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PREFACE

To mark the occasion of the sixty-fifth birthday of Hayim Tadmor (in November 1988), collegues and friends from East and West have joined together in the present collection of essays which reflect the multi-faceted nature of his scholarly work.

A major focus of this work has been the investigation of the ideological patterns in the Assyrian historical inscriptions. In concluding a recent study, Tadmor noted that

> ...the formulae we have discussed are thus our best, and sometimes our only available source for tracing the changing self-image of the Assyrian monarch, which in itself is indicative of the changes in the royal court and among the scribes. In that sense, the new reality they created is of no less significance than the often concealed historical reality which they purport to relate (*ARINH*, 33).

He gave expression here, perhaps instinctively, to one of the central pillars and *raison d'être* of his distinguished scholarly career.

Tadmor is first and foremost a historian. During his early studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, he already concentrated in Bible and History (1943–1949). At the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (1951–1952), he began a career-long specialization in Assyriology. After receiving his PhD in Jerusalem (1955), he pursued postgraduate work at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1955–1957) under the tutelage of Benno Landsberger. Tadmor then returned to Jerusalem, to lecture in Near Eastern studies and to found the Department of Assyriology at the Hebrew University, with which he has been associated until the present. He has been a frequent lecturer at universities in the United States, Canada and in Europe. In recognition of his scholarly achievements, he was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1985 and the American Oriental Society in 1986.

Tadmor ranks as one of the leading authorities on the history of Mesopotamia during the first millennium B.C.E. In particular, he has developed models for the study of the major corpus of that history, the Assyrian royal inscriptions, with a view towards defining their ideological trends and the techniques of literary transmission; his models have become the accepted norm for the analysis of these documents.

Tadmor's work on ancient historiography integrates both Mesopotamian as well as biblical sources. Early on, Tadmor recognized the significance of chronology for understanding the affairs of state and so, he has periodically

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returned to refine his system of Biblical Chronology with the aid of extra-biblical records. He has lavished special attention upon the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-pileser III, during whose reign Israel was first brought under direct Assyrian rule; in dozens of *Vorarbeiten,* he consulted the excavator's notebooks in order to restore the order of the surviving fragmentary texts and now has prepared a definitive edition of the *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III,* in press. His studies of the history of Israel and its land range from the pre-Monarchic period until the Restoration, with special emphasis on the history of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid empires in the West. In addition to their political aspects, Tadmor paints a lucid picture of social and cultural trends in Israel and Assyria.

It is the wish of the contributors and editors of this volume that our jubilarian will find in it material of interest and relevance to advance his own work. As Daniel and his friends in their day, "proficient in the writings and language of the Chaldeans," may he enjoy long and happy years "with knowledge and intelligence" in the service of God and man.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Assyriological abbreviations used in this volume are those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD)*, vol. S.

AB	Anchor Bible
AION	*Annali dell'istituto orientali di Napoli*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., Princeton 1969
ARRIM	*Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellenique*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabetiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 a 1939*, I–II, Paris 1963
EAK	*Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften*
Edzard, *SRU*	D.O. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur*, München 1968
EI	*Eretz Israel*
FAOS	*Freiburger altorientalische Studien*
GöMis	*Göttinger Miszellen*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAI	H. Donner–W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inscripten,* 1-3, Wiesbaden 1962–1964
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
Kramer, *SLTNi*	S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul*, New Haven 1944
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartin, *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976
Luckenbill, *ARAB*	D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I–II, Chicago 1926–1927
MEE	*Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*
NL	Nimrud Letter
NWL	J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, London 1972
OLP	*Orientalia Loveniensia Periodica*
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OrSuec	*Orientalia Suecana*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studien*
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*

10   *Abbreviations*

PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*
PRU	*Palais royal d'Ugarit*
PW	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893–
RAI	*Rencontre assyriologique internationale*
Reisner, *SBH*	G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*, Berlin 1896
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RÉS	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris 1914–
RIMA	*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project, Assyrian Records*
ROMCT	*Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts*
SAA	*State Archives of Assyria*
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SANE	*Sources from the Ancient Near East*
SEA	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SEb	*Studi Eblaiti*
Steible, *Rimsin*	H. Steible, *Rimsîn, mein König*, Wiesbaden 1975
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Gütersloh 1982 —
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
TRS	H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre,* Paris 1930
UT	C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Texts, Rome 1965
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements
WHJP	*World History of the Jewish People*

ידיעות	ידיעות בחקירת ארץ־ישראל ועתיקותיה
שנתון	שנתון למקרא ולחקר המזרח הקדום

עָרֵי מָדַי

THE CITIES OF THE MEDES

I.M. DIAKONOFF

Then the king of Assyria invaded all the land and came to Samaria, and for three years he besieged it. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria captured Samaria and he carried the Israelites away to Assyria, and placed them in Ḥālaḥ, and on the Ḥābōr, the river of Gōzān, and in the cities of Medes.

... And the king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cuthah, ʿAwwā, Hamath, and from Sepharwaim and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the people of Israel; and they took possession of Samaria and dwelt in its cities.

(II Kings 17:5–6, 24)

It is well known that the king who besieged Samaria was Shalmaneser V, and that the king who took Samaria was Sargon II; and the year was 722 B.C.E.[1]

It is also known that the resettlement of the subjugated population by the Assyrian conquerors from their native land to some other far-away part of the empire did not always immediately follow the conquest. Thus the Israelites were not deported from Samaria earlier than the year 716/5, because before that the Assyrian king had no "cities of the Medes" in his power.

It is also known that the displaced population in general was mostly resettled either in the nuclear part of Assyria, or else removed to a border region where they could be entrusted with arms because, for the sake of their own safety, they had to defend their townships against the unconquered population, hostile to Assyria.[2]

Ḥalaḫḫa was a district in the nuclear part of Assyria, and as such could also be regarded, at least by the end of the 8th century B.C.E., the valley of the Ḥabūr with the city of Guzāna (modern Tell Ḥalāf). But the cities of the Medes were borderland.

The settlers in the towns of conquered Samaria must also have been deported from countries recently vanquished by Assyria on some opposite frontier. The Babylonians and Cutheans were the victims of Sargon's first campaign in 722 or

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1   For brevity's sake, we refer to Luckenbill, *ARAB*, for the Assyrian sources, not to the original and newer text editions.

2   For the relation between the two destinations of the deportees see J. Zabłocka, *Stosunki agrarne w państwie Sargonidów*, Poznań 1971, chart p. 80. Settlement of captives as frontier guards was also practised by the Urartians. Thus Argišti I resettled the people of Ḥatti (here: Melitēnē) and Sophēnē (probably Proto-Armenians in both cases) to the newly built frontier fortress of Erbune at the site of modern Erevan, see I.M. Diakonoff, *Pre-History of the Armenian People*, Delmar N.Y. 1985, 86. The attestations of this practice in Assyria are quite numerous.

721; the Hamathaeans, in 721/20; the identification of 'Awwā and Sepharwaim is still a crux, but they must obviously also be sought in the countries conquered in Sargon's early years.

In the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E., the term *Madāi* was not applied to the whole of the country that was to be called Media after the tribal revolt against Esarhaddon in the 670's, and the creation of the Median kingdom under Xšaθrita (= Phraortēs), and then of the Median Empire under Huvaxšθra (= Cyaxarēs).[3]

The term *Amadāi* (later *Madāi*) first occurs in the days of Shalmaneser III, when the Assyrian king led a campaign in 834 into Namar in the Diyala Valley (which was entered from Bīt-Ḥambān in the north-east of Namar), and then into Parsuā. The latter term means "borderland" in Old Iranian,[4] and was applied to different "marches" of the Iranian-speaking massif. The Parsuā which Shalmaneser III entered in 834 has nothing whatever to do (except the name "borderland" itself) with Pārsa, modern Fārs, the homeland of the Persians; no migration from Parsuā to Pārs is attested, and Persians, no doubt, already lived in Fārs in the 9th century B.C.E.[5] From Parsuā, which must have lain somewhere around modern Sulaimaniye, Shalmaneser crossed a mountain pass into the land of Messi situated apparently in the upper reaches of the Jaghatu river, and from there, across another pass, he turned eastwards and entered the land of Amadāi, probably situated in the upper reaches of the Sefīd-rūd (Qizil-uzen) Valley, or to the south of it, and including, among others, the districts of Aranziaš and Ḥarḥar.[6]

Under Šamšī-Adad V, the Assyrians may have reached the Caspian along the

3   I.M. D'jakonov, *Istoria Midii*, Leningrad–Moscow 1956, 88; see also I.M. Diakonoff in *Cambridge History of Iran*, II, Cambridge 1984.

4   Along with Median **Parsava*-"Parsuā in the Zagros" and **Pārsa* "Fārs" (also a "Median", not Persian form), cf. also Persian *Parθava* (< **Parsava*) "Parthia", the *Parsii* somewhere north of Media and, according to G. Morgenstierne, the *Pašţō* "Afghans" (< **Parsva*-). See J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. **perk*-. Grantovsky's etymology ("those who have strong sides/ribs") does not seem satisfactory.

5   The first reference to *Parsaw/maš* "Fārs" in cuneiform inscriptions is attested under Šamšī-Adad V at the end of the 9th century (*KAH* 142); cf. *ABL* 1309; then it is mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib under 689 (the battle of Ḥalulē), and by Aššurbanipal in 639 (E.F. Weidner, "Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus," *AfO* 7 (1930–1932), 1–7. In all cases the term is used with the typical Elamite -š used for Iranian names and proper names of the -ǎ-declinations. The context in all cases does not allow an identification with the country (not tribe!) of Parsuā in the Zagros near Sulaimaniye. The latter cannot be identified with Paswe in Iranian Azerbaijan (according to V.F. Minorsky): it is localized near Sulaimaniye because it bordered upon Namar in the Diyala Valley, and upon Allabria, Messi, Šurdira and other districts gravitating towards Manna. A district and fortress Buštu(š) (not to be confused with a namesake much farther to the east) lay in Parsuā according to the Urartian king Argišti I's annals (under year 6), but in Manna according to Shalmaneser III, cf. *ARAB* I, 588, cf.II, 851. There is no evidence of a migration of the inhabitants of Parsuā in the Zagros to Fārs; cf. note 11 below. However, the Assyrian texts before Shalmaneser III do not know a country Parsuā at all, and what later belonged to Parsuā seems to have belonged to Outer Zamuā (Inner Zamuā belonged apparently to the later Land of Manna). The use of this Median appellation for this country ("borderland") seems to point to a movement of the Iranian Medes towards this region not later than the 9th century B.C.E. Incidentally, Genesis 10 knows of the Cimmerians (and their "descendants" the Scythians) and of Media as an important country, but has no idea of Persia—a certain sign of a late 7th–early 6th century date.

6   The Monolith Inscription, *ARAB* I, 718ff.