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JOURNAL OF  
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OF  
The Victoria Institute,  
OR,  
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1922.

635TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,  
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,  
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 5TH, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

PROFESSOR T. G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following Members and Associates since the last Meeting:—Dr. Louis E. Wood, John Sterry, Esq., Sir Charles J. Owens, C.B., the Rev. Russell J. Howden, B.D., E. A. McGill, Esq., M.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., the Rev. J. A. Brunberg, D.D., A. T. Babbs, Esq., F.S.I., and Archdeacon J. P. Kempthorne as Members, and Major Holness, R.A.V.C., O. M. Alger, Esq., J. G. Althouse, Esq., C. A. Dyer, Esq., H. M. Gilchrist, Esq., J. H. Manuel, Esq., Mrs. Bertha Carr-Harris, the Rev. W. E. Rowlands, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, Sir Robert J. Kennedy, K.C.M.G., James Dunn, Esq., Pastor F. E. Marsh, the Rev. W. E. Oswald Parry, and the Rev. Charles Garratt as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Andrew Craig Robinson, M.A., to read his paper on “Darius the Median and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon in the Light of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.”

*DARIUS THE MEDIAN AND THE CYROPAEDIA OF  
XENOPHON IN THE LIGHT OF THE CUNEIFORM  
INSCRIPTIONS.* By the REV. ANDREW CRAIG ROBINSON,  
M.A.

CHARLES ROLLIN, a distinguished French historian, composed a work, entitled *Histoire Ancienne* (published in Paris in twelve volumes, 1730–1738), which attained wide celebrity, and was translated into English and many other languages besides. In commencing his history of Cyrus, Rollin wrote as follows:—

“The history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging

him more worthy of credit on this subject than the former ; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient to briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians ; with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of that prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself in the beginning of his *Cyropaedia*. He says, ‘Having always looked on this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure of informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince ; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.’ ”

Rollin goes on :—

“As to what Cicero says in his first letter to his brother Quintus : ‘That Xenophon’s design in writing the history of Cyrus was not so much to follow truth as to give a model of a just government’ ; this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian ” (Xenophon) “or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from that is that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus’s history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the art of reigning, and in gaining the love of their subjects notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates is to be deemed true ; and of this their conformity with the Holy Scripture is itself a sufficient proof.”

Rollin’s *Histoire Ancienne* was published in Paris, as already mentioned, in the years 1730–1738 ; and when after that date a little more than a hundred years had passed away—that is to say

about the year 1846—it came to pass, that the great Behistun Rock Inscription of Darius Hysdaspes was decyphered by Rawlinson. In that great achievement of scholarship and patience was signalized the resurrection from the buried past of a *Histoire Ancienne* indeed—the cuneiform records of Babylonia and Assyria. How brilliantly those records—which, when Rollin wrote, were utterly unknown to the learned world of his day—have vindicated his judgment on the historical character of the Cyropaedia, I hope to lay before you, and to discuss the consequent bearing of this circumstance on the questions involved in regard to “Darius the Median.”

In Daniel 5, 31, occur the words :—

“And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.”

Dr. Driver—following the line taken by many other critics—makes an elaborate attempt, in his commentary on the Book of Daniel, to represent the Writer of the Book as being obsessed with the idea, that the reign of an independent Median king—Darius the Median—interposed between the conquest of Babylon and the reign of Cyrus. The vision of Daniel however, contained in the 8th chapter, would seem to clearly show that the idea before the writer’s mind was not that of a Median King succeeded by a Persian—but of a united Medo-Persian Empire. This is shown by the symbolism. We read in the 12th verse :—

“The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the Kings of Media and Persia.”

Dr. Driver contended that one of the horns—the one lower than the other—represented a Median kingdom, coming after the Babylonian, and followed and superseded by a Persian. But this would not agree with the symbolism. For the ram is *one* : symbolizing the *one* united empire, the Medo-Persian of history ; the horns are *two*, symbolizing *two* kings and the *two* nations of which the one empire was composed—the Medes and Persians. The rough goat of the vision—the King of Grecia, Alexander the Great—breaks *both* the horns of the ram. Alexander, as history tells us, brought to an end the united Medo-Persian empire ; but it was certainly not Alexander that

brought to an end the distinct and independent kingdom of Media—for that kingdom had passed away, by amalgamation with the kingdom of Persia, some two hundred years before Alexander the Great was born.

By the symbolism of this vision, then, it would appear that the writer of the Book of Daniel regarded the Medes and Persians united; which, of course, they were; and the four great Kingdoms signified in the vision of Daniel were: The Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. The same Four Kingdoms are signified in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, whilst the prophecy of that Kingdom which in the days of those kings the God of heaven should set up—which should never be destroyed, but should stand for ever—was the kingdom of the Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ So be it, Lord ; Thy throne shall never,  
 Like earth’s proud empires, pass away ;  
 But stand, and rule, and grow for ever,  
 Till all Thy creatures own Thy sway.”

Nor is it only from the symbolism of the vision that it appears that the writer of the Book of Daniel regarded the Medes and Persians as united, but it is also evident from the expression which so frequently occurs, “according to the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.” In the 6th chapter, containing the episode of the den of lions—a chapter very particularly concerned with Darius the Mede—the expression occurs three times, being once used by Darius himself, and another time by his courtiers, when they finally compelled the King to bend to their wishes, by the words, “Know, O King, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.”

And it is a remarkable circumstance—noticed long ago by Dr. Pusey—that in the Book of Esther, where also the two names occur linked together, the order of the names is reversed. In the Book of Daniel, it is, “the law of the Medes and Persians,” whilst in the Book of Esther it is “the laws of the Persians and the Medes” (Esth., i, 19). Compare Esth. i, 3, “the power of Persia and Media,” ver. 14, “the seven princes of Persia and Media”; and ver. 18, “the ladies of Persia and Media.” That is to say, the Book of Daniel, written—so it is contended in this

paper—in the Age of Cyrus, when the Kingdom of Media, in close union with Persia, was still a living thing, has the form “Medes and Persians”; whilst the Book of Esther, written in later times, after the reign of Xerxes, when the supremacy of the Persians had overshadowed the Medes—has the form “Persians and Medes.” Yet there is one passage in the Book of Esther in which what seems to be the more ancient style is used, and that is in the last chapter of the Book, where the chronicles of the united empire are in question—chronicles going back no doubt to the older time, and here the expression is in the reverse order—“are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia?” (Esth. x, 2).

When the Medes and Persians come before us after the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire, we find them standing in a very peculiar position towards each other—almost on terms of equality, and yet the Persians somewhat superior to the Medes, owing, it would seem, chiefly to the pre-eminent genius and personality of Cyrus. How did this rather anomalous state of things come about? Three different accounts have come down to us from the Greek classical authors.

There is the account of Ctesias, as preserved in a fragment of Nicoläus of Damascus, according to which Cyrus was the son of a robber, named Atradates, whilst his mother, who was named Argosté, made her living by keeping goats. Cyrus, according to this story, after serving in various menial capacities in the household of Astyages, King of Media, became eventually his cup-bearer. Having been sent on some expedition or other by Astyages, he treacherously turned the occasion into an opportunity of stirring up the Persians—who in the story are supposed to have been subject to the Medes—to rise in revolt. Astyages marched against the rebels; but the final battle that was fought ended in a decisive victory for the Persians; no less than 60,000 Medes having been slain. In the rout which ensued, the King of the Medes was taken prisoner, and Cyrus was saluted by the victorious army, King of Media and Persia.

But, surely, in face of the Cuneiform Inscriptions which have placed on record the royal descent and kingly ancestors of Cyrus, this story of a Cyrus—son of a robber and a goat-herd—himself a menial in the household of Astyages, need not really detain us for a moment. And with this absolute ignorance on the part of Ctesias as to Cyrus being a royal prince, the whole story,

which so depends upon it, would seem to pass away—of battles fought and countless Medians slain.

And this would seem a convenient place to draw attention to the Inscriptions referred to, which place the royal descent of Cyrus beyond possibility of doubt. One of the Inscriptions of the time of the fall of Babylon, the Cylinder of Cyrus (*Brit. Mus.* 12049), proclaims his royal pedigree, set forth in the following style :—

“I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the quarters four, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of Anšan, descendant of Teispes, the great king, king of Anšan, eternal seed of royalty, of whom Bel and Nabu love the reign, and for the delight of their hearts desired his kingdom.”

There is a short inscription on the ruins at Murghab, the remains probably of the tomb of Cyrus the Great—repeated four times, containing words :—

“*Adam Kurush Khshayathiya Hakhamanishiya*” (translated: “I am Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenian”). Rawlinson, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x, part 2, p. 270.

This royal descent of Cyrus, recorded on the Cyrus Cylinder and in the inscriptions of Cyrus at Murghab, is confirmed by the royal pedigree of his kinsman Darius the son of Hysdaspes, contained in the great rock inscription the “Behistun Inscription of Darius.” There Cyrus is referred to as “of our race,” and Cyrus and Darius are shown to have had the same ancestor Teispes, son of Achaemenes, on which account Darius says, “we have been called Achaemenians,” and he declares that there were eight of his race who had been kings before him, and that he was the ninth.

And the royal descent of Cyrus is further shown by the title which is given to him in an inscription of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, drawn up, as it would seem, some fourteen years before the Fall of Babylon, in which Cyrus is mentioned as “King of Anšan.” This inscription will be referred to again in another connection.

It will be seen, then, that a knowledge on the one hand, or ignorance on the other, that Cyrus was the son of a king, constitutes one of the "acid tests"—as they may be called—which by means of the Cuneiform Inscriptions are to be applied to the classical narrators of the life of Cyrus. Under this test the story which has come down from Ctesias, and all later accounts which reiterate his fable, are shown to be absolutely untrue.

Then there is the account which has come down from Herodotus—that incorrigible *raconteur* of fantastic and sometimes repulsive tales—who seems never to have thought an incident which he related as serious history to be quite satisfactory if it did not include some very good story. Unfortunately, however, these good stories were too often accepted by the ancient world *au grand sérieux* and became in time firmly embedded in a nation's history. In this case his story is that the mother of Cyrus was—not Argosté, a goat-herd, but—Mandané, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media. Astyages, having learned from the interpretation of a dream that a son who should be born from his daughter would overthrow all Asia, sought to avoid the danger, and defeat the prophecy, by giving his daughter to a Persian named Cambyses, a man of good family. Being afterwards terrified by another dream, he sent for his daughter from Persia, and as soon as Cyrus was born he commanded Harpagus, one of his most trusted ministers of state, to take the child to his own house and kill it. Harpagus, however, instead of killing the child himself, sent for one of the herdsmen of Astyages, and told him that it was the King's command that he should lay the child in the most desolate place in the mountains where it might perish in the shortest time. The herdsman, whose name was Mitradates—a name suspiciously like the Atradates of Ctesias—brought the child, who was dressed in royal splendour, to his humble home, and then, at the suggestion of his wife, who had given birth to a dead child, the dead infant was dressed in the royal robes of Cyrus, and brought to Harpagus in proof that the King's command had been performed. But the herdsman and his wife brought up Cyrus as their own son. When he was ten years old, however, circumstances occurred which caused him to be recognised by Astyages as his daughter's son. The King was greatly incensed with Harpagus for not having killed the child, but concealing his anger, he invited him to a banquet, and revenged himself upon him in a most revolting fashion, by

having his son served up to him at table. Cyrus was sent off to his parents in Persia, but when he came to man's estate, Harpagus, mindful of the brutal outrage which Astyages had perpetrated on him many years before, stirred up the spirit of the youthful Cyrus to excite the Persians to rebel against the Medes. They rose in revolt, and, commanded by Cyrus, took the field. King Astyages, with the Medians, marched against them; but, as if blinded by fate, he appointed Harpagus to command his army, who in secret was his deadly enemy. The battle which ensued was disastrous to Astyages: some of his soldiers deserted to the Persians, but the greater part of his army took to flight. Astyages was taken prisoner, the Medes became the subjects of the Persians, and the victorious Cyrus was made their king.

Here it will be seen that Herodotus also—when his story is compared with the Cuneiform Inscriptions—is at fault in regard to the parentage of Cyrus; although he is not so much astray as Ctesias—for he at least makes the mother of Cyrus—Mandané—to have been a royal princess, and correctly states the name of his father to have been Cambyses, but does not know he was a king, and says that he was merely “a Persian of good family, and of a quiet disposition,” Astyages, he says, “considering him much beneath a Median man of middle rank.” And, moreover, he also correctly names even the father of that Cambyses, in the incident where he relates that the servant of Astyages, in handing the infant Cyrus to the herdsman to be made away with, tells him that the infant is the son of Mandané, the daughter of Astyages, and Cambyses, *son of Cyrus* (Herod. i, 3). Yet Herodotus all the while is completely unaware that both Cyrus and Cambyses, of whom he is speaking, *i.e.* the grandfather and the father of Cyrus the Great, had been—both of them in succession—Kings: as a matter of fact, Kings of Anšan. This misconception on the part of Herodotus, at the very start, in regard to the real position of Cyrus, is fatal, and makes his whole narrative a tissue of unreality and false tradition; though, after his own inimitable fashion, he has decked the story out with many a sensational and dramatic scene.

A revolt of the Persians against the Medes, resulting in a decisive victory for the Persians, forms, it will be seen, the climax of the narratives of Ctesias and Herodotus alike. On what tradition does this war between the Medes and Persians

rest? It seems to rest on a tradition which confused the Medes—who were of Aryan race—with a completely distinct people named the Manda, who were of Scythian origin. The name of the capital city of each people was the same—Ekbatana—and each of the people had a king of the same name, Istuvegu or Astyages.

Professor Sayce writes:—

“It is startling to find that Istuvegu or Astyages was king not of the Medes but of the Manda. The name of Manda was applied by the Babylonians and Assyrians to the nomad tribes who at times threatened their eastern and northern borders. . . . It would seem that the Manda of Ekbatana were the Scythians of classical history.”  
*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 519, 520.

Professor Sayce goes on to say—

“Totally distinct from the Manda were the Mada or Medes. Their land lay to north-east of that of Ekbatana, and extended as far as the shores of the Caspian. They consisted for the most part of Aryan tribes, allied in blood and language to the Persians” (p. 521).

And then he further says—

“The Medes and the Manda were confounded with each other. Astyages, the suzerain of Cyrus, was transformed into a Mede, and the city of Ekbatana into the capital of a Median empire. It was not until the discovery of the monuments of Nabonīdos and Cyrus that the truth came to light.”

The defeat of Astyages by Cyrus is related on a cylinder of Nabonīdos, King of Babylon, 555–538 B.C. (*Brit Mus.*, No. 82–7–14, 1025). The following is the translation by L. W. King, M.A. :—

“I, Nabonīdos, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters, the patron of Esagil and Ezida, whose destiny Sin and Ningal in the womb of his mother for a royal destiny determined, son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi; the wise prince, the worshipper

of the great gods, am I. E-ḫul-ḫul, the temple of Sin, which is in Harran wherein from eternity Sin the great lord as in the dwelling-place of the delight of his heart dwells, with the city and that temple his heart was wroth and the Scythians (Umman-man-da) he brought and that temple he destroyed and caused it to fall into ruins. In my legitimate reign Bel the great lord through love for my kingdom unto the city and that temple was gracious and had mercy. In the beginning of my everlasting reign they caused me to behold a dream: Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth, stood on either side: Marduk spake to me, 'Nabonīdus, king of Babylon, with the horses of thy chariot bring bricks, E-ḫul-ḫul build, and Sin the great lord therein cause to inhabit his dwelling-place.' With fear I spake to the lord of the gods, Marduk: 'That temple which thou commandest me to build, the Scythian (Umman-man-da) infests it and mighty is his strength.' But Marduk spake unto me: 'The Scythian (Umman-man-da) of whom thou speakest, he, his land, and the kings, his allies, are no more.' In the third year on an expedition they caused him to advance, and Cyrus, King of Anzan, his petty vassal, with his troops that were few, the wide-spreading Scythians (Umman-man-da) scattered Astyages, king of the Scythians (Umman-man-da), he captured and as a prisoner to his land he took him. It was the word of the great lord Marduk and of Sin, the light of heaven and earth, whose command was not annulled."

The text transliteration and translation are given in *First Steps in Assyrian*, L. W. King, p. 95, see reproduction in this paper.

Of this conquest of Astyages by Cyrus the Nabonīdus-Cyrus Chronicle (*Brit. Mus.*, Sp. II, 964), has the following account:—

"His forces he (*i.e.* Astyages) collected and against Cyrus, king of Anšan, to conquer him went. But against Astyages his forces revolted, and in captivity to Cyrus they delivered him. Cyrus went to Ekbatana the royal city. Silver, gold, possessions, property of Ekbatana, he carried off and to Anšan he took."—Cuneiform text, transliteration and translation are given in *First Steps in Assyrian*, L. W. King, p. 101.

THE DEFEAT OF ASTYAGES BY CYRUS.

From a cylinder of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 555-538 B.C.

(*Brit. Mus.*, No. 82-7-14, 1025).

Reproduced from *First Steps in Assyrian*, L. W. King, M.A. By permission of George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.

	24.			
<i>ilu Marduk</i>		<i>bitu</i>	<i>šu - a - tim</i>	<i>ša</i>
Marduk :		"That temple		which

		25.	
<i>tak - bu - u</i>	<i>e - pi - šu</i>		<i>amēlu Umman-man - da</i>
thou commandest	to build,		the Scythian

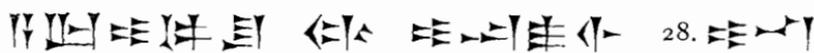
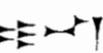
	
<i>sa - hi - ir - šum - ma</i>	<i>pu - ug - gu - lu</i>
infests it	and mighty is

	26.		
<i>- mu - ga - a - šu</i> <sup>1</sup>		<i>ilu Marduk - ma</i>	<i>i - la - ma - a</i>
his strength."		But 'Marduk	spake

			
<i>it - ti - ia</i>	<i>amēlu Umman-man - da</i>	<i>ša</i>	<i>tak - bu - u</i>
unto me :	"The Scythian of whom thou speakest,		

27.				
	<i>ša - a - šu</i>	<i>māti - šu</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>šarrāni</i> <sup>pl</sup>
	he,	his land,	and	the kings,

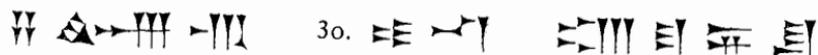
1. I. e., pu-uk-ku-lu e-mu-ka-a-šu.

 28.   
*a - lik i - di - šu ul i - ba - aš - ši i' - na*  
 his allies, are no more". In

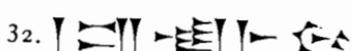
  
*ša - lu - ul - ti šatti i - na*  
 the third year on

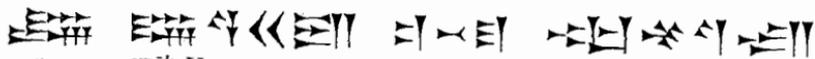
 29.   
*ka - ša - du u - šat - bu - niš - šum - ma*  
 an expedition<sup>1</sup> they caused him to advance and

  
*<sup>m</sup> Ku - ra - aš šar mātu An - za - an arad - su*  
 Cyrus, king of Anzan, his

 30.   
*ša - aḫ - ri i - na um - ma - ni - šu*  
 petty vassal, with his troops

  
*i - šu - tu amelu Umman - man - da rap - ša - a - ti*  
 that were few the wide-spreading Scythians

 31.  32.   
*u - sap - pi - iḫ <sup>m</sup> Iš - tu - me - gu*  
 scattered. Astyages,

  
*šar amelu Umman - man - da iṣ - bat - ma ha - mu - ut - su*  
 king of the Scythians, he captured and as a prisoner

 33.  34.   
*a - na māti - šu il - ki a - mat ilu Bēl*  
 to his land he took him. { (It was) the  
 { the word of }

1. Or "as it approached".

With regard to the two cities of Ekbatana, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, in his article in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, on "Acemetha" (Ekbatana), after mentioning that there were two cities of that name, quotes the Armenian historian, Moses of Choriné, as speaking of the "second Ekbatana the seven-walled city." He also refers to a paper by Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Journal Royal Geographical Society*, x, art. 2) which gives the position of the two cities: one in Lat.  $34^{\circ} 8' N.$ , surviving in the present Hamadan—this would be the capital of the Umman-manda; the other—which Sir Henry considered the ancient capital of the Medes—farther north in Lat.  $36^{\circ} 25'$  at Takht-i-Sulayman, in the ancient Atropatené. The positions of the two cities are shown in Map No. 7 in the Oxford Teachers' Bible.

NOTE.—That there was an Astyages, King of the Medes, however, seems certain, as it is recorded by all the Greek historians; but he was distinct from Astyages, King of the Umman-man-da.

It has been sometimes said that Xenophon, in his work the *Anabasis* (III, iv, 7, 12):

"When writing as an historian and not as a novelist ascribes the overthrow of the Median Empire to the Persians under Cyrus after a prolonged resistance."

But in the passage in question Xenophon merely relates the local tradition which he heard when passing through the ruined cities of Larissa (Chalah) and Mespila (Nineveh) in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. He uses the word "legetai" ("it is said"), he does not interrupt his narrative to discuss whether what was "said" was true or false. The tradition in question no doubt once more confounded the Medes with the Manda. For although the Medes are supposed to have taken part with the Babylonians, Scythians and others in the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire in 607 B.C., and the destruction of Nineveh, yet it was not to them, but to the Babylonians, that after the war was over the territory of Assyria seems to have fallen. (Hence the Babylonians are so often called by the Greek writers "Assyrians.") Therefore the Medes had no concern afterwards with the territory in which these cities were. But the Umman-man-da had; for we have seen from the cylinder-inscription of Nabonîdus, already cited, that the Umman-man-da in his day (c. 549 B.C.) from their own

land of Ekbatana, east of Assyria, had penetrated to Harran in Mesopotamia, which lay to the north-west of Nineveh and had no doubt overrun the intervening country in which these ruined cities were. Three years later these Umman-man-da were conquered by Cyrus, and from this conquest no doubt the tradition—mistaken tradition—which Xenophon heard arose.

But in fact the whole suggestion really cuts the other way. Xenophon wrote the *Anabasis* some time after 380 B.C., and in that work he made casual mention of this tradition, which he heard as an officer in the Division of the ten thousand Greeks in the army of Cyrus the Younger, when he was marching through these ruined cities, and returning from that expedition, which culminated in the battle of Cunaxa, and the tragic death of Cyrus the Younger at the hand of Artaxerxes, when the two brothers met in the midst of the battle in single combat. But when, years afterwards, Xenophon set himself—as he very emphatically, in the very commencement of the *Cyropaedia*, states that he did—to investigate and ascertain to the best of his power all the circumstances connected with the career and character of Cyrus, of whom he was about to write, he would seem to have found that there was no foundation for the story. And accordingly, when writing the *Cyropaedia* twenty years afterwards (c. 361 B.C.), he absolutely ignored the false tradition which he had heard, seemingly as not being worthy of being even mentioned or refuted. In this matter, the *Cyropaedia* was a tacit correction of the *Anabasis*—not the *Anabasis* of the *Cyropaedia*.

We have seen already that the accounts given by Ctesias and Herodotus of the parentage of Cyrus—both of these writers being ignorant that his father was a king—are shown by the Cuneiform Inscriptions to be absolutely imaginary—not to say fantastic; and now we see that the account of the revolt of the Persians against the Medes and the conquest of Astyages, King of the Medes, by Cyrus—contained in the story of each of these historians—is also unreal—founded probably on some vague tradition in which the Umman-man-da were mistaken for the Mada—what happened to the Scythians, who at the time infested Western Asia, was supposed to have happened to the Medes. The Inscriptions show that it was Astyages, King of the Scythians, whom Cyrus conquered, not Astyages, King of the Medes.

By these two crucial tests the narratives of these two historians are proved to be quite unreliable—and the account which they

give of the fusion of the Medes and Persians into one people to be absolutely unhistorical.

And now we come to the history of the career of Cyrus as recorded by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*. He relates that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia, and Mandané daughter of Astyages, King of Media. This Astyages was son of that Cyaxares who was joined in the confederacy composed of Scythians, Egyptians, Medes, Babylonians, and other States of Western Asia, who by the siege and capture of Nineveh brought to such a sudden and tragic end the mighty Empire of Assyria. Thus on his father's side Cyrus was descended from the royal line of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, and on his mother's side from the royal line of Media. This pedigree on the father's side, as we have seen, is abundantly confirmed by the Inscriptions.

Xenophon gives a very interesting and natural account of the boyhood of Cyrus, when at twelve years of age he went on a visit with his mother, Mandané, to his grandfather's court in Media. There to his great delight he learned to ride, and by his boyish charms became a special pet and favourite of his grandfather—Astyages. After his return home to his father, Cambyses King of Persia, he became conspicuous, first amongst his boyish companions, and later on amongst the youth of Persia for his proficiency in horsemanship, and all other manly and warlike exercises. In process of time, Xenophon relates, Astyages, King of Media, died; and his son Cyaxares succeeded to the throne of Media. Shortly after his accession Cyaxares found himself threatened by a powerful confederacy of enemies, of whom the king of Babylon was the chief, and in view of this attack which was about to be made upon him, Cyaxares sent a message to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, requesting him to despatch a force of Persian troops to assist him in the war; and making it a special request that his nephew Cyrus—who had already become renowned for his prowess in arms—should be sent in command of the contingent.

His request was acceded to, and Cyrus was given a force of 30,000 Persians, which included 200 of the ruling caste of the chief nobles of Persia—"the *ὀμοτίμοι*" (or Peers) as they were called, because they were all of equal rank. Cyrus having thus been chosen to command the contingent, says Xenophon, returned to his house, and having prayed to the goddess of his paternal hearth (*Ἑστία πατρῶα*) and to the Supreme

paternal god ( $\Delta\iota\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\omega$ ) and to the other gods, started on his military expedition, and his father joined his escort. But when they came forth from the palace, lightnings and thunders auspicious to him broke out, and when these appeared—seeking for no other omen—they set forth upon their march, under the conviction that in presence of these portents of the most mighty god there could be nothing lacking. As they were going along, the father and son talked together on thoughts relating to religion and to war. In regard to religion Cambyses reminded his son that he had had him well instructed in all matters concerned with the judging of omens, and he said that he had done this in order that Cyrus should be perfectly competent to judge of the significance of omens, whether in sacrifices or in heavenly portents, so as not to be in the power of soothsayers, who might, if they had any purpose to serve, deceive him by telling him things different from those really indicated by the gods; or, again, he might be on some occasion, perhaps, without any soothsayer, and might be at a loss what to make of the divine signs. But on the other hand when, through knowledge of the science of soothsaying, he should know for himself the things which were counselled by the gods, he might obey them. Cyrus assented to all this, and discussing such subjects as these, and also matters connected with the military expedition on which Cyrus was entering, they reached the frontiers of Persia; and when an eagle, appearing on the right, went before them, having prayed to the gods and heroes who held the Persian land, to speed them propitiously and with good favour, so they proceeded to cross the frontiers. But when they had crossed, they prayed again to the gods who held the Median land to receive them propitiously and with good favour. And having done these things, and having embraced each other, as was natural, the father went back to the city again, but Cyrus marched into Media to Cyaxares.

I have brought these passages in the *Cyropaedia* so fully before you, because I consider they afford a key to understanding what were the religious conceptions of Cyrus, as we find them in the *Cyropaedia*. It has in the past appeared sometimes to have been the idea of writers that Cyrus was a strict monotheist. This, however, is not the light in which Xenophon has portrayed him in the *Cyropaedia*. The religious ceremonies brought before us in these passages just quoted, and which are on all similar occasions observed in which we find him supplicating

the gods, and even the heroes who were considered to be the tutelary deities of particular countries, show, of course, that the religious view which he held was that each country had particular deities guarding it; and that it was right to treat such deities with due respect; and to pray to them to be propitious, especially when crossing the frontiers of their country. At the same time, however, far greater than these local divinities, he believed in one supreme god whom, after the habit of the Greek writers, Xenophon calls "Zeus," and who is to be supremely worshipped and by whom he swears.

And this, surely, is the view of the religion of Cyrus which seems to be implied in the Inscriptions. In the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus, for example, we find that when he was in Babylonia he revered the gods of North and South Babylonia, of Sumer and Akkad, and Bel and Nabu. He says in the Cylinder Inscription :

"And the gods of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonīdus to the anger of the gods had brought into Babylon; at the word of Marduk the great lord in their entirety, in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of (their) hearts' delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities, daily before Bel and Nabu for the lengthening of my days pray; let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk my lord let them say, 'May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Cambyses his son (have prosperity (?)).'"

But whilst Cyrus reverences these lesser divinities of Babylonia—the gods of Sumer and Akkad, and Bel and Nabu—it is evident that there is one supreme great lord god who is above all, to whom, being in the land of Babylon, he gives the name under which he was worshipped as supreme in Babylon—Marduk, or Merodach.

It can readily be seen that this is just the same picture of the religion of Cyrus as is brought before us by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*.

And just the same view of the religion of Cyrus is brought before us in the Old Testament Scriptures. The first words of the Book of Ezra are :—

"Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom

and put it also in writing, saying, ' Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people ? his God be with him and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God) which is in Jerusalem.' " (Ez. i, 1-3.)

" Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods : Even these did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. . . . All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred."

It can be seen here that Cyrus reverences Jehovah as being the national god of Israel : he calls him " the Lord God of Israel," while just as when he had the divinities of Babylonia in mind he identified Marduk the supreme god of Babylon with that Great Lord whom he himself worshipped as supreme—so when he had the Lord God of Israel in mind he identified Jehovah with that same " Lord God of heaven " whom he supremely worshipped, and who had " given him all the kingdoms of the earth." There was a curious similarity, too, in the practical action which he took in each case. In the case of the cities of Babylonia, Cyrus restored to those cities certain sacred objects—the idols of their gods—which had been taken from them by King Nabonīdus and brought to Babylon, and placed in the house of his gods—and in the case of the people of Israel Cyrus restored to them certain consecrated objects also, the sacred vessels of the house of the Lord—which " Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem and had put them in the house of his gods." (Ezra i, 7.)

On this point, then, as to the religion of Cyrus, the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, appear to be in agreement with the Inscriptions, and in agreement with each other. Authentic history—not imagination or romance.

When Cyrus arrived at his uncle's court, first, says Xenophon, as was natural, they embraced each other, and then Cyaxares asked his nephew, what number of men did the contingent of troops, which he had brought, consist of. Cyrus replied, " 30,000

who formerly served with you as mercenaries, and the *ὀμότιμοι*." "And what number are they?" asked his uncle. "You would not be much pleased," said Cyrus, "if you heard; but be well-assured that these, though few, easily rule the rest of the Persians though they be many. But," he continued, "is there any need of these soldiers of mine, or were you needlessly alarmed, and are the enemies not coming?" "They are, indeed, by Zeus," he said, "and very many, too." It appeared then that Croesus, King of Lydia, and quite a number of powerful allies, had come to the help of the Babylonian king who held Babylon and the rest of Assyria. When Cyaxares had, in response to the inquiry of Cyrus, mentioned the numbers which each of the allies were said to have brought with them, Cyrus said, "Then the cavalry on our side are less than a third part of the enemy's Horse, and our foot-soldiers about a half." After a time a battle took place in which the enemy were defeated with great loss and driven into the entrenched enclosure of their camp, and Cyrus drew off his forces, elated with the victory, to some short distance for the night.

But on the side of the enemy, the Assyrians, who, Xenophon (evidently in error) states, had lost their king in the battle, were greatly disheartened; and Croesus and the other kings even more so, when they saw the troops of the leading nation in the confederacy so unsound in spirit; and, in fact, as a result the whole confederate host abandoned the camp during the night. And it may be noticed here that this account, given by Xenophon, of the cowardice and inefficiency of the Babylonian troops in the days of Cyrus, is in full accord with the Inscriptions; for the Annalistic Tablet of the time of the Fall of Babylon records, that after one faint attempt, apparently, at resistance in the field, the Babylonian army was no longer seen. The army which had won such victories under Nebuchadnezzar had become "unsound."

Next morning, Cyrus, finding that the enemy had abandoned their camp, leaving much booty behind them, called his captains together and represented to them that in not promptly following up the enemy they were throwing away a great opportunity. Impressed with what they heard, the captains proposed to put the matter before Cyaxares, and they went to him in a body that he might see they were all in favour of following up the enemy. But Cyaxares, when they began their discourse, seemed rather annoyed, and appeared to consider that enough had been done and that now they might take their ease and encounter no more danger.

But Cyrus, replying to his uncle said, "But you surely will not put restraint on any one; but will give me those of your Medians who may be willing to follow me; and perhaps we may come back bringing to yourself, and to each of these your friends, things over which you all will be greatly pleased." Cyaxares consented that any of the Medians in his army who wished, might go with Cyrus; and a friend of his own was deputed to see that whosoever might be going was going of his own free will. In the end, for one motive or another—enumerated by Xenophon—nearly the whole Median army volunteered, went off the same night with Cyrus, and subsequently fought under his command side by side with the Persians. Cyaxares, who had been drinking that night with some of his principal officers in the royal pavilion, was much annoyed and mortified when he found himself thus abandoned by almost all his army; but later on, after a little, a meeting between the uncle and the nephew occurred, in the course of which Cyrus, by that fascinating charm of manner, by which he bowed the hearts of all men to his will, restored his uncle to good humour, and the reconciliation was sealed, after the Persian manner, by a kiss. It was then agreed that Cyaxares should return and guard the kingdom of Media, whilst Cyrus should pursue his career of conquest.

The sequel to the battle, of which an account has been given, must be briefly told. On the same day that the Medians, as already related, took service under Cyrus, a small tribe, the Hyrcanians, bordering on and subject to the Assyrians, sent messengers to Cyrus saying that they wished to come over to his side, that they justly hated the Assyrians, and would lead him to the place where the confederate armies were then encamped; and that if they marched quickly that night they might catch them up, even at the following dawn. Cyrus accepted their service and he led out his army that evening while it was still light. So the army, led by the Hyrcanians, marched through the night. But when the morning dawned, and the enemy encamped saw the army of Cyrus approaching, they were seized with utter panic, no one attempted to fight: they were routed without a blow. The King of the Kappadocians and the King of the Arabians were slain by the Hyrcanians, but the Assyrians suffered most of all. Croesus, King of Lydia, as it was summer, had sent forward his women in carriages during the night that they might travel more at ease in the cooler hours, and had followed them himself, leading the cavalry; and the Phrygian

who ruled over Phrygia by the Hellespont, is said to have done the same. Immense booty was taken in the camp. The confederate army was dissolved for the time: to meet again in greater force before the walls of Sardis.

The King of the Assyrians—as the Greek writers so often call the King of Babylon—seems at this time to have retired within the walls of Babylon. Cyrus, on his part, appears to have been perfectly conscious that his army at the moment would be quite insufficient to undertake such an enterprise as the siege of the great city of Babylon—although he seems at this time to have been sometimes in its immediate neighbourhood—and he appears to have kept his army moving about through the territory of Babylonia, and letting it be known to all that he was very ready to receive any of the rulers of the surrounding territories who might be willing to join his standard.

And it is at this time that Xenophon records that incident of such special interest and importance in relation to the subject of the present paper, namely: the coming over of Gôbryas to Cyrus. Xenophon tells how at this time an Assyrian man of rank appeared on horseback, with an escort of horse, and said that he wished to see Cyrus. When he was brought into the presence of Cyrus, he said that he was an Assyrian by birth, that he possessed a strong fortress, and was ruler of an extensive territory. Xenophon mentions no name for the territory, but the Cuneiform Inscriptions give Gôbryas the title of “Governor of Gutium.” He went on to say that he had a body of 2300 Horse which he furnished to the King of the Assyrians, and the king had been one of his greatest friends. “But,” he continued, “that good king died in battle against you, and his son, who is now my bitterest enemy, possesses the kingdom. Therefore,” he said to Cyrus, “I come as a suppliant to you, and fall down before you, and offer myself as a servant and an ally, and you, I beseech, become an avenger for me; and I adopt you just as my son, as far as may be; for I am childless as regards any male children. For he who was my only son, handsome and good, O Master, and loving and honouring me in a way that might make any father happy, and to whom the former king had purposed to give the princess his daughter in marriage, was out hunting one day with the present king when a bear, first, and then a lion, coming into view, in each case the king shot a dart at the beast and missed, and in each case my son shot and brought down the game—and in his rash excitement cried,

‘ Have I not shot twice in succession, and each time have brought down a beast ? ’ Upon which the King no longer able to control his jealous fury, seizing a dagger from one of those who followed, struck it into the breast of my dear son and killed him.” And so he had come to entreat Cyrus to be his avenger. And Cyrus graciously replied, “ On the understanding that these are true professions, I give thee my right hand, and I take thine.” Subsequently, on the invitation of Gôbryas, Cyrus, accompanied by an adequate escort of his own cavalry, paid a visit to his territory and fortress and soon after took him into his army, and he and Gadatas—another chief, who at this time also came over to Cyrus, owing to the cruelty of the Babylonian king—became his most trusted officers ; and they are continually mentioned as such in the Cyropaedia ; and, accordingly, it was to these two leaders that Cyrus entrusted the command of those troops, who on the momentous night that Babylon was taken, entered the city by the river gates, penetrated to the palace banqueting hall, and slew the Babylonian king—Belshazzar, no doubt—in the midst of his sacrilegious revel.

In the account which Xenophon here gives of this incident of Gôbryas there can be no doubt but that the old king is Nabonidus and the young king Belshazzar. Xenophon is, of course, mistaken in supposing that Nabonidus at this time had died : the Inscriptions make it certain that he was alive even at the time of the Fall of Babylon. Nevertheless, Xenophon has told a great deal about Gôbryas, and is thus in close touch with the real history. It is probable that at this time, although Nabonidus was alive, he had fallen a good deal into the background in comparison with his son Belshazzar. Herodotus seems never to have heard of this Gôbryas at all.

The next great period in the career of Cyrus is his campaign against Croesus, King of Lydia, and his allies, and the great battle fought before Sardis—one of the decisive battles of the world. While in Babylonia intelligence reached Cyrus that the King of Babylon had gone off to Lydia to join a confederation there, of which Croesus was the head ; and later, news was brought that the King of Lydia had been appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate forces. Cyrus immediately set out on the march to Lydia. The battle before Sardis was a very hard-fought one, owing chiefly to the valiant resistance made by the Egyptian phalanx in the confederate army ; and Cyrus had a narrow escape of losing his life in the encounter in this part of the field.

Seeing the Persians being forced from their position by the Egyptians, Cyrus was deeply concerned ; and riding round the flank of the Egyptian phalanx and calling on his men to follow he headed a furious onslaught on their rear. The Egyptians, when they realized what had occurred, cried out that the enemy was attacking them from the rear, and faced about under the onslaught. And then foot-soldiers and cavalry fought in utter confusion ; and someone having fallen under Cyrus's horse, and being trampled on, stabbed his horse from beneath with his sword, and the horse, when stabbed, madly plunging, threw off Cyrus. "And then might anyone know," says Xenophon, "of what great value it is for a leader to be loved by those around him. For immediately all raised a shout, and flinging themselves upon him, fought, pushed, were pushed, struck, were struck ; and one man, leaping from his horse, placed Cyrus upon him. But when Cyrus was mounted he now saw that the Egyptians were smitten on all sides, and he ordered Hystaspes and Chrysantas, who were there with the cavalry, no longer to launch attacks upon the phalanx of the Egyptians, but to rain darts and arrows at them from outside. The gallant phalanx could now harm their enemy no more ; but forming a circle, covering themselves the best way that they could under their great shields, were suffering nevertheless terrible losses, till Cyrus, admiring their valour, and seeing that all resistance in other parts of the battlefield had ceased, and that there was an utter rout ; and thinking it pity that such brave men should not be saved, sent a herald to parley with them, and after firmly requiring that they should receive such honourable treatment as was befitting for brave men, they agreed to enter the service of Cyrus as a mercenary force. As a consequence of this great victory, Croesus and the city of Sardis fell into Cyrus's hands and the noble and chivalrous clemency, which, as recorded in the Cyropaedia, he displayed in his treatment of the Lydian monarch and the city of Sardis when both were in his power, was in full accord with that with which, according to the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the Cyropaedia in full agreement with them, he treated Babylon.

But what a moment for the civilized world was that, when the horse, frantic with his wound, flung Cyrus off into that welter of carnage and blood ! And who was the "Unknown Warrior" who, with prompt devotion, slipped off his horse and gave it to his King ? But Cyrus, just then, could not die. God

had work for him to do. Was he not God's "shepherd"—"the Lord's anointed"—was he not held by the Lord's right hand?

And next he marched on Babylon. But it is needless to spend any time in regard to questions concerned with the method of its capture, as these were pretty fully discussed in another paper which I had the honour of reading before the Victoria Institute, "The Fall of Babylon and Daniel v, 30," reported in vol. xlvi, p. 9, of the *Transactions*. I shall just quote from the Cyrus cylinder a few of the gracious words in which Cyrus describes his triumphal approach to, and entry of, the great city of Babylon.

"Babylon he spared from tribulation. The people of Babylon, all of them, the whole of Sumer and Akkad princes and governors beneath him bowed down; they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his Kingdom, bright was their countenance. 'My wide-spreading troops into Babylon advance in peace.'"

"When into Babylon I entered favourably, and with shouts of joy, in the palace of the princes I took up my lordly dwelling. Marduk the great lord, the great heart of the Babylonians inclined to me, and daily do I care for his worship," etc.

I am now going to quote from the Cyropaedia a passage of primary importance in regard to the identification of Cyaxares, King of Media, with Darius the Median. When it seemed to Cyrus that affairs in Babylon were in such a satisfactory state that he could go away from home, he made preparations for a journey to Persia, and when he considered that he had enough of the things which he thought he would want, he set out. "But when as they journeyed they came down to Media, Cyrus turned aside to Cyaxares. And when they had embraced one another, Cyrus said to Cyaxares that there would be a house set apart for him in Babylon and government offices (*ἀρχεῖα*), so that he might have, whenever he came thither, suitable residences to put up in. And then he gave him other gifts, many and beautiful. But Cyaxares, on his part, received these things; and he sent for his daughter to come to him; and she came bearing a golden crown and bracelets and a twisted metal collar and a Median robe, the most beautiful possible. And the girl crowned Cyrus, and Cyaxares spoke: 'I give you,' he said,

‘ O Cyrus, also this woman herself, being my own daughter ; and your father married my father’s daughter, of whom you were born. But this is she whom you often as a boy, when you were with us, used to nurse. And whenever anyone would ask her to whom would she be married, she used always to say, that it would be to Cyrus. And I give to her also as a dowry the whole of Media ; for I have not a legitimate male child.’ He spoke thus, but Cyrus answered, ‘ Well, O Cyaxares, I appreciate both her birth, and the damsel, and the gifts ; but I wish,’ he said, ‘ to come to agreement with you in regard to these things with the consent of my father and my mother.’ ” Thus spoke Cyrus, but he made presents to the damsel of all such things as he thought would also gratify Cyaxares. And having done these things he went on to Persia. Then Xenophon relates how he paid a visit to his father Cambyses, King of Persia, who, in the course of a speech which he made in presence of his son to the nobles of Persia, mentioned as a matter of course that after his death Cyrus would be King of Persia. But when Cyrus, departing from Persia, arrived in Media—since his father and mother had given their approval of the match—he married Cyaxares’ daughter ; of whom even still, the story goes, says Xenophon, that she was of perfect beauty.

The absence of Cyrus from Babylon at this time in the first year of his reign seems to receive confirmation from the dating of the following contract tablets. I think it is now generally conceded that it was on the night of the 11th Marcheswan that Babylon fell ; and consequently at that date the accession year of the reign of Cyrus commenced. There are tablets dated as follows :—

- Accession year of Cyrus 24th Marcheswan (Oct.–Nov.).
- Accession year of Cyrus 7th Chisleu (Nov.–Dec.).
- Year 1st of the King’s reign began on 1st Nisan (21st Mar.–20th Apl.).

#### Dating of Tablets.

- First year 7th Nisan (Mar.–Apl.) Cyrus King of Countries.
- First year Tammuz (June–July) Cambyses King of Babylon, at that time Cyrus his father King of Countries.
- First year Tisri (Sept.–Oct.) Cyrus King of Babylon, King of Countries.
- First year Tebet (Dec.–Jan.) Cyrus King of Babylon.

It would seem, then, that Cyrus spent the months from the beginning of November to the beginning of the following June in putting affairs in order in Babylon; and some time in the month Tammuz (June-July) he appointed Cambyses "King of Babylon" previous to his setting out to visit his uncle Cyaxares, King of Media; and his father, Cambyses, King of Persia.

He returned to Babylon some time about the month Tisri (Sept.-Oct.) and resumed his full title, "King of Babylon, King of Countries," which he seems afterwards to have retained to the 8th year of his reign, as there are tablets dated in that year "Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries." For example:

Sippar 3 Ab. 8th year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries.

Another—

8th year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries.

Thus in this instance, as in so many others, the narrative of Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* receives confirmation from the Inscriptions.

They would seem to indicate a period of about three months for his absence from Babylon on his visit to Persia.

Since Xenophon, then, who gives so many particulars about this King of Media, Cyaxares II, is confirmed in so many points regarding the birth, career and character of Cyrus by the Inscriptions, we are entitled to claim that when we identify Darius the Median with this Cyaxares in Xenophon, we are not identifying him with an imaginary person who never existed, but with a real historical king; who is not mentioned by Ctesias or Herodotus, simply because they were in the same ignorance of his existence as they were in regard to the royal birth of Cyrus, and the true course of Medo-Persian history.

In the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hysdaspes, who reigned about thirty years later than the conquest of Babylon, we have mention of a King Cyaxares. In the period of disorder in the Persian Empire which followed on the death of King Cambyses, son of Cyrus, in Egypt (521 B.C.), a number of impostors, as recorded in the Inscription, sprung up in different Provinces of the Empire.

One impostor declared :—

“ I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares. I am King of Media.”

Another impostor named Sitatrachmes declared :—

“ I am King of Sagartia of the race of Cyaxares.”

Darius in his Inscription records his having put to death each of the impostors who had seized on the different Provinces, when they had been defeated and he had got them into his power ; but in the case of these two, who claimed to be of the race of Cyaxares, he records (to his eternal shame) that he mutilated their features in a barbarous manner and exposed them in this condition to the public gaze, bound in front of his palace ; before having them put, later on, to a cruel death. The name Cyaxares would seem to have had about it a dangerous vitality even thirty years after the fall of Babylon.

It was the throne of Media that the impostor Xathrites claimed as being of the race of Cyaxares. Of Darius the Median, Josephus writes :—

“ He was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him, for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.”—  
Ant. x., xi, 4.

And then he relates the incident of Daniel being thrown into the den of lions (Dan. vi).

To me it appears that Josephus gives the true explanation of the sixth chapter of the Book of Daniel, namely, that the whole of the incidents related in that chapter, the appointment of presidents, the decree of Darius, the casting of Daniel into the den of lions, occurred, not in Babylon, but in Media, where Darius (Cyaxares) was an independent and hereditary king. It was with Media, according to Josephus, that Daniel was, by tradition, most particularly associated ; he was said to have built a tower at Ekbatana in Media, which was still remaining in the days of Josephus, and in that tower Josephus says :—

“ They bury the kings of Persia and Parthia to this day.”

The narrative in the sixth chapter of Daniel would surely require that he whom the presidents and princes approached with their flattering and insidious request, should be, not a mere lieutenant like Gôbryas, but a real king—invested with that divinity which—in those days was held to be inherent in a king. The narrative seems also to require that the king in question should have that absolute and independent power which the Cyaxares of Xenophon would have in the kingdom of Media.

The sixth chapter ends with the verse—

“ So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.”

It is to be noted, however, that the Hebrew word *malkûth* which is here translated “reign” is translated in other places “realm.” For example—

“ So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet ” (2 Chron. xx, 30).

“ Why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons ? ” (Ezra vii, 23).

In the Book of Daniel—in addition to the passage just quoted—the Hebrew word *malkûth* is translated “reign” in four instances, viz. :—“ In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim ” (Dan. i, 1). “ And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar ” (Dan. ii, 1). “ In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar ” (Dan. viii, 1). “ In the first year of his reign ” (Dan. ix, 1).

In each of these cases the meaning of the word is fixed as “reign” because the number of a regnal year is mentioned.

In the following four passages, on the other hand, the word *malkûth* is translated “realm” :—

(Dan. i, 20) “ astrologers that were in all his ‘ realm.’ ”

(Dan. vi, 3) “ thought to set him over the whole ‘ realm.’ ”

(Dan. ix, 1) “ king over the ‘ realm ’ of the Chaldeans.”

(Dan. xi, 2) “ stir up all against the ‘ realm ’ of Grecia.”

These (with vi, 28) are all the passages in Daniel in which the word *malkûth* is translated “reign” or “realm.” It will be seen that in the first four passages the word could not (to make sense) be translated “realm,” and in the four last it could not be translated “reign.”

But in Dan. vi, 28, the translation is not in any way tied to "reign" but is an open question, because either "reign" or "realm" would make sense. As according to the view of the history, however, held by the writer of this paper, the reign of Darius (in Media) and the reign of Cyrus the Persian (in Babylon) were not successive but concurrent ones, the right translation in accordance with the history would be "So this Daniel prospered in the *realm* of Darius and in the *realm* of Cyrus the Persian."

### CONCLUSION.

It would seem, then, from the narrative of Xenophon, that, on the one hand, Cyaxares (Darius the Median) gave Cyrus all Media as his daughter's dowry, whilst on the other hand Cyrus assigned to Cyaxares a Residence and Government offices—which would imply authority—in Babylon, thus in a friendly, though perhaps irregular way, associating him with himself in the kingdom. And these friendly relations, which Xenophon represents as existing between Cyaxares and Cyrus, correspond exactly with the condition of union and brotherhood which is found existing between the Medes and Persians after the fall of the Babylonian Empire. Thus the narrative of Xenophon accounts for the historical situation; and receives from that fact additional confirmation.

Cyrus was indeed the noblest, the most gracious, and the most chivalric ruler that ever in the history of the world won and ruled a mighty empire. Centuries before what is known as the Age of Chivalry he was inspired by all that was highest and purest in its spirit:—One might say of him—to use the language of old Chaucer—"He was almost a parfait gentle knight."

The CHAIRMAN gave his views with regard to some of the more important points dealt with in the paper. The Babylonian inscriptions, he said, only speak of Gôbryas—there is no reference to Cyaxares as either king or even governor of Babylon. See his *Old Testament in the Light of the Records*, pp. 415 ff.; "The Capture of Babylon by Cyrus," etc., in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* VII, Part I, 1880; "Recent

Historical Discoveries," the *Proceedings* of that Society, November 7th, 1882, pp. 6-13; "Two late Tablets of Historical Interest" in the same for January 19th, 1916, pp. 33-34; "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute* for April 20th, 1914, pp. 11 ff. and 20 ff. of the reprint; "From World-Dominion to Subjection" in the same for February 19th, 1917, pp. 14 ff. of the reprint; "Fresh Light on the Book of Daniel," in the *Expository Times* for April, 1915, pp. 298-299. Further discoveries in the East may, however, modify his conclusions.