barnett, *Antiquity* XXXII [1958], pl. XXIVa); cf. also the round Phoenician-type of ship on the relief of Karatepe (M. Riemenschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, Stuttgart s.a., pl. 83). Assmann derives the name from עגיל i.e. a round ship (R. Assmann, *PW* VII, col. 875); so also Barnett, *EI* IX (1969), 6, and Brown, *VT* 19 (1969), 159-60. Cf also Chapter II note 46.

186 See note 181.

prow. It appears to us that in the Museum relief the artist depicted from life different types of sailors, at least one of whom has negroid features¹⁸⁷. The Bible, too, teaches us that the Tyrian fleet employed soldiers and sailors from diverse nations: "Men of Sidon and Arvad became your oarsmen" (Ezek. 27 : 8); "men of Pharas, Lud, and Put served as warriors in your army" (*ibid.* v. 10). Seventeen oars can be seen in the ship (there may have been more, for the relief is broken off), and consequently there must have been at least thirty-four rowers on the two sides. We must add the soldiers, apparently ten to each side. In other words there must have been fifty-four men on the ship, far more than in Layard's sketch (not to speak of the numbers given by Josephus). Herodotus, too, speaks of the "fifty-oared galley" (πεντημόντερος) of the Phocaeans¹⁸⁸.

The drawing of Layard (which represents the third Assyrian depiction of Tyre has been preserved¹⁸⁹) shows Tyre as a city surrounded by high walls. In her midst, the central temple of the city stands out, with two crowned pillars¹⁹⁰ before its entrance. Between the turrets on the wall are shields, recalling the words of Ezekiel: "They hung shield and helmet around you" (Ezek. 27 : 10)¹⁹¹.

It may have been in 701 B.C.E., or shortly thereafter, that Sennacherib set up a stela (the sixth of the "Assyrian" stelae¹⁹²) next to the Nahr el-

187 Dr. Barnett writes me (in a letter dated June 24, 1968): "I do not detect a certain negro among the oarsmen, but the second gentleman from the right does look rather negroid".

188 Cf. note 184; see also *Il.* 2,719; 16,170; *Od.* 8,35; cf. also A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, Berlin 1923, Taf. 44.

189 The earliest relief is from the reign of Shalmaneser III (*ANEP* no. 356); the second is from the reign of Sargon II (see above note 123). Perhaps we may add a relief from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III depicting a (Phoenician?) city on an island in the sea, suggesting that it is either Arvad or Tyre (R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of... Tiglath-Pileser III*, London 1962, X, 17; pls. LVI-LVII).

190 Cf. the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz (I Kings 7:21 = II Chron. 3:17); and Herodotus II, 44.

191 Among the reliefs from Nineveh is the depiction of the burning and looting of a city (A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London 1849, 17; pl. 74). Layard thought that the city was situated in the mountains, and was the capital of the district. Olmstead (*HA* 297-98; fig. 122) thought that the city was a Phoenician city, with its high buildings (three storeys can be distinguished), and the king's palace in the middle, all built of hewn stones. But the data are insufficient for any definite conclusions.

192 Weissbach, *Denkmäler*, 25.

Kelb. Since the stela is in very poor condition, and as long as we have no details on Sennacherib's second campaign to the west, we cannot be certain of the date of its erection ¹⁹³.

In an account of the building of his palace at Nineveh, dated in the eponymy of Ilu-ittia (governor) of Damascus (694 B.C.E.), Sennacherib speaks about prisoners :

“The people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Manneans, (the people of) the lands of Kue and Hilakku, (of) Philistia and Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, I deported (from their lands), made them carry the basket and mold bricks” ¹⁹⁴.

We learn from this account that Sennacherib had taken prisoners of war (Judean captives are not mentioned!). It is most interesting that people of Tyre (*l Šur-ri*), but not Sidonians, are listed. We may assume that their main task was the construction of the rafts on which the bull-colossi were brought over the Tigris. (“For the construction of boats [rafts] they felled mighty trees in the forests throughout the whole of their lands” ¹⁹⁵.) The report itself tells us that this was a hard task.

In the account of his sixth campaign (694 B.C.E.) ¹⁹⁶, Sennacherib relates that the “men of Hatti” (= Phoenicians) ¹⁹⁷ built him “Hittite” (= Phoenician) boats ¹⁹⁸ at Nineveh and Tel-Barsip ¹⁹⁹. “Tyrian, Sidonian, and Cypriote sailors” ²⁰⁰ rowed these boats against Merodach-baladan. It is noteworthy that Sennacherib does not speak of sailors from the north Phoenician cities, Arvad and Byblos, even though their kings had brought tribute to him in 701 B.C.E. Sennacherib chose the experts in navigation, and the conjunction of Sidonians and Cypriotes with Tyrians shows that an intimate connection between Tyre, Sidon,

193 A group of scholars, headed by Albright, deduces from the Biblical narratives that there was a second campaign by Sennacherib in the West. For the latest bibliography on this subject, see B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, London 1967, 11 ff.
194 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 383 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 104; 11.52-56; Evetts, *ZA* 3 (1888), 324, 330; cf. also Held, *JAOS* 88 (1968), 95-96.
195 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 384 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 104-05: 11. 64-78.
196 Meyer, *GA III*, 61; cf. also Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 14.
197 Olmstead, *HA*, 290; Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 319 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 73: 11. 57-59.
198 Luckenbill, *AR II*, §§ 246, 350; Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 86-87: 11. 23-24; 38: 1.37.
199 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 350 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 86-87: 11. 23-24.
200 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 319 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 73: 11. 59-60.

and Cyprus existed certainly until 701 B.C.E. The island of Cyprus is not mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib except in connection with the flight of Eloulaïos.

In 696 B.C.E. ²⁰¹ Sennacherib campaigned against rebels in Cilicia. This campaign, during which the city of Tarsus was captured, is recounted even in Hellenistic historiography, which, however, relates that Tarsus was founded by Sennacherib ²⁰². Alexander Polyhistor speaks of land campaigns against the Greeks ²⁰³, and Abydenus adds that Sennacherib defeated the Greek navy along the Cilician coast ²⁰⁴. But had Sennacherib been victorious over the Greeks at sea, he would surely have told us about it. Moreover, where did Sennacherib find ships for such an action? We believe that Bilabel was right in claiming that Abydenus changed a land battle to a sea battle ²⁰⁵. The character of Sennacherib's campaign in Cilicia was certainly similar to that of Sargon ²⁰⁶, i.e. more for the purpose of destruction, devastation and plunder than of conquest and annexation.

The Tyrians and the Sidonians were employed by Sennacherib not only as experts in the building of boats and piloting, but also as architects and artists, particularly in the minor arts. Sennacherib, naturally, refers to these experts as simple workers! Among the people who assisted in erecting Sennacherib's buildings, the Tyrians are the only Phoenicians mentioned ²⁰⁷; but even the palace of Sennacherib was built according to a “Hittite” plan ²⁰⁸.

Eloulaïos died in about 694 B.C.E. ²⁰⁹. Thus the words of the prophet

201 Luckenbill, *AR II*, §§ 286 ff., 349 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 61: 11, 61 ff.
202 Winckler, *AOF I*, 356 ff.
203 Eusebius, *Werke*, Bd. V: *Die Chronik* (ed. J. Karst), Leipzig 1911, 14.
204 *Ibid.*, 18.
205 Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, 402.
206 Lie, *Sargon*, 11. 118-120.
207 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 383 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 104: 11. 52 ff.
208 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 388 = Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 106: 1. 21.
209 This is the year of Sennacherib's sixth campaign, when he turned eastward, against Elam (Luckenbill, *AR II*, §§ 318 ff.). The term applied to his death, “shaddāshu êmid” (“he died an unnatural death”) is unusual; cf. note 19. It is possible that it means that Eloulaïos was already deposed in 701 B.C.E. (or shortly thereafter), just as Amaziah was deposed after his total defeat by Jehoash king of Israel (II Kings 14:17). On the other hand, it can be interpreted to mean that Eloulaïos was the victim of a plot. Maybe he tried (in 694 B.C.E.) to stir up a new revolt against

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Isaiah, a contemporary of Eloulaios were fulfilled: "... Though you arise and cross over to Kittim, even there you shall find no rest" (Isa. 23 : 12). We may even see a certain similarity between the meaning of the Assyrian term of *šaddāšu êmid* used of Luli (Eloulaios) by Sennacherib in all his inscriptions and the words: "... sending you (=the prince of Tyre) down to the pit to die a death of disgrace on the high seas" (Ezek. 28 : 8).

Sennacherib and was killed by the pro-Assyrian party. The term "*šaddāšu êmid*" was used earlier by Shalmaneser III to describe the murder of Hadadeser by Hazael (cf. Michel, *WO* Heft II [1947], 57), and later by Ashurbanipal to describe the death of Iakinlu king of Arvad (Streck, *Assurbanipal* II, 18/19, 400; cf. *ANET*², 296a). Weidner, who has discussed this Assyrian term (Weidner, *AfO* XIII [1939/40], 233 ff.), suggested that "one could imagine that the ship of Luli was wrecked by a storm and thus the king was drowned". This hypothesis would put the death of the Tyrian king in 701 B.C.E., but it is explicitly said that he fled to Cyprus ("*ana Iâdnana*") (Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 69 : 1. 18).

CHAPTER XI

Baal, King of Tyre

FROM the annals of Sennacherib we have learned that in 701 B.C.E. the whole continental kingdom of Tyre was occupied by the Assyrian troops. Only its capital, the island of Tyre itself, defied the Assyrian king. Eloulaios, king of the Sidonians, had fled at the beginning of the onslaught to Cyprus, obviously to Kition, the Tyrian stronghold in Cyprus. There he had died ca. 694 B.C.E. Our sources for the next twenty years — the first two decades of the seventh century B.C.E. — maintain silence about the events on the Phoenician coast. Then we find the important information in the Assyrian records from the early years of Esarhaddon's reign (681–669 B.C.E.) that during that period Baal was the ruler over the Tyrian state.

We may call him Baal I, as a second Baal ruled over Tyre in the days of Nebuchadnezzar (*C.Ap.* I, 156)¹. This "short" form of the personal name, lacking both prefix and suffix, has been found only in Tyre². We do not know the number of years of his reign or of his life. He is mentioned for the first time in Esarhaddon's story about the conquest of Sidon, which occurred in 677 B.C.E.³ Here he appears already as a statesman, who knows how to make a deal with the mighty Assyrian king. The last reference to Baal I is in the report about the campaign directed against him by Ashurbanipal in 664 B.C.E.⁴

A legitimate question arises as to whether Baal I succeeded Eloulaios. The immediate succession of Baal is generally accepted⁵. Even if one assumes that Baal I became a "coregent" with Eloulaios, after the latter

1 We do not count Belus (= Baal), the eponym of the Phoenician kings, among the Tyrian kings named Baal (cf. Alexander Polyhistor, frag. 3, *FHG* III, 212).

2 Harris, *GPhL*, 89 (cf. in Tyre: Hiram instead of Ahiram); contra Streck who thought that the name has been shortened from a fuller form (Streck, *Assurbanipal* I, CCCLXIX note 1).

3 Babylonian Chronicles: 4th year of Esarhaddon = 677 B.C.E. (*ANET*², 302b; 303a); Olmstead, *HA*, 374.

4 *ANET*², 295b.

5 E.g. Winckler, *KAT*³, 131.

had left Tyre in 701 B.C.E., such a long reign, of about forty years, is possible. From the famous treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal we learn that the latter was a legitimate king, the "hereditary prince" of (or "eldest son" of) . . . (and here the text has a lacuna⁶). This means clearly that Baal I belonged to the royal Tyrian family. The Zinjirli-stele, which should be dated after Esarhaddon's second victorious campaign against Egypt when Memphis was conquered, and consequently after 671 B.C.E., shows two captives: the one with the beard dressed in the typical Phoenician/Syrian fashion may represent Baal I of Tyre⁷. If we accept for a moment this suggestion, then this representation shows a mature man, similar to the Assyrian king himself, in contrast to the other royal prisoner, who apparently represents Ushanahuru, the son of the Egyptian king. The name of this Egyptian prince is mentioned in the text of the stele, in contrast to his Phoenician counterpart. On the other hand the Tyrian prince Yahimilki must have still been a boy, when he accompanied his father Baal at the time of his surrender to the Assyrian king in 664 B.C.E., for he "had not (yet) crossed the sea"⁸. Summarizing the pros and cons about an immediate succession of Baal I after Eloulaios's flight to Cyprus in 701 B.C.E., we may say that such a possibility is conceivable⁹, but it is not quite certain.

A definition of the borders of the Tyrian state on the mainland at this period of time is more easily ascertainable. Surely at the beginning of Baal's reign, his state on the mainland was smaller than after the destruction of Sidon and its incorporation as an Assyrian province¹⁰. For a part of the former Sidon town state was then given to Baal: i.a. the towns of Ma'rub and Zarephath¹¹, both north of the Litani River. We may, therefore, say that until that year (ca. 677/76 B.C.E.) the northern

6 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 108; *ANET Suppl.*, 533. In this treaty the "elders of your country" (*ANET Suppl.*, 534a) are also mentioned. We may ask ourselves, whether these additional partners should be connected with the youth of the king (Baal), a notion which we would like to consider, but which we do not want to propose. For we strongly believe that these "elders of your country" are mentioned in the treaty only in order to cover the greatest possible number of people bound under the conditions of such an imposed agreement.

7 *ANEP* no. 447, p. 301.

8 *ANET*², 295b.

9 The average age of the Judean kings at their death was about 46 years (cf. Thiele, *MNHK*, 284).

10 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 65.

11 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 512; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 49.

border of the Tyrian state was that river. The southern border must be sought south of Akko, (perhaps Mount Carmel?).

This southern borderline is also in conformity with Forrer's proposed frontiers for the later established province of the land of Tyre¹². But it does not agree with Alt's conception. For Alt pointed to the fact that neither Achzib nor Akko are mentioned among those towns and hamlets out of which Esarhaddon created the Assyrian province "Sidon", nor among those which were handed over by the Assyrian king to Baal. Alt, therefore, concluded that the "Valley of Akko" was certainly then (if not even earlier) removed from its *Territorialzusammenhang* and handed over to one of the neighboring Assyrian provinces, perhaps the province of Megiddo¹³.

We strongly believe that Alt's view is wrong. It is based chiefly on a conclusion made *ex silentio*. For why should Esarhaddon mention towns that belonged to the Tyrian king? Nor could he hand over to Baal property which belonged to the Tyrian crown, certainly before Esarhaddon ascended the Assyrian throne. Furthermore, as far as we can follow the history of Akko down to Persian times¹⁴, the territory always appears in connection with Tyre. Thus we have to reject Alt's other assumption that Sennacherib, after having conquered the Tyrian mainland, created the new Sidonian state with Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) as its king, and with borders that reached from Sidon in the north to Akko in the south. For there can be no doubt that Esarhaddon created the province of Sidon from the city and its immediately surrounding villages (or in the language of the Bible, "its villages and its hamlets"). This is also made explicit by Esarhaddon: ". . . I had a city built. (Its name I called) Kar-Esarhaddon. Bit-Şupuri, Sikkû, . . ., cities in Sidon's environment, . . . That province (I reorganized) and set my official as governor over them . . ." ¹⁵. This new Assyrian province was, therefore, not a large one. Its northern frontiers were the Turbul mountains (between Tripolis and Orthosia¹⁶) and its southern frontier may have been the Nahr ez-Zaharâni, which flows between Sidon and Zarephath.

12 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66.

13 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 377.

14 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 383 note 2; Kahrstedt argues for Akko belonging to the Tyrian state (U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien*, Berlin 1926, 38); Galling is undecided (Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels*, 196).

15 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 512; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 48; for the identification of those place-names cf. V. Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Asarhaddon*, Paris 1914, 33 fl.; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 65, Hirschberg, *Asarhaddon*, 25 note 8.

16 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 65.

Under the reigns of Sennacherib's immediate successors, Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.E.) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.E.), the Assyrian empire reached its greatest expansion. In the west the whole Fertile Crescent, for a period of time including Egypt, fell under Assyrian domination. The leitmotif of Assyrian foreign policy was to act harshly toward the vassal countries, and aggressive toward its neighbors. This policy manifested itself in the west by its campaigns against Egypt which culminated in the sack of Thebes in 663 B.C.E.¹⁷ But because of the necessity to be steadily on guard on all these long frontiers, seeking to stem, not always with success, the ceaseless endeavors of the many invading tribes, especially from the north and from the east, the Assyrian empire exhausted its own strength. Add to this the many rivalries and revolts among the members of the royal family, and the everlasting contest between Ashur and Babylon, one can but wonder about the role of the Assyrians for about one hundred years in the countries of the western sea coast which, in some way or other, succeeded to enjoy a quasi-independent life always in the shadow, sometimes weaker, sometimes stronger, of the Assyrian overlord. Naturally we are interested here in the relations between Assyria and Tyre, and in the repercussions stemming from the Assyrian offensive policy.

There can be no doubt that the Tyrian king aimed to regain Tyre's former leading position among the Phoenician city states. We shall see that in general Baal was most successful in his handling of the political situation. This is immediately clear, when we again find, after a silence of about 25 years, records which deal with Phoenicia. We are surprised to learn, how correctly Baal had judged the political constellation. To achieve a Tyrian hegemony among the western sea countries Baal adopted three main courses: a) not to follow any open anti-Assyrian policy, b) to maintain good (but not too cordial) relations with Egypt, which would be fruitful for the Tyrian trader¹⁸ on one hand, and on

the other would not rouse the suspicions of the Assyrian king, and c) to try to dislodge Sidon from any real competition in the field of trade and commerce.

In order to achieve these goals Baal knew that only a strong Tyre would be respected. Therefore Baal directed all his efforts to create a third power, by bringing under one roof as many as possible of the small western countries. Such a bloc would not only isolate Sidon, but would also attract a certain amount of goodwill from both Assyria and Egypt. The Assyrian inscriptions teach us that Baal was most successful in his scheme. He created a confederation of the still independent states of the western sea countries. This league is called by Esarhaddon the "22 kings of Hatti, the seashore and the islands"¹⁹. Baal of Tyre is the leader of this bloc; he is followed by Manasseh king of Judah; after them ten further kings of Greater Syria are named, and they are followed by 10 kings from Cyprus²⁰. The name of the king of Sidon is not mentioned! Even if we argue that this list of kings was composed after the downfall of Abdimilkutti, king of Sidon, the fact remains that Baal of Tyre is the leader of the "22 kings of Hatti". This confederation included, therefore, all the western countries, from Gaza in the south to Arvad in the north, and ten of the city-kings of Cyprus, most of whom have Greek names²¹.

Baal's important position as the very first of this long list (and similarly in another list from the days of Ashurbanipal²²), clearly shows the return of Tyre as a political factor, with whom even the mighty Assyria had to reckon. But Baal's position is not only that of a *primus inter pares*; he is the *princeps parium*, the real leader of this confederation. For the second in that list Manasseh of Judah was already in a certain dependent relationship to the king of Tyre. This we learn from the verse: "... he (= Manasseh) erected altars to the Baal and made an Asherah, as Ahab king of Israel had done..." (II Kings 21 : 3). Exactly as Ahab did, when "he contracted a marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians" (I Kings 16 : 31)²³. At that earlier time, in con-

17 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 347.

18 It is Yeivin's notion that early in the seventh century B.C.E. Egypt seems to have recaptured at least part of the southern trade and directed this trade to Tyre. This fact would explain the close association of Baal king of Tyre with Tirhakah king of Egypt on the Esarhaddon-stele (in *ANET* no. 447) (Yeivin, *JQL* L [1959-60], 226). We do not accept Yeivin's opinion. Tyre's rivalry with Sidon dictated Baal's political views much more than mercantile profits from Egypt, which are surely overestimated. Much of the trade, both from Arabia and from Egypt, went not to Phoenicia but to the Philistine mercantile centers, especially to Gaza, which was already a major metropolis for the inland trade.

19 Cf. *ANET*², 291a-b; the name of the town of Kiti(on) does not appear among the towns of those 10 kings from Cyprus. This fact has been corrected by many scholars, who claimed that Kition is the "Qarti-hadashti" of that list. But this interpretation is erroneous (cf. chapter V, p. 85). Furthermore the king of Qarti-hadashti has a Greek name: Damysos! Cf. also Peckham, *Orientalia* N.S. 37 (1968), 321 ff.

20 *ANET*², 291b; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 60.

21 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 60.

22 *ANET*², 294a-b.

sequence of his alliance with the king of the Sidonians, Ahab had "erected an altar to Baal . . . and Ahab made an Asherah . . ." (I Kings 16 : 32-33)²⁴. Thus also Manasseh, who became now an ally of Baal king of Tyre²⁵. If number two of the list is in a certain dependency on number one, we must assume that all the other kings were in some way or other bound in the same union, and by that fact associated to the king of Tyre.

That the Assyrian provinces in the west are not included in this confederacy, is self-evident. The absence of Sidon from the list may reflect, as we have already pointed out, the date of the composition of this list. However, we would prefer to see in it an intentional reflection of a political situation. For when Sanduarri, the king of Kundu and Sizu, two towns in the mountainous region of the Taurus²⁶ revolted against Esarhaddon, he could find as an ally among all the many kings of the western sea countries only the king of Sidon, Abdimilkutti²⁷, who was apparently the successor of Tuba'lu (= Ethbaal), who had been made king by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. We wonder, whether this very fact does not show the absolute isolation of Sidon, an isolation intentionally created by Baal of Tyre.

We do not know, whether Egypt was behind Sanduarri and Abdimilkutti. Even if we assume an Egyptian promise of support, it may have fallen short of open assistance to the revolutionaries, perhaps because of the intervention of Baal. Esarhaddon does not speak about Egypt even as a silent partner. This absence of any mention of Egypt seems to us of greater weight for our theory of the isolation of Sidon achieved by

Baal king of Tyre than the discovery of two Egyptian alabaster vases²⁸ in the treasury of Abdimilkutti, which might have been a present of Pharaoh Tirhakah to the king of Sidon. These two vases were found in Assur, and according to a cuneiform inscription they belonged to the "treasure of the palace of Abdimilkutti, king of Sidon"²⁹.

We are not surprised that Baal avoided any action against the Assyrian king, but the fact that he succeeded in persuading all the other small countries to follow suit, should bring some fruits to the Tyrian king. The fact that these 22 king of Hatti are mentioned, apparently for the first time in an Assyrian document³⁰, after the conquest of Sidon by Esarhaddon and after the decapitation of Abdimilkutti in 676 B.C.E., could be used as an argument against our view of the existence of a third neutral bloc, insofar as it was the threat of the terrible fate inflicted on the revolutionaries which made each of the western sea coast kings fall in line. Still we feel that the territorial reward given by Esarhaddon to Baal³¹ on one hand, and the isolated position of the king of Sidon on the other, clearly show that the kings of Hatti were in league with Baal, the natural rival of Abdimilkutti of Sidon.

Esarhaddon's earlier campaign against Philistia in 679 B.C.E.³² may have been more than a demonstration of power. Baal understood that move well and acted prudently by keeping out of any plot. Esarhaddon tells us about his vengeance on Sidon and its king. The royal family, the court and part of the population were deported and exiled³³; alien peoples from the eastern parts of the Assyrian empire were settled in the newly created province³⁴. The southern part of Abdimilkutti's kingdom (apparently south of the river ez-Zaharâni), which included the towns of Ma'rubbu³⁵ and Zarephath (cf. I Kings 17 : 9, 10) was handed over to Baal king of Tyre. Because of this donation Baal now had to

23 One should not deduce from this passage that Manasseh was married to a Tyrian princess.

24 This Baal is not the Baal-Shamêm, as Eissfeldt propounded in consequence of his identification of the Baal of Ahab and Jezebel with Baal-Shamêm (Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 57 [1939], 1 ff., 22 ff.). But Eissfeldt is right that in both passages (from the days of Ahab and from the days of Manasseh) the Bible speaks of the same Baal of Tyre. Cf. our discussion about the identification of Baal in chapter VII, pp. 151 ff.

25 Auerbach's correction to read instead of Baal and Asherah "Bel-Marduk and Ishtar" does not seem to us to stand on firm ground (E. Auerbach, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land* II, Berlin 1936, 153). Such a correction demands i.a. also the striking out of the comparison with Ahab. And this comparison belongs to the text (cf. II Kings 21:13; Micah 6:16). Commentators should also pay attention to the sequence, in which Manasseh's idolatries are listed.

26 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 81.

27 *ANET*², 290b.

28 They were the property of one of the Pharaohs of the Libyan Dynasty (= 22nd Egyptian Dynasty: conjectural dates, 945-730 B.C.E. [Gardiner, *Egypt*, 448]) (Bissing, *ZA* 46 [1940], 158).

29 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 721.

30 *ANET*², 291a-b; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 48, 60.

31 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 49.

32 Tadmor, *BAR* XXIX (1966), 97.

33 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 48-49.

34 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 70.

35 Forrer proposed to identify Ma'rub(bu) with Ornithonpolis = 'Adlûn of to-day, 6 km south of Zarephath (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 65-66). We are not at all happy with Forrer's proposal, because Ma'rub(bu) is mentioned before Zarephath; still, we have no other proposal to make.

pay, in addition to his annual tribute, a further sum on account of this piece of former Sidonian territory³⁶. However, by this partition, a part of the former Tyrian possessions on the mainland was thus returned to the Tyrian state. Naturally Baal could be proud of his political achievement³⁷. The enlargement of his territory on the mainland, at the expense of the former Sidonian country greatly raised the prestige of the Tyrian king among all the small western sea countries.

The wealth amassed by the king of Sidon during the last twenty-five years of independence can be noted from the long list of the booty taken by Esarhaddon³⁸. It demonstrates also the competition between the two Phoenician trade centres: Tyre and Sidon. This competition had surely played its obvious part in Baal's hostile policy against Sidon and its king. But we doubt whether such a hostile policy had made Baal an active partner in catching Abdimilkutti, when he fled to the open sea. We may assume that here some of the Cypriote princelings played a more active role³⁹.

Abdimilkutti of Sidon and Sanduarri of Kundu and Sizu were both executed, one after the other, in 676 B.C.E.⁴⁰. About that time the "22 kings of Hatti" were called to do corvée-work and to rebuild a port on the site of the town of Sidon. It was named Kar-Esarhaddon (= port of Esarhaddon)⁴¹, and functioned as a port for the Assyrian trade. It is very likely that this new Assyrian enterprise was another element in Baal's ill-feeling against Esarhaddon, ill-feeling which may have been

kindled by a certain eager ostentation of the Assyrian governor in Kar-Esarhaddon.

The 22 kings of Hatti also had to do corvée-work in Nineveh. Here Baal certainly had to furnish not only the building materials, but also experts and architects. Prisoners of war were engaged in those projects. "Big logs, long beams, thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara⁴² and Lebanon mountains . . .⁴³ served as building material.

It should also be said that Esarhaddon was not the king to give presents to Baal. There was a reason for his "benevolence" — to isolate Egypt. Esarhaddon was not the first among the Assyrian kings who pursued an aggressive military policy against Egypt, believing that the offensive against Tirhakah was the best policy; he did not wait for the Egyptian troops to appear in Western Asia. On the other hand he may have thought that by rewarding Baal the latter would be drawn (with the whole bloc of the western kings) to the Assyrian side, and thus Esarhaddon would gain a safe base for his military operations against Egypt.

It is Olmstead's notion that that famous treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal⁴⁴ was concluded at that time⁴⁵, about 676 B.C.E. Although Olmstead is not the only one who feels that this treaty "was somewhat one-sided", he says that it contains "a very substantial *quid pro quo*", and he feels that "the commercial clauses are those of equals"⁴⁶.

This is also Weidner's opinion. Weidner quotes in this respect a passage from G. Smith's book, *Assyria from the Earliest Times* (London 1875, p. 134), in which Smith stated that "the Assyrian monarch ceded to the king of Tyre a considerable portion of the coast of Palestine including Akko, Dor and all the northern coast of the Philistines with the cities, and Gebal (=Byblos) and Lebanon, and the cities in the mountains behind Tyre". Weidner feels that this is the correct interpretation of the treaty. He believes that the treaty was concluded in 677 B.C.E. and was valid for only a short time. He further reasons that the mainland of Tyre already became a province in 671 B.C.E.⁴⁷.

36 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 49.

37 Perhaps it was in Winckler's zeal to find parallel identical texts to the Assyrian texts that he connected the destruction of Sidon by Esarhaddon with the story told by Justin (XVIII, 3, 5). According to Justin, the king of the Ascalonians (rex Ascaloniorum) destroyed Sidon, and the Sidonians fled from their city and founded Tyre, one year before the destruction of Troy. Winckler reads "king of the Assyrians" (rex Assyriorum) and drops the phrase "one year before the destruction of Troy" (Winckler, *AOF* I, 440 ff.; this opinion was accepted and repeated by Eiselen, *Sidon*, 55-56). There is no historical foundation for such a correction. The story of Justin belongs to the events connected with the Sea Peoples' invasion in the early years of the twelfth century B.C.E. as we have seen cf. chapter IV, note 88).

38 *ANET*², 291a.

39 Cf. Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 63; cf. also the saving of Tyrians by the Phoenician allies of Alexander the Great at the time of the war against Tyre (Curtius Rufus IV, 4, 15).

40 *ANET*², 290b-291a; 302b, 303a; Luckenbill *AR* II, § 513.

41 *ANET*², 291a; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 48.

42 Cf. also "The Sidonians call Mount Hermon Sirion" (Deut. 3:9) or "He makes Lebanon skip like a calf, Sirion like a young wild ox" (Ps. 29:6); Dussaud, *ThS*, 389.

43 *ANET*², 291b; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 59-61.

44 *ANET Suppl.*, 533-534; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 107-109. Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 586 ff.; Winckler, *AOF* II, 10-16.

45 Olmstead, *HPS*, 483; contra Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 25 note 10.

46 Olmstead, *HA*, 375.

47 Weidner, *Afo* VIII (1932-33), 32-33.

We, too, feel that its contents and its language belong to a historical background following the division of the Sidonian state. But the treaty, a one-sided dictation, is already based on a new political setting between Tyre and Assyria. It explicitly mentions "all the cities of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria gave (to) Baal . . ." ⁴⁸. This phrase can only be interpreted as meaning that here the Assyrian king speaks about those cities ceded to Baal in 677/76 B.C.E. This conclusion is also based on the last two words in § III of the treaty (which we find only in Borger's text), namely "Zuvor (?) das Land Sidon" ⁴⁹. To this we have to add that next to Melqart (the main deity of Tyre), Eshmun (the main deity of Sidon) is also mentioned among the gods of Baal ⁵⁰. This fact demonstrates two important points: a) that Tyre had to assume religious obligations toward Eshmun, because of its annexation of former Sidonian territory, and b) that the treaty was written after the defeat of Abdimilkutti.

Contrary to the early date (propounded for the conclusion of this treaty by Smith, Olmstead, and Weidner) are Hirschberg's arguments ⁵¹. Hirschberg reasons that after Esarhaddon had defeated the coalition of the western kings at Ashkelon and after his victorious entry into Memphis in 671 B.C.E., the Assyrian king turned against Baal of Tyre and punished him severely by annexing all the Tyrian mainland, and by curtailing the Tyrian trade, as shown in that treaty. However we consider this treaty as evidence of Baal's great statesmanship, for, by surrendering himself to the Assyrian king, he was able to make a deal with him.

The fact that Esarhaddon was willing to "sign" a treaty with a vassal, as one may call Baal, clearly demonstrates the important status of the Tyrian king. For Baal is a partner, if not an equal one, in such a treaty. We would like to stress this fact, because Hirschberg's opinion in this matter is quite opposite. He thinks that Baal's sovereignty and liberty for trading were curtailed, and that even his independence was taken away from him. His main proof for this thesis is the clause in the treaty according to which Baal was not allowed to open (and naturally to read) a letter sent to him by the Assyrian king without the presence of the Assyrian *qêpu* (= the royal Assyrian deputy) ⁵². However, this very

48 ANET Suppl., 534a.

49 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 109.

50 In § IV of both Reiner's and Borger's translations.

51 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 69 ff.; cf. also note 45.

52 The *qêpu* is directly subordinated to the king (B. Landsberger, *Brief des*

clause, in our opinion, clearly shows that the royal Assyrian deputy was not residing in Tyre proper, but apparently in Ushu, i.e. the town on the mainland opposite the island of Tyre ⁵³. Here we must add that we strongly feel that Hirschberg's view is too rigid. We shall try to argue our view when we discuss the treaty.

There can be no doubt that the treaty belongs to the category of a "vassal-treaty" ⁵⁴ and as such it was written (drafted?) in the language of the superior partner, i.e. in Akkadian. This treaty (in Akkadian: *adê*) ⁵⁵ calls Baal "servant of Esarhaddon", but it does not only put obligations upon Baal. It also gives him some rights ⁵⁶. It contains no clause which could be interpreted as a sign of the cessation of the "independent state of Tyre".

Our observations on the treaty follow the translations and the arrangement of the clauses presented by Borger ⁵⁷ and by Reiner ⁵⁸. According to them the treaty consists of 4 main parts: § I is the introduction (very badly damaged); § II is nearly totally broken off; § III contains the stipulations (beginning and end are broken off and in the remaining text there are several lacunae); § IV deals with the curses that will ensue, if the treaty is not kept by Baal. The last line (§ IV, 20) reads: Tablet of the treaty established with Baal of Tyre" (thus Reiner), or in Borger's translation: "Tafel der Vertragsbestimmungen für Baal, dem Tyrier".

The text sounds like that of a unilateral treaty. Esarhaddon is spoken of in the third person (sometimes in the first); Baal is in the second person.

§ III contains three main clauses:

- a) the tasks and competences of the *qêpu* (11. 5-14)

Bischofs von Esagila, Amsterdam 1965, 30, 36-37). Landsberger defines the *qêpu* as a "vgl. Bevollmächtigter, Beaufichtiger und Garnisonskommandant (?)".

53 Contra Weidner (*AfO* VIII [1932-33], 31).

54 Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, London 1958; Frankena, *OTS*. XIV (1965), 130 ff.

55 Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, London 1958, 81; *CAD* A, part 1 (1964), 131 ff.; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, Rome 1967, 23 ff.

56 This is said in spite of knowing very well that the *adê* "is a pact or agreement imposed by one party upon another and sworn to by the obligated party only. It is not a pact between equals". (Gelb, *BiOr* 19 [1962], 161).

57 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 107-109.

58 ANET Suppl., 533-534.

- b) the rules concerning the shipwreck of a Tyrian vessel (11. 15-17)
- c) the regulations for the landing places of Tyrian ships, and the trade routes for the Tyrian traders (11. 18 ff.)

A royal deputy was nominated by Esarhaddon next to the Tyrian court, or in Esarhaddon's words: over you, . . . , over the elders of your country . . ." (11. 6-7).

We have already learned that in the opinion of various scholars⁵⁹ Baal was no longer free in his relations to the Assyrian court, for he was not allowed to open a letter from the Assyrian king addressed to him. Or in the words of the treaty: ". . . nor must you open a letter which I send you without (the presence) of the royal deputy. If the royal deputy is absent, wait for him and then open it, . . . (11. 13-14)"⁶⁰. What may be the reasons for such a demand? After all if the Assyrian king wrote a letter to his vassal, giving him orders etc., could the royal deputy cancel such an order? Certainly not. One could argue that it might be possible for the royal deputy to control the execution of such an order (and to report to his king accordingly). By this argumentation itself, certainly the official correspondence between the two kings continued. Again this demand is unique.

As far as we have been able to check, this strange request has never been noticed or explained. On the other hand we strongly believe that in the lines before this stipulation we may find not only an explanation to this demand, but even the solution. But because of the very bad state of this part of the treaty, we merely wish to present our interpretation as a proposal.

According to the text given by Borger, lines 1-5 no more exist; lines 6-9 are in a very bad state; lines 10 and 11 are again missing, but a part of line 12 is still readable. Here we find our clue, for thus we can read: ". . . the word of his mouth you should not listen without the (qêpu) (thus we may complete according to the text: lu[x-] e-x-[xx]). We must

59 Certainly those scholars who dealt explicitly with the "restriction" resulting from this clause, e.g. Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 71; Olmstead, *HA*, 375; Eissfeldt, *Tyros, PW 2.Reihe VII*, col. 1888.

60 This English translation is according to the text in *ANET Suppl.*, 534a (by E. Reiner). Because of the importance of the text we also quote here the translation of Borger: "(13) Auch darfst du einen Brief, den ich dir schicke, ohne den Statthalter nicht öffnen; (14) wenn der Statthalter nicht zur Stelle ist, sollst du auf ihn warten, (und erst wenn dieser gekommen ist), darfst du ihn öffnen . . ." (Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 108).

ask ourselves, who is this "h i s mouth" (pi-i-šú). Certainly this person is neither the king of Assyria nor the royal deputy. We believe it is Tirhakah, king of Egypt, the "friend"⁶¹ of Baal. If our assumption is right, then the date of the treaty must be after 674 B.C.E. or shortly after the victorious Assyrian campaign against Tirhakah in 671 B.C.E.⁶². Then on his way home from Egypt, Esarhaddon raised the siege against Tyre, and, after having received the supplication of the king of Tyre, he made this treaty with Baal, under which as a preamble a qêpu took his seat in Ushu. Perhaps it was the commander who had been left by Esarhaddon in charge of the siege in the early stage of his campaign against Tirhakah.

Having thus found the person, who was still the number one enemy of the Assyrian king, we like to propose a slight correction parallel to this first restriction, namely: "Do not listen to his mouth", i.e. to any messenger sent by Tirhakah "without the presence of the qêpu". Accordingly we propose to read in the following clause: "nor must you open a letter, which h e (= Tirhakah) (and this *he* instead of *I* [= Esarhaddon]) sends you without the presence of the qêpu". We are convinced that this is the real meaning of this clause in this (drafted?) treaty. Surely this new reading or interpretation raises the whole status of Baal, and it also clarifies the terms concerning the harbors and the roads, the possessions of Baal and of the Tyrians on the mainland.

One could argue that a relationship exists between the royal deputy and the creation of the Assyrian province "the land of Tyre"⁶³ by connecting the nomination of this qêpu with the following record of Esarhaddon: "I took away from him (= Baal) those towns (which are

61 *ANET*², 292b.

62 Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Tyros PW 2.Reihe, VII*, col. 1888; Esarhaddon directed three campaigns against Egypt. The first, in 674 B.C.E., resulted in a victory for the Egyptians (cf. *ANET*², 303b). The second campaign was crowned by the conquest of Memphis in 671 (*ANET*², 292a-b). At that time Baal "had trusted his friend Tirhakah" and had revolted too. He was then besieged, and apparently, after Esarhaddon's victory, submitted to the Assyrian king (*ANET*², 292a and 291a). The third campaign was in 669 B.C.E.; however Esarhaddon died in October 669 on his way to Egypt (*ANET*², 303b).

63 Cf. Winckler, *AOF I*, 524 ff.; but Winckler's first part of line 9 (about the investiture of a governor) is his own restoration based on ?; this part of the text is missing in Borger's edition (Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 110). However Forrer took this restoration of Winckler for granted, and on it based his argument for the establishment of an Assyrian province: "The land of Tyre" at that time (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66).

situated on) the mainland [and re]organized [the region] turning it over to Assyria" 64. However, a qêpu is not an Assyrian governor 65. This record of Esarhaddon may, therefore, reflect his occupation of the Tyrian mainland in the course of his "tenth campaign" 66 (= second campaign against Egypt in 671 B.C.E.). On his way back, Baal of Tyre made his supplication, and Esarhaddon imposed the treaty on him. We feel again that this record shows the date of the treaty.

The co-existence between Baal and the "elders of your country" is of great interest. We wish we knew more about the relationship between the king and the merchant princes with regard to matters of state. We may, however, say that they represent that body which we already met in the El-Amarna period 67; and which is hinted in the books of Isaiah as "merchant-princes" (Isa. 23 : 8) and Ezekiel as "sea-kings" (Ezek. 26 : 16). Unfortunately we do not know anything about the functioning of that body; whether it acted only in an advisory capacity 68 as a consulting body, or whether it also took a very active part in the government. The "nobles/chief officials" of Abdimilkutti 69 may have formed such a body in Sidon.

Lines 15-30 of § III (and here the tablet is broken off) deal with stipulations concerning mercantile shipping. This paragraph starts: "If a ship of Baal or of the people of the land of Tyre . . .". This wording teaches us that Tyre still possessed a mercantile fleet, and it also means that certainly the main harbor of Tyre was "out of bounds" for the Assyrians. But the big merchant ships did not only belong to the king of Tyre 70 (or to the state); they or a good part of them belonged also to the big merchant firms. These owners may have been the "elders of your country", and thus they may have become, in some way or other, also partners of this treaty.

The geo-political classifications of the territories mentioned in the treaty are of great interest. The preserved text indicates that these classifications

64 ANET², 291a.

65 Cf. the title of the Assyrian governor who resided in Kâr-Esarhaddon (= Sidon): (*bêl*) *paḥâti* (Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 49).

66 Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 554-556.

67 Cf. chapter III notes 13 and 14.

68 Thus Weidner, *AfO* VIII (1932-33), 31.

69 ANET², 291a; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 50; cf. "the nobles of the city" (II Kings 10:6, 11).

70 Cf. in the EA-period: the king of Alashia calls the ship-merchants "meine Geschäftsleute und mein Schiff" (EA 39:17); cf. also the "King's merchants" (I Kings 10:28).

concern only the Tyrian trade, and not the Assyrian trade. Here we can differ between two main groups: a) the one which is beyond the political control of the Tyrian king; this group includes "the land of Philistines" (= apparently the main Philistine harbor towns 71) and b) "anywhere on the borders of Assyrian territory", i.e. the Assyrian provinces on the Mediterranean coast. If a Tyrian cargo-vessel is shipwrecked next to these territories, "everything that is on the ship belongs to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, but one must not do any harm to any person on board ship; they should li[st] their names . . ." 72. Apparently the crew and the passengers were free to go to their home port. The listing of the persons may also be connected with the blockade/embargo (?) against Egypt. We purposely stress this clause because it restricts the then common *jus litoris* and by its restriction it favors Tyre.

Now follows a long stipulation about "the ports of trade and the trade roads" which were either "open" or "closed" to the Tyrian merchant. We accept Alt's interpretation that all these places and towns and roads were open to the Tyrian trader 73 (actually the decisive verb is missing in the text), and we reject Hirschberg's notion that Baal's ships were not allowed to enter those places 74. Hirschberg puts the clause which deals with the wreckage of a Tyrian ship behind this clause which we interpret as open to the Tyrian merchant. Therefore he thinks that "even if a ship entered such (a forbidden) port, the crew had to be sent free". Surely this is not the meaning, as we will see from the different translations. Otherwise Tyre would have ceased trading almost totally. Moreover, for such a prohibition in a treaty one need not call all the gods as witnesses.

We can also differ between the "ports of trade" and the "roads of trade" which, as we say, were open to the Tyrians.

It is of great interest to learn that every port had its hinterland. Thus Akko and Dor are connected with "the entire district of the Philistines" 75

71 Esarhaddon mentions among the 12 kings of the seacoast who were his vassals, the Philistine kings of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron and Ashdod (ANET², 291a-b).

72 Reiner completes this line 17 as follows: "[and inform the king of Assyria]" (ANET *Suppl.* 534); but this restoration is one of the many possibilities!

73 Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 378.

74 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 71 ff.

75 There is certainly a difference between the "land of the Philistines" and the "district of the land of the Philistines". In the "land of the Philistines" a shipwrecked vessel of the Tyrians belongs to Esarhaddon; in the "district of the land of the Philistines" "nobody should harm their (=Tyrian) ships"!

and all the cities within Assyrian territory, on the seacoast". Similarly Byblos is linked with "(across the Lebanon, all the cities in the mountains, all the cities of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria gave [to] Baal..." Next to these regions we have "the land of Baal: [Tyre]" (this is our restoration based on the verb, which is still readable in the text: cross-over), which is connected with "his towns, his manors, his wharves, which [...] to [...] as many as lie in the outlying regions". In all these places "nobody should harm their ships", and, as the text continues: "Inland, in his district, in his manors... (= break), we may add: "[in his wharves... nobody should harm the Tyrian merchant]". Borger's text has a small but important addition (line 30; before the total break of the tablet): "wie zuvor Sidon". We may assume that there was a special stipulation in this region, if so, perhaps also in favor of Baal? ⁷⁶

We do not know whether Arvad was also mentioned in the treaty. Surely at that very time it still enjoyed a certain independence ⁷⁷. Still, this treaty covers the whole eastern Mediterranean coast, and part of the coastal mainland. Assyria proper seemed to have been out of bounds to direct Tyrian trade.

The last paragraph of the treaty — marked IV by both Borger and Reiner — contains a long list of Assyrian gods followed by a list of Tyrian and Phoenician gods, who would punish Baal or bring curses upon him, in the event that he broke the treaty. Our special interest is the Tyrian gods. Their sequence is as follows (according to their importance?): Baal-Shamêm, followed by Baal-malagê (identified by Harris as Baal-Meleh ⁷⁸). This name is now corrected by Albright as Baal-madgê, meaning something like Lord of Fishing/Fishery ⁷⁹. Then comes Baal-zaphon. These three gods are connected with the sea, shipping and

76 The "mât Šidu-[unni...]" is also to be found in the text of Winckler (*AOF* II, 14/15: here as line 29); of Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 590; of Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 71/72. Then follows the break. However these words are of some interest. For this is the "last" mention of Sidon in any Assyrian text, as far as we could check. It proves that the name "Sidon" was not erased. Sidon reappears in the days of Nebuchadnezzar (*ANET*², 308a) (cf. also Jer. 27:3). On the other hand Jidejian's statement that these towns (Akko, Dor, as well as Byblos) were handed over to Baal is apparently based on a misunderstanding of the German translation of the text (Jidejian, *Tyre*, Beirut 1969, 46).

77 Cf. *ANET*², 291a; 294a; 296a.

78 Harris, *GPhL*, 88; Olmstead proposed Baal-Melqart (Olmstead, *HPS*, 483).

79 Albright, *Jordan Lectures*, 198.

navigation. Mazar noted some years ago that Baal-Shamêm first emerged in the sources at our disposal in the tenth century B.C.E. ⁸⁰. He appears both in the prayer of King Solomon (I Kings 8:23, 30) and in the excerpts of Menander and Dios quoted by Josephus (*C.Ap.* I, 113, 118), which deal with the reign of Hiram I, a contemporary of Solomon. There is no doubt that the development of building larger ships was one of the pre-conditions for the Tyrian expansion in the Mediterranean. Baal-zaphon was a northern Phoenician god, never mentioned in any other text which is connected with Tyre. His seat was Mount Casius ⁸¹. After the invocation of the gods of the sea, we read about the gods of the land. Their leader was Melqart (the chief deity of Tyre), followed by Eshmun (the chief deity of Sidon). The mentioning of the latter is of great significance. Not only does it hint at the date of the treaty, but by getting a share of the former Sidonian state (the town of Sidon and its surroundings became an Assyrian province) Baal apparently also became legally bound to serve the Sidonian Eshmun who had become homeless, because of the destruction of Sidon and the foundation of an Assyrian harbor. The reader will forgive us if we do not go into further details of this complicated issue. We only wish to add that it may be that Esarhaddon only wanted to provide maximum possible observance of the treaty by including as many gods as possible without any deep legal consideration. The third (and last) deity in this group is Astarte. She is already mentioned together with Heracles/Melqart in Menander's excerpt quoted by Josephus (*C.Ap.* I, 118). Here in the treaty, her function is clearly indicated: she is the goddess of war; Melqart and Eshmun protect the Tyrian territories from destruction and its population from deportation. These dangers, especially the latter, may teach us a lesson about Assyrian mentality.

At the end of the treaty it is said, as we have already noted: "Tablet of the treaty (adê) established with Baal of Tyre", i.e. these are the rights and obligations granted by Esarhaddon to his servant Baal. The Assyrian king, who is himself above such clauses, reminds his "partner" of the penalties which will fall upon Baal, if he does not keep the treaty. Thus we may say that this treaty is more a dictate than an agreement. Even if one may say that there are curtailments on the free movements of Baal, he certainly was able to continue his business. A good merchant

80 Mazar, *Philistines*, 19 ff.; cf. also chapter V, pp. 89–90.

81 O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kassios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, Halle 1932; Albright, *Baal-Zaphon, Festschrift f. A. Bertholet*, Tübingen 1950, 1 ff.

knows his way, and it is the customer who has to pay the price. We should also not forget that these regulations concerned only the Asian trade; Baal was free in his trade relations with the north, the west, and perhaps even with Egypt. For the restrictions concerning Egypt are in the political field, as we tried to show; there is no hint of anything in the commercial field, as far as the text preserved⁸². This may be another argument indicating that the treaty was dictated in a period, when Esarhaddon was convinced that Egypt was totally defeated.

Before we discuss the further developments of the relations between Tyre and Assyria we must remind ourselves that in the first half of the seventh century B.C.E. the pressure of the Greek townstates in Cyprus was steadily increasing. The Greek trader became very active in Western Asia, and a new competitor appeared in this corner of the ancient world. Corinthian pottery found its way not only into Cilicia (e.g. Tarsus, Mersin etc.), into Syria (e.g. Al Mina, Zinjirli etc.), but even into Babylon⁸³. In addition, Greek settlements increased rapidly in the western Mediterranean. However, we should not forget that the reason of the Greek colonization in the west was a great land-hunger, due to the ever-growing population in the mother towns⁸⁴; in contrast, the Tyrian expansion was based chiefly on trade and on the search for cheap raw material⁸⁵. According to a Greek tradition, a Samian trading ship reached Tartessos in Spain at this time⁸⁶. Even if we assume that such far voyages may have been sporadic⁸⁷, we have to accept this fact of a steady rising penetration of Greeks into the sphere of Tyrian/Carthaginian interest. This "western front" weighed heavily on the motherland and on the Tyrian trading posts, not only because of the growing Greek colonial expansion in regions which were until then the exclusive domain of the Tyrian traders, but also because of the additional military and naval obligations which must have been a great strain to Tyre. It is, therefore, no surprise to observe a certain growing concentration of Tyre on its eastern front.

82 Cf. the clause of Sargon's governor: "do not sell timber to Egypt and to Philistia" (Saggs, *IRAQ* XVII [1955], 127/128: lines 26-27) and chapter X, p. 237.

83 Boardman, *Greeks*, 75.

84 Cf. the term: ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς = Magna (Major) Graecia = lower Italy inhabited by Greeks; including even Sicily (thus Strabo VI, 1, 2).

85 Cf. also Thucydides' description of the Phoenician trading centres around the coast of Sicily (Thucydides VI, 2,6).

86 Herodotus IV, 152.

87 A. Schulten, *Tartessos*², Hamburg 1950, 45.

Nolens volens the metropolis had to shift the care and concern for the Tyrian western trading posts to her daughter Carthage. In consequence of this development, Carthage slowly took over Tyrian supremacy in these regions of the ancient world. Thus in the course of the years Carthage became the natural heir of the Tyrian empire in the western hemisphere. This development must have gone much more smoothly than may have been expected. For the official political break between Tyre and Carthage was only in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, when — perhaps in consequence of the long siege and the unrest in Tyre — Carthage declared its political independence⁸⁸.

Esarhaddon might have thought that by granting to Baal a large portion of the former Sidonian state, he would win him over to his side. However, even were the treaty concluded at this very hour, we have to confess that we are unable to understand Esarhaddon's intention in curtailing the trade of Tyre. This is one of our main reasons for shifting the date of this treaty from 677/76 B.C.E. to ca. 671. But Baal, a merchant *par excellence*, could not be bought so easily. With ever-rising suspicion about the real aims of this new Assyrian trade-colony in Kar-Esarhaddon, formerly Sidon, Baal followed every step of the Assyrian king in the west with interest, anxiety, suspicion and distrust. The only power to check Assyrian supremacy was, and remained, Egypt.

We may, therefore, not be too far from the real happenings, if we assume that contact between Baal and Tirhakah was made after the unsuccessful Assyrian campaign against Egypt in 674 B.C.E. It was under the reign of Tirhakah (689-664 B.C.E.⁸⁹) that Egypt took an active role in the politics in Western Asia. We do not know the reasons for this "first" campaign of Esarhaddon against Egypt. One may guess a lot. Apparently Esarhaddon had either not much time for real preparations for such a big undertaking, or may be that he underestimated the many difficulties. Thus he seems to have rushed into this campaign against Egypt in 674 B.C.E., and he was defeated, apparently before he entered Egypt proper. For thus we read in the Babylonian Chronicles: "Seventh year: in the month Addaru, the 5th day, the army of Assyria was defeated in a bloody battle in Egypt"⁹⁰. As far as one can judge from the available sources there was no immediate — or let us say no evident — repercussion in Greater Syria. But we can be sure that Tirhakah's victory

88 Cf. chapter XII, notes 283 & 284.

89 Gardiner, *Egypt* 450

90 *ANET*², 302b.

greatly helped him to build up his influence in Western Asia. In Baal he should now find a friend and an ally. And it was Baal's position among the many small kings of Hatti that was able to draw all these kings, vassals of Esarhaddon, to the anti-Assyrian front.

Apparently this new political line of the former neutral bloc took shape only over a long period of time. Still, in 672 B.C.E. Esarhaddon — at the peak of his power — called for a general assembly of all his great noblemen⁹¹ (and perhaps of all the vassal kings⁹²), in order to make them swear the oath of allegiance to Ashurbanipal as the crown-prince and successor to the Assyrian throne. We do not think that the vassal kings were present. They may have been notified later and acted then according to the usual customs.

One should not forget that since 676 B.C.E. there had been no great success gained by Assyrian armies in the west; on the contrary, Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt had ended with a defeat. Thus it was not so difficult to persuade all the "22 kings of Hatti" or perhaps more rightly all the "12 kings of Greater Syria", to join the big anti-Assyrian coalition. Esarhaddon acted swiftly and he mustered all his vast resources of troops and went against the western countries. This campaign, termed by Esarhaddon as his tenth, is actually his second campaign against Egypt and is well documented. Esarhaddon tells us that he

"called up the numerous army of Ashur, which was stationed in . . . (lacuna). In the month of Nissanu, the first month (of the year), I departed from my city Ashur. I crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates at (the time of) their flood; I advanced over the difficult territory (of my route) (as quick-footed) as a wild-ox. In the course of my campaign I threw up earthwork (for a siege) against Baal king of Tyre, who had put his trust upon his friend Tirhakah king of Nubia, and (therefore) had thrown off the yoke of Ashur, my lord, answering (my admonitions with) insolence. I withheld from them (i.e. the inhabitants of besieged Tyre) food and (fresh) water which sustain life. I removed my camp from Musru and marched directly towards . . . as far as the town Rapihu . . ." ⁹³.

91 Cf. the Rassam-Cylinder of Ashurbanipal, which relates that Esarhaddon had "gathered together the people of Assyria, great and small from the upper to the lower sea" (Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 766).

92 Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties*, 4; Saggs, *Babylon*, 126.

93 *ANET*², 292b.

It is quite clear that Esarhaddon hurried southwards after a minimum of delay, in which he had made the necessary arrangements for a siege of the island of Tyre by occupying Ushu (certainly) and perhaps the total mainland of Tyre. This campaign was not considered to be the main aim of Esarhaddon. That was Egypt. Still, one should note that the Assyrian king was not able to conquer the island of Tyre, and had to be content with a siege. The similarity of all these measures against Tyre with those taken by Shalmaneser V against Tyre in the days of Eloulaios⁹⁴ caused some scholars to shift the tale of that five years siege of Tyre to this siege of Esarhaddon in 671 B.C.E.⁹⁵ According to them Esarhaddon started this siege, and it came to an end by the third campaign against Baal by Ashurbanipal in 667 B.C.E.⁹⁶

A repetition of events, certainly a siege against the island of Tyre, which had to start with the occupation of Ushu, is quite normal, for a march against Philistia and Egypt had to pass this strip of country situated along the highways. As long as the Phoenician coastal towns were on friendly terms with the Assyrian king, no hostile action against them was necessary. But in alliance with Egypt each town might endanger the long lines of communications. This time Esarhaddon did not waste much time, as we have seen, but hurried southward to Egypt.

It seems, however, that not only were Egypt and Tyre in open revolt, but apparently Tirhakah, or perhaps more rightly some Egyptian contingents had already penetrated into Asia in order to come to the assistance of some of the small states in western Asia. Although the sources are not only meagre but obscure, there are some points which may hint at a bigger anti-Assyrian coalition than that of Baal and Tirhakah alone. This point has been raised staunchly by Hirschberg⁹⁷. According to him, the hostilities started with a boycott of the Assyrian trade, intensified by closing of the Phoenician harbors to the Assyrian merchant ships⁹⁸,

94 Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* IX, 284 ff. (cf. chapter X, p. 229).

95 W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*, I, Leipzig, 1893, 11 ff.

96 *CAH* III (1929), 115 ff.

97 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 61 ff.

98 Hirschberg quotes the letter of an Assyrian official to his king (Harper, *ABL* no. 992), in which this official complains about the hostile attitude of Ikkilû, who has to be identified with Jakinlû, king of Arvad (cf. Meisner, *OLZ* 17 [1914], 423; Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 63 ff.). This Jakinlû was apparently murdered (cf. the expression: *shadāshu imid*: cf. chapter X, note 19) in the days of Ashurbanipal by a pro-Assyrian party headed by several of his sons (cf. *ANET*², 296a and note 16 *ibid.*).

and later followed by an open revolt when the payments of the annual tribute were suspended. The cessation of tribute was equal to a notice of a change in the relations between the overlord and the vassal.

There are many allusions to a much broader opposition to Esarhaddon in western Asia. We would like to draw the reader's attention to the tale of the Samaritans in the days of Zerubbabel (ca. 525 B.C.E.): "And they approached Zerubbabel and the heads of families and said to them, 'Let us join you in building, for like you we seek your God, and we have been sacrificing to Him ever since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria brought us here'" (Ezra 4: 2)⁹⁹. This can be interpreted as meaning that Esarhaddon had uprooted some populations.

A further hint of some unrest in the west can be found in the so-called "Dog River Stele". This inscription commemorates the victory of Esarhaddon over Tirhakah, and his victorious entry into Memphis¹⁰⁰. There can be no doubt that it was composed by the Assyrian king very shortly after his triumphal return from Egypt in 671 B.C.E. Unfortunately the end of this inscription is much damaged and partly destroyed. Still one can read as follows:

line 31 ... Ashkelon
 32 ... which Tirhakah (had made) as their strongholds
 33 ... Tyre
 34 ... 22 kings
 35 ...
 ...¹⁰¹

As bad as the state of those last lines is, the information they contain is of great value. We learn that there were some connections between Tirhakah, Ashkelon, Tyre, and 22 kings (of Hatti) (one should not take the number of kings too seriously). But we feel fairly safe in saying that Baal was not quite alone, as we may have learned from Esarhaddon's records. He still had the backing of the kings of Hatti exactly as at the time of the revolt of Sidon. The reference to Ashkelon is much more

obscure. Mittinti ruled over that city¹⁰². Hirschberg, relying on the above-mentioned stele, on a now-lost fragmentary text, preserved only by G. Smith¹⁰³, and on another Assyrian (oracle) text¹⁰⁴, proposed the theory that "Esarhaddon apparently waged a decisive battle against his Phoenician and Philistine enemies in the vicinity of Ashkelon"¹⁰⁵. Hirschberg connects a further Assyrian record¹⁰⁶ with these events: the siege of Tyre, the fight against the coalition near Ashkelon, and the victory over Tirhakah. In this text Esarhaddon boasts about his achievements:

"I conquered Tyre which is (an island) amidst the sea. I took away all the towns and the possessions of Baal its king, who had put his trust on Tirhakah king of Nubia. I conquered Egypt, ... All the kings from (the island) amidst the sea, from the country Iadanana, as far as Tarsisi, bowed to my feet and I received heavy tribute (from them)".

Hirschberg sees in this record "proof that Esarhaddon — after his victory over the Egyptian king — had not only to deal with Baal alone, but with a firmly closed coalition of the western kings"¹⁰⁷. But Tadmor rightly pointed out that "no Assyrian account of the campaign against Egypt in 671 B.C.E. mentions any battle in the area of Ashkelon and as yet the whole matter is obscure"¹⁰⁸. However, it may be that it was from Ashkelon that Esarhaddon began the invasion of Egypt.

A further unsolved question in connection with an alliance with Baal at this time in the account about Manasseh's arrest and exile to Babylon (!). Thus we read: "So the Lord brought against them the commanders of the army of the king of Assyria; they captured Manasseh with spiked weapons and bound him with fetters, and brought him to Babylon" (II Chron. 33: 11)¹⁰⁹. We doubt that the arrest was made at this very time¹¹⁰. We are of the opinion that this deportation took

99 Winckler does not accept the notion that this verse speaks about Esarhaddon. He proposes to see in verse 2 a duplicate of verse 9, and by it he shifts the whole story to the days of Ashurbanipal (Winckler, *ATU*, 98, 100 ff.).
 100 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, § 67; *ANET*², 293.
 101 *ANET*², 293b note 2 (= Weidner, *OLZ* 27 [1924], col. 647), Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 102; Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 62.

102 In 676 B.C.E. (*ANET*², 291a), He reappears in the days of Esarhaddon's successor, Ashurbanipal (*ANET*², 294a).
 103 G. Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, London 1875, 141.
 104 E. G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig 1913, no. 41.
 105 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 67.
 106 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 86; *ANET*², 290a.
 107 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 68.
 108 Tadmor, *BAR* XXIX (1966), 100.
 109 Cf. the stele of Zinjirli of Esarhaddon (*ANEP* no. 447).
 110 The Bible does not give any date for Manasseh's arrest. Only in the

place in the reign of Ashurbanipal, when Babylon was conquered and Manasseh's grandson Josiah was born, ca. 648 B.C.E.

It was the great victory of Esarhaddon over the Egyptian king, the capture of the capital Memphis, and the triumphant return of the Assyrian king with the immense booty, which gave Baal to understand that this was the hour to surrender and to try to ask for forgiveness. May be the great victory made the Assyrian king more susceptible to such a supplication; for we read in one of the fragmentary texts of Esarhaddon's annals:

"... [Baal king of Ty]re living [on an island amidst the sea]... threw off my yoke... [of Ash]ur and the splendor of my lordship [overwhelmed him]... [he] bowed down and implored me, as his lord... heavy [tribute] his daughters with dowries [as well as] all the [tribu]tes which he had omitted (to send). He kissed my feet. I took away from him those of his towns (which are situated on) the mainland [and re]organized [the region] turning it over to Assyria..."¹¹¹

We may learn from this important document that Baal supplicated for forgiveness, that he met the Assyrian king, and that he brought him heavy tribute, and also the payments in arrears, certainly for one year (if not for two or even more). In addition Baal had to send his daughters with rich dowries to the harem of the Assyrian king, in order to bind Baal to tighter loyalty to his overlord. Apparently Baal gave all his marriageable daughters to Esarhaddon, for at the time of his submission to Ashurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, he could only bring "his own daughter, and the daughters of his brothers"¹¹².

The loss of the whole Tyrian mainland must have affected Baal greatly. Yet we do not know with certainty whether a new province was created at that time; if it was, we feel that it was apparently only a transitory action; for as yet we have no documentation about the creation of such a province at such an early date. Nor could we learn about the establishment of such an Assyrian province from the treaty. At the time when the

treaty was drawn up an Assyrian royal deputy (*qêpu*) was appointed, although his seat was not in Tyre itself, but in Ushu, as we have tried to show. Only much later do we find in the Eponym List an Assyrian official named Bêl-shadûa as governor over the province of (the land of) Tyre¹¹³. The exact year of Bêl-shadûa as governor of that province is not known. Forrer suggested the years 639 or 637 B.C.E.¹¹⁴. It was, therefore, only in the days of Ashurbanipal that an Assyrian province with such a name was existing with certainty. This agrees with the story of Ashurbanipal about his harsh suppression of a revolt of the towns of Ushu and Akko ca. 644-643 B.C.E. There can be no doubt that this story hints at the revolt of this province¹¹⁵, an action that was carried out when Ashurbanipal returned home. Because Ushu is mentioned first, we can learn that it was the capital of that province.

Forrer's notion that Baal was not willing to accept the loss of the Tyrian mainland may be right. But his theory that Baal took up arms against Esarhaddon and waged a war against the Assyrians for five years (673-668) B.C.E.¹¹⁶ is erroneous. For Esarhaddon mentioned Baal's petition for forgiveness, which in itself included the information that this petition was granted to him, surely for a very high price to be paid by Baal himself (his daughters) and by the Tyrian state (the tribute). In our opinion this was also the time for the drafting of the treaty. There we also find the fine difference between the "cities of Esarhaddon...", which Esarhaddon... gave to Baal" and the "cities of Baal". Such was the state of affairs at the time of Ashurbanipal's "third campaign against Baal", where it is said i.a.: "Wherever I had seized his communications (lit. roads) on sea and on land, I opened them up"¹¹⁷. The phrase "seizing of Baal's communications" implies possession of these places by Baal.

In consequence of his great victory over Tirhakah in 671 B.C.E. Esarhaddon erected several victory-steles, two of which were found several decades ago. The most famous (and longest) is that from Zinjirli¹¹⁸, now in the Museum of Berlin; the other is carved into the rock of the Nahr el-Kelb (the Dog river)¹¹⁹. The text of the first one is nearly

Hebrew legends do we find Manasseh's 22nd year of reign (= ca. 677 B.C.E.) as the year of his arrest (Ginzberg, *Legends* IV, 279; *Seder Olam Rabba* [ed. Ratner], Wilna 1897, chapter 24).

111. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, § 71; *ANET*², 291a; this text was published before the treaty was found (cf. Winckler, *ZA* 2 [1887], between 314 & 315; plate I; *idem*, *AOF* I, 522 ff.); Luckenbill *AR* II, § 547; cf. also §§ 553 and 710).

112. *ANET*², 295b.

113. *RLA* I, 481; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 70.

114. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 70.

115. *ANET*², 300b.

116. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66.

117. Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 848.

118. Text: *ANET*², 293a; Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 574-581; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, § 65. Picture: Gressmann, *AOBAT*², Tafel LXIII, 143-144; *ANEP* no. 447.

119. Text: *ANET*², 293a-b; Luckenbill, *AR* II, §§ 583-585; Borger, *Asar-*

fully preserved; the text of the second one is fragmentary, and its end is missing. They are not identical in length and in text, although they deal with the same event. Both steles tell us the story of Esarhaddon's victory of Tirhakah, his conquest of Memphis, the capture of the Egyptian royal family, and about the immense booty.

On the stele from Zinjirli Esarhaddon stands with his face to the right; next to his tiara on the right side, the symbols of the Assyrian deities appear. He holds in his upraised right hand a cup (?) and in his left, a mace and two ropes with which he binds two (royal) captives, both with rings through their lips (cf. Isa. 37 : 29); one is kneeling before the Assyrian king. He looks small and wears the Egyptian crown; as he has Negroid features he apparently represents crown-prince Ushanahuru. For both father (Tirhakah) and son (Ushanahuru) are mentioned by names in this text. But as Tirhakah fled to the south, and as the crown-prince was captured by Esarhaddon, we think that this captive should be interpreted as the crown-prince of Egypt and Nubia.

The second captive stands; he is a bearded, grown man, wearing the well known Phoenician cap and clothes, and may be Baal, king of Tyre¹²⁰. If this suggestion is correct, then it is legitimate to cite this stela in a paper which discusses the reign of Baal, for this would provide a further representation of a Tyrian king in Assyrian relief-art¹²¹. But as Baal is not mentioned at all in the text of the stela, other guesses have been made. Thus Fleming speaks about a "representation of Esarhaddon's vanity rather than that of the real outcome of the siege of Tyre"¹²². On the other hand Gressmann proposed to identify the figure with Abdimilkutti, king of Sidon¹²³. This identification has found a certain support in the discovery of two further steles of Esarhaddon in Til-Barsib, which apparently depict the same scene: the Assyrian king

is holding two captives, but in these stelae he looks to the left; a smaller figure kneels before him, a bigger one stands behind the kneeling figure. On stele "A" the excavators could still read (line 25): "Abdimilkutti, roi de la ville de Sidon . . ." (the further text was broken off)¹²⁴. It can not be Tirhakah's brother, who was captured too, according to the Babylonian chronicles: "Its king escaped (but) his son and [brother] were [cap]tured"¹²⁵, for the figure's beard opposes such an identification. One could argue, since Tirhakah was succeeded by his nephew in 664 B.C.E.¹²⁶ that Esarhaddon took the royal (Egyptian) captives to Assyria. If one accepts this possibility, it would provide a further argument against an identification of the bearded king with Baal.

The second and shorter monumental inscription is on one of the Assyrian reliefs on the rocks of the Nahr el-Kelb. It is the so-called "sixth Assyrian inscription", which was re-examined and re-published by Weissbach in 1922¹²⁷. It is to Weissbach's credit that he tried to read the much damaged end of this inscription, which has been badly weathered during the last hundred years. With the help of a paper rubbing of that inscription, made earlier by G. Smith, Weissbach offered his reading, which in the last — still preserved — lines has in line 33 the name of "Tyre" and in line 34 the term "22 kings". We have already discussed the importance of these readings; we would now like to add that this reading has been fully accepted by Hirschberg¹²⁸ and by Borger¹²⁹ among others, and only partly (not our line 33 and 34) by Luckenbill¹³⁰ and Oppenheim¹³¹. It is just those lines, however, which are so important for our thesis. While one should not presume that all the 22 kings of Hatti participated actively in the rebellion against Esarhaddon, one may assume that some of them were directly/indirectly involved in that rebellion of Baal and Tirhakah. But the effect of Esarhaddon's great victory over both Egypt and Tyre (the latter victory was the consequence of the former, as we have tried to show) was of such great significance that "all the kings from (the islands) amidst the sea, from

haddon, § 67. Picture: Gressmann, *AOBAT*², Tafel LXV, 146.

- 120 Thus, e.g. *ANEP*, 301 : no. 447 or Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 573; with certainty: Winckler, *AOF I*, 524.
- 121 The first picture is that of Ethbaal I on one of the bronze bands of Balawat (*ANEP* no. 356 : upper register); cf. chapter VII, p. 162; the second one may be that of Eloulaios (cf. chapter X, p. 255).
- 122 Fleming, *Tyre*, 38; Olmstead is of the opinion that "perhaps he (= Esarhaddon) is also lying in the case of Baal" (Olmstead, *HA*, 384).
- 123 Gressmann, *AOBAT*², 48-49; thus already Unger, *ZA* 31 (1917/18), 236; and again Dussaud, *Syria VIII* (1927), 366-67, and J. Leclant, "Les Relations entre L'Egypte et la Phénicie", *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, Beirut 1968, 16.

- 124 F. Thureau-Dangin et M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib*, Paris 1936, 151-155, pl. XII-XIII.
- 125 *ANET*², 303a.
- 126 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 450.
- 127 Weissbach, *Denkmäler*, 26 ff.
- 128 Hirschberg, *Esarhaddon*, 62 ff.
- 129 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 102.
- 130 Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 585.
- 131 *ANET*², 293b and *ibid.* note 2.

the country Iadanana (= Cyprus) as far as Tarsisi¹³², bowed to my feet and I received heavy tribute (from them)"¹³³.

From another Assyrian document we learn about the bad relations between Tyre and Assyria in about this year¹³⁴. This is a letter which deals with a "substitute king" on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which was apparently seen only in the west¹³⁵. Here we read i.a.: "either the king of Cush (= Egypt), or the king of [Tyre¹³⁶] or Mugallu¹³⁷ must meet the appointed death, or the king my lord will cap[ture him], the king my lord will diminish his land, the women of his harem will enter the service of the king my [lor]d..."¹³⁸. Our interest is in the king of Tyre; he, Tirhakah, and Mugallu of Tabal were the arch-enemies of Esarhaddon in the west. It may even be said that they were good friends among themselves, for Esarhaddon states explicitly that "Baal, king of Tyre, who had put his trust upon his friend¹³⁹ Tirhakah"¹⁴⁰.

On the other hand, both Baal of Tyre and Mugallu of Tabal are mentioned by Ashurbanipal in his annals, when he speaks about his "third campaign" which was directed against Baal of Tyre¹⁴¹. There Ashurbanipal also tells us about the submission of Mugallu king of Tabal, "who had addressed words of enmity to the kings, my fathers..."¹⁴². But the writer of that letter was mistaken. For neither of those kings died, nor were they captured.

In 670 B.C.E. a revolt was apparently started by the high Assyrian aristocracy, perhaps in consequence of the nomination of Ashurbanipal to the rank of crown-prince instead of his elder brother. The Babylonian chronicles have the following entry: "Eleventh year (=670 B.C.E.): the

king (remained) in Assyria. He executed m[any of his] officials"¹⁴³. This time Baal was more cautious than his friend Tirhakah. Maybe the presence of the qêpu and perhaps even an Assyrian garrison (in Ushu) (?) induced him to take a reserved attitude.

Tirhakah returned to Memphis and waged an open war against the Assyrians and the Egyptian collaborators. This was certainly the main reason for Esarhaddon's third campaign against Egypt, in which he met his death in 669 B.C.E. In the words of the Babylonian chronicles: "Twelfth year: the king of Assyria [went to Egypt]. He fell sick on the way and died in the month of Arahshamnu, the 10th day..."¹⁴⁴. If the western peoples thought that by the death of Esarhaddon all their troubles were over, they were greatly mistaken, although we must assume that there was a certain relaxation in active hostilities in the west. We are unable to say whether the famous treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal was still valid after the death of the Assyrian king. However we should not forget that after the death of Esarhaddon, both his sons, Shamash-shumukim and Ashurbanipal became kings, in Babylonia and in Assyria respectively. This division introduced a new factor into the politics of the ancient world. One need not have been a prophet to have forecast a friction between the brothers in the near future. Tadmor suggests that the "conflict with Baal was ended by a compromise in 668 (?)"¹⁴⁵. Certainly there was an interchange between Baal and Ashurbanipal: perhaps the office of the qêpu was abolished, for we do not hear anything about him.

Thus, in the first campaign of Ashurbanipal against Egypt in 667 B.C.E. "22 kings from the seashore" participated in the Assyrian army. For so we read:

"During my march (to Egypt) 22 kings from the seashore, the islands and the mainlands, servants who belong to me, brought heavy gifts to me and kissed my feet. I made these kings accompany my army over the land — as well as (over) the sea-route with their armed forces and their ships (respectively)"¹⁴⁶.

Shall we assume that "islands" were put, purposely, before "mainlands" in this record, because in a list of these kings (made up of the fragments

132 This place should be identified with Tartessus in Cilicia (thus also Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties*, 4); contra Schulten, who identifies it with "his" Tartessos in Spain (A. Schulten, *Tartessos*², Hamburg 1950, 29).

133 ANET², 290a.

134 The date of the expected eclipse was 27/28 of December 671 B.C.E. (cf. B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila*, Amsterdam 1965, 43).

135 Cf. B. Landsberger, *ibid.*, 43.

136 ANET *Suppl.*, 626b; B. Landsberger, *ibid.*, 43 note 65.

137 Mugallu was the ruler of Tabal (in Cilicia). His tribute consists of "large horses" (Luckenbill, AR II, § 781). He appears in another document from the sixth year of Esarhaddon (ANET², 303a).

138 ANET *Suppl.*, 626b.

139 Ibru = חבר

140 Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 112; ANET², 292b.

141 ANET², 295b-296a; Luckenbill AR II, §§ 779-780.

142 Luckenbill, AR II, § 781.

143 ANET², 303a.

144 November 669 B.C.E.; ANET², 303a; 303b.

145 H. Tadmor, Mesopotamia, *Encycl. Biblica* V (1968), cols. 107-108 (Hebrew).

146 ANET², 294.

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of a number of inscriptions¹⁴⁷) we again find Baal as the leader, and Baal lived on "an island"! Surely on his way to Egypt Baal, as all the other kings of "Ebir-nâri"¹⁴⁸, appeared before the new king in order to swear an oath of allegiance. There (where?) they were asked not only to provide the Assyrian army with the necessary provisions, but also had to put auxiliary forces¹⁴⁹ at Ashurbanipal's disposal. Baal's assistance (and that of the kings of Arvad and Byblos) surely included providing the necessary ships mentioned in the Assyrian inscription.

We have already said that Baal was the first of all the kings, followed again by Manasseh in that list¹⁵⁰. A comparison of the list with that earlier list of Esarhaddon¹⁵¹ is of interest. One may almost claim that they are identical, for only two new names appear in it, a new king in Arvad and a new king of Beth Ammon. Thus a possibility exists that the son copied the list of the father. But it is interesting to consider that the scribe may have known that Baal was one of the leaders, if not still *the* leader among the kings. It is possible, in our opinion, that Baal took advantage of the change of kings in Assyria, and came to an agreement with Ashurbanipal in the beginning of his reign¹⁵².

In 664 B.C.E. Tirhakah died and his nephew Tanuatamûn ascended the throne and reigned for eight years¹⁵³. This new Pharaoh incited all the local minor kings and with their help drove the Assyrians out of Egypt.

But in 663 B.C.E. Ashurbanipal again marched against Egypt. Memphis was retaken, and ten days later the Assyrians entered Thebes¹⁵⁴ (cf. Nahum 3 : 8-10). Obviously Baal had overestimated the Egyptian revolt, and thus disregarded not only the wishes of his overlord, but also apparently rebelled against the Assyrian king. For thus we read: "In my

147 ANET², 294a; Luckenbill, AR II, §§ 874, 876.

148 Luckenbill, AR II, § 901.

149 Cf. Deut. 17:16 and E. Meyer's commentary to this verse (E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Leipzig 1912, 34).

150 ANET², 294a-b; Luckenbill, AR II, § 876. Although prism C was edited in 646 B.C.E., we may rightly assume that the list is earlier than that year (cf. Iakinû of Arvad, mentioned in that list, was later murdered, and Ashurbanipal tells us about that death). The prism was, therefore, copied from an earlier edition of the annals (cf. Tadmor, *BAR XXIX* [1966], 100 note 53).

151 ANET², 291a-b.

152 Cf. note 145.

153 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 450.

154 ANET², 295b.

Baal I

third campaign I marched against Baal, king of Tyre, who lives (on an island) amidst the sea, because he did not heed my royal order, did not listen to my personal commands . . ." ¹⁵⁵. Streck suggested dating the campaign against Baal in 668 B.C.E. ¹⁵⁶, i.e. before the first campaign against Egypt, when Tirhakah had revolted and attacked the Assyrian garrisons. There are doubtless some reasons for Streck's view. Still we feel that the words of Ashurbanipal's scribe, "In my third campaign I marched against Baal", are decisive.

For the sequence of the events of this third military action, which was directed against Baal of Tyre we have two texts: the so-called Rassam-Cylinder ¹⁵⁷, and Cylinder B ¹⁵⁸. They read as follows:

Rassam-Cylinder

seized his
communications on
sea and land. I
[thus] intercepted
and made scarce
their food supply
and forced them to
submit to my yoke.

155 ANET², 295b.

156 Streck, *Ashurbanipal*, CCCLXIX, esp. note 2; this opinion was apparently adopted by Saggs, *Babylon*, 128.

157 ANET², 295b-296a; Luckenbill, AR II, §§ 779 ff.

158 Luckenbill, AR II, §§ 847 ff.

Cylinder B

In my third campaign I
marched against Baal,
king of Tyre, who lives
(on an island) amidst the
sea, because he did not
heed my royal order,
did not listen to
my personal commands.
I surrounded him
with redoubts,

[to prevent the escape] of
his people. I kept a strong
guard [on the watch].
On sea and the dry land
I seized his roads, I
prevented him from going
[anywhere], I let little
water and food, which would
keep them alive, reach
their mouth. I threw a
mighty unescapable cordon
around them.

He brought his own
daughter and the
daughters of his
brothers before me
to do menial services.
At the same time he
brought his son
Iahimilki who had
not [yet] crossed the
sea to greet me as
[my] slave. I received
from him his daughter
and the daughters of
his brothers with great
dowries. I had mercy
upon him and returned
to him the son,
the offspring of
his loins.

The earthworks which I
had thrown up against
Baal, king of Tyre, I tore
down. Wherever I had
seized his communications
on sea and on land, I
opened them up. Rich
[heavy] tribute I received
from him. I returned . . . to
Nineveh, . . . The princes of
the midst of the sea, and
the kings dwelling in the
high mountains, saw the
might [which accomplished]
these deeds of mine, and
were afraid of my majesty
[respected my rule].

Iakinlû king of
Arvad

living (also) on
an island who had
not submitted to
the kings, my
fathers, submit
to my yoke . . .
and he kissed my
feet.

Mugallu king of
Tabal

. . . he kissed my
feet.

who had not submitted to
the kings, my fathers,
submitted to my yoke.

We may surmise that Ashurbanipal himself directed the operations against Tyre. A state of siege was not only proclaimed, but put into effect with great intensity. But Baal capitulated very quickly. He himself crossed over to the mainland and asked for forgiveness. As a sign of his total submission Baal brought with him the crown-prince (?) Iahimilki¹⁵⁹ to offer him as a hostage for his loyalty in the future. We believe that the words "he had not yet crossed the sea" indicate that Iahimilki was still very young¹⁶⁰.

It may be in consequence of this revolt of Baal that the mainland (perhaps only part of it) (we think that the springs and the graveyard, perhaps also the wharves were not included) became an Assyrian province: *matŠurru* (the land Tyre)¹⁶¹. In an Assyrian inscription we have in the Eponym List an Assyrian high official named Bel-shadûa as governor of the "Land of Tyre"¹⁶². Forrer suggested either 639 or 637 as the year called on his name. There can be no doubt that Ashurbanipal

159 cf. *KAI* nos. 4, 6, 7.

160 Cf. the royal Judean family at this time: Amon was ca. 16 years old, when Josiah was born to him. There can be no doubt that Amon was not the first-born of Manasseh.

161 Winckler, *KAT*³, 187; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66–67, 70.

162 Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 70; we cannot follow Ungnad's notion that Bêl-sadûa is identical with Bêl-Harrân-sadûa, the governor of Kar-Ashur-aḥa-iddina (= Sidon) (*RLA* I [1938], 446). Bêl-Harrân-sadûa is mentioned in the Assyrian Eponym List for the year 650 B.C.E. (Thiele, *MNHK*, 292). One should not forget that the Assyrian province of "Sidon" was already created in 677 B.C.E.

was very proud of his victory over Baal. In one of the dedicatory texts the Assyrian king boasts: "Ashurbanipal, the great king . . . who established the yoke . . . over Tyre, which is in the midst of the Upper Sea . . ." ¹⁶³. Furthermore, Baal's capitulation made a great impression on many other kings of the western seashore, as certainly in consequence of Baal's surrender both Iakinlû of Arvad and Mugallu of Tabal submitted to the Assyrian king ¹⁶⁴.

Baal must have continued to enjoy special rights and privileges on the mainland of Tyre; perhaps a new treaty was drawn up between both kings. For thus we interpret the words of Ashurbanipal: "Wherever I had seized his roads on sea or on the dry land, I opened them up" ¹⁶⁵. With this account of the third campaign we hear for the last time about Baal. Still we wonder whether more "western kings" were not involved in the rebellion of Baal. We have already spoken about the king of Arvad and the king of Tabal, but we think that Manasseh of Judah was also involved in that revolt, for we are much inclined to connect the capture of Manasseh and his exile to "Babylon" (II Chron. 33: 11) with these events ¹⁶⁶. One should not forget that Ashurbanipal's second campaign against Egypt is dated in the year 663 B.C.E. and that Amon, Manasseh's son and successor was born about that year. We may wonder, indeed, whether Amon was not named after the Egyptian god! If there already was an understanding between Manasseh and the new Egyptian Pharaoh, we may be allowed to assume a connection between Baal and Manasseh as well, a connection based on very good tradition, as we have learnt. This may explain an Assyrian expedition to Jerusalem. For Manasseh was arrested by some Assyrian commanders of the army. However, the general notion of the scholars is to connect Manasseh's arrest with the great revolt of Babylon against Assyria (652-648 B.C.E.) ¹⁶⁷. At that time Egypt had made itself again independent, and had been lost, therefore, to Assyria ¹⁶⁸.

Since Manasseh returned as a "true Assyrian vassal", he surely abstained from any further conspiracy against his overlord. However the real

end of the third bloc of kings was synonymous with Baal's capitulation. If Baal had succeeded Eloulaïos, he would now have ruled for more than thirty years. We think that many more years can be hardly added to Baal's reign over Tyre. Thus about the end of Baal's long rule, which he started with great success, Tyre became more isolated than it had ever been in its long history. We can assume that there was not much in common between Baal's successor in Tyre and the "now Assyrian minded" Manasseh ¹⁶⁹.

Classical tradition has preserved a hint of the difficult situation in which Tyre found itself, cut off from its mainland possessions. For we are told that the Carthagenians founded their first colonies ca. 654 B.C.E., when they took possession of the Balearic Islands 160 years after the foundation of Carthage ¹⁷⁰. Some time later, approximately in 644/43 B.C.E. ¹⁷¹ Ashurbanipal was campaigning against some northern Arabian tribes for the second time. On his return from that expedition he had to suppress the rebellion of the towns of Ushu and Akko. The text reads as follows:

"On my return march I conquered the town of Ushu, the emplacement of which is on the seacoast. I killed those inhabitants of Ushu who did not obey their governors refusing to deliver the tribute which they had to pay annually . . . Their images and the [surviving] people I led as booty to Assyria. I [also] killed those inhabitants of Akko who were not submissive hanging their corpses on poles which I placed around the city. The others I took to Assyria . . ." ¹⁷².

As we have already indicated, there is a good reason to believe that this revolt was instigated by the Tyrian king, which shows clearly that in all these years Tyrian influence had not diminished. On the other hand

163 Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 970.

164 *ibid.*, §§ 780, 781, 848.

165 *ibid.*, § 848.

166 Perhaps the story in Ezra 4:10 should be connected with Baal's revolt; cf. supra note 110; however the exile to Babylon points to a later date of Manasseh's arrest (cf. infra).

167 Cf. J. Liver, Manasseh, *Encyclop. Biblicā* V (1968), col. 43 (Hebrew).

168 Kienitz, Ägypten, 12.

169 Cf. the pro-Egyptian revolt against Amon, king of Judah, plotted by the high officials of the king in Jerusalem in 640 B.C.E., and the immediate, strong (pro-Assyrian) reaction of the aristocracy in Jerusalem (II Kings 21:23-24) (cf. also Malamat, *IEJ* 3 [1953], 26 ff.).

170 Diodorus Siculus V, 16, 1-3.

171 Both dates, that of Forrer: between 639 and 637 (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66), and that of Streck: between ca. 640 to 638 (Streck, *Ashurbanipal*, I, CCCLXI) are wrong. The Rassam-Cylinder has to be dated ca. 643/42 (H. Tadmor, in *Proceedings of 25th Intern. Congress of Orient.* I, Moscow 1964, 240 ff.).

172 *ANET*², 300b; after that date the Assyrian army no longer came to Greater Syria.

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we do not know whether this was a revolt of the province "matŠurru" only¹⁷³, or whether the deportation of the inhabitants of Samaria also took place at this very time. This latter event may have occurred some years later, after Ashurbanipal took Susa (cf. Ezra 4: 9-10)¹⁷⁴. However we may assume that the deportation of the "Phoenicians" of Ushu and Akko must have caused great concern to the Tyrian king, and that this revolt occurred after the death of Baal I.

There is yet another point in that text of Ashurbanipal which deserves our special attention. Both the sequence and the text of this record stress the importance of Ushu. Here the governors (pl.!) resided; here the tribute had to be paid annually. But on the other hand, the island of Tyre did not belong to that Assyrian province¹⁷⁵. Thus Tyre had not yet regained political hold of its former territory on the mainland.

In the Eponym List (for one of the years of 64X-63X) the name of the governor of Zemer is given¹⁷⁶. This is the last mention of Phoenicia that we have yet found in any Assyrian text, and we may say that in Ashurbanipal's last years of reign (he died in 627 B.C.E.), the disruption of the mighty Assyrian empire had already begun. Only then was Tyre, like all the other western countries, able to regain its former territories on the mainland, only to lose them again after a period of about 45 years.

173 Thus i.a. Winckler, *AOF* I, 526; Streck, *Assurbanipal* I, CCCLXX; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 66.

174 Streck, *Assurbanipal* I, CCCLXIV ff.; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, Tübingen 1949, 36.

175 Contra Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 67.

176 After 648 B.C.E., perhaps in 636? : Mannu-ki-ahhê (J. Kohler/A. Ungand, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1913, no. 301: line 22).

CHAPTER XII

Tyre in the Neo-Babylonian Period

WE MAY say that the liberation of the Phoenician coast towns from the overlordship of the Assyrians started in the last ten years of Ashurbanipal's long reign (668-627 B.C.E.¹). The palace-revolt against Amon, king of Judah, and his assassination by the "servants of Amon" (II Kings 21: 23) in 640 B.C.E. show clearly that there was a strong party in Jerusalem which thought that the time was ripe to shake off the Assyrian yoke and to make an alliance with Egypt². Psammetichus I (664-610 B.C.E.³), the real founder of the 26th Egyptian Dynasty (the Sais' Dynasty), had established the independence of Egypt in about 655 B.C.E. by refusing to pay the annual tribute to Ashurbanipal⁴. At that very time Psammetichus did not rule over the whole of Egypt, but only over the Delta and Middle Egypt.

After having consolidated his hold over Upper and Lower Egypt, Psammetichus revived the old Egyptian interests in western Asia. Both the revolt in Judah against the pro-Assyrian minded king, and Herodotus's story about a twenty-nine-years siege of the town of Azotus (a "great town in Syria"⁵), hint at this Egyptian activity in western Asia, and at

1 There is still a discussion about the year of Ashurbanipal's death. Oppenheim (apud *ANET*², 294b) still writes 633 B.C.E.; Saggs gives the year 626 as the last year (H. W. F. Saggs, *Babylon*, 134). The latest correction is now 627 B.C.E. (Borger, *JCS* XIX [1965], 60 ff.; Oates, *IRAQ* XXVII [1965], 158; Tadmor, *BAr* XXIX [1966], 101).

2 Cf. Malamat, *IEJ* 3 (1953) 26 ff.

3 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 451; these dates have been propounded on a new research conducted by R. A. Parker (*Mitteilungen d. deutschen Instituts f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo* XV [1957], 212); similarly E. Hornung, who wants to base the death year on an Egyptian record which tells us about an eclipse of the sun (=September 610 B.C.E.) at the time when the body of Psammetichus I underwent the process of embalming (*ZÄS* 92, 1 [1965], 38-39); cf. also Freedy & Redford, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 474. The beginning of his reign is clear, because we know that Psammetichus counted his regnal years from the death of Taharka in 664 B.C.E.

4 Cf. Luckenbill, *AR* II, § 785; Kientiz, *Ägypten*, 16.

5 Herodotus II, 157.

Egyptian penetration into Philistia ⁶. These campaigns were carried out with the help of Greek mercenary troops ⁷, who now became the picked troops of the Egyptian Pharaoh. These Egyptian campaigns are also mentioned in much later times, in the *Chronicles of Nabopolassar*, which provide a vivid picture of the operations of Egyptian troops in far Assyria in the years 616 and 610 B.C.E. ⁸. We also feel that the prophet Zephaniah alludes to these Egyptian activities in his geographical enumeration of the main Philistine cities, which proceeds from the south to the north: Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron (Zeph. 2:4) ⁹.

Slowly, and at the beginning certainly with utmost caution, Josiah of Judah followed this policy of shaking off the Assyrian yoke. Judah's borders were expanded into the south, west ¹⁰, and especially into the north (cf. II Chron. 34:6); and perhaps in its last stages even to Dan (cf. Jer. 4:15; 8:16) ¹¹. This is also the time of the liberation of the towns of Hamat, Arpad, and Damascus, former Assyrian provinces. In other words, the Assyrian empire was vanishing and its heir had not yet appeared. All the petty states tried to share in the spoils, for Egypt was not yet ready to assume the leadership in western Asia, and Babylon was only in its infancy. In those years, Tyre was able to reestablish its hold on the continent, and apparently did so. The state of Sidon was also revived, and we may even say that Sidon preceded the reestablishment of the Tyrian foothold on the mainland, and that a new line of kings started to rule in Sidon from these days. We can but wonder from whence Tyre derived the power for its development, but one point is sure: Tyre again became the leading city on the Phoenician coast, for in all the sources at our disposal — alas, they are not many — it is always mentioned in the first place among its sister towns. We would like to suggest that the old borders of Tyre were also valid for this period: in the south the Carmel, and in the north the Nahr ez-Zaharâni, for

6 This is Petrie's opinion, based on the results of his excavations at Daphne (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egypt & Israel*, London 1923, 87); cf. Herodotus II, 30.
7 Herodotus II, 154; Kienitz, *Ägypten*, i.a. 37; Meyer, *GA* III, 146 ff.
8 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 44, 45.
9 This interpretation is in contrast to the general opinion which connects this prophecy with the Scythian invasion (i.a. Eissfeldt, *Einleitnug*^s, 573).
10 Naveh, *IEJ* 12 (1962), 89 ff.
11 The "official" political border, maybe until the beginning of the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.E., was "from Geba to Beersheba" (II Kings 23:8).

Zarephath must have been included in the Tyrian territory ¹².

We cannot underestimate the deep feelings arising in Tyre from the recovery of these lost territories; we sense these feelings in the words of the Hebrew prophets directed against Tyre. In the prophecies of Zephaniah, the Tyrian Baal is still the first foreign deity; he even precedes Assyrian astral worship (Zeph. 1:4). Phoenician traders may be alluded in verses 10 ¹³ and 11. Whether one should also connect the "foreign garments (verse 8) with the famous Phoenician garments is open to discussion.

In these crucial years (in the eighth decade of the seventh century B.C.E.) three main events happened in the region with which we are dealing: the death of Ashurbanipal in 627 B.C.E. and the quick downfall of the Assyrian empire; the rise of a new power, Babylon; and the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem (in 622 B.C.E.). Tyre benefitted from the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, but it was to suffer from the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire. For it should not only lose its long hegemony and valiant leadership among the Phoenician coastal towns, but also go through the hardest years and reach the lowest point in its long and illustrious history.

During this transition period kings and peoples looked to the past in order to be guided in the present ¹⁴. Most outstanding among these kings was Ashurbanipal. This "royal scholar" ¹⁵ collected the most extensive library known to that time, and was also responsible for the research and copying of old texts ¹⁶. Albright has pointed out that Sanchuniaton, on whose authority Philo Byblius based his "Greek epitome" about the Phoenician religion ¹⁷, "seems to have flourished about the seventh century B.C.E." ¹⁸. But what a great difference between the genealogies

12 In the Persian period, when Sidon was the leading town on the southern Phoenician coast, Zarephath belonged to Tyre; it was Tyre's most northern point in the description of the coast by Pseudoscylax (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, Paris 1855, § 104).
13 It may be that the Fish Gate (one of the northern gates of Jerusalem) derived its name from the fish-market in its vicinity. In this respect we would like to remind the reader that the "Tyrians living in Jerusalem also brought in fish and all kinds of merchandise..." (Neh. 13:16).
14 Albright, *FSAC*, 240 ff.
15 Olmstead, *HA*, 489 ff.
16 Cf. the many bilingual and grammatical texts; e.g. a Sumerian dictionary.
17 Latest scientific edition: C. Clemen, "Die Phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos", *MVAG* 42, 3.Heft (Leipzig 1939).
18 Albright, *FSAC*, 175.

of the Phoenician gods and their mythological tales, and the Judean monotheistic doctrine! Even if we may argue that the Phoenician cosmogeny is on a much higher level than the stories of the origin of the Greek gods, it can not be compared with the spiritual message of Jerusalem in the days of Josiah, which would be judged of eternal value.

From the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* we know that in 616 B.C.E. an Egyptian army had reached the Euphrates, and had marched together with the Assyrians against the Babylonians¹⁹. A year later, in 615 B.C.E., the Medes made an alliance with the Babylonian king Nabopolassar, and thereafter the days of the great Assyrian empire were numbered. In 612 B.C.E., after a siege of about three years (?)²⁰, Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, was conquered and sacked²¹. We learn how tremendous an effect this event had in the countries of the western seashore from the oracle about Nineveh in the Book of Nahum, which describes in detail the downfall of that great metropolis. No doubt, the repercussions of this great happening were felt in every corner of the entire Middle East.

In 610 B.C.E. the Egyptians tried in vain to strengthen the remnant of the Assyrian army and to defend the new Assyrian capital Harran. Nabopolassar and his allies, the "Umman-Manda" (= Medes and Scythians), pressed forward, and the combined Assyrian and Egyptian forces retreated west to the Euphrates²². However it should be stressed that until that year there was no real Egyptian overlordship over Greater Syria and Phoenicia²³.

We may assume that Tyre did not participate in these wars actively, but exercised a benevolent neutrality and perhaps contributed a certain amount of monetary support to the war chest of its neighbors and customers. However, we can not say anything definitive about any direct action on the part of Tyre. We only know that there were well established trade connections between Egypt and the Phoenician town-

19 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 12, 44, 54/55; Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 19.

20 Diodorus II, 25-27.

21 Wiseman, *Chronicles*. 45,58/59; Herodotus I, 106; *ANET*², 304b.

22 Wiseman, *ibid.*, 19, 45, 62/63.

23 Yet Malamet believes that "Megiddo (cf. the construction of the palace in Megiddo II) served Psammetichus I as a (further) *Stützpunkt* (next to Ashdod)" (oral communication); cf. also A. Malamet, "The Historical Background of Josiah's Encounter with the Egyptians at Megiddo", *Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Abstracts*, (Jerusalem 1973), A-50.

states in general²⁴, and between Tyre and Egypt in particular. For thus we read in the second book of Herodotus :

"There is a sacred precinct of this king [apparently Herodotus means Psammetichus I²⁵] in Memphis, which is very beautiful, and richly adorned, situated south of the great temple of Hephaestus. Phoenicians from the city of Tyre dwell all around this precinct, and the whole place is known by the name of the *camp of the Tyrians*"²⁶.

There are several points in this short paragraph which may be of interest. This Tyrian "colony" (actually like the trading quarter in Damascus and in Samaria — I Kings 20 : 34) is in the capital of Egypt. It is near the temple of Hephaestus, the god of the artisans²⁷. This quarter belongs to the Tyrians only. Was this only a center of the Tyrian merchants or did it also contain the workshops of the Tyrian metal artists, to whom one should credit (certainly a part of) the so-called "third group" of the famous Phoenician (silver) bowls²⁸. Apparently the political relations between Egypt and Tyre, which were certainly strong in the days of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, were also interwoven by trade relations and strong commercial bonds and mutual interests, and they were immediately resumed when Egypt became again a powerful state.

There is an Egyptian source which may provide a hint regarding a possible agreement about mutual mercantile quarters in Egypt and in the state of Tyre. On a fragmentary inscription on a statue of Hor, an army commander at Heracleopolis²⁹, we find a reference to the use of "cedar from the (royal) domain"³⁰. This may be interpreted as meaning that a small district in the forests of the Lebanon "belonged" to Pharaoh. If we

24 A statue bearing the name of Psammetichus I has been found in Arvad (Renan, *Mission*, 27); in Tyre a fragment of "une table à libation", the style of which is "très visiblement le style saïte" (*ibid.*, 545). Still we feel that we may not propose any naval operation in regard to the movement of Egyptian troops to distant Assyria via the northern Phoenician coastal towns (e.g. via Arvad), because of lack of evidence or sources.

25 Cf. Herodotus II, 153.

26 Herodotus II, 112.

27 The Greek Hepaistos = the Egyptian Ptah (cf. "Hephaistos der Schmied", in *PW* VIII, cols. 330 ff.).

28 Harden, *Phoenicians*, 187 ff.

29 Breasted, *AR* IV, §§ 967 ff.

30 Breasted, *AR* IV, § 970.

accept Breasted's conjecture that this inscription belongs to the days of Psammetichus I³¹, we could argue for a trade-agreement between Egypt and Tyre in about 635–610 B.C.E.

In this connection we would like to remind the reader of the fact that "the finds at Carthage indicate that genuine Egyptian amulets and trinkets reached there in some quantities during the period of the 26th Egyptian dynasty, but far fewer of them arrived at the end of the sixth century"³². With the foundation of the Dynasty of Saïs (= 26th Dynasty) a renaissance of the old Egyptian culture was ushered in. It was also accompanied by a "new wave of Phoenician adaption and imitation" in the field of art³³, for example, the silver bowls which were found in Cyprus and in Italy, and which belong partly to the second half of the seventh century B.C.E.³⁴. One of them even bears the name of a Phoenician master³⁵. These artists must have worked according to Egyptian patterns; may be some of the bowls were made in the "camp of the Tyrians" in Memphis. These are the last examples of the Phoenician mixed art style.

Reverting to the general political situation, we learn on account of a statement in the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* that "Aššur-uballit and the army of Eg[yp]t (?)... abandoned the city (= Harran) and... crossed [the river Euphrates]"³⁶. Thus reads the entry for the 16th year of Nabopolassar (= 610 B.C.E.); according to which the Egyptian army had to retreat to Syria, and was stationed there in order to reattack the next spring. We feel, however, that after each campaign each adversary both Egypt and Babylon thought it had achieved the victory. We may assume that the main bulk of the Egyptian army returned home, exactly as the Babylonian king went home. Whether the army was dismissed and recalled for a new campaign, is hard to determine, as the circumstances of the events must have dictated the decision. Even if the Egyptians kept a small nucleus of mercenaries in Greater Syria, surely there were no Egyptian garrisons or strongpoints there at that time. It is certainly no accident that the mentioning of the Egyptian armies in the *Chronicles*

31 Breasted, *AR* IV, p. 494 note g; the political situation for this Egyptian inscription would coincide better with the five years when Pharaoh Necho II was the overlord of Phoenicia too.

32 Harden, *Phoenicians*, 162.

33 Albright, *The Role of the Canaanites*, 350.

34 I.a. Moscati, *Phoenicians*, 66 ff.; 73–75.

35 *ibid.*, 74–75; fig. 23.

36 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 62/63.

of *Chaldaean Kings* is always connected with the months of the later summer/autumn: in Tishri 616³⁷, in Marcheshvan 610³⁸, and in Tamuz-Elul 609³⁹. We may therefore reason that these dates clearly show that the Egyptian army was campaigning each year in the north (cf. "it was in his (Josiah of Judah) reign that Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt set out for (the help of) the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates..." [II Kings 23: 29]; this was in the early summer!). Nor do we know whether the Egyptian army returned by land, or whether part — perhaps most — went by ships, using the Phoenician ports (?). But it should be noted that it was in the days of Psammetichus I that a new Egyptian navy came into existence. Its mariners were chiefly Greek colonists⁴⁰, but evidently they could not compete with the Phoenician sailors, for Necho made use of Phoenician crews and ships for the circumnavigation of Africa⁴¹.

In the last years of Psammetichus I (ca. 612–610 B.C.E.), the Scythians tried to invade Egypt. Apparently they by-passed the Phoenician coast⁴². Herodotus relates that they invaded Palestine with the intention to march against Egypt for plunder⁴³. They were met by Psammetichus in the Philistine countries (*ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ*) certainly south of Ashkelon⁴⁴, "with gifts and prayers and he (= Psammetichus) prevailed on them to advance no further".

In the last days of December 610 (or in the early January 609 B.C.E.)⁴⁵. Psammetichus I died after a long reign of fifty-four years, at a time when the great Assyrian empire was disappearing from the political map. He was succeeded by his son Necho II, who ruled Egypt for fifteen years (609–595/4 B.C.E.)⁴⁶. It was Psammetichus's political far-sight-

37 *ibid.*, 44.

38 *ibid.*, 45.

39 *ibid.*, 45.

40 Gardiner, *Egypt*, 356.

41 Herodotus IV, 42.

42 Cf. the Greek name of Beth-Shean: Scythopolis (Schürer, *GJV*⁴ II, 170 f.).

43 Herodotus I, 105.

44 The Scythians destroyed and took spoil of the temple of Aphrodite in Ashkelon on their return from the meeting with Psammetichus.

45 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 157–158; Gardiner, *Egypt*, 451; however, according to the chronology of E. Hornung, Psammetichus I died in the late summer of 610 B.C.E. (Hornung, *ZAS* 92, 1 [1965], 38–39); if this is correct, then the retreat of the Egyptian forces to Syria could be connected with the change of kings in Egypt.

46 Necho II surely ruled until May 594 B.C.E. (Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 158);

edness that recognized the potential dangers for the western countries that would arise from the alliance of the Medes and the Babylonians. But apparently he was not willing to expand the political boundaries of Egypt even as far as Syria. Because of his policy the Phoenician town-states and the other countries in western Asia enjoyed a relatively peaceful period.

Now, with the beginning of Necho's reign, the father's cautious line was forgotten by the son, and an active policy of Egyptian expansion was inaugurated⁴⁷. In early summer 609 B.C.E. Pharaoh Necho "marched up to attack Carchemish on the Euphrates" (II Chron. 35 : 20)⁴⁸. According to the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, the siege of Harran by the Assyrian and the Egyptians had started in Tammuz 609 B.C.E., and had ended, without any result, in Elul of that year⁴⁹. Apparently the Egyptian forces recrossed the Euphrates (successfully). Thus that river became the border between the "Egyptian province of Asia" and the Babylonian kingdom for a number of years. Whether a "real" Assyria remained on the west bank, we do not know, but it is certain that the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* include no further mention of the Assyrians⁵⁰.

Necho took up residence in Riblah (cf. II Kings 23 : 33), in the province of Hamath⁵¹. Here, Jehoahaz of Judah appeared before Pharaoh

according to the chronology of Freedy/Redford: 610 (late summer) — 594 (late summer), (*JAOS* 90 [1970], 474).

47 Contra Kienitz who states: "Der Thronwechsel in Ägypten bedeutete keinen Wechsel in der Aussenpolitik" (Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 20).

48 Kienitz speaks about two campaigns of Necho: one in 609 B.C.E. by an Egyptian army with the aim of conquering Harran, and the second, under Necho's personal command in the spring of 608 (Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 21). But his argument is wrong. As King Josiah met his death by Necho in about Sivan (June) 609 B.C.E. in the battle at Megiddo (cf. Tadmor, *Chronology*, cols. 274–275), one can hardly propound an Egyptian spring campaign made in the same year. Malamat thought the Scythians marched "into Syria and Palestine in Adar (March) 609, pursuing the Egyptians from the Euphrates to the Egyptian border" (A. Malamat, *IEJ* 1 [1950/51], 156—157). He also thinks that in "Nissan-Sivan (April-June) 609: the Scythians are halted by Psamtik", then Psammetichus dies (following "his surrender to the Scythians?") and Necho "dispatches urgent military aid to the remnants of the Assyrian army..." (*ibid.*, 157).

49 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 45, 62/63.

50 *ibid.*, 19.

51 The distance, as the crow flies, between Riblah and Carchemish is nearly the same as between Riblah and Megiddo.

after a reign of only three months (ca. Sivan/Tammuz to Elul = June/July to September 609 B.C.E.). In Riblah, all the political decisions were reached, and all the new arrangements for the Egyptian province of "Asia" were made (cf. II Kings 23 : 33–35), i.e. a new king, by the grace of Pharaoh, was installed in Jerusalem, and a heavy tribute was extorted from Judah.

Apparently Necho had mustered his troops immediately after his ascension to the throne, and the attendant ceremonies, in order to come to the assistance of the Assyrian in late spring of 609 B.C.E. The Bible contains important allusions to this campaign and Necho's haste to arrive in time at the scene of action. We learn that "in his [Josiah's] days Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt set out for the river Euphrates to help the king of Assyria⁵², and king Josiah went out against him, and he [Necho] killed him [Josiah] in Megiddo⁵³, when he met him" (II Kings 23 : 29). In the parallel text in the *Book of Chronicles* we have more particulars. (Apparently there was a "talk" between the two kings [II Chron. 35 : 20–22].) This is not the place to examine the texts, but there can be no doubt that Pharaoh tried to persuade Josiah to fall in line with his policy.

One must try to understand the political line adopted by the king of Judah. We are almost certain that no treaty existed between Judah and Babylonia at that time. But there was a certain danger that Necho, as an ally of Assyria, would demand the re-surrender of the former Assyrian provinces (i.e. Megiddo⁵⁴, Samaria) annexed by Josiah either in the name of the Assyrian or even for himself. To this we have to add the deep religious hatred against Egypt that existed in Judah⁵⁵, and

52 Necho's aim, to help the Assyrians, is also stressed by Josephus: "Nechaô, the king of Egypt, . . . marched toward the Euphrates River to make war on the Medes and the Babylonians who had overthrown the Assyrian empire . . ." (*Ant.* X, 74).

53 Cf. Winckler, who proposed to read Migdal (= Migdal Ashtoret = Straton's Tower = Caesarea) (Winckler, *KAT*³, 105); cf. also Herodotus II, 159; but if the text is already amended, one should prefer Migdal on the Egyptian frontier (cf. Ezek. 29:10) (i.e. Abel, *GP* II, 387; Montgomery, *Kings* 537). It is quite unlikely that Pharaoh Necho bypassed Judah, and that Josiah opposed him only at the northern border of Judah. Still this does not exclude any encounter between the kings at Megiddo itself (cf. II Chron. 35:22).

54 Cf. i.e. Bright, *Israel*, 300; 303; but see also note 23.

55 Cf. the strong religious anti-Egyptian note in the "law of the king" (Deut. 17:16).

the strong influence of the anti-Egyptian party, the *am-ha'aretz*, who had opposed the pro-Egyptian palace-revolt against Amon (cf. II Kings 21:24)⁵⁶. Josiah failed to judge the new political constellation correctly, and he paid for this misjudgment with his death. By this defeat Judah became vassal to the Egyptian king.

We may assume that the Phoenician town-states tried to stand aloof from the Egyptian campaign, as long it was directed against the east. Apparently Pharaoh hurried to the river Euphrates via Gaza, Megiddo, Hazor, Riblah, Hamath and Carchemish, thus bypassing the land of Tyre. But with the organization of the new Egyptian province of "Asia" the Phoenician merchant princes had to fall into line. Courteous, mutual relations were continued, as they had been in the days of Psammetichus, certainly on a reciprocal basis. The mercantile relations were as cordial as in the time of Necho's father.

We find a hint of such relations in a Babylonian document (i.e. one hostile to Egypt) from the days of Nebuchadnezzar. Here, in the so-called Wadi Brisa Inscription, we read (col. IX, 23-24): "... (this Lebanon) over which a foreign enemy was ruling and robbing (it of) its riches..."⁵⁷. This clearly should express the "anti-Egyptian" attitude of the local inhabitants. We believe that the "foreign enemy" was Egypt⁵⁸, and that Necho had a "royal domain" in the Lebanon, as his father had had, which would be an indication of good relations between Egypt and the Phoenicians. On the other hand the relations between Egypt and Judah became those of an overlord and a vassal. A new king by the grace of Pharaoh was installed and a very heavy contribution was imposed on Judah (II Kings 23:33-35 = II Chron. 36:3-4)⁵⁹.

For the next two years (608-607 B.C.E.) we have no sources which could throw much light on the events in Greater Syria. Perhaps one should date the famous cup-vision of Jeremiah (25:15 ff.) in this period of time. Here Egypt leads the list of nations, and Ashkelon is the first city of the Philistine coastal towns. (It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in December 604 B.C.E.) Babylon and its king are still outside the view of the prophet. Contra Rudolph⁶⁰ we see no reason to

56 Even after the death of Josiah the anti-Egyptian *am-ha'aretz* (= the pro-Assyrian party) crowned Jehoahaz instead of his elder brother (II Kings 23:30).

57 ANET², 307a.

58 Cf. also Winckler, *AOF* I, 506.

59 The book of kings gives more particulars.

60 W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 140 ff.; we emphasize this point, because in general

doubt the authenticity of v. 22: "... all the kings of Tyre, all the kings of Sidon, and the kings of the coasts and islands". (The MT reads "... and all the kings of the island, which is beyond the sea"; one may think of Cyprus.)

The *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* name, for the first time, the Babylonian crown-prince Nebuchadnezzar as co-commander with his father in a campaign "to the mountains of Za..." in Sivan (April) 607 B.C.E.⁶¹. In Kislev (December) of that same year the town of Kimuhu, which was a strategic point commanding a river-crossing of the Euphrates⁶², was re-taken by the Babylonian army. By this action the Egyptian garrisons on that side of the Euphrates were threatened, and the Egyptians counterattacked and reconquered the town after a siege of four months. The entire Babylonian garrison was killed. Swollen by this victory, the Egyptian forces pressed on, and crossing the river en masse they defeated the Babylonians at Quramati in Shebat (middle of January) 605⁶³. This last Egyptian operation was directed from Carchemish. It shows clearly that Necho had a firm hold in Greater Syria, and that all the many petty states were with him. The town of Carchemish, far from Tyre and Sidon, was now the center of the Egyptian army's operations against Babylonia. No more mention about the Assyrians!

But the Babylonians reacted very swiftly. Although the king, apparently not in good health, stayed in "his own land" in 605 B.C.E., crown-prince Nebuchadnezzar "mustered the Babylonian army... and he marched to Carchemish..."⁶⁴. This campaign started about July 605 B.C.E.⁶⁵. Here in the vicinity of Carchemish the armies clashed, and

Rudolph sees in this vision "a collection of genuine words of Jeremiah" (*ibid.*, 139); not so Bardtke, who states that the "Völkerliste" (Jer. 25:18-26) spricht gegen die Verfasserschaft des Jeremia" (Bardtke, *ZAW* 53 [1935], 233); cf. also the same sequence in chapter 27: Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon; still this is said without fixing any possible dependency of one chapter on the other. The same applies to the possibility of any relationship between these chapters and the oracles against the nations (Jer. 46 ff.). The reasons are obvious.

61 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 20, 64/65.

62 *ibid.*, 21.

63 *ibid.*, 46, 66/67.

64 *ibid.*, 66/67.

65 Nabopolassar died after a twenty-one year reign on the 8th of Ab (=August 15) 605 B.C.E. (cf. Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 12). Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne on the first day of Elul (=September 7, 605) (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 68/69).

Egyptian forces were totally routed by the Babylonians (cf. Jer. 46 : 2 ff.)⁶⁶. The Babylonians pursued the "rest of the Egyptian army" into the "district of Hamath, . . . overtook and defeated them so that not a single man [escaped] to his own country. At that time Nebuchadrezzar conquered the whole area of the Hatti-country"⁶⁷. At this very hour Nebuchadrezzar received the news about the death of his father, and "he himself with a small escort hurried across the desert to Babylon"⁶⁸. Having ascended the throne, and strengthened his hold in Babylon, Nebuchadrezzar quickly returned to Hatti-land, for thus we read in the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*: "In the 'accession year' Nebuchadrezzar went back to the Hatti-land and until the month of Shebat (February 604) marched unopposed through the Hatti-land; in the month of Shebat he took the heavy tribute of the Hatti-land to Babylon"⁶⁹. By this campaign Nebuchadrezzar consolidated his firm hold over the whole of western Asia. "And the king of Egypt did not leave his own land again, because the king of Babylon had stripped him of all his possessions, from the Torrent of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (II Kings 24 : 7).

In the Book of Daniel we read: "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and laid siege to it" (Dan. 1 : 1)⁷⁰. Certainly such an early siege of Jerusalem is "unlikely". We may assume that on one hand we have here an echo of the victory of Nebuchadrezzar over the Egyptian army, and of the tribute paid regularly by the Judean king to his new Babylonian overlord, and on the other hand a reference to the revolt of Jehoiakim after being Nebuchadrezzar's vassal for a number of years. Thus we also read in the II Kings: "During his reign Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon took the field, and Jehoiakim became his vassal; but three years later he broke with him and revolted" (II Kings 24 : 1).

According to a passage from the third book of Berossus's *History of Chaldaea*, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* X, 220 ff. = *C. Ap.* I, 135 ff.), we

66 Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* X, 86; Wiseman raised the question of whether Necho was in command of the Egyptian forces at the battle of Carchemish (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 24, 28); we have not found any real proof of the presence of Necho.

67 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 68/69.

68 Berossus apud Josephus, *Ant.* X, 222 (= *C. Ap.* I, 137); cf. J. Lewy, *MVAG*, 1924, 2 (29. Jahrgang), Leipzig 1925, 32 ff.

69 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 68/69.

70 About a synchronism, cf. Malamat, *IEJ* 6 (1956), 256.

learn that after the battle of Carchemish and the pursuit of the beaten Egyptian army, Nebuchadrezzar had taken captives "among the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians and peoples of Egypt"⁷¹ (*Ant.* X, 222 = *C. Ap.* I, 136). Our interest is with the "Phoenician" captives. We doubt that there were Tyrian soldiers with the Egyptian forces, as we have not yet found any indication of Tyrian soldiers fighting wars for other people. However it may be quite possible that there were Phoenician "experts and sailors" with Necho's army. The prisoners, so Berossus continues to tell us, were settled "in the most suitable places in Babylonia" (*Ant.* X, 223 = *C. Ap.* I, 138). In 1939 Weidner published some texts dealing with rations allotted to foreigners living in Babylon as captives and/or craftsmen. Here we read i.a. of oil given to ". . . 100 + 90 mariners from Tyre"⁷². The date of this text is the thirteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar (= 592/91 B.C.E.)⁷³. The *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* continue to tell us that "in the first year of Nebuchadrezzar in the month of Sivan (= May/June 604 B.C.E.) he mustered his army and went to Hatti-land, he marched unopposed in the Hatti-land until the month of Kislev (= end of November); all the kings of the Hatti-land came before him (it is not said where), and he received their heavy tribute. He marched to the city of Ashkelon and captured it in the month of Kislev (December). He captured its king . . .". Having destroyed the city, "he marched back to Babylon in the month of Shebat (= January/February

71 The translations of the Greek phrase "καὶ τῶν κατὰ (τὴν) Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν" of both Marcus ("and peoples of Egypt") and of Thackeray ("and those of Egyptian nationality") are erroneous, as already noticed by J. Lewy (*MVAG*, 1924, 2 [29. Jahrgang], Leipzig 1925, 35 note 3). The sense of this phrase is "prisoners of the Jews, of the Phoenicians, of the Syrians, and of the people 'towards' Egypt: i.e. of the Philistines, Moabites, etc. There also may have been Egyptian prisoners, but the point is that Nebuchadrezzar had not yet entered Egypt itself!

72 Weidner, *Jojachin*, 929. As far as Weidner has published this text "B" we find among the Western Sea Peoples who were prisoners (or experts) Arvadians, Byblians, Judeans, Ascolonians, and Egyptians (*ibid.*, 925, 928, 929, 931); surely they may have come to Babylon in different years. However the story of Josephus, about the "captives taken among the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and peoples towards Egypt" (*Ant.* X, 222) has found its Babylonian counterpart.

73 *Ibid.*, 925. (Here Weidner states that text "B" is dated from the 13th year of Nebuchadrezzar; on p. 927 he says that text "C" is the only one dated, namely the 13th year of Nebuchadrezzar; we feel that there is a misprint, but we were unable to check where the misprint lies.

603 B.C.E.)”⁷⁴. We may add that the king of Tyre (we do not know his name) was among those who had to pay their respects to the new Babylonian overlord with the necessary payments of tribute. An echo of the harsh conduct of Nebuchadnezzar toward Ashkelon and toward his vassals may be found in the story of the burning of the scroll of Jeremiah (Jer. 36). It should be stressed that the reading took place in Jerusalem “when a fast was proclaimed in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim” (Jer. 36 : 9). This date is Kislev (December 604 B.C.E.), and “in Kislev he (= the Babylonian king) captured the city of Ashkelon”⁷⁵.

In Nebuchadnezzar’s second (= 603 B.C.E.) and third (= 602) years he campaigned again in Ḥatti-land, and collected the yearly tribute due to him from the kings there. But apparently Nebuchadnezzar believed that he now had to make up for not having pursued the Egyptian army into Egypt itself after his great victory over Pharaoh Necho in 605 B.C.E. Sure of having consolidated his position in Greater Syria, Nebuchadnezzar led his troops against Egypt in the “month of Kislev” in his “fourth year” (= November/December 601 B.C.E.). The *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* adds: “The king of Egypt heard (it) and mustered his army”⁷⁶.

We must interrupt the tale of the *Chronicles* here, and point to the much disputed Aramaic letter of a western king to Pharaoh (apparently Necho II) which was found in Saqqara⁷⁷. Whether it was sent by the king of Gaza, of Ashdod⁷⁸ or of Ashkelon⁷⁹, we do not know; one may

74 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 68/69.

75 Please note that Elishama the scribe (certainly a member of the pro-Egyptian party) is presiding over the meeting of the Judean cabinet, and not the first of the royal officials, namely the Royal Steward. This job apparently was held by Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, who was appointed governor by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 B.C.E. We feel that it was the political attitude of the house of Ahikam-Gedaliah (cf. also Jer. 26 : 24) that prevented the Royal Steward from presiding over the meeting, rather than his youth. (cf. also Katzenstein, *IEJ* 10 [1960], 153—154).

76 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 70/71.

77 Malamet, *IEJ* 18 (1968), 142 ff.; *KAI* no. 266 (cf. also the bibliography there).

78 Malamet, *IEJ* 18 (1968), 143 note 11; Malamet leans toward the king of Gaza as the sender of this letter.

79 Fitzmyer, *Biblica* 46 (1965), 44; but the Weidner-text “B” (cf. note 72) names “2 sons of Aga’ king of Ashkelon” (Weidner, *Jojachin*, 928). This fact should eliminate Ashkelon’s king as the sender of that letter.

even suggest that the sender was a Phoenician king⁸⁰. This last fact would implicate a further ruler (or even king) in this part of Phoenicia, a notion which seems unacceptable to us.

Baal-Shamēm (perhaps also Astarte⁸¹) is mentioned in this letter; the king bears a Semitic name, Adon (perhaps we have to link the next word, m-l-k, to Adon = Adon-milki?). It is because of this Phoenician syncretism that we are mentioning this letter. It also shows the relations of the small countries with Egypt, and the information-system of these princelings, which should serve as a warning to the Egyptian king. Thus Egypt must have had many friends in Greater Syria.

The battle between the Babylonian king and the Egyptian Pharaoh, which must have taken place in the borderland between Egypt and southern Palestine was a great victory for the Egyptian forces. The *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* hints at the Babylonian defeat when it says: “In open battle they smote the breast (of) each other and inflicted great havoc on each other. The king of Akkad (= Nebuchadnezzar) and his troops turned back and returned to Babylon”⁸². It took Nebuchadnezzar nearly two full years to reappear in Syria, for he had to reorganize his cavalry and rebuild the war-chariots, all of which had apparently been lost in that big battle. According to the *Chronicles* for the fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar: “The king of Akkad (stayed) in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers”, and only in his sixth year “in the month of Kislev (= December 599 B.C.E.) the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Ḥatti-land”⁸³.

We may be entitled to connect the revolt of King Jehoiakim (cf. II Kings 24 : 1) with the great victory of the Egyptian army over the Babylonian forces, and also with the resulting inability of the Babylonian king to reappear in Greater Syria in the following year. There were of course, other good reasons which caused the “revolt” of Jehoiakim, who owned his throne to Pharaoh Necho (II Kings 23 : 34). To this we have to add Jehoiakim’s anti-Babylonian inclinations (cf. Jer. 26 : 20 ff.). On the other hand it would appear that the revolt in

80 Cf. the Phoenician Aphek (Jos. 13 : 4).

81 This completion by Donner/Röllig, *KAI* is built on a proposal of Dupont-Sommer (cf. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 111 [1948], 26 note 8); the name of the deity referred to is missing (cf. Bright, *BAR* XII [1949], 48; R. Meyer, *Ein aramäischer Papyrus aus den ersten Jahren Nebukadnezars II, Festschrift f. Fr. Zucker*, Berlin 1954, 258).

82 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 70/71.

83 *ibid.*, 70/71.

Jerusalem did not break out immediately after the battle. The Egyptians themselves were not yet ready to take positive action in Syria, and it may be said that Judah again stood alone in its revolt against Nebuchadnezzar. We read in the Bible that, after Jehoiakim revolted, "the Lord launched against him raiding-parties of Chaldeans, Aramaeans⁸⁴, Moabites, and Ammonites, letting them range through Judah and ravage it..." (II Kings 24:2). This statement is further documented by the entry for the events of the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar in the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*: "In the sixth year in the month of Kislev (December 599 B.C.E.) the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. From Hatti-land he sent out his companies and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Adar (March 598) the king returned to his own country"⁸⁵. The appearance of Nebuchadnezzar in "Hatti-land" was surely enough to dampen any "open" revolt of the many small states, among them Tyre. It may be that the Babylonian king was already encamped in Riblah⁸⁶ (cf. II Kings 25:6), from whence he sent out his army units. Certainly Tyre and its king understood the whole situation, being well informed about the forces at the disposal of both great powers: Babylonia and Egypt. To this one may add the passive attitude taken by Egypt, which did not even move its troops into southern Palestine, just as it had not pursued the Babylonians in December 601/January 600 B.C.E. Furthermore who knows the Phoenician kings were not busy making "war profits" when

84. We feel that the correction of Graetz to read "Edom" instead of "Aram" deserves much more attention (Graetz, *Geschichte* 2/1 354; already hinted at by Graetz in *MGWJ* 25 [1847], 303); contra i.a. Sanda *Könige* II, 367 or Montgomery, *Kings*, 552. To look for support for the term "Aram" in Jer. 35:10 is deceiving, as that verse depends on II Kings 24:2; furthermore Aram no longer existed at this period of time, and this is the only mention of Aram in the whole book of Jeremiah! Therefore, it appears to us that Rudolph's view that "Edom bei S (= the Syriac version) ist ein Schreibfehler" (Rudolph, *Jeremias*, 192) is a much too hasty conclusion (cf. also Jer. 13:19; 27:3). On the other hand the date for this symbolic story is the eve of Jehoiakim's rebellion. Bright suggests that this episode took place "presumably in 599 or 598" (J. Bright, *The Anchor Bible, Jeremiah*, Garden City 1965, 190).

85. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 70/71.

86. Sanda, in his commentary to this passage in the second book of the kings, already made this suggestion (Sanda, *Könige* II, 367). Wiseman suggests "one of the cities under his control: Hamath, Riblah or possibly Kadesh" (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 31).

Nebuchadnezzar had to rebuild "his chariots and horses in great numbers"⁸⁷. These warlike preparations were heard not only in Phoenicia, but were also well known in Judah, for this military preparedness and efficiency of the Babylonians (in spite of their failure against Egypt) are the *leitmotives* of Jeremiah's warnings. However the pro-Egyptian party in Judah had an easy win with a king crowned by the grace of Pharaoh.

In those years Ashdod and Ashkelon had been destroyed, and the Phoenician towns benefited to some extent from the shift of the southern trade. On the other hand the cedar-woods of the Lebanon again played an important role in Nebuchadnezzar's building program. Thus the "neutrality" of Tyre and its sister cities was not exactly true. Even though they were closer to Egypt, their immediate "neighbor" was now Babylon. A victory of the Babylonians would not bring them any harm, a possible victory of Judah (assisted by Egypt) would only change the direction of sending their tribute. And again, instead of the appearance of an Egyptian army in western Asia, Nebuchadnezzar re-appeared in Hatti-land. "In the seventh year, the month of Kislev (December 598/January 597 B.C.E.) the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and encamped against (i.e. besieged) the city of Judah (= Jerusalem), and on the second day of the month of Adar (= 15/16th March 597 B.C.E.) he seized the city and captured the king. He appointed there a king of his own choice, received its heavy tribute and sent (them) to Babylon"⁸⁸.

Two important facts can be learned from this entry: a) Judah was the primary object of that year's campaign, and b) nothing is said about any sign of Egyptian help. This last point is also stressed by Josephus who writes: "But in the third year, having heard that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian king, he (Jehoiakim) did not pay him tribute. However he was disappointed in his hopes, for the Egyptians did not venture to undertake the campaign" (*Ant.* X, 88)⁸⁹.

We were, therefore, right in our assumption that Tyre and her sister-towns kept themselves aloof from the revolt of Jehoiakim, who must

87. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 70/71.

88. *ibid.*, 72/73.

89. Josephus apparently alludes to Nebuchadnezzar's unsuccessful campaign against Egypt, when Pharaoh Necho "had heard about the intentions of the Babylonians, and had mustered his army...", he went against the Babylonians (cf. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 70/71).

have died on the eve of the Babylonian campaign against Judah⁹⁰. There can be no doubt that the duration of the siege of Jerusalem, which was started by the "servants of Nebuchadnezzar" (cf. II Kings 24:10) was a very short one. Nebuchadnezzar himself arrived before Jerusalem's walls only after the siege had started (24:11). Apparently the affairs in the Hatti-land, and perhaps some preventive steps against a possible attack from Egypt kept him busy. Jehoiachin, the new king of Judah, was deported to Babylon together with the elite of Jerusalem and the craftsmen and smiths (cf. II Kings 24:14-16). "And he (= Nebuchadnezzar) made Mattaniah, uncle of Jehoiachin, king in his place and changed his name to Zedekiah" (II Kings 24:17; Jer. 37:1). The new king had to swear an oath of allegiance to his Babylonian overlord (II Chron. 36:13; Ezek. 17:13). Josephus gives an "illustration" of the oath: "That he would surely keep the country for him and attempt no uprising nor show friendliness to the Egyptians" (*Ant.* X, 102). We may be sure that all other kings of the Hatti-land had sworn such an oath of allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar.

The *Chronicles* say that in his eighth year Nebuchadnezzar marched "to the Hatti-land as far as Carchemish" in Tebet (= January 596 B.C.E.), and "in the month of Shebat (= February) the king re[turned] to his own land"⁹¹. This very short appearance in a location distant from the many small vassal states show clearly the firm grip Nebuchadnezzar held over Greater Syria. Surely all the kings (with their yearly tribute) had been commanded to appear before him in Carchemish.

The passive attitude of Egypt in connection with its former Asian province is surprising⁹², for we know that Necho was a very active king, judging from his deeds in his first years of reign, and from his activities in Egypt proper. An attempt was made to build a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, perhaps with a dual purpose: for its mercantile value, and to serve as a strategic barrier against possible invasions from Asia. The enterprise, which must have taken many years and which cost the

90 As Jehoiachin reigned only three months (II Kings 24:8), or more exactly three months and 10 days (II Chron. 36:9), and as he was captured on the 2nd of Adar (= 15/16th March) 597 B.C.E., the death of Jehoiakim took place in the first week of December 598 B.C.E., i.e. about two weeks before Nebuchadnezzar left Babylon to march against Judah.

91 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 72/73.

92 Contra Kienitz, who even thinks that there was a "formal agreement" between Necho and Nebuchadnezzar (Kienitz, *Agypten*, 24).

lives of thousands of men, was a failure and had to be stopped⁹³. It was in the days of Necho too that Egypt started to launch a huge building program of a fleet of triremes, a maritime enterprise which must have had the active assistance of the Phoenicians⁹⁴ and have utilized lumber from the Lebanon and Cyprus. Two fleets were built, one in the Red Sea, and one in the Mediterranean⁹⁵. We assume that the Phoenicians were aware of this new challenge to their naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean, but perhaps they counted on the new Egyptian navy as a counterbalance to the Greek fleet.

Even when these new Egyptian ships were mainly manned by Greek sailors, the high prestige in which the Phoenician mariners were held can be recognized by the task Necho imposed on them: the famous circumnavigation of Africa⁹⁶. The Phoenician sailors had orders from Necho to find out whether Africa was surrounded by seas. They sailed from the Red Sea, circumnavigated Africa, entered the Mediterranean via the Pillars of Heracles (= Melqart), and thus returned to Egypt. "It was not till the *third* year that they doubled the Pillars of Heracles, and made good their voyage home"⁹⁷. Herodotus adds: "On their return, they declared — I for my part do not believe them, but perhaps others may — that in sailing round Libya (= Africa) they had the sun upon their right hand". It is this phenomenon in particular, which is the best proof of the Phoenician undertaking⁹⁸.

The British Museum exhibits a "basalt fragment with remains of a figure and a text of Necho (II)"⁹⁹ which was found — according to the seller — in Sidon¹⁰⁰. This may indicate the good relationship that existed between Egypt and the Phoenician town-states, but it certainly does not prove "Necho's control of the Phoenician coast"¹⁰¹. On the contrary, as we have already seen, Hatti-land was firmly in Nebuchadnezzar's grasp. This is reflected in the fact that in his ninth year (596/5 B.C.E.)

93 Herodotus II, 158-159; this canal was re-built in the days of Darius I (cf. Kent, *JNES* I [1942], 419).

94 Herodotus II, 159; IV, 42.

95 Such an enterprise was something new in Egypt's long history!

96 Herodotus IV, 42.

97 *ibid.*

98 G. Sarton, *A History of Science*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1952, 183.

99 Br. Museum no. 25094.

100 Porter/Moss/Burney, *TB*, 384; F. L. Griffith *PSBA* XVI (1894), 90-91 and W. Max Müller's correction, which shows that this statue was dedicated by Necho to "Horus of Byblos" (*ibid.*, 298-299).

101 Contra Gardiner, *Egypt*, 358.

Nebuchadnezzar did not appear in Ḫatti-land; at the time he was engaged in a war on the eastern border of Babylonia. In the following year (595 B.C.E.) a rebellion broke out in Babylon, and its leaders were captured and killed¹⁰². But a certain malicious joy must have been expressed in Ḫatti-land, because immediately after this rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar hurried and "marched to the Ḫatti-land, where kings and [. . .] — officials [came before him] and he [received] their heavy tribute and then returned [to Babylon]"¹⁰³. As the revolt in Babylon was in the months of Kislev to Tebet (= December 595—January 594 B.C.E.), we may assume that Nebuchadnezzar appeared in Ḫatti-land at the end of February/beginning of March 594 B.C.E. The payment of the yearly tribute by all the kings, among them the king of Tyre, indicates once again the extent of the supremacy of the Babylonians in western Asia. In about May 594 B.C.E. Necho II died and was succeeded by his son Psammetichus II, who reigned over Egypt for only six years¹⁰⁴.

The entry for Nebuchadnezzar's eleventh year (594/593 B.C.E.) is the last line in the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, as they have come down to us. Still we can read that "in the month of Kislev the king of Akkad [mustered his] troops [. . .] and marched [to the] Ḫatti-land"¹⁰⁵. We would like to consider the words "he mustered his army". This phrase could be merely a whim of the scribe, but we would like to point out that this formula appears in the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* in the last year of Nabopolassar, when Nebuchadnezzar, as crown-prince, went against the Egyptian army in Carchemish, in the first, second, third and fourth years. (In his fifth year Nebuchadnezzar stayed home, in order to re-organize his forces.) The formula reappears in the sixth and seventh years; in the eighth year it is missing, for Nebuchadnezzar went only as far as Carchemish. In his ninth year he campaigned against Elam; in his tenth it is only said that he marched to the Ḫatti-land in order to receive the tribute. But the formula reappears in his eleventh year. Should we infer from this wording that Nebuchadnezzar needed a large army in order to extract the yearly payments? Or does this phrase imply that he intended a "military demonstration" against Egypt, where a new king had ascended the throne, apparently a month¹⁰⁶ before Nebuchadnezzar left Babylon.

102 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 72/73.

103 *ibid.*, 72/73.

104 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 157–158.

105 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 74/75.

106 Necho's latest date = May 4, 594 B.C.E.; Psammetichus's II earliest

In March 597 B.C.E. Zedekiah was made king in Jerusalem¹⁰⁷. In Jer. 27 : 1 ff. we read : "At the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim (here we have to read "of Zedekiah"¹⁰⁸), son of Josiah, king of Judah, this word came from the Lord to Jeremiah : these are the words of the Lord to me : Take the cords and bars of a yoke and put them on your neck. Then send to the king of Edom, to the king of Moab, to the king of the children of Ammon, to the king of Tyre, and to the king of Sidon, by the envoys who have come to Zedekiah king of Judah". The meaning of that symbolic act was to impress the ambassadors to accept the "yoke of the king of Babylon" (Jer. 27 : 11). The general opinion is that this assembly was in the fourth year of Zedekiah¹⁰⁹. We may ask whether the absence of Egyptian messengers could be connected with the change of the rulers in Egypt in the second half of the year 594 B.C.E. The absence of the Philistines is also noteworthy. On the other hand a delegation of high Judean officials (perhaps even headed by the king himself¹¹⁰) went from Jerusalem to Babylon in the fourth year of Zedekiah (Jer. 51 : 59). We venture to propose that in the first half of the fourth year (i.e. Nissan to Elul 593 B.C.E.) such an assembly had taken place, at which the delegates also discussed the relationship of the small countries to Babylonia, in the light of the change of kings in Egypt.

date = November 23, 594 B.C.E. (Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 158).

107 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 48, 72/73.

108 Cf. the commentaries.

109 There is a controversy about the reckoning of the first regnal year of Zedekiah (cf. also the table of the reigns of the kings of Judah in Tadmor, *Ency. Bibl.* IV, cols. 261–262). The general opinion is that the term: "At the beginning of the reign . . ." should be understood as the fourth year of Zedekiah (cf. Jer. 28:1); contra the NEB which corrects the text by translating: "in the fifth month of the first year"!; thus e.g. Rudolph proposes the year 594 B.C.E. (Rudolph, *Jeremias*, VI, 149 ff.); "between autumn 594 and summer 593" (Greenberg, *JBL* 76 [1957], 305); "593 B.C.E." (Freedy & Redford, *JAOS* 90 [1970], 475). However the fourth year of Zedekiah should be from Nissan 593 till Adar 592 (Tadmor, *ibidem*, col. 276). One should bear in mind that in 594 Nebuchadnezzar was twice in Ḫatti-land: in February/March and again in December! Schmidt's date for this assembly, 591 (= the seventh year of Zedekiah, according to Schmidt), does not appeal to us at all. One has to make too many corrections, which Schmidt is willing to make (Schmidt, *ZAW* 39 [1921], 138–144). A new approach based on the Babylonian Chronicle and the tradition of the Sages has been propounded by N. M. Sarna, Parshah S'tumah beSefer Jeremijahu, in *Haguth Ivrit BeAmerica*, Tel-Aviv (1972), 127 ff. (Hebrew).

110 According to the MT Zedekiah heads this delegation; according to the

There can be no doubt that the anti-Babylonian movement was rising in Jerusalem at that very hour. The prophecy of Hananiah (Jer. 28 : 1 ff.) should be understood against the background of such a movement; it is explicitly a continuation of the narrative about the yoke, which Jeremiah had to put on his neck (cf. Jer. 27 : 2, 28 : 10). But the sudden death of Hananiah two months later, prophesied by Jeremiah (28 : 17), must have come as a blow to the pro-Egyptian party. Nebuchadnezzar may have been informed about these events, and that may have been the reason for a delegation to Babylon (or perhaps even for this invitation : *ad audiendum verbum*). Another noteworthy detail in the story about the assembly in Jerusalem is that we have, for the first time since the days of Esarhaddon, a source which informs us about a native king in Sidon.

The Tyrian delegates may have had other reasons to attend such an "international" assembly. For in 597 B.C.E. the Negeb had apparently been handed over to Edom by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Jer. 13 : 19) ¹¹¹. Part of the caravans from Arabia went northwards via Edom and the Negeb. Any contact with the new lords of the Negev could be highly profitable for the Tyrian merchants ¹¹².

Pharaoh Psammetichus II (September 594–February 588 B.C.E. ¹¹³) seems to have been a very cautious king. He did not nourish any thoughts about the reconquest of the old Egyptian Asian province ¹¹⁴; his main interests seem to have been in expansion to the south. Graffiti at Abu-Simbel attest that among the mercenaries in the campaigns of Pharaoh Psammetichus against Nubia were soldiers from Phoenicia ¹¹⁵. However in a later Demotic papyrus — a long petition apparently from the 9th year of Darius I (= 512 B.C.E.) — it is stated that in the fourth year of Psammetichus (= 591 B.C.E.) the grandfather of the complainant was asked to accompany the Pharaoh on an "excursion" to

Septuagint it was headed by the quartermaster Seraiah son of Neriah.

111 Cf. Alt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 280.

112 The "omission" of Edom in Ezek. 27 may be accidental (cf. the versions which read Edom instead of Aram in Ezek. 27:16); for in the days of Ezekiel Edom still existed. This is but a minor point in our argument that chapter 27 does not belong to the days of Ezekiel (cf. the discussion about Ezek. 26—29 *infra*).

113 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 157–158, Freedy & Redford, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 474.

114 Kienitz speaks about a "friedliche Regierung" (Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 26). Cf. also Gardiner, *Egypt*, 360.

115 Friedrich, *ZDMG* CXIV (1964), 226 ff.; Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 40 note 1; 41 note 1.

Kharu (= Phoenicia) ¹¹⁶. Kienitz speaks about a "pilgrimage" ¹¹⁷. Surely the whole affair was a peaceful voyage, apparently made by ship ¹¹⁸. If this assumption is right, then the goal of the voyage must have been Byblos ¹¹⁹.

In February 588 B.C.E. Psammetichus died after an illness ¹²⁰. He was succeeded by his son Hophra (the Greek Apriēs) ¹²¹. With the ascension of this new Pharaoh a sharp change in Egyptian foreign politics can be detected. For Hophra took up the old claim of Egyptian suzerainty over the eastern Mediterranean coast. Political activity was started immediately among all the western sea countries. Promises were lavishly given. Pharaoh certainly convinced Zedekiah and his ministers very early of his willingness to extend assistance and to take active part in any uprising against the Babylonians ¹²². As a consequence of these promises Zedekiah rebelled (cf. Ezek. 17 : 15 ff.). He sent ambassadors to Egypt "asking for horses and men in plenty" (*ibid.*) ¹²³. As we shall see later,

116 F. L. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, 1909, The "petition of Petēsi", 92 ff.; Alt, *ZAW* XXX (1910), 288 ff.

117 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 25; this notion is also accepted by Gardiner, *Egypt*, 360.

118 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 25.

119 R. D. Hall, *CAH* III, 300; Yoyotte, *VT* I (1951), 142; cf. also Necho's dedication to the "Horus of Byblos" (note 100).

120 Psammetichus's death after an illness is stated both by Herodotus (II, 161) and in the "Petition of Petēsi", 97 (cf. note 116).

121 This "new" date seems to be the right one; cf. Malamet, *IEJ* 18 (1968), 151 note 27 (contra Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 26; 161) Breasted, *AR* IV, §§ 988E—988F.

122 Greenberg believes that it was still Psammetichus II who encouraged Zedekiah to revolt against the Babylonian king (Greenberg, *JBL* 76 [1957], 307). We are not convinced. For we know that Pharaoh was engaged in his last years in a war against Nubia, and that he fell ill at the "end" of that campaign (cf. note 120) or in Herodotus's words: "he attacked Ethiopia, and died almost directly afterwards" (II, 161); but it may be that crown-prince Hophra was already starting negotiations in this direction. On the other hand we do not accept Bright's view that Tyre participated in the rebellion of Zedekiah (Bright, *Israel*, 308). The reasons of Nebuchadnezzar's action against Tyre should be sought in his plan of a campaign against Egypt.

123 It can be said that the refusal of the payment of the annual tribute was the "official" sign of the rebellion. This payment was certainly due according to the regnal years of the overlord. If we are right, then Zedekiah stopped paying in about the spring of 588 B.C.E. = 17th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

Ithobaal (= Ethbaal) III was then ruler over Tyre (ca. 591/0–573/2 B.C.E.)¹²⁴.

While Hophra was successful in his plans with Zedekiah, he apparently did not get an immediately favorable reply from the Phoenician kings. This assumption is based on the story of Herodotus in his second book :

“In the course [of his reign] he (= Hophra) marched an army to attack Sidon, and fought a battle with the king of Tyre by sea”¹²⁵.

This record has to be connected with an account of Diodorus Siculus who says i.a. :

“He (= Hophra) made a campaign with strong land and sea forces against Cyprus and Phoenicia, took Sidon by storm, and so terrified the other cities of Phoenicia that he secured their submission. He also defeated the Phoenicians and Cyprians in a great sea battle, and returned to Egypt with much booty”¹²⁶.

There can be no doubt that Diodorus Siculus depends on Herodotus. Before we try to come to any conclusion, we should note that Sidon is mentioned in both quotations, and that Herodotus speaks about a sea battle against the king of Tyre, i.e. Tyre is still ruled by kings! Diodorus, however, talks about a combined fleet of the Phoenicians and Cyprians. Shall one deduce from this report that it was the king of Tyre, who commanded the combined fleets?¹²⁷ There can be no doubt that the Phoenician town-states were then vassals of the Babylonian king¹²⁸.

The Scriptures tell us that Nebuchadnezzar himself came to Jerusalem in the early days of Tebet (= January 587 B.C.E.) — this was usually the time of Nebuchadnezzar’s arrival in Hatti-land — and started the siege of Jerusalem (II Kings 25 : 1). Later we hear that he had his headquarters in Riblah at the time of the conquest of the city (II Kings 25 : 6), i.e. certainly in Tammuz (= July) 586 B.C.E. The two accounts are not contradictory. Initially the Babylonian king was sure that his appearance would make Zedekiah surrender to him quickly. But when

124 Cf. *infra* p. 327.

125 Herodotus II, 161; as Pharaoh tried to relieve the siege of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., he “campaigned” against Sidon in 588 B.C.E.; cf. *infra*.

126 Diodorus Siculus I, 68, 1.

127 Cf. A.v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* II, 70.

128 The Weidner text “B” has Tyrians, Byblians and Arvadians as experts in Babylon, certainly in the 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar (= 592/591 B.C.E.); (cf. also notes 73 and 147).

he saw that the siege would take longer, he handed over the entire military action to the “officers of the king of Babylon” (Jer. 38 : 17). He himself returned home, having secured his lines of communication.

In the summer of 586 Nebuchadnezzar was again in Hatti-land, where he made the town of Riblah his headquarters. What could be the reasons to have headquarters so far from the actual scene, yet so near the Phoenician coastal towns?¹²⁹ We believe, it was Hophra’s military actions which sought to drag the Phoenician towns into rebellion against the Babylonian king. The account about Egyptian help being sought in order to relieve the siege of Jerusalem says explicitly : Pharaoh’s army had marched out of Egypt, and when the Chaldeans who were besieging Jerusalem, heard of it, they raised the siege (Jer. 37 : 5). This must have occurred in the late spring/early summer of 587 B.C.E. However it teaches us that neither Hophra¹³⁰ nor Nebuchadnezzar was in command of his army in southern Palestine. We do not believe that there was any real clash between the two armies¹³¹. But we assume that it was at this very hour that Hophra sailed to the Phoenician coast, in order to win over the Phoenician towns to his side. As the Phoenician towns were interested in a certain neutrality, they may have tried to defend themselves, they may have even suffered a certain defeat¹³². However, Pharaoh did not succeed in his ultimate aim, and thus he returned home “with much booty taken”. On the other hand we doubt whether Nebuchadnezzar, by taking up headquarters in Riblah, was already planning military actions against the main Phoenician towns. We do know that he had put forward some demands which the Phoenician towns rejected some years later.

In the much later, famous list of Nebuchadnezzar’s court officials¹³³ we find i.a. the kings of Tyre, Sidon and Arvad among the captives in Babylon. Perhaps Nebuchadnezzar became suspicious and fearful of a second invasion by Pharaoh Hophra against his long lines of communi-

129 The distance, as the crow flies, between Tyre and Jerusalem is nearly the same as between Riblah and Zarephath (which lies between Sidon and Tyre).

130 Not so Josephus; cf. *Ant.* X, 110.

131 It is hard to believe that Hophra marched to Sidon in order to attack it, if he (or his army) had been unable to gain a decisive victory over the Babylonian forces which were engaged in the siege of Jerusalem!

132 We believe that it was more a demonstration of the fleet (perhaps supported by military forces), which must have come as a surprise to the Phoenician towns.

133 *ANET*², 308a.

tion. We do not know, we may only guess. Neither do we know whether an excerpt from Berosus's *Chaldaean History* quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus¹³⁴ is based on a real historical source. Here it is said that in the twelfth year of Zedekiah (the Bible states only that he ruled eleven years [II Kings 24: 18 = Jer. 52: 1 = II Chron. 36: 11])¹³⁵, Nebuchadnezzar campaigned against Phoenicia and the Judeans. Langdon suggested to the monumental inscriptions of Wadi Brisa and Nahr el-Kelb be connected with Nebuchadnezzar's military actions in the west in 586 B.C.E.¹³⁶. On the rocks of Wadi Brisa (45 km s.w. of Homs) were found two nearly identical inscriptions (one in old Babylonian and one in new Babylonian dialect). Both texts are partially obliterated. On the rocks of Nahr el Kelb (north of Beirut) next to the reliefs of the Egyptian and Assyrian kings, we find a much shorter text. Weissbach, who published those inscriptions, stated that the Nahr el-Kelb text is a shorter version of that on the rocks of Wadi Brisa¹³⁷. Its main item is the imposing of the Babylonian yoke on the Lebanon. Here we learn that Nebuchadnezzar restored peace in that region and that he constructed a road in order to transport "mighty cedars", high and strong, of precious beauty and excellent dark quality . . ." We may feel the bitterness of the Phoenicians who had now lost their most cherished privilege, to cut and to sell cedar beams. Weissbach claimed that he could still recognize a relief of Nebuchadnezzar standing before a cedar in the moment of cutting it, exactly as it said in the inscription: "mighty cedars of the Lebanon . . . with my clean hands I cut"¹³⁸. Because of the meagerness of historical inscriptions from the Neo-Babylonian period — with the exception of the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* — in contrast to the annals of the Assyrian kings, we feel that we are not allowed to skip even one of them. For the bulk of the neo-Babylonian records deal with building inscriptions. There are many other building-inscriptions — mostly found in Babylon — dating from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, that tell us about the use of cedar wood from the Lebanon not only for the roofing of temples or public buildings, but also for doors and furniture. Koldewey found also a number of bricks, on which a six-line inscription was impressed. In this text we are told about the "mighty

134 Clemens Alexandrinus, *strommata* I, 21, 123 (ed. Dindorf).

135 It could be the 12th year of Jehoiachin.

136 Langdon, *NBK*, 33.

137 Weissbach, *Nebukadnezar*, 35 ff.; Winckler, *AO X*, 4 (1909), 25.

138 *ANET*², 307a-b; Weissbach, *Nebukadnezar*, 8, plate V; (cf. B. Meissner, *Könige Babylons und Assyriens*, Leipzig 1926, 257).

cedar beams of the Lebanon" which were used for the roof of Nebuchadnezzar's palace¹³⁹. Other bricks bear in addition a short Aramaic imprint (in old Phoenician letters)¹⁴⁰. Furthermore cedar wood of the Lebanon was also used for the holy bark of Nebo¹⁴¹ or for a procession bridge¹⁴². These great building programs¹⁴³, apparently already started in the early years of Nebuchadnezzar, demanded also a great number of skilled artisans. The Bible tells us that (in 597 B.C.E.) Nebuchadnezzar "carried . . . into exile . . . together with all the craftsmen and smiths" or that "he deported to Babylon . . . and a thousand craftsmen and smiths, all of them able-bodied men and skilled armorers" (II Kings 24: 14, 16). This story proved true, when at the German excavations at Babylon under the directorship of Koldewey, a hoard of tablets was discovered in a room next to the staircase, which led to the "vaulted hall" (Gewölbebau) of the "southern castle" (Südburg) of Nebuchadnezzar¹⁴⁴. As far as Weidner could decipher the dates, if there were dates at all, they lie between the 10th and the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar (595/4-570/69 B.C.E.)¹⁴⁵.

Weidner published only four texts (A, B, C, D), and even these only partly¹⁴⁶. Of these texts only tablet B bears a date: 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar (= 592/91 B.C.E.)¹⁴⁷. Yet text C, and perhaps also text D must be very near to that date, as all of them mention 8 artisans¹⁴⁸ from Byblos and 3 artisans from Arvad. But the monthly (?) allotment¹⁴⁹ (of sesame oil¹⁵⁰) given to the 8 Byblian craftsmen is three times¹⁵¹ the ra-

139 R. Koldewey, *Das Wieder Erstehende Babylon*, Leipzig 1913, 84 ff.

140 *ibid.*, 80 ff.

141 Langdon, *NBK*, 160/161.

142 *ibid.*, 160/161.

143 Cf. Saggs, *Babylon*, 144.

144 R. Koldewey, *Das Wieder Erstehende Babylon*, Leipzig 1913, 90 ff.; Abbildung 46; Weidner, *Jojachin*, 924 ff.

145 Weidner, *ibid.*, 924.

146 Weidner, *ibid.*, 925 ff.; texts A, B, and C can also be found (and again only partly) in *ANET*², 308b.

147 Weidner, *ibid.*, 925; on p. 927 Weidner gives text C as "the only one that bears a date, namely the 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar! Is this statement a "misprint"? cf. also note 73.

148 Weidner translates *amel nangarê mes* as "Kunsthandwerker", Oppenheim translates it (apud *ANET*²) as "carpenters". Surely they were masters in their profession.

149 Weidner, *ibid.*, 927.

150 Weidner, *ibid.*, 927; Schwenzner, *AO XVI*, 1 (1916), 12.

151 In all the three texts: B, C, D.

tion given e.g. to the Arvadian or to the Ionian "carpenters"; it corresponds to the ration issued to the royal Judean princes, the sons of King Jehoiachin! Our main interest is tablets A and B¹⁵². Text A speaks about the allotment of ?? to 126 men from Tyre. In text B there are $x-100 + 90$ mariners from Tyre mentioned, and each gets the usual $\frac{1}{2}$ sela (of sesame oil). This is also the quantity issued to 3 mariners of Ashkelon. But as this is also the equivalent given to the Judean princes, we must assume that these "mariners" were more than common sailors; they must have belonged to a high class of experts for ship-building. The large number of Tyrian experts (at least 190) in comparison to the few artisans from the other Phoenician towns (8 from Byblos, 3 from Arvad) is of great interest and gives one a lot to think about. In tablet B (and only the parts published by Weidner were at our disposal) we count nearly 1000 persons! How many foreign craftsmen were employed by the Babylonian king? Where did they live?

Reverting to historical events we may say that the prophet Ezekiel speaks about Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Tyre as an imminent one. These words are to be dated in the days after the destruction of Jerusalem, like Ezekiel's prophecies against Judah's neighbors, the Ammonites, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines (Ezek. 25), who all tried to get a share of the territory of Judah after its downfall. Tyre hoped for the main share in the Judean trade, and in the transit-trade: "Aha! she that was the gateway of the nations is broken, her gates swing open to me; I grow rich, she lies in ruins" (Ezek. 26:2). It was this malicious joy which must have deeply hurt a man like Ezekiel. Such arrogance and greed demanded an imperative punishment¹⁵³. But the hatred between Judah and Tyre must have been much deeper and perhaps of earlier origin¹⁵⁴. For in all the utterances of Ezekiel we find patriotic pride, deep ill-feeling against Judah's neighbors, profound devotion and intensive love for his people and for Jerusalem. If we

152 A = Babylon 28122; B = Babylon 28178 = VAT 16283 (cf. Weidner, *ibid.*, 925, 929). Besides the Judeans and Phoenicians, the texts, as far as they have been published, mention Persians, Egyptians, Jonians, Lydians, two sons of Aga' king of Ashkelon, and people of Ashkelon (Ashkelon was conquered in Kislev 604 B.C.E.; no other Philistine town is mentioned!), Elamites, Medians.

153 Cf. the prophecy by Obadiah against Edom.

154 Rudolph suggests dating the activity of Joel in the last period of pre-exilic time: in the last days of Josiah (Rudolph, *BZAW* 105 [1967], 198); we ourselves feel that the words against Tyre and Sidon (Joel 4:4-6 = NEB Joel 3:4-6) belong to post-exilic times.

add to this the strong religious emotions, passions and feelings which led the prophet to his ecstasies and oracles, we may understand his philippics against Tyre.

A great deal has been and will be written about these oracles (Ezek. 26-28)¹⁵⁵, which aroused amazement and astonishment¹⁵⁶. Even the sequence of the chapters was found to be a logical one. Thus, for example, Bertholet thought that in chapter 26 Ezekiel prophesies the total destruction of Tyre; in chapter 27 he laments its downfall and in chapter 28 he addresses himself to its king, whose haughtiness will bring him to his personal doom¹⁵⁷. Other scholars felt that these chapters do not belong to the time of Ezekiel. Thus Torrey coined a "Pseudo-Ezekiel", which he suggested dating to the days of the famous siege of Alexander the Great¹⁵⁸. Some years later Smith published his commentary. Inspired by Josephus's statement that Ezekiel left behind him two books (*Ant.* X, 79), Smith claimed that some of the prophecies about Tyre belonged to the days of Esarhaddon¹⁵⁹. The reader will have noticed that the controversy between Torrey and Smith covers a period of only ca. 340 years!

We agree with Mazar that "Ezekiel wove into his prophecy on the destruction of Tyre (Ezek. 26-28) fragments of a *Tyrian* poem". Mazar believes that "Ezekiel learned this poem from the inhabitants of Bit Şurraia, a colony of Tyrian exiles in the neighborhood of Nippur on the bank of the river Chebar. The poem was apparently composed

155 Among the abundance of commentaries on the book of Ezekiel we would like to name here i.a.: Sh. Spiegel, *HTHR* XXIV (1931), 245 ff.; C. G. Howie, *JBL*, Monogr. Series, IV (1960); W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, Neukirchen-Vlyun 1969, 600 ff. (here a rich bibliography is given). Among the many special commentaries to the "Tyrian" chapters we would like to mention: Jahnnow, *BZAW* 36 (1923), 221 ff.; H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre*, Rome 1968 (the best part of it is the lengthy bibliography) (cf. note 162); cf. also chapter VII note 136).

156 I.a., R. Kraetzschmar, *HKzAT: Das Buch Ezechiel*, Göttingen 1900, 203: "Trotzdem Isr(ael) zu Tyrus nie in näherer Bez(iehung) gestanden hat, ausser viell(eicht) in kommerzieller, handelt Ez. ausserordentlich ausführ(ich) von dessen Untergange". Schoff's essay also belongs in this group. He suggested that Tyre was substituted for Babylon, for Ezekiel was afraid to speak against Nebuchadnezzar!! (W. H. Schoff, *The Ship "Tyre"*, New York 1920, 47).

157 A. Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel*, KHzAT, Freiburg 1897, 134 ff.

158 C. C. Torrey, Alexander the Great in the O.T., *BZAW* 41 (1925), 284-285.

159 J. Smith, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, London 1931, 79, 98.

in the 10th–9th centuries . . .”¹⁶⁰. We also feel that the historical background of chapter 27 (which may include the most exalted and poetic language in the whole book of Ezekiel) fits best into the second golden period of Tyre’s illustrious history: the reign of Ethbaal I, king of the Sidonians in the first half of the ninth century B.C.E. We have, therefore, dealt with that passage in chapter VII of this book. While Winckler denied that chapter 28 belongs to the days of Ezekiel, and proposed a “far post-exilic creation”¹⁶¹, we feel that the many mythological allusions in that chapter clearly show that the roots of it derive from much earlier times¹⁶². Either the doom of the hero because of his great *ἔβρις* is woven into the imminent downfall of the rich metropolis (which had also been spoken of in chapter 26), or the expected downfall of the metropolis is illustrated on the background of an old Phoenician (=Tyrian) saga. We prefer the latter hypothesis. There can be no doubt about the verses in chapter 29: 17–20, in which the prophet actually corrects himself. They fit, as we shall still see, into the period of time in which they were delivered.

The many doubts about the authenticity of Ezekiel’s words concerning a siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar were shattered after Unger published a tablet which is an official receipt for provisions “for the king and the soldiers who went with him against the land of Tyre”¹⁶³. Even if some reasons may remain for scepticism about an Ezekielian date for the oracles against Sidon (Ezek. 28: 20–23)¹⁶⁴, we feel we may argue that any conquest of the Phoenician mainland, and this includes Sidon, preceded the actual siege of the island of Tyre. Furthermore, in the catalogue of the peoples whom Pharaoh will meet in the *She’ol* (Ezek. 32: 17 ff.¹⁶⁵) the Sidonians are also listed (Ezek. 32: 30)¹⁶⁶.

160 Mazar, *The Philistines*, 21.

161 Winckler, *ATU*, 115.

162 Cf. H. J. van Dijk (cf. note 155) whose commentary is full of the many parallels between the language of these chapters and the Ugaritic literature. By this comparison van Dijk shows himself to be a true pupil of M. Dahood. But he did not draw the necessary conclusions.

163 Unger, *ZAW* 44 (1926), 316.

164 Cf. the different commentators on this chapter. Hölscher even went so far as to call this oracle “das inhaltloseste Stück in ganzen Buche” (Hölscher, *BZAW* 39 [1924], 143).

165 This part is of utmost importance for Ezekiel’s conception of the life after death. Cf. also Eissfeldt’s essay about “Schwerterschlagene bei Hezekiel” (= those slain by the sword”) in Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* III, 1 ff.

166 Here, apparently in its wider sense = Phoenicians.

In order to find the chronological frame for Ezekiel’s words against and about Tyre, we must take note of a most important source for this period of time, which covers the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. We have in mind a quotation given by Josephus in his book *C.Ap.* According to Josephus the source of that passage lies in the Phoenician¹⁶⁷ archives, which are “in accordance with those of Berossus, and relate how the king of Babylon subdued Syria and the whole of Phoenicia” (*C.Ap.* I, 143). Josephus’s excerpts reads as follows: ¹⁶⁸

- (156) “Under King Ithobal, Nabuchodonossor besieged Tyre for thir-
- (157) teen years. The next king, Baal, reigned ten years. After him judges were appointed and held office as follows: Eknibal, son of Baslech, two months; Chelbes, son of Abdaeus, ten months; Abbar the high-priest, three months; Myttyn and Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus, six years; after them Balator was king for
- (158) one year. On his death his subjects sent to Babylon and fetched from there Merbal, who reigned four years; on his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. It was
- (159) in his reign that Cyrus became monarch of Persia. The whole period thus amounts to fifty-four years and three months”¹⁶⁹.

The general opinion is that this statement was taken from the book of Menander of Ephesus¹⁷⁰. Still it differs from the other Tyrian kings’ list (*C.Ap.* I, 121–125) by omitting the age of the kings¹⁷¹. On the other hand it could be argued that Josephus had a certain purpose in giving this “short quotation”. He wanted to prove that Nebuchadnezzar “in the eighteenth year of his reign devastated our temple, that

167 But the whole quotation is taken from the Tyrian archives.

168 The English text is according to the translation by H. St. J. Thackeray (Loeb Classical Library).

169 The general total is actually 55 years and 3 months (giving Myttyn and Gerastratus 6 years each, with one year of Balator (between them). But we think that Myttyn and Gerastratus were judges in the same period (cf. the two judges in Carthage), and that Balator ruled one year as king (cf. pp. 327–28). Therefore the difference of 5/6 years must be added to the reign of Ethbaal III (Ithobal), for his reign lasted longer than the thirteen years of the siege. On the other hand, it is just this difference which indicates the authenticity of the numbers quoted by Josephus.

170 A.v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 545 ff.; H. St. J. Thackeray, Josephus, vol. I: *Against Apion* (Loeb Classical Library), 225 note e.

171 Cf. the formula of the Judean kings: “x was y years old, when he came to the throne, and he reigned in Jerusalem z years”.

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for fifty years it ceased to exist, that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the foundations (of the second temple) were laid" (*C.Ap.* I, 154). In similar fashion, Josephus had tried to prove that the erection of the first temple and Hiram's help in building it, occurred about 150 years before the foundation of Carthage, and had therefore quoted the list of the Tyrian kings for that period (*C.Ap.* I, 121-125).

We do not doubt that the lists are based on Tyrian sources. If we count the number given by Josephus for the list from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, we get: $13+10+\frac{2}{12}+\frac{10}{12}+\frac{3}{12}+6+1+4+14$ ¹⁷² = 49 years and 3 months, a sum which would correspond with the round number of 50 in *C.Ap.* I, 154. Other scholars made other corrections ¹⁷³. We would like to accept this specific number of 49 years and 3 months, and propose to add the difference of six years to the total reign of Ethbaal III (=Ithobaal), whose full length of reign is not given (cf. the discussion infra). As the siege took thirteen long years (*C.Ap.* I, 156; *Ant.* X, 228) under Ethbaal's direction, the beginning of the siege would hardly coincide with the beginning of Ethbaal's reign (cf. Zedekiah's revolt). Therefore we add this difference of six years to the reign of Ethbaal III. On the other hand Josephus's quotation does not state a priori that the end of Ethbaal's period of life equalled the end of the siege. We tend to believe that Ethbaal was exiled to Babylon exactly as Jehoiachin was exiled to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24: 15). According to our chronology the siege came to an end in 573/72 B.C.E. In the list of "The Court of Nebuchadnezzar", which is dated about 570 B.C.E. ¹⁷⁴, we find in the subdivision of the foreign kings the king of Tyre listed as number one ¹⁷⁵. Naturally there is a possibility that the Babylonian record speaks about a son of Ethbaal III; however that suggestion does not appeal to us, as he would then be mentioned in the Tyrian king list.

This court list of Nebuchadnezzar also proves the historical value and thrustworthiness of Josephus's quotation, according to which both Mer-

172 To this number we naturally have to add those six years in which Hiram III ruled over Tyre in the days of Cyrus (cf. "...and in the 14th year of Hiram's reign Cyrus the Persian came into power" [*C. Ap.* I, 159]). Hiram reigned twenty years (*ibid.*, 158).

173 Cf. A.v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* IV, 551 ff.; Th. Reinach, *Oeuvres de Fl. Josephé*, vol. VII, Paris 1902, 114; J. G. Müller, *Des Fl. Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion*, Basel 1877, 156-159.

174 Unger, *Babylon*, 35.

175 *ANET*², 308a.

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baal and his brother Hiram III were brought by the Tyrians from Babylon in order that they might be kings in Tyre (*C.Ap.* I, 158). Furthermore the statement of Josephus also includes a fixed date which serves us as a synchronism: the fourteenth year of Hiram III as a king falls in the "first year" of Cyrus, and here we have to add: "as king of Babylon" (=538 B.C.E.) ¹⁷⁶. Taking into consideration these and other deliberations, and having profited by the chronological data of other scholars, we would like to propose the following table of Tyrian kings or rulers during these 50 years ¹⁷⁷.

<i>kings</i>	<i>B.C.E.</i>	<i>years</i>
Ethbaal III	ca. 591/90-ca. 574/73	19
Baal II	ca. 573/72-ca. 564	10
 <i>judges</i>		
Eknibaal (=Iakin-baal) ¹⁷⁸	ca. 564/63	2 months
Chelbes (=Caleb) ¹⁷⁹		10 months
Abbar (=Heber?) ¹⁸⁰	ca. 563	3 months
Myttyn (=Mattan III) ¹⁸¹		
and	ca. 562-ca. 557	6
Gerastratus (=Ger-asthart) ¹⁸²		

176 Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 29; all our dates for this period are based on that book.

177 Any one who had to "re"-fix data of reigns of kings will know the many difficulties involved in such a table. This is also one of the reasons we have put a "ca." before each number and number. Yet we believe that we have come very close to the "reality", provided that the data given by Josephus are true (cf. also Movers's deliberations; Movers 2/1, 432 ff.). Hölscher's chronological table does not appeal to us. It is based on his interpretation of the synchronism between the 14th year of Hiram III and the year "in which Cyrus the Persian came into power" (*C. Ap.* I, 159) = 544 B.C.E. (Hölscher, *BZAW* 39 [1924], 21).

178 Harris, *GPhL*, 110.

179 *Ibid.*, 111.

180 Cf. i.a. I Chron. 7:31; or perhaps Ab(i)-baal?

181 Harris, *GPhL*, 108; two additional kings ruled before this Mattan: Mattan I in the last years of Shalmaneser III (cf. chapter VIII), and Mattan II in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (cf. chapter IX). Mattan IV ruled in the days of Xerxes (Herodotus VII, 98).

182 Harris, *GPhL*, 92; cf. *KAI* no. 80.

kings

Balator (=Baal- ^{a-s-r} ?) ¹⁸³	ca. 556	1
Merbal (=M-h-r-baal) ¹⁸⁴	ca. 555-ca. 552	4
Hiram III	ca. 551-538-532	14+6=20

Josephus's statement that "it was in the seventh year of his reign that Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre" (*C.Ap.* I, 159) has always puzzled scholars, and much ink has been spilled over the phrase "in the seventh year of his reign"¹⁸⁵. A Latin version quoted by Niese may provide a clue to the real meaning of this sentence. Here we read: "septimo siquidem anno regni sui (i.e. Ithobali!) Nabuchodonosor coepit..."¹⁸⁶. We have, therefore, to read our text as follows: "it was in the seventh year of his (=Ethbaal's) reign" — and now comes a completion: that is in the twentieth year of his (=Nebuchadnezzar's) reign — "that Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre". We must, consequently, assume that in a very early stage a haplography caused the text to come down to us in its present form. Our assumption is also in agreement with the information regarding the beginning of the siege and with the total sum of the different reigns of the kings and judges given by Josephus, as we have already mentioned above. Thus the long siege started in the twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar, i.e. in 585 B.C.E. and came to an end ca. 572 B.C.E. (=Nebuchadnezzar's thirty-third year)¹⁸⁷.

We wish to draw the reader's attention to a minor point: we do not know, whether the kings all belonged to the same royal house, as the

183 Many scholars do not count the reign of this king; according to some of them he was "coregent" with the two judges (cf. E. G. Henstenberg, *De Rebus Tyriorum*, Berlin 1832, 42 ff. and note 169).

184 Harris, *GPhL*, 116; cf. the king of Arvad at the time of Xerxes: Merbal (Herodotus VII, 98); cf. *KAI* no. 64.

185 A summary of the opinions is given by Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 1-3; yet even after the appearance of this essay, which was printed for the first time in 1933, a new proposal was made by Vogelstein: a double siege, each of thirteen years — 598-586 B.C.E. without success, and 585-572 with success (*HUCA* XXIII, 2 [1950/51], 199-207). That Vogelstein was wrong, is proved by the publication of the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* published by Wiseman in 1961. No mention of Tyre can be found for the years 598-594 B.C.E. (= last entry of Nebuchadnezzar).

186 B. Niese (editor), *Flavii Josephi Opera*, V, Berlin 1889, 30. Surely that version may be a corrected reading. Cf. C. G. Howie (note 155), 42-43.

187 I.a. Meyer, *GA* III, 177; Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 1; Unger *Babylon*, 36-37.

list does not give us their fathers' names. We may assume that this was the case; Maharbaal and Hiram III were brothers (*C.Ap.* I, 158), and both were members of the royal Tyrian family¹⁸⁸.

After having established the chronological order, we would like to return briefly to the affairs following the exile of King Jehoiachin of Judah in 597 B.C.E. Together with the young king, the court, the high officials, the members of the Judean aristocracy, and the craftsmen and the smiths were deported to Babylon (cf. II Kings 24: 12 ff.; Jer. 29: 2). In Judah and in Jerusalem only the poor people remained. A new class of upstarts would take over the places of the exiled noblemen. In the political sense Judah became a *quantité négligeable* that could become potentially dangerous to Babylonia only in association with Egypt. Babylonia's political aim was the supremacy of the West. This hegemony in western Asia was the prime danger in the eyes of Egypt, and it was quite natural that Egypt tried to conspire against Nebuchadnezzar's goal.

While Tyre had no political ambitions on the mainland, it aspired to concentrate "world"-trade in its own hands, and thus tried to become a power to be courted by the big nations. This was a dangerous play and would lead to a catastrophe. By virtue of this mercantile policy the Tyrian king also had to be on good terms with the Egyptian Pharaoh, who had a powerful navy at his disposal. Furthermore Tyre had to reckon with the close relations between Hophra (and later Amasis, his successor) and the Greek tyrants and Greek city-states, which were certainly not advantageous to Tyrian trade. On the other hand, any too close approach to Babylon, which would mean more or less open hostility towards Egypt, could lead to disastrous consequences to Tyre's position in the Mediterranean. While the king of Tyre and his noblemen thought that they could steer a middle course between Babylon and Egypt, they failed to form a correct estimate of the dangers in the future. We believe, however, that Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Tyre was not caused by Tyre itself or even by a hostile movement on the part of Ethbaal III. Tyre's good relations with Egypt coupled with Nebuchadnezzar's demand that all the Phoenician town-states become Babylonian satellites, was the cause of this conflict. The reasons for the Babylonian king's demand were quite obvious: to have a free flank, and perhaps even a fleet and a base for his ultimate aim: to make

188 Movers thinks that Baal (II) did not belong to the royal Tyrian family (Movers 2/1, 460).

Egypt submissive to Babylon. For Pharaoh Hophra had 'perfidiously' broken the silent agreement between Babylon and Egypt not to interfere in western Asia. The length of the siege of Tyre actually saved Egypt and gave it a respite of many years till the real Babylonian invasion would take place.

We assume that after his demands were rejected by the Phoenician states, Nebuchadnezzar started a special Phoenician campaign, and apparently quickly conquered and subdued Sidon and Arvad. The mainland of Tyre, was occupied by the Babylonian forces too, but the island of Tyre did not open its gates to the Babylonian king. Thus in about 585 B.C.E.¹⁸⁹, the seventh year of Ethbaal III, the siege of Tyre started. This celebrated siege — it is the longest known in Tyre's illustrious history — lasted thirteen years¹⁹⁰. This number of years is quoted by Josephus from the "Phoenician archives" (*C.Ap.* I, 156), as well as from Philostratos's *History of India*¹⁹¹ and *Phoenicia* (*Ant.* X, 228). There it is said "that this king (=Nebuchadnezzar) besieged Tyre for thirteen years at the time, when Ithobalos (=Ethbaal) was king of Tyre". As dates for this siege we propose ca. 585 B.C.E. as its beginning and as its end ca. 573/72 B.C.E.

This siege is also hinted at by Ezekiel: "These were the words of the Lord to me on the first day of the first month in the twenty-seventh year¹⁹²: Man, long did Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon keep his army in the field against Tyre, until every head was rubbed bare and every shoulder chafed. But neither he nor his army gained anything from Tyre for their long service against her" (Ezek. 29:17-18).

189 An immediate siege of Tyre, following the conquest of Jerusalem, can not be deduced from the sources at our hands (contra R. T. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belschazzar*, New Haven 1929, 36 notes 132 & 133).

190 The siege in the days of Eloulaios lasted for 5 years (only!) (*Ant.* IX, 287).

191 Perhaps one has to read "History of Judaea and of Phoenicia" (*Ἰουδαϊκῆ*; instead of *Ἰνδικαῖς*). This emendation is proposed by Weil. Still we are hesitant to accept this correction, because of the only other passage in the works of Josephus which mentions this Philostratos. There we read i.a.: "To the same effect writes Philostratos in his *History*, where he mentions the siege of Tyre, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his *History of India*..." (*C.Ap.* I, 144). Nothing is known about this Philostratos (cf. J. G. Müller, *Des Fl. Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion*, Basel 1877, 152).

192 According to Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 1st of Nissan = 26th of April 571 B.C.E.; it is the last dated prophecy of Ezekiel; cf. also Finegan, *JBL* 69 (1950), 65.

Ezekiel's words were uttered on the first day of the first month, i.e. on the New Year Day, a time which is well suited for prophecies¹⁹³. These verses clearly show not only the final stage of the siege, but also the great disappointment of the Babylonian soldiers that there was no reward for all the hardships they had endured. It is with no surprise that we learn that the conquest of Egypt will serve as compensation for the Babylonian army and its king: "... I am giving the land of Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon. He shall carry off its wealth, he shall spoil and plunder it, and so his army will be paid" (Ezek. 29:19). Thus the words of Ezekiel teach us that the long siege has come to its end, but that there was no capitulation of Tyre¹⁹⁴. We may say that both parties came to an understanding. We believe that Ethbaal was deported to Babylon and that a new king of the royal Tyrian family started to rule — by the grace of Nebuchadnezzar (?) —. On the other hand we may learn from the wording of Ezekiel's prophecy that although the siege is over, the bulk of the army (and with it the siege-machines, etc.) has not yet been moved south. Certainly the army was not sent back to Babylon, in order to return the same way to Phoenicia and then proceed down to Egypt.

We must assume that the siege of Tyre was actually a blockade of the island, from the mainland opposite. After the Tyrian mainland had been occupied (cf. Ezek. 26:6,8), the siege of the island itself started. But the island was surrounded by strong and high walls, strengthened by high and mighty towers (Ezek. 26:4,9). Thus Tyre defied the Babylonian army. As in the days of Shalmaneser V (and later in the days of Sennacherib), the Tyrians remained the rulers of the sea (Ezek. 26:17). Still the inhabitants must have suffered, as food, and perhaps even water had to be brought by ships. Tyre's eastern trade routes were closed, and it is doubtful whether Tyre could trade in those regions (even indirectly). The war was, therefore, hard for both sides, and Tyre was the actual loser, but the destruction of the city itself, prophesied by Ezekiel, did not come to pass. In this sense we must also understand the self-correction of the prophet, when he an-

193 Cf. F. Wilke, *Jahrbuch d. Gesellschaft f. d. Geschichte d. Protestantismus in Oesterreich* 67 (1951), 174, 183 note 29.

194 Whether Ezekiel's vision about the rebuilding of the Temple, the re-introduction of the cult, etc., which was delivered in "the 25th year of our exile" (Ezek. 40:1) was inspired by the anniversary of the destruction of the first Temple, we do not know. All we know is that it was exactly that year (573/72 B.C.E.) in which the siege of Tyre came to its end.

nounced that Nebuchadnezzar would be rewarded by the conquest of Egypt (Ezek. 29 : 19).

Whether Egypt helped Tyre, or whether Pharaoh Hophra used that occasion to "fight a battle with the king of Tyre by sea"¹⁹⁵, we are unable to say because of lack of sources. We prefer to hypothesize, as we have already said above, an earlier Egyptian maritime manoeuvre, not an action taken during or after the long siege¹⁹⁶. We also doubt whether "the protracted siege of Tyre was due to an Egyptian *entente* with the maritime city-state", as K. S. Freedy & D. B. Redford hold¹⁹⁷. On the contrary, it was at that very time, when Tyre had almost no possibilities to rebuild its fleet, that the Egyptians could become the masters in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. We may guess that Egypt took the part of the *tertius gaudens duobus litigantibus*. Surely no active help was given by the Egyptian, "for the support that you (=Egypt) gave . . ., was not better than a reed, which splintered in the hand . . .". (Ezek. 29 : 6-7).

We now have a tablet from the days of the siege, published by Unger in 1926¹⁹⁸. Unger argues that although the date of the tablet is destroyed, its contents guarantee its dating, for it is a receipt for provisions for "the king and the soldiers who went with him against the land of Tyre"¹⁹⁹. This most important information clearly shows that for some periods of time during those thirteen years, Nebuchadnezzar himself was in charge of the siege (cf. Ezek. 26 : 7). This fact, doubted by so many commentators, is again a wonderful testimony for the trustworthiness of Ezekiel, for his prophecy against Tyre, and finally for the failure of the siege itself.

With the end of that siege Ethbaal III disappeared as the ruler in Tyre, and a new king, Baal II, ascended the throne. Perhaps the change of the kings was one of the clauses of the agreement between Nebuchadnezzar and Tyre. Still we hesitate to believe that already at this date a Babylonian High Commissioner was nominated next to the Tyrian king²⁰⁰. We feel, rather, that the *šandabakku* was appointed when the

195 Herodotus II, 161.

196 E.g. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt* III, London 1905, 345.

197 Freedy & Redford, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 483.

198 Unger, *ZAW* 44 (1926), 316; R. P. Dougherty, *Archives From Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus*, New Haven 1923 (=Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. I), 61 no. 151.

199 Unger, *Babylon*, 36-37.

200 Thus Saggs, *Babylon*, 143.

kingship was suspended in Tyre, i.e. after the death (?) of Baal, ca. 564 B.C.E. For Josephus recorded that "after him (=Baal) judges²⁰¹ were appointed and they passed judgment" (*C.Ap.* I, 157). This is the literal translation of that passage. Yet this wording immediately raises the question of the real meaning of: "judges were appointed". By whom?

We believe that we are not only able to answer this question, but also to point to a similar situation created at the time of a constitutional change instituted by the same Babylonian king, twenty-two years earlier in Jerusalem. For thus we read in the Bible: "And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon appointed Gedaliah son of Ahikam, son of Shaphan, governor of the few people, whom he had left in Judah" (II Kings 25 : 22). The same verb²⁰² is used both in the Bible and in Josephus's text. As Gedaliah was appointed by the Babylonian king, so apparently was also the first judge in Tyre, who held that office for only two months. But the analogy is not terminated by these phenomena. For we learn, perhaps accidentally, that alongside Gedaliah there were some Babylonian officials (II Kings 25 : 25; Jer. 41 : 3). The same situation is valid for Tyre. In a tablet (also published by Unger) dated from Nebuchadnezzar's 41st year (564/63 B.C.E.)²⁰³, we hear about a high Babylonian official named Enlil šâpik-zêri, whose title is that of a *šandabakku*²⁰⁴. Enlil šâpik-zêri signed as the first witness on a promissory note (for some high Babylonian officials living in Erech²⁰⁵). It may

201 The Greek word *δικαστής* (cf. Exod. 2:14; Luke 12:14) is in contrast to the Hebrew title *שופט* or in the Septuagint *κρίτης* (e.g. Judg. 2:16, 18; Ruth 1:1). Whether their functions were similar to those of the kings, we do not know. Surely they had to be judges (*καὶ ἐδικάσαν* — *C.Ap.* I, 157). The judge was also the first in the state. How much his task was curtailed, certainly depended on the position and task (and personality) of the Babylonian *šandabakku* and his supervision over the external affairs of Tyre.

202 *καθίστημι* = to ordain, to appoint; perhaps this is our good luck, but it can also be a good tradition or an excellent translation of the passage quoted by Josephus.

203 Unger, *ZAW* 44 (1926), 316.

204 B. Landsberger, Exkurs: Das Amt des *šandabakku* von Nippur, in: *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*, Amsterdam 1965, 75 ff.

205 The full text of this tablet is in R. B. Dougherty, *Archives From Erech (Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus)*, vol. I, New Haven 1923, 25: no. 94.

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be mere coincidence that this document comes from Tyre, and that the date coincides with the year we propose for the beginning of the nomination of judges in Tyre. We would only like to raise this point, without jumping at any conclusions, since we have no further sources. The death of Tyre's first judge Iakinbaal, the son of Baal-shalah²⁰⁶, after a reign of only two months, can be interpreted as an accident (or was he murdered, just as Gedaliah was slain after a very short time). Still the fact that the next judge held his office for only 10 months indicates that it was a yearly office.

There can be no doubt that the Tyrian royal family was not residing in Tyre. They, together with the king as their head, lived, or more exactly had to live, in Babylon. In the famous "Court List" from the days of Nebuchadnezzar²⁰⁷, which is dated by Unger ca. 570 B.C.E.²⁰⁸, we find Nabu-zêri-iddinam (col. III, line 36) heading the high court officials. This minister is also mentioned in the Bible (II Kings 25 : 8 ff.; Jer. 39 : 9 ff.). The last minister is the "chief of the royal merchants"²⁰⁹, a gentleman with the fine Phoenician name Ḥanunu²¹⁰. The end of that list deserves our special interest. Under the subtitle: "the officials of the country of Akkad" we find after a long list of Babylonian officials seven kings (and apparently even more, but there the document is broken)²¹¹. The leader of these kings is the king of Tyre, followed by the kings of Gaza, of Sidon, of Arvad, of Ashdod, of Mir (... ? ?), of... ? ?. We can assume that surely the king of Judah²¹², and perhaps the king of Ashkelon (or only the princes of Ashkelon)²¹³ were named too, perhaps followed by those of Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

From Josephus we learn about a military campaign of Nebuchadnezzar dated in his twenty-third year of reign (=582 B.C.E.) "against Coele-Syria, and after occupying it, [he] made war both on the Moabites

206 Harris, *GPhL*, 90.

207 *ANET*², 307b-308a.

208 Unger, *Babylon*, 35.

209 Thus Oppenheim's translation of *rab tamkâri* (*ANET*², 308a); in his book *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, 94, Oppenheim calls him "chief trader"; Unger translates the title as "Oberbankier (Oberkaufmann)" (*Babylon*, 290).

210 Harris *GPhL*, 103; Ḥanunu reminds us of the mediæval German court Jew.

211 Cf. Unger, *Babylon*, Tafel 56.

212 Weidner, *Jojachin*, 923-928.

213 *ibid.* 928 (here only the two sons of Aga', king of Ashkelon, are mentioned).

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and the Ammonites. Then, after making these nations subject to him, he invaded Egypt in order to subdue it, and having killed the king who was then reigning and appointing another, he again took captive the Jews who were in the country and carried them to Babylon" (*Ant.* X, 181-182). From this we derive some important information, part of which demonstrates the accuracy of the record in the book of Jeremiah (52 : 30). It also fits nicely into the historical picture of that time. We also find a hint of it in a quotation by Josephus from the book of Berossus, who states "that the Babylonian monarch (=Nebuchadnezzar) conquered Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia" (*C.Ap.* I, 133). Josephus continues: "statements in accordance with those of Berossus are found in the Phoenician archives, which relates, how the king of Babylon (=Nebuchadnezzar) subdued Syria and the whole of Phoenicia" (*C.Ap.* I, 143)²¹⁴.

From the record "The Court of Nebuchadnezzar" we may deduce that the whole Phoenician coast, the whole of Philistia, and we may add the whole hinterland: Judah, Samaria, Damascus etc. was now under firm Babylonian domination. All this points to one aim: to have a safe and unmolested base for the ultimate campaign against Egypt²¹⁵. This and only this was the real motivation for the conquest of all the many small states in western Asia, and the main reason for Nebuchadnezzar's attack on the Phoenician town-states of Arvad, Sidon and Tyre. Here the absolute possession of both harbors and fleets was essential. We have already said that Egypt had a large fleet at its disposal at this period of time. Thus, since the days of the Sargonids, a change of the naval power had taken place in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. Egypt's new and big fleet became a potential danger as long as the Phoenician towns were really independent.

We may surmise how Nebuchadnezzar succeeded in bringing under his control Arvad, Sidon²¹⁶ and even Byblos²¹⁷. It may have taken place during the campaign mentioned by Josephus, for the firm grip of the whole Phoenician coast preceded, as we have already said, the campaign against Tyre, and surely the last years of the siege. One should not forget that Josephus had dated that campaign and the occupation of Coele-Syria in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar (=582/81

214 Cf. i.a. Jth. 2:28 ff. (here Sidon, Tyre and other towns are accepting the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar).

215 Such a campaign is eagerly expected by both Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

216 Arvad and Sidon: *ANET*², 308a.

217 Cf. the Byblian artisans in Babylon (Weidner, *Jojachin*, 928-929).

B.C.E.), adding that the expedition happened in the fifth year after the sacking of Jerusalem (*Ant. X*, 181)²¹⁸. We now have exactly the situation — is this really only accidental? ²¹⁹ — described in chapters 46–49 in the Book of Jeremiah, in the prophecies against the nations: against Egypt, against the Philistines coupled together with Tyre and Sidon, against Moab and the people of Ammon (these last two are named by Josephus explicitly [*Ant. X*, 182]). The missing Ashdod in chapter 47 will certainly interest those who deal with the history of Philistia (cf. also Jer. 25:20). This is even more remarkable as the kings of both Gaza and Ashdod appear in that “Court List”, while the sons of the king of Ashkelon are mentioned in the Weidner text B. We can not explain the meaning of “because the day is upon them, when Philistia will be despoiled and Tyre and Sidon destroyed to the last defender” (Jer. 47:4)²²⁰. At the time of the long siege, even at its very beginning, Tyre could not expect any help from the Philistine coastal towns. Help could come only from Egypt, and Egypt did not interfere in favor of Tyre.

With the end of the siege, the total occupation of all the countries between Babylon and Egypt was completed, and the political aim of Nebuchadnezzar was achieved. This is also clearly expressed by Josephus,

218 This story of Josephus is surely based on Jer. 52:30.

219 It may be accidental from the point of view of the prophet, but it is not accidental from the point of view of a redactor.

220 We are unable to propose a fixed date to this oracle. The reader should consult the commentaries. It depends strongly on the events after the defeat of the Egyptians in 605 B.C.E. The foe comes from the “north” (verse 2). Malamat proposed the year 609 as the background of chapter 47 (Malamat, *IEJ* 1 [1950—51], 154 ff.). But it is Nebuchadnezzar who will punish Egypt (Jer. 46), Philistia and Phoenicia (Jer. 47), Moab (Jer. 48), Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Elam (Jer. 49). A Babylonian campaign against Elam was apparently undertaken in 596 B.C.E., Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 36). Tadmor suggested that some parts of chapter 47 reflect much earlier events, especially verse 7, in which Ashkelon is mentioned. He proposed to see in it an echo of Ashkelon’s revolt against Esarhaddon (Tadmor, *BIES XXIV* [1959/60], 29 note 27 [Hebrew]). But why must we look into the past, if the immediate future is not contradictory to the oracle? Bardtke thought that the historical background for the words against Tyre and Sidon was the aspiration of those Phoenician towns to annex some territories of former Assyrian provinces, which belonged to the former Kingdom of Israel, and should now be handed over to Josiah (Bardtke, *ZAW* 53 [1935], 238). A bit too far fetched an opinion!

when he listed the invasion of Egypt after the occupation of all the small countries (*Ant. X*, 182).

The end of the long siege of Tyre was also the end of a long and glorious history of Tyre. Surely it was not noticed in Tyre itself at that moment; the end of the siege had brought some relief to its citizens. But the installation of the judges instead of the old royal regime ca. 564/63 B.C.E. shows clearly the instability of the political situation, and the curtailment of Tyre’s liberties. The repercussions in the colonial empire were felt much more quickly and deeply. We believe that the story about the revolt of the famous Tarshish, Tartessos in Spain, against Tyre belongs to the period of the long siege. Herodotus tells us that the legendary king Arganthonius asked the Phocaeans to settle in his land ²²¹. It was left to Tyre’s great daughter, Carthage, to take revenge on the Phocaeans, when the joint fleet of the Carthaginians and Etruscans defeated the Phocaeans in the sea battle of Alalia in 540 B.C.E. In those years Carthage had become an ‘independent’ state, or in the words of Dion Chrysostomos: “. . . and Hanno made the Carthaginians Libyans (=Africans) instead of Tyrians, and forced them to live in Libya instead of Phoenicia” ²²². Still a filial relationship between daughter and mother, certainly in the religious field, existed until the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C.E. ²²³.

Nebuchadnezzar had achieved his goal; the attack on Egypt could start. But a new situation on Babylonia’s eastern frontiers, the rising power of the Median empire, would give Egypt a further respite. In the first half of 569 B.C.E., however, civil war was waged in Egypt in consequence of a military revolt. Pharaoh Hophra was defeated and fell into the hands of his adversary, an Egyptian general, Amasis, who then ruled Egypt for 44 years ²²⁴. We doubt the notion that Amasis severed his relations with Babylon. The discovery in Sidon of a vase and part of a sistrum, both with the cartouche of Amasis ²²⁵ should

221 Herodotus I, 163.

222 Dio. Chrysostomos, *orationes XXV*, 7.

223 Diod. Siculus XX, 14, 1, 2; cf. The Carthaginian envoys in Tyre in the days of the siege by Alexander the Great (Arrian II, 24, 5), or Demetrius I Soter’s flight in a Carthaginian ship which brought the title of Carthage to Tyre (Polybius XXXI, 12, 19 ff.).

224 Kienitz, *Ägypten*, 157: 569–527 B.C.E.; Gardiner, *Egypt*. 451: 570–526 B.C.E.; Freedy & Redford, *JAOS* 90 (1970), 474: spring/early summer 569 — December 526 B.C.E.

225 J. Leclant, “Relations entre l’Égypte et la Phénicie”, in *The Role of the*

not be interpreted as a sign of (immediate) Egyptian activity in Phoenicia against Babylonia. We feel that we should not rush to any conclusion, as we do not know the circumstances and the time in which these objects reached Sidon and as we do know that Amasis liked to send offerings of art overseas (i.a. to many Greek temples ²²⁶).

We strongly believe that it was this civil war which induced Nebuchadnezzar to muster his troops and march against Egypt in his 37th year of reign (=568 B.C.E.). The text about this campaign is very fragmentary ²²⁷. It seems that it was Amasis who tried to repel the Babylonian aggressor. Perhaps we should connect a full eclipse of the sun, which took place on July 14, 568 B.C.E. ²²⁸, with the quick end of this major Babylonian operation. Nebuchadnezzar surely looked upon this invasion as a great victory ²²⁹, but we feel that both kings came to an agreement, for there is no deep penetration of the Babylonian army into Egypt. If our assumption is right, then Nebuchadnezzar was given a free hand in western Asia. Actually, Amasis agreed to the *status quo*, and was able to strengthen his own position in Egypt by his quick deal with the Babylonian king. Thus, from the Egyptian point of view, he had successfully repulsed the invader.

It should be stressed that Amasis never tried — even in the years of Nebuchadnezzar's weak immediate successors — to reconquer part of western Asia or even to stir a revolt in that region.

We wish to cite again the passage from the tenth book of *Antiquities* of Josephus, where we are told that "after making these nations subject to him, he (=Nebuchadnezzar) invaded Egypt in order to subdue it, and having killed the king who was then reigning, appointed another . . ." (*Ant.* X, 181–182). Surely it was not Nebuchadnezzar who killed Hophra, for Herodotus says that the Egyptians strangled him ²³⁰. However, the invasion and death of Hophra apparently occurred during the same period of time. We know that Hophra was not killed immediately after his defeat, but was taken prisoner. The story of Josephus

Phoenicians, Beirut 1968, 18, pl. IX.

226 Herodotus II, 182.

227 *ANET*², 308b.

228 Thiele, *MNHK*, 294; cf. also the eclipse of the sun in May 585 B.C.E., which was the cause of the end of the five-years war between the Lydians and the Medians (Herodotus I, 74).

229 Thus we interpret the *Preislied* of lines 1—12 (in a very bad state of preservation) published by Winckler (*AOF* I, 511 ff.) and also by Langdon (*NBK*, 206/207); these lines are not printed in the text in *ANET*², 308b.

230 Herodotus II, 169; cf. Kienitz *Ägypten*, 161 ff.

is based on real events, even if they are represented on a wrong background.

Here we would like to add a short note about the Egyptian campaigns against Cyprus, which were only possible because of Egypt's strong fleet and naval superiority under Amasis, due to Tyre's relative weakness. At about this time one notes a certain withdrawal of the Greeks from Cyprus. We do not know when Kition became independent from Tyre and was ruled by a native king, maybe in the days of the long siege, or in the days of the judges. The earliest coins of Kition bear only Phoenician inscriptions ²³¹. While Baal-melekh I (first quarter of the 5th century B.C.E.) was only called king of Kition, his son Oz-baal already was king of Kition and Idalion ²³².

We have already discussed the possible campaign of Hophra against Cyprus and Phoenicia. An Egyptian expedition in the time of Amasis against some cities in Cyprus is very possible ²³³. On the other hand there is a strong influence of Saite models on Cypriote art which point to a comparatively long period of very close connections between Egypt and Cyprus. However we decline to assume that Amasis undertook such an expedition in his early days of reign. Perhaps the campaign dates only to the period after the death of Nebuchadnezzar ²³⁴.

Reverting to the history of Tyre we have a tablet in which Tyre is mentioned from the last days of December 570 (= about two years after the long siege). It deals with the sale of sesame ²³⁵. In another tablet, a contract written in Tyre ²³⁶ and dated 22nd of Tammuz 40th years of Nebuchadnezzar (= July 565 B.C.E.) we learn that the governor of Kadesh (on the river Orontes) was dealing in cattle. Our interest lies in the fact that it is dated according to the regnal years of Nebuchadnezzar, although it is written in Tyre. There is a further tablet from the year 564 B.C.E., which shows even more clearly Tyre's dependency on Babylonia. It is that tablet, which we have already mentioned, in which the Babylonian *šandabakku* — residing in Tyre — appears as main witness. This high Babylonian official was pro-

231 B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², Oxford 1911, 737–738.

232 E. Oberhammer Kition, *PW* XI (Stuttgart 1922), col. 537.

233 Herodotus II, 182; Diod. I, 68, 6; Gardiner, *Egypt*, 362.

234 R. D. Hall, *CAH* III (1929), 306.

235 Unger, *Babylon*, 36–37; cf. also the distribution of sesame oil to foreigners at the court of Nebuchadnezzar (Weidner, *Jojachin*, 924 ff.).

236 Since the days of El-Amarna these are the first inscriptions which were definitely written in Tyre!

moted and reappears in 561 B.C.E. as the *šandabakku* of Nippur²³⁷. Another tablet, apparently also written in Tyre, informs us about a delivery of dates to the "chiefs of the town of Tyre". It is dated 24th of Tammuz in the 42nd year of Nebuchadnezzar (= July 563 B.C.E.)²³⁸. As the kingship of Tyre had been abolished by that time, the term "chiefs of the town of Tyre" should be emphasized. The reader will forgive us if we abstain from further speculations. As the last two tablets were found in Erech, we can but guess that the merchant was an agent of one of the big trading firms of Tyre. This clearly demonstrates the vastness of the Babylonian empire. Another tablet from Erech tells us about four soldiers who were equipped with warm garments issued by a temple in Erech²³⁹. These soldiers had to go together with a high officer/official "to the land of Tyre". The tablet is dated 12th of Nissan, 42nd year (= April 563 B.C.E.). We may assume that these soldiers formed the bodyguard of that official, Ina-eshî-êṭir²⁴⁰.

We have already said that Baal II reigned until ca. 564 B.C.E. Then a constitutional change in the rulership of Tyre took place. The kingship which we have followed for about 1300 years was abolished. The Babylonian king appointed a judge, Iakin-baal, who died (?) after two months of judgeship. He was succeeded by Kaleb the son of Abdi²⁴¹, who officiated for the next ten months, the two judges thus serving a full year²⁴². Such a term would fit an election more than an appointment. Then the chief-priest (high-priest)²⁴³ named Abbar²⁴⁴

237 It clearly demonstrates the Babylonian domination over the whole western Asia at that time (cf. also Th. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, London 1908, 401).

238 Unger, *Babylon*, 37; R. P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus* (= Goucher Cuneiform Inscriptions vol. I), New Haven 1923, 61: no. 169.

239 R. P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods* (= Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. II), New Haven 1933, 22—24.

240 A frequent Babylonian name; cf. *ibid.*, 23 note 2.

241 Harris, *GPhL*, 129.

242 The term of the judges in Carthage and in the colonies, was for a period of one year (Meyer, *GA* II/2, 123).

243 ἀρχιερεὺς both Josephus and the NT attest that the Jewish High-Priest was the first in the state in both judicial and political matters; cf. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ II, 255 ff.

244 חֲבֵר, n.pr. in the Bible (cf. Gesenius¹⁷, 212).

became judge. As the high-priest in Tyre was, certainly in older times, second only to the king²⁴⁵, we may assume that his appointment as a judge was a temporary one, for he kept that office for only three months. Certainly the Babylonian commissioner had to wait for the royal confirmation. Then two judges Mattan, and Ger-Ashtart²⁴⁶ the son²⁴⁷ of Ebed-elim²⁴⁸, officiated for the long period of six years (ca. 562—ca. 557 B.C.E.²⁴⁹). These years approximate the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar's immediate successors.

Nebuchadnezzar died during the first days of October 562 B.C.E., and his son Amel-Marduk (= the biblical Evil-Merodach, II Kings 25: 27 = Jer. 52: 31) succeeded him (561—560 B.C.E.). Berosus, quoted by Josephus, describes Amel-Marduk's government as a "lawless and licentious" one (*C.Ap.* I, 147). He was murdered by his brother-in-law Nergal-Shar-Usur. From August 560 B.C.E. we have evidence that Nergal-Shar-Usur (probably the Nergal-Shar-Ezer in Jer. 39: 3, 13²⁵⁰) ruled over Babylon²⁵¹. His reign lasted four years (559—556 B.C.E.) (cf. *C.Ap.* I, 147), and we have only a very few documents from his reign²⁵².

245 Justin XVIII, 4, 5.

246 That was the name of the king of Arvad in the days of Alexander the Great (Arrian II, 13, 7).

247 One can also translate it as "the sons" (e.g. Movers, 2/1, 464); the question whether Mattan was also the son of Ebed-elim can not be answered with certainty. If he was, we must assume that one brother followed the other, and that the total time was a period of six years. There can be no doubt that two brothers could not be judges together. And two brothers were never "suffets" at the same time in Carthage (cf. Aristoteles, *Polit.* II, 11). But if Mattan was not the son of Ebed-elim then the possibility of a joint rulership and a joint judgeship is possible, as is an alternate administration. But cf. the story of the two sons of Samuel, whom the prophet "appointed to be judges in Israel... and they acted as judges in Beersheba" (I Sam. 8:1—2). The nomination of the sons to serve in the same city is astonishing. Therefore we do not wonder when Josephus puts one son in the city of Bethel, and the other in Beersheba (*Ant.* VI, 32).

248 Harris, *GPhL*, 128; cf. Abdelimus = Abdalonymus, name of the king of Sidon who was enthroned by Alexander the Great (Curtius IV, 3—4). Diodorus makes him, erroneously, king of Tyre, XVII, 46, 6; Eissfeldt, *Kl. Schr.* II, 317 ff.

249 Gutschmid assumed that one of the judges was appointed over the island of Tyre and the other over Ushu (= Palaityros) (*Kl. Schr.* II, 71).

250 Kittel, *GVI*³, 3/1, 10.

251 Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 12.

252 Langdon, *NBK*, 208—219.

One such important historical document from his short reign has been found in the British Museum and has been published by D. J. Wiseman²⁵³. These 27 lines deal with Nergal-Shar-Usur's campaign in his third year (=557 B.C.E.) in Cilicia, a region that had been conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and show that the king was very active. Nergal-Shar-Usur claimed a great victory. He devastated the whole country of Pirindu²⁵⁴ and returned in February/March 556 B.C.E. to Babylon. By marching against Cilicia the Babylonian army had to pass through the Amanus Mountains in northern Phoenicia.

Perhaps as a reward for the active help of a Tyrian (?) fleet — in this Cilician campaign the conquest of an island-city is reported — or perhaps as the result of the revolution some months later in Babylon, we hear that a king, Baal-ezer followed the judges in Tyre ca. 556 B.C.E. It was in late April of that year that Nergal-Shar-Usur died and was succeeded by his infant son Labashi-Marduk who ruled apparently only two months (ca. May-June²⁵⁵). For the following king, Nabunaid, counted his ascension year beginning with May/June 556²⁵⁶, and certainly at the end of June 556 Nabunaid was the sole ruler over the entire Babylonian empire. Perhaps the new Tyrian king owed his throne to the new Babylonian king²⁵⁷; we do not know whether Baal-ezer was sent from Babylon to Tyre. There is further possibility that the return of the kingship to Tyre is to be connected with the campaign of Astyagas, the king of the Medes, against western Mesopotamia and the (unsuccessful) siege of the town of Harrân²⁵⁸. Probably there is a connection between all these events.

Quite another problem is the very short reign of this Tyrian king. Was he really an old man when he started to rule over Tyre? We have only guesses to offer, yet one thing seems quite certain to us: he was

253 Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 74/75 – 76/77.

254 *ibid.*, 41–42; prisoners and craftsmen from Pirindu (in Western Cilicia) are mentioned in the tablets published by Weidner (*Jojachin*, 935). Weidner still speaks of Pirindu as an “*unbekannter Ländername*”.

255 Berosus calls him a boy who occupied the throne for 9 months (*C. Ap. I*, 148); Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 13.

256 Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 13, 29.

257 Although the difference between the dates of Winckler and our own is about one year, Winckler also felt that there may be a connection between the re-installation of a king in Tyre and the ascension of Nabunaid in Babylon. But Winckler's “first” king is Mahar-baal (Winckler, *KAT*³, 143 note 1).

258 Thus J. Lewy, *HUCA XIX* (1945/46) 416 cf. Langdon, *NBK*, 218/219.

not murdered for the sake of usurpation. For when he died, the people of Tyre had to send to Babylon to fetch “from there Maharbaal who reigned four years” (*C. Ap. I*, 158) (ca. 555–ca. 552 B.C.E.). This king was certainly a scion of the royal Tyrian family, because “on his death they (=the Tyrians) sent (to Babylon) for his brother Hiram” (*ibid.*). He may have been the legitimate claimant to the Tyrian throne. We may assume that the Babylonian consent was given by Nabunaid, who was then in his first regnal year, and that Mahar-baal was a trustworthy candidate of the Babylonians. We may even go further and take it for granted that about this time all the other royal Phoenician families returned to their home towns on the Phoenician coast. For in the early Persian period we find kings in all the Phoenician towns, in contrast to Judah or Samaria, where there were only governors.

Under Nabunaid Babylonia continued its firm hold over the western sea countries. The king also took an active interest in the affairs of these countries, certainly in the first part of his reign, when preparations for the rebuilding of the temples in Harran and Sippar were made. Such undertakings demanded thousands of laborers and skilled workers, craftsmen and artisans. In Nabunaid's second year (554 B.C.E.) a mobilization of such craftsmen “from Gaza at the border of Egypt, from the Upper Sea beyond the Euphrates, till to the Lower Sea . . .”²⁵⁹ took place. Besides artisans, prisoners of war, and slaves were used for these projects²⁶⁰. Building materials were also necessary, especially wood which was brought from the mountains of Amanus and Lebanon²⁶¹. From one of Nabunaid's inscriptions we learn that “5000 mighty beams of cedar were cut” for the roofing, the doors etc. of these new temples²⁶². The Phoenicians took certainly a part in the cutting of lumber and in the construction as architects and craftsmen²⁶³. In the so-called “Na-

259 Langdon, *NBK*, 220/221; for the abolition of that Babylonian corvée cf. Cyrus-Cylinder (*ANET*², 316a).

260 Cf. the Istanbul Stele of Nabunaid, col. IX lines 31 ff.: “2850 of the captive warriors of the land of Hume, . . ., I presented to the gods Bél, Nabû and Nergal . . . in order to serve as brick carriers” (Langdon, *NBK*, 284/85; *ANET*², 311a).

261 In the days of Ashurbanipal “great beams of cedar and cyprus, the products of Amanus and Lebanon” were needed for the building-works in Esagila (Luckenbill, *AR II*, § 979).

262 Langdon, *NBK*, 226/227.

263 Cf. the craftsmen (carpenters) from Arvad and Byblos in the Weidner-texts (*ANET*², 308b).

bonidus-Chronicle" (from his third year = 553 B.C.E.) we learn about a march to the Amanus, the mountains of . . .²⁶⁴. In a parallel text to that part of that chronicle we have an important addition which says that the campaign started in May 553 B.C.E. and was directed against "the land of Hatti" and the town Amanus²⁶⁵.

In December of the same year the king again marched against Hatti and the town of (A)dumum²⁶⁶. Julius Levy's theory is that Nabunaid stayed in the oasis of Têmâ beginning with his fourth year (552/51²⁶⁷). We do not know whether all these campaigns in the west were the result of some unrest arising from the expensive demands of Nabunaid's building program.

In 552 B.C.E. Mahar-baal died in Tyre, and the Tyrians sent for his brother Hiram who was then living in Babylon, apparently in the vicinity of the royal palace. If our chronological data for the Tyrian rulers in the Neo-Babylonian period are right, it must be assumed that it was still Nabunaid who "released" Hiram III, in order that he might become the legitimate ruler of Tyre. Perhaps Nabunaid's heart at that moment was already far from the political and economic²⁶⁸ needs of his vast empire, and therefore he easily gave his consent. Or perhaps the opportunity presented by the balance of power in the east and north of Babylonia induced him to strengthen his contacts with the west, by sending a loyal vassal to Tyre. We can be sure, though, that the Tyrian merchant princes must have noticed the first cracks in the Babylonian empire. They must have also noticed the aim of the Persian monarch to encircle his western neighbor.

From Nabunaid's sixth year (October 550 B.C.E.)²⁶⁹ there is an inventory listing, i.a. copper and iron from Ionia, iron from Lebanon, and precious stones from Egypt. In another tablet, dated nearly a year

264 ANET², 305b.

265 Weidner, JSOR VI (1922), 119 ff.

266 J. Lewy, HUCA XIX (1944/45), 435 note 145.

267 *ibid.*, 434 note 145; cf. also the passage in the "Verse Account of Nabonidus" which tells us about the transfer of the administration to the crown-prince, and Nabunaid's departure to Têmâ "when the third year was about to begin" (ANET², 313b); Tadmor is more cautious in his statement, saying that "Nabunaid departed to Teima not later than his 5th year" (H. Tadmor, in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger*, Chicago 1965, 352).

268 About the inflation in Babylon in that year. cf. Saggs, *Babylon*, 147-148.

269 Unger, *Babylon*, 38; cf. also R. Ph. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus*, New Haven 1920, 14.

before (= July 551), we learn about widespread trade connections with the western countries²⁷⁰.

About 550 B.C.E. Media was absorbed by the Persians. The other big countries, Egypt, Lydia, and Babylonia, must have looked at this development with growing anxiety. In the following years they even became allies against the rising power of Persia. In 548 B.C.E. (=8th year of Nabunaid) we hear about an estrangement between Babylonia and Persia. Gobyras, the Babylonian governor of Gutium (the name given by the Babylonians to the former Elam) went over to Cyrus²⁷¹. In the following year Cyrus crossed the Tigris River²⁷². Now even Sparta joined the allies. In autumn 546 B.C.E., after some initial victories, the Lydian troops under Croesus were utterly defeated and the capital of Lydia, Sardis, was conquered by Cyrus²⁷³. By his free will the king of Cilicia accepted the overlordship of Cyrus²⁷⁴. The allies were too late to rescue Croesus. From now on it was only a question of time before a military encounter would take place between the new Persian empire and Babylonia.

Still, it took Nabunaid some time to recognize the immediate dangers. Apparently in his 13th/14th year of reign (ca. 542 B.C.E.) he returned to Babylon. At that time he must have been already more than 70 years old. After having been far away from his capital he became much estranged from it, from its priests and clergy, and from its inhabitants. Thus when, in Tishri 539 (=17th regnal year of Nabunaid), Cyrus attacked the Babylonian army at Opis on the Tigris River, "the inhabitants of Akkad revolted, but he (Nabunaid) massacred the confused inhabitants"²⁷⁵. Nabunaid gave battle to the Persians, but was defeated. The king fled to Babylon, where he fell into the hands of the Persian troops, who had conquered the mighty city without any resistance. About a fortnight later, on October 29, 539 B.C.E., Cyrus entered Babylon²⁷⁶. "It was in Hiram's reign (in his fourteenth year) that Cyrus became monarch of Persia (read of Babylonia)" (*C.Ap.* I, 158-159).

270 E.W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business And Administrative Documents*, Ann Arbor 1935, 86/87.

271 Olmstead, *Persia*, 45; cf. ANET², 306b, 315b.

272 ANET², 306b.

273 Olmstead, *Persia*, 40.

274 Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, 6, 8.

275 ANET², 306b.

276 Parker/Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 14.

The History of Tyre

There can be no doubt that until the last minute all the Phoenician town-states remained under the supremacy of Nabunaid. Thus we interpret the passage in Herodotus's first book, which speaks about the Milesians. There it is written that "Cyrus had received them into alliance", for at that time "Phoenicia was still independent of Persia, and the Persians themselves were not a seafaring people"²⁷⁷. Still we should bear in mind that even the mighty Egypt was an ally of Croesus, who was allied to Nabunaid²⁷⁸, so that in this fashion there were friendly relations between Egypt and Babylonia. Nothing is reported about the reaction of Hiram III. Had the many years of overlordship in Tyre killed any feelings for independence? We can be sure that Hiram received news of the downfall of Nabunaid with mixed feelings. We should not forget that certainly a part of the royal Tyrian family, perhaps even some other noble Tyrian hostages, were still living in Babylon. After the return of those exiles, feelings of gratitude on one hand, and prospects of business on the other, could dictate the political line of Tyre. Only then could the Tyrians start to rebuild their fleet, after a long period in which any extensive building program had been vetoed by the Babylonian commissioner.

Herodotus tells us that "the Phoenicians yielded themselves to the Persians" of their own accord²⁷⁹. Apparently they did not wait for Cyrus to come to the west; they went to Babylon. Perhaps this is the meaning of the passages in the "Cyrus-Cylinder" which refer to the appearance of "all the kings of the entire world from the Upper to the Lower Sea, those who are seated in throne rooms, . . . , all the kings of the West Land living in tents, brought their heavy tributes and kissed my feet in Babylon . . ." ²⁸⁰.

The change of the overlord was more than a change. Phoenicia, and all the important town-states without exception, now became an integral part of the mighty Persian empire for 200 years. But during all this

277 Herodotus I, 143.

278 Herodotus I, 77.

279 Herodotus III, 19; this passage cannot be applied to the days of Cambyses; cf. Ezra 3:7. The question is whether at that early date Sidon had succeeded in gaining first place among her sister-cities and whether Tyre was then only number two. We feel that such a development did begin at that time. The refusal of the Phoenician fleet to sail for Cambyses against Carthage (Herodotus III, 19) can be only explained by Tyre's superiority at that time.

280 ANET², 316a.

The Neo-Babylonian Period

long period, and even much later, kings always ruled over the town-states of Phoenicia. Needless to say, their political and legal rights were more than those of a governor or satrap. It is possible that, at least in the early stages, they felt themselves more allies than vassals of the Persian king. Much later Phoenicia was included in the fifth satrapy of the Persian empire²⁸¹.

Thus Tyre was unable to make a comeback as a real power. In the west its place was taken over by Carthage — evidently strengthened by some noble Tyrian families²⁸². In consequence of this development the political leadership of all the Tyrian strongholds in the western part of the Mediterranean fell into the hands of the Cathaginians. Thus when the Phoenicians organized a strong opposition to the Greek colonization and successfully checked the Greek *Drang nach Westen* by defeating the Phocaeans at the sea battle of Alalia in 540 B.C.E.²⁸³, it was no longer Tyre but Carthage who was the leader. For the daughter had also become politically independent of her mother in the period of the long siege (or immediately after it)²⁸⁴. For about 400 years Carthage struggled for the supremacy of the Mediterranean. By founding Carthage Tyre exerted an enormous influence upon the entire western world. The magnitude of this influence is entirely out of proportion to the size of the tiny island we call Tyre. Yet, in its heyday, Tyre was "perfect in beauty" (Ezek. 27:3); in the eyes of all its beholders, it was "the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, her traders the most honoured men on earth" (Is. 23:8), "a famous city, whose strength lay in the sea . . ." (Ezek. 26:17).

281 Herodotus III, 91.

282 Dio Chrysostomos, *orationes*, XXV, 7; cf. A.v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* II, 71.

283 J. Boardman, *Greeks*, 216; 535 B.C.E. (Moscato, *Phoenicians*, 118).

284 The victory of the Carthaginian general Malchus over the Greeks in Sicily, ca. 550 B.C.E., the conquest of nearly the whole of Sicily, and the dynasty of Magon, all clearly indicate Carthage's independent policy. Cf. also Lenschau, *Karthago*, *PW* X (1919), cols. 2225 ff. Only the religious bonds between Carthage and Tyre continued until the last days of Carthage (cf. note 223; Meyer, *GA* II/2, 113).

List of the Tyrian kings

<i>approximate dates BCE</i>	<i>name</i>
1850	ruler (=king ?)
1350	unidentified king: usurper
1350	Abimilki
1230	Baal-t-r-m-g (?)
?	Abibaal
969 — 936	Hiram I
935 — 919	Baal-eser I
918 — 910	Abdastratus
909 — 898	Methusastartus
897 — 889	Astarymus
888	Phelles
887 — 856	Ethbaal I
855 — 830	Baal-azor II
829 — 821	Mattan I
820 — 774	Pygmalion
750 — 740 (?)	Ethbaal II
739 — 730 (?)	Hiram II
730/29	Mattan II
729 — 694	Eloulaïos
680 — 660 (?)	Baal I
591/0 — 573/2	Ethbaal III
573/2 — 564	Baal II
2 months	Iakinbaal
8 months 564/3	Chelbes
3 months	Abbar
562 — 557	Mattan III and Ger-asthart
556	Baal-eser III
555 — 552	Mahar-baal
551 — 532	Hiram III

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