The presence and influence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in Phoenicia: textual and archaeological evidence

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ABSTRACT

The study of the interaction between the Assyrian Empire and the Phoenician city-states is interesting because of the very long period during which it took place. Indeed, from the first tribute taken by Assurnasirpal II to the last intervention led by Assurbanipal against rebellious cities, the Assyrians were involved in the submission of the Phoenicians during the entire Neo-Assyrian period. Thereby, it is possible to show the long-term evolution of the interaction. Examining both Assyrian textual sources (Royal Inscriptions and archives) and archaeological remains allows a distinction between three different kinds of Assyrian impact on the Phoenician city-states: the administrative and military presence, the symbolic presence, and the influence of Assyrian art and architecture on local culture. Through the analyse of textual and archaeological sources from the ninth to the end of the seventh century BC, this paper aims to give a panorama of the Assyrian domination strategy and its concrete implication in Phoenicia during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

KEYWORDS

Assyrian Empire, Phoenicia, Assyrian administration, Assyrian provinces/periphery, Assyrian expansion in the West, Assyrian stelae/reliefs, Assyrian ware, Assyrian art, Assyrian architecture
1. Introduction

The relationship between Assyria and Phoenicia is one of the longest and most constant of the Neo-Assyrian period. The Royal Inscriptions of the Assyrian kings mention Phoenician territory on many occasions: odorant Lebanese cedars for the construction of palaces, ceremonies in the Mediterranean Sea, and of course, conflict with the Phoenician city-states. As a result, the history of the submission and integration into the Neo-Assyrian Empire of Phoenicia can be easily drawn. But many aspects of the interaction between Assyria and Phoenicia remain unknown. What was the nature of the Assyrian presence in Phoenicia and its consequences? Did the Assyrian influence in some manner the Phoenician culture? To answer these questions, it is essential to deal with different kinds of sources, the whole textual documentation of the Assyrian Empire, including official texts and archives, but also the archaeological data from the Phoenician territory.

Studies investigating some aspects of the impact of the Neo-Assyrian Empire on its periphery were conducted by many scholars, mainly for Palestine, but also for Western Iran and Southern Anatolia. Few studies deal with the Assyrian impact on Phoenicia, but they do not use all the available documentation. Indeed, the 1984 unpublished PhD of A.-M. Doray “Impact de la presence assyrienne dans les pays du Levant” uses only the Assyrian ceramics from southern Phoenicia while other studies are essentially based on the textual sources. So, a study like ours, which brings together textual and archaeological data to analyse the impact of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in Phoenicia appears to be missing.

After a geographical and historical contextualization, this paper will deal with the different kind of Assyrian impact on Phoenicia: the administrative and military presence, the symbolic presence, and the influence of Assyrian art and architecture on local culture.

2. Geographical and historical context

Before the study of the Assyrian presence and influence in Phoenicia, it is important to set our study in its context by analysing the geographical frame of Phoenicia and the political relations between the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Phoenician city-states.

2.1 Defining the Phoenician territory

The definition of the Phoenician territory is a highly controversial subject and the matter of many studies. That issue largely overlapping the subject of this paper, just a general definition of the Phoenician territory will be given. The Phoenician city-states are located on the sea shore of the Mediterranean Sea, the southern boundary is to be placed in the region of Mont Carmel, perhaps as far down as Atlit to the south, and the northern boundary is to be placed in the region of Arwad, or much more to the north, near Latakia, if the shore of northern Syria is not considered to be under the policy of the kingdom of Hamat (fig. 1).

2.2 The Neo-Assyrian Empire and the conquest of Phoenicia

The Assyrian Royal Inscriptions are the main source for the reconstruction of the political relations between the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Phoenicia.

The first mention of a tribute taken by an Assyrian king from Phoenician cities is recorded in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC), but it is in the Neo-Assyrian period (934-612 BC)
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that an effort to systemize the imposition of tribute and taxes, and to impose political control over the Phoenician cities appears. During the ninth century and the early beginning of the eighth century, Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC), Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) and Adad-nerari III (810-783 BC) recorded many tribute imposition and submission of the Phoenician cities. During the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 BC), the first province in the Phoenician territory, Ṣimirra, was created in 738 after a failed coalition of Levantine states against Assyria. In 701 BC, Sennacherib (704-681 BC) interfered in the internal affair of the Tyro-Sidonian kingdom by forcing its king Lulli to flee away and by setting a new king favourable to Assyria. During the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC), the main

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7 RIMA 2, Ashurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii l. 84b-89 (pp. 218-219).
8 RIMA 3, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iv l. 5-15a (p. 54); RIMA 3, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.16, l. 159b-162a (p. 79).
9 RIMA 3, Adad-nârârî III, A.0.104.7, l. 4-12 (p. 211).
10 The eponymous capital of the province is probably to be identified with Tell Kazel, or a location near Tell Kazel, see BAGG 2007, pp. 231-232. Probably, the northern boundary of the province was in the region of Latakia, the southern one in the region of Tripoli, and the eastern one at the foothills of the Mont El-Alawiye, see RADNER 2006-2008, p. 62.
11 RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 13, l. 1-12a (pp. 42-43); RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 14, l. 5b-6b and 9b (p. 46).
12 RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 4, l. 32-35 (pp. 63-64).
cities of Phoenicia were incorporated to the Empire with the conquest of the Sidonian kingdom in 676 BC\textsuperscript{13} and the Tyrian kingdom in 671 BC.\textsuperscript{14} Finally, the island of Tyre remained unconquered because of the failure of Assyrian kings to invade it, and Byblos, Arwad and Samsimuruna\textsuperscript{15} were closely controlled by Assyria during the reign of Assurbanipal (668-630/627 BC).\textsuperscript{16}

3. Administrative and military presence

If the records of the Assyrian kings give a clear chronology of the conflicts with Phoenicia, they give no information about the real involvement of Assyrian personnel in the Phoenician territory. The Assyrian archives can shed light about the presence of Assyrians in allied or vassalized Phoenician cities, or in the newly conquered Phoenician territory. References to Phoenician cities in the Assyrian documents from the archives are listed in Table 1.\textsuperscript{17}

The earlier mentions of Phoenicia in the archives come from letters sent by Qurdi-Assur-lāmur, probably the governor of Simirra, to the king Tiglath-pileser III. Qurdi-Assur-lāmur must defend some city of the sea shore from Ionians attacks (SAA 19 025) and construct military facilities, like a fort in Kašpuna (SAA 19 022). The governor of Simirra also had some responsibilities outside of his province. Indeed, he could impose taxes and maintain them by force on the wood production in the region of Tyre and Sidon (SAA 19 022) and the presence of one Qēpu official under his command in this region is attested (SAA 19 023).

During the seventh century BC, an important document to understand the weight of Assyria in Phoenicia is the treaty between Ba'al of Tyre and Esarhaddon (SAA 02 005). In the treaty, it is explained that Qēpu officials can control Tyre’s political foreign affairs by being present at the city’s Council of the Elders and by controlling the arrival of foreign ships. The Assyrian also seems to have had significant economic interest in some city under the reign of Esarhaddon, as in Arwad, where the presence of an Assyrian kāru is attested (SAA 16 127).

Beside the Assyrian archives, only one Neo-Assyrian tablet was found in Phoenicia. This document from Tell Keisan is dated between 750 and 650 BC and record distribution of bread rations.\textsuperscript{18} Unfortunately, the tablet is very fragmentary, and no name can be read in its entirety.

The archives show that Assyrian officials were set in Phoenicia with some prerogatives linked mainly to taxation, political control of local institutions, protection of Assyrian economic interests and military affairs. The number of these men seems not to have been very high and they probably worked with the local elite and the population. The existence of some administrative centre is possible, a fact that can be proved by the tablet of Tell Keisan. But there are no remains of huge centres like Til Barsip or others Assyrian administrative centres like those located east of the Euphrates for example. No information can confirm a constant presence of the Assyrian army. For example, the men set at the fort of Kašpuna by the governor of Simirra were not Assyrians, but they were Phoenicians from the city of Siannu (currently Tell Sianu) and we have no information about the composition of the army led by Qurdi-Assur-lāmur to protect the sea shore from the Ionians. If sporadic use of coercive force by Assyrian officials is clearly attested by Qurdi-Assur-lāmur – in this case, Itueans were sent to Sidon –, sometimes, Assyrians could be totally helpless in front of the local powers, like the official who informed Esarhaddon of the blockade of the Assyrian kāru of Arwad.

\textsuperscript{13} RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1, ii l. 65-iii l. 19 (pp. 16-17).
\textsuperscript{14} RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 34, l. 12'-13' (p. 87); RINAP 4 Esarhaddon 60, l. 7'-8' (p. 135).
\textsuperscript{15} This city was probably located somewhere between Nahr el-Kalb and Arwad (BAGG 2007, pp. 211-212).
\textsuperscript{16} Tributes from Tyre, Byblos, Arwad and Samsimuruna are recorded in the Annals of the year 666 BC, see BORGER 1996, C §14, III l. 37-67 (p. 212). For Assurbanipal’s interference in the royal succession of Arwad, see BORGER 1996, B §17, III l. 82-92 (p. 217).
\textsuperscript{17} Texts are given with their SAA code. For example, the document SAA 19 043 refers to the text number 043 in the volume 19 of the State Archive of Assyria series.

\textsuperscript{18} Sigrist 1982.
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Table 1
References to the Phoenician territory in the Assyrian archives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication (SAA)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type of document</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Information about Assyrian presence in Phoenicia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAA 19 043</td>
<td>After 738</td>
<td>Letter sent</td>
<td>Unclear. Shimira is quoted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| SAA 19 022       | Between 734-731? | Letter sent by Qardi-Assûr-lûmur (Governor of Shimira?) to the king of Assyria | 1) Tax-collectors on the wood trade at Tyre and Sidon  
2) Sidonian chased the tax-collectors, but with the help of Itueans, the governor restores the situation  
3) Construction of fortification and nomination of a fort commander at Kašpuna¹ where 30 men from Siannu were mobilized | *Administrative personnel (tax-collectors)  
*Coercion force  
*Military involvement |
| SAA 19 023       | Between 731-730 or 734-732² | Letter sent by Qardi-Assûr-lûmur (Governor of Shimira?) to the king of Assyria | 1) Nabû-šezib (Qêpu official)³ reported to Qardi-Assûr-lûmur that Hiram of Tyre had planned to transport the sacred tree from the temple of Sidon to Tyre  
2) Qardi-Assûr-lûmur prevented Hiram from doing so  
3) Captives to be settled in Immiha² | *Administrative personnel (Qêpu official)  
*Settlement of captives |
| SAA 19 024       | After 732? | Letter sent by an Assyrian official to the king of Assyria | 1) Payment of the tribute of Melenna, the king of Tyre | ? |
| SAA 19 025       | Between 731-730 | Letter sent by Qardi-li-lûmur (= Qardi-Assûr-lûmur?) to the king of Assyria | 1) Report of an attack by the Ionians at three Phoenicians cities (Samsimûrûna, harišu⁴ and X)  
2) The governor defeated the Ionians  
3) Position at the city of Dana[...] reinforced | *Military involvement |
| SAA 01 153       | Between 716-706 | Letter send by Nabû-riba-ahûhê to the Assyrian crown-prince | 1) The Sidonians incorporate to the Assyrian army refuse to obey their leader and integrate the garrison of Nineveh | *Military involvement |
| SAA 02 005       | 676      | Treaty Between Esarhaddon and Ba‘al of Tyre | 1) The Qêpu official must be present at the Tyrian Council of the Elders  
2) The Qêpu official must control the relations with foreign ships coming to Tyre  
3) The Qêpu official must control the epistolary relations between Ba‘al and the Assyrian king  
4) Main ports and cities of the Mediterranean can be accessed by the Tyrians | *Administrative personnel (Qêpu official)  
*Internal political involvement |
| SAA 16 127       | Late reign of Esarhaddon⁶ | Letter send by Ittî-Šamašt-balatu to the king | 1) The sender⁷ reported that Ikkilu (= Iakîn-Lû), the king(?) of Arwad was disrupting maritime traffic and prevent ships from reaching the Assyrian kâru⁸ (kâru ša mãt aššûr)  
2) The sender argued that he did not do anything by fear of the Assyrian king  
3) The sender reported to the king the difficulties he encountered, apparently because of the situation described in 1) | *Economic (Assyrian kâru) |
| SAA 04 089       | Reign of Assurbanipal Before 658?⁹ | Queries to the Sungod related to Arwad | 1) The question is whether Assurbanipal should send Nabû-šarru-uṣur, the rab mûgi,¹⁰ to Iakîn-Lû the Arwadite, and whether Iakîn-Lû should listen to the message sent with Nabû-šarru-uṣur. | *Political relation |

¹ Many scholars placed Kašpuna near Tripoli, but identifications with Minat el-Kassab, on the northern shore of Syria, and Kastileh, near Amrit, were also proposed (BADG 2007, p. 138).  
² Almost all the researchers identified ancient Siannu with actual Tell Sianu (BADG 2007, pp. 217-218).  
³ SAA 19, p. XXII.  
⁴ YAMADA 2008, pp. 301.  
⁵ A possible translation is “Royal Deputy”. For a study about Qêpu officials, see DUBOVSKY 2012.  
⁶ Between the different proposals (see BADG 2007, pp. 114-115), Amyun, near Tripoli, seems to be the best.  
⁸ For the problematic date of the document, see YAMADA 2005, p. 73.  
⁹ Perhaps the Anwad’s rab-kâri (i.e. the official in charge of the kâru).  
¹⁰ “Trading post” is a possible translation. For Assyrian kâru, see YAMADA 2005.  
¹¹ PNA 2/2, p. 876.  
¹² This term refers to a high military official (CAD M/2, p. 171).
4. The symbolic presence

Stelae and reliefs erected or carved in Phoenicia by the Assyrians to commemorate their victories can represent the symbolic presence of the Empire. If the Royal Inscriptions record some erections of stela or šalmu (image) in Phoenicia,¹⁹ the site of Nahr el-Kalb, few kilometres north of Beirut is the most impressive remain of that practice.

The site of Nahr el-Kalb is composed of two hills that form the mouth of the river of the same name. Many armies left their stelae and reliefs on the hills through the Age. There are 22 stelae and reliefs from the thirteenth century BC up to the year two thousand. The Assyrian reliefs are the most numerous. Indeed, six were carved on the rock, but nowadays only 5 Assyrian reliefs remain.²⁰

The Assyrian reliefs are the reliefs n° 6, 7, 13, 15, and 17 (fig. 2).²¹ On all the reliefs, it is possible to see the Assyrian king in the gesture of glorification of the gods in front of divine symbols.²² Reliefs n° 13 and 17

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¹⁹ For example, the šalmu erected by Salmanazar III in the land of Tyre in 841 BC (RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, iv 1. 8-10, p. 54).
²⁰ MAIJA-AFEICHE 2009, p. 44.
²¹ These reliefs are included in the category «Die Standarstele und ihr entsprechende Felsreliefs» in the study of J. Börker-Klähn (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982, pp. 56-57).
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Erecting and carving commemorative monuments. The Assyrian reliefs at Narh el-Kalb appear to have an important political signification, first, the Assyrians copy their predecessors, the Egyptians, so they compete them, and second, they affirm the Assyrian control over the coastal region. According to some scholars, it is possible that magical or ceremonial acts were conducted in front of the Assyrian reliefs.

Similar reliefs are numerous in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its periphery, but not other location apart from Narh el-Kalb has such a concentration of Assyrian reliefs.

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23 This relief is included in the category n° 1 of D. Morandi Bonacossi «Stele di intervento militare» (Morandi Bonacossi 1988).

24 For transliteration and translation, see Roche 2009.


26 Wicke 2015, p. 71; Maila-Afeiche 2009, p. 41.
Figure 4
5. Influence on local art and architecture

Few Phoenician sites revealed Assyrian or “Assyrianized” material. But this situation is mainly due to the lack of archaeological data from the Phoenician territory.

Among the Assyrian influenced artefacts in Phoenicia, ceramic is the most represented one (fig. 4). Indeed, ceramics coming from strata dated between the end of the eighth and the first part of the seventh century can be linked with some famous categories of Assyrian vessels. For example, the little carinated bowls with their ovoid body and everted rim (fig. 4: 1-5) show a likeness with the Assyrian fine carinated bowls from the so-called Palace Ware or Eggshell Ware.27 This type of bowl was used in Assyria for libations and banquets, and probably to drink wine.28 The expansion of the carinated bowls was very large, and they were found in many Iron Age sites from all around the Near East.29 A little goblet with a conical body, long and everted neck and remains of handles from Tell Kazel (fig. 4: 9) is close to a famous form from the Assyrian Palace Ware, often with a dimpled decor on the body.30 But the handles are totally unknown from these ceramics in Assyria. It seems that the handles are a local feature. This phenomenon is also known from Palestine, where some Assyrian-like carinated bowls with the adjunction of handles were discovered.31 Bottles with pointed bases (fig. 4: 10) show a likeness with little bottles from the Assyrian heartland.32 That type of bottles had an important expansion outside of Assyria, especially in Palestine and Transjordan.33

Microscopic observations on some Assyrian ceramics from Tell Keisan point out for a local production.34 All the analyses conducted on others Assyrian ceramics coming from outside the Assyrian core – from Dur-Katlimmu,35 Guzana,36 Tell Jemneh,37 Tell el-Hesi,38 Samaria, En-Gedi, Hazor, Tell Amal, Tell el-Farah39 – lead us to conclude that almost all specimens were produced locally. In light of these results, it is probable that most of the Assyrian-like ceramics form Phoenicia represent a local production by local craftsmen. The morphometric variants in regard of the Assyrian models and the local feature of some of the Assyrian-like ceramics in Phoenicia reinforce the hypothesis of a local production.

Beside the ceramics, some other Assyrian-like objects, mainly glyptic, were found. A conoid stamp seal from level 5 (720-650 BC) of Tell Keisan, gives a good example of the Assyrian inspired glyptic found in Phoenicia (fig. 5). The seal is engraved on its three faces. It represents a priest in front of divine symbols, a muššušu with divine symbols and an altar. It can be linked with several stamps and cylinder seals with the same theme in Assyria, like the stamp seal from the CANES collection N° 789.40 But the Tell Keisan stamp cannot be included in any stylistic series from the Assyrian glyptic. It is an unmatched specimen. This last observation leads us to the hypothesis of a local copy, avoiding that of an importation. Some other Assyrian or Assyrian-like stamp seals and cylinder seals were found at the Periphery of the Assyrian Empire.41

The fragment of a little statuette, also from Tell Keisan and dated form the eighth-seventh centuries, shows some likeness with the Assyrian sculpture in the way the beard and the lips are made (fig. 6). It

27 It corresponds to the category BW_30 of S. Anastasio (Anastasio 2010, pp. 41-42, pl. 107) and SD 4 of A. Hausleiter (Hausleiter 2010, pp. 291-292, 360-361, pl. 75).
28 Baaklini 2016, p. 97.
31 Stern 2015, pl. 4.4.1, 8-11.
32 It corresponds to the category FI_4 of A. Hausleiter (Hausleiter 2010, pl. 93, pp. 313, 315, 386).
33 Amiran 1969, pp. 291-292; Singer-Avitz 1999, pp. 36-37; Daviau, Klassen 2014, fig. 6, p. 110; Stern 2015, pl. 4.4.6.
34 Courtois, Doray 1983.
35 Hunt 2015, p. 129.
36 Hunt 2015, p. 145.
37 Hunt 2015, p. 163; Courtois, Doray 1983.
38 Engstrom 2004.
39 Courtois, Doray 1983.
40 Porada 1947, n° 789.
41 See for example, Ornan, Ortiz, Wolff, 2013; Mazzoni 2008; Marcus 1996; Mazzoni 1990.
represents a very uncommon type of Assyrian object found in the Levant.\footnote{It seems that only one example of Assyrian clay statuette was found in the Levant, precisely at Tell-Rifaat (North Western Syria), see \textit{Seton-Williams} 1967, p. 11.}

The presence in the Levant of buildings sharing some specificities with the Assyrian architecture is not an unknown phenomenon during the late eighth and the seventh century BC. The best examples are the Governor’s Residence of Tell Tayinat,\footnote{\textit{Harrison} 2005, fig. 2, p. 27.} the Building A of Buseirah,\footnote{\textit{Spreafico} 2010, fig. 2, p. 156.} the fort of Abu Salima,\footnote{\textit{Spreafico} 2010, fig. 3, p. 157.} along with some buildings from Megiddo.\footnote{\textit{Amiran, Dunayevsky} 1958, figs. 1-4, p. 27.} In Phoenicia, nothing similar was found, except two column bases that have a similar decor to the Assyrian column bases. A first base (fig. 7) was found along with Persian architectural features – perhaps the remains of an \textit{apadana}\footnote{\textit{Yon} 1995b, p. 120.} – at the beginning of the twentieth century at Sidon. For G. Conteneau, who studied these remains in 1920, the column base is coming from an Assyrian
The interpretation of Assyrian art and architecture in Phoenicia is problematic. The first idea that came to mind is that they represent archaeological manifestations of the conquest of Phoenicia by the Assyrian Empire. If that hypothesis can be true for the architectural features we studied, which can be the remains of Assyrian buildings, another explanation could be found for the objects. Indeed, ceramics and glyptic are more or less deviant from the Assyrian models, and some specimens have local features, so it cannot be considered as objects brought by Assyrians. Some Assyrian objects, like the vessel, widely circulated in the Near East, Anatolia and even in Greece for very few metal specimens and that seems to be more a question of fashion than a political question linked to Assyrian domination, even if the expansion and the prestige of the Assyrian Empire could contribute to the diffusion of Assyrian art during the seventh century.

I propose to consider the Assyrian-like material as locally made, for the local elite, and to consider, along with the expansion of the Assyrian Empire, the phenomenon of conspicuous consumption and elite emulation to understand the diffusion of these objects, and the fact that they may have had a local meaning, perhaps to mark internal social ranking. Here, I follow the interpretation of some scholars who studied Assyrian material outside the Assyrian core without applying the core-periphery model that assigns huge importance to the core (Assyria) and a passive role to the periphery.

Palace and was reused during the Persian period. A similar second base come from the site of Ešmun’s temple at Bustan el-Sheikh, near Sidon. These two bases from Sidon and Bustan el-Sheikh share the same kind of decoration which is based on floral and geometric motifs as the Assyrian column bases of the Palace of Sennacherib and the representations of some column bases on Assyrian reliefs. Outside of Assyria, this type of Assyrian base was also found in the Iron Age levels of Tell Deinit (North Western Syria) and reused as a fountain basin in the Great Mosque of Harran (Southern Turkey).

For the Near East, see the expansion of the Assyrian fine carinated bowls (Adachi 1997), for Anatolia, see the example of Assyrian rhyta from the tomb of Midas (McGovern 2000, pp. 22-23), for Greece, see the metal bowls from Eleutherna and Patras (Stampolidis 2014, pp. 284-285).

For example, Hunt 2015; Gunter 2009; Marcus 1996.

For an overview of the Core-Periphery or Centre-Periphery model, see Champion 1996.
6. Conclusion

If the Assyrian conquest and submission of the Phoenician city-states is a matter of long descriptions in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, it seems that the real involvement in Phoenicia was not deep. Indeed, the Neo-Assyrian archives show that a few Assyrians were present in Phoenicia, to control key points in economic, political and military affairs. The archaeological data does not show any significant impact of Assyria, but just a limited influence of Assyrian art and architecture that is common to other regions of the Near East and even to more farther regions not subjugated by Assyria during the seventh century BC. These results lead us to two main conclusive remarks. First, the model of the Territorial Empire – an Empire totally controlling the peripheral areas by the means of a huge presence of military force, which is often used to describe the Assyrian Empire, is not adapted to the Phoenician case. Secondly, the term of «Assyrianization», also commonly used to describe a situation of cultural change in the territories integrated to the Assyrian Empire, is in total contradiction with the archaeological data from Phoenicia. Consequently, it is possible that the Assyrian authority was maintained in Phoenicia more by the means of the threat of the yearly Assyrian campaigns in case of rebellion and by the cooperation with the local elite than by a huge administrative and military presence, by cultural imperialism or by colonization.

56 For the Territorial Empire, see LUTTWAK 1976 (2016), pp. 220-221.
57 LIVERANI 1988, pp. 84-85.
58 For example, PARPOLA 2004, pp. 9-10.
ABBREVIATIONS


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