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ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 7, 1884.

H. CADMAN JONES, ESQ., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections were announced :—

MEMBERS :—Rev. S. H. Buchanan, D.D., United States ; E. Burton, Esq., N. S. Wales ; G. A. Spottiswoode, Esq., London.

LIFE ASSOCIATES :—R. J. Finnemore, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., Natal ; Rev. G. H. W. Lockhart-Ross, B.A., Sudbury.

ASSOCIATES :—The Right Rev. the Bishop of Tuam, Ireland ; the Ven. Archdeacon P. Teulon Beamish, D.D., LL.D., Victoria ; Rev. D. N. Beach, United States ; Rev. E. Chichester, B.A. Camb., Dorking ; Rev. B. C. Young, Birmingham.

HON. LOCAL SECRETARIES :—Rev. F. A. Allen, London ; C. S. Eby, Esq., Japan ; Rev. F. R. Young, Reading.

The following paper was then read by the Author :—

*THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ERA OF
THE JEWISH CAPTIVITY.* (B.C. 605-538.) By
W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

“THE Jewish captivity,” writes the late Emanuel Deutsch, “was one of the most mysterious and momentous periods in the history of humanity. What were the influences brought to bear upon the captives during that time we know not. But this we know, that from a lawless, reckless, godless populace, they returned transformed into a band of Puritans.”* The people who had so often and so easily yielded to the seductions of the rites of Baal and Ashtoreth,—a people so rebellious as to call forth the rebuke, “This is a

* *Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*, “Essay on the Talmud,” p. 12.

rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of Jehovah" (Isiah xxx. 9). This same people returned from a captivity, nominally of seventy years' duration, but in reality about fifty,* zealous of Jehovah, banded together in one homogeneous whole against the encroachments of all rulers who would paganise the nation, and enforcing the formerly neglected Law with a fanatical sternness. The Captivity was the birthday of all the vital elements in Jewish nationality; the revival of national and religious enthusiasm, the codification of laws and literature, all owe their origin to this important epoch. Twenty years have elapsed since the lines with which my paper commenced were written, and great and important discoveries have, during that time, been made in the grave-mounds of the land of the Captivity, which throw a flood of light upon this dark epoch, revealing some, at least, of the potent forces which wrought this wondrous change in the chosen people. It will be my endeavour in this paper to place before you this "light from the monuments," which has been re-kindled by the magic touch of the spade-wands of Sir Henry Layard, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and other explorers, and to show you how valuable it is in elucidating, elaborating, and confirming the Biblical narrative. In dealing with this subject, we have now to start and to work upon entirely new ground to that formerly the basis of treatment. Hitherto all we knew of the wonders of Babylon, and the glory, and wisdom, and learning of the Chaldeans, was derived from the second-hand, hearsay evidence of the Greek writers, Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and others, together with a few incidental notices in the later books of the Old Testament. Now we have before us a series of strictly contemporaneous documents, which reveal to us, not only the life and acts of the kings of Babylon, but numberless details of the social and religious life of the nation. We have now open to us an overwhelming mass of literature, which, in thought, language, and expression is a sister of the Hebrew tongue. It is, therefore, apparent to all how important it is that this evidence should be sifted to its utmost limit in the cause of truth. In dealing with this evidence, I purpose to treat of it under three headings:—historical, religious, and social.


It is clear that to prove the importance of such an epoch as that of the Captivity in the history of the Jewish nation in particular and the world in general, it will be necessary, first

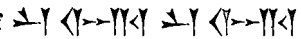
* *Dunker's History of Antiquity*, vol. vi., p. 80.

of all, to prove the historical accuracy of the documents relating to the period.

The Hebrew people owed much of the part which they played in the political dramas of Western Asia to the geographical position of the land they lived in. From a geographical position it was, as Dean Stanley has fitly called it, the Piedmont of Western Asia; so, politically, it became the Austria of the ancient world. Situated midway between the two great Oriental empires of Egypt and Assyria, it was ever yielding to the influence, first of the one, then of the other; and, when these mighty powers met in the clash of battle, it was upon the plains of Palestine or Syria that the conflict was waged. The great battles of the Egyptian age, as we may call the period from the seventeenth to the twelfth centuries before the Christian era, were fought upon the plains or in the northern borders of the land.

The battles of Mageddo and Kadesh, in which Thothmes III. and Rameses II. (Sesostris) crushed the Syrians (Ruten), the Hittites (Keta) and the Asia Minor allies, were fought, the one beneath the slopes of Carmel, the other in the Orontes valley, the northern gateway of Palestine. In the Assyrian age, from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C., we have several important battles. The battle of Karkar (B.C. 558), in which Shalmanesar III. defeated the Syrian allies, among whom was

Ahab  A-Khi-bu, King of Sirlai or Israel, was fought in the Orontes valley; in the neighbourhood of Hamath.* During the long struggle between Egypt and Assyria, the great battles of Raphia (B.C. 720) in which Sargon stemmed the tide of the Egyptian invasion and forced Sibakhe, the So of the Bible (2 Kings xvii. 4-5), the Sabaka of the hieroglyphic inscriptions to give tribute, and Eltakeh, in which Sennacherib crushed the rebellion that Tirhakah had raised in Philistia and Judea (2 Kings xix. 9), were both fought in southern Palestine. The sieges of Ashdod, Samaria, Tyre, Sidon, and Jerusalem show how unceasing was the struggle between the Nile and the Euphrates for the dominion

* The City of  Ka-ar-Ka-ar, Hebrew קר קר is represented on the bronze gates found by Mr. Rassam at Ballawat (pl. 14 of the Soc. Bib. Arch. publication). It was situated near to Hamath, and I am therefore inclined to identify it with either Kalát-el Sedgar, the ancient Larissa, or Kalát-el Mudjik the ancient Apamea. Both of these places, especially the latter, would be important strongholds in times more ancient than the Roman and Greek ages.

over the fertile plains of Palestine, and the rich merchant cities of Phœnicia, and how heavy a brunt of the conflict fell upon the Jewish people. It is in this unceasing hostility between the two great powers of the East, which was ever being carried on, either by latent currents of intrigue or in the fierce flame of battle, that we find the causes which led to the fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

The long chain of bloodshed and assassination which forms the concluding chapter of Israelite history is terminated by the reign of Hoshea, who seized the throne of Pekah. In the earlier part of his reign he appears to have been an ally of Assyria, but during the siege of Tyre by Shalmanesar IV. (B.C. 727) he yielded to the intrigue of So (Sabaka), king of Egypt (2 Kings xvii. 4-5), and withheld the tribute due to Assyria, declaring himself an ally of Egypt by "sending messengers to the court of Egypt." This drew upon him the vengeance of Shalmanesar, who "came up throughout all the land, and went to Samaria and besieged it three years." During the wars against Tyre and Samaria, the Assyrian king Shalmanesar died, and Sargon the Tartan, or *Commander-in-Chief*,* seized the throne. He completed the capture of these cities, and carried away into captivity, as he states in the Khorsabad inscriptions, 27,280 of the inhabitants. The fall of Samaria took place in B.C. 721, the first year of Sargon's reign.

The place of the Israelites was filled by bands of colonists, who had no doubt exhibited too strong a favouritism for the Babylonian rebel prince Merodach Baladan; and who were consequently transported from their native cities of Cutha Ava and Sepharvaim (2 Kings xvii. 24) and from Hamath, whose king Ilubadi had been defeated by Sargon. The causes, and indeed the *modus operandi* of the fall of the kingdom of Judah about a century and a half later, were almost exactly the same.

The intrigues of the Pharaohs of the twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty brought about the fall of Judah, as those of the twenty-fifth had culminated in the fall of Samaria. The vacillating attitudes of Jehoiachim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah

* The Tartan Hebrew תַּרְתָּן was the *tar-tan-nu* 𐎲𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎲𐎠 of the Assyrian inscriptions. This word is an abstract derivative from *tertu*, "a law," the Hebrew תִּרְיָה and the Tartan was therefore the chief lawgiver or commander, and ranked, as we know from the Eponym canons, next to the king. There is in the British Museum (W. A. I., vol. i., pl. liv., No. 3) a despatch from Sennacherib when acting as *tartan* to his father Sargon.

drew down upon the land the severe vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar, "the servant" (Jer. xxv. 9; xxvii. 6; xliii. 10), chosen by the Lord to punish the rebellious people.

It has been necessary to trace briefly the events which led to the fall of the northern kingdom in order to show that the causes which brought about the fall of the southern kingdom were not new ones, but only the outcome of old rivalry between Egypt and the dominant state of the Tigro-Euphrates valley.

The fall of Samaria was contemporaneous with the foundation of the Sargonide dynasty, the most glorious of all the houses of Assur. This dynasty lasted a little less than a century (B.C. 721 to B.C. 625), and was, indeed, the "golden age of Assyria." The wars of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal had crushed the power of Egypt. And Elam, a dangerous Eastern rival, Armenia, and even distant Lydia were submissive to the rule of the kings of Nineveh. The short but severe struggle of Merodach-baladan against Sargon and Sennacherib had ended in the conquest and annexation of Babylonia; and the house of Assur was, indeed, at the zenith of its power. Yet at this very time, shortly after the capture of Thebes, the Nia- \rightarrow 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 . DP *Ni-a* of the Assyrian inscriptions (W. A. I., vol. v., pl. 1), and the No of the Scriptures, the prophet Nahum was pouring forth his bitter denunciations against "the bloody city": "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the great river?"* "Yet she was carried away, she went into captivity."† We may, guided by these passages, place the prophecy of Nahum as being uttered during the reign of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668—625), the Sardanapalus of the Greeks. The writer of this book must have been a spectator of the two great events of the latter part of the seventh century before the Christian era, and passages in his book which show that he knew the general features of Nineveh, if not from personal experience, at least from contemporary evidence. In one passage,‡ "The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall jostle one against another in the broad ways" (Nahum ii. 4), we have clearly a reference to the streets and squares for which the city was famed, and from which it derived the name *Ar Reheboth*, ער רהבות (Genesis x. 11),§ "the city of broad streets."

* Nahum iii. 8. † *Ibid.*, iii. 10. ‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 4.

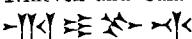
§ The Assyrian inscriptions show that the reading of this passage (Gen. x.

Nineveh was the city of Istar, the Ashtaroth of the Zidonians, and her temple was the chief fane of the city. "She was the Queen of Heaven and the Stars," and was attended by her two maids, Samkhat and Kharimat, personifications of Pleasure and Lust. The knowledge of these facts add point to the bitter curse of the prophet, "Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts" (Nahum iii. 4). The trade of Nineveh, which was very great, is amply illustrated by the large collection of contract tablets in the British Museum, which show how indeed the merchants of Nineveh were "multiplied above the stars of heaven" (Nahum iii. 16). The fall of Nineveh is closely connected with the fall of the house of Judah, and must have indeed been anxiously waited for by the nations under her iron rule. The monuments and the Greek writers all agree in placing the fall of Assyria, or the siege of Nineveh, in or about B.C. 625. There are now many additional proofs of the accuracy of this date, and, as they have an important bearing on Hebrew prophecy, I will give them.

The Canon of Ptolemy, which is founded upon astronomical data, gives the following series of Babylonian rulers during this period :—

			First year.	
Asaridinus.....	13 years	B.C. 680.	
Saosduchinus.....	20	„ B.C. 667.	
Isinladanus	}	22	„ B.C. 647.
or Kinlidinus				
Nabapalassar.....	21	„ B.C. 625.	

The accession of Esarhaddon, the Asaridinus of the Canon of Ptolemy, is fixed by an entry in the Assyrian Eponym Canon as occurring in the Eponymous year of *Nabu-akhi-eris*, that is B.C. 681. His first year as distinguished from his accession year would be, therefore, B.C. 680, as Ptolemy states. His son Assurbanipal succeeded him in B.C. 668 as King of Assyria, the throne or viceroyalty of Babylon being given to the younger brother, *Shamas-Suma-Ukin*, the Saosduchinus

11) must be "Out of that land he (Nimrod) went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh," the City of Streets, "and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah." Esarhaddon (W. A. I., vol. i., pl. 40) speaks of the  *ri-i-bu-ti*, or streets of Nineveh, through which he made his captives to pass.

of Ptolemy. The name of this prince, who played a very important part in Babylonian history is written $\Upsilon \rightarrow \Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle$
 $\rightarrow \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow \Upsilon$ and read D.P. *Shamas-suma-ukina*, "the Sun-god has established a name," was originally read *Saul mugina*, but tablets recently discovered by Mr. Rassam establish this reading as the correct one.* In an inscription brought home by Mr. Rassam from Babylon in 1881, Assurbanipal speaks of him as $\Xi \rightarrow \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \Upsilon \rightarrow$ *akhi ta-li-mi* "my own brother," a phrase which may be compared with the Scripture name *Bar tholomew* ("sons of one's own brother," Matt. x. 3). His conduct towards his elder brother, the King of Assyria, seems to have been anything but brotherly. He revolted against him, and soon the loving and familiar epithet, which we find in the cylinder above, is replaced by $\Xi \rightarrow \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \Upsilon \rightarrow$ *akhi khidhuti* "my wicked brother." By means of gold, silver, and treasure, taken from the treasure-house of the Temple of Esaggil at Babylon, of Nebo at Borsippa, and Nergal at Kutha, the most ancient of the Babylonian temples, he bribed Umman-nigas, king of Elam, to join him in revolt against his brother. After a long and bloody war, the details of which are very fully given in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, the rebellion was put down, and Shamas-suma-ukin set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. It was probably this death of the brother of Assurbanipal's that gave rise to the story of the death of Sardanapalus, or Assurbanipal himself, in such a manner. On the overthrow of *Shamas-suma-ukina*, in B.C. 648, Assurbanipal assumed the crown of Babylon himself, but appointed a deputy named $\Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \rightarrow \Xi \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow$ (*Kin-la-da-nu*), the Kinladanus of Canon of Ptolemy. Tablets dated in his reign have been found by Mr. Rassam at Abbo Hubba. There are also in the British Museum tablets dated in the reign of Assurbanipal, as King of Babylon, the latest

* In a bi-lingual list of royal names (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 40), the royal name $\Upsilon \langle \Xi \rangle \langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow \Upsilon \Xi \Upsilon \rightarrow \langle \Xi \rangle$ is explained by D.P. *Shamas-upakhhir*, "The Sun-god has assembled or gathered together." This establishes the reading of the complex group which begins the name. The *Shamas*, on account of the weakness of the Ξ in Babylonian, and its similarity to Υ was corrupted by the Greek writer into *Saos* from *Savaos*.

bearing date in the twentieth year. Counting from the overthrow of the brother, this would bring us to B.C. 628, or about three years before the siege of Nineveh by the Northern allies, according to Greek writers; and two years before the accession of Nabupalassar to the Babylonian throne. The date of this accession is fixed by the eclipse of the year B.C. 621. Ptolemy records that in the 127th year of the Nabonassar period, that is the 127th year from B.C. 747, the first year of *Nabo-nassar* 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿 (Nabū na-zir (Nebo protects), which would be B.C. 621, there was an eclipse of the moon in the month Athyr, and that year was the *fifth* year of the reign of Nabupalassar, King of Babylon. His accession was, therefore, in B.C. 626, and first year in B.C. 625, as stated in the canon.* An inscription, recently obtained from Babylon, enables us to fix this date in another way. In this text we have a record of the overthrow of the Median power, under Astyages, by Cyrus, and its date accurately fixed.

In this chronicle of the latter days of Nabonidus, found on a Babylonian tablet (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vii., p. 156).

(a). 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿

IS - TU - VE - GU ZABI SU IPPALKIT - SU - VA INA KATI

Astyages his soldiers revolted against him in hands

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿

ZA - BAT A - NA D.P. KU - RAS ID - DI - NU

they took (and) to Cyrus they gave him

(b). 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿

KU - RAS A - NA MAT A - GAM - TA - NU ALU - SARRUT - U

Cyrus to the land of Ecbatana and the royal city

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿

ERub KASPA KHURATZA SA - ŠU SA - GA

entered silver gold furniture and gods (he captured).

* The Babylonians calculated the regnal years of their kings as follows:— From the death of the previous ruler until the first day of the succeeding month Nisan, the first month of the year (March and April) was called

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿 *sanat ris sarrutu*, "the year of the beginning of Royalty," or accession year. This is the period referred to in 2 Kings xxv. 27, as "the year that he began to reign." The first year began with the first day of Nisan in the king's reign.

The sixth year of Nabonidus, both according to the monuments and the Canon of Ptolemy, was B.C. 550, and was, as we see, synchronous with the last year of Astyages, king of Media. Calculating the reigns of the Median kings, therefore, as recorded by Herodotus, we get the following dates:—

Deioces	53 years from	B.C. 700
Phraotes.....	22 „ „	B.C. 647
Cyaxeres.....	40 „ „	B.C. 625
Astyages.....	35 „ „	B.C. 585

This restored chronology confirms the statement of Josephus that the revolt of the Medes took place soon after the miracle of the dial of Ahaz, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (B.C. 712). This would bring the Median revolt into synchronism with the Median wars of Sargon and Sennacherib, and the accession of Phraotes would be contemporary with the Elamite and Babylonian war resulting from the revolt of *Shamas sumakina* against his brother, while the accession of Cyaxeres is contemporary with the fall of Nineveh and the rise of the new Babylonian empire under Nabupalassar in B.C. 626.

The great convulsion of the northern invasion, which led to the overthrow of Assyria and the destruction of Nineveh, was not unknown to the Hebrew writers. It is clearly foreseen by Ezekiel (chap. xxxi.), who, after speaking of the wide empire of Assur “as a cedar of Lebanon, with fair branches,” goes on to foretell the overthrow: “I have therefore delivered him to the mighty one of the heathen; he shall surely deal with him;” “and the strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off and have left him”; “I have made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall.” The prophet Zephaniah (chap. ii. 13) and Jeremiah also (chap. vi. 23) foresee this convulsion. Judging by a comparison of the writings of these prophets (Zeph. i. 1; ii. 13–15; and Jer. i. 1; and xxv. 3) the northern invasion by the Medes, Scythians, &c., must have taken place between, soon after the thirteenth year of Josiah, B.C. 628, a date which agrees with the monumental testimony. The Canon of Eusebius makes the invasion take place in about B.C. 635, according to the earlier version of St. Jerome, or B.C. 632 according to the Armenian version. In the year B.C. 677 Esarhaddon defeated in Khupuska, north-east of Assyria, Teuspa, the Gimirrean, “a barbarian,” as the Assyrian scribe calls him, and the horde which he led might be regarded as the advance guard of the Scythian invaders. The disturbed state of the Assyrian empire after B.C. 648 renders documentary evidence scarce, yet there are some tablets of very great importance

belonging to this period. They were obtained from the excavations at Koyunjik by Sir Henry Layard. Here we have Assurbanipal mentioned in conjunction with his son *Assur-akha-iddina*, or Esarhaddon II., and the tablets dated in the eponym of $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠}$ *Natri-sár-ra-utzur*. There is, as

I have pointed out in my paper on the Egibi tablets (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vi., pt. i., pp. 1-133), no ground for identifying this monarch with Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib. From these tablets it appears that a great rebellion had broken out in the north-east provinces of Assyria, and a powerful confederation, consisting of the

$\text{𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠}$ *Gi-mir-ai*, $\text{𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠}$ *Ma-da-ai*, Medes, and $\text{𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠}$ *Man-na-ai*, or Mineans, was marching against Assyria under the leadership of a chieftain named $\text{𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠}$ *Ka-as-tu-ri-ti*. The name

of this leader very closely resembles that of Cyaxeres, the son of Phraotes, and the date between B.C. 648 and B.C. 625 agrees with the classical authorities. We are told that Cyaxeres marched against Nineveh to revenge the death of his father, who was slain by Sardanapalus. As Kastariti is here only called "general" or leader, the war probably took place during the life of Phraotes and prior to B.C. 625. The effect of this invasion upon Nineveh and its king is recorded in the tablet, and it is a valuable comment upon the repentance of Nineveh as described in the book of Jonah, though hardly of that date. The passage is thus translated :—

"O Sun-god, great lord, I have prayed to thee.

O God of fixed destiny, remove our sin !

From the current day, 3rd day of this same month, Airu (2nd month), to the 15th day of the month, Abu (5th month), of the current year, for *one hundred days and one hundred nights consecutive, let the chiefs proclaim rites and festivals.*"

The revolt spreading to Babylonia, Egypt, and the other provinces, the fall of Nineveh was accomplished. The Babylonian revolt taking place in B.C. 626, headed by Nabupalassar, was the most important ; and soon after this, apparently in B.C. 609-10, Necho "marched against [the weak] King of Assyria," and slew Josiah, his ally, at Mageddo (B.C. 609). The allied armies of Nabupalassar, Cyaxeres, and Necho accomplished the overthrow of Assyria,

and all that remained of that once great empire became a Median province. The references I have given to the Hebrew prophets indicating their knowledge of the Scythian invasion receive a remarkable confirmation from a passage in one of the cylinder inscriptions of Nabonidus, found by Mr. Rassam at Abou Hubba, the ancient Sippara or Sepharvaim. In one of these inscriptions the king states that the temple at Harran, dedicated to the Moon-god, had been destroyed by the wicked *Sabmandai*, or barbarians. It is evident that the Gimireans, or Scythians, are meant, as we have seen the Teuspa, or Teispes, the opponent of Esarhaddon, was called *Sabmanda*, or barbarian. In the Behistun inscriptions, the tall cap wearing *Iskunka* is called by the Persian *Sakka*, "the Scythian," but in the Babylonian version "*Gimirrai*," the Gimirean. The alliance formed between the rebels against Assyria did not last long, and the aggressive policy of Necho soon brought down upon him the armies of the Chaldean. Four years after the battle of Mageddo, Nebuchadnezzar, acting as general of his father, defeated Necho at Carchemish, and but for the death of his father he would have besieged Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiv. 1, and Jer. xlvi. 1). In the third year,—that is, B.C. 603,—he revolted, and was punished by the invasion of southern Palestine by the trans-Jordanic tribes of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites (2 Kings xxiv. 2), and his son Jehoiachin, who succeeded him, was deposed in B.C. 598, and carried captive to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 12), and set up Zedekiah in his stead. By these campaigns Nebuchadnezzar had gained complete possession of Syria, "so that the King of Egypt came not any more out of his land, for the King of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt [Wady el Arish] unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the King of Egypt" (2 Kings xxiv. 7). The old strife between the two great empires was renewed in the reign of the successor of Necho, *Uahbara*, the Hophra of the Bible. He invaded Phœnicia apparently with success, as portions of a temple erected by him are found at Gebal (modern Jebeil), and captured Gaza, a strong Philistine fortress, inducing Zedekiah to break his allegiance with Babylon, and make a treaty with him (Ezekiel xvii. 15). The result of this rise of Egyptian power in Syria was a Babylonian invasion, ending in the defeat of Hophra (Jer. xxxv. 5-8), and the final overthrow of the Jewish power (2 Kings xxv.). The fall of Jerusalem was synchronous with the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 1-2), that is, B.C. 587-6. The Babylonian king at the time of the fall of Jerusalem was encamped at Riblah. This city, which

stands at the northern extremity of the fertile valley of Cælo-Syria, the modern Buká, seems to have been a favourite camping-place of the invaders of Syria, as both Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 33) and Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 6) held courts there. The Babylonian king had just commenced, or was preparing, to enter upon his long siege of Tyre, which lasted some thirteen years (B.C. 586–573). There have recently been discovered in the rocky gorges of the Lebanon two valuable inscriptions, which prove the presence of Nebuchadnezzar in Syria at this time. The first of these was found by Dr. Looitved, the Danish Consul at Beirut, in August, 1880, on the rocks near the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, or Dog River (the classical Lycus), a short distance north of Beirut. I published a translation of the best preserved portion of this inscription in the *Athenæum* (Oct. 29, 1880, p. 563). The inscription is evidently not historical, but relates to some of the great works carried out by the king in Babylonia. The inscription was probably cut by some of the soldiers of the Great King who formed the garrison placed at this important post during the siege of Tyre.

A few months ago, as described by M. Ganneau in the *Times*, M. Pognon, the chief Interpreter of the French Consulate at Beirut, discovered a long inscription engraved upon the rocks of the Wady Birsa, a short distance from Hermul in the Lebanon. The inscription was much injured, and the figure of Nebuchadnezzar, which would have been a valuable addition to our gallery of Assyrian and Babylonian portraits, was too mutilated to be recognised. This inscription, like the one at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, is not historical, but contains a long account of the king's works in Babylon, and the offerings he made to the temples.

Unsatisfactory as these records are in not affording us historical information from a Babylonian point of view respecting the wars in Syria, they are valuable as showing the presence of the royal armies of Babylon in the Lebanon and the regions of Cælo-Syria. The inscriptions near Hermul are only a few miles from the village of Rabli,—the ancient Ribla,—and must have been cut under the personal superintendence of the great king. It is most probable, as suggested by M. Pognon, that the Wady-Birsa was an emporium where the wood-cutters of the Babylonian king brought the beams of cedar which they had cut in forests of Lebanon to be trimmed and prepared for transport to Babylon. In the India House inscription Nebuchadnezzar speaks of the temples being decorated with beams and planks of cedar which he brought "from the verdant Lebanon."

The direction of the siege of Jerusalem seems to have been in the hands of a commission composed of those important officials, and headed by Nebuzaradan. As we read in Jer. xxxix. 3, "And all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the middle gate, *even* Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag." In our authorised version the names of officials and the offices they held were confused, so we may arrange these names as follows:—

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| 1. Nebuzaradan | ... | "Captain of the Guard." |
| 2. Nergal-sharezer | ... | — |
| 3. Shamgar-nebo | ... | — |
| 4. Sarsechim | ... | The Rab-saris. |
| 5. Nergal-sharezer | ... | The Rab-mag. |

All these names are purely Babylonian, and their equivalents in the cuneiform character may be ascertained from the inscriptions of the period:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Nebu-zar-adan.</i> | 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 |
| בְּנִיזְרָאדָן | NABU - ZIRA - IDDI - NA |
| | <i>Nebo has given seed.</i> |
| 2. <i>Nergal-sharezer.</i> | 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 |
| נֶרְגַל שַׂרְאֲצֻר | NERGAL RA ŠAR - UTZUR |
| | <i>Nergal protects the king.</i> |
| 3. <i>Shamgar-Nebo.</i> | 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 |
| שָׁמְגַר נְבוֹ | SUM - GAR - NABU |
| | <i>Reverenced is Nebo.</i> |
| 4. <i>Sarsechim.</i> | 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 |
| שַׂרְשַׁעִים | ŠAR - SU E - KI - IM |
| | <i>The king makes wise.</i> |

The first of the Nergal-sharezers is a most important person, as he afterwards became king of Babylon, and was of royal blood. In the Egibi contract tablets of the latter part of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar we find *Nergal-sarra-utzur* taking part, as well as in the reign of his successor, Avil Marduk 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 the Evil Merodach of the Scriptures (2 Kings xxv. 27). He calls himself in these

inscriptions, as on his cylinder, the Son of *Bel-suma-iskun*

𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 and it is probable that his father was the prince *Bel-suma-iskun*, who for a short time held the throne of Assyria after the death of Assurbanipal. A solution of this descent of Nergal-sharezer, which seems to me very probable, though at present unsupported by monumental evidence, is that *Bel-suma-iskun*, who seized the throne of Nineveh, was a son of *Shamas-suma-ukin*, the rebellious brother of Assurbanipal, and that *Nergal-sarratzur* was a younger son of his who had been brought up at the court of Babylon. Jeremiah classes him among the princes of Babylon, and thus indicates his royal descent; and if, on his usurpation of the throne in B.C. 560, he had been a "son of a nobody" (*abil mamani*) he would not have given his father's name, as he does in his inscription (W. A. I., vol. i., pl. 67). The second Neriglissar is a person of still greater interest on account of the office which he held as *Rab-mag*. This office has usually been regarded as that of chief of the *Magi*, a body of Median priests, who certainly did not obtain any great hold in Babylonia until after the conquest of the empire by Cyrus.

The Pseudo Smerdis, the 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *G-u-ma-a-t*, or Gomates of the Behistun Persian text is called 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Hya Ma-gh-u-sh*, the Magus or Magian; but before that period the sect were not recognised in Babylon. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for an explanation of the title of 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 occurring as early as B.C. 587, and, as Dr. Frederick

Delitzsch has shown, it is to be found in the Akkadian or non-Semitic inscriptions of Babylonia. By a comparison of the two passages (W. A. I., ii., pl. xxxii., No. 3, 19, and W. A. I., ii., pl. li., No. 2, 49, with v., xxiii. 46), we find that

the Akkadian word *MAKH* 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 was borrowed by the Semitic inhabitants, but, in order to comply with the trilateralism of the language, made into *Makh-ū*. The pronunciation of the Akkad guttural KH was that of ġ in "log." Thus the *Makh* or *Makhu* had the sound of *maġu*. In the bilingual lists

Makhu 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 is given as a synonym of the words 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *esh-she-pu-u* and 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *as-shi-pū*, "a sorcerer," the Hebrew 𐤍𐤑𐤍; so that Nergal-

sharezer, in his office of *Rab-mag*, or $\text{𒊕𒍪𒍪} \text{ } \text{𒊕𒍪} \text{ } \text{𒌷𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷𒌷}$
rab mahh-lhu-ū in Babylonian was "the chief of the magicians or augurs." From an inscription of Assurbanipal's (Smith, *Hist. Asbp.*, p. 128) it appears that one of the chief duties of the *mahkie* was the interpretation of dreams, and we may therefore conclude that Daniel held this post at the court of Babylon, as he was gifted with "understanding in all visions and dreams" (Dan. i. 17), and belonged to the caste of the *asaphim*, or soothsayers and dream interpreters. The chief magician always accompanied the army upon the march, and conducted the necessary ceremonies and divinations, and interpreted the omens. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that Nergal-sharezer was the chief official in the ceremony of belomancy described by Ezekiel (chap. xxi. 21), "For the King of Babylon stood at the parting of the ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem."

The *Rab-saris*, or "chief of the eunuchs," was an officer of great importance in the Babylonian court, and held a position such as was afterwards equalled only by this class of courtiers in the palaces of Byzantium.

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar ended in B.C. 562, when his son, Avil-Marduk, the Evil Merodach of the Scriptures (2 Kings xxv. 27), came to the throne; but, after a short reign of two years and a few months, he was slain by *Nergal-sarra-utzur*, of whom we have spoken.

Of his short reign of four years (B.C. 560-556), we have but few inscriptions, and none of these are historical. On his death, probably at a great age, if the parentage we have suggested for him is true, he was succeeded by his son,

named $\text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒊕} \text{ } \text{𒍪} \text{ } \text{𒍪} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷}$,—*La-ba-si*

D P Kudur, or *La-ba-si Marduk*, the Laborasarchod of the Greek writers, whose reign was a short one of *nine* months, and therefore the only tablets of his reign are dated in the "year of the commencement of royalty."

During the reigns of Avil-Marduk and Nergal-sarra-utzur the military power of Babylon had been declining and the surrounding nations rising in power. The son of *Nergal-sarra-utzur* was removed by a Babylonian prince named Nabu-naid,

$\text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷} \text{ } \text{𒌷}$, the son of *Nabū-baladh-su-*

ikbi, of whom we know nothing. In entering upon the reign we enter upon one of the most important epochs in

theogony of Chaldea is very clearly set forth in the creation tablet.

The Illuminator he made to shine, to wander through the night.
 He appointed it to fix the night, until the coming forth of day.
 Every month without fail by its disk he established
 In the beginning of the month at the appearance of evening
 Horns shine forth to enlighten the night.
 On the seventh day to a circle it approaches
 They open then the darkness.

This prominence given to the Moon over the Sun in the Babylonian Pantheon was a remnant of the old nomadic life which the ancestors of both Akkadians and Semites had led in the early days of their national life. It is this love of the night sky, the moon, and the stars that caused the Chaldeans to be so great astronomers; and in the ancient hymns we find night taking precedence of day, as in the well-known phrase in the first chapter of Genesis, "And there was evening, and there was morning" (R.V.). It is this ancient Sabeanism or astro-theology that led to the identification of the gods as stars; and so we find $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ the ordinary sign for god explained by $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}$ *Kak-ka-bū*, "star;" and the names given to stars show how closely life was associated with them, as, for example, in a list of stars, from Babylon, we find "the star of the crossers of the sea," possibly the pole-star, while Mercury is called "the bringer of change to men," Venus as evening star, "the proclaimer of the stars." So also the morning star was "the light of day." Other stars were called "the star of life," "the star of the winds, the star that causes winds." All these names show a close observation of the heavens, which found its outlet in the Sabeanism of the pre-Islamic Arabs. How similar this trait in the ancient Babylonian character was to that of the Arabs is at once shown by the following passages descriptive of the love these wanderers have for the stars. One writer thus describes the relation of the Arabs to the night and the stars:—"With the refreshing dew of evening, not Venus only or the Moon, but the whole glory of the starry heavens met the eye and touched the spirit of the Arabs. High above the tents and the resting-places of the flocks, above the nocturnal raid and waiting ambuscade, and all the doings of men, the stars passed along on their glittering courses. The stars guided the Arabs on their way through the desert; certain constellations announced the wished-for rain; others the wild storms, the changes of the seasons, the times for breeding in the flocks and herds." Hence, to the tribes of the desert especially brilliant stars appeared as living spirits, as rulers

over nature and the fortunes of mankind. We are not without many traces of this observation of the stars in the Hebrew writings. In that beautiful book so full of all appertaining to desert life, the book of Job, we have numerous references, as, for example, Job iii. 9: "Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark. Let it look for light, but have none. Neither let it behold the eyelids of the morning." "Behold the height of the stars, how high they are" (Job xxii. 12). "Canst thou bind the cluster* of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou lead forth the Mazzaroth in their seasons? or canst thou guide the bear with her train?" (xxxviii. 31, 32). And the beautiful simile from shepherd life: "He telleth the number of the stars; he giveth them all their names" (Ps. cxlvii. 4, R.V.). And this very symbolism, so familiar to Abram the Chaldean, is made the means of foreshadowing one of the most important prophecies: "And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them. And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be" (Gen. xv. 5).

At the time when Abram left his Chaldean home, the astronomy of Chaldea had attained nearly as high a development as it ever reached, and so the phases of the moon, the measurement of time by the stars, &c., would be known to him and some of the family, and no doubt some of the servants and followers of Terah were worshippers of the moon and stars.†

We now turn to the Hebrew record, and we find the first step in the migration was the removal from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran—"And Terah took Abram, his son, and Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai, his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go unto the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran and dwelt there" (Gen. xi. 31). Considerable discussion has taken place as to the site of Haran, but inscriptions now before us seem definitely to settle this question. I will first of all take the various references to this city which occur in the Hebrew Scriptures. In addition to the reference above quoted and its repetition (xii. 5), we have also the command of Jacob to flee from Esau—"Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice; arise, flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran" (xxvii. 43); and bearing upon this we read

* Really "family."

† The worship of the stars was prohibited to the Jews (Deut. iv. 19), but this did not debar them from admiring them, studying them, and deriving most beautiful similes from them.

The epithet applied to Cyrus in the inscription,

“Cyrus, king of Anzan, his little servant,”

is a remarkable one on account of its resemblance to the words of the prophet Isaiah, “That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd [prince], and shall perform all my pleasure.” Again, “Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue *nations* before him” (Isaiah xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1).

There we may conclude that in B.C. 550 Cyrus, by overthrowing the allied tribes under Astyages, and assuming the crown of Media himself, acted as a deliverer to the weakened empire of Babylonia, and was regarded by the people as a saviour raised up by the great god, Bel-Merodach.

The Median affairs and the war with Cræsus, king of Lydia, which culminated in the burning of Sardis occupied the attention of Cyrus for the next ten years, and it was not until B.C. 540 he began his war against Babylon. The movements of Cyrus appear to have been very carefully watched by the Babylonians and recorded in the Chronicle. Thus, under date of the *ninth* year of Nabonidus, that is B.C. 547, we read: “Nabonidus, the king, was in the city of Teva, the son of the king (Belshazzar), the chieftains, and the soldiers were in the land of Akkad (North Babylonia).” “The king till the month Nisan (first month) to Babylon went not, Nebo to Babylon came not, Bel went not forth.” “In the month

Nisan, the mother of the king (~~𐎶𐎵𐎶~~ 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *um sarrî*) in the fortified camp on the Euphrates above Sippara (𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶

Si-par) died. The son of the king and the soldiers for three days weeping was made. Also in the month Sivan (third month) in the land of Akkad there was weeping made over the mother of the king. In the month Nisan

Cyrus, King of Persia (𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Mat Par-su*), his army gathered and below Arbela the river Tigris he crossed. The chronicle is here mutilated, and it can only be seen that Cyrus marching across the northern portion of the Euphrates valley levied tribute of a distant king. This was probably one of the campaigns connected with the war against Cræsus, and the rising power of the now united Medes and Persians was anxiously watched by the Babylonians. Nabonidus, judging from this chronicle, appears to have been a weak ruler, neglecting the affairs of state and religion, and leaving the government, or, at least, the command of the army in the

hands of his son 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *Bel-sarra-utzur*. The king appears to have spent most of his time in the city of 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *Te-va-a*, which Mr. Pinches thinks was one of the quarters of Babylon, probably on the west bank of the Euphrates.

The mourning made for the mother of the king, who died in the camp of her son's army, would lead us to regard her as a woman of importance, and probably of royal parentage.

I would suggest, as a solution of the statement of the writer of the book of Daniel (v. 2), that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar; whereas the inscriptions prove him to have been the son of Nabonidus,—that his grandmother may have been a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, who had been given in marriage to *Nabu-baladh-su-ikbi*, the father of Nabonidus, and thus on his mother's side he would have been the son of Nebuchadnezzar. From the seventh year of his father's reign (B.C. 549) until the fall of the empire, he appears to have been the leading spirit and ruler of the kingdom, and this may account in some measure for his prominence in the book of Daniel.


In his cylinder inscription found in the Temple of the Moon-god at Ur (Mughier), Nabonidus thus prays for his son (I have given the transliterated text. The inscription is printed in *W. A. I.*, vol. i., pl. 68, col. lines 19 *et seq.*):—


<i>Text.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
1. YATI, NABU-SAID ŠAR BABILI	As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon
2. INA KHIDHU IZUTI-KA	In the fulness of thy
3. RABUTI VA ZIPANI VA	Great divinity (grant me
4. BALADHUT MURUKUTI	Length of life
5. ANA (YUMI RUKUTIN)	To remote days,
6. VA SA BEL ŠARRA-UTZUR	And for Belshazzar,
7. ABLU RISTU	My first-born son,
8. TZIT LIBBI-YA*	The offspring of my heart.
9. PULUKHTI ILUTI-KA RABUTI	Reverence for thy great divinity
10. LIBBUS-SU TAKIN	Establish thou in his heart.
11. AI-IRSA	May he not be given
12. KHI DITI	To sin.
13. LA LEKHIAVVI.	

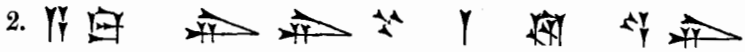
* The expression *ablu ristu tzit libbi*, when literally translated, loses much of its beauty; it may be rendered "My first-born son, the thought or desire of my heart."


It is evident from the chronicle inscription that the whole brunt of the short struggle against the invader fell upon Belshazzar, who perished on the night of the capture of Babylon.


The inscription reads as follows :—


1. 
 INA ARKHI DUZI D.P. KU - RAS ZAL - TUV INA
In the Month Tammuz Cyrus fighting in the

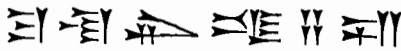

 RUTUV INA ELI
city of Rutu upon

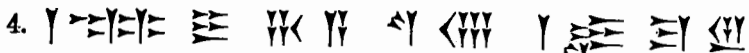
2. 
 NAR NI - ZAL - LAT ANA LIBBI ZAB - NI
the river Nizallat to the midst of the army

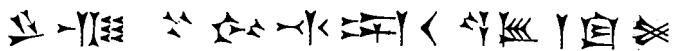

 D.P. AKKADI KI EBI - SU
of Akkad. He made

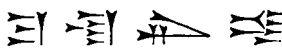
3. 
 NISI D.P. AKKADI NAPALKATTA IZRUKHU
The men of Akkad a revolt raised and the

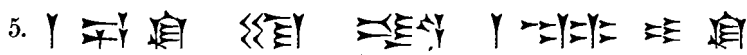

 NISI TIDUKI YUMU XIV SIPPAR
fighting men on the 14th day the city of Sippara


 BA - LA ZAL - TUV ZA - BIT
without fighting took.

4. 
 NABU - NAID INNABIT YUM XVI UG - BA - RU
Nabonidus fled (and on) the 16th day Gobyras


 PIKHAT MAT GU - TI - UM U ZABANI KU - RAS
prefect of the land of Gutium and the soldiers of Cyrus



 BA - LA ZAL - TUV
without fighting

5. 
 ANA BABILI ERUBU ARKU NABU - NAID KI
To Babylon entered. Afterwards when Nabonidus


 IRKA - SA INA BABILI ZA - BIT
had bound into Babylon he brought.

Such is the brief account which a contemporary scribe gives of the fall of Babylon. The narrative is most important for our consideration on account of the great light it throws upon this important event, enabling us to fix the year, month, and day of the capture of the city, and as proving its agreement with the statements of the classical writers and the author of the book of Daniel. The ancient writers all agree that the fall of Babylon took place by a surprise-attack on the night of a great festival. Herodotus thus describes it:—"The outer part of the city had been already taken, while those in the centre, who, as the Babylonians say, knew nothing of the matter owing to the extent of the city, were dancing and making merry, for it so happened that a festival was being celebrated." So also Xenophon says, "When Cyrus perceived that the Babylonians celebrated a festival at a *fixed time*, at which they feasted for the whole night." Or do the Hebrew prophets seem unaware of this surprise of the city of the doomed Chaldeans, as in Jeremiah, "In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice"; and again, "I will make drunk her princes and her wise men, her captains and her rulers and her mighty men" (Jer. li. 39, 57); also, "The night of thy pleasure is turned to horror;—the table is prepared, there is eating and drinking." We have also the record of the writer of the book of Daniel (Dan. v. 1). Among the inscriptions obtained from Babylon is a large tablet con-

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taining, when complete, a calendar of the year with various notes appended to each day as to its being lucky or unlucky, or a fast or feast day. I published a *résumé* of this important inscription some years ago in the *Academy*. I have since made a second copy of the tablet, which I have compared with fragments of other tablets of the same class. The calendar of the month Duzu,  or Tammuz of the Chaldeo-Aramean calendar, the month in which Babylon was taken, is, fortunately, complete, and we are thus able to obtain the festivals celebrated in it. The month Duzu or Tammuz, corresponding to our June or July, was the midsummer month, and, as such, was called "the month of the benefit of the seed." It derived its name from the god Duzu, or Tammuz, the Adonis of the Babylonian and Phœnician pantheon, whose worship was adopted by the idolatrous Jews, as we learn from the prophet Ezekiel: "He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz" (Ezek. viii. 14). This worship of Tammuz, whose Babylonian name Duzu or Tamzi means the "Sun of Life," was a very favourite one with the Babylonians, and the festivals were celebrated with great ceremony, the chief of them falling in the month which derived its name from the god. The army of Cyrus, commanded by Gobyras, entered the city "without fighting" on the 16th of the month Tammuz, or, most probably, on the night of the 15th. We now will examine the calendars so far as they relate to this important month up to the day of the capture of Babylon.



1.   

ARKHU DUZU YUM I.

KI - IS - TI D. SAM - SI






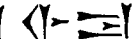
Month Tammuz 1st day

the tree of the sun-god

2.  

YUMU II. BI - KI - TUV

2nd day of Lamentation

3.      

YUMU III. KHU - BA - BA

I - LI NU RA U

MA TAP - SE

4. [𐎶] 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUMU

5. [𐎶] 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUMU V. ZI GU MAGARU

The fifth day an offering is fortunate.

6. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUMU VI. NA - AS - PAR - TI D.P. Samas U
The 6th day the adornment of the sun-god and

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
D.P. Istar GAM - LU
Istar they complete

7. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUM VII. BAT AB - SE - GI - DA
The 7th day an omen is fortunate


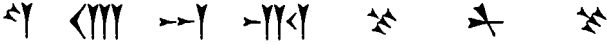
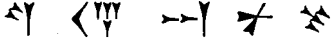

8. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUM VIII. SU - BAT IZ - BA - TU
The 8th day a seat one takes

9. [𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUM IX. GIBIR TU - TU - PA
The 9th day fire burns

10. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUM X. TA - NU - KU D.P. EREM DEM AL - DIB - BA
The 10th day of the magician a divination he takes

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
NA AN DIB BA E - DIR - TUV
It is taken (and) it is obscure

11. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
YUM XI. DENU MA - GIR
The 11th day a judgment is good.

12.  YUM XII. DA - BA - TAN ŠARRI
The 12th day fortunate for the king
13.  YUM XIII. ISTARTUV MAGAR libbit MAGAR
The 13th day the goddess is favourable a divination is good
14.  YUM XIV. AN - NU SE
The 14th day one is not fortunate
15.  YUM XV. ANTALU D.P. SIN
The 15th day an eclipse of the moon.

This tablet, written partly in Akkadian and partly in Semitic Babylonian, reveals to us very clearly the superstitious character of the Babylonians, their blind trusting in omens and divinations, and is an interesting commentary on the book of Daniel. It will be noticed that the month opens with a festival of the Sun - god, that is Tammuz, as the summer sun, restored in all his beauty to his bride Istar, the Moon. This festival is, as I have shown, the same as that of Atys, the Phrygian Adonis, celebrated at the same time. The festival began with the cutting of the sacred fir-tree in which Atys had hidden himself, a symbol of the dark winter which had killed the ruddy summer sun. This worship of Atys and the mother goddess Amna was probably introduced into Phrygia from Babylonia, and the account of the festivals agrees with the records in this inscription. The fir-tree in which the god Tammuz had hidden himself is referred to in a hymn in the British Museum, which states that the sacred dark fir-tree which grew in the city of Eridhu was the couch of the great mother goddess, and in it dwelt the spirit of Tammuz (W. A. I., vol. iv., p. 32). The sacred tree having been cut and carried into the sanctuary of the temple, there came the search for Tammuz, when the devotees ran wildly about, weeping and wailing for the lost one, and cutting themselves with knives. The remarkable tablet in the British Museum, which contains the legend of the descent of Istar into the] under-world in search of Tammuz, has a rubric

attached, which gives the direction for the ceremonial as celebrated in the temple. The statue of Tammuz was placed on a bier and followed by bands of mourners weeping, and crying, and singing a funeral dirge. This dirge is used by Jeremiah in bitter sarcasm against Jehoiakim, whose wicked reign had filled Jerusalem with blood (2 Kings xxiv. 2). "They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah! me, my brother; ah! me, my sister; ah! me, Adonis (Adonai); ah! me, his lady." The same festival seems to be referred to by the prophet Amos in the words, "I will make it as the mourning for the only son"; Tammuz being called the only son (Amos viii. 10). The festivals of Tammuz and Istar, his sister and wife, extended over all the first half of the month, the day of lamentation being the second, and the sixth the procession. On the 15th day was celebrated the great marriage feast of Istar and her husband Tammuz, and it was a wild orgy, such as only the lascivious East would produce. It is here marked as the day of an "eclipse of the moon"; but, as I have shown (*Athenæum*, July 9, 1881), this is a metaphoric expression for the meeting of the Sun-god and his bride. It was this festival that Belshazzar was celebrating on the night when Babylon was taken, and it was, perhaps, the only great festival in which "the king, his wives and concubines," would be present.

The description of this festival, given by the writer of the book of Daniel, is quite in agreement with our knowledge of Babylonian life; and, indeed, there may have been an additional air of desperation imparted to the ceremony by the fact that the prince must have known how, by the flight of his father and the overthrow of the army, all was lost; and this was his last feast. The bringing forth of the gold and silver vessels,—the treasure of the sacred temple of the Jews,—was an act such as became the doomed king. These vessels would be stored in the Temple of Bet Saggal, the Temple of Bel Merodach, and must have been brought thence to the royal palace to gratify the impious whim of the last of Nimrod's line, whose thoughts have found such poetic expression at the hand of Mr. Edwin Arnold ("Belshazzar's Feast") :—

"Crown me a cup, and fill the bowls we brought
From Judah's temple when the fight was fought;
Drink, till the merry madness fills the soul,
To Salem's conqueror, in Salem's bowl.
Each from the goblet of a god shall sip,
And Judah's gold tread heavy on the lip."

The wine, the flowers, the music, the myriad lamps, and blazing tripods which scented the air around with sweet perfume, and, above all, the azure vault of an Eastern summer sky, form a picture that ill becomes the deathbed of an empire. Yet such it was. The tramp of armed men, the clash of swords and spears, a short, sharp struggle, and Babylon, the glory of the Chaldeans, became the victors' prize.

So on that night, Tammuz the 15th, B.C. 539, Babylon, the glory of the Chaldeans, fell, and Cyrus became king.

There must have been great joy among the Hebrew captives at the fall; and with what joyous hearts must they have welcomed Cyrus, "the anointed." He who was to say to Jerusalem, "Thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, Thy foundations shall be laid" (Isaiah xlv. 28). The inscribed monuments of this period throw a new and important, though at first startling, light upon the character of Cyrus. Judging by the passages in the xlv., xlv., xlv. chapters of Isaiah, the conqueror appears as "a man after God's own heart," an iconoclast, a rigid, stern monotheist and hater of idolatry. The selection of Cyrus as the deliverer of the Jews, and the exposition of the worship of Jehovah which the prophet Isaiah gives in these chapters, and which so closely resembles the praises of Ahuramazda in the Persian inscriptions and the Zend Avesta, have usually been considered by commentators to have been in some measure due to the purity of the Zoroastrian faith, of which Cyrus was considered to have been a follower. In support of this supposition we may compare the following passages from the Hebrew writings, with others from the inscriptions of a true Zoroastrian king of Persia, namely, Xerxes, the son of Darius :—

"I have made the earth, and created man upon it ;
I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens ;
I form the light and create darkness ;
I make peace and create evil."

Isaiah xlv. 12 and 7.

"Oh, great god, Or Mazda, who is the greatest of the gods, who created this earth, who has created that heaven, who has created mankind, who has given happiness to man."—*Inscript of Xerxes at Van.*

Passing now to the cylinder inscriptions of Cyrus, inscribed soon after his occupation of Babylon, we meet with the following passage :—

"The gods dwelling within them (the temples) to their places I restored and the gods of the land of Sumir and

Akkad whom Nabonids to shame had put. To the midst of Suana (the sacred quarter of Babylon) by command of the great lord Merodach, in peace in their dwellings he caused to dwell. Each day to Bel and Nebo who prolong my days, perfecting and blessing my happiness; to Merodach, my lord, I spoke for Cyrus his worshipper, and Cambyses his son. To compare this passage with the words of the prophet, "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth. They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity" (Isaiah xlvi. 1, 2) would seem at first to condemn these chapters; but when we awake to the fact, now most conclusively shown by the inscriptions, that Cyrus, though a Persian, was not a Zoroastrian, but an idolater, we may yet see the plausibility of the prophet's words, whose vision of Cyrus as the chosen deliverer and the destroyer of Babylon, of whom Nebo and Bel were the divine representatives, had carried him away in his praise of the great one."*

In the genealogy which Cyrus gives in the above-mentioned Cylinder we have restored to us the lost line of Persian kings prior to Darius Hystaspes.

He there says:—

"I am Cyrus, King of multitudes, the great King, the powerful King, King of Babylon, King of Sumir and Akkad, King of the four quarters, son of Kambyses the great King of the City of Ansan, grandson of Cyrus, the great King, King of the City of Ansan, and great-grandson of Tiespes, the great King, King of the City of Ansan."

The genealogy of the Persian conqueror, which is preserved to us in this inscription, is most important, as it affords us a key to the extremely tolerant, if not indifferentist, policy of Cyrus in religious matters. It will be noticed that from the time of Tiespes (𐎶 𐎠𐎹𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎹𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *Si-is-pi-is*), the Achæmenian, the ancestors of Cyrus do not assume the title

* The Assyrian of the passage is from W.A.I., vol. v., pl. 35, line 32.

"Ilani asib libbi su-nu ana asri sunu utir va,
 Ilani mat Sumiri u Akkadi sa DP Nabu-naid ana
 Asgati bil ili useribi. Ana kirib Suanna (ki) ina,
 Kibiti DP Marduk bil rabū ina salimiti ina
 Mastaki suna usesib. Yumi sam makhar Bel u,
 Nabu sa araku yumi ya litamu u litibakaru,
 Amata dunki ya ana Marduk bil ya ikbū sa
 Kuras palikh su u Kambuzi ya abil su.

of the Kings of Persia, but of "the City of Ansan,"
 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹, D.P. *An-sa-an*; and, in the chronicles
 of Nabonidus, Cyrus is not called King of Persia until
 B.C. 547, two years after the overthrow of the Median
 kingdom and his assumption of the royalty over that
 kingdom.

The position of the land of Ansan is very clearly
 established both by the geographical tablets in the Royal
 Library of Assyria, and by local inscriptions from the land of
 Elam, of which the city and district of Ansan were an
 important part. In a geographical tablet (W. A. I., ii., 47, 18),
 the land of *Anduan*, which, we are told, was to be pronounced
 Ansān, is given as a synonym of Elamtuv, or Elam.

This fixes, in a general manner, the locality as on the
 east of the Tigris, in the land now called Khuzistan. In the
 Elamite inscriptions of the kings of Susa, brought to this
 country by Mr. Loftus, the kings assume the title of GIG.

SUNKIK ANZAN (✳ 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 ✳) "strong ruler of Ansan," as do
 also the rulers whose inscriptions are carved on the rocks at
 Kul Farun and Mal Amir, in the Bakhtiary Mountains, a little
 east and south-east of the ruins of Susa. These facts seem
 to show that we must look for this important city in the
 regions of the Bakhtiary Mountains and the fertile valleys of
 the Karun Disful, and other rivers of that region. The
 travels of Sir Henry Layard and the Baron Auguste de Bode
 in these districts show how full the country is of memorials
 of the past,—rock-cut sculptures and inscriptions in the
 mountains, and vast mounds, marking the sites of ruined
 cities on the plains, yet the whole district is practically
 untouched by the archæologist.

There are two important plains here, both of which have
 extensive remains of the cities of past inhabitants, which
 entitle them to be the "land of Ansan." The first of these,
 plain of Ram Ormuzd, lies to the east of the Bakhtiary
 Mountains, and in the district of Arabistan. It was a favourite
 abode of the Persian kings of the dynasty of Darius
 Hystaspes, and of the later Sassanian rulers, but seems to
 me to be too far eastward to be a dependency of the King of
 Susa and Elam. The second locality where we may seek to
 place the royal city of Cyrus and his ancestors is in the plain
 of Mal Amir, which is thus described by Baron de Bode
 (*Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, chap. xvii.) :—"The plain
 of Mal Amir is above two farsangs in length from south to
 north, and in some places nearly two in breadth. On this

plain are several artificial mounds, one of which may be compared with the great mound at Shush [the ancient Susahan], near Disful, in height. It lies about three-fourths of a farsang to the east of some natural caves in the hills; the intervening space, both in the plain and up the face of the mountain, bearing traces of former habitation." In these caves are a curious series of sculptures of divinities and attendant worshippers, and a long inscription, in which (Layard's *Inscriptions*, 36-37) the kings assume the title of Kings of Ansan. Its close proximity to Sush, the ancient Susa, which afterwards became the residence of the Persian kings (Esther i. 2), would give it more claim to be the Ansan of the Elamite and Babylonian inscriptions than the plain of Ram Ormuzd. In his valuable paper on this cylinder of Cyrus (*Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xii., New Series, p. 76 *et seq.*), Sir Henry Rawlinson records a curious tradition respecting this region Ansan. He says:—"The Greek and Roman writers are entirely silent as to the country and city of Ansan, in Western Persia." There is, however, a notice of Ansan, or Assan, in a very early and learned Arabic writer, Ibn-el-Nadím, who had unusually good information as to genuine Persian traditions. This writer ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jamshíd, son of Virengan (who, with the Zoroastrians, was the eponym of the Persian race), and adds that Jamshíd dwelt at Assán, in the district of Tuster, the modern Shuster" (*Kitab al Fihrist*, p. 12, line 22).

These facts lead us, therefore, to look for the royal city of Cyrus in the region of Mal Amir. The rise of this Sub-Persian, if we may so call it, kingdom, founded by Tiespes, the Akhæmenian, would seem to be, judging by generations about synchronous with the fall of the Assyrian empire, and was no doubt the result of the weak state of the Elamite empire after the overthrow of that kingdom by Assurbanipal. In these events we may see perhaps an explanation of the prophecies of Jeremiah regarding the land of Elam:—"The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, the prophet, against Elam, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah" (B.C. 598); "Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might;" "and I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and princes, saith the Lord" (Jer. xlix., 34-39). In these regions Cyrus and his ancestors would be brought in close contact with the Turanian, Shamanistic creeds of the Elamites, the Proto-Medes, and the other nations of this region, and their creed would assume rather the aspect of Magianism, in contradistinc-

tion to the Mazdean creed of Darius and his Zoroastrian followers.*

A proof of the non-Zoroastrian creed of Cyrus and Cambyses is shown in the fact that Gomates, the Magian, who declared himself to Bardes, the Barziya of the inscriptions, the son of Cyrus, was a distinct opponent of the Zoroastrian rites. For Darius, in the Behistun inscription, states that he restored the sacrifices, rites, and sacred chants which Gomates, the Magian, had taken away. Had Cyrus been a rigid Zoroastrian Monotheist, the claimant who personified his son would hardly have acted in this heretical manner. The inscriptions at Mal Amir of the King Suttur-Kit, son of Khanni-Kit, and which represent the dialect of the population and the edicts of a dynasty reigning in the interval between the fall of Susa, B.C. 645, and the rise of the Akhæmenian sub-kingdom of Ansan, are cognate in dialect with the Proto Median or Amardian of the second column of the Behistun inscription. It was among this people that the ancestors of Cyrus ruled, and so little was the great Zoroastrian god known to them, that Ormuzd is called *annap Arriygam* (Behistun Col. iii., 77-79),—"the god of the Aryans,"—in their version of the royal proclamation. These facts show that all the surroundings of Cyrus and his ancestors were non-Aryan and anti-Mazdean; and these, taken in conjunction with the facts that the name of Cambyses and Cyrus, which are the typical ones of the dynasty, do not admit of a satisfactory explanation by Aryan philology, would seem to dispel for ever the idea of the Zoroastrian creed of Cyrus, or of the apparent references to it in Isaiah. The same conclusion, on somewhat different grounds, seems to have been arrived at by Canon George Rawlinson (*Contemp. Rev.*, Jan., '80, p. 93), for he says, "A wholly new light is thrown on the character of the great Persian monarch, who, instead of being inspired, as was supposed, by Monotheism, and an almost fanatical hatred of idolatry, appears to have been a politic prince, cool, cautious, somewhat of an indifferentist in religion, and, if not a renegade from the faith of his fathers, at any rate so broad in his views as to be willing to identify his own Ahuramazda, the maker of heaven and earth, the all-bounteous Spirit, alike with the one god of the Jews," or with Merodach, the great Lord of the Babylonians.

The conduct of Cyrus, with regard to the chief gods of the Babylonians and the God of the Jews, is exactly in accordance

* On the difference of the creeds see Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*.

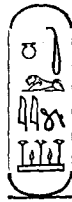
with that of Cambyses his son on a similar occasion in Egypt. It is recorded by Herodotus that Cambyses, after his Ethiopian expedition, returned to Memphis, where he found the people rejoicing over the festival of an Apis bull. He commanded the sacred bull to be brought before him, and then manifested his scorn for the superstition of the Egyptians by thrusting his sword into the beast's thigh. The thigh-bone was much injured, but the priests took away their wounded idol, and nursed him so skilfully that eventually he recovered and lived to a good old age.

Notwithstanding the statement of Herodotus, which seems to have monumental confirmation, the fact that the Apis bull, born in the reign of Cambyses, received divine honours from the Persian king, is proved by the Apis tablets of that period. His conforming to the religio-political necessities of the situation, after his conquest of Egypt, is brought very clearly before us in the inscription on the statue of the official named Uza-hor-em-pi-ri-is in the Vatican (Brugsch. *Hist. Egypt.*, 2nd edit., vol. ii., p. 305). We there read the words of the

official, who says—"When King Kanbut



(Cambyses) came to Sais he entered the temple of the goddess Neith in person. He testified in every good way his reverence for the great exalted, goddess. He did this because I made him acquainted with the high importance of the holy goddess." We may, therefore, conclude that Cambyses was following in the footsteps of his equally politic father, and was guided in these acts by the precedent his father had set him in Babylonia. Even Darius, who prided himself on his pious veneration for the great god Ahuramazda, was so far influenced by the circumstance of his rule in Egypt as to build a great temple to Ammon in the oasis of El Kargeh, and to adopt a prenomem embodying the name of the sun-god, Ra, namely, *Ra-mer-i* Ntariush. It matters but little what were the motives which induced Cyrus to restore the Jews and honour Jehovah by rebuilding the Temple, in that in doing so he was fulfilling the decree of the Most High; and, though his motives may have been selfish and political, yet he was unconsciously acting as the servant of Jehovah.



The statement in the Chronicle inscription that Goybras, the prefect of Gutium, was the general who captured Babylon, is in accordance with the statements of classical writers. Pliny states that "the large city of Agranis (Agadhe, or

Akkad, part of Sippara*), which lay on the Euphrates where the Nahr Malka flowed out of the river, was destroyed by the Persians, and Gobares, so some say, had drawn off the Euphrates (see *ante*, p. 20).” Xenophon also states that the capture of Babylon was effected by Gobyras, and that his division was the first to reach the palace.

Cyrus himself did not enter Babylon until later in the year, —namely on the 3rd day of Marchesvan, four months after,— when he “proclaimed peace to all Babylon,” and Gobyras, his governor and governors, he appointed.†

This statement, which is given both in the Cylinder and the Chronicle seems to show that Gobyras was made viceroy of Babylon during the reign of Cyrus. This brings us face to face with one of the most difficult problems of the chronology of this period, “the reign of Darius the Mede.” The identity of this ruler is only known to us from the book of Daniel, where he is twice mentioned: “And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old”; and again, “In the first year of Darius, the son of Ahashuerus, of the seed of the Medes” (Dan. v. 31; ix. 1).

It is here that we come in contact with the book of Daniel, and it will be necessary, in order to explain the matter and at the expense of being somewhat prosy, to enter fully into the details of the facts to be gathered from the inscriptions.

From the Chronicle inscription we get the following series of dates for the year of the fall of Babylon, B.C. 538 :—

1. Capture of Sippara, *Tammuz* 14th.
2. Capture of Babylon, *Tammuz* 16th.
3. Entry of Cyrus into Babylon, and appointment of Gobyras as the viceroy, *Marchesvan* 3rd.
4. Death of Nabonidus, *Marchesvan* 11th.

Among the dated tablets in the British Museum, the contracts give the following dates :—

1. Last date in the reign of Nabonidus, Elul 5th, in the 17th year.
2. First date in the reign of Cyrus, Kisleu 16th, in Accession.

An interval of 111 days.

* See my notes on this name in the Appendix to Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's paper on “Babylonian Cities.”

† *Ugaru* BP *Pikhati su (w) pikhatu in a Babili iptekid. Pikhatu*, a prefect, is in the Hebrew פיקח

We may, therefore, conclude that contracts were not dated in the reign of Cyrus until after the *third* or *eleventh* of Marchesvan, the days of the entry of Cyrus into Babylon, and the death of Nabonidus. There is, therefore, no space for the rule of Darius the Mede as an independent king, and no tablet has been found bearing his name.

Numerous theories have been proposed for the explanation of this difficulty, and will continue to be propounded as long as no monument of his reign, if such there was, is found.

The most prominent may be noted:—

I. That of the late Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, expounded very fully in the Journals of the Society of Biblical Archæology, that Darius Hystaspes and Darius the Mede were one and the same.

This system would, however, necessitate a complete disarrangement of the chronology of both Oriental and Western history, and is quite opposed to monumental evidence.

II. That Darius the Mede was Astyages, whom Cyrus had deprived of the Median throne in B.C. 550.

This is the theory most favoured by the writer of the *Speaker's Commentary on the Book of Daniel*.

III. That Darius the Mede was Gobyras acting as viceroy of Cyrus.

IV. That Darius the Mede was Cambyses, ruling partly in conjunction with his father.

With the newly-acquired evidence of the inscriptions of Cyrus and Darius before us, the two last seem to be the most tenable, especially that in favour of Gobyras.

The points most in favour of this theory seem to be that Gobyras, the *Ugbaru* of the inscriptions, being formerly prefect of Gutium, or Kurdistan, was ruler of a district which embraced Ecbatana, the Median capital, and "the province of the Medes" (Ezra vi. 2), and was, moreover, as his name indicates, a Proto-Mede, or Kassite by birth.*

That Cambyses was associated with his father is shown by

* I am inclined to think that the name Ugbaru of the Babylonians, and Gobyrras or Gobares of the Greek writers, is a corruption of the Kassite name $\text{Y-KI E\ddot{V} \text{E}E\ddot{V} \text{Y} \text{—}} \text{KHU-BUR-YAS}$, which would have been pronounced as GŪ-BURYAS, the Assyrian translation of which, according to the bilingual tablets (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Archæ.*, vol. iii., 38, and Dilitsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, p. 25, No. 34) would be *Avil bel Matati*, "Man of the lord of the land."

the discovery of tablets dated in his eleventh year, and of his name appearing in the cylinder and other inscriptions in conjunction with that of Cyrus.

The death of Nabonidus and the accession of Cyrus closed the dark epoch of the Captivity, and opened the bright day of the restoration of Israel, a joy which finds expression in the Psalms of the Return (Ps. lxxxv. and Ps. cxxvi.) :—

When Jehovah turned again the Captivity of Zion, we
were like them that dream.

Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue
with singing.

Then said they among the nations, Jehovah hath done
great things for them.

Jehovah hath done great things for us, therefore we are
glad.

Turn again, O Jehovah, our captivity, as the rivers in
the South.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.

He that goeth forth weeping, bearing precious seed,
Shall doubtless come again rejoicing, bringing full
sheaves.*

Such was the outburst of grateful joy to Jehovah for the deliverance which he had wrought by the hand of Cyrus, His servant.

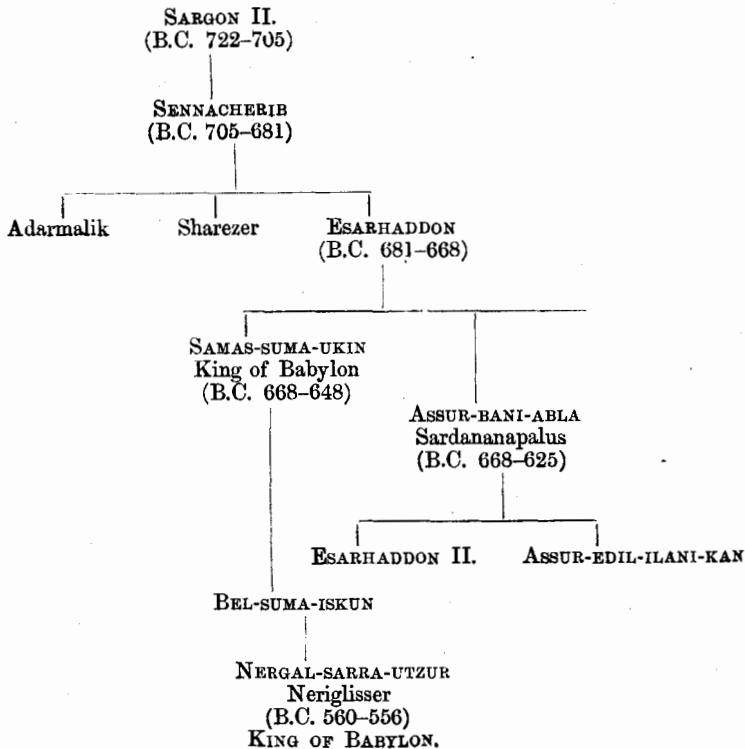
I have endeavoured thus far to show the various historical events which the Jews must have been witnesses of before and during the Captivity, and to point out how vividly, and with what minuteness of detail, these are foretold in the writings of the Hebrew prophets. These in some measure account for the remarkable changes which came over the people; but other and more potent forces lay in the religious and social influences to which they were subjected, in contact with the great civilisation of Chaldea.

* It is to be noted that, in this and other cases in the paper, Mr. Boscawen has given his own, or a different, translation of the sacred text.—Ed.

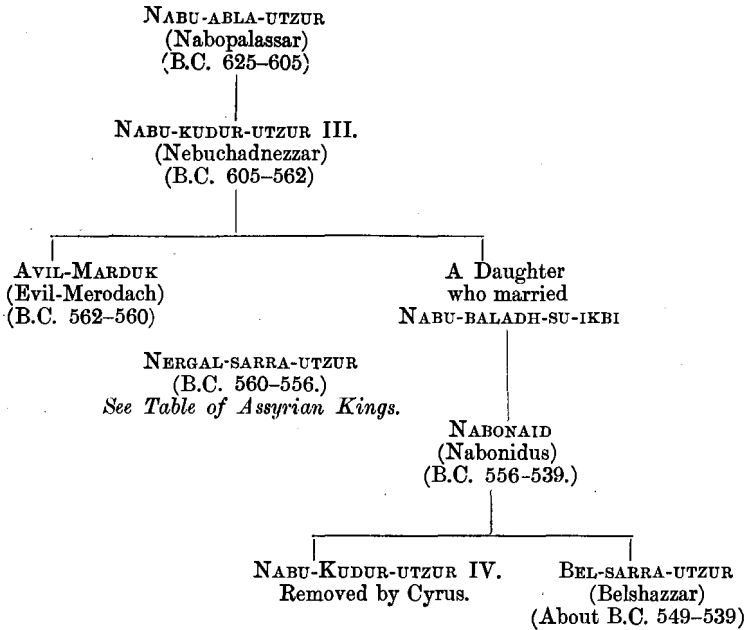
GENEALOGICAL CHART
OF
ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN, AND PERSIAN KINGS,

From B.C. 721 to 521.

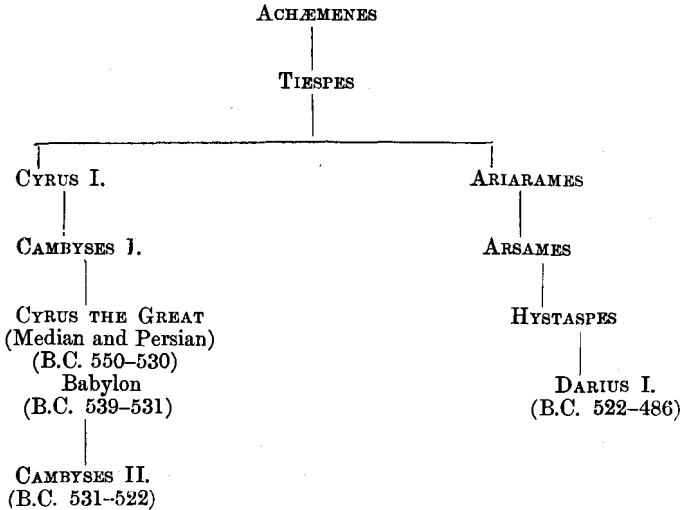
SARGONIDE DYNASTY.



BABYLONIAN KINGS.



PERSIAN KINGS.



The CHAIRMAN (Mr H. CADMAN JONES).—I am sure the meeting will unanimously authorise me to return its thanks to Mr. Boscawen for the very interesting glimpse he has afforded us into an important period. What must strike everybody as one of the most interesting questions in Jewish history is that with regard to the influences which were brought to bear on the Jews during their Captivity. Every one is familiar with the fact that the character of the people seems to have been changed during that time—that they were constantly falling into heathenism prior to their Captivity, but that after it they resisted heathenism in the most complete way. How such a great change could have been brought about in the course of seventy years is a most interesting problem; and it is to be hoped that further search into the Assyrian records will, in time, throw a flood of light upon the subject.

Mr. HORMUZD RASSAM.—I have but little to say upon the learned and most interesting lecture of my friend Mr. Boscawen. With regard to the tiles I discovered in the Palace of Belshazzar, I have already exhibited some of them here, and we are told by ancient historians that they portrayed certain hunting-scenes. In reference to the work I have myself done, I can safely say that, although I have been engaged in exploring and excavating for nearly forty years, my discoveries amount to but a drop in the ocean, in comparison to what I believe will yet be found. It is a disgrace, not to England alone—for England cannot work alone—but to Europe in general, that people do not join together and try to make a thorough examination of the ruins existing in those ancient countries. All Assyrian and Biblical students know that there must have existed a link between the cuneiform characters and what is called Syriac. Although I have been excavating for so long a period, I have found nothing whatever of the kind. There is, nevertheless, some connexion between the two languages to be found. I am almost certain, also, that we should find Jewish records both in Media and Babylonia. Last year, when I was in Mesopotamia, I was told that Assyrian inscriptions had been found in different parts of the border-land between Turkey and Persia, which means, of course, Media. I am sorry to say I was not allowed to go and examine them. The Turkish Government has shown lately a great deal of jealousy against our explorations, as they are told by mischievous men that they are fools to allow the English to take all their valuable antiquities away, and that they could make a fortune out of them. Even letters have been written to newspapers on the same subject, and have had a bad effect. It is said that the Ambassadors have done their best, but if Lord Dufferin would only do as Sir Henry Layard did,—that is, go to the Sultan and ask him,—permission would be at once given for carrying on the necessary excavations. It is deplorable that these inscriptions should be allowed to be broken and destroyed by the Arabs. The latter are actually excavating now, and we have lately received in the British Museum inscriptions dug up by the Arabs in our own trenches. There must always be a certain amount of loss by breakage, and so, when these antiquities are dug up, I have had inscriptions go to pieces as soon as they were exposed to the air. In this way we have lost most valuable relics. In consequence of the clandestine

manner in which excavations are carried on, wholesale destruction cannot be prevented. There are about twenty different Jews and Armenians who are trying to enrich themselves by the sale of these inscriptions. The Turks prohibit excavations, and these men, being unable to dig openly and in the light of day, are obliged to excavate at night. The consequence is, that for one inscribed object they procure whole, they break nineteen. You will find in the British Museum a cylinder I bought from three different people, and at the time I did not know that the pieces were all portions of the same record. It was found whole in the same soil, and the men who found it destroyed half an inch of the inscription by hacking it with a saw. They had made a contract with different Jews, and, as they had not found anything for a week previously, they cut the cylinder in three pieces and gave a piece to each. (Laughter.) It is a shame that England does not bestir herself. The relics we have in London and Paris are, comparatively speaking, insignificant in comparison to what I believe is still underground. I do not intend to go again to Babylonia, but I know that it is for the benefit both of those who love their Bibles and science that further discoveries should be made; and I have no doubt that some day inscriptions of the most valuable nature will be found which will surprise us more than all those already brought to light. What have hitherto been mysteries in the books of Daniel, Jeremiah, and Isaiah, have been verified by the already-discovered inscriptions, and most of the prophecies seem to have been fulfilled to the letter.

Rev. F. S. COOK, D.D.—It is said that the siege of Babylon, described by Herodotus as successfully carried out by Cyrus, is not the same as the siege which has been spoken of to-night, but a later one, by Darius. Is that the case?

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—It seems probable that it is one of the sieges to which Darius refers in his inscriptions. Babylon underwent so many sieges that confusion might have arisen on the part of even the later Babylonian priests who told Herodotus.

Rev. Dr. COOK.—You think that one name absorbed the other?

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—Yes; Nebuchadnezzar became very much, as Dean Stanley has said, a second Nimrod. Mr. Rassam spoke of broken inscriptions. There was one among the inscriptions obtained by Mr. Smith which was broken on the way to England. The name of Merodach-sarra-utzar appeared upon it, and I identified that monarch with Belshazzar. I gave the theory up, but have gone back to it again, because I am quite sure that for the last few years of the reign of his father Belshazzar was associated on the throne with him. Unfortunately, about a hundred tablets in the centre of the case were broken on account of a heavy piece of work being placed on the top of them. I am, however, quite sure that, as one inscription of this class was found, we shall obtain others.

Mr. W. GRIFFITH.—I think that some of the evidence Mr. Boscawen has spoke of will enable us to rectify the errors made by Herodotus. Although Herodotus was always a most patient gleaner of knowledge, and although he endeavoured to get at proofs, yet in many cases

he was deceived, for he had often to depend upon what has been called "the muddy stream of tradition." This may account for the discrepancies to be found in the accounts of the siege of Babylon as given by Herodotus and Daniel. It seems impossible to reconcile the statements of Herodotus respecting Babylonian history with those of Xenophon, still less those of both Greek writers with those of the Babylonian priest and historian, Berosus. It was once esteemed a probability that the account of Berosus, as to "Nabonnidus," joint-sovereign with Belshazzar, was accurate. I think this probability has been made a certainty by the recently-discovered monumental inscriptions. Similarly, after two thousand years, Daniel's solitary testimony respecting Belshazzar has been confirmed. The hearsay of Herodotus and the historical novel of Xenophon are now entitled to less weight than the corrected statement of the prophet. The papers read before the Victoria Institute corroborate the following assertion in the notes to the Speaker's Bible. On every page of Daniel undesigned coincidences with the now known external features of the age and localities in which the book was written and the prophet lived are to be found. "Incidental touches, delicate shades of expression, statements otherwise unintelligible, indicate the hand of one bred and resident in courts and among men with whom the monuments have made us familiar." We are certainly much indebted to Mr. Boscawen for the interesting account he has given us of the capture of Babylon, and for having identified not merely the capture, but the dates connected with it. Such minute coincidences as those he has pointed out to us carry with them almost the force of demonstration. As a matter of fact, we do possess some of the literary remains of this time. Sir H. Layard has given it as his opinion, founded on the imagery employed therein, that the "Book of Baruch" was written about this time. The history of Tobit, too, shows the literary power that was being developed in those days. It shows the power of genius and that ability to write novels and romances, which proved that the Jewish people were developing higher talent than they had done in former times; and I am of opinion that the Jews benefited by being carried away to Babylon. The Targums show that the activity of the Jews was very great in literature. A cursory consideration of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel would lead us to the same conclusion. Jeremiah's advice was that captives should marry and acquire land, and act in an orderly manner, and they accepted that advice and acted upon it. They were not slaves, they were colonists, and some of them were given the highest offices in the State, as, for instance, Daniel and the Hebrew children, and Ezra and Nehemiah. In Ezekiel we find a higher degree of polish than in Jeremiah. He is very particular about details, and a very painstaking writer. I can scarcely hope we shall find many more literary relics of the Jews, because most of the inscriptions seem to have been of a public character.

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—We have got about 22,000 private inscriptions in the British Museum. They are mostly private contracts of various characters, and there are a few Jewish names in them. We get the names of Baruch

and Hosea. In all there are about twenty Jewish names. I am, however, much inclined to think that the example of the Three Children in changing their names was largely followed by other Jews.

Dr. J. A. FRASER, I.G.H.—Alluding to the plaster on which the writing on the wall appeared, as mentioned in the Bible, did I understand Mr. Boscawen to say that Mr. Rassam knew of the existence of such plaster?

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—I found a number of the bricks covered with a coating of plaster.

Mr. RASSAM.—I may say that I have only to excavate a couple of feet in order to find out whether a ruin is of a Babylonian or Assyrian origin. In Arabic, plaster means anything forming the outer part of a wall. The difference between the embellishment of the Assyrian and Babylonian palaces was this,—the former panelled their rooms with slabs of marble or alabaster, on which they engraved battle and hunting scenes, while the latter contented themselves by plastering their walls with some peculiar mud or cement, and painting thereon the same kind of representations as the Assyrians did.

Dr. FRASER.—I differ from the speaker, who said there was not much chance of our finding Jewish memorials. I think that if we hit on one, we shall hit upon many thousands all together.

Mr. RASSAM.—If we find anything about the Jewish Captivity, it will probably be at Coutha, where I made some excavations. The place, however, may be considered as large as Westminster, and I only excavated on an area about twice the size of this room.

Mr. BOSCAWEN.—There are one or two points I may as well reply upon now. With regard to the Targum, an interesting ray of light is thrown on the question in the fact that the interpreter (*targumanni*) is frequently mentioned as a witness to contracts.* The fact that the Jews must have been acquainted with a great deal of Babylonian literature at this time, is clearly shown by the number of legends in the Talmud, which are clearly copied from Assyrian tablets. Of the literary activity of Babylon at this time, we have a proof in the schools which rose up there; and so great was the importance of Babylon to Jewish literary students, that it was called for a long time after the Captivity the "Crown of the Law," because there the law was most studied. Of private contracts, and of matters relating to private life, we have an enormous amount of information. Mr. Pinches recently discovered an interesting probate case, in which a wife brought an action in one of the high courts of Babylon, before six judges, for the purpose of recovering certain property seized by her brother-in-law, and I have examined over fifteen hundred tablets relating to sales of land and slaves, one of them containing a plan beautifully drawn, and giving all the plotting of a field with considerable mathematical skill. Another tablet I found contained a list of precedents. You know how these precedents crop up in the Talmud, and it is quite possible to show, and has been shown by Dr. Schrader and other

* *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, p. 73, Feb. 6, 1883.

writers, not only that a number of these precedents are borrowed by the Jewish people, but that in some cases peculiar Assyrian words have passed into the Talmud with them. There is one thing about the Assyrian calendar I should like to mention. The inscription which fixes the date of the capture of Babylon is an interesting document which I hope very shortly to publish as a whole with annotations. It abounds in all sorts of information about omens and lucky days ; for instance, days which were lucky to marry on, and days which were unlucky ; days on which fowls might be eaten, and days on which fish could be eaten. There is a maxim with regard to marriage which is rather a warning to some of us. It reminds one of the saying, "Never be born on a Friday." It is this: "Take a wife in a certain month, and you will be miserable all your life." (Laughter.) The curious thing is, that with the exception of the note upon the month Tammuz, the tablet is almost entirely a civil one, and not a religious one. We find, however, in other tablets, that the seventh, the fourteenth, the twenty-first, and the twenty-eighth days are called Sabbath days, or white days, on which the king and all his subjects had to abstain from work. It is curious to know that the Sabbath day is called, not a blessed day, but an evil day, and this, not because the day itself was evil, but because it was a day on which it was evil, or wicked, to do any work. The amount of information to be gathered from the tablets is really very great indeed. We have an enormous number of them in the British Museum, and hope to have in time about as many as the Museum will hold. I trust, however, to see a great many more studying this subject. We who do study have our jealousies and bickerings amongst ourselves, but still we should all like to see more engaged on the work. To Sunday-school teachers and clergymen, the information to be gathered from these tablets would be of the greatest possible value. They do not need a deep knowledge of the inscriptions themselves, but just a knowledge of the evidence which is to be gathered from them. I have recently been told that the books of which the fewest copies are sold are those which might be used to illustrate Biblical knowledge. People get frightened at them, possibly on account of the names, but I am convinced that if they would go through the British Museum, taking their Bibles and note-books with them, many a Sunday-school lesson and sermon would be made more interesting and forcible. (Applause.)

The meeting was then adjourned.