



Endnotes for “Jonah in Nineveh”

Spring 2026 *Bible and Spade*

1. For the Guadalquivir valley in southern Spain, see T. F. R. G. Braun, “The Greeks in the Near East,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, part 3, *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 20. Another possibility is Sardinia, based on the mention of both Tarshish and Sardinia on the seventh-century BC Nora Stone from Sardinia (W. F. Albright, “New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 83 [October 1941]: 18–19; Frank Moore Cross, “An Interpretation of the Nora Stone,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 208 [December 1972]: 13–19).
2. Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. M. E. J. Richardson (Brill, 2001), 2:1099.
3. The chronology followed for the kings of Israel is that of Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings: A Reconstruction of the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah*, rev. ed. (Paternoster, 1966). For Jeroboam II here, only the dates of his sole reign are given; an earlier coregency is not included (Thiele, 78–79, 205).
4. Assurnasirpal II’s inscription from the Temple of Ninurta at Kalhu (Nimrud), col. 2, lines 55–57; A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, vol. 1, 1114–859 BC, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2* (University of Toronto Press, 1991; repr., 2002), 205–6.
5. Black Obelisk: A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, vol. 2, 858–745 BC, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3* (University of Toronto Press, 1996; repr., 2002), 149, §88; T. C. Mitchell, *The Bible in the British Museum: Interpreting the Evidence*, 2nd ed. (British Museum Press, 2004), 51–54.
6. Tell er-Rimah stela: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:209–12, §7; Stephanie Page, “A Stela of Adad-Nirari III and Nergal-Ereš from Tell al Rimah,” *Iraq* 30, no. 2 (Autumn 1968): 141–43.
7. Saba’a stela: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:207–9, §6; Hayim Tadmor, “The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-Nirari III,” *Iraq* 35, no. 2 (Autumn 1973): 144–45; Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1, *Historical Records of Assyria from the Earliest Times to Sargon* (University of Chicago Press, 1926), 260–62.
8. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:209; italics original. It should be pointed out that only half of the Assyrian word [šat]ri (“inscribed stone”) is visible on the inscription.
9. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:211.
10. Alan R. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910–612 BC*, with a contribution by Robert Whiting, *State Archives of Assyria Studies 2* (Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1994), 23–62.
11. Millard, *Eponyms*, 33, 57.
12. Millard, *Eponyms*, 35, 57.

13. Antakya stela: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:203–4, §2; Veysel Donbaz, “Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums,” *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 8 (1990): 7. Pazarcık stela: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:239–40, §1; Donbaz, “Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae,” 9–10.

14. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:203; italics original.

15. Florence Malbran-Labat, *L’armée et l’organisation militaire de l’Assyrie, d’après les lettres des Sargonides trouvées à Ninive*, Hautes Études Orientales 19 (Droz, 1982), 146, “général-en-chef”; A. L. Oppenheim, “Tartan,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (Abingdon, 1962), 4:519, “commander-in-chief”; Jeremy Black, Andrew George, and Nicholas Postgate, eds., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 2nd (corrected) printing, SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 5 (Harrassowitz, 2000), 401, “principal military officer.”

16. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:240.

17. Til Barsip stone lion inscriptions: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:231–33, §2010; F. Thureau-Dangin, “L’inscription des lions de Til-Barsib,” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 27, no. 1 (1930): 15–21. Til Barsip seems to have served as Shamshi-ilu’s residence.

18. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:232; italics original.

19. Millard, *Eponyms*, 38, 40, 52, 58–59.

20. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:232–33. Urartu was the kingdom centered around Lake Van in eastern Anatolia (Turkey); its Hebrew form was Ararat.

21. R. D. Barnett, “Urartu,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, part 1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.*, ed. John Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 348. See also the table on page 892 of this volume.

22. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:233–34, §2011.

23. Millard, *Eponyms*, 39, 58.

24. Statues dedicated to Nabû: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, 2:226–27, §2002; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1:264.

25. Millard, *Eponyms*, 35, 57.

26. J. N. Postgate, *The Governor’s Palace Archive*, Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2 (British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1973), 121, 177; Millard, *Eponyms*, 33, 35, 57.

27. Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Eerdmans, 1976), 186. Similarly, Julius A. Bewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jonah*, in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, by Hinckley G. Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and Julius A. Bewer, International Critical Commentary (T&T Clark, 1912), 13.