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would seem therefore that our Lord was tempted in the wilderness to pursue some line of conduct which He, upon reflection, saw would be a departure from God's plan for Him and which consequently would be a surrender to the evil one, not a literal bending of the knee to Satan but *that* in effect. The tempter's most subtle and powerful appeal to us is never to sin. His method is to persuade us to do something which seems quite lawful, permissible, and innocent. Yielding to the wrong thing we do not call it sin at the moment,

however gravely we may blame ourselves afterwards. Rather, the tempter comes as an angel of light, deceiving the unwary soul. And our Lord's experience is not unlike our own. Evil came to Him disguised, presenting itself to Him as something perhaps good, and although He had no affinity with sin in His perfectly holy nature, the temptation had power: it was dangerous to Him by reason of those human limitations which He had accepted in order to become our example and our Saviour.

Babylon and 'The Land beyond the River.'

BY S. LANGDON, M.A., READER IN ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

THE Euphrates by reason of its natural importance and geographical significance was known to Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, and Aramæans as 'The River.' From the point of view of an Assyrian writer, Syria and the western provinces along the Mediterranean coast were termed the *mat e-bir nâri*, or 'Land beyond the river.' Although Asarhaddon in his treaty with Bâlu of Tyre speaks of the gods of various western cities as *ilâni e-bir nâri*, 'gods beyond the river,'¹ we do not meet with the definite geographical term *mat e-bir nâri*, 'Land beyond the river,' for Syria and Palestine until the reign of Asurbanipal. The former king ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, 680-668; his son Asurbanipal ruled from 668 to 626. It is probable that in his reign the Assyrians officially adopted this term to describe later Greek Coile Syria. At any rate the definite term *mat e-bir nâri*, 'Land beyond the river,' occurs first in Assyrian letters which almost certainly belong to this reign.² In Babylonia this geographical expression does not occur before the Persian period, and is there employed for one of the satrapies or provinces of the Persian Empire, in which Damascus was probably regarded as the principal city. We know from Ezra and Nehemiah, who employed

this Babylonian expression as a name of the western province, that it included Samaria and Jerusalem. According to the divisions imposed by Darius the Great it constituted the fifth satrapy of Herodotus' list,³ or the countries from Cilicia to Egypt.

The term first occurs in this sense in a contract dated in the third year of Cyrus (535 B.C.), and concerns money which one Babylonian loaned to another in *Ebir-nâri*.⁴ Although the satrapy of the 'Land beyond the river' or *Eber-hannahar*, as the Hebrews termed it, or *Abar-naharâ* in its Aramaic form, constituted a single satrapy in the final orders of Darius, this was certainly not the original political arrangement under Cyrus, Cambyses, and in the early years of the reign of Darius. A contract dated in the first year of Darius (521 B.C.) names one *Ushtanu* as satrap of Babylon and *Ebir-nâri*.⁵ Another contract dated in the third year of Darius has *Ushtannu*,⁶ governor of Babylon and *Ebir-nâri*.

But we know from contemporary records that Gobryas the famous Persian prince of the land Pateischoreis, and the leader of the army of Cyrus

³ Herodotus, iii. 91.

⁴ Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus*, 144.

⁵ Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius*, 27. 3. This is the source of Winckler's erroneous statement in *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edition, p. 188, where he says that *Uštani* was the first satrap of Babylon and *Ebir-nâri*. *Uštani* is *Ἰσθάνης*, father of *Badres*, in Herodotus, vii. 77.

⁶ Text *Uš-ta-an-ni* in the genitive.

¹ K. 3500 in Hugo Winckler's *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. 10-15; see line 9. Note also the phrase *Jarrâni e-bir nâri*, 'the kings beyond the river,' in an inscription of Asurbanipal (Streck, *Asurbanipal*, vol. ii. 160. 25).

² Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 67, Rev. 5 and No. 706, Rev. 3.

which captured Babylon, became the first governor of Babylon. He had already been made governor of Assyria by Cyrus before the fall of Babylon.¹ According to a letter recently published by Scheil in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* xi., 166, Gubarru or Gobryas was an officer in the service of Nebuchadnezzar. Scheil on the basis of this discovery believes that Xenophon's account of Gobryas in the *Cyropædæa* is the true one. Xenophon reports Gobryas to have been an Assyrian (*i.e.* Babylonian) by origin and already an old man when he aided Cyrus in the conquest of Babylon. Xenophon's account has been generally discredited, and certainly Scheil has done much to reinstate his authority. But we shall see that Gobryas, who married a sister of Darius the Great, became governor of Babylon and the land Ebir-nâri in 538, and retained this position under Cambyses. He appears among the great Persian generals of Darius in the Behistun Inscription, § 68, *Gaubaruwa* in the Persian text, *Gubaru'* in the Babylonian. In the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Darius he was sent in charge of an army against Elam,² that is, in 518-17 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar died in 562. Assuming Gobryas to have been in his service in 565, he was still on active military service 48 years later. When Xenophon states that he was an old man already at the conquest of Babylon in 538, the statement is to be taken with reserve. Were he 50 years old in 538, he was 71 when he led the army of Darius against Elam. It is impossible to determine when Gobryas was relieved of his duties as satrap of Babylon and the Ebir-nâri, but we may assume perhaps that Cambyses required his services as general in his armies in the invasion of Egypt (525 B.C.), or perhaps he was removed from his satrapy by Darius in his first year during the confusion caused by the revolt of Smerdis. At any rate a contract dated in the fourth year of Cambyses (529-522) mentions Gubarru or Gobryas as governor of Babylon simply.³

But another contract dated apparently in the accessional year of Darius (522) mentions Gobryas as governor of Babylon and Ebir-nâri.⁴ The name

of the king is here almost entirely obliterated, but the traces favour the reading Darius rather than Cambyses. Since we know Ushtanu to have been satrap of the same provinces in the first regnal year of Darius, it seems evident that (granting the correctness of my emendation of the contract, *Dar.* 9) the first satrap of Babylon and Trans-euphrates, namely, Gobryas, was relieved of his duties in the first year of Darius. The controller of the granaries of Gubarru is mentioned in the first year of Cambyses (529 B.C.).⁵

The above outline of the career of the famous Gobryas is confirmed by a remarkable tablet now in the collection of the Rev. J. B. Nies of Brooklyn, New York. It has been published by Dr. C. E. Keiser in his *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Yale University Press, 1917. The tablet to which I refer is No. 169 of his volume, and reads as follows:—

1. Shamesîdri, the governor of Larsa,
2. Hushi-ili, a king's chief servant,⁶ who was in charge of the treasury,
3. Arad-Marduk, son of Zêria, son of Egibi,
4. Marduk-shum-uşur, son of Bel-uballit, son of Bûşu,
5. Nabu-bêlshunu, son of Nadinu, son of Aĥ'ûtu,
6. Nabu-bêlshunu, son of Bêl-aĥ-ushubshi, son of Amel-Ea,
7. Mushezib-Bêl, son of Balatsu, son of Amel-Ea,
8. Ishtar-zêr-ibni, son of Bêl-iĥbi, son of Ĥanab,
9. are the freemen in whose presence Nabu-mukîn-apli, the keeper of Eanna,⁷
10. son of Nadini, son of Dabibi and Nabu-aĥ-iddin,
11. a king's chief servant, an overseer of Eanna, to Shamash-aĥ-iddin, son of
12. Shamash-shum-iddin, son of Ķarrad-Anu and to Ea-kurbanni,
13. son of Nabu-eĥir-napshati, son of Ea-kurbanni,
14. an inspector of Erech, said
15. as follows: 'When you keep the guard of Eanna
16. let the libation bearers constantly

⁵ *Amelu rab kâri ša Gu-ba-ru* (Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 96, 3, 4, 8).

⁶ *rêš-šarri* occurs also in Clay, *Babylonian Expedition*, viii. 42. 2 f., where he is preceded by the *šâ-ša-a-ku = zazakkû*, executor of the offerings, see *A.J.S.L.* 30, 228; *Hommel Festschrift*, 155; cf. Strassmaier, *Nbk.* 134, 19, etc.

⁷ Temple of Ishtar in Erech.

¹ See Prašek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, 227.

² Darius, *Behistun*, § 71.

³ Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1916, 29.

⁴ Strassmaier, *Darius*, No. 9. Restore the text of line 16 as follows: *ina ki-i-bi ša Gu-[bar-ru amel piĥat] Bâbili û E-bir-nâri.*

17. keep the guard with you.'¹
18. Shamash-ah-iddin and Ea-kurbanni said
19. as follows: 'The guard of Eanna we will not keep,
20. and the libation bearers we will not summon.
21. If the libation bearers for the guard of the inner city
22. be summoned a transgression against Gobryas² satrap of Babylon
23. and the Land beyond the river they will commit.'
24. The scribe is Shiriqtum-Azagsud, son of Balatu.
25. At Erech, month Kislew, 17th day, year of the accession of
26. Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands.

The contents of this document refer to some unknown political disturbance in Erech on the death of Cyrus and the succession of Cambyses. It is, in fact, a state document and of much more human interest than an ordinary contract. The chief importance for us, however, consists in the title of Gobryas and the date. It confirms what had already been assumed by Winckler. When the empire of Babylonia was conquered by the Persians it formed at first a single satrapy, and Gobryas was the first governor under Cyrus and Cambyses. The second governor was Ushtanu, appointed in the first year of Darius Hystaspis.

These considerations concern Biblical criticism, and incidentally South Arabian studies, vitally.

¹ According to Keiser, No. 2, keeping the guard of the temple consisted in furnishing clean offerings.

² *Gu-bar-ru*.

For, as we have seen, it is improbable that the inhabitants of Western Asia, the Hebrews, Aramæans, and Mineans adopted the geographical term 'Land beyond the river' for Syria before its inclusion in the Persian Empire as a satrapy. They surely would not have described themselves as the *Ebir-hannahar* with reference to the Euphrates; the term was imposed on them and their lands by the Persian Empire. Therefore those Hebrew texts in which *Eber-hannahar* occurs for Syria are obviously later than 538 B.C. or the first year of Cyrus as 'king of Babylon and the lands.' This fact has long been recognized in Biblical criticism and has a bearing upon only one passage whose date is not otherwise obviously post-Exilic, that is, 1 K 5⁴, where Solomon is said to have reigned in all *Eber-hannahar*, from Thapsacus on the Euphrates to Gaza. Naturally this statement could have been composed in the Persian period only.

The Minean inscription discovered by Hålevy (535), and later by Glaser in Yemen, and published by Hugo Winckler in his *Musri, Melukha, and Ma'in*,³ contains the remarkable phrase, 'They who journeyed to Egypt and traded . . . in Egypt, Assyria and *Abar-naharân*.' This word undoubtedly means Syria here, and is due to Persian influence which had penetrated into the remote lands of Southern Arabia. That is extremely important in view of the efforts recently made by Arabists to date this particular inscription several centuries before Cyrus.

³ *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898. See the valuable criticism and restoration of this text by Hartmann in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xi, 79, and Ed. Meyer, *ibid.* 327.

In the Study.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

Third Sunday after Trinity.

APPRECIATION.

'Unto you therefore which believe he is precious.'—1 P 2⁷.

DR. HENRY VAN DYKE has an essay entitled 'Who owns the Mountains?' 'What is property, after all?' he asks. 'The law says there are two kinds, real and personal. But it seems to me that

the only real property is that which is truly personal, that which we take into our inner life and make our own forever, by understanding and admiration and sympathy and love. . . . We measure success by accumulation. The measure is false. The true measure is appreciation. He who loves most has most.'

And here in St. Peter's words we come against the most important illustration of that general principle. 'The true measure is appreciation,' and