

T
116

THE ANCIENT SEMITIC EAST

An Introduction to the Historical Geography of the
Fertile Crescent

A dissertation written in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of M.A.
from the American University of Beirut.

Joseph F. Souraty B.A.

1945-1946

ABBREVIATIONS

H.A.	Hitti, P.K., History of the Arabs.
SLPO.	Dubertret et Weulersse, Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient.
HPS.	Olmstead, A.J., History of Palestine and Syria.
GMR.	Semple, E.C., Geography of the Mediterranean Region.
HOA.	Olmstead, A.J., History of Assyria.
CAH.	Cambridge Ancient History.
HDA.	Meyer, E., Histoire de l'antiquité, Tome III
HOHL.	Smith, G.A., The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, Twentieth Edition.
AT.	Breasted, J.H., Ancient Times.
LEC.	Le Strange, G., Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.
HSA.	King, L.W., A History of Sumer and Akkad.
SHO.	Barton, G.A., Semetic and Hamitic Origins.
EA.	Clay, A.J., The Empire of the Amorites.
MO.	Speiser, E.A., Mesopotamian Origins.
PAO.	Weill, R., La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale.
IHH.	Shotwell, J. T., Introduction to The History of History.
SE.	Flinders Petrie, W.M., Syria and Egypt.
LPS.	Baikie, J., Lands and Peoples of the Bible.

P R E F A C E

- - - - -

Syria and Iraq, ϕ , separated by what was until very recently an untravelled desert-plateau, are connected nevertheless in the north by a fertile trace of borderland lying between the Syrian Desert and the Taurus Mountains. The three districts combined form a great semi-circle which, for want of a name, J. H. Breasted called the Fertile Crescent. The Western wing of the Crescent lies on the Mediterranean; the eastern wing is bordered by another natural barrier, the Zagros Mountains. The Crescent opens to the south whence Semites, drifting in successive migrations, came and settled in Syria and Iraq, and built therein some of the earliest city-states and empires of historical times. For about two millenniums and except when they were dominated by mountain peoples from the north and east, they enjoyed with Egypt the unchallenged supremacy of the civilized world. The Asiatic mountain peoples made their meagre contribution to the culture of the Semites, and strongly influenced the physical type;

ϕ Both names, Syria and Iraq, ^{are} ~~are~~ here and throughout this dissertation used in their wider application. The former includes Palestine; the latter includes Upper as well as Lower Mesopotamia to which the name Iraq was strictly applied by the Arabs.

but such was the receptivity of the latter, and their ability to assimilate, that foreign influences, in all but the physical field, had no more than a slight diluting effect. Even the more advanced and better organized Indo-European Persians and their kindred, the Greeks and Romans were not a match for the vitality and power of assimilation of the Semites. They too were finally absorbed. The seventh century of the Christian era saw the surging in of the latest and strongest Semitic wave, that of the Arabs. (It is a pity I have not been able to bring this dissertation down to the Arab conquest.) Under their rule Syria and Iraq again rose to world prominence. Alternately they ruled over an empire which extended from the Bay of Biscay to the Indus and the confines of China, and from the Arab Sea to the upper cataracts of the Nile. ~~§~~ Within a century after their rise "they assimilated to their creed, speech and even physical type, more aliens than any stock before or since, not excepting the Hellenic, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, or the Russian." ~~§§~~ Disruptive forces and general decline culminated in the fall of Bagdad at the hands of Hulagu in 1258 A.D., an event which was as portentous and important a landmark in the history of civilization as the fall of Rome in 476 A.D.

~~§ Hitti, P.K., The Arabs, A Short History, p. 1.~~

~~§§ H.A., p. 4.~~

The period from the dawn of history to the "Barbarian Invasions" and the fall of Baghdad except for a millennium and two centuries of Indo-European hegemony, constitutes the Semitic era of world history. We are concerned in this dissertation with the ancient and pre-Indo-European part of this era or, if I may call it by the single geographical factor which influenced its history most, the fluvial period. In that stage of civilization, Syria being devoid of great rivers and suffering from a late start, was content as we shall see in this thesis to play second fiddle to her two strong neighbours Egypt and Iraq.

Other geographical factors worked interdependently with rivers and with one another to determine or at any rate to condition the history of the Fertile Crescent in that stage. I have dealt with four of them in addition to rivers. They are position, physical features, climate and routes. On the historical side too, I had to limit my investigation to five or six of the aspects of the history of the Crescent, ethnography and habitat, political development and expansion, international relations and, to a lesser degree, culture. Obviously this does not exhaust the history of ancient man who was more influenced by environment than we of today. The reasons, however, why I have restricted the investigation to the five fore-mentioned aspects is that the paucity of sources at our disposal makes a complete investigation of the subject well-nigh impossible. Limited as it is, however, the scope

of this investigation is large enough for a dissertation of this size which, sources permitting, could have been devoted in its entirety to only one of the above geographical factors, for example physical features, and the bearing it had on only one of the aspects of ancient history, for example political expansion.

Not only primary sources but secondary ones also are lacking. The four or five works in historical geography which figure in my bibliography have for their subject a big area, the Mediterranean or the Near East, of which the Fertile Crescent is only a part. The only exception is G.A. Smith's "The Historical Geography of The Holy Land," a standard work, which deals with only a small part of the Fertile Crescent. The explanation of this paucity of source material is easy. The Fertile Crescent was not known by this name or by any name until the second decade of this century. It has not yet been made clear whether it is a political or geographical unit. To clarify this point is one of the objects of this dissertation. Moreover, scientific historical geography itself is a comparatively youthful branch of knowledge. The above few books apart, my bibliography consists of works which deal either with history proper or with geography proper. This being the state of my sources, what I did was to analyse the contents of the two compounds, extract the causes from the geographical

compound and the affects from the historical one, and from these two ingredients work up a new synthetic product, the ~~historical~~ geography of the Fertile Crescent, whether I have succeeded in so doing, and can lay a claim to originality; is not for me to judge.

It may be objected that I have been unduly daring in choosing a subject on which there are no adequate sources. I was prompted to make the attempt by three motives :

- (1) It is more interesting to blaze a new trail than to follow a beaten one.
- (2) The fact that I have been teaching the geography and history of this part of the world for over a decade has encouraged me to make the attempt.
- (3) At the time I chose the subject there was much talk in Syria and Iraq about the advisability of a rapprochement or possibly of a federal union between the two countries. I wanted to find out whether there was enough geographical and historical background for the proposed union. Naturally I could not carry out the investigation for the whole historic period; so I did it for the first three millennia, that is, from the dawn of history to the Persian conquest.

To be more specific : the aim of this dissertation is two fold :

- (1) To show how far the joint ancient history of Syria and Iraq - be it of short or long duration - was influenced by geographical factors operating in the Fertile Crescent.
- (2) How far the separate ancient history of Syria and of Iraq was affected by the geographical conditions peculiar to each of the two countries.

This dissertation divides itself naturally into three parts : the geographical, the historical and the synthetic or historico-geographical. It will be seen, however, that in the first and second parts I have somewhat anticipated some of the conclusions set forth in the third. The two opening chapters of Part II deserve special mention. The first deals with the ethnology of the Fertile Crescent; the second, with the sources of Semitic history. Besides being essential to any study of ancient of history, this exposition of primary sources serves another important purpose. It brings out the composite character of the culture of the Fertile Crescent, especially that of Syria. Having disposed in Part II of the ethnology and culture of the Crescent, I have not deemed it necessary to revert to them except casually in Part III. The latter part is taken up mostly by the other aspects of ancient Semitic history, namely, migration and

habitat, political development and expansion, and international relations.

A postscript
An epilogue in two parts has been added which gives a sketch of the medieval and modern history of the Fertile Crescent, and then proceeds, in the second part, to examine the prospects of a Syro-Iraqi union in the light of the geographical and historical relationships of the two countries.

J. F. SHERATY.

Ras Beirut, April 7, 1947.

C O N T E N T S

- - - - -

PART I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT.

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. The Physical Setting.....	1
II. Physical Features of Syria.....	11
III. Physical Features of Iraq.....	20
IV. Climate.....	28
V. Rivers.....	34
VI. Roads.....	40

PART II

SEMITIC CITY-STATES AND EMPIRES.

VII. The Ethnology of the Fertile Crescent.....	45
VIII. Sources of Semitic History.....	60
IX. Iraq in the Third Millennium.....	74
X. Imperialistic Rivalries in Syria and Mesopotamia, in 1500-1180	88
XI. The Age of Independence in Syria, 1200-875....	103
XII. The Assyrian Empire.....	122
XIII. The New Babylonian Empire.....	145

PART III

THE SYNTHESIS.

XIV. A Historico-Geographic Conclusion.....	151
XV. Postscript.....	171

BIBLIOGRAPHY

192

MAPS

The Fertile Crescent	at the end of the dissertation.
Climatic Map of the Fertile Crescent	to face p.28
Babylonia.....	to face p.77

- - - - -

P A R T I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT

-
- | | |
|---------|----------------------------|
| Ch. I | The Physical Setting |
| Ch. II | Physical Features of Syria |
| Ch. III | Physical Features of Iraq |
| Ch. IV | Climate |
| Ch. V | Rivers |
| Ch. VI | Roads |

ABSTRACT

THE ANCIENT SEMITIC EAST

An Introduction to the Historical Geography of the

Fertile Crescent

A dissertation written in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of M.A. from the
American University of Beirut.

by

Joseph F. Souraty B.A.

1945- 1946

P r e f a c e

Syria and Iraq Defined.

Both names are used in this dissertation in their wider application. The former includes Palestine; the latter, Upper as well as Lower Mesopotamia.

The Fertile Crescent Defined.

Syria and Iraq are connected in the north by a fertile tract of borderland lying between the Syrian Desert and the Taurus Mountains. The three districts combined form the Fertile Crescent.

Aim of Dissertation: . . .

(1) To show how far the history of each of Syria and Iraq has been affected by geographical conditions; (2) how far the joint ancient history of the two countries has been influenced by their geographical relation-ships.

PART I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT

Chapter 1

Position

Relation to Arabia. Geologically speaking, both Syria and Iraq are parts of Arabia. That Syria and Iraq are not purely Arabian in culture or human geography is due to their northern location, the presence in them of an ample water supply, and their Mediterranean frontage.

Relation to Mediterranean. Syria and, to a lesser degree, Upper Iraq, belong to the Mediterranean type of climate.

Relation to Egypt. Egypt is hardly less related to Arabia than Syria and Iraq. It is likewise a part, though a disconnected part, of the Fertile Crescent. It is more akin to Babylonia than to other parts of the Fertile Crescent.

Relation to Northern and Eastern Fold Mountains. The Taurus ranges run in an arc parallel to the northern part of the Fertile Crescent, and are continued south of Lake Van by the Zagros (Kurdistan) Mountains.

Although physically alien to the block-plateau of Arabia, these northern and eastern mountains have moulded the history of the Fertile Crescent more than any other country, not excluding Arabia.

Chapter 11

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF SYRIA

Contrast between Syria and Iraq. Their water-supply is not a common feature; it comes from different sources: rainfall in one case; rivers in the other.

The diversity of relief is greater in Syria than in Iraq. Its segregating effect on the population of Syria.

Chapter 111

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF IRAQ

More Physical Unity but Less Symmetry. Syria with its well-defined natural boundaries has unity when viewed from outside, but internally it is broken up by mountain ranges and valleys. There is some symmetry in the disposition of those ranges and valleys.

Iraq, on the other hand, has less physical symmetry, but more unity. Apart from the small mountainous district in the north-east it falls into two natural divisions only: the alluvial plain and al-Jazirah.

Shifting Town-Sites of Lower Iraq. Lower Iraq is today from 150 - 160 miles bigger than it was in Babylonian days. This is due to the deposition of silt at the mouths of the two rivers. The two rivers several times changed their courses. Many cities that flourished in Babylonian or Arab days fell to decay as a result of those changes.

Chapter IV

CLIMATE

The Three Climatic Zones of Syria: (1) The Maritime Zone (between the lines of precipitation 1000 mm. and 500 mm.); (2) the Middle or Steppe Zone (between the lines of precipitation 500 mm. and 100 mm.) ; (3) the Desert Zone. As in the case of relief, there are within each of those zones deviations from the general rule, which increase the variety of climate, and its effect on the variety of products and population.

Climate of Iraq. The same uniformity that characterizes the structure of the land manifests itself in its climate.

Climatic Unity between Syria and Iraq. With the exception of the Maritime Zone - and it is a very important exception - all the rainfall belts of Syria extend into Iraq. (See rainfall map facing p. 28).

Chapter V

RIVERS

Though much smaller than the Tigris and Euphrates, the Syrian rivers have played an important part in the human geography of the country. Nearly all the important towns have risen on river banks.

Iraq the Gift of the Two Rivers. They are described under three headings: irrigation, navigation and settlement.

Chapter VI

ROADS

The Piedmont Route is the most important of those natural routes. Lying along the piedmont of the Taurus hills, this route has been for millennia the main line of communication between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. It has also land connections across the Taurus and Zagros mountains with the Anatolian and Iranian plateaux.

Its Itinerary. This highway followed a land road east of the Tigris along the base of the Persian highlands northward to Assur or Nineveh near modern Mosul, ran thence westward past Nusaybin, Ras el-Ayn and Harran, and crossed the Euphrates at Jarablus (Carchemish) and thence continued south-westward past Aleppo (see map at end of dissertation.)

PART II

SEMITIC CITY-STATES AND EMPIRES

Chapter VII

The Ethnology of the Fertile Crescent

Preponderance of Semites. There is almost unanimous agreement, based on linguistic and cultural evidence, that the people of the Fertile Crescent are predominantly Semitic, and as such they form a sub-division of the Mediterranean race.

The Pre-Semitic Population. As far back as historians can go they find a mingled population of Semites and non-Semites. Many

of them now incline to the view that the non-Semites had Armenoid features, and that they settled in the Fertile Crescent in late pre-historic times prior to the coming of the Semites. They were Asianics, e.g. Hurrians and Elamites.

Original Home of Semites. Five countries have been postulated: Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia and Syria. The arguments in favour of Arabia outweigh all the others.

Hamito-Semitic Kinship. The Egyptian or North African theory is a modification of the Arabian. According to it North Africa is the ultimate home of the Hamito-Semitic races.

Indo-Europeans. The Indo-European element was a mere trickle compared with the Semitic and Asianic streams.

Chapter VIII

SOURCES OF SEMITIC HISTORY

A. Eastern Semitic Sources

Epigraphic Sources. Comparatively rich. They consist of names of kings, chronicles, omen-books, and annals (records of single reigns) Besides these "official" documents, we possess clay tablets bearing items of current business.

B. Western Semitic Sources

I. Native Sources. Comparatively poor. Mostly "material" remains. Very few epigraphic sources. Excavations carried out mostly in Palestine, rather disappointing.

11. Foreign Sources.

1. Egyptian sources loom larger in Syrian historiography than those of any other country. The two most important sets are the annals of Thutmose III and the Amarna letters.

2. The cuneiform tablets of Boghaz-Keui (Ancient Hatti, the capital of the Hittite empire.)

3. Babylonian sources.

Chapter IX

Iraq in the Third Millennium

Pre-Sumerian Origins. Excavations have shown that 3 distinct cultures representing perhaps as many races had occupied the alluvial plain before the coming of the Sumerians.

Periods of Babylonian History in the Third Millennium. It consists of 4 chapters. The first three were Sumeric-Akkadian; the fourth was Babylonian (Amorite.)

Plain of Shinar. (Babylonia) was much smaller then than now as the beds of the two rivers were then much nearer to each other.

Sumerian and Semitic Town-Sites. Most of them were built on the Shatt en Nil and Shatt al Hay which formed the old beds of the Euphrates and Tigris respectively (see map facing p. 77.)

Expansion. The first Sumerian king to expand his dominion beyond the plain of Shinar was Lugazaggisi of Erech who reigned about 2300 - 2775 B.C.

Sargon, about 2775, and his successors built an empire which comprised nearly the entire world known to the Babylonians of that time. They carried the title "king of the Four Regions of the World". These were (1) ~~Sumer~~ Akkad, (2) Subartu (al Jazirah), (3) Elam (Khuzistan) and (4) Anurru, *that is nearly the whole Fertile Crescent.*

There are indications that Sumerio-Akkadian kings went beyond the Armenian range of the Taurus.

Chapter X

Imperialistic Rivalries in Syria and Mesopotamia,

1500 - 1130

After the expulsion of Hyksos from Egypt, the pharaohs of the XVIII th Dynasty decided to incorporate Syria into their empire. The splendid work achieved by the Thutmoses, was relinquished by the Amenhoteps, and renewed by the Ramessids.

First Dual Influence in Syria. The Ramessids recovered only the southern half of Syria and established a balance of power with the Hittites.

Buffer States between the Two Great Powers. The most important was Mitanni within the great bend of the Euphrates.

Assyria was to supercede Egypt and Hatti in Syria after an interval of 3 centuries, an unprecedented period of independence for the small Syrian states.

Chapter XI

The Age of Independence 1200-875

This chapter takes up the story of the small Syrian states of the Phonicians, Hebrews, Philistines, Arameans, Moabites and Edomites with a retrospect on the origins of those peoples.

Origin of the Arameans. They first came to Mesopotamia and thence moved to North Syria and Canaan. Through thier contacts with the Hurrians they developed the somatic features of the latter which differentiated them from other Semites, e.g. the prominent aquiline nose. This is especially true of their brethren the Hebrews.

Origin of the Hebrews. They were a part of the wave that brought the Arameans (the Habiru of the Amarna letters) to Syria 1400 - 1200 B.C. Other elements already settled in the land entered into their making.

Extent of Jewish Kingdom. Real and Ideal frontiers (land of Conquest and Land of Promise.)

Chapter XII

The Assyrian Empire

The Two Conditions of Assyria's Prosperity:

- (1) To secure her northern and eastern frontiers against the mountain peoples.
- (2) to subdue the buffer states of the Mesopotamian plain that blocked at

expansion. Both aims fulfilled.

Extent of the Empire. The most extensive empire the world had seen. Of all Semitic peoples only the Arabs built a greater empire. It occupied all of the Fertile Crescent. Its northern and eastern boundaries were those destined by nature to be the limits of all Semitic states, namely the Taurus and Zagros mountains. Only in the north-west did it overstep those limits into Cappadocia and Cilicia.

Chapter XIII

The New Babylonian Empire

F All of Assyria. The Neo-Babylonians (Chaldeans) in combination with the Medes subjugated Assyria.

Egypt's Keeble Return. Egypt, a former vassal of Assyria, came to her help, but could not stem the Chaldeo-Median tide.

Extent of New Babylonian Empire. It occupied the whole Fertile Crescent, *and nothing but the Fertile Crescent.*

Indo-European Hegemony. Beginning with ~~the~~ the Persians empire-building assumed world dimensions.

With the coming of the Greeks and Romans the center of gravity of the civilized world moved westward. Syria profited by the change.

Chapter XIV

Conclusion

Syria and Iraq are parts of a physical, racial and cultural

unit called the Fertile Crescent. The foundations of their racial cultural and historical unity were laid down in ancient times when they formed with Egypt the civilized world.

Geologically speaking, the Fertile Crescent is a part of Arabia. Egypt is a part of Arabia, and of the Fertile Crescent too. Egypt rather than Syria is Babylonia's western counter-part.

Syria a Bone of Contention. Syria in contrast was divided and because of its intermediary position and contrasted products, it was contested by both.

The Piedmont Route. It also contained the Piedmont Route. Other competitors for the Piedmont Route came from the northern and eastern highlands. Such were the Hurrians, Elamites, Mitanni and Hittites; such are still the Turks, Kurds and Iranians.

"Arabia Irredenta." The retention of the piedmont belt by the Turks, and of Khuzistan (Arabistan) by the Iranians constitutes a grievance to the Semites of the present time.

The loss has been mitigated by the opening of motor and air ways across the Syrian Desert.

CHAPTER I

The Physical Setting

Relation to Arabia. Geographically both Syria and Iraq are parts of Arabia. From the ethnological and cultural viewpoints their relations with the great peninsula have been of the closest. In this chapter we shall restrict our attention to the physical relationships, leaving the racial and cultural kinships for later treatment.

There are no physical barriers between Syria and Iraq on one hand and Arabia on the other. The three regions form a sub-continent enclosed by water from three sides, and by young fold mountains from the north and the north-east. The north Arabian desert-plateau enters like a wedge into the heart of the Fertile Crescent. Other physical features of the peninsula extend northward into Syria, i.e. the great Red Sea rift, the western mountain rim, and the impenetrable volcanic, harrah, tracts. The maritime plain on the western coast of the Persian Gulf which forms the lowest gradient of the north-eastern slope of the Arabian plateau extends in the form of an arc from the Strait of Ormuz to Basra, and as far as Aleppo*. The recent discovery of oil in the eastern rim of Arabia proves the existence of geological affinities between that country and the Fertile Crescent.

That Syria and Iraq, notwithstanding their identity with Arabia, are not purely Arabian in a cultural or anthropographic sense is due to their northern location, and the presence of an

* Dubertret et Weulersse, Manuel de Géographie, p. 9

ample water supply in them. Syria has a Mediterranean frontage exposed to the rain-bearing south-westerly winds in winter. Enough of these winds reach the north-eastern part of Iraq to make their water contents dependable for crops *. Iraq depends however, for the irrigation of the greater part of its cultivable lands on the water of its two foreign-born rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. The two rivers, the alluvial soil they have carried, and the irrigation system based upon them, have differentiated Iraq not only from Arabia but from Syria also. More of this anon. Suffice it to say at this juncture that, culturally as well as meteorologically, Syria and, to a lesser degree, Iraq are a part of the Mediterranean basin, while the bulk of Arabia is not.

Relation to the Mediterranean. Syria and, to a lesser degree Upper Iraq, belong to the Mediterranean type of climate. Syria lies in the southerly and drier of the two climatic belts of the Mediterranean divided by the 40th parallel. It would be still drier were it not for the Lebanon Mountains which intercept the moisture of the south westerly winds. These mountains get an annual rainfall of over 1000 mm. Behind this rain barrier aridity increases rapidly to the Syrian desert. Dayr-ez-Zur gets only 127 mm. annually. It is significant that the lines of equal precipitation run parallel to the Fertile Crescent, and the semi-circular rim of mountains that backs it.† This confirms what we hinted at^{at} the beginning of this paragraph that the amount

* Dubertret et Weulersse, Manuel de géographie, p. 154

† See Rainfall map. p.

of rainfall is determined not only by proximity to the sea, but by proximity to mountain ranges also, assuming that the wind is the same in both cases. Mosul, about 700 km. from the mediterranean gets as much rainfall as Damascus and Aleppo. The mountains of Kurdistan in the north-eastern corner of Iraq get 500 mm. much of which falls in the form of snow*. The climate of Lower Iraq is in sharp contrast to that of the north.

Just as Mediterranean climatic influences have some effect on Upper Iraq, and almost no effect on Lower Iraq, so have Mediterranean trade and culture. Lower Iraq is shut out from the Mediterranean by the double mountain barrier of Syria, the great rift between them, and the arid Syrian desert to the east. All of these bars are lowered in the north, the desert gives place to the sown, and so north Mesopotamia is able to link the Mediterranean with Lower Mesopotamia, and the whole Orient.

Syria, being the nearer of the two countries to that great sea, profited more than Iraq by this contiguity⁴⁴, especially after the center of gravity of the civilized world shifted westward with the rise of the Greeks. This was true in time of peace; the reverse was not true in time of war. The Mediterranean connects in peace time, but becomes a great barrier in time of war. Syria has been invaded from all directions save from its western maritime boarder. Even the Philistines who

* Dubertret et Weulersse, Manuel de geographie, p. 134

were believed until very recently to have landed on the shores of south Palestine where they were able to establish themselves in the twelfth century ~~ix~~ B.C., now seem to have come thither from Asia-Minor, after crossing the Aegean Sea.* Of all the Crusading expeditions, the only one which achieved an appreciable measure of success was the one which came by land, the first. This statement about the invulnerability of the maritime border of Syria is as true today as it was in ancient and medieval times, and will continue to be true, until the atomic bomb becomes a regular war weapon. In both World Wars I and II the Allies found it ^{more} advantageous to conquer Syria by land than by sea.

Relation to Egypt. Egypt is hardly less related to Arabia than Syria and Iraq. In point of relief, structure and climate, it is a continuation of Arabia. Like Iraq it is redeemed from aridity and desolation by a foreign - born river, the Nile. From the point of view of anthropo-geography Egypt and Iraq are identical. The same conditions that favoured the rise of the earliest civilization in history operated in Iraq with similar results. These conditions center around the three rivers fed by snows and rains on distant mountains, and flowing through lands of chronic or semi-chronic aridity. Their civilization was fluvial like that of India and China. Egypt and Iraq, however, had one advantage over the latter countries. They lay near enough to the Mediterranean to profit by its contacts, and then chiefly through the agency of Phoenician, ^{and} Hellenic, Arab traders.*

* HPS. p. 263

% GMR. p. 10

Contacts would have been much more frequent were it not for one big handicap from which all these historical river basins suffer. The widespread deltaic flats, saline marches, and hidden sand-bars about the river mouths discouraged contact with the sea. All along its coast Egypt had only one seaport, Alexandria; Iraq had, and still has none. What contacts there were, however, between Egypt and Iraq and the Mediterranean world were enough to spare these two countries the fate of the other fluvial civilizations which turned stagnant as a result of their strict isolation.*

The civilizations of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt would not have such a big claim on the attention of the students of human progress all over the world, had it not been for the great contribution that they made through these contacts to Mediterranean civilization of which the whole world is heir.

In view of its alignment with the western wing of the Fertile Crescent and the fertility which characterizes its valley and is in sharp contrast to the sterile desert surrounding it, Egypt may be considered a part of the Crescent, though an isolated part, for a tongue of desert reaches to the sea at its north-east corner, and separates it from Syria.† Considering its great cultural role, much superior to that of Syria, its great political ascendancy, and the many physical similarities that it bears to Iraq, it has a better claim than Syria to be called the western wing of the Fertile Crescent, just as Iraq is the eastern wing. Syria's contrasted vegetation as well as its central position made it the

* Ibid, p. 10 and Hogarth, O. G., "The Near East," p. 279

† NOA. p. 7

object of a long and intermittent struggle between the two superior states. Historically Egypt has been more connected with Asia than with Africa. As a matter of fact, the ~~Ancients~~ counted the Nile Valley a part of Asia until the maritime ventures of the Ptolemies in the Red Sea made the deep cleft between Arabia and Lybia a part of common knowledge. * That it has influenced Mediterranean civilization, and has been influenced by it, despite the defective contact between the Nile and the sea, is also certain. The consequence of this ^{dual} ~~best~~ ⁱⁿ contact is Egyptian culture is being much debated today among the intelligentsia ^{sia} of Egypt. Is the Egyptian mind dominantly Oriental or Mediterranean? The same question is being asked about the Syrian, and in particular, the Lebanese mind.

As far as relief and climate are concerned, of the three countries Syria has the greatest claim to be called a Mediterranean climate, Upper Iraq has some claim; Egypt practically none at all. Location on the Mediterranean does not insure a Mediterranean climate. Location in respect to the rain-bearing wind is the determining factor. Egypt is too far south to be affected by this wind. Alexandria, the wettest Egyptian city gets 8 inches; Halwan 1.3 inches; places further up the Nile get practically none §.

Now for a contrast between Egypt and Iraq, the former is better protected by natural frontiers than the latter, and as a result has been less exposed to political and ethnic influences. Iraq

* GMR. p. 6

§ GMR. p. 98

has always had a more disconnected career than Egypt. Another geographical factor which explains Egypt's relative stability, and self-sufficiency is the strong and fixed Nile Valley as compared with the Tigris-Euphrates valley which has been constantly changing through recent geological times.

Palestine, lying between Egypt and the bulk of Syria, has a transitional character. It has some of Egypt's drawbacks, but nothing like its great redeeming river. It is, in consequence, a poor country, and much less important than the middle and northern sections of Syria. The two latter sections have always had greater facility for trade than Palestine from which access to the hinterland is barred by the great Rift Valley*. We cannot over-emphasize the superiority of these two sections as compared with Palestine. Religious fervor has prompted so much geographical and historical research in the southern section of Syria, that it has assumed gargantuan importance in the eyes of the modern West, whereas Northern and Middle Syria have ^{been} comparatively neglected.

Palestine is in the margin of the south westerly winds, and in consequence the precipitation that it gets is more than that of Egypt, but less than that of the rest of Syria. Although essentially a part of Syria, Palestine has some affinities with Egypt, e.g., its coast-line where the harbours of the Great Plain are few, and liable to ^{be} ~~the~~ choked, it is thought, by alluvial matter brought over from Egypt by currents setting northwards

* CAH. Vol. 1, p. 183

from the Delta *. The south-westerly winds bring perhaps more sand than rain to this ^{plain} plain, thus spreading the desert almost to the Mediterranean.

Relation to the Northern and Eastern Mountains

The Taurus, the Zagros and the Fars belong to the Alpo-Hamalyan system of folded mountains which encircle some of the largest and highest plateaux of the world. The Taurus Mountains form the southern rim of the plateaux of Anatolia and Armenia; the Zagros and the Fars the western rim of the Iranian plateau.

The Taurus ranges run in an arc parallel to the northern part of the Fertile Crescent, and are continued south of the Lake Van by the Zagros, also known under the name of the Mountains of Kurdistan. These in turn are continued by a lower and drier range, the Fars. The average height of the Taurus is 2100 m.; the Zagros Mountains range from 3000 - 4000 m. These mountains ranges bound the plain of Arabian from Cilicia to the Strait of Ormuz, a distance of 2400 km. The Amanus, an outlier of the Taurus links up the latter range with the young block mountains of Syria. The two passes in this link, the Beilan pass (500 m.), and the Bogtche Pass (915 m.) as well as the passes in the main range further north have been of great historical importance.

Although physically alien to the block-plateau of Arabia,

* Bouchier, Syria as a Roman Province, Ch. 1, and Newbigin, Mediterranean Lands, ch. V

and its crescent shaped fertile border, these northern and eastern mountains have moulded the history of the Fertile Crescent more than any other country, not excluding Arabia. Indeed the story of the Fertile Crescent, till the Persian conquest, is that of the continuous and confused struggle between the mountain nomads and the early settlers of the plain.*

The present dispute between Syria and Turkey over the Sandjak of Alexandretta, and the already settled dispute between Iraq and Turkey over Shatt-el-Arab are the most recent instances of the historical struggle between the Semites and their mountain neighbours. The cumulative ethnic effect of the invasions from the north and east on the population of the Fertile Crescent has been considerable. It will be dealt with in the second part of this dissertation. ‡

These periodic invasions from the mountains, which ran counter to the Semitic migrations from the south, were the toll, as it were, that these rugged and inaccessible mountains exacted from the plain below them for an invaluable service. They made the Fertile Crescent, or at any rate the greater part of it. Owing to their northern location, and their high altitude these mountains receive relatively abundant rain which drains southward and, in the case of the Zagros, south-west-ward. Both the Tigris and the Euphrates have their sources in the high plateau of Armenia. The former receives four of its tributaries from

* HDA. p. 57.

‡ See Ch. VII.

the Zagros; the latter receives its two main tributaries, the Balikh and the Khabur, and a number of smaller affluents from the southern outliers of the Taurus Mountains. Similar streams irrigated the plain between the western bend of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. E.C. Sample calls this 100 mi. belt the Syrian Saddle, and quotes the Semitic ancients as calling it the "Naharain" or "the land of rivers" *.

Mountain ranges often reclaim the tract of flat land at their feet from aridity; and if that tract of reclaimed land is situated between two densely populated areas of contrasted products[‡], and if in addition to these climatic and physiographic conditions, security is guaranteed, a trade-route dotted with towns is almost certain to spring up. This happy combination of favourable conditions has been in constant operation since early historical times within the western bend of the Euphrates and the Syrian Saddle, the only variant being the strength and sanity of the ruling governments, whether in Babylon, Nineveh, Antioch, Rome or Baghdad.[©] They have given rise to what is called the Piedmont Route between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. More will be said about this important route in a later chapter.

* GMR. p. 184 I think that Naharain or Naharina was, strictly speaking, the name of the area within the western bend of the Euphrates. It may have been applied by extension to the adjacent Syrian Saddle.

‡ Ibid, p. 180

© Ibid, p. 191

Chapter 11

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF SYRIA

The Fertile Crescent is not a geographical unit in the strict sense of the word. Although Syria and Iraq are both parts of the plateau of Arabia, they are so much differentiated from the latter, and from each other, that they present more contrasts than similarities. The water resources that differentiate them from Arabia and the Syrian Desert can hardly be called a common feature, as they come from different sources. Syria and, in a lesser degree, Upper Iraq depend mostly on rain; Lower Iraq on river irrigation. A permanent water supply in the latter section, coupled with, high summer temperature, have produced a different agricultural economy from that of Syria. Apart from its different sources, the fertility of the Fertile Crescent is so varied that the latter designation should be used with reservation. There is a great difference in this respect, for instance, between Lower Jazirah and Upper Jazirah. In point of relief and climate the former is a part of the Syrian Desert; it is arid, and even covered with salt and alkaline deposits.* The difference between Lower Jazirah and the alluvial plain to the south of it is still greater.

There is also the structural difference between Syria and Iraq. Except for the limestone plateau which penetrates the Fertile Crescent, and forms the greater, though not the more valuable,

* Dana, L.P., Arab Asia, p. 78

part of Syria and Iraq, the two countries are geologically different. We may have to conceal another qualified similarity when we come to the chapter on climate. In the meantime let us dwell on the multitude of contrasts between the two countries. This we propose to bring out by a survey of the physiography of each Syria and Iraq put side by side.

The diversity of relief is much greater in Syria than in Iraq. It has resulted in a great range of climatic zones. The two put together have had a great influence on the political and social history of the country. Beginning from the sea the disposition of the physical zones is as follows:

SEA	MARITIME PLAIN	WEST RANGE	CENTRAL DEPRESSION	EAST RANGE	DESERT
-----	-------------------	---------------	-----------------------	---------------	--------

The variety of physical features, and the consequent variety of climatic zones and products would not be so great, if these four parallel bands were uniform. Arranged in a west to east order, they undergo many modifications from north and south, and in other directions, which aggravate the segregating effect on the population of Syria. Speaking of the brokenness of the land of Palestine, and of its effect on the political development of the country, ^{S.} X.A. Smith says, " Palestine formed as it is, and surrounded as it is, is emphatically a land of tribes. The idea that it can ever belong to one nation, even though this were the Jews, is contrary both to Nature and to Scripture." *. The prophecy contained in the latter part of his statement, though made at the

* HGH. p. 59

end of the last century is very relevant today. As we survey briefly the above four parallel zones, we shall point out the modifications which they undergo from south to north. *

The Maritime Plain. This plain runs all along the coast, and merges in the north with the plain of Cilicia, and in the south with the Delta of the Nile. It is narrow for the greater part of its course (average width 2 km.); but south of Mt. Carmel it begins to widen until it attains a breadth of 60 km. in southern Palestine. At several points north of Carmel, the mountains come very near to the coast, and they all but cut off the plain, thus making passage very difficult, and in war time extremely dangerous. Carmel separates itself from the main range of Samaria to protrude northwestward to within 200 yards of the sea.

Here we have to do with the coast of the Maritime Plain rather than with the plain itself. Like the latter it divides into three parts. The most regular, and in consequence the most unsuitable for ports is the southern section. Instead of mountain roots and buttresses we have here sand - hills and cliffs. From Haifa to the Egyptian border there is only one sizable sea-port, Jaffa. South of Jaffa stretches the great Plain of Palestine. Here the desert almost reaches the sea. Not even the harrassed Philistines with their maritime traditions could build harbours along this shore. Gaza, the only town in that section at the present time is four kilometers inland.

* The valleys of Nahr-el-Kabir, and the Lower Litani divide Syria horizontally into three parts to which we shall refer as North, Middle and South Syria

The middle section of the littoral from Haifa to Tripoli is a little more hospitable. The buttresses of the Lebanon run out to form inferior ports, protected slightly by inshore reefs, a few hundred meters from the shore, which the Phoenicians converted into breakwaters.*

The northern section of the Maritime Plain separated from the middle section by the valley of Nahr-el-Kabir is still more indented, and has more access to the hinterland through the two passes of the Amanus and the Orontes gorge. To the Phoenicians these two advantages were offset by its proximity to the hill-folk of Anatolia and Assyria. As security weighed more with the Phoenicians than accessibility to the trade routes of the Orient, they preferred the middle coast to the northern section.

The Western Range. The highlands of Palestine are mere hills or table-lands compared with these of Middle and Northern Syria. The ranges are detached from one another. The Galilean plateau and hills stand a fair comparison with the Lebanon as regards water and fertility, but as we proceed southward the comparison becomes less feasible. The table-land of Judea is dry, desolate and difficult of access except from the north. On the ^{east} ~~west~~ it descends in a desert waste to the Rift Valley, the deepest of its kind in the world. It is almost inhospitable from the west where a line of low hills, the Shephelah, separated from the main range by a series of valleys, constitutes an important modification of the Western Range. Protected by this outer line of defence, and the other desolate borders of Judea, the

* GMR. p. 180

Jews were able to hold that province longer than any of their other possessions. The growth of Jerusalem in that barren and inaccessible plateau cannot be accounted for by any of the conditions that favoured the rise of the other large towns of Syria, most of which are situated either on the sea-coast, or on river banks. Strategy and sentiment afford the only plausible explanation.*

~~Although we are talking about mountains, it may be in place to make an interruption in favour of an interrupting plain which lies between the sea and Jordan, and partly encompassed by the Galilean, Samarian, and Carmel mountains, ^{lies the Plain of Esdraelon.} Apart from the great break which the Plain of Esdraelon effects in the Western Range, two things about it are noteworthy: (1)~~

(1) It increases Palestine's cultivable land.

(2) It affords passage from the Maritime Plain to the hinterland. Across it lay the great Road which connected Egypt at one bridgehead with Asia-Minor, Assyria, Babylonia at the other.* The bridge over Jordan at the eastern limit of Esdraelon is called "Jisr el-Hajami" (The Bridge of Assembly); and that is what it has been.

The main physical feature of Middle Syria is the double mountain range of the Lebanons. In more sense than one this is the focus of Syria. § They pour forth upon Syria the water that feeds its 4 biggest rivers, in a way which reminds us of the life-giving gift that the Taurus and Zagros mountains

* Hogarth, D. G., *The Nearer East*, p. 266.

* HPS. p. 43

§ HGHL. p. 45

bestow on Iraq, except that the latter's dependence on river irrigation is greater than that of Syria. Besides the four big rivers, a greater number of small and torrential streams flow down the western slope to water the maritime plains. On this same slope are clustered most of Lebanon's villages and summer resorts.

Not the least of the merits of the mountains of Syria are the ~~limiting~~^{tampering} effect they have on the climate, and the great variety of climatic zones and products.

The Nusayriyyah (Bargylus) range separated from the Lebanon by the Valley of Nahr-el-Kabir rises to a height of 1000 - 1200 m. Its structure and definite north-south direction resemble those of the Central Range of Palestine.

The Amanus range stretching from Mar'ash to the Orontes valley is in reality an outlier of the Taurus, and links up the latter with the mountains of Syria. Its two passes, and the Orontes gorge make northern Syria the best thoroughfare to Iraq and the Persian Gulf.

Religious persecution in Byzantin, Arab and Turkish times has driven some religious minorities to the mountain fortresses of the Lebanon, the Nusayriyyah and Hauran mountains, where they have been able to perpetuate themselves. In this matter the mountains of Syria may be considered an asset or a liability according as you look at it from the religious or national point of view.

The Great Central Depression

The long valley between the two mountain ranges, and especially its southern portion, the "Qher" is Syria's most distinctive feature. It is so varied in elevation, and consequently in climate that a word about each of its main constituent parts is in order. It begins in the north between the Amanus Mountains and Jabal-el-Akrad (Kurd Dagh) with a double river basin. This is the 'Usk (90 m.). It is followed by the Ghab (190 m.) and the Buks (800 - 1000 m.). The southern end of the Buks Plain is almost blocked by a longitudinal sub-range, Jabal-el-Gharbi, another modification which breaks the symmetry of the two parallel bands of mountains, and the valley between them. South of the Lebanon this depression begins to assume its unique character among the rift valleys of the world. At the Lake of Hulah it is not more than 2 m. above sea-level; at the Lake of Galilee, 16 km. further south, it is 208 m. below, and so for 104 km. more, it continues to descend till at the Dead Sea it is 392m. below, a record figure. From here it rapidly rises to a height of nearly 90 m. above sea-level, and thence slowly sinks again to the Gulf of Akabah, and the Red Sea which forms its southern continuation.

The Eastern Range. It has been shown in the preceding paragraphs that the division of the country into four parallel physical bands does not exhaust its extraordinary variety. A description of the last band, the Eastern Range, will bring this fact still closer home. The mountains of this range are not so well aligned as those of the Western Range, with it to begin with, it does not extend as far north as its sister range.

There is nothing definite parallel to the Nusayriyyah and Akra' (^{Casius} ~~Casius~~) Mountains, except a number of straggling hills scattered in the plain of Aleppo, Hama and Homs. A little to the south of the last-named town begins to rise the Anti-Lebanon. On the map the two sister ranges of the Lebanon resemble each other as closely as two lungs except for a bulge on the eastern flank of the Anti-Lebanon which encloses the plateau of Kalamun. From the point of view of human geography, however, the Anti-Lebanon is much less important than the Western Range. A number of adverse conditions make it less suitable for settlement. It is far from Mediterranean climatic influences, almost bare, and not accessible from west to east except through the depression that separates the bulk of the range from Mt. Hermon, and holds a part of the Beirut - Damascus road. The people of Kalamun, among whom there is a fairly big Christian minority live in seclusion in their inter-
mountain plateau. Only here is Syriac still used as a spoken language, but only in one or two villages. ✓

South of Mt. Hermon and the Jaulan there is a big gap in the line of eastern ranges, which extends as far south as the Yarmuk river. Here we come across a new feature of the Syrian platform, a great plain whose rich red soil is different from the prevalent limestones. This is the plain of Hauran. On its eastern and western borders are lines of extinct volcanoes; to the south-east is Jabal Hauran, better known as Jabal ed-Drúz. This is the range which has strayed away, as it were, from the gap we have just described, and taken its abode

some 20 miles away,* on the border of the desert. There are similar volcanic deposits in the region of Homs and Ma'arat - et - Na'man.

There is more definiteness about the ranges of Transjordan from the Yarmuk river to the southern Syrian frontier, and across the latter frontier to Hijaz. Like the other eastern ranges, they look steep when viewed from the west, but their eastern slope descends gently to the desert plateau and merges with it. The mountains of Ajlun (Gilead) are by far the richest in water and vegetation; the valleys hold orchards of fruit-trees. The ranges further south are mostly high, bare moors, with a few jungles of bush, and a little cultivation.†

* HOHL. Ch. XXV

† Ibid, Ch. XXIV

Chapter 111

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF IRAQ

As in Syria the political boundaries of the actual Iraqi state do not correspond to its natural frontiers. The better portion of Al-Jazirah, to give only one example, is outside of Iraq, and partly in Turkey and partly in Syria. In this survey we shall disregard the present political boundaries, as we did in our survey of Syria.

The latter survey has shown that Syria with its well-defined natural boundaries has unity when viewed from without, but that internally it is broken up by mountain ranges and valleys. There is some symmetry in the disposition of these ranges and valleys, but to speak of physiographic unity within the country is contrary to fact, and not borne out by the almost chronic disunity of the country in the political and social spheres.

Iraq on the other hand has less physical symmetry, but more unity. The lack of symmetry is evinced by the disposition of physical divisions and their irregular shapes. In Syria the four physical zones are parallel and vertical. In Iraq they run diagonally from north-west to south-east, and in various forms. The alluvial plain is oval; Lower Jazirah looks like an inverted triangle with its apex a little north of the place where the two rivers come very near to each other. Upper Jazirah is also triangular but upright, and has a common base with Lower Jazirah marked by the Sinjar and Abdul-Aziz Mountains. Similarly; its two sides are formed by the Taurus

and Kurdistan Mountains. Not only symmetry, but proportion is also lacking among the physical zones of Iraq. The highlands form only 1/8 of the area of the present Iraqi state, and the remaining 7/8 are either plain or plateau. Another disproportionate feature is the short coast-line. It measures only 30 mi., whereas the land boundaries total about two thousand miles.*

That there is more unity in Iraq than in Syria despite the lack of symmetry and proportion is evidenced by the fact that the bulk of the country apart from Upper Jazirah, divides into two parts only : (1) A big plateau which is the continuation of the Syro-Arabian desert. Of this plateau we are concerned here only with the part between the two rivers, namely Lower Jazirah; (2) a smaller, but much more valuable part, the alluvial plain, which in reality is a big delta.† Beginning from the Persian Gulf the physical divisions are disposed diagonally as follows :

SEA	ALLUVIAL PLAIN	JAZIRAH	TAURUS & ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
-----	-------------------	---------	------------------------------

The Coast. The coast is not only short, as has already been said, but harbourless also. It suffers from the same handicaps as the Egyptian coast, i.e., swamps, sandbars, and rocky reefs.‡ The amount of alluvium brought by the two rivers and deposited at their mouths is enormous, so much so that the area of Iraq

* Hashimi, T., Mufasssal Ju'rafiyat el-Iraq. p. 111

† Dubertret et Weulersse, Manuel de Geographie., p. 149

‡ GMR. p. 159

in Babylonian and Assyrian days was smaller than would appear from the present map. Since then the Tigris and Euphrates have filled up the Persian Gulf for 150 -160 miles, and Lower Iraq is that much longer today.* To cite a much more recent development, 'Abadan, one of the important ports of the Persian Gulf in Arab days, now lies up the estuary more than 20 miles from the present coast-line of the Gulf.† Even today the only port of Iraq is a river port, Basra. Given this short and defective coast, no wonder that the Sea of Amurru (the Mediterranean) played such an important role in the foreign policies of the Mesopotamian kings.‡

The Alluvial Plain (Shinar). Enclosed on all but one side by rivers, this plain is bounded in the north by a line drawn from a little before Samarra on the Tigris to Hit on the Euphrates. This line is not arbitrary, it marks the difference between the elevated and undulating plain of al - Jazirah, and the dead level of the alluvium; § it coincides with the northern boundary of the ancient kingdom of Akkad, and subsequently divided the Arab province of Al-Iraq (As-Sawad) from that of Al-Jazirah. &

* AT. p. 106

† LEC. pp. 48 - 49

‡ GMR. p. 59

§ HSA. Ch. 1

& LEC. p. 25

In the last chapter we called the Lebanons the focus of Syria. The Babylonian Plain may, with even greater title, be called the focus of Mesopotamia. It is the most fertile part of the Fertile Crescent, and dominated it for a great part of its history.

Although it is level land with no variety of contour, the two rivers are constantly introducing modifications in the landscape, which at times assume big proportions. All these modifications are the result of the deposition of silt. This deposition is responsible, for instance, for the raising of the actual river beds, at some places, ^{above} ~~above~~ the surrounding land. This facilitates irrigation, but in time of flood it inundates the adjacent lands, leaving them swamp-ridden. Another important modification in the landscape is brought about by the frequent changes in the courses of the two rivers, especially that of the Euphrates, in consequence of the silting up of their beds, and the falling in of banks during the spring floods.* Many cities that flourished in Babylonian and Arab days fell to decay as a result of these changes. Their mounds mark today the lines of old river beds. The stronger banks of the Nile lend much more stability to Egyptian town-sites, and render the work of the archaeologist much easier.

Al-Jazirah. Al-Jazirah, or The Island, denotes the area between the two rivers north of the alluvial plain, as well

* HSA. ch. 1

as the lands within the tributaries of the Middle Tigris, e.i., the Upper Zab, the Lower Zab, and the Dyala. Its northern boundaries are the plateau of Tur 'Abdin (1000 - 1200 m.), and the hill country which has its center and highest point in the Karajah Mountains with peaks 1350 m. high. Both the Tur 'Abdin and the Karajah are outliers of the Taurus system which may itself be considered the northern most limit of the Jazirah.

In point of elevation, climate, and fertility al-Jazirah may be divided into two parts: Upper-Jazirah, and Lower Jazirah. The latter part lies south of Jabal Sinjar and the Khabur River. It is arid and resembles the Syro-Arabian plateau in elevation and geological structure. It is only in the neighbourhood of the two rivers and their tributaries that cultivation can be carried on a fairly big scale; but as the Euphrates receives practically no tributaries south of the Khabur, and flows at the bottom of a narrow cliff-faced intervalle, cultivation is practised only occasionally, and in places where the cliffs recede and admit a broader strip of Alluvium.*

Upper Jazirah, being more elevated and further north, receives more rain than Lower Jazirah. Many tributaries descend from the northern mountains to irrigate and fertilize the land. Finally its piedmont location between mountain and desert made it a very important highway between the

* GMR. p. 186

Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Nusaybin (Nisibis), Ras-al-Ayn (Ressina), Harran (Carrhoe), and Jarablus (Carchemish) that are today on or near the Baghdad railroad meet us at the beginning of history as important stations of this natural highway.

The Syrian and Iraqi portions of Upper Jazirah are today sparsely inhabited by a hodge-podge of Arabs and racial and religious minorities most of whom are in the nomadic or semi-nomadic stage. Yet there is historical evidence that the region knew better times. The valleys of the Middle Tigris and Euphrates, and those of their tributaries, ⁱⁿ particular, abound in "tells" made up of the heaped ruins of dead towns.* This evidence confirms the opinion held by competent authorities that the region has vast agricultural and trade possibilities.

The Taurus and Kurdistan Mountains. The Taurus-Zagros arc bounds the Fertile Crescent in the north-west, north and north-east. It has already been described.† Here we have to do with the outliers of this bulwork which protrude into Upper Jazirah and the Syrian Saddle.‡ Most of these protrusions are found in what is today Turkish territory. The present ~~xxx~~ state of Iraq has in its north-east corner some of the protrusions as well as a section of the bulwork itself, the Mountains of Kurdistan. Including the plateaux separating them, they form only 1/8 of the area of Iraq. Like the Syrian mountains they

* Dubertret et Weulersse, Manuel de Geographie p. 150, and Meyer. Hist de l'antiquité, Tome III, ch. 1

† See p. 12-13

‡ See p. 12-13

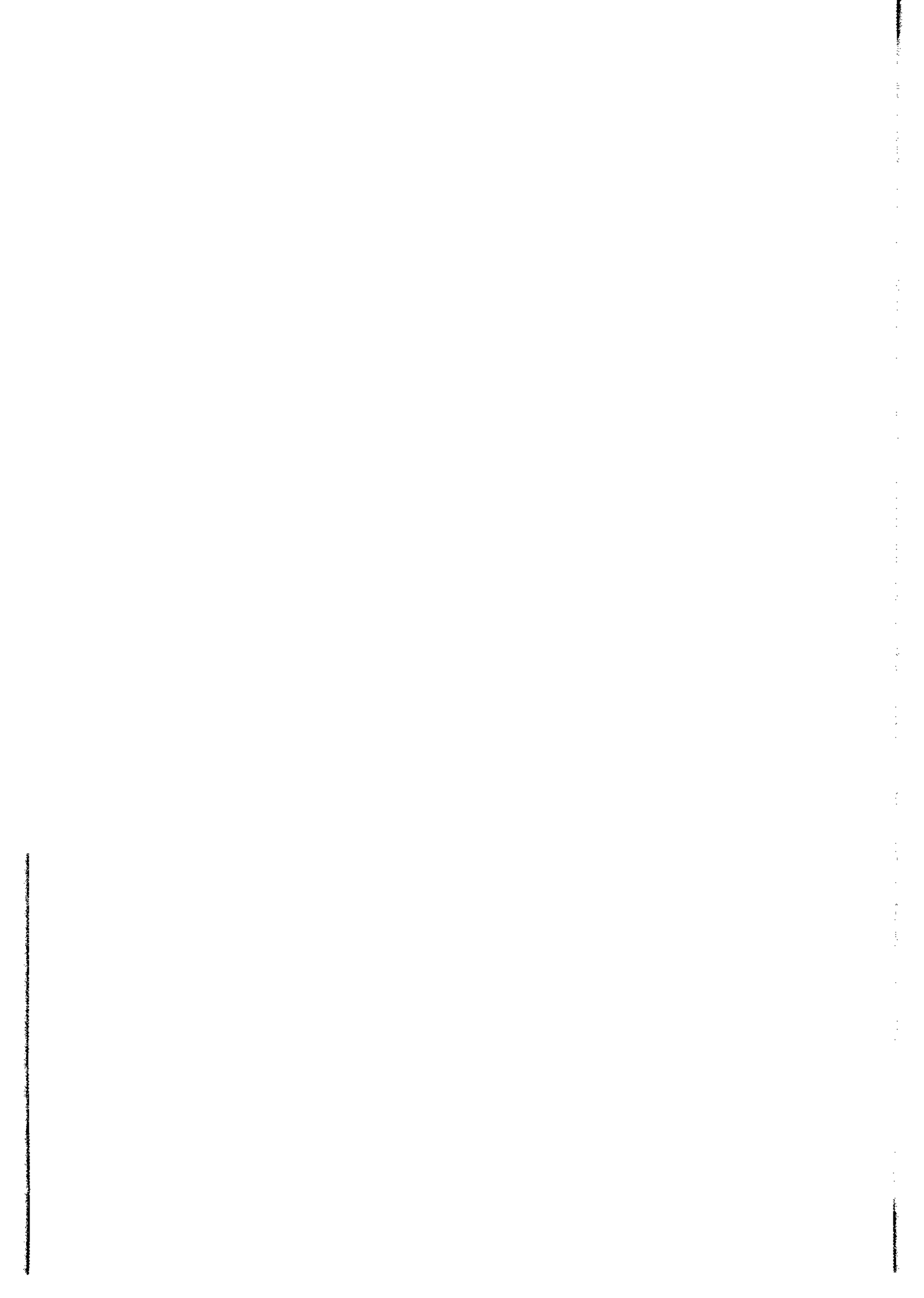
shelter minorities; but their small number and marginal location have spared Iraq the bad effect that the more centrally located mountains of Syria have had on the political development of the country, standing as obstacles to unity.

Let us look into this mountainous region a little more closely. A line drawn from Fish Khabur, at the meeting place of the Turkish, Syrian and Iraqi boundaries, southeastward to Khanikiⁿ on the central Iranian frontier would set off the region from the level land of Iraq. It consists of one trunk range in the extreme, north-east, and a piedmont plateau intersected by long narrow folds running parallel to the main range, that is, from north-west to south-east. These folds divide the plateau into three parallel upland plains, each higher than the one preceding it. The most elevated, and from the point of view of human geography, the most important of these upland plains lies between the trunk-range and the fold of Karkuk. This is the heart of the mountainous district. Endowed with an abundant water supply from the two Zabs and the Dyalā, it has always supported a dense population. The district between the Tigris and the upper Zab corresponds to ancient Assyria. Its most important towns today are Mosul, Altun Kupri and Arbil. The trunk range backs the plain, and rises to a height of 2000 m. It looks extremely wild, but in the interior depressions Kurdish towns such as Amadia, Rawandiz, and Sulaymaniyyah have sprung up. Still further north-east at the very frontier of Iran the mountains attain a height of 3000 m., and are covered with snow for six months of the year.*

* Dubertret et ^WPeulereesse, Manuel de geo. p.

South of Khanikin the mountain barrier and the political boundary part company, the latter continuing almost due south in level country. At its southern extremity it is about 120 miles from the mountains of Bakhtiar. *

* Hashimi, T., Muffasal Jughrafiyat el-Iraq., ch. 111



Chapter IV

CLIMATE

Both Syria and Iraq lie in the Mediterranean belt of winter rain and summer drought. They belong more definitely to the semi-arid eastern and southern margins of that sea. Yet Syria, let alone the whole of the Fertile Crescent, is so varied in point of climate, and the effect of this variety on its products and population is so great, that a survey of its climatic zones is imperative. These zones run from north to south, their disposition being determined by distance from the sea. Rainfall decreases, whereas the annual range of temperature increases with distance from the sea. In the following description of the three climatic zones, I shall point out deviations from this rule occasioned by elevation exposure to wind or latitude: e/

The three zones are the Maritime Zone, the Middle or Steppe Zone, and the Interior or Desert Zone. On a rainfall map the limits of the Maritime Zone coincide with the lines of precipitation 1000 mm. and 500 mm.; those of the Middle Zone with the lines ⁵⁰⁰ 850 mm. and ²⁵⁰ 100 mm. The Desert Zone gets less than 100 mm. of rain-fall.

The Maritime Zone. The first zone extends from Alexandretta to Gaza; its eastern limit is marked by the Orantes Valley, and the rest of the Central Depression. Its climate has the following characteristics: (1) Relatively abundant rain, (2) a relatively small temperature range.

The 14° C. range of Beirut is in contrast to those of Aleppo (20°), Dayr-az-Zur (26°), and Mosul (27°);

(3) a high degree of humidity with a summer maximum, which makes the season rather sultry. But as one climbs the mountain slopes, one feels a remarkable change for the better, an ~~improvement~~ which is almost incredible for the short distance traversed. The winter on the slopes, however, is severe, and, on the mountain tops, Alpine; (4) the seasons are more or less sharply divided.

The Middle Region. This region forms another parallel band between the western mountain ranges and the desert, or between the lines of precipitation 500 mm. and 250 mm. While retaining many of its Mediterranean features, the climate here begins to be continental. Summer and winter become more aggressive, the former prolonging itself at the expense of the two transitional seasons, spring and autumn. This tendency increases as we proceed desertwards. Jerusalem, Damascus, Hama, Hamah and Mosul are in this zone. The first two named cities, being more elevated than the rest, have a milder summer.

On the other hand the 'Ghur' which is conspicuous for its depth below sea-level is tropical in summer. As far as rainfall is concerned, Damascus which is shut out from the Mediterranean by the double barrier of the Lebanons fall short of the standard of rainfall maintained in the Middle Zone. It gets only 220 mm., whereas Aleppo gets 430 mm., and even Mosul gets 315 mm. Jabal Hauran which is more than

100 km. farther inland receives twice as much rain as the Syrian capital. This is because Jabal Hauran faces the great break in the Western Range formed by the ⁶⁴ Plain of Esdraelon, which lets in the rain-bearing winds.

The extreme climate of the Middle Region is little favourable for the development of vegetation. Trees are rare except on the banks of rivers. To people it is more bracing though less comfortable than maritime climate.

An accentuated form of this climate prevails in the marginal belt bordering the desert. Its limits are the lines of precipitation 250 mm. and 100 mm. Dayr-ex-Zur, Baghdad, and many of the towns of Central and South Iraq are in this zone.

The Interior Region. This region corresponds to the desert bay which is a part of both Syria and Iraq. Its climate is extremely continental. It gets less than 100 mm. of rain-fall.

Iraq. The uniformity that characterizes the structure of the land of Iraq manifests itself in its climate. Except for the small mountainous district/ ^{in the north-east, the climate} is almost uniform. The three principal towns of Iraq, viz. Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, although several hundred kilometers apart, have almost identical temperatures.* Mosul has one advantage over the other two; it has an autumn and a spring.

* Hashimi, T., *Mufassal Jughrafiyat al-Iraq*. p. 54

	Summer Maximum	Winter Maximum	Range
Mosul	43.3°	1.7°	40.6°
Baghdad	43.1°	3.7°	39.4°
Basra	41.7°	6.4°	35.3°

The rainfall map of the Fertile Crescent shows more unity between Syria and Iraq than the temperature map (see map p.) The lines of equal precipitation run in curves parallel to the Fertile Crescent, or rather to its mountain rim (see p. 6). With the exception of the Maritime Zone, all the rainfall belts of Syria extend into Iraq. We should not, however, belittle the exception. The Maritime Zone is not only the rainiest part of Syria, but the most beautiful, the most densely populated, and the most progressive part of the country. It is the only region with a typical or nearly typical Mediterranean climate and vegetation. Iraq is far from the Mediterranean. It knows neither its abundant rains nor the congenial effect it has on the climate of the Syrian littoral, and western ranges. The Persian Gulf is a poor substitute. Its tempering effect on the climate of South Iraq is practically nil. The excessive humidity caused by the multitude of lakes and rivers makes the already oppressive climate of the Persian Gulf district still worse.

Changes of Climate in Historical Times. It has been often asked whether the climate of the Fertile Crescent, and of the whole Mediterranean basin has changed in historical times, and whether the decline, and depopulation of these countries may not

be attributed to such a climatic change. Studies have been made by competent authorities for the various countries of the Mediterranean, and the conclusions reached deny that a change of climate has taken place in the historical period.* The view of Elsworth Huntington that during historical times wet periods alternated with dry periods, and that the breadth of the Fertile Crescent changed according to the decrease or increase of moisture is not shared by many authorities on the subject.† If the Fertile Crescent once had a bigger population than it actually has, if it was more prosperous than ⁿ it is at the present time, if the desert has encroached on the sown, the cause of this decline should be sought not in changes of climate, but in the denudation of hill-side soil in the mountains of Syria, the deforestation of these mountains,‡ the falling to decay of irrigation canals in Mesopotamia, the collapse of orderly government, and possibly the exhaustion of soil.

The Effect of Climate on the Population. In his description of the effect of the varied climate of Palestine on its ancient population, G.A. Smith says, " To the singular variety of the climate in which the Jewish nation grew up we may justly trace much of the physical persistence and versatility which has made

* OMR. p. 100

† Rostovtzeff, M., Caravan Cities, Ch. 1

‡ Bouchier, Syria as a Roman Province, Ch. 1

Jews at home in every quarter of the globe.* This statement applies to Syrians in general. The climate of Iraq, more akin to that of the desert, is less varied, but more extreme than that of Syria, with a big temperature range between summer and winter, and even between day and night. It too has had a hardening effect on the population. The Iraqis may not have the same elastic frame of body as the Syrians, but they are equally hardy, if not harder than they.

* ECHL. p. 72

Chapter V

RIVERS

The rivers of Syria may be divided into three groups:

(1) The great number of small streams that descend from the western ranges into the Mediterranean. (2) The bigger rivers that flow in the Central Depression, namely the Orontes, the Leontes, and the Jordan. The first two named pour into the Mediterranean; the Jordan into the Dead Sea. (3) The rivers of inland drainage of which Barada, Al-A'waj, and Kwayk are the most important. Many of these streams like some of the mountain torrents run dry in summer. The rivers of Syria are very small compared with the Tigris and Euphrates. The portion of the Euphrates flowing in Syrian territory is nearly twice as long as the longest Syrian river the Orontes (400 Km.). This does not mean, however, that the Syrian rivers have not been an important factor in the human geography of the country. All the important inland towns of Syria, with the exception of Jerusalem, have risen on river banks. Though unnavigable, their possibilities for generating electricity are greater than those of the Iraqi rivers. ?

The role that the Tigris and Euphrates have played in the human geography of Iraq is of paramount importance. Iraq is the gift of the two rivers in the same sense that "Egypt is the gift of the Nile", although Iraq is not so rainless as Egypt. The abundance of water for settlement and irrigation, and the ease of communication afforded by these two rivers must have been a

great factor in the early rise of civilization in Mesopotamia, and in the high standard which that civilization maintained in Semitic times.

The Euphrates and the Tigris. They both rise in the mountains of Armenia and flow in a generally south-eastern direction into the Persian Gulf not separately, as they did in early historical times, but as one big river about 45 mi. long, called Shatt-el-'Azab. We have to do here with the middle, and lower courses of the two rivers, which lie in relatively level country.

Although the Euphrates (1780 mi.) is by far the longer of the two rivers, it has a smaller volume of water. The reason is not far to seek. The Tigris flows at the edge of the desert and not through it. It receives a goodly number of tributaries from the Zagros Mountains, the Upper and Lower Zabs, the Dyala, and the Karkha. The Euphrates receives only two tributaries, the Balikh and the Khabur, which have their sources in the outliers of the Taurus, outside the Syrian frontier. As if this natural disparity were not enough, man-built canals between the two rivers are constantly flowing from the Euphrates, which has the higher bed, into the Tigris. When they are at their highest level in the flood season their volume is increased almost twenty fold.*

The important role played by the two rivers in the human geography of Iraq may be best described under three

* Dubertret et Veuleresse, Manuel de Géog. pp. 73-74.

headings : Irrigation, navigation, and settlement.

Irrigation. The Middle Euphrates from Jarablus on the Syrio-Turkish boundary to Ramadi does not allow of much irrigation. It was shown in a previous chapter that the Middle Euphrates never invited the development of a high-way along its banks (see ch.). For the same reasons irrigation is impracticable except in a few isolated places. It has been rightly said that the Euphrates flows through Mesopotamia but does not water it. This is not true, however, of the lower Euphrates which irrigates more land than the Tigris,* and which in early history invited the rise of more settlements on its banks than its sister-river. We have already said that the raised river-bed of the Euphrates, which renders the task of irrigation much easier than it would otherwise be, overdoes it by swamping vast tracts of land, thus making them uncultivable. It is to the end of bringing the flood waters of the two rivers under control that a number of irrigation works are being planned or built at the present time.

On the Tigris, not until we come to 'Amara is the river-bed raised enough to allow of irrigation by channels.‡ The Shatt - el- Arab and the Dyala basins are important irrigation zones.

Navigation. Owing to its smaller volume of water, the Euphrates has never been a good water-way. In the flood season

* Himadeh, S., An Nizam al-Iktisadi fi-el-Iraq. p. 202

‡ Ibid p. 206

from April to August it becomes navigable for rafts. At the end of the season the volume of water is so depleted that navigation is constantly interrupted by shallows, reefs,* and, in its lower course, by swamps and lagoons. The Tigris is more navigable, and Shatt-el-Arab is the most navigable of the three rivers. The former is navigable for steamers to Baghdad, and in the flood season to Mosul. In Shatt-el-Arab we come across the tide, a phenomenon which is unknown in Syria. It is a great aid in both navigation and irrigation. Ships time themselves by it.

As ancient traffic on both the Tigris and Euphrates moved exclusively down stream, and in rafts and ²round wicker boats,§ the land routes afforded by the Tigris-Euphrates trough were more important than the water-ways. These will be described in due time.

Settlement. The Lower Euphrates is more suitable for settlement than the Lower Tigris. It is less swift, and its banks are less high than those of the Tigris. The fall of its flood water during summer is slower. It is not until September that the lowest level is reached, whereas the Tigris is already at its lowest in June. The Sumerians coming probably through the "Zagros Gate" first settled on the Tigris,© but were later attracted by the better sites on the Euphrates. Most of the Sumerian and Akkadian towns stood on the latter's banks.

*QMR. p. 186

§ Ibid, p. 186

©AN Vol. 1. p. 357

But the Euphrates is a fickle river. It has changed its course, and the disposition of its swamps several times. The earliest change in the historical period is indicated by the mounds of the ancient towns just referred to. They extend through the Babylonian plain along the now practically dry beds of Shatt-el-Kh Nil and Shatt-el-Kar. The main stream flowed through these two channels, dotted by such Babylonian towns as KISH (El-Oheir), NIPPUR (Niffer), KISURRA (Abu-Hatab), SHURUPPAK (Fara) and ERECH (Warka). The only two ancient cities which stood on a channel west of the main stream were BABYLON and UR.* In 'Abbasid times we find the Euphrates flowing by Kufah, as it does now, but instead of pouring into Lake al-Hammar (Hor al-Hammar) before joining the Tigris at Kurnah, it poured into the Great Swamp which covered an area 80 km. across, and very nearly 320 km. in length. One can figure out how much bigger that lake was than the present Lake al-Hammar which is only 5200 sq. km. The Tigris also got lost into the Great Swamp. Later on the Euphrates shifted its main channel to Hillah, and back again to its present channel, the Hindiyyah branch of the river (former Kufah branch.) The latter change took place within recent years.‡

This Tigris owing to its stronger banks is a stabler river. We know, however, of one big change that it has undergone since early Moslem times, which we need not describe here.©

* This western channel through Hillah later became the main channel of the Euphrates.

‡ Dana, L.P., Arab Asia. p. 82

© LEC. pp. 28-29.

Thus towns in Lower Iraq rise and fall with the shifting river channels; they present a striking contrast to the permanent town-sites of Syria, and all Mediterranean countries.

Chapter VI

ROADS

Arabic "road-books", Roman, and even Persian and Assyrian itineraries describe the network of roads in the Fertile Crescent and adjacent lands, have come down to us.* Any scholar with the qualifications and patience requisite for over-coming the difficulties presented by the variety of measures and nomenclature, and the imperfect geographical knowledge of the ancients, can reconstruct those roads, their variants and alternatives, and their fluctuating fortunes under different political regimes. Such, however, is not my aim. In this chapter I shall trace the main and, in most cases, natural lines of communication, which have remained essentially the same through the centuries, beginning with the most important of them all, the Piedmont Route.

The Piedmont Route. Lying along the Piedmont of the Taurus foothills where irrigated fields and considerable towns provide security from nomad attacks, and food enough for armies and caravans, this route has been for millennia the main line of communication between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. It meets us at the dawn of history, and is with us today in the form of the Baghdad railway. It had

* Rostovtzev, *N. Caravan Cities*, p. 16

land connections across the Taurus and Zagros Mountains with the Anatolian and Iranian plateaux. At Aleppo, its western terminus, it linked up with the Syrian trunk road which continued into Egypt and western Arabia. At its extreme southern end, the Persian Gulf, access could be had to Eastern Arabia and India. In short it made of the Fertile Crescent one of the greatest transit lands of all times.

This highway followed a land road east of the Tigris along the base of the Persian highlands north to Assur or Ninevah near modern Mosul, ran thence westward past Nusaybin (Nisibis), Ras al-'Ayn (Resaina), and Harran (Carrhoe), and crossed the Euphrates at Jarablus (Carchemish), and thence continued south west past Aleppo to the Mediterranean by the Amanus passes, or the Orontes gorge.* The retention by the Turks of the towns of the Piedmont Route, especially those at its outlet, e.g. Antioch and Alexandretta, constitutes a great grievance to the Syrian at the present time.

At Aleppo the Piedmont Route linked up with the Syrian trunk road leading to Egypt. This road went across the fertile plain of Hollow Syria, past Hamah (Hamath), and Hama (Emesa), over the anti-Lebanon to Damascus, and thence along the foot of Hermon to Lake Tabarayyah (Tiberias). A little to the south of this lake, it went over the Jordan by the historic

* GMR p. 190

Jisr el-Majami' (Bridge of Assembly) to the Plain of Kedraelon. To reach the Maritime Plain of Palestine, it went through the Magiddo pass, or one of the other passes lying between the line of hills that connect Mt. Harnel with the Samaritan range.

This piedmont route would seem to be a round - about way of going from Iraq and Syria. And so it was; but any travel south of the route was perilous owing to the lack of water and fodder, and nomad attacks. In more turbulent times even the circuitous route became insecure, and a parallel but more northern road pushed well up into the highlands to an altitude of about 600 m. was used. Edessa (modern Urfa), Harde (modern Mardin), 'Aintab and Mar'ash were on this road. In more secure times, on the other hand, and in the cooler seasons, caravans ventured to cross the desert from Middle Syria via Palmyra to one of the towns on the Middle Euphrates, e.g. Dayr-el-Zur, Dura or Rakkah, and thence along the river to Babylonia. The aridity of the land along the Middle Euphrates did not encourage such a course. The present motor road from Damascus to Baghdad straight across the desert was too risky to allow of any traffic on a large scale.

Roads to the Anatolian and Iranian Plateaux. From the piedmont to the Taurus and Zagros there were roads across these two mountain systems to the plateaux behind. From Assur and Ninevah, the eastern termini of the Piedmont Route, a road went north to the fertile Lake Van district by a road up the Tigris valley and over the Armenian Taurus by the Bitlis

Pass (5000 ft.)*. Another road went from the Assyrian capital eastward through Arbela, and over the passes in the Zagros Mountains to Media. The most important of the latter passes was the one across the sources of the Dyala, known as the "Gate of the Zagros."‡ Through this pass ran the ancient caravan route from the Central Tigris to the Persian city of Hamadan, via Kermanshah. This formed a part of the great Khurasan road under the 'Abbasids, the most famous of the trunk roads of that time.© It united Baghdad, the capital of the empire with the frontier towns of the Jaxartes on the borders of China.

Returning once again to Aleppo, the western terminus of the Piedmont Route, we find that an important road left that town going north-west across the Amanus passes to the Cilician plain, and thence across the Taurus by the Cilician Gates (Pylos Cilicæ 1160 m.) to Anatolia. Three other passes across the eastern Taurus led (1) from Mar'ash (Germanicia) to Guksun (Kokussos), (2) from Mar'ash to Albustan (Arabissos), (3) from Samsat to Melatia.&

* CAH. Vol. 1, p. 357

* GMR. p. 197

© LEC. p. 9

& Ramsay, V.M., The Historical Geog. of Asia Minor, Ch. N.P. 278

P A R T I I

SEMITIC CITY - STATES AND EMPIRES

- Ch. VII The Ethnology of the Fertile Crescent.
- Ch. VIII Sources of Semitic History.
- Ch. IX Iraq in the Third Millennium.
- Ch. X Imperialistic Rivalries in Syria and
Mesopotamia, 1500 - 1160/
- Ch. XI The Age of Independence in Syria, 1200-875
- Ch. XII The Assyrian Empire.
- Ch. XIII The New Babylonian Empire.
-

Chapter VII

THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT

There is almost unanimous agreement among scholars, based on linguistic and cultural evidence, that the people of the Fertile Crescent are dominantly Semitic, and as such they form a sub-division of the Mediterranean race. As an ethnological term the word "Semite" should be used with great circumspection. The ethnology of the Semites rests mainly on the work of linguists and archaeologists. This is its shortcoming. Direct evidence based on the study of ancient skulls, and pictures of Semitic types carved on monuments has been scanty and sporadic.*

Before taking up the Semites as a race, it is therefore imperative that we should define the linguistic designation of the term "Semite."

Down to the nineteenth century the medieval and modern world did not realize that the Babylonians, Assyrians and Chaldeans in Iraq; and the Amorites, Canaanites (including the Phoenicians), the Arameans, and the Hebrews in Syria, were closely related.‡ But the decipherment of the cuneiform writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the comparative study of the languages spoken by those peoples revealed that their languages belonged to one family,

* EHO p. 31

‡ HA. p. 9

and that they should be viewed as dialects developing out of one common tongue. From the linguistic kinship scholars proceeded to cultural relationships. A scrutiny of the social institutions, and religions of the peoples speaking these languages has revealed a striking cultural resemblance. Ferocity, exclusiveness, intensity of faith, and imagination seemed to be common traits. These points of resemblance, in addition to a similarity of physical features revealed by pictures carved on monuments, led to the conclusion that the peoples who spoke those languages, before they became differentiated, belonged to one ethnic group which, by an extension of the term, has been called the Semitic race.

Having defined the term "Semitic" from the linguistic and cultural points of view, and touched on its ethnological connotation, we may now turn to the principal questions concerning Semitic ethnology. Where was the original home of the Semites? Were they the first comers to the Fertile Crescent, or was there a non-Semitic stock from the north and east in occupation of the country prior to their migration?

With regard to the first question, five countries, viz, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria have been postulated as the original home of the Semites, and as many theories have been worked out by the advocates of the respective countries.* The authors of the Mesopotamian theory, like those

* SHO. p.2

of the Armenian theory, have been influenced by Old Testament traditions.* One of its defects, which it shares with the Syrian (Amorite) theory, is that it assumes that agriculturists passed from a fertile country to a sterile country, Arabia, to become nomads which is against the laws of social progress. The three remaining theories are the Arabian, the African and the Amorite.

Arabia the Home of the Semites. The arguments in favour of Arabia as the original home of the Semites, at our stage of knowledge, outweigh all the others. Chief among them is the fact that the Arabic language has been regarded as typically Semitic, and the Arabian mind (bedouin) as the representative of Semitic thought.† Moreover, the last great migration, the Arab Moabim, taking place in the full light of history, has served as a further argument, and as a basis of analogy to the preceding migration.‡ Concerning this last migration, Robertson Smith thinks that the ease with which the native populations of Syria and Iraq, exclusively or prevaillingly Christian, adapted themselves to the new rule of the Arab Moabims is a proof the homogeneity of character that the populations of the Arabic quadrilateral possessed.&

* HA. p. 10

† CAH Vol 1, p. 186

‡ HDA Tome 111 p. 298, and HA. Ch. 1, p. 11

& CAH. Vol. 1, p. 192

" By a bold generalization the attempt has sometimes been made to view the entire history of the Semitic area as the result of successive waves of nomad Semites migrating from a 'home' in the deserts of Arabia owing to over-crowding and dissipation."*

According to this theory, four migrations have taken place; (1) The Babylonian around 3500 B.C., (2) The Amorite, about a thousand years later, 2400-2100 B.C. This wave included the Canaanites, and the Phoenicians. (3) The Aramaic, from the 15th to the 13th century. This migration took the Arameans into Syria and Mesopotamia, and their kindred, the Hebrew^s, into Palestine. (4) The Arabian, which culminated in the conquest of Islam.

Though correct in its main out-lines, this theory is too schematic, and betrays an attempt at simplification. This is further evidenced by the attempt of some Semitists to space the successive migration at 1000 years, and to represent them as operating in a cycle. Every 1000 years Arabia was filled up to the point of over-flowing, and in consequence, a migration took place. This, to say the least, is not likely. Even the last wave of the seventh century of our era, which was the biggest and most violent of all the Semitic waves, had its peaceful beginnings in later Byzantine and Persian days. Another defect of this simplified theory is that it does not take cognizance of the ethnic strains that flowed in from the north and east, and modified the pure Semitic type to a prominent degree.

* Ibid

SECRET

The Theory of the African Origin of the Semites. This theory is a modification of the preceding one. According to it North Africa is the ultimate home of the Hamito-Semitic races. This is based on the many affinities between the Hamitic and Semitic languages, and the greater antiquity of the former.* Before the beginnings of Egyptian history, Hamites migrated to East Africa, and thence across the Strait of Bab-el-Mandab to South Arabia. The Semiticization of the ancient Egyptian language, which is sometimes adduced as evidence of the migration taking place in the opposite direction, is a later development resulting from the repeated infiltration of the Semites into the Nile Valley. One of these migrations is believed to have taken place at the same time as the migration which carried the Akkadians to Sinear about 3500 B.C.† Prof. G.A. Barton, who was one of the first advocates of the theory of the African Origin of the Semites, and who set it forth in his "Sketch of Semitic Origins", 1902, says in his much more recent work, "Semitic and Hamitic Origins", "Evidence accumulated during the last quarter of a century has shown that this is the most probable theory."‡

The Theory of the Amorite Origin of the Semites. Amurru, according to A.T. Clay, the author of this theory, covered North Syria as well as Upper Mesopotamia down to a point nearly opposite to Baghdad. He claims for the Amorite Empire at its

*SRO pp. 16-27

† EA. Ch. 1, p. 10

‡ Ch. 1

height an extent as wide as the Fertile Crescent itself. He wrote two monographs: "Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites" and "The Empire of the Amorites." These two works represent perhaps the best of what has been written on this important but elusive people. In the first work he refutes the view that the religion of Israel is of Babylonian origin, and that many biblical stories are imported Babylonian myths. He holds that Hebrew culture and religion had grown up and developed naturally from older and indigenous civilizations, chiefly that of the Amorites. The importation, Clay believes, was in the opposite direction.* When the Amorites entered Babylonia they brought the worship of certain gods and cosmological and other traditions with them, and what we designate as the Babylonian religion is the result of the mixture of these Amoritic elements with those indigenous to the Euphrates Valley.** To make the theory reasonable, Clay claims for the Amorites a ^{much} ~~small~~ older antiquity than is usually accorded to them. Most scholars hold the view that the Semites of Amurru came out of Arabia as nomads in the latter part of the third millennium. Clay in opposition to these scholars maintains that a great Amorite Empire existed in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th millenniums.‡ In his second work he advances the theory, opposed to that of the most Semitists, that the home of the Semites who are regarded as the northern

* EA. p. 11

‡ Ibid, Introduction.

branch of the Semitic family is not in Arabia but in the lands west of Babylonia, It was from this region that the Akkadians and, later, the Babylonians and the Assyrians migrated to Mesopotamia. He believes that the theory of the Arabian origin of the Semites, the 'Stock' theory as he calls it, is utterly baseless. He does not see why the Semites should have migrated from Arabia to Amurru, and not vice versa, considering that, on the authority of Ellsworth Huntington and others, North Arabia was more fertile, wetter, and more densely populated than now.* Clay's exposition of this obscure problem is provocative of thought and has this to be said for it: It partially accords with the hypotheses held by most authorities that most of the Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia [^]west thither by way of Syria. Where they originally came from is a different matter. In my opinion, the tone of the arguments he sets forth to prove the existence of the empire of the Amorites in a period which has so far been regarded as pre-historic, and for which we have no sources save place-names, is too conclusive to be scholarly. For instance, he adduces evidence for the early ^{presence} ~~prevalence~~ of the Amorites in Sinear from the names of the kings of anti diluvian Chaldea. He maintains that these names are Amorite and not South Arabian.

Prof. G.A. Barton speaks of Clay's theory as having convinced no one but its author. Barton's studies have convinced him that the Amorite language is more akin to South Arabian than to North

* EA. Ch. 11, p. 31

Arabian.* This, in addition to the presence of identical names of gods in Amorite and Qatabanian (a South Arabian dialect) , have led Harton to the conclusion that the Amorites were an offshoot of the Qatabanians, and had their origin in South Arabia. A less committing opinion than either of the above two is that of S.A. Cook. " In certain elements of Amorite Culture," he says, " there are parallels in South Arabia, and Western Semitic. We can hardly decide whether the Amorite related settlements are to be derived from South Arabia, or from West Semitic sources."‡

Non-Semitic Elements. The most important ethnic springs, next to the Semitic, flowed from the Anatolian and Zagros highlands. They brought the Sumerians, and a number of less definitely identified peoples such as the Elamites, Kassites, Hurri, Hittites and Mitanni into the Fertile Crescent. A channel of this stream reached as far as South Arabia, and was enough, in time, to change about one half of the population of that region from the dolichocephalic to the brachiocephalic (broad-headed) type.& Researches are being made to the end of finding out whether there are enough linguistic affiliations among these peoples to justify their grouping under one name as the Semites and the Indo-Europeans have been grouped. So far their only collective designation has been the peoples

* SMO. p. 75

‡ CAH vol. 1, Ch. V

& SMO. p. 51

of the "Unidentified Belt."* Those who came from the north are sometimes called "Armenoids", and qualified as Asiatic. They are brachiocephalic, and are further characterized by a broad jaw and an aquiline nose. As far back as historians can go, they find non-Semitic elements in the Fertile Crescent. There is evidence that Armenoids were already in Canaan by late pre-historic times.† Armenoid features are to this day exemplified by the Jews. In the records of the Middle and New Egyptian Dynasties the name Hur (Hurrians) supplants Retenu.‡ This justifies the belief that they were not only numerically strong but had political ascendancy as well. At Ugarit (Ras Shamra) they established a kingdom which lasted till 1300 B.C.§ In lower Mesopotamia the Elamites ante-date the Sumerians.¶ In the first half of the 3th millenium the Gutti, who have survived among the modern

* MO. pp. 5-6

† HPS. ch. 11

‡ MO. p. 134

§ SHO. p. 46

¶ MO. ch. 111

Kurdia (Kurds)*, and once again the Elamites dominated Sumer. The Kassites, another mountain people, contributed to the down fall of Hammurabi's dynasty, and supplanted it for 576 years (1746 - 1171 B.C.) †. Together with the Hurri they dominated Mesopotamia throughout most of the second millenium. Speiser advances the view that they were much more prominent than they are supposed to have been. The area of their expansion according to him stretched from Armenia to Southern Palestine, and from the shores of the Mediterranean up to the borders of Persia. They furnished an ethnic substratum in both Palestine and Assyria. In respect of the former country Speiser says, " There is ample justification for the assumption that Hurrians were to be found among the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Palestine and Syria prior to the appearance of the Semites."‡ The preponderance of Hurrians and Kassites in the second millennium was such that we ought to readjust the historical focus, if we would understand the history of that period. Mesopotamia must be considered in terms of Hurrians and Kassites, and not in terms of Sumerians and Babylonians, as has been done thus far.§

* Ibid, p. 117

† Ibid, p. 121

‡ Ibid, p. 147

§ Ibid, p. 121

The Hyksos. A people that has been doomed to remain unidentified until very recently is the Hyksos, the shepherded-kings of the Greek historians. They were the people who dominated Syria, and not long after the death of the XIXth Egyptian Dynasty in 1788 B.C., occupied the Nile Delta which they ruled for about two centuries.* Contemporaries labelled them Asiatics. The only Egyptian literary source referring to the nationality of the Hyksos says that they brought with them many of the Am (bedouins), but were themselves foreigners.† A later writer identified them with the Hebrews. Other scholars, however, were inclined to connect them with the sweeping movements of the northern and eastern peoples over the Fertile Crescent in the second half of the second millennium. They were contemporary with the Kassite kingdom of Babylonia. The most recent and probable theory is that they were Canaanites. Dussaud and Weill seem to be positive about it.‡ It is based on linguistic evidence, e.g. the multitude of proper names with a good Western Semitic etymology. Even the few names that were adduced in favour of the Northern or Indo-European origin of the Hyksos have now been proved to be Semitic. If this theory is correct, the Hyksos invasion would be the only Syrian conquest of Egypt in the historic period.

* HPS. Ch. IX

† CAH. Vol. 1, p. 232

‡ PAO. Ch. VIII, p. 29

Western and Eastern Semites. The movements and early settlement of the various Semitic peoples within the Arabian quadrilateral are still within the field of speculation. For a long time the Semites have been divided, on linguistic grounds, into Northern and Southern Semites. North Arabia (Nejd) has been considered the original home of the former; South Arabia of the latter. As a result of more recent linguistic research this line of demarcation is fading away. It has been shown that the Akkadians, Amorites and Hebrews, all of whom have been so far considered North Semites, possessed many elements of speech and thought in common with the people of South Arabia. So scholars are inclining to the view that South Arabia was the home of the Northern Semites as well as the Southern Semites. *

Another conventional line of demarcation which is also fading away is the one dividing the Northern Semites of the Fertile Crescent into Western and Eastern Semites, according as they settled in Syria or Iraq. Under the former name are listed the Amorites, Canaanites and Phoenicians, Arameans and Hebrews; under the latter, Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Chaldeans. This division, based on a linguistic basis, is objectionable on two scores: (1) It might give the impression that the Semites were confined to either end of the Fertile Crescent, leaving a gap between them. The truth of the matter is that the Semites were spread over the whole

* SHO. p. 29

Crescent, with perhaps as dense a population in the Middle part as in the two wings. In fact Amurru corresponded to this part. The first Arameans ever recorded in history lived in the Middle Euphrates region. Both the Amorites and the Arameans seem therefore to have descended from that region to the other parts of Syria and Iraq. (2) It does not take into consideration the early 'homes' of the Semitic peoples. It has been revealed for instance, that some of the so-called Eastern Semites, viz the Akkadians, Babylonians (Amorite), and Assyrians, went to Mesopotamia via Syria;* and that the Amorites, Canaanites, Arameans and Hebrews, all Western Semites, went to Syria via Mesopotamia. Other theories have it that these peoples, or most of them, migrated from Arabia directly to their respective homes in the western or eastern end of the Fertile Crescent. I am inclined to believe that there were minor migrations between the two wings of the Crescent. This belief follows from objection (1). More light will be shed on this problem in measure as our knowledge of the Western and Eastern Semitic languages increases.

Conclusion. It would seem from what has been said in this chapter about the Semitic and non-Semitic populations of the Fertile Crescent that the historic controversy as to who was in earliest occupation of Babylonia, the Sumerians or the Semites, is being revived on a scale covering the whole Crescent,

* HDA Tome III, p. 292, and H2A, Preface

with the Hurrians, Elamites and other northern elements contesting with the Semites the priority of settlement in that region. The question will have to remain undecided until further progress in archaeological research is made. Historians have not yet been able to reach the original Semite.* As far back as they can go, they find the Fertile Crescent a meeting place of many different conflicting elements. One thing however, seems clear. Although the Semitic physical type has been much influenced from the north and east, it has remained the prevalent type, and shown a great power of receptivity. In culture the Semite has shown a still more remarkable power of assimilation. There is hardly an eastern or western group, from the ancient Elamites to the Ottoman Turks, that has entered the Fertile Crescent, and not seen its culture permeated, and almost superseded by that of the Semites. ?

Another fact revealed by the above discussion is the difficulty of drawing a line of demarcation between the Western and the Eastern Semites. All that can be said with certainty at this juncture is that the whole Fertile Crescent was the scene of the movements of the Semites. Syria and Iraq bent to each other in the north, thus bridging the gap for Semites to pass from east to west, and in the reverse direction.

Iraq is the richer of the two countries. It must

* CAH. p. 193

have held out a greater attraction to the emigrants from the desert-land of Arabia. In it the Semites built big empires; whereas their kindred, the Western Semites, built only city-states that were most of the time in a state of subserviency to their neighbours, Egyptian and Hittite, nay, to their powerful kinsmen, who had become the war-lords of Mesopotamia.

Not only armies but caravans treading the Piedmont Route and its variants carried cultural influences from east to west. Mesopotamian civilization had a long start on that of Syria,* and influenced it profoundly. In the coming chapters we shall have occasion to refer to the economic, cultural and political aspects of this superiority of ancient Mesopotamia.

We should not end this chapter on the constituent racial elements of the population of the Fertile Crescent without mentioning the Aryan or Indo-European element, even if it was a mere trickle compared with the Semitic and Asiatic streams. The names of Syrian princes of Aryan extraction figure in the Amarna letters, and are proof of the presence, at any rate among the aristocracy, of Aryans at an earlier period, probably about 2000 B.C. † This called for a modification of the then prevalent notion that the Indo-European inflow did not begin until the Persian conquest in the sixth century. The Asiatic Hittites, Mitannians, and Kassites were still more influenced by this early Aryan inflow.‡

* A. F. Clay does not agree to that.

† CAH. Vol. II, p. 331

‡ PAO. pp. 83-88

CHAPTER VIII

SOURCES OF SEMITIC HISTORY

A chapter on sources, even for a small dissertation like this, needs no apology. It indicates a critical attitude on the part of the writer, and in a subject like the one under discussion, it apologizes for him. It shows why so much of what he sets forth is tentative. Moreover, in the case of an ancient people like the Semites, the study of written sources is important because of the evidence it bears on the early civilization of this people, the appearance of writing being the landmark between the historic and the pre-historic periods. Their artistic resources, however meagre and crude, serve the same purpose.

The Eastern and Western Semites, and this is true of the ancient Egyptians as well, made history but did not write it. We know of only one Egyptian, and one Babylonian historian. Both arose after their countries had succumbed to Greek dominion and Greek culture. Manetho, the Egyptian, and Berossos, the Babylonian, wrote in the early part of the 3rd. century B.C. with the object of introducing the history of their respective countries to the Greeks. They are known to us only through fragments of their works preserved in the books of Josephus, and early Christian historians; In respect to reliability, it ought to be remembered that at the time of Manetho and Berossos the early Egyptians and Babylonians about whom they wrote had already become ancient, and were as far away in point of time from these two authors, as the latter are from us. The works of Greek wanderer-historians

have come down intact to us. The work of Herodotus, the greatest of them all, has remained, notwithstanding its shortcomings, about all we had of the empires of the ancient world until the recent decipherment of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform writings. But the story of Assyria and Babylonia accepted in the ancient world was largely drawn from the work of Ctesias of Caïus (415-398 B.C.), an uncritical mixture of invention and credulity.*

Such was the poorness of the sources of the ancient Orient that, until the last quarter of the 19 th. century, the habit of Europeans to regard ancient history as beginning with the Greeks was still going strong.

The historians of ancient Egypt and Babylonia are not ancient Egyptians and Babylonians, but modern archeologists.‡ The decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Babylonian cuneiform, and the excavations of European and American archeologists form one of the most brilliant chapters in the entire history of scholarship. But its brilliance is liable to blind us to the fact that the harvest obtained has been so far fragmentary, and the result of chance. Chance has determined what part of the ancient legacy should be preserved in the soil, and on the surface; chance has likewise determined what portion of the surviving part should fall to the excavator's spade. There is however one reassuring thing about the chance of the excavator. It is not likely to desert him for a pretty long time yet.

There is no doubt that the amount of historical material that has been so far unearthed in the Fertile Crescent, and now lies in museums,

* Ibid. p. 76.

‡ Ibid. p. 81.

is smaller than the amount still lying buried in the ground. Let us now review the great wealth of material and epigraphic remains that have been discovered in various parts of the Fertile Crescent, laying special emphasis on those that have been of great historical value.

EASTERN SEMITIC SOURCES

Concerning the Sumerians, the ushers of the historic period into the Fertile Crescent, we are comparatively well informed. A number of their towns have been excavated on varying scales. Ur, Lagash (Tello), and Nippur have yielded the greater amount of material. Woolley's discovery in 1927-1928 of the tomb of a royal family at Ur, which lived about 3100 B.C. placed a few centuries behind the historic period in Sinear, thus giving it an antiquity equaling that of Pharaonic Egypt.* The articles of gold and silver found in the tomb reveal a high standard of workmanship.

Lists of the names of kings, chronicles, and omen-books were kept by the priests and scribes of all Mesopotamian courts from the Sumerian to the Assyrian and Chaldean. Synchronistic chronicles giving parallel events in Babylonia and Assyria have also come down to us.† More descriptive than these two types of sources are the boastful records of single reigns. All of these lists have been criticized and compared, their gaps filled, and with the help of

historical documents have become in their reconstructed form the standard chronology of Mesopotamian history.

The Assyrian monarchs of the Age of the Empire (ab. 750-612 B.C.) left us a great number of records of single reigns carved on alabaster tablets on the walls of their palaces at Ninevah and Dur-Sharrukin. Our sources for the early period of Assyrian history are still very meagre, despite the valuable contribution of the German excavators of Assur. Not until the beginning of the 16th century does the sequence of kings begin to be known.*

The Chaldean monarchs, especially Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, the last king, left more inscriptions than any other Babylonian king with the exception of Hammurabi, and some of the sovereigns of Lagash (Tello).‡

A place of honour should be reserved for the last of the great Assyrian kings, Ashur-bani-pal (668-626 B.C.) who was not only a great warrior, but a great patron of learning. Some 20000 tablets containing the "wisdom of the time ", and written by the king's scribes were found in the fallen library rooms at Ninevah.© Of special importance to the historian are the historical texts in this valuable collection.

Besides the lists of names of kings, annals, official despatches, and codes of law and religion, we possess in abundance clay tablets bearing the sales of a merchant, the title to a plot of

* NDA. Tome III , p. 358

‡ Ibid, p. 13

© AT. p. 160

land or such item of current business.

WESTERN SEMITIC SOURCES

In sharp contrast to the wealth of sources we have just described, the sources of Western Semitic history are very poor indeed. Speaking from experience, Prof. Macalister, the explorer of Gezer in Palestine, says, "It is not in human nature for a Palestine explorer to read without a feeling of envy of the rich epigraphic, and artistic harvest gathered by his brethren in Egypt and Mesopotamia." And Palestine, let us remember, received more attention from excavators and explorers than any other part of Syria. Is this paucity of historical sources an indication of a later and inferior type of civilization? I think it is. I cannot share Clay's view that Amurru furnished Babylonia with its Semitic inhabitants,⁶ and that the Amorite civilization is as old as the Akkadian if not older. He credits that civilization with a much higher standard than that represented by remains dug out so far, and regrets the fact that excavations have not been conducted as yet in the land of the Amorites except in Palestine. We have already examined the weak foundations of his theory (see p. There is fairly good agreement among scholars that the Amorites came to the Fertile Crescent about the middle of the 3rd millennium. In Syria they were displaced before they became sufficiently civilized to produce anything that can be called literature,⁶

CAH., Vol. 1, p. 138

EA. p. 20

SHO. Ch. 111

or can be relied upon as a historical source. All that we know about them is based on names of places and kings, and occasional references in external sources, such as the story of Sinuhe, the Amarna letters and the Bible.

We are much better informed about 2 component elements of the Amorite people, namely the Canaanites (Hebrew for Lowlanders), and the Phœnicians. Our knowledge is not based, however, on Canaanite or Phœnician epigraphic sources, which are very meagre, but on external sources drawn from the royal palaces and tombs of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Hatti (Hittite). These countries, it will be recalled, contested the hegemony over Syria. This reliance on foreign sources is not without a parallel in modern historiography. A historian writing the story of Syria in the 19th century of our era, would have to draw his original material from the archives of the foreign offices at Constantinople, St. Petersburg, London, Vienna and Paris. Before examining the great wealth of foreign sources on which Western Semitic history is largely based, let us cast a glance at the native sources.

Native Sources. Palestine, notwithstanding the zeal and activity displayed by the excavators of its soil, has ^{not} yielded a rich epigraphic or artistic harvest. The excavations of Lachish, Gezer, Megiddo, Ta'anach, and Jericho have yielded some material remains which supplemented the knowledge we derive from Egyptian pictures and texts,* but their epigraphic contents have

* HOA p. 146

been insignificant. That valuable monument, the Moabite Stone (found in 1868) still stands alone.*

The epigraphic harvest in Central and Northern Syria has been still less than that of the south. Until the early twenties of this century, the Phoenician and Aramean inscriptions that were of any historical value could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and none of them was older than the 10th century. Their number has increased since Montet made his important discovery at Byblos in 1922-23, but not much. Montet's find consisted of five princely tombs in which a rich assortment of gold and silver objects of Egyptian workmanship or with Egyptian and Mycenaean influences, was found. Many of them bear hieroglyphic inscriptions which seem to indicate that they were sent as presents from the Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom (at its height about 2000 - 1760 B.C.) to their protégés, the king of Byblos. The gem of the whole find was the sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos, a contemporary of Ramses II, about 1250 B.C. The inscription on this sarcophagus is today the earliest monument known in the true Phoenician characters, as adopted from those of Sinai. An earlier stage in the evolution of the latter alphabet is represented by the tablets found at Ras Shamra (Sapuna) 8 mi. north of Ladhikiyyah. The majority of these tablets are written in a cuneiform adaptation of the Sinaitic alphabet, and are probably 2 or 3 centuries older than Ahiram's sarcophagus.*

* A rival theory set forth by Virolleand the decipherer of the Ras Shamra alphabet, says that this alphabet does not represent an earlier stage of the standard Phoenician alphabet, i.e., that of Ahiram's tomb, but that the two were invented independently of each other. Virolleand and his fellow French scholars hold that the same is true of the Sinaitic alphabet which is the oldest, going back to about 1500 B.C. Of these three independent systems of writing only the standard Phoenician alphabet was destined to survive and become the ancestor of all the alphabets of the civilized world. (See Weill, PAO., p. 161 seq.)

A smaller portion of the tablets was inscribed in Babylonian, the diplomatic language of that time *.

The artistic portion of the find consisting of statues, tools and weapons testifies, even more than that of Byblos, to the composite character of Syrian art, and its lack of originality." Egyptian Babylonian, Cypriote and Cretan influences are in evidence. The cosmopolitan character of this art may have been due in a large measure to the peculiar situation of Ras Shamra near the outlet of the Piedmont Route, "the greatest of all the roads of civilization linking the culture of the West with that of Mesopotamia." But this character was in evidence, though in a lesser degree, in inland towns. The objects found in the temple of Beth Shan (modern Beisan) present the same syncretism of cultural elements*. This syncretism seems to have characterized Syrian civilization since the end of early historic days*.

As a "literary" source the Old Testament is a type by itself. We would do well to quote from Prof. J.T. Shotwell's estimate of the O.T. as history. "In contrast with the product of Egypt or Babylonia, the Bible stands out as an epoch-making achievement. A composite work of many centuries filled with much that the historian rejects, it

F.A. Schaeffer, The National Geographic Magazine, Oct., 1930
HDA., Tome III, Ch. 1
HPS., pp. 149-154
Ibid, Ch. V

yet embodies the first historical work of genuinely national importance which has come down to us. Higher criticism has robbed it of its unique distinction as a special revelation of Jehovah, denied the historicity of its account of the Creation and destroyed the ^{claim} ~~chain~~ of the legends of the patriarchs to be regarded as authentic; the great name of Moses disappears as the author of the Pentateuch, and that of David from the book of Psalms; the story of Joseph becomes a romance, the ^D ~~ecologue~~ a statement of late prophetic ideals; the old familiar books dissolve into their component parts; written at different times and by different hands. In short, a national record, of varying value and varying historical reliability, has replaced the Bible of the churches, of stately uniform text and unvarying authority.

Just as higher criticism has broken up the cultural unity of the Jews embodied in the Old Testament and reduced the old familiar books to their component parts, "written at different times and by different hands," so has ethnography dissolved the fictitious racial unity of the Jews and disclosed the many elements that entered into the making of this people. This subject, however, belongs to another chapter.*

Foreign Sources. The Egyptian source ~~is~~ ^{is} larger in Syrian historiography than those of any other country. They fall into two groups, those that have been found in Egyptian establishments in Palestine and the towns of the Phoenician coast, the two districts where Egyptian influence was strongest, (2) those that have been found in Egypt itself.

* IHR., pp. 79-80

§ See Ch. XI

(1) Foremost among the Pharaonic establishments of the Old Kingdom outside of Egypt were the copper mines of Sinai, and the Egyptian temple at Byblos. This temple, one of Montet's finds, contained vases from the Pharaohs of the IInd, IVth, Vth and VIth Dynasties. Although a desert, Sinai boasts some of the earliest written record in history. Kings representing nearly all the dynasties of the Old Kingdom sent mining expeditions to Sinai, and left commemorative or ~~active~~ inscriptions on the rocks.* There is an interruption of the records corresponding to the ^{or} downfall of the Old Kingdom. The expeditions were resumed under the resurgent Middle Kingdom about 2000 B.C. Among the inscriptions of the latter period was one left by a simple Amorite foreman of Seim[†] who lived in the reign of Amenemhat III. It was of far greater consequence to human progress than all the royal Egyptian inscriptions. Discovered by Petrie in 1906, and deciphered by Gardiner it was found to bear evidence of the first invention of the Semitic alphabet, from which every alphabet of the civilized world is descended.

(2) Source material bearing on Syrian history, and found in Egypt in the form of pictures, epigraphic inscriptions, papyri, ostraca etc. exceeds by far the material found in Egyptian establishments in Syria. Warring and trade expeditions were sent to Palestine and Phoenicia as early as the 1st and IInd Dynasties.

* PAO., p. 57

† A plateau in Southern Palestine bounded on the east by Araba Valley.

The arrival at an Egyptian post of 40 ships loaded with wood is recorded in the Palermo Stone under the reign of Sen Snefru, about 2600 B.C.*

For the beginning of the second millennium we have the Romance of Sinuhe^h, an Egyptian nobleman who at the death of Amenemhet I, about 2182 got implicated in a quarrel over the succession, and had to escape for his life. After spending many years in Palestine, Byblos, and other Syrian districts whose names it is difficult to identify from the papyrus, he was graciously received back to the court of Senesret^h I.

Of much greater value than the story of Sinuhe^h which is a romance, are two sets of sources of a later date: the annals of Thutmose III, and the Amarna letters. The "annals" form the longest and most important historical inscription in Egypt^h.^h They describe some seventeen campaigns which Thutmose III carried on to Syria.

The Amarna letters, "the oldest body of international correspondence in the world", were found in 1887 in what was Ikhnaton's archive chamber and include his father's correspondence as well as his own. The Egyptian Empire in Syria (apparently at its greatest extent in the reign of the father, Amenhotep III.) had begun^h to show signs of disintegration, but things came to a head in the reign of

* PAO., p. 59

h CAH., Vol. p. 304

h J.H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. 11, pp 163 sqq.,
quoted in Shotwell, p. 60

the son as a result of the confusion and disturbance caused on the introduction of the Pharaoh's new faith. The internal troubles in Syria were aggravated by the incursions of two peoples, the Hittites from the north, and the Hebrews from the desert. Fifty of the 350 letters came from Rib-Addi of Byblos who begs for help against his "treacherous" neighbours. In the collection are letters from the kings of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia dealing with various subjects.

A feature which the "letters" have in common with the annals of Thutmose III, and which is welcome to the student of historical geography, is the great number of places mentioned in them, 118 in the "annals" and about 150 in the Amarna letters*. Of the latter number, about 100 can be fixed with more or less certainty. The identified place-names in both the "annals" and the "letters" afford us a chance to draw a map of Syria at that time, the first in the history of Syria's cartography. Several maps have been drawn after the Amarna letters.^x These place-names have also been put to another important use. Together with the names of kings and rulers mentioned in the letters, they have shed much light on the ethnology of the Fertile Crescent in that age. The first complete European rendering of the Amarna letters is that of Hugo Winckler. His German version has been translated into English. Winckler's chief title to fame,

* SE., p. 15

x. There is such a map in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, p. 96.

however, is his excavation of Boghaz-K^uxi to which we shall now turn.

The excavation of Boghaz-K^uxi (once Hatti, the capital of the Hittite empire) by a German expedition after the first world war brought to light a rich epigraphic harvest, a mass of uniform tablets written in several languages, but mainly in 2 principal ones which the tablets themselves call Hatti-li and Nasi-li, in other words, old and new Hittite*. This find is, in a way, of much greater significance than that of Amarna. The language of the Hittites, and in consequence their history had until then been unknown. Here was a wealth of information covering, not all their history, but vast stretches of it, from its beginning to the great imperialistic struggle with the Ramessids. It sheds much light on the coming of the Hittites and other Indo-Europeans to Asia-Minor and the Fertile Crescent about 2000 B.C.‡ In the words of S.A. Cook, "old ideas of Egypt and South-Western Asia have been revolutionized partly by the Amarna letters, and the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz-K^uxi, partly by the results of the excavations in Palestine and Syria."§ He hastens to add, however, that the "tells" of Syria and Palestine are still only very slightly known.

* PAO., pp. 87-88

‡ Ibid, p. 88

§ CAH., Vol. 11, p. 296

As to Babylonia, the third of the big rivals with ambitions in Syria, we have already reviewed the sources of its history, and we revert to the subject only to mention those that shed some light on early Syrio-Mesopotamian relations. The kings of Sumer and of Akkad began to be interested in Syria as early as their Egyptian contemporaries. The cedars of Lebanon were eagerly sought after on both sides. The first Mesopotamian king on record to invade North Syria was the Sumerian Lugalzaggisi who came to power about 2897 B.C. His example was followed on a bigger scale by his conqueror and deposer Sargon, the great founder of the kingdom of Akkad. His conquest of North Syria coincided with the Egyptian conquest of Palestine under the IVth Dynasty. As the Syrian conquests of the early Mesopotamian kings will be dealt with in the next chapter, we shall defer till then our discussion of their sources.

CHAPTER IX

IRAQ IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

The history of Lower Mesopotamia in the third millennium consists of four chapters. The first three are Sumerio-Akkadian; the fourth is Babylonian. The following are approximate dates*:

Sumerian city-Kingdoms	3050 - 2750
Sargon and his line (Akkad)	2775 - 2620
Kings of Sumer and Akkad	2575 - 2220
First Babylonian (Achorite) Dynasty	2225 - 1920

Sumerian civilization, though less advanced than that of Egypt, is equally old. It was adopted by the Akkadians and, in time, passed on to the Babylonians, Assyrians and Chaldeans. The cuneiform system of writing which they invented spread all over the Semitic Fertile Crescent, and across its borders to Elam in the east, and Anatolia (Hatti) in the north-west. In the first 3 periods mentioned above the Semite as well as the Sumerian used the language of the latter²; hence the difficulty of disentangling the interwoven influences of Sumerians and Semites³. It would be more correct to qualify this early civilization as Sumerio-Akkadian, for although the Sumerians originated it, the Semitic Akkadians made important additions, and impressed the whole with their own stamp⁴.

* Except for the first, these dates are taken from the chronological system laid down by E. Meyer, HDA, pp. 233 & 251

² EA. p. 20

³ C.A.B., Vol. 1, p. 462

⁴ HDA., Tome III, p. 214

Pre-Sumerian Origins. It is my aim in this chapter to describe the influence that geographical factors had on the settlement of the Sumerians and Semites, the rise of their towns, the direction of their expansion, and the relations of war and peace that they had with their neighbours.

The Sumerians are not indigenous to Mesopotamia. There is evidence that they were highly cultured when they entered the country in late pre-historic times. This is possibly the explanation of the earlier start which the Eastern Semites had on their western brethren. Excavations have further shown that three distinct cultures representing perhaps as many races had occupied the alluvial plain before the coming of the Sumerians*. Reference has already been made to one of these sub-strata, the Elamite*. The pre-Sumerian settlers built the foundations of many cities such as Ur, Eridu, and modern Tell el-Lahaf.

Sumerian Town-Sites. While talking about Upper Mesopotamia in an earlier chapter, it was deemed necessary to point out that, contrary to the idea which some atlases seem to convey, a great part of upper Mesopotamia, especially in the South is a desert. The same remark may be made of Lower Mesopotamia. Not all the area encircled by the two rivers from near Baghdad to the Persian Gulf was cultivable, and fit for settlement and the rise of town. Most of the Sumerian cities were built on the Shatt en-Nil (continued by Shatt el-Kar) and Shatt el-Hay, which formed the old beds of the Euphrates and Tigris respectively, and on

SNO., Ch. 11

Ibid

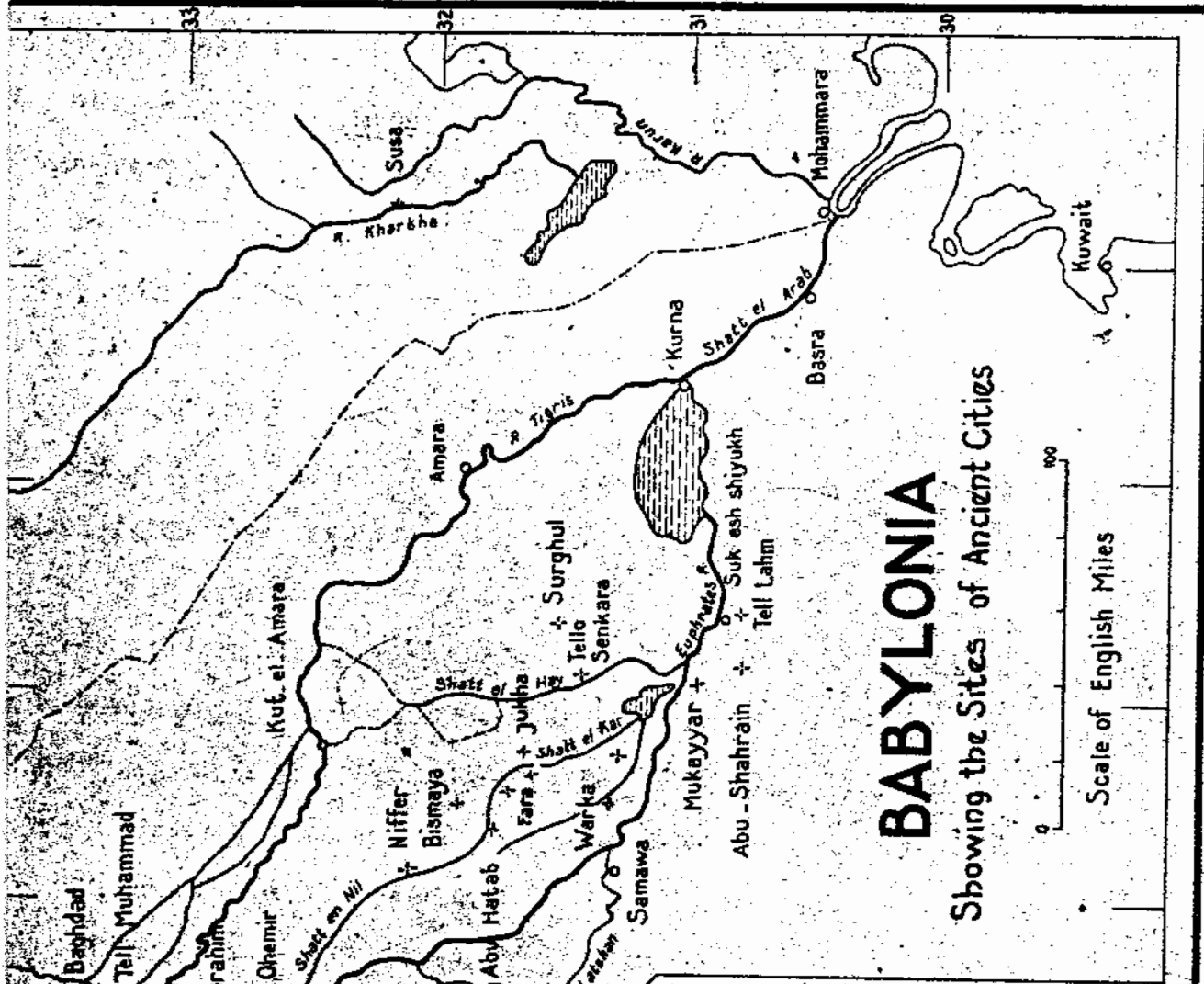
See p.

C.I.H., Vol. 1, Ch.

canals that branched thereof. As these two ancient beds were much nearer to each other than the modern ones, and as the plain of Shinar was much shorter in the south* than it is at the present time, the Sumerian and Akkadian towns, all of which are dead now, stood close to one another in an area only 200 KM long, and 40 KM wide, and extending from Upi on the river Uzaym to Eridu (modern Abu Shahraia) on the Persian Gulf. The mound of the latter city is now 200 KM from the sea.

Before describing the distribution of these towns it may be in order to remind ourselves of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of them. In the 23rd century, after the independent kingdom of Sumer and Akkad had passed away, their learned men constructed a vast system of chronology extending from the flood to their own times. These long lists contain the names of the dynasties that reigned during that period, and the names of their respective capitals. The earlier part of them is legendary; even the latter part can be utilized only when it has been controlled by excavation "on the field". Most of them have been so controlled. Ur of whose brilliant excavation by Woolley in 1927 mention has already been made, and Mari which the French discovered in 1936, eleven KM north-west of Abu-Kamal on the Syrio-Iraqi frontier, were until those dates considered legendary.

See p.
C.A.H., Vol. 1, Ch. X, Sec. 1.
Newbigin, Mediterranean Lands.



BABYLONIA

Showing the Sites of Ancient Cities

Scale of English Miles
0 100

MODERN NAMES OF ANCIENT CITIES FOLLOWED BY ANCIENT NAMES

- Abu-Habba
- Abu-Shahrain
- Abu-Hattab
- Bira-Nimrod
- Bismaya
- Fara
- Jukha
- Mukaqqar
- Niffer
- El-Ohemir
- Senkara
- Tell-Ibrahim
- Tello
- Warka
- SIPPAR
- ERIDU
- KISURRA
- BORSIPPA
- ADAB
- SHURUPPAK
- LIMMA
- UR
- NIPPUR
- KISH
- LARSA
- CUTHA
- LAGASH
- ERECH

Sites of Ancient cities, thus +
Modern cities, thus o

Mari was perhaps the northernmost Akkadian town. The following is a list, not unlike those found in modern tourists' guide-books, of the Sumerian and Akkadian towns whose mounds dot the alluvial plain.

SIPPAR (Abu Habba) marks the beginning of Akkad proper. Once on the "Great River", it is now a few miles to the east of the Euphrates. GUTHA (Tell Abrahia) to the south-east of SIPPAR stood on a canal of the same name. Most of these mounds, stand on the practically dry beds of Shatt en-Nil and Shatt el-Kar. From north to south they are KISH (El-Ghemir), NIPPUR (Niffer). KISURRA (Abu-Natab) and SHURUPPEK (Fara). BRECH (Marke) stands on a further continuation of Shatt en-Nil while still more to the east are the mounds of ALAB (Bismaya) and UMMIA (Jukha). LARSA (Senkara) also lies to the east of the present stream. The only city, besides BABELON, which stands near the present (Hilla^h) channel is UR*. The Shatt el-Hay, the original bed of the Tigris, was less favourable for settlement. Only where it discharged into the sea stood the city of LAGASH (Tello). The northern towns were Semitic; those of the south Sumerian. A point south of Kish marked the limit between Sumer and Akkad*.

Nearly every one of these towns owed its rise and prosperity to its fluvial location. Over-flooding or dissiccation resulting from a change in the river course had fatal consequences. This double danger to which the towns of Lower Mesopotamia are exposed accounts for their ephemeral character which is in sharp contrast to the stable sites of Phoenician towns.

HSA., Introduction

C.A.H., Vol. 1, p. 402

Sometimes the causes of decline were political or dynastic. The advent of the Amorite state of Hammurabi marks the decline of the Sumerian towns of the south, notwithstanding the all-embracing vigilance and activity of this great monarch. The excavations of Tello (LASASH), Surghul, Abu-Hatab (KISURRA), Fara (SHURUPPAK), and Bismaya (ADAB) have shown that these towns ceased to exist at the end of the kingdom of Sumer and Akkad. The other towns of Sumer survived as holy places*. The Semitic towns, on the other hand, continued to thrive%.

Size and Appearance of Towns. By measuring the dimensions of their present mounds, we can form an idea of the size of these ancient towns. The mounds of LAGASH, for example, occupy a great oval running north and south, 2 1/2 mi. long and 1 1/4 mi. broad. The height of the mounds ranges from 33-52 ft. LAGASH was one of the bigger towns. The mounds of UR occupy an oval whose greatest diameter from north to south is about 5/8 mi. only%.

As there is no stone in the plain of Shinar houses were then made as now of baked bricks. The poorer folk who could not afford the price of baked bricks used adobe or reeds, as they still do%. The towns must have looked rather shabby. Only temples had stone foundations. This accounts for the fact that in many of the fore-mentioned towns, the temples with their stage-towers are the only surviving monuments*.

HDA., Tome III, p. 316

C.A.H., Vol. I, p. 465.

Ibid

Ibid, p. 497

Here the historian seeking after sources finds a good compensation for the considerable amount of source material that has been washed away. Due to the theocratic character of the state, the temple surpassed the palace and was the depository of official as well as religious documents. Moreover, the great wealth of precious offerings found in them throw much light on the material civilization of the times. Every city had its own god cult, but they all recognized the national pantheon. The greatest of all deities was Enlil, the earth-god, from whom all kings derived their authority, and whose seat at NIPPUR made of this city the spiritual capital of Sumer and Akkad. Its temples are a treasure-house of information to the historian.

Natural Resources and Products. The scarcity of stone and wood caused the warrior, kings of Sumer, Akkad and Babylon to seek for these two commodities in the mountainous regions to the east and north. The asphalt and mineral oil of the region between the Diala, and the Lower Zab were also utilized*.

* HDA., Tome III, p. 238

This is the only source I know of which mentions the use of petroleum in this early period. Nowhere is it mentioned in A.T. Olmstead's voluminous History of Assyria. The latter source however, mentions rock asphalt which was brought from a spring a day's journey north of Ashur, and used instead of mud mortar by the palace builders of Ashur. "It gives one a shock," Olmstead remarks, "to realize that this spring is one of the indications of petroleum which has caused the Mosul oil-fields ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to be in dispute between Turks and British." p. 29. It may be rightly inferred from this remark that the use of petroleum was still long to come.

The staple commodities of food were dates, corn, flocks, herds and fish. The date-palm played a remarkable part in the economy of Sumerian life just as it does today in the material economy of South Iraq. There are historians who believe that the Sumerians first settled along the middle Tigris, and that they were attracted to the South by the date-palm*. In fact the area of date-palm cultivation is the area of Sumer and Akkad. The Sumerians and Semites may not have been able to boast about 110 kinds of date-palm as their modern descendants do² but there is no doubt that dates held the highest place among the products of the soil. "Entire lexicographical texts were devoted to the names of the various kinds of the palm, the parts of the tree, the technical names used in its cultivation"³

Expansion. The first Sumerian king to expand his dominion beyond the plain of Shinar was Lugalzaggisi of Erech who reigned from about 2800 to 2775. After subduing his great rival, the city of Lagash, and the Semitic towns of the north, he, at the head of an army "as innumerable as grass", conquered the lands of the ^U ^S Upper Sea (Mediterranean) and the Lower Sea (Persian Gulf)⁴. The former reference is to northern Syria. The Pharaohs of the old kingdom had already established their influence in Palestine, and this division of Syria into two spheres of influence between the kings of Egypt, and those of Mesopotamia was to remain for a long time⁵.

* C.A.H., Ch. X, Sec. 1

¹ Hindeh, An-Nizam el-Iqtisadi fi al-Iraq, p. 185

² C.A.H., Vol. 1, p. 361

³ HDA., Tome III, p. 176

⁴ Ibid, Ch. 1

^h Towards the end of Lugalzaggisi's reign the struggle for hegemony between the Sumerians and the Semites was resumed; from ^{this} which struggle the great Sargon emerged triumphant, the first of a line of Akkadian kings who reigned for 158 years*. We are here concerned with the extent of the empire which he and his successors built, and which comprised nearly the entire world known to the Babylonians of that time. The title "king of the Four Regions of the World" carried by his illustrious great grand-son (?), Naram-Sin was not an empty boast, as it came to be later. Only Egypt remained outside the Akkadian orbit. We would do well to survey briefly the three regions which in addition to Sumer and Akkad formed the Sargonic empire.

(1) The nearest region to Akkad was Subartu which in Babylonian geographic terminology designated Upper Mesopotamia (Al-Jaziran) including perhaps the semi-circular range of mountains backing it². It had been inhabited from time immemorial by Northerners, probably Hurrian. They were supplanted, or at any rate, permeated in late pre-historic times by Semites. But even after the region had become predominantly Semitic as it still is, it experienced in the historic period several invasions by the descendants of the northerners mentioned above, such as the Hittites and Mitannians. Assyria, the country between the Tigris and the Upper Zab, lay in Subartu. Both from the racial and cultural viewpoints the beginnings of Assyrian history betray non-Semitic Hurrian influence.

* Ibid, p. 196

© PAO., p. 38

(2) Elam*. In this country the Iranian plateau descends gently to the plain of Shinar and merges with it. The gentle gradient, and the two parallel rivers, the Tarkha and the Karun, which rise in the mountains of Elam and flow to the south-west have facilitated intercourse with the plain of Shinar from very primitive days. Of pre-historic Sumeric-Elamite relations we have already spoken. Under the Sargonic line of kings, and later under those of Ur and Babylonia, Elam was in a state of dependence on those kings. When the latter declined their Elamite "protectors" would take advantage of the changed times to declare themselves independent, and even to turn the tables on their Mesopotamian sovereigns. The royal lists mention several Elamite kings of Sumer and Babylonia. One of them claimed dominion over "the Four Regions of the World". Whether they came as conquerors or raiders they carried away with them statues and other monuments to Susa, where modern archeologists found them. Sargon's triangular block, the two statues of his son, Manishtusu, Narasim's Stele of Victory and Hammurabi's code of law, all in diorite, are some of the gems of this Susian collection. We are tempted to credit those plunderers with other motives than the materialistic. That the hold of culture is stronger than that of kings is proved by the fact that even after they had become independent the Elamite sovereigns continued to

* Elam, the Ahwaz of Arab geographers, has two modern names, Khuzistan and Arabistan. The latter name is indicative of the Arab character of its population. Until the advent of Rida Shah in 1925 it was ruled from Muhammarah by a local Arab prince Sheikh Khaz'al.

9 FDA., Tome III, p. 241

% Ibid, p. 242

use the Akkadian language, and to write in cuneiform. Native Susian was also written in cuneiform, and so was Persian under the Achaemenian kings (the line of Darius) two milleniums later. Reactionary movements favouring the reestablishment of the native language set in from time to time, and were not unlike the attempts made by Persians in the last days of the "Abbasid empire to reestablish their language in the eastern lands of the Caliphate".

North of Elam lived the Lullu the heart of whose country was the present district of Sulaimania in Iraq. Still further north lived the Gutti who, as we said in an earlier chapter, are represented by the modern Kurds. These two tribes belonged to the same linguistic group as the Elamites, and stood in the same relation of war and peace to the Mesopotamian kings. A relief which is clearly the prototype of Naram-Sin's famous stele of Victory represents him as victorious over the Lullabi¹. His predecessor Sarganisarri defeated the Gutti, but Naram-Sin himself suffered defeat at their hands².

Among these two mountain tribes semitization in both language and religion was superficial, as it is today among their descendants³. We shall have to do once more with the Gutti before the end of this chapter.

* H.A.R. Gibb, Arabic Literature, quoted by Rustom and Zurayk, Provisional Readings, p. 240
1 MO., p. 88

2 HDA., Tome III, p. 219
3 MO., p. 89

(3) One of the most important parts of Sargon's empire was Anurru which in Babylonian geography meant the west.* It was here that he won his most brilliant victories. Having subdued the Amorites, he now held dominion over the "Four Regions of the World." As these composed nearly the entire world known to the Babylonians, his was the first world empire of history.©

The preservation and aggrandizement of Sargon's empire was mainly the work of his two near successors, Sarganiszarri and Naram-Sin, although revolts by the subject peoples marked the beginning of every reign.‡ The empire was extended on the north and south. Naram-Sin's state of Diar-Bakr on the confines of Upper Jazirah, corroborated by an inscription on one of his statues, would seem to indicate that this energetic warrior advanced beyond the Armenian range of the Taurus.‡ In the south Naram-Sin's conquest of Magan and Meluha was perhaps his chief glory. Only the former country has been identified. It was a coastland of the Persian Gulf, probably the modern al-Hassa.‡

The kingdom of Akkad was followed ^{after} 3/4 of a century by the strong Sumerian dynasty of Ur (2469 - 2353) who out of regard for the sentiment of the north Semitic towns called themselves the kings of Sumer and Akkad. &

In the intervening period the Guti of the Zagros Mountains, anticed by the weakness of the ephemeral state of Erech, descended

* " Similarly Subartu represented the north, Sumer the south, and Elam the east." PAO., pp. 38-39
© HDA., Tome III, p. 208
‡ Ibid, pp 207-208
‡ C.A.H., Vol 1, p. 418
‡ Ibid, p. 416
& HDA., Tome III, p. 233

upon the plain and occupied it for about half a century. Their occupation is painted in the darkest colors possible, and recalls to our minds the Hyksos occupation of Egypt. Yet this short-lived occupation of the Gutti pales before the Kassite invasion which came from the same direction about half a millenium later. In view of this standing menace from the east and north, is it any wonder that Babylonia has always had a more disconnected career, and a more diversified population than Egypt ? *

With the rise of the strong kingdom of Ur, we see a reversion to the imperialistic policy of the Akkadian kings. Dungi, the deified king of Ur (2463 - 2452) renounced his title " king of Sumer and Akkad " and adopted the more resounding one, " king of the Four Regions." His empire extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and eastern Asia-Minor.

Disruptive forces from within brought about another Elamite invasion, this time coupled by an Amorite invasion from the ^{west} east or south. It is probable that the Amorites first came as workmen, and from workmen rose to mercenaries who in the fashion of the Turkish soldiers of the 'Abbasid caliphs, took control of the affairs of state. They founded a number of city-states which were over-shadowed and in time supplanted by one of them, the city of Babylon.©

The achievements of the great Hammurabi (2123 - 2081) as a pious ruler, an administrator and a law-giver need no recounting.

* C.A.H., Vol. 1

© HDA., Tome III, p. 300

He fought many wars, but consecrated every victory by a new canal or some other public work. He reigned over the whole of Iraq, Assyria and Elam included.* Although he carried the title of " King of the Four Regions", we have no conclusive evidence that his kingdom extended beyond the Iraqi frontiers. One is inclined in view of his greatness, and his Amoritish origin to think that Syria formed a part of his kingdom.

Motives of Expansion. We have a clue to the motives which prompted this expansionist policy of the above-mentioned kings in the inscriptions they left us. Here is one carved on a statue of Sargon at Nippur: " Enlil gave unto him the upper lands Maer, Yarmuti, Ibla as far as the cedar forests, and the silver mountains."® The silver mountains refer to the Taurus, especially the region near the Cilician Gate; the cedar forests probably to Lebanon.‡ The mountains of Syria provided the wood and stone which were so much needed in the treeless and stoneless lands of the Babylonian Delta. Similar inscriptions mention diorite from Magan and gold from Meluha.& A list of building materials has come down to us from the days of Gudea of Lagash (2600 - 2500). Among these materials copper was brought from Kagalad, a mountain of Kimash, very probably Damascus.‡

* Ibid, p. 319

® "Jarmuti as shown by the Amarna letters was a sea-port town on the Phoenician coast; and Ibla was the district further north." Clay, The Emp. of the Amorites. p. 95

‡ C.A.H., Vol. 1., p. 405

& HDA., Tome III, p. 226

‡ Clay, The Emp. of the Amorites, p. 96

The expeditions of Lugalsaggisi, Sargon, and possibly, those of the kings of UR and Babylonia must have followed the Piedmont Route, the names of whose cities appear in early Babylonian history-Assur, Singara, Tilli or Tela, and Harran.* They mark the beginning of a trend, determined largely by geographical factors, to make of this route the main thoroughfare between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. The bulky exports from the Lebanon and Amanus forests were floated down the Euphrates river, and this water-way may have been the original outward line of exploration.©

Not all of the foreign conquests were prompted by economic motives. In view of the predatory tastes of the peoples of the Zagros region, it is not unlikely that many of the expeditions sent there were precautionary or punitive measures, although the Zagros Mountains were another source of wood.‡

* GMR, p. 124

© Ibid

‡ HDA., Tome III, p. 209

-55-

CHAPTER X

IMPERIALISTIC RIVALRIES IN SYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA 1500 - 1180 B.C.

In view of the paucity of sources we cannot write the history of Syria during the third millennium as we did that of Babylonia in the previous chapter. Whether Syria had an advanced civilization in that millennium comparable with that of Babylonia, or whether the paucity of sources may be taken as an indication of the backwardness of that civilization, we have already shown that we incline to the latter view.* The picture provided by the romance of Sinuhe at the turn of the millennium seems to confirm this view.† It is also confirmed by the prevalence in this country of the Babylonian language and cuneiform evidenced by the Amarna letters (about 1500) and the tablets of Ras Shamra. The latter documents date from the 13th century. But the rise of the Babylonian language and writing and, along side with it, of Babylonian measures and weights must have begun much earlier.‡

We are much better informed about the history of Syria during the 2nd millennium, particularly between 1500 and 1180. This well-documented period may be divided into three eras called after their most prominent Egyptian monarchs the Era of the Thutmoses, the Era of the Amenhoteps and the Era of the Ramessids, and covered as far as the Asiatic policies and wars of these monarchs are concerned

* See p.

† See p.

‡ HDA. Tome III, p. 100

by the "annals" of Thutmose III, the Amarna letters and the tablets of Boghas-Keui respectively.

The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt marks the beginning of the first era. With it the history of Syria took a new turn. The pharaohs, who had so far contented themselves with carrying occasional raids into southern Syria/^{and} the Phoenician coast now decided to incorporate the whole country in their empire. Strategy required such a step.

The Valley of the Nile was not safe as long as Syria lay open to foreign conquerors. The Hyksos invasion of Egypt about 1700, to which the projected Syrian campaign was a reaction, was not an isolated event. About the beginning of the IIInd millennium sweeping movements from the north had brought Indo-European hords from whose super-imposition on the native populations grew out the Hittite, Mitannian and Kassite kingdoms.* That the tide overflowed into Syria, and came very near to the Egyptian border is shown by the names of smaller dynasts of Indo-European etymology that occur in the Amarna letters.‡ The ascendancy won by these northern peoples throughout the length and breadth of the Fertile Crescent is the most prominent fact of the IIInd millennium that has

* See p.

‡ Ibid, p. 438. There has come down to us from that age a composition aiming at teaching the Egyptian officials the vocabulary necessary for foreign service in south-western Asia. The collection of native and foreign terms that it contains is indicative of the mingled population of that section of Asia, and of the advantage of possessing a lingua franca over the whole area.

CAH., Vol. II, p. 327

emerged from recent research. There were good grounds for Egypt's preparedness and projected campaign. It was carried out with infinite energy, patience and skill by Thutmose I and especially by his more distinguished son, Thutmose III. So thorough was the work accomplished by this great pharaoh that it was followed by fifty years of peace and unchallenged Egyptian supremacy. Then came the southern advance of the Hittites in whom the Egyptians found for the first time a match. Egyptian supremacy in Syria was replaced by the Egypto-Hittite balance of power which maintained the peace in this country for about a century.* When both Egypt and Hatti declined almost simultaneously, the Syrian petty states entered upon an unprecedented period of independence which lasted about three centuries, and which forms the subject of the following chapter. Here we are concerned with the imperialistic struggle during the period 1500 - 1180 in its three eras. Before taking up these eras in succession, let us see what the map of Syria was like at that time.

The Map of Syria in the Amarna Age. We begin with north Syria. which, because of its contiguity to Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia and its richer natural resources, is more important than south Syria. Only in north Syria where the double barrier of mountain and desert is lowered, do we find sizable and almost independent states.©

* PAO. p. 140

© The absence of natural barriers between north Syria and north Iraq has time and again favoured the political union of the two regions. The Euphrates boundary line is more conventional than natural. The river can be crossed by ford or ferry at many places which have become the sites of important towns. The Crusader state of Edessa, and the present Syrian republic stand astride of the Euphrates bent. So did the medieval states of the Hamdanids and Zangids, beginning however from the opposite direction.

Mitanni had for its core the country between the Euphrates and the Balikh*, whence its influence extended westward into north Syria as far as the Orontes, and eastward into Upper Mesopotamia as far as Nineveh. In its wider application, the name corresponded to the Naharin and Hanigalbat of Egyptian and Assyrian sources.² The Mitannians, or at least the ruling class among them, were Indo-Europeans related to the Hittites in language and religion. By virtue of her commanding central position and the vigour of her people Mitanni was suited to play the role of a buffer state as long as her formidable neighbours would let her do so. She bravely but futilely resisted the alternative attempts of the Egyptian, Hittite and Assyrian kings to reduce her to vassalage.

In north Syria proper there was the Amorite state restricted at that time to the maritime section of the Syrian Saddle,³ the inland section being the property of the state of Aleppo. Both of these Syrian States had a hard time preserving their independence in the ebb and flow of imperialistic rivalries. This they tried to do by keeping on the right side of the power that be, whether it was Egyptian, Mitannian or Hittite.

North of Aleppo lay the kingdom of Nukushshi which has not been identified with certainty, but probably lay in the Killis region,

* Meyer, p. 358

& CAH., Vol. 11., Ch. XIII

3 The region between the ^{bend}land of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean.

now within the Turkish border.* It too was forced into an alliance with the Hittites.

Further south stood Kadesh - on - Orontes (Modern Tell Nabi-Mindoh). There too was room for expansion and a cross-road. These advantages enabled Kadesh to subjugate the neighbouring towns and to organize them into a feudal state, and to lead coalitions similar to the one which Thutmose III defeated at Megiddo. Although totally subdued by Thutmose III, it was subsequently the objective of several other pharaohs. Ketne on the lake of the same name (modern Lake Homs) was a close neighbour of Kadesh but unlike her remained faithful to Egypt as witness the Amarna letters.^a

Coming to Middle Syria, we may with the mention of the district of Ubi in which lay Damascus dismiss the interior from consideration and concentrate on the towns of the Phœnician coast. These towns were the most civilized, but the least patriotic of all the western Semitic towns. Both the high degree of civilization, and the lukewarmness of their patriotic sentiment, as well as a number of peculiarities that differentiate them from other towns, can be accounted for on geographical grounds. Foremost among them were Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Simyra and Arvad. Simyra, now dead, stood at the mouth of the Eleutheros (an-Nahr el-Kabir), and was an

* Olmstead places Mukashshi between Aleppo and Hamah in the Kinnaerin (Chalcis) region. See map at the end of his Hist. of Palestine and Syria

important port which Thutmose III, Ramses II and other conquerors used as a base for their operations in the interior, to say nothing of its importance as a commercial outlet of the hinterland. No wonder that the port of Tripoli, a little further south, cut a rather modest figure in Ph^enician days. Ugarit (Ras Shamra) in the far north and Accho (Acre) at the southern end were also Ph^enician towns, although both, or at least Ugarit, lay outside the limits of what is usually considered to have been Ph^enicia proper.* They owe their rise and prosperity to other geographical factors than those which determined the rise and prosperity of the principle Ph^enician towns. When describing the artistic portion of the recent find of Ras Shamra, we said that the composite character of its art may have been due, in a large measure, to its peculiar location near the outlet of the Piedmont Route, and its close proximity by water to Cyprus and the centers of the Aegean world. The same advantage of location made it an important commercial center. Accho stood at the gate of another passage to the interior, the plain of Esdraelon (Marj Ibn 'Amir). Beirut (Beirut) is mentioned in the Amarna letters as the city which gave shelter to Rib-Addi, the harassed king of Gebal (Byblos) and the author of fifty of those letters.

The town of South Syria (Palestine) are better known to us than those of Central and North Syria through the excavations that have been conducted in the Holy Land. They may be divided into four classes according to the physical divisions of the

* PAO., p. 27

country : (1) The maritime towns such as Gaza, Askalon, J^oppa (Jaffa); (2) the towns of the Shephelah such as Lachish (Tell Hesay); Beth Shemesh (Ain-Shems), Gezer (Tell Jazar); (3) the towns of Samaria and Judea such as Jerusalem, Ta'anach (Tannuk), Megiddo (Tell Mutesellim); (4) those east of Jordan such as Kanawat and Boarah.

This is a sketchy picture of the distribution of districts and towns in which the scenes of the imperialistic struggle and the wars of the petty local dynasts, which we are about to describe, were laid. Many of them lay along the principal trade-routes.*

The Era of the Thutmoses. J.H. Breasted calls Thutmose III the first great general in history, the Napoleon of Egypt. I here propose to trace his war route from the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, whence he started on his first campaign, to the place on the eastern bank of the middle Euphrates where he set up his commemorative tablet at the happy conclusion of his eighth campaign.© We ought to credit Thutmose I for opening the campaign and carrying it out to completion. He had erected a stone boundary-tablet in the same place, but on the western bank of the Euphrates. The distinction of Thutmose III, however, is that his subjugation of Syria was thorough, and more lasting than that of his father. He won the war as well as the peace following it for about half a century. To achieve these results it took him 17 campaigns which he conducted in person over a period of 19 years.

* CAH., Vol. 11, p. 313

© Condensed from J.H. Breasted, History of Egypt, pp. 285-305

Moreover, fate has favoured the records of his campaigns more than those of his father, if the latter did leave any records, so that in his case we have good sources on which to base our reconstruction of his lines of march.

In the 22nd year of his reign (1479 B.C.) Thutmose III marched from Tharu on the north - eastern frontier of Egypt, crossed the desert between Egypt and Palestine, and got to ^G Gaza nine days later. He traveled northward through the sea-plain, not along the coast which is sandy and, in some places, marshy, but along the Shephelah. Reaching the Plain of Sharon, he crossed it turning inland as he did so, and camped at Yemen, a town of unknown location south of the Carmel Range. There he made ready to take one of the three passes across the range to Megiddo which the army of the Syrian coalition, marching from the north to meet Thutmose III, had just occupied. The eastern and western passes led to Megiddo by a detour; the middle one led directly to it, but was the least open of the three. Against the advice of his officers, the pharaoh chose the middle pass.*

With the details of the historic battle of Megiddo we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say that after this battle, and largely as a result of it, Thutmose III controlled all Palestine as far north as southern Lebanon, and further inland to Damascus. He spent the following three campaigns consolidating the southern half of his future Asiatic empire, and making preparations for the attack on Kadesh whose king had escaped him at Megiddo. Kadesh

* Through these three passes, and not along the beach by Carmel did the conquerors of Palestine from Thutmose III to Napoleon I enter the Plain of Esdraelon, even when their destination was a sea-port north of Carmel, e.g., Acre. The maritime passage is broken by rocks, and extremely difficult to force ~~it~~ defended. G.A. Smith, Hist. Geog. of Holy Land, p. 150

had obtained the support of Mitanni, the aggressive and active state in Upper Jazirah. The subjugation of the city on the Orontes became to Thutmose III but a step towards the defeat of its greater ally. A great strategist, the Pharaoh saw that he could not march between the Lebanon in the direction of Kadesh without first occupying the northern Ph^enician coast which might be used as a base of operations against him. This he must have occupied by sea in the 5th campaign, leaving for the time being the southern coast unconquered. In the 31st year of his reign Thutmose landed at Simyra by the mouth of the Eleutheros up the valley of which he marched upon Kadesh. The city doubly surrounded by water and stone fell after a strong resistance. Two years were spent in the thorough subjugations of the coast and in preparation for the planned advance into Mitanni. In the 33rd year of his reign, we find Thutmose, once again, landing forces at Simyra, and marching along the Kadesh road. He captured Ketne, and a little further north fought a battle west of Aleppo. At Carchemish on the Euphrates he met and defeated the king of Mitanni, thus realizing what he had been planning for ten years. He crossed the river and set up his tablet on the eastern bank alongside his father's tablet on the western bank. The dynasts of Maharin brought their tribute in token of submission. Even the kings of Babylonia and Hatti sent their gifts.

Thutmose III rounded up the campaign by capturing Niy at the bend of the Euphrates further south from Carchemish. There it is recorded, he hunted elephants.* The treaty of peace concluded

* About three and a half centuries later, Tiglath Pileser I of Assyria is reported to have hunted elephants in the same region. Olstead, Hist. of Assyria, p. 64.

between Thutmose and the king of Mitanni was sanctioned later by a number of marriages between the two royal houses which forbade the thought of any Egyptian expansion east of the Euphrates.*

The Era of the Amenhoteps (The Amarna Age). The peace so firmly established by Thutmose III lasted well into the middle of Amenhotep III's magnificent reign. Intercourse between Egypt and Syria became complete, and reveals itself to us in a hundred ways. Although the Egyptian empire now seemed to be ~~at~~ at the height of its power, ominous signs of trouble and deterioration had already begun to appear.& The final overthrow of Egyptian rule came under Amenhotep IV, better known as Ikhnaton. The Amarna letters which constitute our main source for this period may be divided into two classes. The royal letters and others during the peaceful times of Amenhotep III, and early in Amenhotep IV; (2) The Syrian inter-State wars, coupled with the Habir^u invasion%.

The letters of the first class were exchanged between the pharaohs on the one hand, and the kings of Hatti, Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni and Alashia - Cyprus - to mention only the great powers, - on the other. As had been said before, they constitute "the oldest body of international correspondence in the world." Although they were written by sovereign rulers, and are free from the servile tone that characterizes the letters of the second class, they all reveal the prominent position which Egypt held

* Breasted, Hist. of Egypt, p. 328
© CAH. Vol. II, p. 330
& PAC. p. 110
% SE. p. 5

among the powers, and to ~~get~~ the efforts that the latter exerted to gain her friendship.* Only one of those rulers broke off peaceful relations with Egypt in the period under discussion, namely, Shubbiluliuma (? 1410-1370), the restorer of Hittite power. It speaks ~~of~~ ^{for} the diplomatic skill of this king that he kept up the fiction of Egyptian friendship until he had reduced Mitanni, Amor and Nukhashshi to dependent states. He then marched on Coloe-Syria and occupied it. As this region was still recognized to be under Egyptian influence, the step taken by Shubbiluliuma was tantamount to a declaration of war. The advantage from the beginning was with the Hittites, and although the war was not decisive, Egypt could never thereafter recover her unchallenged supremacy over Syria, despite the vigorous attempts at recovery made by the pharaohs of the XIX th Dynasty; e.g. Seti I and Ramssa II. They did no more than recover one half the length of Syria, and had to come to terms with the Hittites, consenting to the absorption by the latter of the greater part of Syria.† Before taking up in detail this phase of the struggle between the two great powers, let us revert to the Amarna correspondence to consider the second class of letters, those of the petty Syrian dynasts, in which the latter profess their loyalty to the Pharaoh, and appeal for his assistance against their treacherous fellow-dynasts, the nomadic Habiru, or the advancing Hittites from the north.

The picture provided by this portion of the Amarna letters is characteristic, and in no way peculiar to the Amarna Age.

* Breasted, The Hist. of Egypt, p. 332

† SE., p. 23

Dissensions and aggressive wars between the Syrian rulers were likely to break out whenever the strong hand of the foreign ruler ceased to act.* Henceforth there was always to be a pro-Egyptian faction in Syria even after the best days of Egypt had passed,^d and her hegemony had been supplanted by that of other powers, Assyria^a, Chald^aian and Persian. In order to keep Syria quiet, those powers undertook to subjugate the Valley of the Nile.† Moreover these illuminating letters bring out a trait in the character of the local dynasts of the Amarna Age which may apply as well as to Syrian rulers in other ages. This is the ^asubject, and self-abasing adulation with which they introduce their letters to their Egyptian over-lord.& A case in point is the instructions of Ammunira, king of Beirut, to the messenger taking his letter to Egypt. The following is a partial reproduction:

Speak unto my lord the king, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life, saying: Ammunira, the man of Beirut, thy servant and the dust of thy feet (has spoken), saying: At the feet of my lord the king, my Sun, my gods, the breadth of my life, have I fallen down seven and seven times. Further: I have heard the words of the letter of my lord, the king, my Sun, my gods, the breadth of my life, and the heart of thy servant, the dust of the feet of my lord the king, my Sun and my gods, the breadth of (my) life, is gladdened very, very much that the breadth of my lord the king hath gone forth unto his servant and the dust of his feet....‡

* SE. p. 9

† HPS., Chapt. 31 & 38

& Breasted, Hist. of Egypt., p. 338

‡ CAH. Vol. 11, p. 337

Servile terms and phrases abound in the correspondence, which one can hardly condone, even though they were addressed to a divine king by his vassals.*

The Ramessids and the Hittites (1350 - 1180 B.C.). The great Shubbiluliuma was followed by his equally illustrious son Muarshil II (? 1355 - 1330) who, at his death after a reign of 25 years, left a strong empire organized on a feudal pattern, covering the entire eastern half of Asia-Minor from the Black Sea to the Euphrates, and binding to itself by treaties of alliance or vassalage nearly all the states of the Anatolian peninsula.& This was the empire with which the early pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty had to contend in an attempt to restore Egyptian influence to Syria. Seti I, the second ruler of the Dynasty resumed the old Egyptian policy, and reconquered Palestine. He claims greater conquests over Hatti, Naharin and Alashia. We have no means of verifying these conquests, or the campaigns he is reported to have conducted against Kadesh and Amor.% Of one thing we are certain. The success he scored in his Syrian campaign was enough to induce Bantishinni of Amor to go over to the Egyptian side.

This defection of the Amorite king was one of the factors which decided the Hittite king, Mutallu, to take the offensive himself against Egypt. He marshaled for that purpose a big army composed of Hittites as well as troops drawn from the countries of

*Ibid p. 338
& PAO, p. 128
% Ibid, p. 136

his confederates of Asia-Minor, and numbering in all 25000 - 30000 men, a formidable army for those days. Ramses II put into the field about the same number.* In the ensuing battle of Kadesh (1293) the Egyptians stemmed the Hittite advance but did no more. They could not occupy Kadesh. The renegade king of Amor was deposed by Mutallu, but reinstated by Hattushil, Mutallu's successor, as a part of the policy of reconciliation adopted by the new king towards Egypt. This policy culminated in a defensive and offensive treaty of alliance which divided the world of that period between the two mighty powers, and insured the peace for about a century.&

A new power had appeared on the stage, whose appearance we ought now to examine if we would understand the new policy of reconciliation pursued by Hattushil towards Egypt. Eighty years earlier, in the days of the great Shubbiluliuma, the growing Assyrian state had threatened Mitanni and would have subjugated her, had not the great Hittite king come to her assistance, prompted by the ambition to control that buffer-state as he did Amor. But the Assyrians could not tolerate for a long time a nation that blocked the natural line of their westward expansion across the Jazirah. In the reign of Hattushil, Shalmaneser I (1276-1237), the first great king of Assyria, marched westward against the Hatti and their Ahlamu (Aram^{ae}) allies, fighting the king of Mitanni, and occupying Harran and Carchemish.‡ Hattushil had

* Ibid, p. 138

& Ibid, p. 140

‡ CAH., Vol. 11, p. 320

concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Babylonia, but Assyria had already reduced that state to vassalage. Although Shalmaneser's invasion stopped on the Euphrates, and his country was not yet strong enough to participate in the imperialistic contest on equal terms with the other great powers, the invasion was a warning sign, and Hattushil took heed. It is very probable that in order to be free to deal with the impending Assyrian menace, he allied himself with Egypt, determining at the same time to do his duty as Babylonia's ally, and to strengthen this country against Assyria.

Assyrian imperial troops were not to reappear on the Syrian field until long after Egypt and Hatti had declined and withdrawn from it. In the interim of about 300 years, the small Syrian States, Ph^enician, Ara^am^aian and Hebrew, were to enjoy independence and relative prosperity. Let us now see how they fared during this unprecedented period.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE

circa. 1200 - 875 B.C.

With a Retrospect

Sources. The independent^s history of Syria began after Egypt and Hatti had seen their best days, and lasted as long as Assyria was too weak to step into their shoes. This independence was fortunate ^{for} to the different Syrian states, and to civilization at large, for it was under its stimulus that tiny Ph^onicia and Jud^a made their great contributions to the human race. But it was not fortunate ^{for} to the historian ^{as} for the independent Syrians did not chronicle what they did*; consequently the historian is much better informed about the preceding and succeeding periods when Syria alternately formed a part of three world empires. We have, however, two sets of contemporary sources: (1) A small number of monuments dating back to the XIIth, XIth and Xth centuries, and dug out at Byblos; (2) the annals of Assyrian kings who carried on inroads into Syria during that age. Our secondary sources consist of references in Greek legends and histories and, most important of all, the Bible. Though a "national record of varying value, and varying historical reliability", the Bible is our main source not only for the history of the Hebrews in the Age of Independence, but for that of the Philistines, Ph^onicians, Arameans, Moabites and Ammonites also. Unintentionally the smallest

* PAO., p. 175

and the least advanced in material civilization of the peoples of Syria played historian to the rest. So much of our knowledge of these peoples has been drawn from Scripture that they have been frequently called the peoples of the Bible. Who were these peoples, and where did they live ?

THE PHOENICIANS

The Phoenicians are the oldest of the peoples mentioned above, and afford the only exception to the general statement that the Semites built only land powers. They formed a part of the same wave that brought the Canaanites, and the Amorites*; but whereas the two latter branches were replaced by the Arameans, Hebrews and Philistines, the Phoenicians maintained themselves on the central coast of Syria.

We have touched in an earlier chapter on the suitability of this section of the coast for the rise of harbours and seamanship, and the protection that the high double barrier of the Lebanon affords to these harbours. There are other reasons why the Phoenician towns clustered along the strip backed by the Lebanon: The mountain slopes supplied timber for ship-building and water for irrigation. Promontories or head lands continued by reefs or islands afforded favourable conditions for the construction of double harbours. Sidon, Tyre and Arvad had each its double harbour with a northern and a southern haven.

Placed at the base of a double mountain barrier with no access to the interior except at its northern and southern ends, the

* HPS., Ch. IV

Phoenicians knew that they could not expect a clientele from the east. Their opportunities lay westwards. Byblos, Sidon and Tyre fully seized these opportunities, and alternatively rose to prominence, bringing the other Phœnician towns within their orbit, although no political unity was ever achieved for any appreciable length of time.* In the Age of Independence Tyre attained to that rank and became a sort of capital for maritime Phœnicia. It carried on a trade with all parts of the civilized world, and launched on a policy of colonial expansion which finds no parallel in the ancient world. "If not Jerusalem as medieval Christian cartographers thought, at least Tyre, as Reclus points out, was in a very true sense the center of the early civilized world."

Being an island herself, like England, she showed her predilection for insular and strategic sites by establishing colonies in the principal islands and key-positions of the Mediterranean, Cyprus, Rhodes and, in a lesser degree, Crete, the Cyclades and the Sporades in the eastern basin; the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports of southern Spain and northern Morocco, the Balearic Islands and Sardinia in the western basin; Carthage, Sicily, Gozo in the Malta group of islands and Pantallaria commanding the water-routes between the two basins.†

When in the middle of the ninth century the incursions of the Assyrian monarchs, which had hitherto been sporadic, became a regular feature of the reigns of the last Assyrian Empire, Tyre was the most difficult Phœnician town to conquer or, once conquered

* Newbigin- Mediterranean Lands, Ch., V
Ibid, Ch. V

† PAO., pp. 179-180

to control for a long time. Under the Assyrians and their successors, about 1200 the Chaldeans, Tyre underwent some of the most memorable sieges of ancient history. In the last quarter of the 6th century, after a formidable resistance of 13 years against the Chaldean army,* Tyre capitulated and was thoroughly subdued; her colonial empire passed over to her daughter-state, Carthage. She prospered under Persian rule, and when, at the end of this rule Alexander marched along the Phoenician coast, she again made the only exception to the general submission with which her sister towns received the great conqueror. For eight months Alexander was defied by the besieged Tyrians. Only by destroying the mainland Tyre, and using its materials for the construction of a causeway joining the two towns was Alexander able to launch a sea and land attack which resulted in the capitulation of the town. The heroic defence that the Tyrians put up against their enemies over and over again, and the valiant and desperate resistance with which her more distinguished daughter-city Carthage ended her brilliant career do not confirm the charge often levelled at the Phoenicians that they were unpatriotic. They show that patriotism is in most cases a matter of geography. *Because Tyre was insular, she could afford to be patriotic. The other Phoenician towns could not.*

THE PHILISTINES

Scripture has it that the Philistines came from an island in the sea which is thought to have been Crete, and that they first came in contact with the Hebrews in the days of the Judges, that is,

* HPS., Ch. 36

about 1200 B.C. Egyptian inscriptions confirm the date, but seem to indicate that the Philistines were a part of the Sea-peoples who left their homes on the western coast of Asia-Minor and the Aegean world, and swept over Anatolia, Syria, Cyprus, Arvad and the coast of Egypt about 1200 B.C.* A western wing of these peoples reached as far as Italy. They are believed to have contributed substantially to the decline of Egypt and the downfall of the Hittite Empire.

The Philistines settled in the broad section of the maritime plain south of the River Rubin, which, by the aridity and harbourlessness of its coast, presents a marked contrast to the coasts of Central and Northern Syria. For all their maritime traditions, the Philistines were not able to build ports on that inhospitable coast. Of the five chief cities of the Philistine League - Gaza, Askalon, 'Ashdod, 'Ekron and Gath, only Askalon was a seaport.† The trade in which they engaged as their principal occupation was land trade. A great part of the Great Road between Egypt and Babylonia passed through their territory, carrying caravans in time of peace, and armies in time of war. No field in the world has been trampled by the infantry of more nations than the Plain of Philistia.

The wars for which the Philistines are best known were those they waged against the Hebrews, new arrivals like them, for the occupation of the land. Notwithstanding the long duration of these wars, and the

* PAO., p. 146

† HGHL p. 159

over this area, and maintained itself as the language of its people throughout the Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman periods.* It took Arabic several centuries to displace Aramaic. Anyone reading the travel accounts of Arab geographers from the tenth to the fourteenth century is surprised at the great number of Aramaic-speaking Christian towns in the Jazirah. The language has survived in the Syriac of the Oriental churches. As a spoken language it has survived only in one or two villages in the Kalamun region north-east of Damascus. Another one of its dialects has survived among the self-styled "Assyrian^s" of north Iraq.

Our main sources for the origin of the Arameans are the Amarna letters and the tablets of Boyhaz Keul. To these two collections was added in 1935 the letters of king Zimrilim unearthed by the French at Mari on the Euphrates.† We have seen in what condition the Amarna Letters show the Habiru. We may here add that the word Habiru, by which both the Arameans and Hebrews were called, is an old Babylonian term meaning nomad, bandit.& The Habiru mentioned in the Hittite documents were socially more developed. Although racially identical to the Habiru of Canaan, they must have settled in Hatti long before the latter, and become a component element of the population. The letter from the archives of King Zimrilim of Mari, a contemporary of Hammurabi, about 2000 - 1950 is much older than either the Egyptian or Hittite documents. It contains the complaint of the

* AT, p. 148

† PAO. p. 120

& HPS., Ch. XV

people of a certain place against the barbarian hordes called Habiru, Rabbu, Beniamina and Beni-Simal*. The conclusion drawn from these three sources put together would seem to indicate that the Arameans first came to Mesopotamia and thence moved to north Syria and Canaan. We do not know whether the Arameans who first appear in Babylonia about 1000 B.C. came hither from Mesopotamia or Arabia.%

We have valuable source material of a later date about the Arameans of Mesopotamia and Babylonia in the annals of the Assyrian kings who call them Ahlame and Sute. The first reference to them is in the inscription of Adad-nirari I (1310-1280) who found them in Upper Mesopotamia. They also migrated into southern Mesopotamia, encouraged by the break-down ^{of} the Mitannian power.© The Hurri inhabitants of the former kingdom were absorbed by the Semitic Arameans not without affecting the racial character of their language.‡ Through this intermixture did the Arameans develop the features, e.g., the prominent nose which differentiate them from other Semitic peoples. They played the same political role in relation to the Assyrians that the Mitanniens did, blocking their big neighbour's westward expansion.‡

We shall deal with the Assyrian monarchs' repeated operations against the Ahlame and Sute, when we take up Assyria in the next

* PAO., p. 120
‡ Ibid., p. 120
% SHO., Ch. 111
© HCA., p. 44
‡ SHO., Ch. 111
‡ HCA., p. 87

chapter. Before turning to the Syrian Arameans let us note that it was an Aramean tribe settled in the alluvium, which in conjunction with the Medes, brought about the downfall of Nineveh and all Assyria.

Syrian Arameans. In the 9th century North Syria was in a stage of transition and only partly Aramaised. Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Hattina between the Euphrates and the sea, sometimes also called Unqi (the modern Al-'Umq) were still Hittite, mere surviving fragments of the great empire of Shubdiluliuma and Murshil. Their Hittite character, however, had begun to be affected by Aramean influence.* On the other hand, the north Syrian states of Samal, also known by its earlier name of Judea, and Bin Agusi north of Aleppo were Aramean with Hittite influence.

Of startling interest and great value for our knowledge of Aramean - Hebrew connections is the discovery made in the last century of the above-mentioned city of Northern Judea (called by the scribe Iaudi) in North Syria, mid-way between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, which was similar in language, in thought and in the name of one of its rulers to its southern name-sake. Still more surprising was the discovery that one of its rulers was a worshipper of Yahveh, and that ^{two} of the rulers of Hamath in north Central Syria worshipped the same deity.† It was conquered by Tiglath Pileser III, and once again in the reign of Sargon when it was made an Assyrian province, at the same time as the Aramean states of Hamath and Damascus to which we now turn.‡

* HOA., p. 224

† HPS., Ch. 17

‡ HOA., p. 207

Central Syria was perhaps more Aramean than North Syria, as far as our knowledge of the two regions goes. Because of their nearness to the Hebrews and the constant wars between the two peoples, the "Syrians" of scripture history are better known to us than their north Syrian and Mesopotamian brethren. The river Yarmuk (Jarmuk) formed the southern limit of the expansion of the Arameans,* although the Jews claimed that Bashan (the modern Hauran) was theirs according to the initial allotment of the land east of Jordan, and once or twice made good this claim by force of arms.

The distinction of Damascus was that it headed the coalition of Syrian kings, moved primarily by Egypt, which checked the advance of Shalmaneser III in 854 at Qarqar, 20 miles north of Hamath. Soon after the Assyrian's retreat the coalition broke up, and its two most powerful members, Hadad-ezer of Damascus and Ahab of Israel fall out with each other. Gilead (the modern ^{Ajlun} ~~al-Jawlan~~) was the debatable ground between them. When Shalmaneser III chose to come back to the attack, Israel and Hamath, another member of the short-lived coalition, went down before him; Only Damascus by herself resisted, and twice frustrated his efforts to capture the city.

Continuous warfare between the Syrian states gave the Assyrian aggressor ample opportunities to interfere in the affairs of Syria. In the days of Tiglath Pileser III (746-728), Rezon of Damascus and Pekah of Israel made common cause against Ahaz of Judea. They wanted probably to force him into an alliance with themselves against the

* HGH.L., p. 578

© The claim is based on the biblical story of Og, which is of doubtful historicity. Hist. Geog. of Holy Land, pp. 575-7

Assyrian monarch.* Ahas refused and appealed to Tiglath Pileser, who welcomed the appeal. Damascus fell after a long siege. Her king was killed, and the royal line extinguished. The inhabitants were deported to Kir, and Damascus as well as the whole of Syria became an Assyrian dependency.©

THE HEBREWS

Their Origin. In the chapter on sources we quoted Prof. Shotwell's opinion regarding the historicity of the Bible in general. We would do well to quote here another respectable opinion regarding the validity of the Bible as a history of Israel in particular. W. Robertson Smith said, "The Old Testament does not furnish a history of Israel, though it supplies the materials from which such a history can be constructed." § For instance, the biblical account of the early history of Israel as beginning with Abraham who came from Ur of the Chaldees is not historical. The appellation Ur of the Chaldees shows that the legend of the patriarch's origin grew up after Aramean Kaldi had seized Ur, long after Abraham's alleged migration.& The story of the Jewish exodus from Egypt is not very historical either.‡ Evidence based on older tradition shows that but a single tribe was ever in Goshen, Egypt. The study of "external" contemporary sources referred to above has revealed

* LPB., p. 105

© HPS., p. 197

§ Quoted in CAH, Vol. 11, p. 352

‡ HPS., Ch. IV

-118-

that the Hebrews were a part of the wave that brought the Arameans (the Habiru of the Amarna letters) to Syria between 1400 and 1200 B.C., and that many other elements, already settled in the land entered into their making.*

Weill inclines to the view that the Habiru of the Amarna letters and the "Ibri" (Hebrews) of the Old Testament denote one and the same people, and that the Israelites were only a part of the Hebrews. The advocates of this theory hold that the authors of the sacred narrative were conscious of the distinction between the two terms Hebrews and Israelites, and that only when the speaker was a non-Israelite that the two terms were used synonymously. Evidence for which we have no space here, can ~~xxx~~ be adduced from the Bible to show that the Jews were conscious of their Aramean origin.

Besides these Aramean connections in race and language, and perhaps through them, the Hebrews were influenced by the Hittites and other Asiatic peoples. "Sunday² traditions associate the Hebrews with Harr^apn and more northerly districts, and point to a movement from old Hittite and related areas in the north."³ The excavations of Samal (Northern Judea) seem to confirm this view. Another element that entered into the formation of the Hebrew people was the Amorites whose language the newly arrived Hebrews spoke for many centuries.⁴

The Kingdom. Throughout the period of Judges the nation Israel was in the process of formation. It was a long and slow

* SHO., Ch. 111
e PAO., p. 121
§ CAH., Vol. 1, Ch. V
4 SHO., Ch. 111

process. The Tribes of Israel were not immune ^{from} to the jealousies and dissensions that poisoned the relations of the other Syrian dynasts.* By the time of Saul the national consciousness had grown up enough to enable this Judge to make himself king. His successor David, after achieving complete internal unity, defeated the Philistines, the "Syrians" of Damascus, and their allies, the Ammonites and Moabites, and ruled over an extensive kingdom. At the end of Solomon's reign, and before the kingdom was a century old, the Hebrew nation was divided into two parts, the kingdom of Israel in the north, with Samaria (later called Sebaste) as capital, and the kingdom of Judea with Jerusalem as capital. The two kingdoms were differentiated in their physical environment, their methods of life, and their faith. The contrasts in the two latter fields was to a great extent the result of their contrasted physical environments.

Contrast between Judea and Samaria. Judea is barren, pastoral and separated from its neighbours by natural barriers on all but its northern side. Samaria, on the other hand, is fertile, agricultural, and easy of access. The multiplicity ^{lie} of fords across the Jordan, in the latitude of Samaria, affords passage from Gilead. There is no additional line of hills like the Mt Shephelah to separate it from the Maritime Plain. In the north there are many connections between Judraelon and Samaria. In the south the frontier is likewise ambiguous, but here the scrupulous Judaism of the South ensured the drawing of a frontier to keep out the heathenism of the North even

LFB., p. 13

Except in the period of the Maccabees, which lies outside the scope of this chapter, the kingdom of the Hebrews was at its greatest extent under David

when no political frontier existed, as in Roman times.*

In the long wars in which Judea, Israel, Damascus, Moab and Edom were involved, the two Hebrew states rarely, if ever, fought on the same side. The northern kingdom was destroyed by Assyria in 722 B.C., ten years after the destruction of the Aramean kingdom of Damascus. The southern kingdom, perched in the rugged and isolated hills of Judea, was able to maintain itself in the midst of a great world conflict for a century and a quarter longer until it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and its people deported to Babylonia. Thus ended the rule of the Hebrew nation both North and South, having endured about four and a half centuries since the coming of Saul. The next thing we want to consider is the extent of this Jewish kingdom.

The Frontiers of the Jewish Kingdom - Real and Ideal. The part of the Holy Land which the Jews held for the entire duration of their kingdom was the Central Range of Palestine consisting of the mountains of Samaria and Judea. "From Dan to Beer-sheba" was the proverbial north to south extent of the land. These two towns were the northern and southern limits of the country allotted to the twelve tribes by Joshua, and actually possessed by them. "The throne of David was set over Israel from Dan to Beir-Sheba. § " Another district which they held almost continuously was Gilead east of Jordan.

HCHL., p. 255

AT., p. 213

Dan was most probably the present Banias (Paneas) on the Syrio-Palestinian frontier. GAS., Hist. Geog. of Holy Land, p. 473

Porter, the Great Cities of Bashan & Syria's Holy Places, p. 301
2 Sam. lll., 10

Although three of the original twelve tribes had the maritime frontier appointed to them, the Jews never inhabited the Maritime Plain, or exercised dominion over it. The Shephelah was the debatable land between them, and the Philistines. In Transjordan, Gilead apart, they snatched at intervals at the plateau of Hauran to the north, and that of Moab to the south. Israel never extended south of the Arnon (Al-Mujib) River.*

Having sketched the actual extent^t of the country over which the Hebrews ruled, it is very important that we should now review the extent of the land promised to the Hebrews according to the covenant God made with Abraham and confirmed to Isaac and Jacob. This covenant has a claim on our attention as it has been of great historical consequence, and has a great bearing upon the present Palestinian problem. Other nations have claimed natural or traditional frontiers, and fought for them, but no nation, other than the Jews, has based its claims on a ~~little~~^{title} deed from Heaven. We know the rapture and jubilation with which the Hebrews during the period of independence would celebrate the acquisition of a town or district that was within their promised boundaries, and in which they would now establish the Law.© This rapturous attitude is not limited to Jews, nor is it a thing of the past; it is a live question today among a big portion of the Christians of the West who see in the establishment of the Jewish National Home, ^{and even of an independent Jewish state} in Palestine the fulfilment of prophecy.‡

* HCHL., p. 533

© HCHL., p. 137

‡ G.T.B. Davis, Seeing Prophecy ~~is~~ Fulfilled in Palestine. Ch. VII

To be added to the third foot-note on p. 118.

In an article published in the Eastern Times, June 5, 1946, Prof. Guillaume of the University of London denies that these divine promises were made to the Jews, and to the Jews alone, as is generally supposed. "The words 'to thy seed' inevitably include Arabs, both Muslims and Christians, who can claim descent from Abraham through his son Ishmael."

Moreover, he shares Porter's opinion that the promise was not unconditional. "The covenant relation between Israel and God demanded loyalty from the people and individual and corporate righteousness."

What are the promised borders of Palestine? The Bible does not give a consistent answer.

There are at least two versions: In the one, the promised land extends "from the river of Egypt* unto the great river, the river Euphrates." (Genesis, XIV, 8; Deuteronomy I, 7; Joshua, I, 4). In the other, the southern limit is the river of Egypt but the northern limit is carried only as far as "the entering of Hamath", which is the northern entrance of the Buka'. On the west the sea is the frontier. In Transjordan the two south to north limits are the River Arnon and all Bashan into Salcah (the modern Salkhad). (Numbers, XXXII; Joshua, XIII). The main difference between the two versions lies in the appointment of the northern frontier - the Euphrates according to the one, the entering of Hamath according to the other. Only a student of Biblical higher criticism can tell us which of the two versions is the more reliable. G.A. Smith accepts the nearer

This is the small river which flows south of Beer-Sheba, and pours into the sea near Al-'Arish on the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier.

According to Porter, "the entrance of Hamath" denotes the pass between Lebanon and the Bargylus, the only opening from the coast into the land of Hamath. Porter p. 310

The following is Rev. J.L. Porter's answer to this question, "This wide territory, extending from Egypt in the south to the banks of the Euphrates on the north, was promised upon conditions; the people were on their part to be faithful and obedient to their God. Israel did not fulfil the conditions, and therefore, the whole land was not given to them."

J.L. Porter, The Giant Cities of Bashan. p. 302

frontier, namely, the entering of Hamath.

In fact he does not mention the Euphrates frontier in his standard work on the historical geography of the Holy Land. Be that as it may, we have shown that in all the four points of the compass, the territories, over which the Jews exercised dominion in the Age of Independence, fall short of the promised borders. Yet the urge to attain to these borders has been a great factor in Jewish political and religious life, and, despite the long absence of political independence, it still is.

THE MOABITES AND EDMITES

The Moabites and Edomites are two of the lesser peoples of Syria, imperfectly known to us from their wars with the Hebrews. The Moabites lived in Moab. The land of the Edomites extended from the plateau of Se'ir south of Judea across the Arabah Valley to southern Transjordan. Originally both peoples formed a part of the Semitic wave which brought the Arameans towards the middle of the IInd millennium.* In the case of the Moabites, their obscure history has been somewhat illuminated by the discovery at the end of the last century of the Moabite Stone, one of the most valuable epigraphic documents of the period under discussion. Its author, King Mesha of Moab, therein gives an account of the successful attempt of the Moabites to regain their independence from King Ahab. The language

differs but dialectically from Hebrew.* The style is very much like the style of the Old Testament. Chemosh takes the place of Jehovah.

We cannot say so much about the Edomites. The only interesting monument we have from them is a perfect specimen of the "high place" so often mentioned in the Old Testament. It was found in the hills above Sela (Petra), their capital, and the capital of their successors in the land, the Nabateans.③

LPB., p. 260

Ibid, p. 262

CHAPTER XII

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

SOURCES AND PERIODS OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY

Assyrian history extends back to the second half of the third millennium. The sources coming down from this remote period are few and sporadic ^{far apart} and the beginnings of Assyrian history are still shrouded in obscurity. The item in the Assyrian Chronicle about one of the early kings of Assyria, Ilu - Shuma, who conducted an unsuccessful foray into Babylonia against Sumu - abu, the founder of the Amorite kingdom, who must have reigned about 2225 B.C. is an entirely isolated one. In the middle of the second millennium we emerge from obscurity into the full light of history. This light is shed by the archives of the Egyptian and Hittite chancelleries referred to above as well as by the Assyrian royal annals. Among the few hundred letters found in Ikhnaton's archives chamber at Amarna, there is only one letter from the Assyrian monarch, Ashur - uballit (1386 - 1369) who addresses the Pharaoh as brother, and asks for twenty talents of gold from the Egyptian king. Another letter in the Amarna collection comes from

Burna - Buriash II, the Kassite king of Babylonia (1393-1371) who, having heard of the pourparlers between the Pharaoh and his northern neighbour, urges a protest, saying that the Assyrian king was his vassal, and was not deemed worthy of the attention given him by the Pharaoh. The Protest was in vain . Later in his reign, Ashur - uballit led an army into the alluvium, and had the Assyrio - Babylonian frontier altered in his favour. His immediate successors were able to make good his claim to be recognized as one of the world monarchs. They styled themselves " King of the Four World Regions", a title which they wrested from the Babylonians. We have seen how one of his immediate successors, Shalmaneser I (1276-1257) carried the Assyrian threat westward to the border of the Hittite empire in Syria , and prompted the Hittite king, Hattushil , to conclude a treaty with Ramsis II which established a balance of power in the world of that period held by Egypt and Hatti with Babylonia and Assyria following at a great distance.® There followed a period of general disturbances in the Near East intimately connected with the invasion of the "peoples of the sea", which caused a new distribution of political power.& The Hittite Empire collapsed, Egypt declined, and Assyria now occupied the center of the stage. The small power which , at the accession of Ashur - uballit, occupied a few square miles about Ashur had already

® See P.

& CAH, Vol. III, Ch. I

under his successors turned the tables on its former oppressors, the Kassites, Elamites, Guti and Lulume. Having secured her northern and eastern frontiers, she proceeded to meet the second condition of Assyrian prosperity, namely, to remove the obstacles that blocked the course of her westward expansion to the Mediterranean. First Mitanni and then the great number of Aramean states that dotted the big Mesopotamian plain succumbed after a long struggle to the Assyrian advance. To Tiglath - Pileser I (1100 B.C.) fell the honour of being the first Assyrian king to behold the Sea of Amurru. His reign was followed by a relapse of two centuries (1100-900) for which we have no annals. The empire was restored under a new dynasty of which Tukulti - Urta II (890-860) and Ashur - nasir - apal II (885-860) were the most distinguished members. For this middle period and particularly for the period of the Late Empire (746-612), which followed it after yet another relapse, we have abundant sources. Speaking of the latter period, Prof. Olmstead says, " It is this period of little over a century which justifies a detailed history of Assyria. "

In brief, the illuminated period of Assyrian history, three quarters of a millennium long, falls into three parts with obscure and decadent intervals between them:

The First Empire	1386 - 1100	B.C.
The Middle Empire	900 - 825	B.C.
The Late Empire	746 - 612	B.C.

Unfortunately for the Assyrians their history, as that of several other peoples, was written by two of their worst enemies and the victims of their persecution, the Jews and the Chaldeans. Thus was the undeserved ill-fame of the Assyrians perpetuated for about two millenniums and a half until Nineveh and the other Assyrian towns were excavated in the middle of the last century, and a revision of Assyrian history was made possible. Imagine what the history of the modern Germans would be like, should it be written exclusively by the Jews! Most of us have ^{read} had the Bible or Byron and as children we had it inculcated in our religious consciousness that Nineveh was the "den of lions", and that "the Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold." A number of scholars and even Orientalists have joined in the general indictment. On the other hand, Prof. A.T.Olmstead, who ought to be given credit for writing a whole and voluminous book on Assyria, devotes the preface and the concluding chapter of his work to the ^{re}putation of those "Biblical" charges. In fact this ^{re}putation is the main idea that emerges from a reading of his book. He denies, for instance, that the Assyrians were mere copyists of the Summerians and Babylonians while admitting that the foundation of their civilization was Summerian, he maintains that the superstructure was eclectic. In this respect they were the "heirs of the Ages." "The result was not a mere physical but a chemical mixture, it was Assyrian to the core."

© HDA, P. 645.

© HDA, P. 652.

As to the charges of cruelty and war frightfulness, Olmstead points out that these have been unfortunately given more prominence rather than mitigated by the epigraphic documents unearthed by the excavator's spade in the last hundred years. The greater part of them is made up of royal annals; the remaining part, a small one indeed, is made up of omens, letters, business - documents etc; so that even today our sources of Assyrian history are still one - sided. Again imagine what a disservice it would be to the history of German civilization, if its writing were based solely on the reports of the German general Staff, or the men of a Dr. Goebbels!

Extent of The Empire

We have already noted a change in the parts played by the chief actors in western Asia in the last two centuries of the second millennium. The two colossi that were Egypt and Hatti had gone; so had Mitanni. Assyria was the most powerful state in the Near East. Her nearest rivals were her former mistress, Babylon, in the south which was finally incorporated in the empire, and Haldia or, as the Assyrians called it, Urartu (Hebrew Ararat.)^① The petty Syrian states, Phoenician, " Hittite ", Aramean and Hebrew, once checked the Assyrian advance by standing together at Qarkara, but the coalition broke up after the Assyrian retreat, and the Syrian states fell a prey to the returning enemy a century later. A similar coalition of the Aramean states of Naharina in Mesopotamia was also beaten. Egypt had declined and was too weak to send but sporadic military aid to Syria; but she

^① Haldia is the native name. Speiser says that the Haldians were the proto - Armenians.

neither gave up her claim to that country nor tired of intrigue. This finally decided the Assyrians to invade the Valley of the Nile which they held only for one generation. Phrygia in west central Asia - Minor, and her western neighbour Lydia came on the scene in the Late Assyrian Empire. Like Egypt they were a little too far and not strong enough to engage in open battle against Assyria, and therefore content themselves with enticing the border states to revolt and allying themselves with her enemies. © Keen business men and competitors of the Phoenicians as they were, the Ionian Greeks on the western coast of Asia - Minor, in Cyprus & and the islands of the Aegean were inclined to be friendly with the Assyrians. & Before treating of Assyria's foreign relations at greater length, let us turn to the characteristics of the Assyrian Empire, its extent and constituent parts.

The Empire was at its greatest extent under the monarchs of the Late Empire (746-612), and as such formed the most extensive empire the world had yet seen. § Of all the Semitic peoples only the Arabs subsequently built a greater empire. It occupied all of the Fertile Crescent including Egypt. The latter country, as we said earlier in this dissertation, may be considered an extension of the western end of the Crescent. Its eastern and northern boundaries were those destined by nature to be the limits of (the all) Semitic states, namely the Zagros and Taurus mountains, although retaliatory or

© HDA, P221

& Assyrian influence was established in the island in the time of Sargon. CAH, Vol. III. P.

& HDA, P.226.

precautionary campaigns were conducted across the mountain barriers to the Lake Van district, Azerbaijan and in the south - east as far as the salt-desert of Persia. © Only in the north - west did the Empire over - step its natural frontiers to Musri (Cappadocia) and Que (Cilicia). &

Apart from its extensiveness the Assyrian Empire was original.

Its monarchs were the first empire - builders of history. They no longer ruled, as fore-going kings did, over a mass of semi-independent states that would separate whenever a weak ruler came to the throne. They organized a provincial system which made it possible for the " king of the Universe " to rule directly from Nineveh &. Yet there was enough variety in the status of the component parts to meet the difference between them in culture, economic life, strategic position etc. The Babylonian towns, for instance, out of regard for their long histories, local jealousies and their high cultures were granted charters where by they were treated as free imperial towns, the precursors of the Greek city - states and Roman free towns. §

© CAH, Vol. III, P. 7.

£ In connection with Tiglath Pileser I's campaign in the Halys Valley in Cappadocia, E. Meyer says that ^{this} monarch penetrated as far north as the shores of the Black Sea about 1120 B.C. - HDA, P. 295. I have not come across any reference to that Ponic adventure either in Olmstead or the Cambridge Ancient History.

& HDA, Preface.

§ I bid, P. 523.

Let us now take up the component parts one by one, beginning with Assyria proper.

Assyria. The piedmont belt of Upper Jazirah is intersected by a number of outlying ranges of the Taurus and the Zagros. In north-east Iraq these outliers run from north-west to south-east parallel to the main range of the Zagros. Between the eastern-most of the auxiliary ranges, namely that of Karkuk, and the main range lies an elevated and fertile plain watered by the two Zabs and Dyala.

Assyria proper occupied the part of that plain which lies like an inverted triangle between the Tigris and the Upper Zab ⁹. In the center of the western side of the triangle lay its chief capital, Nineveh (Kuyunjik). The other towns of Assyria proper were Ashur (Sharkat), Calah (Nimrud), Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) and Arbela. They were all a bare two days' ride from one another ². Though small and compact the country is rough; natural obstacles must have militated, as they did ⁱⁿ a greater degree in Syria, against the early unity of the country. Both countries are less fortunate, in this respect, than Egypt and Babylonia. Assyria was also less fortunate than its southern neighbour in that it was nearer to the war-like hill-people of the Kurdistan and Zagros mountains. They thwarted her growth for nearly a millennium, and even after she had shaken off her shackles, their raids

⁹ For a full description of its location see Ch. III, P.

² CAH, Vol. I, P. 468.

³ HDA, 23.

and deprivations claimed the attention of nearly every one of her kings. The eastern frontier in particular, was very near, and for this reason a constant source of anxiety. (Is not the same region today a hot - bed of revolt and a head - ache to the three states of Iraq, Iran and Turkey ?) From the ^{Median} ~~Median~~ mountains came one of the two fatal blows that brought the Assyrian colossus down. But the situation of Assyria had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Ashur and Niniveh stood at the head of navigation of the Tigris, where freight was transferred from caravan to kelek for transportation down-stream to Babylonia[©]. Moreover, upon them converged roads from the four points of the compass, including the mountainous country ⁱⁿ ~~is~~ the north and east. Not only in physical features but in climate and products, the land of Assyria was more akin to the interior of Syria than to Babylonia. A climatic map will show that the two regions lie in the same rain belt[£]. The vine and the olive - tree are common to both. Dates which are the staple in the alluvium will not ripen in Assyria. In ^ocontrast to Babylonia Assyria is rich in stone, and had easier access to the iron and copper mines of Asia - Minor. Her kings did not have to import diorite for their statues, but carved their sculptures on native ^{a a}alabaster &. Among the many other things the Assyrians borrowed from the Babylonians was the mud technic for their houses; they did not take to stone - building until rather late [§].

© GMR, P. 97.

£ See map facing P.

& HDA, P. 562. *the decorative role of alabaster in Modern Mesopotamia is not less important. See Luke H. C., Mesopotamia and*

§ I bid, P. 564. *Its Mesopotamia, p. 20 seq.*

This might seem strange but not if we note the case of modern Damascus which despite its location at the foot of the Anti - Lebanon, and its access to a vast supply of stone, still has more adobe - than stone - houses.

The kinship of Assyria to Syria (note the identity of names) is not confined to the physical. The Semites of Assyria were closely related to those of Syria and Mesopotamia &. In the first quarter of the second millennium there arose an Assyrian dynasty with western Semitic names whose members frequently invoked the chief western Semitic Gods Adad and Dagan &.

Mesopotamia. To the Assyrian monarchs seeking to expand their kingdom outside the Triangle, Mesopotamia presented the line of least physical resistance, but even after the fall of Mitanni, the Assyrian imperialists found their way thither blocked by the Aramoean bedouins whose migration had been encouraged by the break - down of the Mitannion state &. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Aramoean tribes first settled in Mesopotamia and thence migrated to Syria where they gave the king lots of that country reason for complaint, to their over - lord the Pharaoh. This complaint, we remember, is one of the main topics of the Amarna letters. Adad - nirari I (1310-1280), the energetic king of the First Empire, first found the Aramoean tribes of the Ahlame and Sute in Upper Mesopotamia. The Naharina within the great bend of the Euphrates held out

© HDA, P. 292.

£ HDA, P. 32.

& HDA, P. 44.

a great attraction to them. The first Tiglath Pileser drove the Ahlame " in one day " from the Khabur to Carchemish, and across the Euphrates ⁹. While he was in Syria, news came that the Aramoeans were pouring like a flood across the Great River. They had occupied Harrou, and cut off his return route. A hasty retreat across the desert via Tadmur of Amurru prevented his being completely cut off. This is incidentally our first mention of the Palmyra Road.

During the two centuries of decline after Tiglath Pileser I the Aramoeans began coming again, this time over - running the whole eastern end of the Fertile Crescent [£]. When Ashur - nasir - apal II (885-860), the great conqueror of the Aramoean states of Mesopotamia, came, they had already settled down, and " were already laying the foundation of that supremacy of the Aramoean language and customs which was to be the dominant factor in the history of Mesopotamia for the next fifteen hundred years.&. They were likewise to dominate the economic life of the Fertile Crescent [§]. The inventory of booty won by Ashur - nasir - apal in the battle of Amedi (modern Diar - Bakr) shows that the Aramoeans were already settling down to industrial life [¶].

Two more important Aramoean states than Amedi were Sha Dikanni on the Khabur, and Adini with its capital Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar)

⁹ HDA, P. 64.

[£] CAH, Vol. III, Ch. I, Sec. I.

[&] HDA, P. 82.

[§] I bid, P. 269.

[¶] I bid, P. 91.

which commanded one of the most important fords of the Euphrates. Adini occupied the entire tract within the great bend of the Euphrates to the Balikh, if not beyond; and as far as resistance to Assyrian imperialism was concerned, was a worthy successor of Mitanni.⁶ It was left to Shalmaneser III, Ashur - nasir - apal II's son and successor, to complete the task of subjugating Adini. He made the Balikh region a part of the province of Harran. The incorporation of Mesopotamia in the empire was completed in 809 B.C. in the reign of Shamshi Adad and his more distinguished wife, the beautiful Sammuramat, better known by her Greek appellation, Semiramis.⁷

Syria. After the subjugation of Mesopotamia. North Syria was obviously the next region to invade. Both Tiglath - Pileser I and Ashur - nasir - apal II operated in that region and triumphantly ended their operations on the coast of the Upper Sea, that is the Mediterranean. The Phoenician towns of central Syria, ^{which} who rightly foresaw in the invader the coming master of the Near East, and the commercial opportunities of his future empire, hastened to pay tribute or it was not tribute yet but gifts.

Shalmaneser III's operations in North Syria were on a larger scale than those of his father. He also invaded central and south Syria, but his repulse at Qarkara on the Orontes in 854, his failure to follow up the raid of 842 in Palestine, and the great general

⁶ I bid, P. 37.

⁷ I bid, P. 158.

revolt prompted by the quarrel over the succession after his death, all these factors induced the Assyrian monarchs to abandon the Syrian adventure for about a century. It devolved upon the rulers of the Late Empire, beginning with Tiglath Pileser III (746-728) to subjugate the Syrian states, and to consolidate their power in them. Two things we ought to know about the achievements of those energetic rulers in Syria: their provincial organization and their system of deportation.

The third Tiglath - Pileser reorganized the provinces. In his reign they numbered thirteen in all, six in North Syria, to which were added seven from the central regions. The number increased as rebellious autonomous states were demoted to provinces. Under Sargon, the greatest of Assyrian monarchs, all of inland Syria from Gurgum in the north to Samaria in the south was under direct Assyrian administration ^o. The phoenician coast, the four Philistineⁿ towns, Judah and the trans-Jordanic Ammon, Moab and Edom were not. The coast towns were allowed independence as their annexation might have impaired their commerce, and consequently lessened their tribute. The trans - Jordanic states were given the same privilege because they held the border against the desert ^z.

It is doubtful, however, if Assyrian rule was ever very strong as its history abounds in revolts. This brings us to the next important feature of Assyrian rule in Syria, namely the system of

^o HPS, P. 484.

^z I bid, P.

deportation which the Assyrians used as a counter - revolutionary measure. The third Tiglath - Pileser was one of those who employed it on a large scale. " In the words of the younger Panammu, King of Samal, the daughters of the east did Tiglath Pileser bring to the west, and the daughters of the west to the east. He himself tells us that thirty thousand ^{inhabitants of the Tigris} region were removed to Cilicia and Uluba. In their stead came prisoners from the south and east, twelve thousand Ahlame Arameans from the region about the Lower Zab, fifty-four hundred from Der in Babylonia, others from Lulume on the Midian border or from Nairi on the Armenian. Others again, a few hundreds here and there were settled in the Phoenician cities.®" After describing the suffering of the deported, and the harm done to the economic systems of the countries involved, Olmstead concludes with this sentence: " Of such and through such action was made the mingled people that was to be the later Syrians. "£

• B a b y l o n i a. The richest, the most cultured, and yet the most difficult dependency to conquer was Babylonia. The Assyrians were her debtors in culture and to a great extent in religion, hence the dilemma which faced the Assyrian kings of effectively ruling this hostile country without being charged with ingratitude &. Mention was made above of the privileged position of " free towns " accorded to the Babylonian cities. In fact this system of government was devised

® I bid, Ch. 28.

£ HDA, P. 188.

& I bid, P. 53.

specially for them. We know of only one town outside Assyria proper and the alluvium, which enjoyed this privilege. This was Harran with its sanctuary of the ^M Moon - God, Sin. The royal annals record the Assyrian kings' solicitude for the welfare of these towns; they repaired their temples and canals; they protected them from the attacks of the Aramean barbarians. From this contemptible people, however, there arose several Babylonian dynasties. One of them, the house of Iakin in the Sealand on the Persian Gulf was to conquer all of Babylonia, and in combination with the Medes, to destroy Assyria. In the meantime the Assyrian monarchs of the Late Empire did their best to prevent these Aramean usurpations. If they appointed their own governors, the Babylonians tended to look upon the latter as independent. Failing these two alternatives, several of the monarchs of the Late Empire had themselves solemnly recognized by Marduk as "kings of Babylonia."

Elam. The Aramean states east of the Tigris protected Elam from her most dangerous neighbour, Assyria. When these buffer - states were subdued by Tiglath Pileser III, and the personal union of Assyria and Babylonia became an immediate danger, Elam became deeply concerned about the new development. Henceforth she became a part of the Babylonian problem which dominated the foreign policy of the kings of the Late Empire. She took advantage of Assyria's troubles in Babylonia and allied herself with the rebels of that country, the Chaldean house of Iakin in particular. The Assyrian monarchs had to have

© HDA, P. 251.

© CAH, Vol. III, P. 80.
© I bid, P.

recourse to arms in order to have a friendly king on the Nile through
Egypt. With the nascent XIVth Dynasty, founded by one
of the Theban kings returned from Ethiopia, Egypt seemed to be once
more her old self, and imperialistic activity in Syria was resumed.
The pro - Egyptian parties in the various Syrian states took heart.
Egypt sent not only emissaries to foment trouble but armies also. The
result was a reversion to the power politics of the Amarna Age with
foreign intrigue, defection and internal dissension as its chief
elements. But Assyria was at the height of her power with the early
Sargonids on the throne. Sargon and Sennacherib each defeated the
armies sent against them by the Egyptian rulers, and the petty local
kings who, as Hezekiah of Judah, were incited to revolt by Egypt soon
learned that she was a broken reed to lean on. Although they repulsed
the armies of the Pharaoh, and suppressed the revolts of local dynasts
these two monarchs wisely refrained from attempting to - cross the
desert frontier into Egypt, strong as their desire to control the
rich Nile Valley was. Even when Sennacherib undertook his disastrous
expedition to the Egyptian frontier, his aim, as far as we can judge,
was not so much the occupation of Egypt as the establishment of that
frontier. After that expedition came to a mysterious end, Sennacherib
signed a treaty with the Egyptian king. This together with a new

© HDA, P. 437.

£ I bid, P. 212.

& HDA, P. 305.

§ HDA, P. 309.

policy in the administration of Palestine resulted in the complete cessation of revolt in that country.^g The accession of his successor, Esarhaddon, as that of almost every Assyrian king, was attended by troubles at home and revolts in the Syrian provinces. Egypt was doubtless the mover. Though a great warrior, Esarhaddon was a lesser statesman than his two predecessors. The latter's work was primarily one of consolidation; Esarhaddon embarked upon new conquests. His Conquest of Egypt undertaken with the object of putting an end to that country's intervention and machinations in Syria was all the more surprising as Assyria was engaged at that time in a great effort to defend her eastern and northern borders against the attacks of barbarians. At the risk of diverting the much - needed resources of the empire from that sore spot, Esarhaddon began making preparations for the invasion of the Nile Valley.

Before the journey across the blazing sands of Sinai might be made, he had to win over, by threats or promises, the Arabs that infested its borders. To achieve this end he had to send several expeditions to the desert. His first attempt to conquer Egypt in 675 B.C. was a failure. After having occupied the Delta, and remained in Egypt for one year, he suffered a serious defeat and had to retreat. The second attempt made four years later was a success, but after what a long and perilous journey across the desert! The crossing to Ishhupri on the edge of the NILE VALLEY must have taken about forty days.^h The Assyrian scribes have left us the itinerary. To go a

^g I bid

^h I bid, P. 382.

distance which they figured out at but twenty-four hours took no less than fifteen days. Among the perils encountered were two-headed serpents, and serpents with wings. This is, at any rate, what the credulous Assyrian scribes tell us. Memphis was besieged under the pitiless sun of mid-July, but fortunately for the Assyrians, and thanks to their formidable siege engines, the city fell in a day and a half. No sooner had Esarhaddon triumphantly marched back home, adding on his way the memorial of his victory on the rocks of the Dog River to those of his illustrious predecessors, Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib, than four of the kings he had appointed in Egypt revolted, and entered into negotiations with the Egyptian ruler of Upper Egypt. Esarhaddon set out from Nineveh to reestablish order in the newly-acquired territory, but death overtook him on the way.

To his son, Ashur-bani-apal, he bequeathed the Egyptian problem. The latter grappled with it to the best of his ability. He quashed more than one rebellion, engineered mainly in the south, and occupied Thebes itself. This was of little avail. Psammetichus, the son of King Necho, who had been rechristened Nab^u-Shezi-banni and appointed patesi of Athribis by Ashur-bani-apal, raised the standard of revolt, and threw off the Assyrian yoke which had lain on Egypt for about a generation.

A r a b i a. As shepherd-dogs of civilization, the Assyrians assumed the function of defending the settled inhabitants against the

raids of bedouins. Just as they protected the Babylonians from the inroads of the nomadic Arameans, as they boastfully recorded in their annals, they took it upon themselves to protect the Syrian inhabitants settled along the eastern border of the country from Arab attacks.® This made it necessary to penetrate into the desert south - east of the Dead Sea, and at one time, possibly, as far as the oasis of Tema in central north Arabia. Both Sargon and Sennacherib are reported to have received tribute from the kings of Saba & otherwise known from South Arabian inscriptions. This seems to indicate either one of two things in respect to the Sabaeans: (1) that they had a colony in North Arabia, (2) that they originally dwelt in North Arabia before migrating to the south - western corner of the peninsula.& The Assyrians considered themselves the legitimate heirs of the Babylonians on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf and some of its islands. As early as the thirteenth century Tušulti - Urta claimed sovereignty over Dilmun, the chief of the Bahrein islands, and Meluhha, probably the modern district of al - Hasa. There is no indication that the Assyrians had any political influence in South Arabia proper.

F o r e i g n R e l a t i o n s

We have seen that for a long time after the decline of Egypt and the collapse of the Hittite Empire, Assyria dominated the stage of world affairs. Nowhere was she threatened by a first-class power

® EDA, P. 489.

& I bid, P. 310.

& G.W. Thatcher: article: " Arabia: History " in the Ency. Britannica
adopted by A.J. Rustum and C.K. Zurayk in " Provisional Readings

power.² In the reign of Shalmaneser III (860-825), however, Haldia was coming very near to being that power. The subjugation of the Aramoean states of Mesopotamia in his father's reign had already brought Urartu and Assyria face to face.³ A line of Assyrian provinces and autonomous border states from Mannai in the east to Qummuh (Commagene) in the west began to be contested by the rapidly growing power of the northern state.⁴ These border provinces were pushed well up into the highlands of the Kurdistan and Taurus, and dotted the upper edge of the Piedmont belt. The struggle with Haldia a long and drawn one, may be viewed as one of those struggles between the people of the Fertile Crescent and the hill - folks to the north and east, which fill the history of the Fertile Crescent. Strictly speaking, however, it was a struggle for the possession of the Piedmont Route.

The assumption by the Haldian king of the title " King of the World, King of Nairi " was a direct challenge to Shalmaneser III.⁵ The latter conducted a long and arduous campaign to the Lake Van district, and appeared before the Haldian capital, Arzashkun , on a rocky elevation north of the lake. This was not the only time that the Assyrians penetrated into the heart of Haldia; nor were the Haldians wanting in aggressiveness; at one time they came to within twenty - five miles of Nineveh. A more defiant attitude towards

² HDA, P. 82.

³ I bid.

⁴ Mannai, south of Lake Urmia, is within Iranian territory today, and is inhabited by Kurds.

⁵ Nairi was an Assyrian province in the valley of the Eastern Tigris

Assyria was taken by the second Sardurish under whose sway Haldia reached the height of her power. Territories on the southern slopes of the Armenian mountains, and the mountains of the north - east, which had been tollsomenly brought under Assyrian suzerainty by former kings were wrested from their present master. In addition to " King of the World ", Sardurish assumed the title " King of Shurash". This assumption was a direct challenge to the Assyrian over - lordship of Syria.© Sardurish had induced Mati - ilu of Arpad (Tell Erfad in North Syria to break with his Assyrian overlord, Ashur - nirari II. The latter's energetic successor, Tiglath Pileser III, prepared to tackle the Haldian problem. Before marching on Haldia, he met and defeated a coalition of subsidiary states headed by the renegade Mati - ilu. The kings of Melidia (Melitene), Gurgum (district of Mar'ash) and Qumnuh (Commagene) were among its members. Later in his reign, Tiglath Pileser, having driven the Haldian forces out of Syria, launched a direct attack on the home - country.& He penetrated to the fertile plain which surrounded the Haldian capital of Tushpash, but was not able to occupy his objective, the great citadel rock at Va

With Tiglath - Pileser III the long struggle between Assyria and Haldia may be said to have reached a stalemate. Even when, a generation later, Phrygia entered the struggle on Haldia's side, the conflict remained a draw. The great Sargon was more than equal to Midas and Rusash combined.& By defeating the forces of his two rivals in the

© HDA, P. 182.

& I bid, P. 189.

& This is the golden Midas of Greek legend whose touch transformed all to precious metal. HDA, P. 222.

southern coast of Asia - Minor, he brought under his sway certain towns long held by the Phrygians^{and}. Then by operating in Tabal in the Anti - Taurus, and fortifying the mountain passes, he thrust a wedge forward between Haldia and Phrygia.®

Under Sargon's successors the pressing danger of the Indo-Europeans : Medes, Scythians and Cimmerians threatening alike Assyria, Haldia and Phrygia induced these former rivals to come together, but it was too late. At the beginning of the seventh century the Cimmerians subjugated Phrygia, and a generation later all but destroyed Lydia.£ The treaty concluded between Ashur - bani - apal and Rusash III of Haldia deferred the evil day only for a short time. In 616 Nabopolassar, the king of the Chaldeans, began his invasion of Mesopotamia. The fate of Assyria hung in the balance. Here we witness the queer sight of Psammetichus I of Egypt, a former Assyrian vassal, coming to the help of the country which, earlier in his reign had conquered and oppressed his, and which he was now eager to preserve as a buffer state against the rising power of the Neo - Babylonians. At that moment, unfortunately for Assyria, a familiar enemy, the Medes, descended from the eastern mountains upon Arrapha,¶ and swiftly made for Ashur, wanting to forestall the Chaldeans in the occupation of the old Assyrian capital. Cyaxares the Mede was willing however, after taking the city by storm, and delimiting the bounds of his future acquisitions, to conclude an alliance with

® HDA, P. 225.

£ I bid, P. 422.

¶ The modern district of Sulaymaniyah between the Lower Zab and the Dyala rivers.

Nabopolassar. This they solemnly did amid the ruins of Ashur in 614.
The final assault upon Nineveh, and its fall came two years later.

- 145 -

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

In the later Assyrian period Babylonia had been ruled at intervals by the Chaldeans who were Arameans settled in the alluvium since the ninth century before our era. ©

© HPS, Ch. 34. Apparently there is no agreement among Semitists as to the origin of the Chaldeans. G. A. Barton and A. T. Olmstead maintain that they were Arameans. Prof. G. D. Prince of Columbia University denies that they were Arameans. He bases his argument on the following two facts: (1) Sennacherib made a distinction between the Chaldeans and the Arameans; (2) Cuneiform inscriptions have shown that the language of the Chaldeans was Assyrian and not Aramaic (Ency. Brit., 14th Edition, Article; Chaldaea.) Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum, likewise enumerates the Chaldeans and the Arameans as two distinct peoples (CBH, Vol. III, P.121.) The Babylonians and the Chaldeans, says Prof. Prince, who were considered two kindred branches of the same stock tended in the course of time to become undistinguishable from each other. I do not know whether enough research has been done on the language of the Chaldeans to enable either one of the above two groups to speak conclusively on the racial character of that people.

We have already made the acquaintance of one of those tribes, that of Bit Iakin (the House of Iakin) settled in Sealand at the southern extremity of the alluvium, of one of its members, Merodach Belodan who revolted against Sargon and Sennacherib, and of his descendant Nabopolassar who freed Babylonia from Assyria, and conquered the latter country in combination with the Medes. We left him in the last chapter with his allies besieging and destroying the two Assyrian capitals, and despoiling them of their treasures. We now propose to take up the thread of the story from this point.

The Assyrians were too vigorous to give up the fight soon after the fall and destruction of their principal towns. Ashur-Uballit, a member of the royal family, at the head of a remnant of the valliant Assyrian army moved to Harran, about one hundred miles to the west, determined to conduct a resistance movement from that city, backed by Egypt.©

© Ashur-uballits' sojourn at Harran brings to mind Nabonidus, the last Chalkocean king, and Marwan II, the last of the Omayyads. Both these kings moved to Harran when disaffection and troubles in their repective capitals made their position there untenable. Centrally located between the two wings of the Fertile Crescent, Harran is fit to be a royal refuge-city.

His sojourn at Harran, however, was very brief. After a little more than a year, that is in 610, Nabopolassar came back to the fight accompanied this time by the Scythians in addition to his Median allies (CAH, Vol. III, pp. 130&209). The Assyrians retired on Syria, driven by the Scythian barbarians who pressed on towards Palestine.

At that moment Necho, who had replaced his father Psammetichus, and was vigorously pursuing the latter's Syrian policy, marched northwards, occupied Palestine and the Phoenician coast, and after effecting a junction with the Assyrian troops, pushed forward to the Euphrates and occupied Carchemish. This town became the base of his operations for the next four years. © The decisive battle was fought in its neighbourhood in 605. In the meantime Nabopolassar had aged and for this reason had entrusted the command to his son Nebuchadnezzar (605-562) who proved a greater warrior than Necho. In fact this monarch was in his time the greatest man of the Near East. & He dominates the history of his country as no other king does. (His glorious reign accounts for fifty-seven of the eighty-seven years of that history.) He chased the Egyptians to Pelusium, and made Syria secure for Babylonia.& Egypt made a feeble return

© CAH, Vol. III, P. 210.
& CAH, Vol. III, P. 212.
& I bid.

was enough to entice Zedekiah of Judah to revolt. The consequence is well known. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, and carried the Jews into captivity.

In his later years the great Babylonian king conducted a great campaign against Egypt; whether he actually ^p penetrated into the Nile Valley or occupied it is a matter of dispute.^o All that we can say with certainty is that his empire covered the whole Fertile Crescent.^e The expansion of his allies the Medes in the north removed any thought that he might have entertained of extending his kingdom into Asia-Minor. By tacit agreement each of the two allies confined himself to the field of expansion for which he was fitted by nature. While Nebuchadnezzar swept over the flatter districts of Syria, the Medes, who were mountain people, pushed across the Taurus where they were met by the Lydians. The struggle lasted five years, and ended in an armistice in which the two weary combatants agreed to make the Halys the boundary between them.[&]

Compared with Nebuchadnezzar his successors were mere callow boys or dilettanti. Nebonidus (556-539), the last Chaldean king, was pretty old when he came to the throne, but was happier and abler as a scholar than as a king. Internal dissensions, accompanied by the usual revolts in the Syrian provinces continued unabated during his

o I bid, P. 215.

e I bid.

& I bid.

seventeen years' reign. No wonder that the Chaldovan empire fell a prey to the rising power of Persia, shortly after the Median empire had succumbed to the same fate.

Beginning with the Persians, empire-building assumed world dimensions under Indo-European hegemony. The countries of the Fertile Crescent including Egypt lost their independence, and became a part of an increasingly greater unit. With the coming of the Greeks and the Romans, the center of gravity of the civilized world moved westward. Syria, which had been so far in a state of dependence on Iraq and Egypt was now, by virtue of her nearness to the centers of the new empires, on parity, if not superior to her two close neighbours. The story of Syria's rising fortunes, however is outside the scope of this dissertation.

PART III

THE SYNTHESIS

CH. XXV A HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHIC CONCLUSION

CH. IV ~~EPILOGUE~~. POSTSCRIPT

CHAPTER XIV

A HISTORICO - GEOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSION

RACIAL AND LINGUISTIC UNITY : The racial unity of the Semites rests mainly on linguistic and cultural evidence provided by the modern study of ancient Semitic languages. This study has revealed that they were originally dialects spoken by different groups of the same family. Thus was the racial kinship of the Akkadians, Assyrians and Chaldeans in Iraq; and of the Amorites, Canaanites (including the Phoenicians), the Arameans and the Hebrews in Syria rediscovered in the middle of the last century.

The division of the Northern Semites into a western and an eastern branch according as they settled in the western or eastern end of the Fertile Crescent, though based on linguistic grounds, is not a happy one. It might give rise to the impression that the Semites were confined to either end of the Crescent, leaving a gap between them. The truth of the matter is that the movements of the Semites covered the whole Crescent; the middle part was as thickly populated as the two wings. We have in these movements an illustration of the influence physical features have on migration and commercial intercourse. The Semites, once started on a career of migration to the Fertile Crescent,

skirted the ranges of the Taurus, the Zagros and their outliers from Iraq to Syria and vice-versa. Some of the so-called Eastern Semites, viz. the Akkadians, Babylonians (Amorites) and Assyrians went to Mesopotamia via Syria. Conversely, the Canaanites, Arameans and Hebrews, all Western Semites, went to Syria via Mesopotamia. Some of these tribes, e.g. the Amorites and Arameans, established states in both Syria and Iraq.

Semitic languages followed the same course. One of those languages would rise to prominence and become the tongue of the whole Fertile Crescent. Thus Babylonian (Akkadian) the oldest of the Semitic languages became by the fifteenth century the tongue of the whole area in the diplomatic and commercial fields. Aramaic later became the universal language of the whole civilized Semitic world until it was in turn supplanted by Arabic.

The Semitic physical type was modified by strains that came down through the mountain passes of the Taurus and Zagros. The Hurrians, to mention only one of those mountain peoples, were found among the pre-Semitic inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent, if they did not constitute the main ethnic stock prior to the appearance of the Semites. ¶ Syria and Iraq were filled from the same ethnic reservoirs: Arabian.

in the south, and the Taurus and Zagros Mountains in the north and east. Finally the Indo-European inflow coming about 2000 B.C., and again at the time of the Persian invasion, likewise affected both countries.

BABYLONIA'S EARLY START : Lower Mesopotamia shares with Egypt and northwest India (the Indus Valley) the distinction of being one of the cradles of civilization. The three depressions lie in the Afrasian steppe-desert belt, a latitudinal zone extending across Africa and Asia from the Atlantic to the plateau of Yunnan. Prior to 6000 B.C. this belt enjoyed a moderate rainfall all through the year. After 6000 B.C. the climatic belt shifted northward to their present position and the Afrasian belt began to suffer from dissication and its inhabitants began to migrate to the river valleys dissecting it. [¶] Neolithic settlements dating from about 5000 B.C. have been discovered in the fore-mentioned depressions of the dry belt. Dynastic history in both Egypt and Lower Mesopotamia began about 3000 B.C. As early as 2500 B.C. Sargon of Akkad built an empire co-extensive with the Fertile Crescent, the first world empire of history, and his successors carried the proud title King of the Four Regions of the World. Syria did not share the honour of that early civilization, nor did it ever become an independent united state let alone an empire. Similarly the Upper Mesopotamian states, e.g. Assyria, did not cut much of a figure until much later. When

[¶] G. Esst, The Geography behind History, P. 157.

the Semitic Akkadians invaded the plain of Shinar they came in contact with a civilized people, the Sumerians. Some of the Sumerian towns had been built by pre-Sumerian settlers, probably Elamites (see p.75). The great antiquity of civilization in Shinar is in sharp contrast with its late rise in Syria. In the latter country the Amorites who settled in Syria as late as the middle of the third millennium were displaced before they were sufficiently civilized to produce anything that can be called literature. §

Although the insufficiency of western Semitic sources does not justify any conclusive statement on the subject of Syrian civilization in the second millennium, it would be safe to say that Syria had then less of the attributes of civilization than either Babylonia or Assyria, and that the few attributes she had she had borrowed from ^{her} the neighbours Egypt and Babylonia. This lack of originality was to characterize western Semitic culture throughout the period under discussion, and up to the present time. The prevalence of the Babylonian language and cuneiform is evidenced by the Amarna letters; that of Babylonian economic influences by the number of measures and weights that have been found in Syria. The western Semites recognized the cultural ascendancy of Lower Mesopotamia. To them Shinar was the center of the world; that is why the Phoenicians and later the Hebrews claimed that their ancestors had come from that country §§.

The Assyrians recognized the cultural debt they owed to the Babylonians by conferring upon their cities the privilege of "free towns" (see p.135).

HABITAT AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT : Having discussed the advantage of the early start which Babylonia had over the other parts of the Fertile Crescent, and from which it continued to benefit throughout the period under discussion, we now turn to the other physical parts to see how they became the distinct habitats of different Semitic peoples, and how the geography of each part influenced the economic and political careers of its inhabitants.

The natural frontier between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia is a line that runs from a little before Samarra on the Tigris to Hit on the Euphrates. ϕ . It corresponded roughly to the political boundary between Akkad and Subartu, and later on to that between Assyria and Babylonia. The northern piedmont sector of Upper Mesopotamia is much more suitable for settlement than the southern half, and the two greatest centers of population ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ that more favoured sector are the middle Tigris valley, that is, Assyria, and the Naharina or the land within the great bend of the Euphrates to the Khabur valley.

The roughness of Assyria and her proximity to the warlike mountain folks in the north and east forbade all but a precarious existence for over a millennium. The Kassites in the south and the Mitannians in the west

completed the iron ring around Assyria. She could not take advantage of her position at the eastern terminus of the Piedmont Route, and the head of navigation of the Tigris until Mitanni and her two alternative protectresses, Egypt and Hatti had fallen or declined.

Naharina even more than Assyria is more akin to northern Syria in climate and products than Babylonia. The physical link between the Upper Mesopotamian plains and those of North Syria has time and again been reflected in the ethnic and political unity of the two districts. The Euphrates did not impede intercourse between them. The two made up the country of the Amorites which, according to A.J. Clay, covered North Syria as well as Upper Mesopotamia down to a point opposite to Baghdad. Later they became the principal scene of Aramoean history. From the Tur Abdin and the Kharajah Mountains to the Yarmuk (Jarmuk) these steppes were sprinkled with Aramoean towns. Their sites are marked today by a multitude of tells, or artificial mounds.

The fertility of this region, second only to that of Babylonia, and its great value as a natural highway between the eastern Mediterranean world and the Persian Gulf were too luring for it to be let alone. All that the states of the Naharina and North Syria, such as Mitanni, Amor and the Aramoean towns of the Assyrian period, could aspire to was to become buffer states between their strong and covetous neighbours to the north and south. Failing to achieve

political freedom or to maintain it for a long time, they diverted their energies into other channels and in time became the economic and cultural agents of the big empires in which they were incorporated.

Central Syria is less rich than northern Syria, but is better protected by nature than either the northern or southern sectors. The northern sector was open to invasion from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and we have alluded on more than one occasion to the difficulties that the north Syrian and Mesopotamian States had in holding their own in the ebb and flow of imperialistic rivalries; the southern sector was most of the time within the sphere of Egyptian influence. Only in the central portion, protected by the highest mountain range of Syria, and a double one, was independent life possible. §/

The Coast of that central sector early became the home of the Phoenicians. In Part I we pointed out the physical advantages that this sector of the Coast has over the other two sectors.(+). Those advantages account to a great extent for two important facts : (1) The reason why the Phoenicians outlived their Semitic brethren, the Canaanites and the Amorites; (2) the maritime development of the Phoenician settlers, which affords the only exception to the general statement that the ancient Oriental States were land powers. ++

§ E.G.H. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 9.

+ See pp. 13-14.

++ HPS, Ch. IV.

The centrally located range of Lebanon afforded protection not only to the Phoenician sea-ports but to those at its eastern edge also. Damascus surrounded by mountains from three sides resisted the Assyrian onslaught longer than any other Aramoean town.

The Canaanites were the kinsmen of the Phoenicians, and the latter recognized the kinship. The Old Testament identifies Canaan with modern Palestine. Strictly speaking, it applies to the coastal plain including Phoenicia. ¶ The boundary line between these two kindred peoples must have been a vague one. We know, however with certainty that Accho was a Phoenician town. The Canaanites, finding the Coast of Palestine inhospitable, built their cities along the Shephelah, a line of low hills between the plain and the main range of Judah, and more suitable for town-life than either one, but in time spread to the higher ranges. ¶ ¶. The harassed Philistines later on occupied the inhospitable coast, but for all their maritime traditions, could not build more than one sea-port on it.

The Hebrews crossed over to Palestine from east of Jordan, wrested the highlands from the Canaanites, and engaged in a long fight with the Philistines settled in the coastal plain which, according to the covenant God made

¶ HPS, Ch. IV.

¶ ¶ HCHL, P. 5.

with their Patriarchs, lay within the promised land of the Jews. Ever spurred by the desire to reach the limits of the promised land in other directions, they engaged in wars of conquest with the Aramoean state of Damascus and the Edomites and Moabites across the Jordan. Although they succeeded at times in controlling those lands, the only region they held for the whole duration of their kingdom was the Central Range of Palestine consisting of Judah and Samaria. Similarly they held Gilead east of Jordan almost continuously. The Central Range and especially its drier and out-of-the way southern part is a most suitable habitat for such an exclusive people as the Jews. Its isolation provided the necessary condition for the realization of their divine destiny. Faith and strategy made of Jerusalem the only important city in the highlands of Syria. Only there had they geography on their side. When, armed with a title-deed from heaven, and in defiance of all geographical forces, they sought to extend their kingdom to its ideal frontiers, they failed.

Eastern Palestine (the modern Transjordan) south of Gilead has many physical affinities with Arabia, especially with Hijaz. It links up with the latter region by the mountain rim which gives al-Hijaz, the Barrier, its name. The western slope of the mountain rim is steep, but the eastern slope descends gently to the desert plateau and merges into it. Though Eastern Palestine is more fertile and wetter than the highlands of Judah, it is too exposed to the desert to

allow of the rise of strong states. § The earliest peoples we find in settlement of the country are the Moabites and Edomites who formed a part of the wave that brought the Arameans toward the middle of the IInd millennium. They figure as minor parties to the wars between the Hebrews and the "Syrians" of Damascus. The Edomites were succeeded by the Nabateans, the first Arab tribe to establish itself on Syrian soil, and another one of those Semitic peoples who distinguished themselves in caravan trade. The country, however, was to experience its greatest prosperity under the Romans whose strong legions protected it against attacks from the desert, a task that has devolved upon the British-trained Arab army of Transjordan.

To sum up, the habitats of the different Semitic peoples of both Iraq and Syria coincided more or less with the physical divisions of the Fertile Crescent. The comparative geological and geographical uniformity of Iraq (it has only two major divisions) has contributed to the rise of a few powerful states, whereas the diversified topography of Syria was responsible for the rise of a much greater number of small states: Phoenicians on the central coast, Canaanites in the south, but chiefly along the Shephelah, Philistines on the maritime plain carrying their name in the extreme south, Arameans in the steppes of northern and central Syria, Hebrews in the highlands of Palestine and

Gilead, and Moabites and Edmites in the highlands east of Jordan. The mountains of the northern and central sectors acted as barriers, and were not favourable for settlement on a large scale.

The tendency towards separate city-states seems to have been universal. The Sumerians and Akkadians began by building city-states, but it was not long before a strong city brought its neighbours within its orbit, and built up a territorial unitary state. So while, it would not be reasonable to say that the physical barriers of Syria originated the tendency, there is no doubt that they perpetuated it. Nor can we account on any other ground for the fact that whereas the Amorites and Arameans, settled in the alluvium of Iraq, built therein two of the greatest Semitic empires of ancient times, Hammurabi's and Nebuchadnezzar's, their brethren in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia failed to build up anything but city-states.

Nomenclature testifies to Syria's political disunity during the ancient Semitic period. It had no single name such as the subsequent Greek designation "Syria", or the Arabic one, Ash-Sham. The Egyptian appellations Retanu and Kharu, the Babylonian ones, Amurru and Cansan, all designate constituent parts of Syria. As to the name Aram, it is used inconsistently in the Old Testament. Whereas in some passages it includes the northern part of Mesopotamia, Syria as far south as the borders of Palestine, and the

larger part of Arabia Petraea, in others it is compounded with constituent parts of the country, which seems to indicate that there were a number of Arams, e.g. Aram-Naharain, Aram-Damascus and Aram of Sobah. §

Another illustration of the dividing influence of the mountains of Syria is provided today by the great number of its religious sects, which again is much bigger than that of Iraq. The great religious diversity of Upper Mesopotamia is one of those points of similarity between it and Syria, which rests on the physical affinities of the two regions.

FRONTIERS : The Fertile Crescent has more land frontiers, that is, mountains and deserts, than sea-frontiers. Consequently, its ancient history was more affected by land influences than by influences coming over the sea. Whereas this ascendancy of land influences held good of Syria until the thalassic stage of history (Graeco-Roman) when this country entered the orbit of Mediterranean nations, it continued to apply to Iraq until very recently. §§

§ Dictionary of the Bible, Article ARAM.

§§ This accords with the generally accepted concept of the geographic march of civilization, namely, the progression of cultures from their origins in the semi-tropical fluvial areas of the ancient Orient, to the more temperate regions of the thalassic area of the Mediterranean basin, and finally to the expansion of European culture over the world with the conquest of the Atlantic.

H.E. Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies*, p. 46.

Though an impediment to intercourse, the land frontiers of the Fertile Crescent were not impassable. Though the passes of the Taurus and Zagros Mountains flowed not only rivers but ethnic streams. Similarly, the Arabian Desert is lined by well-defined valleys, e.g. Wadi ar-Rummah and Wadi es-Sirhan, which act as highways connecting the heart of the great peninsula with either end of the Fertile Crescent. The Sinai desert offered routes to Egypt which, added to the maritime routes between Syria and the Nile Valley, reinforced the relations between the two countries. Egypt may be considered a part of the Fertile Crescent, and Egypt's western desert, the western frontier of the Crescent. But even the Libyan desert was not an insuperable obstacle to the advance of the Semites. The Arabs, for instance, found themselves in their element when, having conquered the Nile Valley, they resumed their march until the Atlantic was reached. An earlier Semitic people, the Phoenicians, had preceded them thither. This area coincides today with the African extension of the Arabic-speaking world.

The Semites found the fold mountains of the north and east less inviting. On the contrary it was the mountain dwellers that coveted the possessions of the settled people of the Fertile Crescent. In the continual struggle between the two, which is the most outstanding fact of the history of this region, the advantage was generally with the mountain dwellers, as they lived on the slopes with the gentler gradient. The Assyrian soldier-monarchs often remarked on the steep

gradient of the mountains which they had to climb. All that the Semitic rulers, from Sargon of Akkad to Harun ar-Rashid, could do was to occupy the debatable Piedmont belts in Elam, Upper Jazirah and northern Syria, to fortify the mountain passes beyond them, preferably the egresses, and to carry out occasional raids well into enemy territory. The work of fortification done by the Assyrians in Kuzukh (Commagene), Sargum (district of Mar'ash), Melidia (Malitene) and Que (Cilicia) was subsequently undertaken on a large scale by the Arabs. The four districts were erected into a special military province called Jund ath-Thughur. The Taurus, Anti-Taurus and the Zagros seem to have been the limits set by nature to the migration and expansion of the Semites in the north and east;

The sea is the only physical frontier which has rendered the history of Syria, and to a lesser degree that of Upper Mesopotamia, distinct from the history of Lower Mesopotamia. Although this factor gained increased vigour during and after the Graeco-Roman period, it had begun to operate at the dawn of history. Intercourse by sea between Egypt, Crete and Syria is known to have existed as early as the middle of the IVth millenium. § . The archaeological finds of Jubail (Byblos) testify to the relations of the dynasties of the Old Kingdom of Egypt with the kings of the city; those of Ras Shamra (Sapuna) §§ to the commercial relations of the Aegean.

§ G. East, The Geography behind History, p. 163.

§§ Egyptian Ugavit.

The sea, however, helps intercourse in peace time, but becomes a great barrier in time of war. Never has an invader, unaided by land forces, been able to conquer Syria by sea. On the other hand, Phoenician colonies were established in the western Mediterranean basin, and as far as the Atlantic border of Spain.

RELATIONS OF WAR AND PEACE : Though contiguous and racially related to Syria, Babylonia is more akin, physically speaking, to Egypt than to Syria, and the former country may for this reason be considered a part, though a disconnected part, of the Fertile Crescent, Syria and Babylonia agree in being dissimilar to Arabia, of which they form a part, rather than in being similar to each other. On the other hand, Egypt and Babylonia, lying alike in the river depressions of the Afrasian desert-belt, shared with the Indus valley the distinction of an early fluvial civilization. Intercourse between the two regions is known to have existed as early as pre-dynastic times, and was most probably carried out through Syria. It is evidenced by the influence of Sumerian art on that of Egypt. Some semitists hold that the first Semitic wave was partially diverted into Predynastic Egypt, the other part going to the plain of Shinar.

Apart from the possibility of a common origin, the early Egyptians and Akkadians came to Syria seeking after her valuable products which contrasted with their own. It is difficult to

tell how big was the volume of this intercourse or the degree to which Syria benefited from it. We are better informed about the relations of war between the three countries than about the relations of peace, for the bulk of our surviving sources are royal documents designed to glorify the warring king.

From the physical point of view, Syria stood in the same relation to Egypt as to Babylonia. Because of this relation its history was to be as closely tied up with the history of the Nile Valley as with that of the Euphrates-Tigris trough. The gap between Egypt and Syria formed by the Desert of Sinai was made up for by the maritime route between the two countries. To both Egypt and the Mesopotamia States, Syria was worth having not only as a source of stone, wood, wine and other products, but as a corridor of trade. Besides, Syria was the only country within their natural field of expansion. Deserts and mountains stood between them and their other neighbours. These factors, together with the brokenness of her land, and her consequent political disunity, conspired to keep her permanently under foreign control. The tendency for Babylonia and Egypt to expand in the direction of Syria began to manifest itself, as our sources tell us, as early as the beginning of the third millennium. When the Sumerian king Lugalzaggisi (c.2800-2775) conquered the lands of the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean), the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom had already established their

influence in Palestine and in the Phoenician Coast; and this division of Syria into dependencies between Egypt and Mesopotamia was to remain for a long time. A number of the succeeding Semitic and Sumerian states of Babylonia, e.g. those of Sargon and his line, Dungi of Ur, and possibly Hammurabi, held dominion over Amurru. It is doubtful whether the latter appellation included all of Syria. Palestine was, most of the time, within the Egyptian orbit. §. Thutmose III brought the whole of Syria within that orbit, and inaugurated a period of unchallenged Egyptian supremacy which lasted for about half a century. Similarly Syria was later on to fall in its entirety in Mesopotamian hands, Assyrian and Chaldean.

Egypt's hold on Syria, though intermittent in the central and northern sectors, was more tenacious and enduring than that of the Mesopotamian States. Even when Egyptian influence was at low water-mark, and political dominion had been assumed by other powers, Assyrian, Chaldean and Persian, there was always a pro-Egyptian faction in Syria working for the re-establishment of that dominion. §§. The tenacity of Egypt's hold on Syria, which was in contrast with Iraq's unstable control over that country, was mainly the outcome of a marked difference in the geographical position of the two home

§ When centuries later, Egypt ceased to be the mistress of her destinies, her European conquerors from the Ptolemies to the British, displayed the same interest in Syria, and especially in its southern sector, Palestine, as that of the Pharaohs.

§§ HPS, Ch. XXXVIII.

countries. Egypt is almost wholly surrounded by deserts and consequently invulnerable. This factor must have contributed a great deal to making her political career one of the longest the world has ever seen. Iraq never felt so secure. A sword of Damocles hung above her head from the northern and eastern mountains. The sword actually fell many times and broke the continuity of Iraq's history. Non-Semitic Sumerians, Elamites, Guti and Kassites ruled Iraq at intervals. As a result of her vulnerable position this country has not only had a more disconnected career than Egypt, but a more diversified population. She was often Syria's fellow victim, and not always her conqueror. Their conquerors, however, were not common ones. A non-Semitic tide covering one end of the Fertile Crescent, Egyptian and Hittite in Syria, Elamite and Kassite in Iraq, would spend itself before reaching the other end. With the advent, however, of the Indo-Europeans, beginning with the Persians, and the expansion of the civilized world, empire-building assumed bigger proportions. Egypt and Iraq, which had for a long time contested Syria, became like her debatable ground. All the three were reduced to vassalage.

(6) WORLD RELATION : The role the Fertile Crescent played in the economy of the ancient civilized world was paramount. In fact, it constituted, with Egypt and the Aegean islands, the civilized world of that time. The title "King of the Four Regions of the World" assumed by the

Mesopotamian kings from Sargon to Hammurabi was not a gross exaggeration. §. There were, to be sure, other civilizations in the ancient world: The civilization of the Indus Valley co-existed with that of the Fertile Crescent, but apparently there was little intercourse between the two. The civilization of China arose about two milleniums later; §§, but owing to its isolation, its influence on the western type of mind was practically nil. On the contrary the civilization of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt was to become the most important factor of the civilization of Greece and ultimately of the whole world.

Speaking of the smaller world that was the Near East, D.G. Hogarth says, "When the civilized world was smaller, what we now regard as the Nearer East contained in itself both East and West, and also a debatable land between. Now it is neither East nor West but became all debatable land". §§§ The debatable land in the ancient Near East, when the civilized world was smaller, was Syria, and especially that sector of it which contained the Piedmont Route. In the later centuries of ancient history, when the civilized world became bigger with the coming of the Greeks, the whole Fertile Crescent (including Egypt) became debatable ground. When the center of gravity of the civilized world shifted still further west, Greece and the Balkan peninsula became likewise the object of

§ The four regions referred to were Akkad, Elam, Subartu and Assyria.

Western European imperialism. The treaty between Thutmose III and the Mitannians, and that concluded two centuries later between Egypt and the Hittites, whereby Syria was divided between the two mighty powers, were the earliest official instances of power politics. The place of the Mitannians and Hittites was taken by the Assyrians and Chaldeans. Egypt only kept its position in the imperialistic field until a new dispensation, that of the Indo-Europeans, came upon the world.

We know more about the foreign relations of Assyria than about those of any other Semitic state that preceded it. She dominated the world stage as no other Semitic power had done before. In full possession of the Fertile Crescent (including Egypt) she had common frontiers or waged war with the Hittites, Haldians, Phrygians, Lydians, Medes and Elamites. Her only considerable rival, however, was Haldia (Urartu) who contested with her the Piedmont belt. The peaceful relations she had with those states were as fruitful of results as those of war, and are evidenced by the great variety of influences in her culture, Hittite, Egyptian, Phoenician, Aegean and even Greek. They were in this respect the "heirs of the ages". More centrally-located than Babylonia, Assyria was more open to those influences than the latter country. The eclectic character of Assyrian culture held true of Phoenician culture, and, subsequently, of that of the Arabs; and affords a good illustration of the power of assimilation and transmission of the Semites. They owed it mainly to the Isthmian position of the Fertile Crescent.

CHAPTER IV

P O S T S C R I P T
- - - - -

One of the motives that prompted the writing of this thesis on the historical geography of Syria and Iraq was the desire to investigate the background of a question, which at the time of the choice of my subject, engaged the attention of many people in both countries, namely, the advisability of a sort of union between Syria or the Syrian states and Iraq. I then set myself the task of finding out whether there was enough geographical and historical justification for the proposed rapprochement, whether Syria and Iraq had more reason to unite with each other than with, say, Egypt or any others of the Arabic-speaking countries. Having surveyed the historical geography of the Fertile Crescent, I propose in this postscript (1) to bring down, albeit summarily, the historical narrative to the present time; (2) to give the arguments for a loose union between Syria and Iraq in the light of the geographical and historical relationships of the two countries.

A SUMMARY OF THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN
HISTORY OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT.

Indo-European Hegemony : The story of the Semitic city-states and empires that we have just surveyed forms

the first chapter in the history of the Fertile Crescent; the second chapter is that of Indo-European rule. An eastern branch of this people, the Persians, invaded the Crescent in the sixth century B.C. Iraq, Syria and Egypt found themselves simultaneously in a state of dependence on a foreign power. Alexander the Great wrested those countries from the Persians. Under his Seleucid successors Syria became the center of an empire which, under the early members of the dynasty, extended from the Indus river to the Aegean Sea, and which was called the kingdom of Syria. § Shortly afterwards the Seleucids ceded Mesopotamia back to the Persians, but remained in possession of the Piedmont Route, at whose western terminus they had built their capital Antioch. About three centuries after its foundation the Kingdom of Syria succumbed to the Roman advance, and became a Roman province.

The occupation of Syria by the Romans inaugurated a period of great prosperity, and sped up the process of Westernization begun under the Seleucids. In a century it was to become perhaps the chief province of the Empire. This important position it owed to the fact that it bordered on the only serious rival of Rome, Parthia, and the necessity of maintaining a strong defence. The legions stationed in Syria succeeded in raising seven emperors to the throne of Rome.

§ H. Lammens, *La Syrie*, Ier Volume, p. 9.

The Romans did not hold Mesopotamia except for a short period under Trójan^a. Holding firm to the Piedmont Route, they were content to have the Euphrates as the boundary between them and the Parthians. Nevertheless, the unprecedented peace they established in their empire stimulated trade between Syria and Iraq, and rendered, for the first time in the history of Syria, movement across the Syrian Desert absolutely safe. ^ó. The Piedmont Route saw the rise of a number of shorter competing routes.

Culturally and racially Syria was a difficult province to assimilate, although there were not yet Syrians in the national sense of the word, but Phoenicians, Arameans, Hebrews and Arabs, held in subjection to the Romans, they all spoke Aramaic. The name Syria, became for the second time the official designation of the country, and the absorption by the central government of the various client principalities, must have awakened the forementioned Semitic tribes of Syria to their racial unity. They were beginning to feel the stirrings of nationalism. ^{óó}. This awakening manifested itself in the revival of the old Aramaic literature which had been overshadowed by Greek literature. In the decadent Byzantine period of Roman rule (395-634 A.D.) those native influences began to assert themselves with increased vigour, and led to the schisms

^ó Rostovtzev, Caravan Cities, p. 3.

^{óó} H.C. Luke, Mosul and Its Minorities, Ch. V.

which gave rise to the Nestorian, Jacobite and other eastern churches. These schisms were nationalistic rather than religious; it was the sentiment of "one race, one church." ^p.

The long struggle between the Romans and the Parthians over the Fertile Crescent was a draw. It weakened them both, and rendered them incapable of effectively resisting the Arab Moslem invasion. Already pre-Islamic Arab tribes had settled in Mesopotamia and eastern Syria where they established a number of client states under Roman or Persian suzerainty.

A Great Semitic Recrudescence. The seventh century saw the last and greatest Semitic wave over-run the Fertile Crescent under the banner of Islam. ^{pp}. Syria, Iraq and Egypt were the earliest and most spectacular Moslem conquests. The readiness with which Syria and Iraq soon became an integral part of the new empire, or rather the foci of that empire, is in sharp contrast with the difficulty of assimilation presented by the inhabitants of countries conquered subsequently. In M. J. de Goeje's opinion, it would have been a great advantage for the solidity of the Arabian empire, if it had confined itself to the limits of those old Semitic lands, with perhaps the addition of Semiticized Egypt. ^{ppp}. The conflict between Arabs and non-Arabs or "Shu'ubis" which was one of the disruptive forces of the Empire was, in the last

^p Ibid.

^{pp} J.H. Breasted, Ancient Times, p. 706.

^{ppp} M.J. de Goeje ; article "Caliphate" in Ency. Brit. 11th ed;

analysis, one between Semites and Aryans.

Syria and Iraq, to which Egypt must be added, were geographically and culturally fitted to play a leading role in the newly-founded empire. Each one aspired to be the center of the empire, and the home-patriotism and mutual jealousy of these three countries was to prove as detrimental to the unity of the empire as clan-patriotism, and the Shu'ubi movement. Syria had played a leading part in two successive empires, the Seleucid and the Roman, and therefore no longer felt diffident about assuming the leadership in an empire which included her two former masters, Iraq and Egypt. The crafty Mu'awiya was able with the help of the devoted Syro-Arabs to seize on the Caliphate which remained in his family for nearly a century. Damascus supplanted Madinah and Kufah as the capital of the Empire. The Kufians never forgot the affront, and many of the Iraqi revots against the Umayyads, including those staged by the Shi'ites, were primarily contests for hegemony between Iraq and Syria. ¶ The Abbasid Dynasty which overthrew the Umayyads moved the capital back to Iraq where their second caliph built the city of Baghdad which was to remain the seat of the Caliphate for five centuries. When decline set in the governors of the remote provinces in the East and West began to detach themselves from the Caliphate, setting up independent or semi-independent states. One of the most important independent states built on the

¶ J. W. Arnold: article "Caliphate" in Ency. Brit. 14th Ed. and H.A., p. 282.

fragments of the Abbasid Empire was that of the Fatimids. Originally set up in Tunis, this Shi'ite dynasty conquered Egypt in the second half of the tenth century, and built the city of Cairo. Thus Egypt became the seat of a rival Caliphate.

The fall of their Umayyad dynasty and the reduction of their country to a simple province like Egypt or Iraq did not leave the Syrians unperturbed. Immediately after the occupation of their country by Khurasanian troops, revolts broke out in different parts of Syria, but were speedily and harshly suppressed. Armed attempts to regain their former independence continued to be made by the Syrians for about a century and a half. Having failed to achieve their purpose by armed force, the Syrians set their hopes on an imaginary national hero, a Sufyanid Messiah, who would come in due time to deliver them from the Abbasid yoke. § . When the Abbasid Empire began to disintegrate, Syria failed to take advantage of this opportunity to regain her independence. She wavered for some time between the Byzantines in the north and the Fatimids in the south, and finally entered the Egyptian orbit as she had done so many times before. §§. After the downfall of the Fatimids other Egyptian dynasties held Syria in subjection until the advent of the Ottoman Turks in 1516.

§ H. Lamans, *La Syrie*, Ier Volume, p. 107.
§§ H.A., p: 457.

Turkish Rule : The Turks came from the north, and are still a potential invader from that direction. Their coming sped up the process of decay which had set in the later centuries of the Abbasid Empire, and for another four centuries lay like an incubus on the Arab world. It also aggravated the harm that the then recent Portuguese discovery of the sea-route to India had wrought to the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. Instead of being the chief thoroughfare to the Orient, they became an untravelled "cul-de-sac", idle except for local traffic. p.

This period of political anarchy and arrested cultural and economic development began to come to an end about the beginning of the nineteenth century; the century inaugurated by Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and Syria. Iraq, where the maintenance of irrigation works requires constant care and vigilance, fell into a deplorable situation; and being far removed from Western influences, remained fast asleep well into the end of the century, when the Baghdad Railway, a German imperialistic project, brought Iraq new hope. Her prospects had no sooner brightened than they were eclipsed by the out-break of the First World War. The railway line remained for the greater part unfinished.

Not long before the war, a number of secret societies were founded aiming at autonomy for the Arabic-speaking countries within the Ottoman Empire. This was known as the

Decentralization Movement. Most of the members were Syrians or Iraqis. When Sharif Hussein took the further step of demanding full independence for the Arab countries, and proceeded to carry out his plan by armed force Syrian, and more particularly, Iraqi officers were placed in positions of high command in the revolutionary army. Several thousand Syrians and Iraqis served likewise as privates in Faisal's "regular" army. §.

Egypt had since her occupation by the British in 1882 parted company with Syria and Iraq in the political and nationalistic fields. She was outside the Ottoman fold in all but name. Her independence movement was directed against the British rather than the Turks, and the past to which her nationalists appealed for inspiration was not Arab but Pharaonic, or at any rate, distinctly Egyptian. §§. She was not to reappear on the Arab stage until the spring of 1943 when her government issued invitations to the neighbouring Arab countries to a federation congress out of which grew the Arab League.

The First World War and the Allied Occupation : Early in the World War the British launched an attack on Iraq which for the first time in history saw her lands invaded by river from the south. A little later the British with the help of Arab and French troops occupied the western end of the Fertile Crescent, all of Cilicia as well as the upland towns of the Piedmont belt; Aintab, Mar'ash, Urfa (Edessa) and Mardine. §§§.

§ G. Antonius, *the Arab Awakening*, p. 225.

§§ Ibid, pp. 99-100.

§§§ E. Rabbath, *Unité Syrienne et devenir Arabe*, Introduction.

Their expeditionary force in Iraq advanced to the present northern boundary of this state. The area occupied by Allied troops thus covered the whole Fertile Crescent. Its northern limits coincided with the traditional limits of Semitic expansion and speech. §. Then in 1921, for reasons which historians will have some difficulty in making out, the French, who had been left alone in occupation of Syria and Cilicia after the withdrawal of the British, abandoned the upper Piedmont belt which is strategically and economically indispensable to Syria. §§. A few years later the Turks pressed for the restoration of the vilayet of Mosul. The English did not give in as easily as the French. They had the dispute brought before the League of Nations which upheld the English point of view. §§§.

Treaties are the skeleton of history. During the First World War and since its conclusion many treaties and unilateral statements defining the Status of Syria and Iraq and the aspirations of their inhabitants have been made. I wish to consider only those agreements and statements that are land-marks in the history of the period under discussion, and have a special bearing on Syro-Iraqi relations.

The first in date is the McMahon Pledges to Sharif Hussein. According to them, the Sharif committed himself

§ G. Antogius, The Arab Awakening, p. 276.
 §§ In 1939 the French again betrayed their charge by including the Franco-Turkish agreement which deprived Syria of the last part of its natural frontier zone, the Sandjak of Alexandretta.
 §§§ B.P. MacCallum, The Near East in 1925.

to the proclamation of an Arab revolt against Turkey. Great Britain in return pledged herself to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in an area which covered the whole Arabian peninsula including the Fertile Crescent. They postponed until after the war the disposal of those portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hamah and Aleppo. ¶ Less than a year later a secret agreement known as the Sykes-Picot Treaty was concluded between Great Britain and France. It delimited the spheres of influence of the two governments in the Fertile Crescent.

Despite its absurdities and its violation of the McMahon-Hussain Agreement, the Sykes-Picot Treaty is of great geographic interest. It divides the Fertile Crescent not into its two historical parts of Syria and Iraq, but into two east-west zones, thus implicitly recognizing the geographical units^y of the Fertile Crescent. The French zone comprised the middle and northern coasts of Syria where France was to have a free hand, as well as a French sphere of influence over the hinterland of that zone extending as far eastward as and including the vilayet of Mosul. Great Britain was to have a free hand in the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra as well as a sphere of influence covering a part of Palestine, Transjordan, and that part of the Syrian Desert intervening between them and Iraq. ¶¶

¶ A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 44.

¶¶ G. Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 248.

Historically as well as geographically, the Sykes-Picot Treaty is of great importance for it, and not the McMahon pledges, became the basis of the final decisions in respect of Syria and Iraq taken at the San Remo Conference in April 1920, whereby the Mandates were imposed on a "reduced" Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq.

So far in this thesis the word Syria has been used in an entirely geographical sense to refer to the area stretching from the Taurus Mountains in the north to the Bay of Akaba in the south, and from the Mediterranean on the west to the Syrian Desert on the east. Within these limits it formed an administrative unit within the Roman and Arab empires, but there never was a united, independent and exclusively Syrian state. By the end of the First World War the Syrians had become conscious enough of their national unity to demand officially the formation of such a state. When Syria was divided at the time of the occupation into three Occupied Enemy Territory zones, O.E.T.A; South, for short, O.E.T.A. East and O.E.T.A. West, each of which was placed under a separate administration, the Amir Faisal protested against this partition of the country, and consented to it only after General Allenby had assured him that it was provisional, and that the future of the country would be determined at the conclusion of peace, and in accordance with the wishes of the population. §.

Nowhere are the wishes of the population of Syria at that time better expressed than in the Resolutions of the

§ Ibid, p. 280.

General Syrian Congress held in Damascus in the summer of 1919, and the King-Crane Report dated August 28, 1919. *p*.

The General Syrian Congress, composed of members elected, though hastily and without due attention to electoral procedure, in the three Occupied Enemy Territory Zones may be considered fully representative, and its statement fully expressive of the Arab attitude towards the issues of the day. *pp*
The resolution which concerns us here is the first. It desired full and absolute political independence for geographical Syria. Article 9 desired that Iraq should enjoy complete independence, and that no economic barriers be placed between the two countries.

From the historian's point of view the King-Crane Report is of unique importance for "it is the only source to which he can turn for a disinterested and wholly objective analysis of the state of feeling in Arab political circles in the period immediately following the war." It recommended the establishment of a mandate for Syria (including Palestine) and another for Iraq. The Mandate for Syria was to be subject to the preservation of Lebanese autonomy within the framework of Syrian unity. On the subject of the form of government, it recommended that it be that of a constitutional monarchy, with the Amir Faisal as King of Syria, and another Arab sovereign to be chosen by plebiscite, to rule over Iraq. *ppp*.

p The official designation of the commission that drew up the report was "American Section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey.

pp G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 293.

ppp Ibid, P. 296.

The report was unfortunately pigeon-holed and ignored in circumstances which we need not recapitulate here.

The Mandate and Independence : The San Remo Conference partitioned Syria against the wishes of its people into three sections: Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. Transjordan was administered by Faisal's Government from 1918-1920. After Faisal's expulsion from Damascus, it was erected as a separate mandated territory under his brother the Amir Abdullah. The Mandate for Iraq was allotted to Great Britain. The decisions taken at San Remo aroused great discontent and the spirit of resistance all over the Fertile Crescent. The story of the struggle that followed is related with utmost skill in G. Antonius' "The Arab Awakening." In Iraq where it was the strongest, the English Government followed the policy of gradually meeting the national aspirations of the inhabitants. In 1930 the last restrictions on Iraqi independence were waived, and a few years later Iraq entered the family of nations. A Franco-Syrian treaty, modelled on that between Great Britain and Iraq was signed in 1936. It awaited ratification by the French for about three years, but was finally shelved by them in the spring of 1939.

In June 1941 a mixed force of British Imperial, Free French and other Allied troops crossed over from Palestine into Syria and Lebanon. General Catroux, who commanded the Free French contingent, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon "under the promise of a treaty guaranteeing our reciprocal relations." The Syrians and Lebanese have since

been able to wipe out the qualification attached to General Catroux's proclamation. They have refused to sign the treaty or treaties on which the French said their declaration of independence was conditional.

Post-War Developments : In the spring of 1943 there were two plans for an Arab League, the Abdullah-as-Said Plan and the Nahhas plan. Both received great encouragement from the attitude of the British government whose spokesman, Mr. Eden, delivered a speech at the Mansion House on May 29th, 1941 in which he pledged the full support of his government to any scheme of Arab unity that commanded general approval.⁶ Nahhas Pasha was not the author of his plan in the sense that the Amir Abdullah and Nur as-Said Pasha were of theirs. He simply summoned a general Arab Conference to draw up a plan.

Although the Cairo Plan materialized, and the Abdullah-as-Said plan did not, the latter is of special interest to us because of its provisions regarding Greater Syria and Iraq. In the memorandum which as-Said Pasha submitted to the British Government in the summer of 1943, he recommended that the United Nations should proclaim the union of geographical Syria: that is, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan; that the people of the proposed state should determine whether they wanted the form of government to be monarchical or republican, unitary or federal. In the third article he recommended that Greater Syria and Iraq should form an Arab

⁶ A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 269.

League which the other Arab States might join if they desire to do so. The scheme granted autonomy to the Jews of Palestine and the Maronites of Lebanon. ⁶. At about the same time the Amir Abdullah submitted two memoranda to the English Government, the one providing for a unitary Syrian State, the other for a federal state. The Amir based his recommendations on the resolutions passed by the General Syrian Congress in its two meetings of July 2nd, 1919 and March 8, 1920 (See p. 182). There was complete agreement on essentials between the Amir's two plans and that of N. as-Said Pasha. ⁶⁶. The Amir's plan met with great opposition in the Government circles and press of Syria and Lebanon. The latter country, in spite of her improved attitude towards pan-Arabism, was not yet disposed to unite in a federation, let alone a unitary state, with her close neighbours. President Qwowatli, speaking for the Government of the Syrian Republic, also strongly rejected the plan. Only a republican Greater Syria with Damascus as its capital would be acceptable to the present Syrian Government.

The Arab League grew out of conversations begun in Cairo in the autumn of 1944. Its pact was signed in the following spring by the seven independent Arab States. The authors of the Pact do not pretend to have achieved the highest desirable degree of unity among the Member-

⁶ P.K. Hitti, Article in Al-Hilal, August 1944.
⁶⁶ F. Sayigh, Mashru" Suriyya al-Kubra, p. 12.

States, and hope that the bonds between those states will be drawn closer. This is implicitly recognized in an article in the Pact which provides that Member-States wishing to establish closer relations than those envisaged by the Pact might conclude agreements to this end. §. The states of geographical Syria are the most likely to take the next step in this direction. A looser union which is possible, and in my opinion desirable, is one between geographical Syria or the states of geographical Syria and Iraq. I shall point out in the following section the geographical and historical factors that make for such a union. I am fully aware of the economic and social differences between the two countries, and the problems that such a union would immediately raise. A comparison between the vital statistics, the proportion of the nomadic population and the degree of literacy of the two countries will reveal some of those differences. Dynastic rivalries and home-patriotism of the kind that disrupted the Arab Empire are still potential threats.

Arguments for a Syro-Iraqi Union: The arguments for a union or a rapprochement between Syria and Iraq are stronger than those for a union between Syria and any other Arab country not excluding Egypt. There are the racial affinities, and the physical unity between Syria and Iraq or at least the northern section of the latter country. There is the joint struggle for liberation from Turkish oppression; Syria and Iraq are the

§ A.H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 306.

twin-sisters of the Arab Movement. There is the Piedmont Route which has been supplanted to a great extent by motor-roads and air-ways across the Syrian Desert. There are the Pipe-Lines that convey Iraqi oil to Syrian ports. Those are the arguments based on similarities. Equally cogent are the arguments based on the contrasted location, topography, production and culture of the two countries which enable them to complement each remarkably well. They fall into three classes : (1) Economic, (2), Strategical and (3) Cultural. Let us consider each one of them separately.

The Economic Argument : The area of cultivable land in Iraq exceeds that of Syria. In Lower Iraq the soil is alluvial, and noted for its fertility. Production is more stable owing to river irrigation, and goes on all the year round. There are valuable summer crops such as cotton, rice, tobacco and maize. The country has extensive pasture lands for stock-raising. Sheep, horses, cattle and their by-products form the chief exports to Syria. ^p. Inferior to Iraq in agriculture and stock-raising, Syria has commercial advantages over her eastern neighbour. The republics of Syria and Lebanon, though smaller in area and population than Iraq, handle a trade which is nearly as great. ^{pp}. Palestine, under British protection, but mainly through Jewish enterprise made stupendous progress in trade. Before the insurrection of 1936-39 her foreign trade almost doubled that of Syria and Iraq combined. ^{ppp}

^p S. Himsah, Economic Organization of Syria and Lebanon, p.276

^{pp} Ibid.

^{ppp} League of Nations, Review of World Trade, 1938, p. 24.

Syria's location is very favourable for the pursuits of peace. Another big asset of Syria is her exhilarating mountain air. Already thousands of Iraqis are coming every summer to Lebanon and anti-Lebanon.

The Strategical Argument : Strategical considerations call for the strongest co-operation between Syria and Iraq. They have had a number of common invaders, and are equally vulnerable from all directions except the western. The sea connects in peace time, but becomes a great barrier in time of war. The desert, until recently an impassable barrier, is now travelled by car and plane. The two ends of the Fertile Crescent are now at a distance of a few hours' flight from each other. The generals and diplomats of Iraq may some time be tempted to declare, "Iraq's western frontier is on the Mediterranean." They covet an outlet on the sea. Blockaded by mountains on the north and east, their only outlet is Shat-el-Arab whose lower course they share with Iran. It might easily be taken away from them in time of conflict. Syria also would gain by having at her side the sturdy Iraqi troops.

The Cultural Argument : Syria, the most responsive of all the Arab countries to western civilization, was more equipped than any one of them to lead in the modern Arab renaissance. The Syrians have done pioneering work in the schools, the press and government departments of practically every one of those countries. None was more aware of the qualifications of the Syrians for this kind of work than the

late King Faisal I. Owing to his initiative and encouragement thousands of Syrian teachers, engineers and medical men have served and are still serving in the government of Iraq.

Both Iraq and Syria are now the mistresses of their destinies. As long as they were under foreign dominion the two countries had no chance to envisage, much less, to decide upon, such a joint issue as their political union. Since her independence in 1930, however, Iraq has been anxious to establish good relations with her Arab neighbours. With the independent ones she has signed treaties of neighbourliness and friendship. Towards those that are not independent yet, and particularly towards Palestine, she has shown a great deal of sympathy and concern. When the Syrians were engaged in a conflict with France over the latter's failure to ratify the treaty of 1936, the Iraqi government made it clear to the French Minister plenipotentiary in Baghdad that they could not view with equanimity the policy that was being pursued by France in a neighbouring Arab State. On the occasion of his twentyseventh birthday which fell at that moment, i.e. March 1937, King Ghazi gave a broadcast in which he sent special greetings to the people of Syria and Kuwait. ⁶ Two weeks later a great and impressive demonstration of protest against the French took place in Baghdad under government patronage.

⁶ Kuwait is a small principality on the Persian Gulf, contiguous to Iraq and possesses a useful water-front. A revolt broke

To what extent does sentiment coupled with history and geography augur for the future union of the two countries, no one can tell. It is still more difficult to say when this union will come, if ever, or what form it will take. All that can be said, and this we have shown at some length, is that its potentialities are good, and that there is a lot to be said for it.

T H E E N D

- - - - - -

The following References have been consulted in writing this postscript.

G. Antonius, The Arab Awakening.

A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., Article "Caliphate".

H. Lamens, La Syrie.

H. C. Luke, Mosul and Its Minorities.

B.P. MacCallum, The Near East in 1925.

E. Rabbath, Unité Syrienne et avenir arabe.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The following works have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis :

- Baikie, J., Lands and Peoples of the Bible, London 1914.
- Barnes, H.E., The New History and the Social Studies (published in 1925) (Ch. II deals with the relation of geography to the writing and interpretation of history).
- Barton, G.A., Semitic and Hamitic Origins. Univ. of Penn., Press, 1934.
- Bible, The.
- Bouchier, E.S., Syria as a Roman Province. Oxford, 1916.
- Breasted, J.H., History of Egypt, New York, 1905.
- Cambridge Ancient History, Vols. I - III. Cambridge Univ., 1923-1925.
- Clay, A. T., The Empire of the Amorites. Yale Univ., Press; 1919.
- Dussaud, R., Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale., Paris, 1927.
- East, G., The Geography behind History. London, 1938.
- Flinders Petrie, W.M., Syria and Egypt, London, 1898.
- George, H.B., The Relations of Geography and History. Oxford, 1901.

- Hitti, P.K., History of the Arabs, London, 1940.
- Hogarth, D.G., The Nearer East, New York, 1915.
- King, L. W., A History of Sumer and Akkad, London, 1910.
- Kraeling, E.G.H., Aram and Israel, New York, 1918/
- Lake, H.C., Mosul and Its Minorities. London, 1925.
- Meyer, E., Histoire de l'antiquité, Tome III, Paris, 1926.
- Myres, J. L., The Dawn of History, London, 1915.
- Newbigin, M.J., Mediterranean Lands, London, 1924.
- Olmstead, A.T., History of Assyria, New York, 1923.
- _____ History of Palestine and Syria, New York, 1931.
- Porter; J.L., The Giant Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places, London, 1872.
- Ramsay, W.M., The Historical Geography of Asia-Minor, London, 1890
- Rostovtzev, M., Caravan Cities, Oxford, 1932.
- _____ A History of the Ancient World, Vol. I, Oxford, 1926.
- Semple, E.C., Geography of the Mediterranean Region, New York 1931
- Smith, G.A., The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 20th Edition, London.
- Speiser, E.A. Mesopotamian Origins, Philadelphia, 1930.
- Le Strange, G., Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1905.
- Thoumin, R., La Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale, Tours, 1927
- Weill, R., La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale, Paris, 1939.

I am also indebted to a number of text books and works on auxiliary sciences to which reference is made in the foot-notes.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REPORT

