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DANIEL  
DARIUS THE MEDIAN  
CYRUS THE GREAT

A Chronologico - Historical Study

Based on Results of Recent Researches, and from  
Sources Hebrew, Greek, Cuneiform, etc.

BY  
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## PREFACE

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It was at first proposed to give a title-page to this work which would present a general view of its contents. That could be done, it was thought, somewhat after this manner: "Daniel, Darius the Median, and Cyrus the Great; an authentication of Daniel's book, an identification of the Median, an elucidation, in part, of the story of the Great King, and parts of the books of Jeremiah and Ezra; aiming, by information derived from recent researches, and from sources HEBREW, GREEK, CUNEIFORM, etc., to bring more clearly into view the general and singular accuracy of the Biblical historical notes, for the period from the fall of Nineveh, B. C. 607, to the reign of Darius the Persian, son of Hystaspes, B. C. 521; with tabulated chronology and related suggestions, geographical, exegetical, etc.; the whole intended as an effort, in its sphere, corrective of some of the errors, oversights, misinterpretations, etc., of former writers, and of the later destructive criticism." The references to authorities need only the statement that R. P. refers to the first series of Records of the Past, and R. P. N. S. to the new or second series, both edited by Professor Sayce.

What was begun simply as a magazine or review article largely outgrew the space usually allotted in such publications. Therefore, being submitted to cer-

tain persons who seemed to be competent to judge of its merits, and their verdict indicating that it is, for the most part, a new, original setting of its subject, an interesting and valuable contribution to its literature, the author felt it to be a duty to make this his first venture in book form, and thus issue some part of the results of study and investigations which have been his luxury through many otherwise very busy and laborious years. It will opportunely follow the sumptuous volumes of Assyrian and Babylonian history by Dr. Rogers.

He ventures, also, to dedicate this book to the ministers and people of the territory covered by the Pittsburgh, Erie, West Virginia and East Ohio Conferences, as a respectful indication of his appreciation of favors received during the long period of his association with them.

Pittsburgh, Pa., January 1, 1901.

# DANIEL, DARIUS THE MEDIAN AND CYRUS THE GREAT ∴ ∴

## A Chronologico-Historical Study

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### Preliminary

It is the purpose of this paper, in the light afforded by such sources of information as may be indicated, to propose, tentatively, a solution, or solutions, within the range of certainty or probability, of apparent historical difficulties. These arise, it is thought, in whole or in part, from methods heretofore pursued in the treatment of the history as read in, or into, the Biblical, the secular, and the cuneiform accounts brought to light by the recent researches and exhumations in western Asia.

The substantial accuracy of the several sources of information thus described, and to which reference is made, will be assumed without much questioning, other than that which may arise in the process of endeavoring to secure a satisfactory interpretation. In cases of positive or inexplicable disagreement or demonstrable error in secular writers, whether classical or monumental, the inscriptions on the latter will be esteemed as of superior authority, when their several narratives are not incompatible one with another.

## 8 Daniel, Darius the Median, and Cyrus

It may be here frankly confessed that it is thought that the statements of the Biblical writers, including Daniel, to whom special attention and regard will be given, when properly interpreted and understood, will be found to be remarkably free from inaccuracy when brought to the test of other reliable sources of information; and that they are rather supplementary than either in disagreement or contradiction. When these two sources agree in matters actually stated or set forth, to neither can an omission or omissions of other matters or of more extensive detail be charged as contradictory, nor be justly used to discredit what is written. The period covered will embrace substantially the times of Daniel, the reign of the "Great King," Cyrus the Second, and will be extended to the usurpation of the Persian throne by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, a period of somewhat less than a century and ending B. C. 521.

## I. The Story of Daniel

THE story of Daniel begins with the twentieth year of Nabopolassar, for a time viceroy or governor of Babylon under the suzerainty of Assyria, and afterward king of the later kingdom of the Chaldeans. This was the year B. C. 606, the third of Jehoiakim's reign, when Nebuchadnezzar, conjointly with his father, king of the Chaldeans, laid siege to Jerusalem, which in fourth Jehoiakim (605) was surrendered. At the suggestion of the conqueror a selection of youths of noble lineage was made, and Daniel, among others, was selected and taken to Babylon by the "Great King's" son and copartner in the kingdom, who in B. C. 604, by the death of his aged father, became sole king of the Babylonian and Chaldean kingdom. Three years previously Nineveh had fallen a prey to the combined forces: the Babylonians, under the joint command of Nabopolassar and his son as co-rex, and the Medes, with their more or less fierce allies, under Cyaxeres I (Ahasuerus I, Tobit xiv, 15), who dominated and was strengthened by the tributary "Manda," or barbarous or nomad tribes from the north-northwest toward the river Halys, and northeast of Assyria, toward the Caspian Sea; he being at that time in about the thirtieth year of an eventful reign. During these three years the indications are that the "Great King"

Nineveh  
fallen, em-  
pire passed  
to Babylon  
and Media.

Nabopolassar, being much in war, had followed the example of Esar-haddon, and what seemed to be the Oriental custom, when the father was absent or infirm or busily engaged with other affairs, as building and improving his cities or temples or palaces, that his son should be declared co-rex, and thus were delegated to him the kingly title and functions. It is thus that he is proleptically called (Dan. i, 1) "Nebuchadnezzar,\* king of Babylon."

Eastward, and probably in the time of Gudea northward, of Nineveh, and southward toward the Persian Gulf, including the kingdom of Susa, or Shushan, stretched the mountainous kingdom of Elam, when, at its greatest expansion, dominating Parsuas, the ancient Persia, which, when it first appears in the inscriptions,† seems to have lain to the north and east of Elam between the Caspian and Lake Urmiah, and north-

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\*Otherwise, and perhaps more correctly, written "Nebuchadrezzar," the change being in all likelihood owing to a simple and more or less common dialectic interchange of the liquids 'n' and 'r,' both forms being used in Holy Writ. So likewise were the liquids 'l' and 'r' in "Pul" and "Poros," interchanged, and now claimed to be one and the same person. The name does not seem to have absolute uniformity in the inscriptions, and in the Greek forms we have for the "r," in some cases "l" and in others "n." This, therefore, militates nothing against Daniel, not more at most than it does against Jeremiah, who uses both forms.

†So Schrader's map (with *Keilenschriften und Geschichtsforschung*) places "Barsuas," which according to Professor Sayce is the Vannic form of Parsuas, or the "Classic Persia," our Persia (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. iv, p. 46, note; vol. v, p. 149). As to Media, Professor Sayce's note is: "It must be remembered that the Medes, spoken of by Sennacherib did not as yet inhabit the district of which Ekbatana subsequently became the capital. Hence the title of 'far off' applies to them here" (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. vi, p. 87). Schrader, however, thinks it "unlikely" that "Barsuas" is to be identified with Parsuas, or Persia. But the finding of the Persians in this locality at their first appearance in history makes it much less difficult to understand how they first appear as subordinates, and so soon afterward as conquerors of the Medes; results in both cases much more easily and likely to

west of ancient Media and its ancient capital, Ekbatana (now Takht-i-Sulayman).

Over both Elam and Persia the Medes seem to have gained such an ascendancy as to have made them feudatories, or established over them a suzerainty. How and when this suze-  
Elam and  
Persia sub-  
ject to Media.
rainty had been secured are not certainly known, but whenever it occurred Elam seems to have been so absorbed by its conquerors as to have almost ceased to have a separate national identity, and so merged in the empire of the Medes that, when somewhat suddenly their power was wrested from the Medes by the Persians, Elam, as a part of the possessions of the king of Media, passed into the hands of Cyrus the Second, without any special mention of its having come under his power, or of its having been conquered

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be attained as friendly states and neighbors, with no intervening nationality to be passed over or through, and which are nowhere claimed as having been first conquered, or indeed, as having in any way been concerned in these operations. In the southern location, Elam, Susa and Karmanias in part would seem to have occupied the position of "buffer states," whose consent must in some way have been gained either for active co-operation, or passively to have suffered the invading hosts to pass through their dominions. It is further possible, as suggested above, that the Elam of Gudea's time may have covered a territory much more extensive, stretching out farther north than that to which it was later confined, so that the Anzan of the Cyrus branch of the Achæmenians may have been farther north than the later Elam, and contiguous to both Media and Persia. That in later years the names Parsua, or Persia, and of the Median capital Ekbatana should be found farther south, may be easily and satisfactorily accounted for on the theory that as the Aryan tribes or clans, both Median and Persian, migrated southward, they carried with them their own distinctive names, just as colonists from Europe have done in this western hemisphere, in some cases prefixing a distinctive term, as, *New England*, *New York*, *New Orleans*; but far more frequently using the old names pure and simple, as *London*, *Paris*, *Edinburgh*, etc. Indeed, at this very time in their migrations from the older to the newer settlements the same process is going on, and names are carried with them by the emigrants and given to their new settlements to be perpetual memorials of their former places of abode.



## 12 Daniel, Darius the Median, and Cyrus

by this descendant of that Achæmenes who seems to have been the first of his race to have attained to the regal title or authority. In the inscriptions Cyrus first appears as "king of Anzan," a place or do-  
Origin and family of Cyrus the Great.
main whose exact locality has not, as yet, been certainly determined. It is supposed  
 by some that a city of this name may have existed in Persia; by others, that it was somewhere in Elam, or that this was another name for Elam, or that it was a province of Elam. It is also suggested that Persia may have had two places occupied as seats of government, each of them having rulers, who, as in the scheme which follows, claimed the title of king, on the one hand, of Persia, and, on the other, of Anzan.

His own account of himself and his genealogy is thus given: "I am Cyrus, the King of Multitudes, the Great King, the powerful King, the King of Babylon, the King of Sumer and Accad, the King of the four zones, the son of Cambyses, the Great King, the King of the City of Anzan, the great grandson of Teispes, the Great King, the King of the City of Anzan, of the ancient seed royal whose rule Bel and Nebo love" (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, p. 166, lines 20-22; *H. C. and M.*, p. 505). In lines preceding he speaks of himself as "king of Anzan," and as such is first introduced by Nabonidos. The "seed royal" can be none other than that of the Persian family of the Achæmenians, whose original seat was Persia. The Behistun inscription of Darius, son of Hystaspes, supplements that of Cyrus, and completes the genealogy as follows;



"I am Darius, the Great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the Provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian; of Arsames the father was Ariamnes; of Ariamnes the father was Teispes; of Teispes the father was Achæmenes. Says Darius the King, on that account we are called Achæmenians; from antiquity those of our race have been Kings. Says Darius the King, there are eight of my race who have been Kings before me. I am the ninth; for a very long time [or, better, 'in a double line'] we have been Kings" (*R. P.*, vol. i, p. 113, etc.; *R. P. N. S.*, vol. iii, p. 150).

The family line, or "tree," may therefore be thus constructed:

KINGS.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Achæmenes, King of Persia.</p> <p>2. Teispes, King of Anzan.</p> <p>3. Cyrus I, King of Anzan.</p> <p>5. Cambyses I, King of Anzan.</p> <p>7. Cyrus II, King of Anzan, of Persia, of Babylon, of the Medo-Persian empire.</p> <p>8. Cambyses II, King of the Medo-Persian empire.</p> <p>9. Darius, son of Hystaspes, King of Persia, and its provinces or satrapies.</p> | <p>4. Ariamnes, King of Persia.</p> <p>6. Arsames, King of Persia.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Hystaspes superseded by</p> |
|---|--|

Hystaspes, the father of Darius, may, possibly, at the death of his father have been very young, or incapable of resisting the rising power and vaulting ambition of Cyrus II, who was, failing the posterity of Arsames, the next heir, or next of kin of the collateral branch, and may have asserted his claim with such force that resistance would be worse than useless, and thus the throne passed from that branch, to be reclaimed, on the failure of the house of Cyrus, by the son of Hystaspes.

As no mention of Persia is made in connection with Teispes, and yet both Cyrus and Darius seem to go back to him to legitimate their claim and action, the query properly arises as to whether Teispes had not made a conquest of the adjoining Elamite province of Anzan, and, consolidating it with his patrimonial kingdom of Persia, had during his own lifetime comprehended both under the one name and assumed the title of king of Anzan, dividing it afterward so that each of his two sons might have, by his gift or their inheritance, a throne.

It will be seen that Cyrus traces his ancestry no further than to Teispes, king of Anzan, and then claims in general terms to be of the "seed royal;" this being, indeed, sufficient and yet necessary to establish a show of legitimacy in his claim to succeed, or of his actual succession to the Persian throne after the death of Arsames of the other line; since it goes back to the ruler whose reign began before the division was made in the persons of his two sons, and thus completes the chain of title. No inscription is quoted in which Cyrus is styled king of Persia until the ninth year of the reign of Nabonidos (cir. B. C. 547); but the death of Arsames may have occurred some two or three years previously. Thus also is established the legitimacy of the seizure of the throne by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, after the line of Cyrus had become extinct by the death of Cambyses II and his brother Smerdes.

This entry upon the "monuments" in the ninth year

of Nabonidos, the last Chaldean king, abundantly justifies and avouches the accuracy of the Biblical writers in giving to Cyrus the title of "king of Persia;" and "the Persian" <sup>Biblical title "Cyrus, king of Persia," vindicated.</sup> nationality is proved by the twice-told genealogy. They are thus protected from the charge of being simply "reflectors" from the times of Darius Hystaspes. The date of every Biblical writer who entitles him "king of Persia" is later than this ninth year of Nabonidos; later, indeed, than the taking of Babylon, which occurred in the seventeenth year of this Chaldean king. Nor is this statement contravened by the occurrence of this name in the book of Isaiah, whatever may be the date of the writer. For when the name Cyrus occurs in Isaiah it is without territorial or national designation, he probably being known only to Isaiah and to his time simply by revelation, or to prophetic foresight, as a coming ruler. That is certainly the interpretation which would most naturally present itself to a believer in the prophetic endowment, in connection with the emphatic conspicuousness of the expressions, "I have called thee by thy name;" "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me" (Isa. xliii, 1; xlv, 4). But for our purpose it matters not whether it is prophecy or history, before or after his coming. The pregnant fact to be emphasized is that there is no contradiction or disagreement in the statements of the Biblical writers and the inscriptions in the matter of his kingship of Persia; for both agree that at the time of which the writing gives its account

Cyrus was king of Persia, the inscriptions giving him this title at a date earlier than when it was given him in the Bible. That, therefore, must be placed to the credit of the Biblical writers, as in so far sustaining and confirming their accuracy and "unforgetfulness," against the statement of Professor Sayce that the writers of Greece and Rome, like those of the later books of the Old Testament (?) itself, have agreed with Darius in forgetting who Cyrus really was. "The sole record of the fact which remained before the discovery of the cuneiform texts was a single passage in the book of Isaiah. The conqueror of Babylon was an Elamite prince" (*H. C. and M.*, p. 518).

It is not, however, by any means certain that Isa. xxi, 1-10, refers to Cyrus and the Persian invasion. It is against this view that Elam is first named. For if that is for Persia the order is different from the usage of both Biblical and secular histories, which at the rise of the empire of Cyrus put the Medes first, "Medes and Persians," not "Persians and Medes." Again, the expression, "Besiege, O Media," does not, at all events, accord with Professor Sayce's declaration that "we now know that the siege never took place" (p. 523). Then, too, the description of the result of the "going up" and the "besieging," the taking of Babylon, does not at all correspond with the course which the monuments ascribe to Cyrus after the capture of the city. The result is given by Isaiah thus: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground" (verse

9). Surely this hardly would be expected of a dynasty "whose rule Bel and Nebo love." This same Cyrus makes it his boast that "all the gods of Sumer and Accad, whom Nabonidos, to the anger of (Merodach) the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, by the command of Merodach the great lord I settled peacefully in their sanctuaries in seats which their hearts desired. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities intercede daily before Bel and Nebo that my days be long, may they pronounce blessings upon me, and may they say to Merodach my lord: 'Let Cyrus the king, thy worshiper, and Cambyses his son [accomplish the desire] of their hearts; [let them enjoy length] of days'" (*H. C. and M.*, pp. 506, 507). These can scarcely be the words of an iconoclast such as the result in Isaiah seems to demand.

In truth, this "burden of the desert [or wilderness] of the sea" reads much more like a description or anticipation of a sudden raid or irruption, such as was characteristic of the age of Isaiah and Sennacherib, wherein Elam and its more than a score of confederates or allies, among whom the Medes, as probably at that time the most numerous and powerful, are named by the prophet as representative of the allies, many of them perhaps already Median feudaries. We now know from the inscriptions that for several campaigns there was almost constant warfare between Sennacherib, on the one part, and Elam and its allies, on the other part, largely on both sides in contention for the possession of Babylon, and that Elam and its allies conjointly

with the Chaldeans had possession of Babylon more than once (*R. P.*, vol. i, p. 48, etc.). The incident of the destruction of the "graven images," peculiar in the Babylonish idolatry, is not at all incredible, as it was doubtless intended to install in their places the gods of their own country, and thus to escape or counterbalance the malign influence of a hostile worship. And there are not wanting indications in the recorded disaffection of the hierarchy that something had occurred offensive to the gods of Babylon and their worshipers prior to the coming of Cyrus, as may be detected in the account just quoted as to the redistribution of the gods of the cities and provinces, evidently their images having been brought in by the Elamites and others to take the places vacated by the destruction of the local images. It is not known what, if any, connection this "burden" may have had with or to the expedition made by Sennacherib, to the sea at the mouth of the river Ulai, during which Suzub the Chaldean "raised a force in the rear of Sennacherib, and the king of Elam, who had hitherto only given secret help to the Babylonians, now marched his army into Babylon. The Elamite and Chaldean forces captured Babylon" (Smith, *Bab.*, p. 131; *Assyr.*, p. 125; cf. *R. P.* as above).

As to the "forgetfulness" of the Biblical and classical writers, both records show that his being also "king of Persia" was well remembered by both Hebrews and Babylonians, and also by Darius Hystaspes, who says: "Thus I re-

Forgetfulness of Biblical writers disclaimed.



covered the empire which had been taken away from my family [i. e., his line or branch by the Cyrus branch, especially by the usurper pseudo-Smerdes]; I established it in its place as it had been before" (Behistun Inscription, Col. I, lines 10-14; *Bible Educator*, vol. ii, p. 135). So, too, the Biblical accounts connect Elam with the Medes, and if it is true that he was also king of Elam, there is still further agreement between the Biblical and cuneiform authority. The omission of the king's name by the former constitutes no necessary contradiction of the latter, nor gives any room for the charge of unreliability. In what is actually written and so far as it goes, if Professor Sayce is right, their agreement and accuracy are maintained. Elam was one of the parties which participated in the conquest of Babylon, at whatever time the conquest alluded to in Isa. xxi, 8, was made, or whether it was in possession for a long or a short time, so says the Bible, and so say the inscriptions, if rightly read and understood. For the Medes were doubtless feudatories or allies, probably the most numerous and reliable of these, in the day of Elam's supremacy, when it so often raided Babylonia and more than once seized the capital; and in this Professor Sayce is understood substantially to concur.

Thankful to this learned and unwearied Oriental and Biblical scholar, that largely through his labors so much has been discovered and established, the hope is encouraged that in some way the statement of all history that the

Medo-Per-  
sian empire;  
its invasion  
of Babylonia.

Medes were the other conspicuous sharers in the honor of the particular conquest of Babylon, when it passed into the hands of Cyrus, will be either vindicated or its origin satisfactorily explained. That they were seems never before to have been doubted. But, according to Professor Sayce, by the monumental inscriptions the honor belongs to the "people of the Manda," a people whose very existence under that name as a national title seems to have been utterly unknown to the historical literature of the world until their existence and stupendous doings were brought out "of the dust of the ages." That concealment of their glory is, however, no valid argument against their claim, if otherwise substantiated.

That we may fairly consider this claim, and be in a position to correct or vindicate the scriptural account, which names the Medes, but never "the Manda," we may collect the several occurrences of the name in the inscriptions as found in *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, by Professor Sayce, and the interpretations found in the books which treat of such matters. I quote p. 528: "It was the conquest of the *Manda*, and not of the Medes, which changed Cyrus from the tributary king of Anzan into an independent and powerful monarch." "If, therefore, his troops consisted of others besides Elamites and Persians, they would have been the *Manda* of Ekbatana." [But not necessarily, since they might have come from the tribes farther north.] Page 126: "It was a combination of the Median tribes with

Claim of the  
"Manda"  
against the  
Mede.



the king of the *Manda*, or 'nomads,' which brought about the rise of the Median empire, and paved the way for the empire of Cyrus." [There was, therefore, a "Median empire." It was, however, above quoted as being "the conquest of the *Manda*, and not of the Medes, that made him a powerful monarch." But if the Medes and the Manda combined and formed the Median empire, how could Cyrus conquer the Manda without conquering the Medes? And if the Manda were conquered before they combined with the Medes, how could these two combine to form the Median empire? And if the Manda were the stronger and more numerous body, why was it not the Mandeian empire? There is surely confusion, if not contradiction, here. It is pertinent to remind the reader that in the Biblical account Cyrus is not represented to be king of any country other than Persia and Babylon, by special or distinctive title.] "To the east of it [Eden] lay the land of the 'nomads,' termed 'Nod' in Genesis, and Manda in the inscriptions" (p. 95). "The land of Nod, or the nomads, eastward of the *edin* of Babylonia, is the Manda of the cuneiform inscriptions" (p. 105). "Lud, I have elsewhere suggested that it was originally 'Nod,' that land of the 'nomads' [Manda], on the east of Babylonia where the Manda of the cuneiform inscriptions had their home" (p. 146). As to the temple at Haran, "Nabonidos tells us that it had been destroyed by the 'Manda,' or 'nomads,' whose capital was at Ekbatana." [Evidently the northernmost city of that name.] "But the Manda had been

overthrown by Cyrus, and Nabonidos was accordingly summoned in a dream by Merodach to restore the shrine" (p. 197). "The nomad Skyths, or *Manda*, as the Babylonians call them" (p. 451). "In the judgment of Babylon, pronounced by Jeremiah, the nations who are called upon to overthrow the city of the oppressor are neither Elam nor Persia, but the Medes, and the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz" (Jer. li, 27, 28). "The Medes, moreover, are not the Medes of the classical writers, the *Manda*, or 'nomads,' of the cuneiform texts, but the *Mada*, the true Medes of the Assyrian inscriptions. This is evident partly because they are associated with the nations of the north, and not with Elam; partly because they are spoken of as governed by 'kings,' and not by a single monarch. The *Manda* of Ekbatana were under a single ruler; the Medes proper, on the other hand, as we know from the monuments, obeyed a number of different princes" (p. 484). [And yet we are told that the *Manda* and Medes combined to form the Median empire. Why did they not form a "Mandean empire," if as alleged it was "the conquest of the *Manda*" that made Cyrus so powerful?] "In Jer. li, 27, 28, Ararat is still a formidable power; like Minni it has not as yet been absorbed into the empire of Cyrus; and in place of Astyages, king of the *nomad Manda of Ekbatana*, it is 'the kings of the Medes' who are 'consecrated to the holy war'" (486). "The place of the *Manda* over whom Astyages ruled is taken by the Medes, by Minni, and by Ashkenaz." [But if the *Manda* of Ekbatana

were settled in one habitation or territory and under one king, as is above represented, why should these settled Ekbatanite Manda be now called "*the nomad Manda of Ekbatana*"?] "The country of Kurdistan he (Merodach) has subjected to his (Cyrus's) feet" (505). "As yet the temple thou orderest to be built (in Haran), the people of the Manda surround it, and noisome are their forces. Merodach again spoke to me: the people of the Manda of whom thou speakest, they, their land, and the kings who are their allies exist no more. In the third year,\* when it shall arrive, I will cause them to come, and Cyrus, the king of Anzan, their little servant, with his little army, shall overthrow the widespread people of the Manda. He shall capture Istuvegu, the king of the people of the Manda, and bring him a prisoner to his own country." [This happened, on Professor Sayce's theory, not later than the sixth year of Nabonidos, possibly in his third year, about B. C. 552 or 550 (*H. C. and M.*, pp. 500, 501, 508). But "widespread" would seem to be an exaggerated description of this kingdom of Ekbatana. Besides, if they were thus easily conquered, how could they thus combine to make the "powerful Median empire"?]

"If it is startling to learn that Cyrus was in reality an Elamite prince, it is equally startling [?] to find that Istuvegu, or Astyages, was king, not of the Medes, but of the Manda." ["Startling," possibly, to the classical

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\* A different rendering is made by Professor Sayce himself (*R. P. N. S.*, pp. 169, 170, lines 26-29, vol. v.).

or secular historians, and to those who believe in or follow them only, but not necessarily to the Biblical; since, singularly enough, Cyrus is never once in the Bible called "king of" either the "Manda" or the "Medes," but is several times named "king of Persia," once "king of Babylon." True, Daniel writes that the kingdom over which Belshazzar ruled was "divided and given to the Medes and Persians;" but he distinctly indicates his meaning by limiting the rule of the Median king Darius to the kingdom of the Chaldeans; thus distinguishing this from all other parts of the extensive domain which originally composed the kingdom as left by Nebuchadnezzar, and that which had fallen to Cyaxares (Ahasuerus) I, and then been included in his empire by Cyrus the Persian.] "As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the name of 'Manda' was applied by the Babylonians and the Assyrians to the nomad tribes who at times threatened their eastern and northern borders. The astrological tables refer to a period when the Manda overran Babylonia itself; when Bel and the other gods of Chaldea fled to Elam for safety, and the barbarians [i. e., 'the Manda,' as above] ruled the country for thirty years. It may be that the disaster here described was that conquest of Chaldea which the fragments of Berossus ascribe to the Medes. Be that as it may, Teuspa, or Teispes, the leader of the Gimirra, is called a Manda ['roving warrior,' by Talbot] by Esar-haddon, and an inscription of Assurbanipal, recently discovered by Mr. Strong, returns thanks to the Assyrian gods for the defeat of that 'limb of

Satan,' Tuktammu of the Manda. It is possible that Tuktammu (or rather Duktammu) is the Lugdamis of Strabo, who led the Kimmerians [Manda] into Kilikia, from whence they afterward went westward and burnt Sardis. At all events, we must see in him a forerunner, if not a predecessor, of Istuvegu, the Astyages of the Greeks, who governed the Manda of Ekbatana. . . . It would seem that the Manda of Ekbatana were the Scythians of classical history" (520, 521). From the above it is apparent that the Kimmerians (Gimirra) and Scythians were "Manda." It is hardly probable that Teuspa the Kimmerian is the same person as Teispes the Achæmenian, though it is possible that in a sense just above hinted at the cultured Assyrians and Babylonians may have considered all the peoples north and northeast of them to be "Manda," or barbarians. "As we have seen, Teuspa the Kimmerian and his people are termed Manda by Esar-haddon, and in the inscriptions of Darius the Gimirra Umurgah of the Babylonian text correspond with the Saka Humuvarka of the Persian text. The Saka Humuvarka are the Amyrgian Sakae of Herodotos (vii, 64), who, he tells us, were "the Scythians of the Greeks" (520, 521).

"Totally distinct from the Manda were the Mada, or Medes. Their land lay to the northeast of that of Ekbatana and extended as far as the shores of the Caspian" (521). But "the outposts of the Medes extended westward to the Halys." The Medes, therefore, covered all the land north of the Ekbatanites, between them and the Caspian, and westward to the Halys,

leaving, therefore, to Ekbatana apparently but a small territory, but giving to the Medes an immensely greater possession and population. Yet this somewhat circumscribed kingdom of the Manda of Ekbatana is now said to have been the mighty power whose influence was felt all over Asia, but yet utterly failed to prevent its name from being lost to all history, and its place to be taken therein by the Medes, on this theory, an inferior and conquered people. Strangely, too, among a people of rare intelligence and unwearied historical research, so near to the time when the Manda must have achieved their renown, neither Biblicist, nor Herodotos, nor any other writer had discovered the blunder, or at least attempted the task undertaken by the present race of interpreters, to give the proper name to the empire, as the Manda-Persian instead of the Medo-Persian empire, so that the following might not have been needed at this late date. "When, in the generations which succeeded Darius Hystaspes, Cyrus became the founder of the Persian empire the Medes and the Manda were confounded one with the other, and Astyages, the suzerain of Cyrus, was transformed into a Mede, and the city of Ekbatana into the capital of a Median empire" (526). Such a "transformation" is perhaps without a parallel in all history. But if, as Professor Sayce claims, the Manda and the Medes combined to form the Median empire, the transfer was already real, and Darius Hystaspes simply accepted the transfer already made, as did also the Greek historians; but still the mystery remains as to why and how this process had



failed to be noted and the actual fact to be definitely stated.

As to the location of the Median territory, we may further quote as follows: "Eastward the Lydian empire stretched to the Halys; there it met the outposts of the Median monarch; westward it had incorporated into its army the wretched relics of the once formidable Kimmerians. . . . *The Mada were, in fact, the Kurdish tribes who lived eastward of Assyria, and whose territory extended as far as the Caspian*" (126). To this add what land is covered by the following description, that "their [the Medes] land lay to the northeast of that of Ekbatana, and extended as far as the shores of the Caspian" (521). Thus again we have an expanse compared with which the possessions of Istuvegu, or Astyages, if limited by Assyria, Elam, Babylon and Persia, were comparatively insignificant, if he did not also control this vast region and "widespread" population.

In passing it may be well also to remember that (p. 528) it is asserted that Istuvegu was a suzerain of Cyrus, as is also claimed by the Greek writers, a somewhat remarkable coincidence, and suggestive that other parts of their story may prove to be correct. The truth of this suzerainty, so far as the quoted cuneiform inscriptions are in evidence, seems to depend altogether upon the words, "their little servant" (508), reported by King Nabonidos, and applied to Cyrus in relation to Istuvegu; but which, if correctly understood, may be admitted as sufficient to identify Istuvegu as the Asty-

ages of the later historians, and in so far be confirmatory of both accounts and of this suzerainty.

These extracts have been transcribed that the reader may be able to form his own intelligent judgment as to the matters in controversy, from the statements from which the distinguished author and others have reached the conclusion that the Manda, and not the Medes, were the people who should have been named as the conquerors of Babylon under the leadership of Cyrus, king of Persia.

As to the word "Manda," it will be seen that it has quite a variety of applications or meanings. It is rendered by "nomad;" is the equivalent of "Nod" in Genesis (pp. 95, 105, 126, 146, 197). "The nomad Skyths, as the Babylonians call them" (p. 451). "Barbarians who overran the whole country." "Teuspa," a Kimmerian, is called a "Manda," but is not to be confounded with Teispes the ancestor of Cyrus, who is a Persian; Esar-haddon's inscription, as rendered by Talbot, being: "And Teispes the Kimmerian, a *roving* warrior, whose own country was remote in the province of Khubusna, him and all his army I destroyed" (*R. P.*, iii, p. 115, lines 6-9). Here "Manda" is roving, i. e., "nomad." He can hardly be looked upon as in any way related to Istuvegu.

From these references the conclusion seems to be fairly reached that the peoples to the north and east of the Assyrians and Babylonians, being for the most part of a different ethnic origin, were by these more civilized and cultured people known or described under the gen-



eral term of "Manda," being chiefly nomadic or roving in their manner of life; just as the nations not of Israel were described by the Hebrews as "Gentiles," and as to the Greeks and Romans other peoples were largely known as "barbarians," the first from their uncertain and wandering habits and condition, and the latter from their language or "manner of speech." The statement made by Professor Sayce, as to "the people of the Manda" of Ekbatana, that they were under one ruler, while the Medes were spoken of as governed by "kings," and not by a single monarch, may simply mark a stage in their progress, and is what may be indicated in the Greek accounts as having been ended under the first king Deiokes; their condition prior to this ascendancy having been of the tribal or clan character, each clan having its king or chief.

In relation to Istuvegu, if he was the ruler of the southern Ekbatana and was limited to that circumscribed province, the description of his forces as "the widespread people of the Manda" is certainly a gross exaggeration, but is exactly proper if under this name were comprehended all the diverse peoples and tribes who had common cause for resisting Cyrus; and if there were gathered under his command the nomadic tribes of the north and east in the vast regions included in the geographical description of territory above assigned to the Medes and Manda, the innumerable multitudes who were restless and aggressive, banding themselves together, ready at all times to force their way south-

The Medi-  
an kingdom;  
its ancient  
capital.

ward into regions supposed to be more desirable than their own. When spoken of collectively this general designation properly characterized the entire force, and was such a description of the hordes thus brought together as might naturally come from the Babylonian-Chaldean king Nabonidos; for it is by him, and not by Cyrus, that the word is used of the peoples massed under Istuvegu. On any other theory it seems, indeed, utterly incredible that "Manda" should supersede "Mada," or "Medes," in these later inscriptions, and that the contrary should have happened to "Manda," to its utter exclusion from every other historical record, until these very modern discoveries, if "the people of the Manda" had possessed a well-recognized, separate and exclusive local realm over which it exercised the rights of independent sovereignty; and that from the very time of the taking of Babylon, and within the lifetime of persons who had witnessed its overthrow, "Mede" should be found in all the literature of Greek culture and elsewhere; that to the Biblical writers the word "Manda" as a proper name should be utterly unknown, while the Medes are recognized as a distinct nationality, and as conspicuously in the founding of the new imperium, by both sacred and secular writers. It seems evident, also, from the use of the term "Manda" that it is always the *name* or designation of a *people*, and never the *name* of a *place* or *country*; while, on the other hand, Mede is the name of a distinct and separate nationality, which has either given the name to the country in which the thus named people dwelt, or the

name of the country, Media, gave the name "Mede" to its inhabitants. That "Manda" has the general use and meaning herein suggested is perhaps the latest and modified opinion of Professor Sayce himself, as found in his recent paper in the *Contemporary Review*, since therein the "Manda," "Umman Manda," are described as "the nomad nations of Kurdistan" (*Littell's Living Age*, February 6, 1897, p. 371).

With this compare also (*H. C. and M.*, p. 126) : "The Mada [Medes], in fact, were the Kurdish tribes who lived eastward of Assyria, and whose territory extended as far as the Caspian Sea" (pp. 126, 127) ; that "the Lydian empire stood midway between the Kimmerian and the Mede;" and that "eastward the Lydian empire stretched to the Halys, where it met the outposts of the Median monarch; westward it had incorporated into its army the wretched remains of the once formidable Kimmerians." But the Kimmerians were "Manda," "the nations of Kurdistan" were "Manda," i. e., "the Kurdish clans or tribes," being certainly part or the whole of these nations, and the "Madai" or "Medes" being "Kurdish tribes," were therefore "Manda" or "people of the Manda." Out, therefore, of this confusion there is reached the conclusion that the Medes emerging from the "Manda" stage, compelled the haughty and pretentious Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians to give to them, an Aryan people, their distinctive name, and in their distinctive name, Medes, they took their place in history as leaders and rulers. It was not long until they were compelled to

share their authority and become subordinate to their vassal, an Achæmenian, a prince of a kindred race, who, under the guise of Medo-Persian, became the successor to imperial greatness and control of these venerable Semitic monarchies, then forever extinguished.\*

For the truth of history, and not because the conclusions reached by Professor Sayce as to the titles of Cyrus at all affect the Biblical statements or the accuracy of the sacred writers, these conclusions may be profitably examined. In

The nationality and regal titles of Cyrus.

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\* Professor Kent (*Jewish People*, pp. 343, 344) refers to an inscription "coming from the reign of Nabonidos, which contains the first monumental account thus far discovered of the overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the combined attack of the northern hordes and the Babylonians. It also records the first advent (?) of the Umman Manda as an organized, united people." But they are still the "people of the Manda," rightly styled by Professor Kent himself as "northern hordes," but that they were "an organized, united people" there is in the new find no more evidence than is contained in the foregoing discussion.

As prefatory to the translation given below, Professor Kent writes: "It is possible (though not stated) that the 'he' represents Merodach (Marduk), and I venture to interpolate that name in the first line, which, with Nabopolassar, already interpolated in the printed text, sufficiently supplies the *dramatis personæ*."

"He (Merodach) gave to him (Nabopolassar) a helper; he furnished for him a confederate. The king of the Umman Manda, who had no equal, he made subject to his (Nabopolassar's) command, he appointed for his aid. Above and below, right and left, he overthrew, like the storm flood, he took vengeance for Babylon, he increased the retribution (?). The king of the Umman Manda, the fearless, destroyed the temples of the gods of Assyria altogether, and the cities in the territory of Akkad, which to the king of Akkad had been hostile and to his help had not come. He destroyed their sanctuaries, left nothing remaining, laid waste their cities, increased (the desolation), like a devastating hurricane. Of that which belonged to the king of Babylon through the work of Marduk, whose revenge (?) is plundering, he took no share. To the sanctuaries of all the gods he turned graciously. He did not on a bed of rest lay himself down" (lines 1-41).

Evidently, on Kent's theory, Cyaxares had, as we have seen above in the case of Istuvegu, gathered together these "northern hordes" of nomads, and united them under his command for this special adventure against their common enemy, receiving the co-operation of the rebellious Babylonian viceroy. But there is herein no evidence that they had as yet any "organized" and "united" government, or fixed habitation. For a different theory see p. 46.

the inscriptions Cyrus comes first into view as "king of Anzan." No inscription is quoted in which Cyrus claims the title of king or prince of Elam, though it is certain that Elam was at some time, either by force or voluntarily, brought into subjection to him; nor is there any record that clearly warrants the positive assertion that "the conqueror of Babylon was an Elamite prince" (pp. 518, 519). This assertion is evidently based upon the following: "A lexical tablet from the library of Nineveh states that Anzan was the country known to the Semites as Elam, on the eastern border of Babylonia, and Gudea, one of the earliest of Sumerian kings whose monuments we possess, records his conquest of (the city of) 'Anzan, in the country of Elam'" (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. ii, p. 8, line 64). [To this it seems sufficient to say that a "city in a country" is not the whole of a country.] "The Elamite kings whose capital was at Susa entitle themselves lords [suzerains] 'of the kingdom of Anzan, kings of Shushan.' [Anzan and Shushan are not, therefore, one and the same kingdom. Anzan may, however, have been tributary to Shushan, or the reverse.] The inscriptions of Sennacherib distinguished Anzan from Parsuas, or Persia, and [not necessarily, as we shall see] imply that it formed part [or the whole of Elam, but] of the dominions of the Elamite monarch. [Just the same as Parsuas, Ellipi, etc., etc.] The country of Anzan took its name from the city of Anzan [Anzan was not therefore Elam], which does not seem to have been far distant from the Babylonian frontier. It was the union of

Anzan and Suza or Shushan [where is the evidence of this union?], and of the district of which they were severally the centers, which created the monarchy of Elam. [?] [Of this statement no proof whatever is given, and that union, if it ever existed, may not have been in existence in the time of Gudea, many centuries having elapsed since Gudea reigned.]\* In becoming kings of Anzan [a part], therefore, Cyrus and his predecessors became kings of Elam. [The part, therefore, equals the whole. But why did they not claim to be kings of Elam, the whole, rather than of Anzan, a part? And why do not the names of his predecessors appear in the list of the kings of Elam?] They succeeded to the ancient inheritance of the Elamite sovereigns, and so lost the purity of their Persian nationality" (p. 516). But even if this were true they did not thereby cease to be Persians, nor did Cyrus forfeit his right nor the actual succession as king of Persia.

The inscription of Sennacherib may be given thus: "The men of Babylon" sent a bribe "to Umman-minan, king of Elam," asking his help, who assembled his army, collected his chariots and wagons, harnessed his "horses and mares to their yokes; the nations Parzush, Anzan, Pasiru, Illipi, and the men of Yashan, Lakabri, . . . the cities of Beth-Kutlan, etc., etc., . . . a vast horde of allies he led along with him" (*R. P.*, vol. i, pp. 48, 49). From these extracts it will be noted that Anzan, like Pasiru, Illipi, etc., was one of the allied

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\*Conjectured to have reigned between the sixth and eleventh Egyptian dynasties, about B. C. 4000 (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. i, p. 204). Hommel puts him at the beginning of the third millennium (*Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 33).



countries of the king of Elam, an ally, but not necessarily any more Elam, or part of Elam, from this statement, than were the other countries and cities named in the same connection and relation.

It is somewhat singular, considering the stress that is laid upon this claim that Cyrus was not a Persian, but an Elamite, prince, that no inscription is quoted in which Cyrus himself assumes the title king of Elam, or that he had conquered Elam. Neither is there any quoted inscription in which the conquest of Persia is claimed, nor yet of Media, if the defeat of Istuvegu was not the defeat of the king of Media; neither does Cyrus, in the quoted inscriptions, claim as his, or as part of his dominions, by name, Media, or Elam, or Persia; and the only way that from these quoted inscriptions it is known that he was king of Persia is that Nabonidos so names him. There can be no question as to his royal Persian lineage. That is attested by his own declaration, amplified by Darius Hystaspes. As before stated, on his authority, the Achæmenian family divided into two lines after Teispes, one line as rulers of Anzan, the other as kings of Persia. It seems certain that while Anzan was ruled by the Persian Achæmenians as kings, it was not ruled by, or as, Elam. For among the many kings of Elam which are named in the inscriptions, during the almost continuous warfare between Elam and the combined or separate forces of Assyria and Babylonia, not one of the names mentioned by Cyrus as his predecessors is found. While it is possible that Anzan was in alliance with Elam, certainly

so against Sennacherib, and prior to the ascendancy of the Persian princes as early as Gudea may have been under the rule of Elam, there is no indubitable evidence in the quoted inscriptions or reasonable probability that it was, under the Persian dynasty, consolidated with either Elam or Shushan.

The Persian throne may have come to Cyrus, either through the declination of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, or have been wrested from that line by the superiority of the king of Anzan; and the natural inclination of a Persian prince would lead to the taking of the title, or to the adding of the title originally in his house to that which had otherwise come to his line. There can be no question but that in the invasion of Babylonia by Cyrus both Media and Elam, as well as Anzan and Persia, were subject to him; and their forces being employed against Nabonidos satisfy all that is expressed by Isaiah in his "burden of the desert of the sea:" "Go up, O Elam: besiege, O Media" (xiii, 17; xxi, 2); these being at that time the most powerful of the nations, restive under the overshadowing authority of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans. But they composed only a part of the great inundation from the north which came under the leadership of Cyrus and was poured out upon Mesopotamia after the defeat of Istuvegu, or Astyages. It is perhaps because of this fusion of the heterogeneous peoples from the north, who so readily accepted Cyrus instead of the Mede, that in narrating the conflict with Istuvegu the names of his subjects or followers are not mentioned, and the



story runs thus: "Istuvegu gathered (his forces) and marched against Cyrus, king of Anzan, and (joined) battle; the army of Astyages revolted against him, and seized (him) with the hands. Cyrus marched against Ekbatana,\* the royal city" (p. 500). It is significant that, while his capital is named, Istuvegu is not named in this inscription as the leader of any one people, as, for instance, the Medes; but by Nabonidos in another inscription this mass of people is covered by the general term for the northerly peoples, the restless, nomadic, shifting "Manda." For in his preparations to suppress the revolt of Cyrus the Median king would certainly gather his forces from among his various feudatories and allies, among whom the nomad characteristics very largely predominated, and as he ruled over them all, and his defeat affected the relation not only of the Medes, but of all the more numerous peoples under his direction and control, a comprehensive title, "king of the Manda," is given him by the Chaldean king, giving thereby a vastly greater significance and importance to the victory of Cyrus than would have been given it if the representation had been that it was simply the victory of the king of Anzan over the king of Media, instead of over "the widespread people of the Manda" (508). For these and other reasons which may or might be given it is confidently believed that "the conqueror of Babylon was [*not*] an Elamite prince."

It may now be suggested that the readers of *The*

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\*Certainly the northern city of that name, since Cyrus was northeast of Arbela when he crossed the Tigris (p. 501) in his descent upon Babylonia,

*Higher Criticism and the Monuments* will do well to remember that nothing is said in the Biblical account which either contradicts or affirms the statements claimed as taught by the secular historian, that Cyrus was an idolater, and had adopted or practiced the worship of Bel and Merodach and other Babylonian gods; and that, while it may be true that "the story of Herodotos was repeated by historian after historian," it is not true that "the story of Daniel seemed to set its seal upon it" (p. 523), unless absolute silence as to a story not then written is thus unwarrantably to be so construed. For, as Herodotos had not written his story in the interim between Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, when Daniel is said to have lived and written his book, it follows that if Daniel did write in that interim, the book then written could by no possibility contain any notice of the story of Herodotos whatever, and his silence is in perfect accord with the date claimed as that of Daniel's lifetime and authorship. This silence must, indeed, be urged as an incidental and, therefore, strong corroboration of the claim for the early date of the book of Daniel, for if it had been written after the era of Herodotos, Ctesias, Nicholas, *et al.*, it can scarcely be conceived or imagined that the writer could have failed to put into it a Grecian coloring and given it more in detail, or as he found it in the books and traditions of that later period. The only reference to the ending of the rule of the dynasty represented by Nabonidos and Belshazzar, and the advent of the Medo-Persian kingdom, is found in connection with the inter-

pretation of "the handwriting on the wall," closing with the words, "Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians," and the statement that "in that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old" (v, 28-31); statements not found in Herodotos, or other named historians, and containing no reference whatever to Cyrus, but with terse accuracy supplements and explains the inscriptions, both he and they giving a Median ruler to the Chaldeans, and empire to the Persians.

It seems, at least, very doubtful that the form of the inscriptions at all warrants the positive statement that "We now know that the siege never took place" (523). A few days before Babylon was taken there was fighting not far from the city, and two days before the capture Sippara was taken "without fighting," which may simply mean that the results of the previous beleaguering and "fighting" had been such that these cities, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, allowed the Persians to enter without further conflict; or it is even plausibly possible that, operating as they had along the river, they may have done the very thing described in the current histories, and so diverted the course of the river as to make fighting altogether unnecessary. During the month of June they had certainly been forcing their way toward Babylon by "fighting." "Some persons were slain," and only the cities were *entered* "without fighting," the previous fighting evidently having prepared the

Daniel and  
Herodotos as  
to siege and  
taking of  
Babylon.

way for the peaceful "taking" of the cities which had been awed into submission by the previous contests and the ostentatious display of their military resources. Of Merodach it is said: "The great lord to his city of Babylon he summoned his march; he bade him also take the road to Babylon; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side. The weapons of his vast army, whose number like the waters of a river could not be known, were marshaled in order, and it spread itself at his feet. Without fighting and battle (Merodach) caused him to enter into Babylon" (p. 505). Neither the previous statements nor the confusing comparison for enumeration of the weapons of his vast army to "the waters of a river" absolutely forbid the possibility of previous operations, such as are described by the Greeks, as making fighting altogether useless for preventing the occupation of the city, and it is not impossible that the *reverse* of the following statement is true, viz.: "The siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus is really a reflection into the past of the actual sieges undergone by the city in the reigns of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes" (p. 524). In fact, taking Isa. xlv, 27, "The Lord saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers," or Jer. li, 36, "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry," there is more ground for assuming that the action of Cyrus in thus "drying up" by diverting the course of the river suggested to his contemporary subject, Darius, son of Hystaspes, the course which was afterward, when on the throne, unsuccessfully pursued by him in his attempt at reducing

the city "without fighting;" this result under Cyrus, this weakness, pusillanimity of the defenders of Babylon at this time, being described by both these prophets, Herodotos also, consistently with himself, asserting that Darius copied after Cyrus, as will be hereinafter shown.

It is to be remarked as highly suggestive that Daniel names no king of Babylon or of the Chaldeans as subsequent to or as the successor of Darius the Median, Cyrus himself having assumed the title "king of Babylon" and established that city as the capital of the empire. As subordinate to him, Cambyses, in this third year of Cyrus (536), is, as we shall see, conspicuous in the ceremonies at the funeral of the dethroned queen, and it is this third year of Cyrus which in Daniel is last mentioned; he himself, apparently, having retired, perhaps for greater privacy, somewhere on the Tigris, outside of Babylon (ch. x, 4).

In the matters thus far treated nothing has been found necessarily inconsistent with what is written in Holy Scripture; rather, the sacred writings and the inscriptions seem to be mutually confirmatory, or illustrative one of the other. We turn now to matters more directly pertaining to the chronology and history of the period, and the persons named by the Biblical writers as living in the beginning of the Persian dominion. Among these is Darius the Median, to whom attention may now be directed in an endeavor to his identification.

## II. War of Cyrus with Astyages (Istuvegu), and Date of His Overthrow

THE tablet on which the story of the conflict between Cyrus and Istuvegu (or Astyages) and also of the taking of Babylon is inscribed seems to have been chronologically arranged, and is termed "The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus" (pp. 499-503). Of this Professor Sayce writes: "The beginning of the tablet is unfortunately broken. Where the sense first becomes clear, mention is made of the country of Hamath, in which the Babylonian army had encamped during the month of Tebet (December). In the following year the army marched to Mount Amanus and the Mediterranean." After this occurs the story of the victory of Cyrus over Astyages. No year or date is given in this or the preceding fragments of the inscription. But a subsequent paragraph which seems to have no connection with or reference to this victory over Astyages, or, indeed, to Cyrus at all, is dated in the seventh year of Nabonidos; and from this it has been inferred that the defeat and dethronement of Astyages (Istuvegu) took place in the sixth year of Nabonidos, B. C. 550-549. But the indications are that the war between Persia and Media, which resulted in the overthrow of Astyages, and almost at the beginning of which Cambyeses, the father of Cyrus, was slain, was ended in a single year. This death thus early made Cyrus king of Anzan, and the



overthrow of Astyages at its close gave him in the same year the throne of Media. But the trend of opinion seems to be that Cyrus reigned twenty-nine years. (So Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, vol. iii, p. 388.) The date given by Ptolemy for his last year is B. C. 529, from which it follows that his first year was B. C. 558, which was, according to Ptolemy, the third year (558) before the accession of Nabonidos to the <sup>Fall of Astyages. B.C. 558.</sup> throne of Babylon (555). If, therefore, the death of Cambyses, by which Cyrus at once became king of Anzan, and the fall of Astyages, by which later he became king of Media, occurred in the same year, the true date of the paragraph containing the story of this victory must be this earlier year (558), and not the sixth year of Nabonidos (550-549).

An indication of this earlier date for the dethronement of Astyages may be found in an inscription of Nabonidos (pp. 507-509, and *R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, p. 169, etc.), from which we learn that "E-khul-khul, the temple of the Moon-god which is in the city of Kharran (Haran), had been destroyed by the people of the Manda, and with it the city of Haran had also been caused to go into ruin." As related to this ruin, Nabonidos writes: "At the beginning of my long-enduring reign a dream was revealed to me by Merodach, the great lord, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth; they stood on either side of me. Merodach spake with me: 'O Nabonidos, king of Babylon, with the horses of thy chariot, bring bricks, build E-khul-khul; let Sin, the great lord, establish his seat within it.' Reverently

I spoke to the lord of the gods, Merodach: 'The temple which thou orderest to be built, the people of the Manda surround it, and noisome are their forces.' Merodach again spoke with me: 'The people of the Manda of whom thou speakest, they, their land, and the kings who marched beside them (their allies) exist no more. In the third year, when it came, he caused him to come, and Cyrus, the king of Anzan, his little servant, with his small army, overthrew the widespread people of the Manda. Istuvegu (Astyages), the king of the people of the Manda, he captured and brought him prisoner to his own country' " (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, p. 169). To this Professor Sayce appends a note, suggesting all after the words "exist no more," to be "future;" i. e., "in the third year when it shall arrive, I will cause them to come, and Cyrus, the king of Anzan," etc. This form is followed substantially in *H. C. and M.* and in his article in the new *Bible Dictionary*. But the lines 24, 25 preceding are not changed, and certainly declare what had already happened, and of which Nabonidos was ignorant, namely, that three years before "the beginning of his long-lasting reign" Merodach had caused the clearing away of the "noisome" Manda. It is to be understood not as a prediction, but as a statement of an already accomplished result. For the order of Merodach to Nabonidos was for immediate obedience, at once to go, rebuild at Haran; and the only objection of the king was based upon what he believed to be the actual existing condition, that the Manda were still there in force. It will be seen that immediate



obedience to this imperative order, if matters were as Nabonidos supposed, would necessarily have involved him in a serious war with a great empire, with all chances against him, and that his force would be overpowered. A defeat of Istuvegu and a withdrawal of the Manda under Cyrus, if not to occur until "the third year" from the present, could give no assurance of present or immediate success, nor be any relief from present embarrassment, nor protection from dangers now impending. But the information that the removal of this "noisome" force had taken place so long as three years before this order was given at once showed that the way was open for instantaneous action and obedience. That this interpretation accords well with the Ptolemaic canon and other chronological data may be seen in the appended Chronological Conspectus. Taking Ptolemy's date (B. C. 555) for the beginning of the reign of Nabonidos, the third year subsequent to the overthrow of Astyages (in B. C. 558), when the death of his father during the war had made vacant for Cyrus, then forty years old, the throne of Anzan, and we have, as above stated, the true beginning of the twenty-nine years' reign of this "Great King," as well of Anzan as of the vast empire of the Medes, which, according to the current histories, included Elam and the Persian kingdom of the Achæmenidæ.

THE BEARING OF THE NEWLY FOUND "STELE" OF NABONIDOS ON THE PRECEDING DATE, B. C. 558.

The Rev. C. J. Ball, in his late work, *Light from the East*, represents that Sin in anger had caused the "Umman-Manda folk" to make a raid and destroy his house in Haran, and that Bel "took pity on the city and house, in the beginning of my (Nabonidos's) eternal reign." Merodach and Sin directed him to restore the ruined "dwelling" in Haran. "Reverently, I (Nabonidos) spake unto Merodach, 'That house which thou hast commanded to build, the Umman-Manda folk have encompassed it, and their forces are strong.' But Merodach spake unto me: 'The Umman-Manda which thou hast mentioned, they, their country, and their kings that marched with them, are no more,' In the third year, when it came, they (i. e., the gods) caused him (i. e., Cyrus) to march forth, and Cyrus king of Anzan, his (Merodach's) young servant, with his few troops routed the numerous Umman-Manda folk" (pp. 208, 209).

It will be seen that this translation differs from that of Professor Sayce, both in the supplying of the personal names and the distribution to them of the several parts. Cyrus in this is the young servant of Merodach, and not of Istuvegu or Astyages, who thereby fails of recognition as his suzerain. These differences, however, do not materially affect the essentials of my statements and conclusions in the foregoing discussion or investigation on the basis of the other

rendering. It still remains true that in the beginning of the reign of Nabonidos he was told that at that very time, to wit, in the beginning of the first year of his reign, the "Umman-Manda, they, their country, and the kings that marched with them, are no more," Merodach, according to this rendering, then adds that: "In the third year, when it came, they (i. e., the two gods) caused him (i. e., Cyrus) to march forth," etc. (*ut sup.*), by whom the Umman-Manda folk were routed. As Merodach had just assured Nabonidos that the Manda had already lost their country, and that the kings which marched with them "were no more," and now Nabonidos affirms that Cyrus was the "servant" of these gods, or their agent in doing this, it necessarily follows that what he had done for them had either been done in that year, but before this conversation was had, or some time previously to the beginning of that first year of this dreamer's reign. Fortunately, however, he solves the problem by fixing the date as in the preceding third year. This, when it came, was seized upon by the gods as the opportune time in which to avenge upon the "Umman-Manda folk" their sacrilegious destruction of Sin's favorite abode. Accordingly, being thus assured that the "noisome Manda" had, in the third previous year, been overthrown, his fears took flight, and he at once prepared for the execution of their commands. He certainly did not wait for or during a subsequent three years, or for a subsequent third year, for the *Light from the East* quotes him as ejaculating exultingly: "I tarried not, I drew not back.

I was not idle. I put my numerous troops on the march; from the land of Gaza, on the borders of the land of Egypt, from the Upper Sea, beyond the Euphrates, unto the Lower Sea," etc. (p. 209).

It seems, therefore, that I must retain my contention that the overthrow of Astyages, and the rout of the

“trekking” hordes, which, with his own Medes, were under his command, took place

Former inscription affirmed as to date.

in cir. B. C. 558. The distinguished author of the *Light from the East*, taking the date to be the third year subsequently (i. e., 553), instead of the third year preceding the beginning of the “eternal reign” of Nabonidos, writes: “This inscription enables us to determine precisely the date of the fall of Nineveh. In Column X it is said that fifty-four years had elapsed since the ruin of the temple of Sin at Haran by the Umman-Manda, or Medes, when Nabonidos set about restoring it. As he relates elsewhere (see p. 208), he was divinely bidden to undertake this work in the first year of his reign (i. e., in B. C. 556) [elsewhere 555], but was only able to do it three years later, when Cyrus had broken the power of the Umman-Manda (i. e., in 553). Adding 54 to this date, we get B. C. 607 as the year of the fall of Nineveh, and the final ruin of Assyria” (p. 212). Of the apparent assumption that the Umman-Manda were indubitably and always Medes, it may be said, in passing, that it seems to have been herein shown, by the usage of this name, that, while in Assyrian and Babylonian generalizations of foreign and especially of northern ethnic races the Medes were very

often counted among the "Umman-Manda folk," yet it is also evident that all Manda were not "Medes."

Without wavering in the belief that B. C. 607, as otherwise ascertained, is the true date for the fall of Nineveh, it is very evident that if we must depend upon this method of determining it there must be positive proof that the ruin of the temple in Haran and that of Nineveh occurred in the selfsame year. Now, so far as any such proof is apparent in this book—and the same may be said of a similar method in Hastings's new *Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. i, p. 190)—it is claimed to be found in the following, from an inscription of Nabonidos: "Column I, 1, 7. To Babylon he went, he laid the temples in the dust, ruined the sculptures, destroyed the tablets of the divine laws, took the hand of the Prince Merodach, and brought him to Asshur. According to the wrath of the god he did unto the land. The Prince Merodach relaxed not his anger; for twenty-one years in Asshur he occupied his dwelling place. After days (i. e., a long while) the appointed time came; then was appeased the wrath of the king of the gods, the lords (*sing.*?): of E-SAGGIL and BABYLON he was mindful, the abode of his lordship. The king of Assyria who in Merodach's wrath had wrought the ruin of the land, the son the issue of his own body, with the sword smote him. Column II. . . . as a helper He (Merodach?), as an ally He made him possess. The king of the Umman-Manda, who had not an equal, he [Nabopolassar?] subdued; at his bidding he made him march to his assistance.

Date of fall  
of Nineveh  
affirmed by  
Jeremiah's  
prediction.

[Abo]ve and below, [right] and left, like a flood he overwhelmed; he avenged Babylon; he multiplied corpses (*lit.*, bones). The king of the Umman-Manda, the fearless, ruined all the temples of the god[s] of the land of Assyria; and the cities on the border of the land of Accad, which had revolted against the king of Accad, and had not gone to his assistance, he destroyed, and of their sanctuaries (walls?) he left not any; he laid waste their cities. The king of Babylon, like a flood, carried beyond bounds the work of Merodach, who had intrusted him with sway. He put not his hands to the commands of any (other) gods. He prospered, and lay not down on the bed of idleness or repose" (pp. 212-214).

The account given by Hommel in Hastings's new *Dictionary of the Bible* reads thus: "It was in his day  
Hommel's  
account. (i. e., Sin-shar-iskun's) that the swamping of interior Asia by the Sakean Scythians took place. This was only the prelude to the end. As a newly discovered cylinder of the Babylonian king Nabonidos relates, fifty-four years before the consecration of the temple of Sin in Haran, which had been destroyed by the Manda hordes, a Median king, who was probably called Arbak, [Arbaces?] working in conjunction, as the cylinder just mentioned clearly proves, with Nabopolassar (Belesys), razed to the ground the famous Assyrian capital. Nineveh probably fell into the hands of the Medes in 607, after a two years' siege, since the completion of the temple of Sin seems to belong to somewhere about the third year of Nabonidos



(553).” To this a note is appended: “A clear allusion to this name (Arbak) is found in Nabonidos’s cylinder inscription: ‘Vengeance took (iriba tuk-ti) the fearless king of Manda” (vol. i, p. 190).

From the same inscription both Ball and Hommel arrive at the conclusion that the third year of the other inscription must be counted downward, and that the sacking or ruin of Sin’s temple was in the same year as the ruin of Nineveh, the

True date  
of ruin of  
Nineveh, B.C.  
558.

date being thought to be clearly fixed by these inscriptions. There is, however, good reason to doubt this. From the same inscriptions, I have put the date of that ruin at B. C. 558. The name Nineveh is not found at all in the inscription. The king to whom reference is made in the preceding paragraph of the tablet is, indisputably, Sennacherib, and what was written immediately after is lost by the mutilation of the stele. The inserted name, Nabopolassar, is a conjectural interpolation by the translator, and may or may not be correct. If the uncapitalized “he” and “his” refer to this person, then the “Umman-Manda,” whom, it is said, “he subdued,” could not have been Medes. For the Medes, certainly, never were “subdued”

Another  
name than  
those used,  
or with them  
must be  
found.

by Nabopolassar, nor compelled to do “his bidding.” If, however, it is contended that they must here be recognized as Medes, then some other name than that of Nabopolassar, or with that name, must be inserted. Possibly the name of Esar-haddon might be suggested, who certainly did subdue the Medes, and whose “few years of sov-

ereignty," writes McCurdy, "were full of action, crowned with rare success" (vol. ii, p. 348)—a statement in singular agreement with the tribute of this inscription to the ruler to whom reference is made: "He prospered, and lay not down on the bed of idleness and repose."

Column III is unfortunately lost. It is, however, somewhat suggestive that when the narrative becomes readable on Column IV the writer has Esar-haddon not admissible. reached the reign of Nergal-sharezer, the murderer of the son of Nebuchadnezzar. It is not at all improbable that Column III contained the story of Assurbanipal, the son of Esar-haddon, and thus was given a continuous synopsis of the Assyrio-Babylonian history down to Nabonidos, who in Columns V, VI and X introduces himself as the writer, and, as in his other inscriptions, narrates a dream and tells of himself and his own doings. But the difficulties which confront a satisfactory interpretation of the remainder of this paragraph seem not to be lessened by substituting Esar-haddon for Nabopolassar, but rather, thereby, seem to be increased.

A substitution of the name of Assurbanipal, the son and successor of Esar-haddon, who fought successfully against the Medes, and in whose later years the Kimmerian (Manda) greatly Assurbanipal meets the required conditions. wasted and harassed the borders of the empire, may give more satisfactory results.\* To this end we may, without violence to the inscription, thus

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\* See Rogers's *History of Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 258, 277.



read and interpret it. After the defeat and death of his rebellious brother, there appears the name of Kandalanu\* in Ptolemy's list as king of Babylon, who doubtless had the usual jurisdiction of the southern province of Accad and Sumer. As a helper, and in his semi-independence, designated by Merodach as ally, he was bidden to march to the assistance of his suzerain in the sudden emergency and peril occasioned by the bold and unexpected inroad of the <sup>First Median invasion.</sup> confederated northern tribes under the leadership of the Median Phraortes. This afforded opportunity for the usual insubordination of the southern cities and population, of which they seemed largely to have availed themselves, refusing to march with the viceroy of Babylon against the Umman-Manda under their Median leader, thus throwing their influence against the empire. With the forces at his command, the Assyrian king marched against the invaders, and in a fiercely contested battle overwhelmingly defeated them, and cut to pieces their army, their <sup>Medes de-</sup> king Phraortes being among the slain. <sup>feated.</sup> Subdued and dejected by their great loss, the invaders under Cyaxeres, the son of Phraortes, were driven out of Assyria, the "Great King" returning in triumph to Nineveh, his helper and ally, the viceroy of Babylon, Accad and Sumer, returning to wreak his vengeance upon his recalcitrant subjects. <sup>Kandalanu pacifies Accad and Sumer.</sup> "Above, below, right and left, like a flood he

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\* The identification of Kandalanu with Assurbanipal is not satisfactory to Oppert, Sayce and Hommel, and may therefore be disregarded. (See Rogers's *History of Assyria*, vol. ii, p. 397.)

overwhelmed them. He avenged [loyal] Babylon. [For the rest] He multiplied corpses [the slain]." He administered punishment after the most cruel fashion of his master, of a most cruel and sanguinary age. Meanwhile the Manda people, under their fearless king, were pressing along the northern borders of the empire, looting and ruining the temples of the gods of Assyria and the cities on the borders of the land of Accad. Their revolt against the king of Accad, and their reluctance or refusal to march against them in their late invasion, did not constitute them his allies, or secure them favor. He understood their motive was not to help his people, but that they might gain their independence. "Their cities, there-  
The Manda  
raid the bor-  
der cities. fore, he destroyed, and of their sanctuaries [walls] he left not any—He laid waste their cities." So also the king of Babylon "like a flood carried beyond bounds the work of Merodach. He put not his hands to the commands of any other gods. He prospered, and lay not down on the bed of idleness and repose." (*Light from the East*, p. 214.)

But this victory and the pacification secured by violence did not end the misfortunes of the Assyrian.

Neither Manda nor Mede abandoned their purpose of entering what was to them, as  
Cyaxares  
prepares for  
second inva-  
sion. was Canaan to the Israelites, the land of promise; and as appears from the inscriptions as thus viewed, they continued to harass the imperial borders, and lay waste its cities and temples. The ready success which the roving bands obtained in their raids

both north and south tended to lessen their awe of the great empire, and emboldened them for another attempt at its conquest. In the interval between his defeat and a second and more determined effort, Cyaxeres, the Ahasuerus of Daniel, the son and successor of Phraortes, was carefully consolidating his people and establishing over them a government more like those of the nations with which they were now in contact, and organizing under thorough discipline an army well skilled in the warlike art, as then known, sufficient in its training, valor and numbers to be able to compete on the field for victory with the great armies of Nineveh or Babylon.

Meantime Assurbanipal had passed away. Kandalanu had also disappeared. Assur-etil-ilani, a son of Assurbanipal, had just ascended the Assyrian throne. Another ruler, Nabopolassar <sup>A change of Assyrian and Babylonian ruler.</sup> by name, was in place at Babylon, a vassal monarch holding his service and allegiance due to the "Great King," but evidently restive under the yoke, and ready to avail himself of any opportunity that might offer to weaken or destroy its hold upon him or his subjects.

The preparation of the Median king having been completed, a change of monarchs favored his object, and a vast host of confederated tribes or clans was set in motion, swept down <sup>Medes and Manda lay siege to Nineveh.</sup> through the mountain passes on their way toward the capital, devastating the land, laying waste the cities, despoiling and destroying the temples, and

with resistless fury reached the great city, and entered upon its siege.

The Assyrian king was now involved in great difficulties. Revolt was in the purpose and disposition of his subjects, if not everywhere actually existent. His most powerful subordinate, he of Babylon, could not be relied upon to assist him heartily in his hour of necessity, and destruction seemed inevitable.

At this critical juncture a counter inroad of the Scyths, a people fresh from the farther north, rushed down into Media, and the Mede was compelled hastily to abandon the siege, and return with all speed to save his own kingdom.

Siege raised  
by Scythian  
invasion of  
Media.

Foiled in his attempt upon Nineveh by this irruption of the terrible Scythians (Sakean Scyths), on his arrival in Media he met with disaster, was defeated in battle, and compelled to submit himself and his country for several years to the destructive rule of these Manda people, a later evolution from

Media con-  
quered by  
Scyths.

the northern wilds than the "widespread people of the Manda" who had fought under his banners. So opportunely did this relief come that it has been suggested that the Assyrian king may have invited these barbarians to descend upon Media. In any case, whether it was the result of a deliberate plan for his relief, or was the spontaneous movement of a nomadic people seeking better lands and more genial clime, it is certain that their sudden and, to the Medes, unexpected advent saved

the empire from present ruin, and for several years held the Medes in subordination.

During this time of the Scythian (Mandean) domination of Media, the Assyrian kings retained, at least nominally, their sovereignty; but their new helpers, or "allies" (with their king "Arbak," if Hommel is right), "did little but plunder and ravage in every direction," ruining all the temples of his gods, and laying waste his cities. In this view the ruin of the Assyrian cities, among which at that time Haran would be found, was accomplished through a series of years extending to a time perhaps earlier than the peace of Alyattes; and there is not much probability, and no certainty, in the date B. C. 612, as fixed by the fifty-four years of desolation. For a part of the five years prior to the fall of Nineveh, in the enfeebled condition of the empire, it, with many other cities, was doubtless held by the Scythian Manda, but later came under the yoke of the Medes, who in the division of the Assyrian assets seem to have retained Assyria proper, and northern Mesopotamia on a line which Nabonidos recognized as including Haran.

The change from Assur-etil-ilani to the rule of Sin-sarra-iskun, which took place during the Scythian domination, seems not to have improved the situation; and when the Medes had regained their ascendancy, and had found Nabonidos readily co-operating in their plans, their combined forces advanced into Assyria, took posses-

Assyrian  
rule nominal  
during Scyth  
irruption.

Scyths' alli-  
ance.

Sin-sarra-  
iskun last  
Assyrian  
king. Nine-  
veh taken.

sion of its cities and lands outside of Nineveh, and after a siege of uncertain duration, the city fell into their hands, and the Assyrian empire was dismembered, and ceased to exist.

The northern cities, which under the later kings of Assyria had been seized and held by the Scythian Manda, continued to be occupied by them when the Medes regained the mastery, and was still in their hands, as subjects of the Median empire, when the Persian revolt occurred.

In his effort to suppress the revolt of the Persians (Parsuans) the Median king had evidently summoned Medes and Manda join Cyrus. to his assistance (mobilized) the entire force of Manda and Medes available within his dominions. This necessarily led to the evacuation of the cities, especially of those which were not likely to be attacked by the enemy, which was certainly the case in relation to the Persians, who in the contest with Media would be far to the eastward of Haran. This resulted in the gathering together of a vast multitude, among whom there was no common interest and agglutination. The result was, therefore, vastly different from what the King Astyages (Istuvegu), justly denominated "king of the Manda—heterogeneous hordes—expected. Instead of a decisive victory he met with a disastrous defeat, and the entire mass after the defeat seems at once to have adhered to the fortunes of the victorious Cyrus, by whom they were speedily led to fresh fields of plunder and pillage. Thus they were abundantly compensated for the loss sustained by their



evacuation of cities long since despoiled, and now for a time left to their own fate, while they marched under new auspices to newer and richer conquests. The restless ambition of Cyrus, indeed, gave them ample employment, far away from the cities thus left undefended.

At this time Nabonidos had not usurped the throne, and of this defenseless condition of the cities along the northern border it was possible that he might have remained in ignorance. Until he had taken into his hands the kingship of Babylon he could, of course, do nothing, nor could the knowledge be of any advantage to a mere subject. If known to his immediate predecessors, no use of the knowledge was made, since they "engaged in no warlike expeditions." In the third year after this evacuation the gods (priests) saw their opportunity in the accession of an active and adventurous prince, his first year being contemporaneous with this third year after the "march away" of Cyrus and the Manda. In this third year of the cities' defenselessness, the first year of his reign, the true situation was revealed to Nabonidos, and the information coming to him when the forces of Cyrus were at a safe distance and otherwise employed gave him the opportunity to possess himself of Haran, and restore to its former magnificence the favorite abode of the great Sin. In haste, therefore, he recalled from Syria and places adjacent to Haran forces sufficient to seize and hold the city, and proceeded to execute the order of the king of the gods.

Nabonidos  
takes Haran,  
repairs the temple,  
B. C. 555.



That such an act of unprovoked aggression led to the subsequent invasion of Babylonia on the return of Cyrus is not known, but may naturally be supposed not to have been passed over in silence, nor without an effort to avenge the insulted dignity of the "Great King."

Thus we may, it is hoped, arrive at a consistent interpretation of this inscription, but do not therein find any absolutely positive datum for fixing the year of the fall of Nineveh. (See also note to page 32.)

### III. The Persons and Other Matters Pertaining to the Taking of Babylon and the Extinction of the Babylono-Chaldean Empire

As to the persons and other matters pertaining to and concerned in the taking of Babylon, it is attested by the "Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus" that <sup>Gobryas takes Babylon in the absence of Cyrus.</sup> Cyrus was not himself present, nor at the head of the victorious army when the city was taken (p. 502). This honor fell to the lot of Gobryas (Ugbaru), the governor of the country of Kurdistan, described by Schrader as a "Babylono-Median race" (vol. ii, p. 229). According to Daniel and Josephus, "Darius the Median" took or received the kingdom; rather, was made "king of the Chaldeans," appointed to that office. Josephus further informs us that Darius had another name among the Greeks. The story of the taking of Babylon as found in the cuneiform inscriptions is less in detail than are the accounts current with the later secular historians, but is somewhat supplemental to the brev- <sup>Cuneiform story supplements Daniel.</sup> ity of Daniel. In neither the cuneiform nor the Biblical narrative are there any indications of a severe struggle, either in attack or resistance, when the actual entry into the city was gained. On the contrary, the inscriptions expressly say that "without fighting and battle (Merodach) caused him to enter into

Babylon, his city of Babylon he spared; all the men of Babylon, all of them [?] and the whole of Sumer and Accad, the nobles and the high priests, bowed themselves beneath him; they kissed his feet; they rejoiced at his sovereignty; their countenance shone" (p. 505). This, however, refers perhaps not so much to the capture of the city as to the time when subsequently Cyrus himself came, four months after it had fallen into the hands of his commander, Gobryas, and had been under his government. But the absence of fighting when the city was taken by Gobryas is also claimed. "On the 16th day of Tammuz [June], Gobryas, the governor of the country of Kurdistan (Gutium), and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting" (502). It was not until the third day of Marchesvan (October) that Cyrus entered Babylon. Of this entry he says: "When I entered Babylon in peace, with joy and gladness I founded the seat of dominion in the palace of princes." The palace, therefore, was without its king or prince.

With this description of the taking of the city the Biblical writers are in entire harmony. Jeremiah (li, 30-38) writes that: "The mighty men of Babylon have forborne to fight, they have remained in their hold; their might hath failed; they became as women; they have burned her dwelling places; her bars are broken. One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken on every quarter; and that the passages

Biblical  
writers har-  
monize with  
the inscrip-  
tions.

are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted." So, too, the simple brief record of Daniel favors still more strongly the inscriptions. It says nothing about any siege; it does not say that the city was taken by night or by day, by stratagem or by assault, or in words that the city was taken at all; only inferentially conveys the idea. It simply states two incidents that occurred on the night of the day in which he had interpreted the handwriting on the wall for Belshazzar, evidently the second ruler of the kingdom, of which Daniel as a reward had been proclaimed "third ruler." "In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old" (vs. 30, 31).

There is nothing in the inscriptions that is at variance with these words, as we shall further endeavor to show. It is certain that Nabonidos, king of Babylonia, the father of Belshazzar, was not known by the Persians to be in Babylon when it was by them entered. He had been in Sippara two days previously, from which, when it was taken, he had fled. He was afterward "captured after being bound in Babylon;" perhaps captured outside of Babylon, but brought and delivered in Babylon after he had been bound (502). It is also absolutely certain that Belshazzar, who had been the acting king, was neither in the palace nor in Babylon when Cyrus some four months later entered the city. It is now absolutely certain that Nabonidos had a son named Belshazzar, his

Belshazzar  
second ruler  
of the king-  
dom.

Schrader's opinion. firstborn, of whom Schrader writes: "That this firstborn son of Nabonidos occupied a distinguished position next to the king during his lifetime, and especially at the fall of the empire, has been recently established by an inscription on a clay tablet containing the 'Annals of Nabonidos.' . . . As early as the seventh year the crown prince, the son of the king, was accompanying the army in north Babylonia along with the chief men of the empire. . . . Perhaps while the father confronted the foe in the open field the son was appointed to defend the capital. On the capture of the town the crown prince lost his life, meeting with a more honorable end . . . than his father, who fell into captivity" (vol. ii, p. 132).

Professor Sayce admits that "since we are told not only of the fate of Nabonidos, but also of the death of his wife, it seems probable that Belshazzar Sayce's futile account. was dead. [!] At any rate, when Cyrus entered Babylon he had already disappeared from history" [!!] (526). To this fact the Biblical account bears emphatic and distinct corroboration, both as to time and manner. Neither does it seem possible that a theory of Biblical contradictions of the inscriptions can be sustained or established by such inconsiderate statements as that "the Biblical story implies Babylon was taken by storm; at all events, it expressly states that 'the king of the Chaldeans was slain.' Nabonidos, the Babylonian king, however, was not slain, and Cyrus entered Babylon in peace" (526). The truth is that Daniel gives no description at all as to the taking

of Babylon, nor is Jeremiah necessarily to be interpreted as "implying that Babylon was taken by storm." On the contrary, he expressly says that the Babylonians did not fight, made no resistance, and where there is no resistance the need of a "storm" does not clearly appear. Of course, there was great confusion; messengers from every direction would naturally make their hurried way toward the palace with the news of the disaster; but such "posts" would not have been needed if a general assault had taken place, or the city had been otherwise taken than by the silent march of the hostile forces through the open gates—opened doubtless by collusion and conspiracy. And certainly Daniel is not in conflict with the inscriptions, nor in contradiction thereto. His first statement that Belshazzar was slain contradicts nothing in the inscriptions, but since they show that he lived they certainly render confirmation to the statement that he met with death, and as they say nothing about how he met it, they are not in evidence against one who tells the time and manner of his death. Daniel does not say that the "*Babylonian king, Nabonidos*, was slain." He simply states that "Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans" was slain, a title which seems not to have been given to Nabonidos, and for these closing years seems to have been peculiar to Belshazzar and his immediate successor, Darius the Median. Daniel distinctly names with the title, that there may be no possibility of confusion or mistake, that the person who was slain was Belshazzar, now known from the monuments to be the son of Naboni-

dos, and who in his book is recognized as "king of the Chaldeans," and whom he thus entitles, doubtless on proper authority, and in consistency with the monumental discoveries and the indication given in the fact that he himself had been made third ruler in the kingdom, he himself giving the name of the second ruler, Belshazzar, and his own name as the third, the monuments supplying the name Nabonidos as the chief or first ruler of the kingdom. No reference to Belshazzar is made later than to the third year of his reign, after which reference he and Gobryas, as well, disappear simultaneously from history, as well from the monuments as from Daniel (viii, 1). It is, however, significant of the accuracy of Daniel that in every year from the seventh to the seventeenth year of which there is given a detailed account in the inscriptions there occurs the statement, or its equivalent, that "The king (Nabonidos) was in Teva;" "The king in the month of Nisan [the first month of the year] did not go to Babylon;" "The king did not go to Babylon in the month of Nisan" (p. 500, etc.). There is, therefore, no violence done by the inference that his son took or was acting with kingly authority in his stead.

It is, therefore, not at all improbable that in the three years immediately preceding its fall the crown prince, resident in Babylon, was made king of the Chaldeans, or Babylon, while his father was in the camp or fortress above Sippara, where it is certain his mother was living, his wife being with her son Belshazzar in Babylon (p. 500, Dan. v). From the seventh to the eleventh



year of the reign of Nabonidos the king's son is named in the inscriptions as being with the nobles and the army "in the country of Accad," but no mention of him is made in the detail of the seventeenth or last year. It is certain that Nabonidos was in Sippara two days before Babylon was taken. It seems to have been not at all uncommon for oriental kings, especially when in warfare and at the head of their army, to join with themselves the eldest son, conferring upon him the powers and title of king in the government of the capital. So, therefore, Nabonidos may have appointed "king of the Chaldeans," or of "Babylon," this son, whom he calls "Bel-sar-user my eldest son, the offspring of my heart," asking the gods also "that his glory may endure," he meanwhile reserving to himself the kingship of the countries outside of Chaldea and confederate with him; thus pursuing the same course which, according to Mr. Pinches, Cyrus himself followed, who, "after having reigned nine years as king of Babylon and countries, abdicated the throne of Babylon in favor of his son Cambyses, and continued reigning some years as king of countries only" (*R. P.*, vol. ii, 28-32; v, p. 147; xi, p. 89, note). It is observable, too, that Daniel does not tell by whom Bel-shazzar was slain, whether by Persian or <sup>Not known by whom</sup> slain. by Chaldean. That there must have been a second ruler, acting with kingly functions in Babylon during the long-continued absence of the first ruler, Nabonidos, is most probable, and was indeed a necessity; and judging from the monuments, none more capable or

eligible or more trustworthy could have been found than this son; so that in Daniel thus entitling him, and bringing him thus into his story, there is no conflict, but an additional item of historic information. Nor is there the slightest conflict or improbability in the theory that a conspiracy may have been formed in the palace itself, resulting from the great dissatisfaction of priesthood and nobles as stated by Cyrus himself, and that the second "ruler of the kingdom," Belshazzar, under the ban of Daniel's interpretation, was slain in the palace in a sudden outbreak of his own chief officers and retainers, who then opened the wall gates and admitted Gobryas and his forces to the fortifications and absolute control of the city.

Neither does it seem exactly accurate to say that it was all "peace," even when Cyrus entered Babylon, if the inscriptions are rightly rendered; "for Dissension and restiveness under Cyrus in Babylon. the soldiers of Gutium (Kurdish Medes) carefully guarded the gates; no special festivity was observed, dissensions (mobs) before him had to be allayed, peace in the city did Cyrus establish; peace to the province of Babylon did Gobryas proclaim;" statements unnecessary, if peace had already existed from June to October (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, p. 160, etc.). It was doubtless, therefore, as hereinbefore suggested, as a peace offering that Nabonidos, who had been taken prisoner, was made governor of Karmania (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. i, p. 161, note), to conciliate any who might against priests and nobles be disposed to revolt in his interest. For the offenses by reason of

which he lost his crown were, it is said, committed against the gods, i. e., the hierarchy and higher classes; so that for reasons which are suggested by certain traditions connected with family ancestry there may have been a widespread discontent among the Chaldean masses at the turn which had been taken in the dethronement of the native king, the establishment of a foreign rule, and the supremacy of alien and inferior races. For such, in their estimation, were both Medes and Persians.

As related to this, it is noted in Daniel that the mother of Belshazzar in her counsel to her son laid special stress upon the expression, "Nebuchadnezzar, thy father," and was careful to repeat and emphasize that relationship. In the absence of positive and definite information in the Biblical and cuneiform accounts as to whom Nabonidos had married, we are necessarily left to the other sources referred to as to the actual relationship which would lead to and justify this careful persistence in designating her son as having this greatest of the Chaldean kings for his "father." From Herodotos we have the name of a queen joined with Nabonidos, bearing an Egyptian royal name, Nitocris, then in use, to whom are ascribed extensive works, defensive preparations and improvements in Babylon, the credit of which from the monuments seem to belong to the king. As we are necessarily left to supplement the notes of the historian by conjecture, the suggestion of Canon Rawlinson may for the most part be accepted, that "she was

The queen-mother a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar.

the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, born of an Egyptian princess, married\* to . . . Nabonidos, who ruled partly in her right, the mother of Belshazzar, the queen who came into the banqueting house and recommended him to send for Daniel" (*Anc. Mon.*, iii, p. 66, note). There is no improbability in this idea, and that she was herself of this noble lineage, and greatly valued herself and her son because of this illustrious ancestry. Not more than six or seven years had elapsed between the death of Nebuchadnezzar and the crowning of Nabonidos (B. C. 561-555), who himself claims Assyrian or Babylonian kings as his "fathers" (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, pp. 171-177). In the seventh year of his reign (B. C. 548) his son Belshazzar was old enough to be with the army. Four years later "he was a wool merchant in Babylon" (B. C. 544, *H. C. M.*, p. 535, note). "Belshazzar showed himself to the world to be a man of action. Outside of Babylon he was probably better known than Nabonidos himself" (p. 527). He must, therefore, when slain have been from thirty to forty years old, born, perhaps, in the peaceful times of the later years of Nebuchadnezzar† (B. C. 578-538).

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\* "Married successively to Neriglissar and Nabonidos," is Rawlinson's idea. But if taken at the death of Neriglissar by Nabonidos, B. C. 555, the son born to him thereafter could not have been over sixteen years old at the taking of Babylon, B. C. 538, nor over seven in 548, when he was with the army in north Babylonia; and yet Nabonidos claims him "as the offspring of my heart," his own son.

† Indeed all the indications as to the time when the "Great King" had the last recorded dream (chapter iv) point to the later years of his reign. His great improvements in Babylon had evidently been completed. He was apparently at peace with all nations, and his glory had culminated. If now Belshazzar was, say, forty years old when slain (538-40—B. C. 578) he would have lived sixteen years during the reign of his grandfather, Nebuchadnezzar. He may, therefore, have been seven or eight years old when Daniel gave the interpretation. At that age he could have such knowledge as to have enabled him to truthfully say: "I have

At this ripe age, with the experience and reputation gained by years of service and a governorship of some years, his trading and intimate mingling with the soldiery and common people giving him acquaintance and influence among the masses, the defense of Babylon might well be left with this son, "who is proved by the inscriptions to have been associated with the kingdom, and who was aided by the maturer counsels of the queen-mother;" not the mother of Nabonidos, who was dead, but of Belshazzar (Smith, *Anc. Hist. of the East*, p. 301; *R. P.*, vol. v, p. 147, 19-31).

In the instance cited by Daniel the purpose of the queen in her use of the term "father" was to emphasize his relationship to the "Great King," her father, as a precedent for calling the same skilled interpreter who had unraveled the mysterious visions of his grandfather. For neither here nor in the case where his father, Nabonidos, claims Assyrian or Babylonian kings as "his fathers" is the term to be construed strictly, but rather as "ancestors," more or less remote. This relationship, also, satisfactorily accounts for what otherwise seems altogether inexplicable, namely, the extraordinary honors after her death heaped upon her memory, in the elaborate funeral service conducted by no less a personage than Cambyses, the son of Cyrus,

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heard of thee, that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts" (v. 16). Thus Daniel may be fully justified in his responsive charge, that: "Thou, his [grand]son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this," to wit, the dream, the interpretation, the fulfillment or verification of the interpretation, the latter, perhaps, still fresh in his memory, as among the last of the memorable events or experiences of his illustrious ancestor, while in this second ruler's approach to manhood.

in which the offerings were ten times such as were customary on such occasions, notwithstanding the humiliating fact that she was the wife of a defeated and dethroned monarch. It also accounts for the universal mourning and lamentation in Accad and Sumer, once the subjects of her father, as also for the service of a Semitic\* priest in an Elamite robe; and it removes all improbability from the statements of Daniel which indicate the high standing and veneration belonging to the queen-mother (*H. C. M.*, pp. 502, 503). There was also great mourning and lamentation in the country of Accad, and by the king's son, i. e., Belshazzar, and his soldiers for three days, when on the fifth day of the month Nisan, in the ninth year of his reign, the mother of Nabonidos died in the camp fortress on the Euphrates above Sippara. For it was certainly through his mother that he was of royal race, as he himself thus testifies: "I am Nabonidos, the Great King, . . . whom

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\* "Elamite," and therefore Biblically Semitic. Even admitting that as early as the time of Abraham, the names of the kings of Elam philologically indicated a different ethnic origin, it does not follow that the aboriginal subjects were of the same race as their rulers. It is rather suggestive that even at so early an age as in the time of Cyrus, the invasion of a hardier race, or races, from the north had successfully established themselves and Aryan rule over the land, but without much change in their religion or other characteristics. Because Anglo-Saxon or Norman kings bore rule in Britain, we are not, therefore, warranted in concluding that the name Britain is either Saxon or French, or that the inhabitants thereof were of the same ethnic origin as their rulers. The aborigines of Ireland and America forbid! It was, perhaps, because of this ethnic difference, and of the persistent efforts of these Aryan kings to come down from the high ground which they had conquered, and to subjugate the Semites in the much-coveted paradisaic lands between and along the great rivers, that an almost perpetual warfare was kept up between the Semitic Assyrians, or Babylonians, and the Aryan kings of Elam. This racial antagonism may, perhaps, also account for the use of the "Elamite robe," as distinguishing this priest of the Semitic Nebo from the Aryan Cambyases, who either himself, or by the instrumentality of another priest, was making unusually large "freewill offerings" to the same god. (*H. C. and M.*, p. 503.)



Sin and Nergal in the womb of my mother have destined to the destiny of sovereignty, the son of Nebobalad-su-igbi, the wise prince, the worshipper of the great gods am I" (*R. P. N. S.*, vol. v, pp. 160-168). It would therefore seem that Nabonidos was himself of a royal race, a descendant of Assurbanipal, the greatest king of the last successful dynasty, and that in right of his wife, Nitocris, daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, he came to the throne as an avenger of the wrong done in the murder of the legitimate ruler of the race of Nebuchadnezzar, and the usurpation of the throne by Neriglissar (Nergal-Sharezer). There were thus combined the fortunes and prestige of the most renowned of the kings of the two dynasties, with which were linked the proudest memories still leaving their impress upon the heart of the existent peoples, who manifested their attachment in the mourning, the lamentations, the honors paid first to the mother, and afterward still more lavishly to the wife\* of the dethroned Nabonidos, in which an alien conqueror of an alien race was conspicuously and heartily joining.

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\* "Son" is a recently suggested reading. But of what king? Certainly not of Cyrus, nor of Belshazzar. Nor could it be Belshazzar, the son of Nabonidos, as the death of this person, the object of so much grief, whosoever it may have been, must have occurred in February, B. C. 537, since the mourning and funeral ceremonies lasted from 27th Adar (February) to 3d Nisan (March). If it could be proved that the funeral was that of Belshazzar, that would, of course, be a flat contradiction of Daniel, since in his story Belshazzar was slain as early as Tammuz (June), B. C. 538. But no such proof as yet has been found, and no good reason has been given, nor is it at all probable that a satisfactory account can ever be rendered, as to why such exceptionally distinguished obsequies should attend the funeral of the slain "second" or subordinate "ruler" of the defunct Babylonian-Chaldean kingdom. (Compare page 77).



#### IV. Identification of Darius the Median

THERE remains now the identification of the person named "Darius the Median," who figures in both Daniel and Josephus, as ruler with the first, and as conqueror of Babylon, or the kingdom of the Chaldeans, with the latter writer. Taking the data supplied by the inscriptions, the secular historians, the Biblical books, and Josephus, treating all with fairness and due respect, it is hoped that a satisfactory and conclusive result may be attained.

It may be well to emphasize the singular agreement of the inscriptions with Daniel and Josephus in the statement that the governorship, or absolute ruling authority, upon the capture of Babylon was held or exercised, not by Cyrus, but by the leader of the army, by whom, in the absence of Cyrus, the city was taken; Cyrus himself, according to the inscriptions, not being then present, nor for months afterward. These facts precisely accord with Daniel, but not with all the later secular writers, to some of whom this absence of Cyrus was apparently unknown. Herodotos agrees with the inscriptions, omitting, however, the name of the commander who took the city; but Xenophon states that Cyrus was present, and that after giving the general orders he said: "Come, then, take your arms, and with the help of the gods I will lead you." Yet in the

Harmony  
of Daniel,  
Josephus,  
and inscrip-  
tions as to  
the govern-  
orship of  
Babylon.

actual capture as described by Xenophon, Gobryas, not Cyrus, is the conspicuous figure (cf. Her., i, par. 191, with *Cyrop.*, bk. vii, ch. 5, §§ 15-33).<sup>\*</sup> Such agreements tend to increase confidence in the story of Herodotos and of Daniel, and render it more unlikely that all the details given by the former as to the siege are altogether fictions. This absence of Cyrus from the capture and government of Babylon from June to October or November well accounts for the fact which appears in Daniel that the issue of the proclamation for the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus and Darius was unknown to Daniel until revealed to him by the angel (ix, 23), the legitimate inference being that it was issued at the urgent request or instance of Jews who had been with him during the invasion, and had secured it during the interim between the capture and his entry into the city in Marchesvan; another incidental indication that this book was written by Daniel in his own day, and not at a time when it would have taken its coloring from the current secular accounts. With Cyrus Daniel seems to have had little

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\* Neither Herodotos nor the inscriptions give the time of the day when the attack and conquest took place. Xenophon, however, emphatically states that the attack had been timed for a day on which Cyrus had heard that "there was a festival in Babylon, in which all the Babylonians drank and reveled the whole night." On that day, "as soon as it was dark," Cyrus opened the trenches, draining the river into the lake. The Persians under Gobryas then entered by the river bed, forced their way into the palace, met the king standing with his sword drawn, mastered him, killing also those with him. When the day came they that held the towers saw that the place was taken, the king dead, and therefore gave up the towers. All this accords with Daniel, who supplies the name omitted by Xenophon, Belshazzar, the king's son—the names of father and son being so coupled together in an inscription as to imply co-sovereignty (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, iii, p. 70, note, and 73, note).

to do, his only reference to him in his book being (i, 21) that "he continued" (in his relation to the Chaldean kingdom?) "even unto the first year of King Cyrus"\* (and vi, 28), that "he prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian,"† and that in the third year of his reign he had "a vision" (x, 1). This agreement with the inscriptions and with the best accredited secular historians may, therefore, be set to the credit of the Hebrew writers.

It is necessary at the outset of this investigation to ascertain the exact relation of Darius the Median to

Darius and  
Cyrus ruled  
contempo-  
raneously.

Cyrus and the empire of the Medes and Persians, as that is indicated in Daniel. It

seems, for the most part, to have been overlooked, heretofore, that this relation is, indeed, very clearly indicated therein, and that Daniel does not claim that the Mede was either the predecessor or the successor of Cyrus. Yet many of the objections to the validity of this book of Daniel seem to depend for *their* validity upon the assumption that there must have existed one or the other of these relations. On the contrary, Darius is always represented as "king of the Chaldeans," that is, of the realm of Darius over  
Chaldea. the Chaldeans, which "he had received, or taken," evidently from or in the name of a superior;

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\* Or, more literally and consistently with the context (v. 19) and vi, 28: "So (i. e., And such) was Daniel during the first year of King Cyrus."

† That is, in other respects this Daniel also had prosperity during the reign of Darius and of Cyrus, but may not have had, subsequent to the first year, the same close relationship to Cyrus; and in this qualified statement is also indicated the contemporaneousness of the two reigns of Cyrus and Darius (Gobryas).

while Cyrus is designated as the Persian, or king of Persia; the general laws and customs under which Darius acted, and by which he was <sup>Cyrus over the Persian empire.</sup> rigorously bound, being those of the general government of the Medes and Persians, and of which Cyrus was undoubtedly "the Great King." Whatever law or decree Darius made was of uniform authority in every part of "the kingdom of the Chaldeans" which he administered, but not beyond. For even the expression, "Then Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth [land]," must be understood, with the limitation "my kingdom," in the next clause, as meaning that part of the "earth," that is, the land covered by his kingdom, "the kingdom of the Chaldeans," which he held contemporaneously with and under the suzerainty of "Cyrus the Persian" (vs. 25-31; ix, 1). That they were thus contemporaneous, the one the ruler of a kingdom or province forming part of the greater kingdom or empire over which the other reigned, is shown by the fact that the decree which in 2 Chron. xxvi, <sup>36. 22</sup> 21, and Ezra i, is attributed to the first year of Cyrus, is said in Daniel to have been issued in the first year of Darius, but by whom issued or by what authority is not stated in Daniel, so that there is no disagreement or contradiction or ambiguity in the several statements of the author of Chronicles, of Ezra, or of Daniel ix, 1, 23, who, having begun his supplication "in the first year of Darius," is told by Gabriel that "at the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth," which could be no other

than the proclamation "of Cyrus in the first year of his reign," thus indisputably establishing the contemporaneity of Cyrus the "Great King" the suzerain, and Darius, the king of the Chaldeans, a fact which, strangely enough, does not seem heretofore to have been generally recognized. This subordination of Darius and the consequent limitation of his authority also accounts for the absence of any application to him, Darius, by Daniel in furtherance of the objects contemplated in his supplications, since a proclamation or decree by Darius would have been futile and utterly worthless, if not by its assumption to have been prejudicial.

From the inscriptions we learn that the first governor of Babylonia under Cyrus was at the time of the capture of the city governor of Kurdistan; and from the fact that he is apparently limited to the kingdom of the Chaldeans, which did not at the time of the surrender of Nabonidos include the Median province of Kurdistan, it would seem that he was transferred from that conquered province to the governorship of the realm wrested from that Chaldean king and his son and co-rex Belshazzar.

Taking now the data found in Daniel, our attention is at once directed to the statement of the *age* of Darius the Median at the transfer of Babylon to the Medo-Persian dominion as sixty-two years, that is, that he was in his sixty-third year. As the capture by Gobryas was in B. C. 538, the birth of this Darius must have been B. C. 600, or ten years

Gobryas  
governor of  
Babylon and  
Kurdistan.

Darius not  
Astyages.

later than the treaty between Cyaxares (Ahasuerus) I and Alyattes of Lydia, at which time Astyages (Istuvegu), the son of the Median king Cyaxares I (Hebrew Ahasuerus), was either married or espoused to the daughter of the Lydian king, and may be assumed to have been about twenty years old, born, say, B. C. 630. Taking as the date of his defeat and dethronement B. C. 558, and the years of his reign as usually given, thirty-five, and we have as the date of his accession to the throne, and the probable date of his father's death, B. C. 593. At the time of his dethronement he would, therefore, be seventy-two years old, and if living at the fall of Babylon would be ninety-two years old, an age which would itself be against all probability of his occupying the responsible position named, and altogether inconsistent with Daniel's account. The theory which sees in Astyages Darius the Median may, therefore, be dismissed as failing to meet the required and necessary conditions.

As appears clearly from the cuneiform inscriptions, the city was taken by Gobryas of Kurdistan, and he also was immediately made its governor; <sup>Gobryas</sup> <sup>rules</sup> <sup>Chal-</sup> "he took the kingdom." This authority at <sup>dea.</sup> first seems to have been limited to the city, perhaps on account of the territory outside being occupied by the forces under the personal command of Cyrus himself; but after the entry of Cyrus, Marchesvan 3, he seems to have received an extension of his authority, covering the entire province of Babylonia, or the kingdom of Chaldea. So from Dan. v, 31; vi, 25, 26; ix, 1, we



Darius the Median rules the Chaldeans.

learn that "Darius the Median took the kingdom of the Chaldeans," was made or appointed king. That the province was under the direction and control of Gobryas as governor is clearly stated in the inscriptions. "On the 16th day of Tammuz (June) Gobryas, the governor of the country of Kurdistan (Gutium) [Kurdish tribes, or, as before shown, Kurdish Medes] and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting. . . . The third day of the month Marchesvan Cyrus entered Babylon. . . . Peace to all the province of Babylon did Gobryas, his governor, proclaim. Governors in Babylon he appointed. From the month Chisleu to the month Adar (November, 538, to February, 537) the gods of the country of Accad, whom Nabonidos had transferred to Babylon, returned to their own cities. The eleventh day of [the subsequent] Marchesvan (October, 537) during the night Gobryas was on the bank of the river. . . . The wife\* of the king [Nabonidos, the mother of Belshazzar] died. From the twenty-seventh of Adar (February) to the third day of Nisan (March or April?) there was lamentation in the country of Accad" (pp. 502, 503), "mourning for the mother of Belshazzar."

Thus it appears that for the greater part of a year,

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\* Read recently "son" by some. But the reading "wife" accords better with the context, and avoids an unnecessary "clash" with the clear statement of Daniel, as to the death of the "son." She was living the day of the night when her son was slain, and this is the only record of the death of this queenly and distinguished woman. The funeral ceremonies were in B. C. 537, continuing from February 27 to March 3d. (See *Chron. Consp.*, note f. See also note to page 70. Ball renders it "king's consort," *Light from the East*, p. 221.)



at least, if not into the second year, Gobryas was acting governor of the kingdom of Chaldea, and there is no record or reference in the book of Daniel to Darius the Median beyond what is termed the first year of his reign.

Gobryas in the monuments. Darius in Daniel, ruled the year after the capture.

The fact that in the cuneiform inscriptions he is not called king, as Darius the Median is called, involves no contradiction or difficulty. For the governors of Babylon appointed under the domination of Assyria, though not kings, are included among the kings of Babylon in Ptolemy's Canon, and Gobryas, as well as they, exercised all the authority of kings over the territory ruled by them severally. Such was the authority to appoint "governors in Babylon," which the inscriptions say he did appoint, the number according to Daniel being one hundred and twenty. This number sufficiently differentiates this transaction from the subsequent appointment of twenty satraps, and the division of the entire empire into satrapies under and by Darius son of Hystaspes. Neither is there any improbability in the statement that Daniel was by Darius appointed the first of the three presidents, when the history of this peerless Israelite became known to him, as it certainly would be, nor that Daniel should retain his reputation and influence during the subsequent years of the reign of Cyrus the Achæmenian. Neither would the fact that in the inscriptions the name given is (Ugbaru) Gobryas, and in Daniel and Josephus is Darius, be an insuperable obstacle to the identification, as below may be made more fully to appear, if other

matters indicate that these names designate one and the same person, since an objection arising from this diversity has been anticipated by Josephus in the statement that Darius had another name among the Greeks. Besides this, it is by no means certain that Darius is a proper name, or is other than a title of royalty or nobility, preceding another and distinguishing name, as in the only instances of its use, namely, Darius the Median, Darius Hystaspes, Darius Ochus, Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus.

That Gobryas was a Mede, as was Darius, seems apparent from the fact that he first appears as governor of Gutium, or Kurdistan, in which were included the Madai, or Medes, "who, in fact," writes Professor Sayce, "were the Kurdish tribes who lived eastward of Assyria, and whose territories for the most part extended as far as the Caspian Sea, and whose outposts extended westward to the Halys." Nor is there the least improbability in the statement that one of these people should be at the head of this victorious army, when it is true that the same nation was so conspicuous in forming the kingdom which superseded the latest Babylono-Semitic empire as to have given to the new dominion in all secular history at its beginning the double description, "Medo-Persian," a form unusual and unique. No other name, indeed, seems to have been known for it in its earliest history than that which united these two names either in that form or "Medes and Persians;" and we may emphasize the strangeness of the allegation that both Biblical writers and secular

historians, the former living at or near the time, and some of the latter not many years after, should have substituted for "Manda," or "people of the Manda," the name "Medes" or "Mede;" and the improbability that such a substitution should be so made at this early date, and that the mistake should be perpetuated without a single protest from any source, or attempt at correction until the present day. It is, further, somewhat singular that the people termed "Manda" do not seem to have had any positively fixed territorial limits or possessions, but were emphatically "widespread;" the term "Manda" being seemingly applied as were and are the words "barbarians" and "Gentiles," or "heathen" or "nomads," and for the same reason, as being descriptive or referring to some marked characteristic common to many peoples that in other respects were distinct and separate. The single apparent exception in the case of the Ekbatanites simply illustrates and confirms this explanation as being the beginning of that settlement of the roving tribes or clans which ultimately consolidated, most of them under the control of a central government. Thus the "Medes" were doubtless in their earlier years classed by the more cultured Semites with the "Manda," but it seems certain that all "Manda" were not "Medes."

We have seen that Darius, and for the same reason Gobryas, cannot be identified with Astyages, and must therefore be sought elsewhere. In Xenophon, Astyages is said to have had a son who was named Cyaxares II. Josephus also writes: "When Babylon was taken by

Darius, and when he with his kinsman Cyrus had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks" (*Ant.*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 4). Herodotos, on the other hand, a writer said to be contemporary with the daughter of Cyrus, expressly declares that Astyages "had no male issue" (i, 109, p. 49).

The data recorded in Daniel and in Josephus would make Darius seven years old when the death of Cyaxares I occurred, and it seems sufficiently attested by a comparison and combination of the statements of Daniel, Josephus and Xenophon that such a person as Cyaxares II did exist, and that he was not the son but a younger brother of Astyages, the son of Cyaxares I, and as such by Oriental custom the rightful heir to the throne of Media, and that this heirship, belonging preferably to the king's brother in the east, led, perhaps, to the idea that he was son of Astyages, as the western custom would give this right to the son, and not to the brother.

Coincidentally, Daniel's Darius the Mede is the son of Ahasuerus (Cyaxares) (ix, 1).<sup>\*</sup> That this name

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<sup>\*</sup>In the version of the Septuagint called "the real Septuagint Text," this verse reads thus: "Darius, the son of Xerxes, of the race of the Medes." In this substitution of Xerxes for Ahasuerus, the translators could not have referred to the Xerxes whose queen was Esther, since he was not of the "race" of the Medes, but was the son of Darius Hystaspes, a Persian. Neither could the Ahasuerus of Esther have been the Ahasuerus of Tobit, since that Ahasuerus (Cyaxares I) was at no time ruler of a kingdom that reached from India to Ethiopia, as was Xerxes' (Esther i, 1). The translators in this version of Daniel must have intended by "Darius the son of Xerxes" the same person as "Darius the son of Ahasuerus," as in the more exact version of Theodotion.

is the equivalent of the Greek Cyaxares appears clearly from its application in Tobit <sup>Ahasuerus Hebrew for Cyaxares.</sup> xiv, 13, where it is recorded that before Tobit died "he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which had been taken by Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus." Thus used in connection with the destruction of Nineveh by the united forces of the Medes under Cyaxares I and the Babylonians under Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar, there can be no question as to its being another or Hebrew transliteration of the name of the Median king, by the Greeks transliterated as Cyaxares.

By almost universal consent Ahasuerus, the king whose consort was Esther, is identified with Xerxes the Persian, whose invasion of Greece was so conspicuous a failure. The same name <sup>Ahasuerus of Esther not the Ahasuerus in Ezra.</sup> occurs in Ezra iv, 6, and it remains to identify the historic king so designated by Ezra. The passage reads thus: "Then the people of the land . . . hired counselors against them [the Israelites], to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia. And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem." Possibly in the beginning of the reign of both Cyrus and Ahasuerus the complaints came to the latter, with the hope of a more successful issue through his mediation than they could expect through a direct application to his imperial suzerain, who had, perhaps, as above sug-

gested, even then committed himself by his early proclamation as Cyrus king of Persia.

With the fall of Babylon began the reign of Cyrus and the governorship of Gobryas (Ugbaru) over Babylonia, to which the province of Syria, including Judea, appertained. In truth, it seems that for a time the entirety of the territory wrested from Nabonidos, by which the independent Babylono-Chaldean dominion was extinguished, continued to be administered by the subordinate king or governor of Babylonia, or the Chaldeans. This change of masters of Judea from the Babylono-Chaldean empire to that of the subordinate king or governor of the Chaldeans resident in Babylon, at that time the capital city of the Medo-Persian empire, was doubtless seized as a favorable opportunity to crush the incipient effort for the rehabilitation of the Jewish kingdom. From this beginning the opposition continued until the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes king of Persia, after whose advent the primacy of the Medes seems to have disappeared. In Esther, under the reign of his son and successor Xerxes, Persia is named first or named alone, except once only in the closing verses of the book; this exception being due, perhaps, to the greater familiarity of the Jewish writer with the form found in the earlier prophets and Daniel. But in Ezra and Nehemiah this combination, Medo-Persian, or Medes and Persians, is not found; these being testimonies, incidental, it is true, but, therefore, all the more forcible, in support of Daniel as being in accord with the earlier prophets of Judah, who could



not have derived their phraseology from the Macbean Age.

Accepting as substantially accurate the authorities most relied upon for the rulers from the taking of Babylon (538) to the accession of Darius son of Hystaspes (521), we have, according to Ezra, successively, Cyrus, the Median name Ahasuerus (Greek, Cyaxares II), and Artaxerxes. In Daniel we have for the same, or part of the same, period but two names, Darius the Median and Cyrus. In the list of Ptolemy we have but one king between Cyrus and the Hystaspean Darius, namely, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, in agreement with the inscriptions. As stated, the opposition of the Samaritans to the work attempted at Jerusalem continued from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus to the second year of Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia (Ezra iv, 5, *et seq.*, 24). It is also certain that (v, 6, etc.) the Ahasuerus and the Artaxerxes named are placed by Ezra, and in this order, between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. It is also to be carefully noted as a suggestive fact that Ahasuerus is not by Ezra styled "king of Persia," this kingship of Persia being applied in this chapter only to Cyrus, and to this Artaxerxes, to Darius, and to the Artaxerxes mentioned in chapter vi, verse 14. If, therefore, we follow Ezra in his order of succession, we are absolutely precluded from confounding this first-named Artaxerxes, who in this order is made to precede Darius, with the Artaxerxes of chapter vi, verse 14, who in this order is placed after Darius

Succession  
of rulers in  
Ptolemy, Ezra,  
and Daniel.



Hystaspes, and was doubtless his grandson, surnamed Longimanus. Up to the close of the third chapter Ezra had given the story of the return of "the children of the captivity" from the first year of Cyrus to the completion of the temple and its dedication in the second year of Darius Hystaspes (chapter iii), reserving for this fourth chapter the details of the opposition which was encountered during this period (cf. v. 24; Hag. ii, 1, etc.). How accurately these statements of Ezra accord with Ptolemy, the secular authority most relied upon, may now be made to appear.

In Ptolemy's list the succession of kings of Babylon, the then capital of the Medo-Persian kingdom, is as follows: Cyrus (538-529); Cambyeses, <sup>Ezra and Ptolemy agree.</sup> his son (529-521); Darius Hystaspes (521-485); Xerxes, his son (485-465); Artaxerxes Longimanus, his son (465-425). It will be observed that the name of Smerdes (i. e., Bardes, Gomates, Tanyoxares, Oropastes, as he is variously named) is not inserted in this list, his usurpation having occurred during the later years of Cambyeses, and continued but a few months after the death of that king; when he was slain at the instance of conspirators, who at once proclaimed Darius, son of Hystaspes, one of their number, king of Persia, who was thus accounted as the immediate successor of Cambyeses; the brief interval occupied by Smerdes being included in the time allotted to Cambyeses and this Darius. Neither does the name of Ahasuerus nor of Darius the Median appear in this list,

and this omission can only be justified on the ground that neither name is set forth by either Ezra or Daniel as being king of the Medo-Persian kingdom. If, however, as is herein contended, each name is taken as indicating one and the same person, that person is distinctly designated by his Median name Ahasuerus, and title Darius, as a Median, and as "king of the Chaldeans," or "of Babylon." As such, his first year's reign is clearly shown in Daniel to be contemporary with the first year of Cyrus, he being certainly simply ruler of the designated part of the empire, and dependent upon and subordinate to Cyrus, who was king of the whole realm; his relation to Cyrus being somewhat similar to that of Herod the Great, as king of Judea, to Augustus, the Emperor of the entire Roman world, of which the kingdom of Judea formed but a small part.

It will be seen that there is but one king whose name appears in Ptolemy's list as reigning over Persia after Cyrus and before Darius Hystaspes, namely, <sup>Cambyes</sup> Cambyes, the son of Cyrus. Coincidentally, <sup>is the first</sup> there is named by Ezra as reigning in the <sup>Artaxerxes</sup> same interim but one person styled king of Persia, therefore having the same jurisdiction or dominion as his predecessor Cyrus and his successor Darius, namely, "Artaxerxes king of Persia" (iv, 7). To this king, expressly stated to be "Artaxerxes king of Persia," accusation was made by letter, and in reply the complainants were commanded to cause the work at Jerusalem "to cease, and that the city be not build-

ed.” Accordingly, the work ceased “unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.” (See the entire correspondence, iv, 7-24.) This record, and the coincidence which it marks, seems sufficient to warrant the conclusion that this Artaxerxes in Ezra and Cambyses of Ptolemy and of the secular historians are but different names for one and the same person—the only legitimate king of Persia intermediate between Cyrus and Darius son of Hystaspes, viz., Cambyses son of Cyrus. Such a decree accords well with the character of this arbitrary, impulsive, cruel, iconoclastic temple-destroying king, and is wholly inconsistent with what is known of the Artaxerxes who reigned later than his father Xerxes, and his grandfather Darius Hystaspes. If further confirmation of this identity is required it may be found in the fact that Josephus attributes to Cambyses what in the remainder of this fourth chapter of Ezra follows this sixth verse, and which is by Ezra attributed to Artaxerxes king of Persia (*Ant.*, bk. xi, ch. ii). That no relief was afforded the Samaritan complainants until after the accession of Darius accords well with the accounts given of this period in the secular histories. The decree was doubtless issued by Cambyses when busied with the preparations for his Egyptian expedition, from which he did not get farther on his way back than Damascus, where he died. His absence, and the constant demands of his hazardous enterprise, put him practically out of the reach of counter influences; and at home the authorities left in charge were sufficiently

occupied with the effort to maintain the integrity of the empire in the face of disturbances, attempted revolts, and at last a usurpation of the throne itself. They were not, therefore, likely to be in the mood to meddle with the affairs of this outlying province of Syria. It is not known that Cambyses is elsewhere addressed as Artaxerxes, but this need not stand in the way of this identification, since, as we have seen, names were somewhat laxly used, and certain apparently throne names, among them Darius and Artaxerxes, were evidently frequently assumed by claimants to the throne. "It has been abundantly evinced that Artaxerxes is a regal name, and was assumed by all who were certainly known to have borne it in addition to their private and personal designation on their accession to the regal power." So Bessus, after the murder of Darius Codomannus, "assumed the upright tiara and royal robe and the name Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, proclaiming himself 'king of Asia'" (*Encyclo. Brit.*, vol. ii, pp. 641, 642).

With this identification of this Artaxerxes as Cambyses sufficiently established, as in every way most probable, and this probability confirmed by Josephus, this part of the difficulty in Ezra wholly disappears, but there still remains that which the introduction of the name Ahasuerus in this text creates.

The purpose to be subserved by the removal of this difficulty may justify or excuse somewhat of repetition. As this Ahasuerus precedes Artaxerxes in Ezra, and this Artaxerxes fills up the interim between

Cyrus and Darius son of Hystaspes, it follows that this Ahasuerus must have been a contemporary of Cyrus. As we have suggested, he cannot therefore have been the Ahasuerus of Esther, if that Ahasuerus was Xerxes, since Xerxes was the son and successor of Darius Hystaspes. It was in the beginning of the reign of this Ahasuerus, according to Ezra, that complaint was made of the Jews, but apparently after the proclamation of Cyrus had gone forth, with the hope, doubtless, that through his mediation and influence with Cyrus the purpose of the Jews might yet be frustrated. But according to Ezra, Josephus and Daniel, their efforts were, during the days of Cyrus, in vain, and the work went steadily on toward its completion. According to Daniel the first year of Cyrus was the first year of Darius the Median, of whom Cyrus is reported to be a kinsman, a statement fully in accord with the Greek writers. It would seem also that Darius the Median and Ahasuerus were either contemporaries or two names used, the one by Ezra, the other by Daniel, for one and the same person. In Ezra it is written that Ahasuerus, whose Median name indicates his Median origin, reigned, but over what or whom is not indicated. In Daniel the Mede is introduced without any pretense of possessing independent authority, but clearly exercising his power as an appointee, contemporaneous with the higher authority to whom he was subordinate, and by whom, as is represented, he seems to have been honored, as well with the title as with the functions of

a king; but apparently limited to the kingdom of the Chaldeans, with Cyrus the king of the Medes and Persians, his kinsman, as suzerain. That neither of these names appears in Ptolemy's list is in accord with the method pursued in constructing the Canon. In conformity with this general course or method, as, for example, in the case of the viceroys appointed by the Assyrian kings, the name of no viceroy or governor appears when the suzerain "Great King's" name is found; and yet such governor in all probability exercised his proper functions. Thus the entry of the name of Cyrus at the same date (538) absolutely excluded the name of the subordinate or viceroy.

Reverting now to the identification of the name Cyaxares I with the Hebrew Ahasuerus, as found in Tobit xiv, 15, it is suggestive to find that a second Cyaxares (Heb., Ahasuerus) of the Median regal race is named in the Greek books treating of this historic period, who is said to have been intimately connected with Cyrus. As before stated, he is said by Xenophon to be a son of Astyages, the last Median monarch. Accepting, however, the authority of Herodotus in the assertion that Astyages had no son, it follows that Xenophon is in error in calling Cyaxares II the son of Astyages. And this accords with and is corrected by Daniel. For if Darius the Median is the same as the person named by Xenophon, Cyaxares, and Daniel is right, then he was not the son, but the brother, of Astyages (Istuvegu) the son of (Ahasuerus) Cyaxares I; and whether his real name was or



was not Cyaxares (Ahasuerus) his father bore that name and was a Mede. As before stated, the brother would be, in the Orient, the preferred and rightful heir to the throne of the deposed king. But Astyages was never king of Babylon, nor of the kingdom of the Chaldeans. He was king of the Medes, and of whatever the Medes had under their sway, and, therefore, his brother, the son of Cyaxares I (Ahasuerus I), could only be heir apparent to the kingdom of the Medes, or of the heterogeneous masses "of the people," "the widespread people of the Manda." A son of Cyaxares I would be "of the seed of the Medes." Doubtless, Xenophon had drawn upon his imagination for many of his incidents and descriptions, but underlying or beside his story there is, in all likelihood, a stratum of fact, of which the statement of both Daniel and Josephus as to at least this matter affords confirmation, and to it lends a credence of which it would otherwise perhaps be unworthy, namely, that after the defeat and dethronement of Astyages there still remained another member of the royal house of Media; that he and Cyrus were kinsmen, and that for a time he was in great favor with his illustrious kinsman. We may hereinafter suggest reason for his further representation, that after a time his principal residence was the northern Ekbatana, the original Median capital, where he bore himself with regal magnificence. Nor would the permission of such rule be out of harmony with the course which was pursued by Cyrus in the case of Nabonidos and of Cræsus of Lydia, but would



warrant the expectation that this son of the fallen house to which he himself was closely related would receive special favor and consideration. As Nabonidos was intrusted with the governorship of Karmania, and Astyages is reported to have been treated with great kindness, there is not the least improbability in the inference that the younger brother of the dethroned king, especially if a man of character and ability and known to be loyal to the "Great King," should have had, prior to the taking of Babylon, the governorship or viceroyalty of Kurdistan, territory a large part of which had been dominated by the kings of the Medes, and in which as Kurdish tribes or clans the Medes had pursued the life of "Manda," roving, nomadic lives. As a prince of the royal house of Media, he may have been known to the people by the appellation "Darius," a name or title that seems to have belonged only to royalty among the Medes and their kindred the Persians.

So, therefore, he appears in Daniel without other personal name, his relationship and house, however, being distinctively defined by the unequivocal claim that he was a Mede, "Darius the son of Ahasuerus," who could be no other than the Cyaxares I (Ahasuerus I) of the Ninevite conquest. If it seemed wise to conciliate the friends of Nabonidos, by conferring upon him the control of Karmania, it would seem a still greater manifestation of political wisdom to conciliate the people who had been the subjects of the great empire of Media, by securing the support of its royal

house, especially so if its surviving representative was a man of character and action; as was also wisely conciliatory, the condescending union of the two names, the Mede first, in the title of the new government, the Medo-Persian, as lessening the sense of humiliation.

To afterward intrust to the Median prince the control of that vast empire which had marshaled under its banners "the widespread people of the Manda," the heterogeneous multitudes of the farther north, but ever pressing their way to the south lands, was at once a bold assertion of the belief of Cyrus in the invulnerableness of the empire and of confidence in the Medes. The assignment was indeed befitting in their kinsman; and, as conceding coequalization, could not be otherwise than gratifying to them. For they were the peers of their Persian conquerors, of the same ethnic race, their equals in bravery, vastly outnumbering "his little army," lacking only at the time of their overthrow unity and a leader of consummate skill, to whom they could be devoted, such as was afterward found in Gobryas (Darius), now loyally in the service of his suzerain the "Great King" in his militant march from the inhospitable clime of their northern capital, Ekbatana, to the sunlit palaces of Babylon and Shushan, or Susa. Neither is it at all improbable that, Babylon now thoroughly organized and in complete subjection and submissive to Cyrus, he should be remanded to his former governorship, where his services would be more greatly needed, and where, in a wider field, he could maintain the same orderly obedience

to the new imperium that had obtained under his wise administration in Babylonia among the Chaldeans.

We may now emphasize the fact that in Ezra the reign of Ahasuerus precedes that of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who is also the predecessor of Darius Hystaspes, and thus comes between Cyrus and this Darius. As there is listed by Ptolemy but one king of Persia, Cambyses by name, as reigning during that interim over the Persian empire, the identity of the person named by Ezra Artaxerxes, and by Ptolemy and Josephus Cambyses, seems to be indisputably confirmed, that being simply his throne name; so that, having, like Bessus, assumed it, his proper address would be Artaxerxes Cambyses, as is exemplified in the case of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the only historically possible but most improbable and inconsequential alternative being that of the usurper Smerdes, among whose numerous appellatives this one is nowhere found recorded.

It is therefore very significant, and in exact accordance with the secular histories and inscriptions, that the Ahasuerus who preceded Artaxerxes is not said to have reigned over the Medo-Persian or Persian empire, since he could not have so reigned, the time and territory having been preoccupied by Cyrus. Yet if he preceded Artaxerxes he must have reigned contemporaneously with Cyrus. From this it follows that his reign was in subordination to Cyrus, and the relation of Cyrus to him must have been that of suzerainty over a part of the empire not specifically named. But

the connecting of his name with the complaints of the Jewish enemies sufficiently indicates his kingdom, since after the fall of Nineveh to Babylon alone could they look for help, or for redress of their grievances. His reign was therefore over Babylon, or the kingdom of the Chaldeans.

But for this same period, and under this same "Great King" as suzerain, according to Daniel, Darius the Median was king in Babylon of the kingdom of the Chaldeans. Darius and this Ahasuerus (Greek, Cyaxares) must therefore be one and the same person.

In the inscriptions a third name appears of a person exercising the functions of government in subordination to the same "Great King" as suzerain, whose rule began at the same time and covers identically the same period as that distinctly named by Daniel, and inferentially determined in Ezra, namely, Gobryas (Ugbaru), of Gutium, or Kurdistan, the commander of the army which entered Babylon in triumph.

As to each of these is attributed the same rule over the same territory, under the same suzerain, beginning at the same time, and, so far as can be determined, for the same period, it seems indisputably to follow that the several names belong to one and the same person.

In this Gobryas, of Kurdistan, the commander of the army which entered and took possession of Babylon in the absence of Cyrus, there seem, therefore, to meet the conditions required to identify Darius the Median as the second (Greek) Cyaxares (Hebrew, Ahasuerus), the son of

Identity  
of Gobryas  
and Darius  
shown.

the first (Greek) Cyaxares, (Hebrew, Ahasuerus), named by Daniel and Ezra.

(1) The age of Darius favors this identity. As we have seen, his birth occurred B. C. 600-599, some six or seven years before the death of his father Cyaxares I, or Ahasuerus, and if reared in

By the age  
given.

the royal palace or household of Astyages he might readily have passed for and been popularly supposed to be his son, and there is thus readily seen how the different reports could have currency, while the better informed knew that to Astyages no son had been born. In that case, too, the intimacy and confidence said mutually to exist between the person in Xenophon named Cyaxares and Cyrus are accounted for; since they may have grown up together, and formed their attachment in their early manhood, when Cyrus was held at the court of Astyages in some sort as a hostage for the loyalty of Persia, an attachment such as that of David and Jonathan in the household of Saul. At the fall of Astyages he would be in his forty-second year, some two years older than Cyrus, and this also renders credible the report that the "*Great King*" had afterward married a daughter of this son of Cyaxares I, the legitimate heir to the Median crown, and thus strengthened his hold upon his Median subjects, and justified still more fully the title of his imperium as the Medo-Persian empire.

(2) Both the inscriptions and Daniel harmonize in the matter of the absence of Cyrus when the city of Babylon was taken, with which Herodotos also coin-

Absence of  
Cyrus when  
Babylon fell. cides\* (i, 191). Thus, the inscriptions state that Gobryas entered and took possession of the city; Daniel does not name Cyrus, nor state in so many words who first entered the city; but,

(3) The inscriptions state that Gobryas immediately assumed the functions of the government of the city, and that after the arrival of Cyrus some  
His immediate govern-  
orship. four months later his authority was extended to include the province—substantially the Chaldean kingdom, which had been taken from Nabonidos. Daniel states that Darius the Median “took,” or received, “the kingdom of the Chaldeans,” an exact statement of the fact as revealed in the inscriptions of Cyrus, differing substantially only in the name and title of the governor. In each record the extent of the dominion covered is the kingdom of the Chaldeans covering the territory of Babylonia, perhaps Syria and some smaller adjoining districts, but not the entire empire of Cyrus. It must be distinctly kept in mind that as to what was governed the only difference seems to be in the words used to convey the same idea, the manner of describing the same boundaries. Thus in the inscription the rendering is, “All the province of Babylon” (502); in Daniel it is “the kingdom” or “realm of the Chaldeans,” a difference in form, but suggesting the same extent of dominion, the same

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\* Herodotos states that Cyrus stationed the bulk of his army near where the river enters the city, another division beyond (south) of the city, and, with the inefficient part of the army, himself marched northward to the lake, and there, by means of a canal or trenches, diverted the water sufficiently from its natural channel to make a passage for the forces under Gobryas into the heart of the city. (See also pp. 46 and 82 below.)



territorial limits. For when the kingdom of Nabonidos was wrested from him this was about what he had to surrender. In this item both records must apparently refer to one and the same person, for there could not be two persons exercising the same powers and performing the same executive functions in the same city and conterminous territory in subordination to the same supreme authority, in the one case named, and in the other certainly implied.

(4) In the inscriptions it is distinctly stated that "peace to the city did Cyrus establish, peace to all the province of Babylon did Gobryas his governor proclaim. Governors in Babylon he appointed." So in Daniel it is said that <sup>The state of the city and form of government.</sup> "Darius the Median set over the kingdom" (i. e., of the Chaldeans) "one hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom. And over these three presidents; that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage" (vi, 1, 2). Taking into account the somewhat limited jurisdiction claimed by Darius, these officers must have been court guardians, heads of departments of finance, collectors and assessors of the revenues, military attaches of the king, etc., etc. Most of them seem to have been within easy call, and readily collected in Babylon, for consultation, and for devising schemes, professedly for the advantage of the king, but really to minister to their petty jealousy, and to serve their own paltry "ends."

This limitation of territory, as well as the number

(one hundred and twenty) appointed, sufficiently differentiates these officers from the twenty satraps subsequently appointed by Darius Hystaspes, and renders nugatory the suggestion that this statement has anything to do with the later organization of the entire empire under the Hystaspean régime. Possibly the method of Darius (Gobryas) on the smaller scale, itself, perhaps, in part a continuance of a preëxisting system,\* may have suggested the method on the larger scale for the entire empire; just as it is most probable that the method whereby Cyrus made his approaches to Babylon, thus making "fighting" almost useless, and successful resistance improbable in their disaffection to the ruling dynasty, may have suggested to Darius Hystaspes the same method when Babylon was in revolt against him, rather than the reverse, that the secular writers should stupidly transfer to Cyrus what from its nearness to their own times must have been well known to have belonged to the unsuccessful stratagems of the later times of the Persian king.†

(5) That Gobryas was "of the seed of the Medes" is suggested and accords well with the fact that he was

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\* Cf. Dan. ii, 49, with vi, 2.

† See *H. C. M.*, p. 524, for this singular verdict. But Herodotos positively states that Darius, "Though he had recourse to every kind of stratagem and artifice against the Babylonians," yet "even so he could not take them, and having tried other stratagems, he made trial of that also by which Cyrus had taken them. However, the Babylonians kept strict guard, and he was not able to surprise them" (iii, 152). "The feast," the disaffection, the treachery were now wanting, and these are what made possible the success of Cyrus in his arduous undertaking (1 Sec., 191). Why Herodotos in a fiction should attribute success to this scheme in the case of Cyrus, and failure in the case of Darius, is incomprehensible.

governor of Kurdistan, a country certainly under Median jurisdiction, and with a population largely of Median Kurdish tribes or clans. That he stood high in the favor and confidence of Cyrus and was of noble lineage seems established by the facts that he bore a title of royalty peculiarly Median and Persian, and was in command of the army; his ability and trustworthiness in civil affairs also being attested by his being at once intrusted with the civil as well as the military control of the kingdom wrested from Nabonidos.

(a) His Median extraction indicated by his governorship of Kurdistan.

(6) Seventeen years after the capture of Babylon a person of this name, a son of Mardonius, an ancestor of that Mardonius who was left by Xerxes in Greece to complete its conquest and was slain at Platea, was among the conspirators, who succeeded (B. C. 521) in placing

(b) By the occurrence of the name among the conspirators.

Darius Hystaspes on the throne instead of the murdered Smerdes Gomates. In the list of conspirators furnished by Darius, and also by Herodotos and others, he as well as the rest of the conspirators are said to be Persian princes. As Darius himself was distinctively a Persian, in no way at that date connected by marriage or descent with the Medes, or the Median royal family, whatsoever other claim or claims he may legitimately have had to the throne or empire, so large a part of which had come from the accession of Media, none could come from Median consanguinity; and it was natural, therefore, that he should prefer that his kingship should come more immediately from the action

of those of his own nationality, thus also evincing the dominance of Persia, which, hereafter, it was his evident intention to make more and more independent of a distinctively Median contingent, and to sink its severalty indistinguishably into that of his own nationality. In this his position was different from that of Cyrus and Cambyses, who were in some way of the "seed" of both the Median and Persian royal houses. If in giving out this list of conspirators as Persians he acted on the principles which, according to Herodotus, he set forth in his exhortation to the other six princes, his statement of their nationality may not be strictly correct, but have put upon it the coloring which would best accord with his purposes. "When a lie must be told let it be told, for we all aim at the same ends, both they who tell lies and they who keep the truth. Some tell lies when by persuading with falsehoods they are likely to gain some advantage, while others speak the truth in order that, by the truth, they may acquire some advantage, and something further may be intrusted to them; thus by different processes we arrive at the same end" (iii, §13). But be this as it may, the Gobryas of the conspiracy cannot well be accepted as he of the Babylonian conquest. At the murder of Smerdes he would have been in his eightieth year, while the entire procedure of this prince indicates him to be a much younger man; and if of Median extraction, most thoroughly Persianized. He is also set down as the "son of Mardonius." It is possible, however, that this Mardonius may have been a

son of Gobryas (Darius). Assuming, hypothetically, that Mardonius was born B. C. 575 (in his father's twenty-sixth year), in B. C. 521 he would be fifty-four years old. If his son, the second Gobryas, was born, say, B. C. 550, in 521 he would be twenty-nine years old, an age which would accord well with his zeal and energy, in word and deed, with the representations made by Herodotos. If in the twenty-fifth year of his age, B. C. 525, his son Mardonius was born, at the accession of Xerxes he would be in his forty-first year, B. C. 485, an age which would very well agree with his influence at court and his standing in the army, as general in chief of the forces left to subject Greece. In the third generation a scion of the Median royal house might easily have become so identified with the Persians as to have lost all interest in his Median ancestry or country, and indeed, as often happens in the change from one habitat to another, to have a stronger love for the new than for the old country and connections.

There are not wanting, however, indications of a Median nationality among the seven conspirators. Thus in the Median form of the Behistun inscription Darius makes mention of a Median general named Intaphernes whom he employed in suppressing a Babylonian revolt; a name the same as that of one of the seven, who was introduced to the rest by Otanes as a friend, and "as one in whom he could place most reliance" (Her., iii, §70; *R. P.*, vol. vii, 39, p. 104), Otanes in all probability being "of the seed of the Medes."

Indeed, in the case of Otanes, one of the most influential and independent of the seven, a peculiar agreement was entered into, when finally he withdrew from further connection with the conspirators' proceedings. In their discussions of the course which it seemed most advisable to pursue, and the form of government best to be established, Otanes gave it as his opinion "that we should do away with the monarchy and exalt the people, for in the many all things are found." Possibly in this advice he was influenced by observing the evident purpose and tendency among the Persians, though fewer in numbers, to ignore the Medes, a tendency which he found no other way of counteracting. When, however, the opinion of Otanes, who was anxious to introduce equality among the Persians, was overruled, he thus spoke in the midst of them: "Associates, since it is evident that some one of us must be made king, either appointed by you or by the body of the Persians intrusting the government to whom they may choose, or by some other way, now I will enter into no competition with you, for I wish neither to govern nor to be governed. But on this condition I give up all claims to the government, that neither I nor any of my posterity may be subject to any of you." To these terms the rest agreed, and further determined "that to Otanes and his posterity forever, if the kingdom should devolve upon any other of the seven, should be given a *Median vest* yearly by way of distinction, together with all such presents as are accounted most honorable among the Persians" (Her., iii, 34). There



does not seem to be any other reason why this gift should be a "*Median vest*" than that as Medes he and his posterity were to be thereby recognized and acknowledged as free from the obligations which as Persians they would be under, in common with the Persian princes; and that by this distinctive garb or decoration their Median origin and special privileges would neither be forgotten nor ignored. That he had some special claim to the "government" is clearly indicated by his own statement, and by the readiness with which his "giving up all claims" to it was accepted on the conditions which he himself had proposed; and these conditions convey the impression that his abdication or withdrawal was occasioned by his conviction that the whole matter was solely in the hands of the Persians, and that it was utterly hopeless to contend against their power and numbers. No Mede at that period in their history, with the record of the Median Smerdes fresh in their memory, stood any chance of receiving Persian suffrages for the monarchical succession.

With these facts, coincidences and suggestions before us, and duly weighed, it is hoped that it is not hazarding too much to submit that there is sufficient justification for accepting as true the statement that Darius the Median, the son of Ahasuerus (Cyaxares I) in Daniel, Ahasuerus (Cyaxares II) of Ezra iv, 6, Cyaxares II of Xenophon, and Gobryas (Ugbaru) governor of Kurdistan and Babylon of the cuneiform inscriptions, are but different names for one and the same person, and that enough at least is established to

warrant the belief that Daniel wrote with absolute accuracy and in perfect accord with the monuments; that on the night of the day on which he had interpreted the handwriting upon the wall and had in consequence been made third ruler of the kingdom, the second ruler "Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans was slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old;" this note of age being very important and contributing largely to this identification. As before stated, it is not at all likely that the Gobryas of the conspirators was the Gobryas who led the army of Cyrus into Babylon, but the finding of Intaphernes among the conspirators, and the incident concerning Otanes seem to justify the conclusion that he was a son, and therefore of the "seed of the" Median royal house.

This incident in the story of the overthrow of the usurper Smerdes and the accession of Darius son of Hystaspes may also suggest a reason for the sudden disappearance of Darius from Biblical history, and Gobryas from secular history, namely, the evident purpose of the Persians as soon as possible to supersede the Medes in the management and from prominence in the affairs of the empire. The very assumption of the governorship of the kingdom of the Chaldeans may not have been altogether agreeable to the Persian nobility, and it may have been only professedly to honor Darius (Gobryas) that he was permitted to resume the governorship of the distant Kurdistan, with his capital at the

(c) By the simultaneous disappearance of Gobryas and Darius from history.

northern Ekbatana, or "Achmetha," but really to get him out of the governorship of Babylon and its province, the most important and conspicuous in the empire, into one of less importance and influence, and where he would be almost lost to sight.

(7) That he either voluntarily and by permission returned to Media, or had been authoritatively, if not arbitrarily, transferred to its government, seems to explain the singular fact that when Darius Hystaspes made search for the proclamation of Cyrus, "in the house of the rolls at Babylon, it could not there be found." It was, however, found at "Achmetha\* (Ekbatana), in the palace that is in the province of Media" (Ezra vi, 2). Its presence therein seems fairly to justify the inference that Gobryas (Darius) ejected or removed, as above suggested, or, having of his own accord retired to his paternal estates, had in withdrawing carried with him "the rolls" or "archives," the

By his return to Ekbatana, where the proclamation of Cyrus was found by Darius Hystaspes.

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\* Under "Achmetha," the new *Bible Dictionary*, edited by Hastings, gives Hamadan (the southern Ekbatana) as clearly the Ekbatana of Tobit, vi, 5, "where it is represented as lying midway between Nineveh and Rhages." The accuracy of this description or decision may be best tested by comparing the latitude and longitude of the several places with it. These are as follows, all except Nineveh and Rhages taken from the article to which reference is made: Nineveh, 36° 21' N., 43° 13' E.; Ekbatana (Takht-i-Sulayman), 36° 25' N., 47° 10' E.; Hamadan, 34° 8' N., 48° 3' E.; Rhages, 35° 37' N.; 51° 46' E. From this it will be seen that Tobit's description is almost accurate when applied to Ekbatana (modern name Takht-i-Sulayman), but does not fit in at all with the geographical relation of Hamadan to the other places named. It must also be remembered that Tobit refers to the city as it existed in the times, or prior to the era of Esar-haddon and the destruction of Nineveh. The northern city also accords better with the description given by Herodotos, and gives consistency and additional credibility to his story and the descent and conquest of Cyrus the Persian's military invasion and migration southward.

records of the transactions which had accumulated during his governorship over Babylon and the Chaldeans; and as Ekbatana was never the capital of the Medo-Persian or Persian empire, it is difficult otherwise to account for the finding of this "roll," the official decree of Cyrus, in the palace of the Median kingdom or province, so distant as it was from either Babylon or Shushan. The policy which in his earlier career made it apparently necessary for Cyrus to confide so much in the Median leaders may have given place to a very different line of action when he was firmly established in his empire; and to Cambyses and the Persian princes it would seem expedient to get clear of those who had such elements of popularity or ability as might fit them for leadership in the case of revolts or seditious rebellions in the empire.

(8) The importance and significance of the statement of Josephus that Darius the Median "had another name among the Greeks" may now appear.

By the identity of his Greek and cuneiform military name.

This record may, perhaps, be best accounted for by the fact that to the Jews what was known of this ruler was obtained only from Daniel, and that Josephus, understanding Darius to be a title only, and not a personal name, refers them to the Greeks for its identification.

It is possible that one reason among others for the form in which Daniel puts the account of the extinction of the Chaldean empire is, as before stated or intimated, that Belshazzar had been slain in the attack and forcible entry of the Persians into the palace, timed in

collusion with the disaffected nobles and hierarchy, and that by the conspirator's invitation the commander "took the kingdom," and was by them immediately saluted as "king of the Chaldeans;" his governorship being afterward confirmed by his suzerain, "Cyrus king of Persia."

Now, the Greek name of the commander who, according to Xenophon, had forced his way into the palace of the slain king, was GOBRYAS. In the cuneiform inscriptions unearthed within the half century last past, and until then utterly unknown to history, the Babylonian name is found, and is now transliterated UGBARU. As we have seen, the period and functions allotted by Daniel to Darius and by the inscriptions to Ugbaru in Babylon and Chaldea are identical; it would, therefore, seem that both names belong to one and the same person.

Of the absolute identity of the Greek and cuneiform names (an identity impossible to be established until revealed by the late exhumations) it is scarcely possible to doubt. For it will be seen that the essential consonantal elements are the same in each, as is also the final vowel "U," the difference being in the syllabification and vocalization, the Greek also appending its masculine terminal -as. Thus we have in Ugbaru and in Γωβρύας

Cuneiform vowels,

Consonants, common to both,

Greek vowels,



U — AS, Greek, masc. terminal affix.

In the new *Bible Dictionary* the transliteration is Gu-

baru, a liberty taken with this name similar, apparently, to that in the transformation of Sir-'-la-ai, as Schrader has it, the name of the home of the Hittite Akhaabu, into Ahab Sir'il; thus forcing it to be more like what it is by no means certain that it was ever intended to represent, namely, Israel.

This name, Gobryas, given in the Greek as the name of the "taker" of Babylon under Cyrus, being a Grecized form of the name, fulfills the conditions required by the statement of Josephus for identification, and it indissolubly connects the Babylonian inscriptional name, UGBARU, with the person bearing the titular appellative Darius, who is definitely identified as the son of Ahasuerus, the Median king Cyaxares I, and therefore the brother of Astyages (Istuvegu); his (Darius's) personal Median name being as found in Ezra iv, 6, Ahasuerus, the Hebrew equivalent of Cyaxares.

Is it, now, too much to claim that this most remarkable identity of these two names, Gobryas and Ugbaru, apparently totally unknown to Josephus, and unknown to history, incapable of verification until after the unearthing of the buried cuneiform inscriptions, is absolutely conclusive of the identity of "Darius the Median" with "Gobryas—UGBARU," indisputably the name of the general commanding the beleaguering Persian forces, who made himself master of the impregnable city, and "took the kingdom of the Chaldeans," uncontestedly the first governor of his conquest, contemporaneously with the first year of the reign of Cyrus the



Persian as king paramount over Babylon, the first year; indeed, in which Babylon formed a part of the vast realm of the Medes and Persians? "I trow not."\*

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\* It is very evident that the information of Xenophon was very limited, and in many respects inaccurate in regard to the Assyrian and Babylonian history. He does not seem to have clearly apprehended the march of events in the closing period of the Assyrian and the early period of the Babylonian domination. There is a strange confusion and mixture of Assyrian and Chaldean, and of the Median and Persian contention in that part of Asia, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to arrange or harmonize his story with what is found in other historic sources of information.

It is observable, however, that his account of Cyaxares, prior to the taking of Babylon, coincides in certain particulars with both Daniel and the inscriptions, in the view that the names Cyaxares, Darius the Median, and Gobryas identify the same person. Thus Cyaxares is called and claims to be a king (Bk. i, ch. v. sec. 2; Bk. v, ch. x, sec. 8), his capital being in northern Media. The inscriptions, as we have seen, make Gobryas to have been governor of Gutium, or Kurdistan, which seems at that time to have included northern Media, where, also, Xenophon states, that some time after the fall of Babylon he was visited by Cyrus. So, also, we have seen that Daniel makes Darius to be the son of Ahasuerus, a Median of the royal house of the conquerors of Nineveh.

It must be said, however, that in Xenophon they are set before us as distinctly separate persons, and different in their relations to Cyrus. But his story as to Gobryas, his making of him an Assyrian, and other matters, seem altogether incompatible with the inscriptions and with what is well known of the history of that period. For at that time no Assyrian king was in existence, nor was there any existent Assyrian empire or kingdom, nor had any Assyrian monarch been master of Gutium since the fall of Nineveh, when all that region passed under Median rule. There is no likelihood that the story of Gobryas as told in Xenophon is true, nor is it at all consistent with the actual conditions of the region dominated by the then existent government that any such surrender as that described by Xenophon should or could be made. Both names might, therefore, be justly rejected from authentic history, if collateral evidence were not elsewhere found that both were real and belonged to one and the same person, described or identified in Holy Scripture as Darius the Median, son of Ahasuerus, the king of the Chaldeans; in the cuneiform inscriptions as Gobryas (Ugbaru) governor of Gutium (Kurdistan), commander of the forces into whose hands Babylon fell, and of which he immediately assumed the kingship or chief of the government offices under Cyrus his suzerain, the king of Persia.

## V. Matters Subsidiary

FOR matter somewhat germane to the foregoing, turning to Jer. xxv, 8-14, we find the prediction that the <sup>Date of the fall of Nineveh.</sup> dominion of Babylon was to continue but seventy years, at the end of which period Babylon was to be punished "with desolations." Now, the fall of Babylon, and with it the passing away forever of all power and dominion from the Babylono-Chaldean empire, occurred under Cyrus, B. C. 538, just seventy years after the fall of Nineveh, B. C. 607, counting, according to the most frequent Oriental usage, the first and last year of the series as full years.

(1) The beginning of the dominion or suzerainty of Cyrus over Babylon and its governor is fixed in the Ptolemaic Canon at B. C. 538. His first year after its conquest was contemporaneous with the first year of Darius the Median (Gobryas, as well), as is herein shown. In that first year Ezra (i, 1, 2, etc.) gives to Cyrus the title "king of Persia," and the same year gives to him (v, 13) the title "king of Babylon," a title which he himself also claimed (*H. C. and M.*, pp. 506, 514) and which, consequently, is never given in Daniel to Darius, who is known to this writer only as "king of the Chaldeans," or "which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans;" nor is this title "king of Persia," nor that of "king of Babylon," ever given by Ezra to Ahasuerus (Dan. v, 31; ix, 1; Ezra iv, 6).

Both these names, as is herein contended, belong to one person, the latter being his proper or family name, the former his throne name or title. As neither the title "king of Babylon" nor that of "king of Persia" is ascribed to this person, he is properly omitted in the Canon or list of Ptolemy, the title and place in the list being properly given to the superior or suzerain Cyrus, who for the time seems to have made Babylon, the then greatest city of the Orient, the capital of his empire; an incidental, but not the less significant testimony to the strict accuracy of the narratives of Daniel and Ezra. The date of the conquest of Babylon, its first Persian governorship, the first year of its subjection to Cyrus the Persian, and the extension of the Chaldean empire are, therefore, conclusively fixed in B. C. 538.

(2) This date, B. C. 538, taken in connection with the Biblical limit of seventy years for the existence of this last Chaldean or Semitic kingdom, somewhat summarily disposes of the controversy as to the date of the final destruction of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire, no countenance whatever being thereby given to a date earlier than B. C. 607. Thus the Biblical account supplements and gives additional credibility to the monuments and secular histories; and by its incidental manner of introducing these matters, and making possible these and other synchronisms, but especially this particular one, adds to the utter improbability of a date for the writing of the book of Daniel later than that of contemporaneity with his own lifetime and the dates of the events themselves.

A more explicit statement of the contemporaneity of Cyrus may be made. From Jer. xxix, 10, Daniel <sup>Cyrus and Darius con-</sup>temporary. in the first year of the reign of Darius the Median understood that the seventy years of Jerusalem's desolation were about at an end. He therefore betook himself to prayer and supplication for the fulfillment of the prediction. This was in the first year of the reign of Darius. While yet speaking and praying, Gabriel appeared and informed Daniel that at the beginning of his supplication the commandment for the rebuilding of Jerusalem came forth. Turning to 2 Chron. xxxvi, 22; Ezra xii, 1, the statement is found that the proclamation was issued in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia. It therefore indefeasibly follows that the first year of Cyrus king of Persia was the same year as the first year of Darius the king of the Chaldeans at Babylon. But Babylon was a city, and the Chaldeans were conquered subjects of Cyrus king of Persia. It therefore follows that Darius ruled but a part of the Persian empire, while Cyrus reigned supreme over all its cities and kingdoms or domain.

#### THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF ANCIENT PERSIA

(3) As supplementing the suggestions already submitted as to the early situation of Persia in the north, it may be well to attempt, at least, to account for the change to the south land, while yet authenticating for this historic period a story consistent with that found

in Herodotos, the fragmentary inscriptions, and the book of Daniel. As before intimated, it is thought that the northern locality, adjoining Media's westward border, agrees best with the accounts as gathered from these various sources, as the country from which was entered upon and continued the struggle with Media, the western campaigns, and especially as the starting point for his subsequent conquests in the south, and gives consistency to the narratives of the after events and course of Cyrus. His crossing the Tigris near Arbela indicates a descent from the mountainous north, and was followed by his migratory and militant march along the rivers, through Mesopotamia as far as Babylon, and possibly to the gulf or sea which as late as the reign of Sennacherib seems to have been distinguished from the Upper (Caspian) Sea as the "Lower Sea."

It seems most probable, if not absolutely certain, that the region now known as Persia was not any of it occupied by the Aryan clans "of Parsuas," nor was either land or gulf or sea into which Euphrates pours its flood known as "Persian" until later than even the regnal time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. The early date of Daniel and this later application of the names "Persia" and "Persian" to this territory are indicated by the statement of Daniel that in the third year of Belshazzar, which was just before the fall of Babylon, "Shushan (Susa) the palace was [still] in the province of Elam" (Dan. viii, 2). Nor was Susa (Shushan) in Persia when Smerdes was murdered. For Darius

came from Persia, where his father was governor, to Susa, and there joined the conspirators (Her., iii, §70; Raw., *A. H.*, vol. iii, p. 437). If it be objected that there is no indication either of the direction or of the distance traveled by Darius, that is freely granted, but is thought to be offset by what seem to be the facts, that in all previous references to the Persian the northern location is most agreeable to or is required by the context, and that the time from the coming of the Persian hosts into that part of the recently acquired empire had been too short for the supplanting of the native name, whatever that might have been, by the alien name of Persia; and that such change at that date was hampered by the fact that in the imperial title Persia seemed to be inferior to the Medians, whose great monarchy long antedated and overshadowed the less numerous and hitherto less feared Parsuans.

Of course, in the partial disintegration or distribution of the several peoples composing the vast host of Cyrus, and the change of its personnel, the Medes would gravitate to their own former and perhaps better land, and all the more so as their relative supremacy was rapidly declining; while the Persians, really then without a country to which they could possibly with safety return, advancing toward or having attained the primacy, and their capital being no longer in the inclement north, but alternating between Babylon and Susa, would necessarily remain in the region selected by Persian authority as the center of their influence; and as maintaining or increasing their prestige would,



carefully retaining their own national designation and names, be distributed through this southern land, from which its former name would be displaced, disappear, and be forgotten; much as was the case in this western hemisphere. But in the absence of an accessible literature, or the more modern facility for keeping record of what was learned from them, much more quickly would the new take the place, and the old or native names disappear and be forgotten, than when Europeans took the place of the aborigines and introduced themselves and their own names. In the brief period covered by the historic part of the book of Daniel this change could not possibly have been made, but the transformation, begun soon after the complete organization and consolidation into one empire had been effected, would proceed rapidly to its consummation, and under the favor and influence of the Hystaspian régime it passed into history by the name which it now bears, and, in the absence of the history and name of its former inhabitants, has reflected this new name into the more remote history of Cyrus, and thereby created somewhat of confusion and misinterpretation of the narratives of later writers, and the early supposed geographical identifications.

As to the preoccupants of at least the southwestern and perhaps the southern districts of what is now called Persia, it seems inferable from the inscriptions of Sennacherib that they were in part Chaldeans. For in his sixth campaign he found that the remaining inhabitants of Bit-yukin, with whom after his defeat

Merodach-baladan had taken refuge, still fearing the Assyrian's "powerful arms," had fled across "the great sea of the rising sun" (the Persian Gulf), "and set their homes in the city of Nagitu, in the land of Elam." This seems to indicate that Elam at this time extended to the "great sea," and covered the parts contiguous to the seacoast. He, therefore, "in ships" built or furnished by "Syrians," embarked and pursued them, and seized the coastwise districts then in Elam, whose king had been the abettor, if not the instigator, of the Chaldean inroads.

This indication of the Chaldean occupation remarkably chimes in with Isaiah's expression (xliii, 14) uttered at or near this time: "The cry of the Chaldeans is in their ships" (Rev. Ver., "in the ships of their rejoicing"). It also accounts for their easy escape under Baladan and Segub from the victorious Assyrians, they being usually unprepared for pursuit by water. It may also explain the movement, during the siege, of a division of the effective part of the army of Cyrus southward of Babylon toward Erech, Bit-yukin, etc., while Cyrus went northward to the lake, into which, having turned "the river by means of a canal, he made the ancient channel fordable by the sinking of the river." Gobryas was left with his division to enter through the river gates, left open either through collusion or neglect, and thus to possess himself of the renowned capital of the Orient. The stationing of such a force south of the city was doubtless a necessary precautionary military expedient, to prevent the Chaldeans

from reinforcing their king. Such irruptions as would have been possible might delay or even frustrate the taking of the city. They would certainly have proved seriously embarrassing to the operations of the Median commander of the beleaguering forces, to whom was left the completion of the siege of the enemies' capital and the utter dismemberment of the last Chaldeo-Semitic kingdom.

It is singularly in accord with the above that Xenophon states that: "When the affairs in Babylon appeared to him so favorably settled that he (Cyrus) might absent himself from thence, he prepared, and directed others to prepare, for a journey into Persia." It is to be kept in mind, now, that his starting point in this journey is Babylon. "When," continues Xenophon, "in the course of their march they came to Media Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares," who is represented as reigning in full control of Media. From thence he continued his march to Persia. On his return march he again visited Cyaxares, and at this time is reported to have received the Median monarch's daughter in marriage, with whom, after a brief stay, he departed on his return journey to Babylon.

As Media was very far north of Babylon, this "march" or "journey" most assuredly indicates that ancient Persia, in Xenophon's day, was understood to have been at least as far north as Media, both before and when Babylon came under the dominion of Cyrus. It points also to the theory that his direct northern route led him westward of Media and its capital, to

reach which, whether the northern or the southern Ekbatana, it was necessary for him to "turn aside" eastward. It matters not for our purpose whether this march was really made or not. The incontrovertible fact that he did make record of such a journey or march of Cyrus in the described northerly direction from Babylon to Persia renders it absolutely certain that in Xenophon's time his geography placed ancient Parsuas, or Persia, far up in the north, and not in the south land with its border upon the Indian Ocean. Certainly, it was subsequently to his time, and to the accession of Darius the son of Hystaspes, but how long thereafter is unknown, when that floral land, the delight of poesy and romance, came into the possession of the name Persia, and so passed into the maps and historic geography of all the later ages (Xen., *Cyrop.*, bk. viii, ch. v, sec. I, *et seq.*).

#### ASSUMED DISAGREEMENTS OF JEREMIAH AND DANIEL

It is, perhaps, necessary to give some attention to the charges that Daniel and Jeremiah disagree as to certain chronological statements. Thus, Daniel states that "In the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it" (i, 1). This is said to be in contradiction of Jer. xxv, 1, which reads: "In the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon," etc., etc. To this the reply has been made that the clause is not in the Septuagint. This, however, can have but

little or no weight with those who rely upon the integrity of the Masoretic Hebrew text. It is, perhaps, better to emphasize the fact that Daniel does not say what year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign this was, but simply that in Jehoiakim's "*third year*" he came to Jerusalem and besieged it. Neither does Jeremiah say that the *fourth year* of Jehoiakim's reign was the *first year* of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. There is, therefore, no contradiction as to the year, since there is nothing to show that both referred to the same year, or that indicates that the years could not be other than the same. There is no contradiction as to the matter or the event referred to by each. They are distinctly different, and have no relation the one to the other. What, according to Daniel, happened in Jehoiakim's third year was the siege of Jerusalem and the giving of tribute as a vassal; this vassalage being, doubtless, the same referred to in 2 Kings xxiv, 1: "In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him." What happened in his fourth year was, according to Jeremiah, that "the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah," threatening judgments through the instrumentality of "the families of the north" and "Nebuchadnezzar." Warnings against the prevalent wickedness had been uttered by Jeremiah in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, but in this fourth year the threats take a more definite and specific form. The disastrous results, doubtless, began to be realized at the close of the three

years of acknowledged vassalage, when the nations were let loose against Judah, and the predictions were fulfilled in the dethronement, murder, or captivity of its monarchs, and the destruction of its sacred capital (cf. 2 Kings xxiv, 1, 2; Jer. vii; xxv, 1, 2; xxvi, 1, etc.).

It is further objected that because Jeremiah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in predicting what would, after that fourth year, happen in Judea, does not mention the siege of Jerusalem, which according to Daniel had taken place in the year preceding, and yet names Nebuchadnezzar as God's instrument to bring punishment upon the Hebrews, it therefore follows that there was no siege in third Jehoiakim, and that consequently Jeremiah did not have knowledge nor could have written of it. But a very cursory reading of that twenty-fifth chapter will show that the prophet's care was for the future. He enters upon no details as to the past, does not name a single incident, judgment, reverse, or calamity in their past history. He simply reminds them that for "twenty-three years from the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon" (B. C. 628-605) he, on the authority of Jehovah, had earnestly warned them, as had also other prophets, of the fearful calamities which in the future must result from their persistent wickedness, and yet they had not changed their course. He now, probably in the lull occasioned by the Chaldean's conflict with Necho, assures them of the certainty of their approaching doom, and, to impress them with its nearness, names as the leader of the vast army or host of multitudinous peoples that would be against them



and lay their city and kingdom in ruins, a king of whose terrible prowess they had, according to Daniel, just received a practical demonstration, and whose very name would revive their fears. He catalogues none of the calamities that had befallen them, but earnestly concentrates their attention upon what were to be the future results of their continued perverseness and disobedience. Certainly, for his purpose, the naming of so recent an event as last year's siege would have added but little to the influence which it was already exerting, and the memory of which would be revived by the naming of Nebuchadnezzar. Silence, therefore, served a better purpose than needless repetition. Silence such as this, or the assumption of the ignorance of Jeremiah, cannot legitimately be construed as evidence of the falsity of the positive statement of Daniel, no more than could the silence of a witness concerning a matter to which his attention had not been expressly directed, but concerning which another witness had given positive testimony, be held as sufficient evidence of the falsity of such positive testimony. A confession of ignorance, even, as to this matter would not be sufficient to discredit such testimony. A disinterested witness must be taken to speak the truth unless there is some other objection to it than mere silence or supposed ignorance on the part of others. In the case of Daniel there is no conceivable personal interest to be subserved by the introduction of the "siege" into his narrative, no matter when written, nor any reason for the statement whatever, if it is not true. In his case

the probabilities are altogether in favor of its truthfulness. It was of the very first importance to the king of Babylon that his rightful authority should be promptly asserted and firmly established over this part of the conquered and dismembered Assyrian empire. Nothing could more effectually do this than the bringing into subjection the Jewish kingdom, at that time really the strongest and most important landed power in that part of Syria. The fact that about the date of the fall of Nineveh it had been reduced to vassalage by Necho of Egypt made it all the more important and imperative to immediately assert the suzerain rights of the now independent Babylono-Chaldean empire; and the sudden appearance of Nebuchadnezzar before Jerusalem, and its siege in the second year after the fall of the Assyrian capital and empire, are just what might be expected of monarchs so enterprising as Nabopolassar and his greater son.

Neither is there anything written, either in the monumental inscriptions or in Jeremiah, which positively contradicts the stated fact of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim, and the having given to him "a part of the vessels of the house of God." The plundering occurred later, nothing being then taken but what was put into his hands by the king (cf. 2 Kings xxiv, 1, 12, 13). This first siege by him was evidently but feebly resisted, yet there is reason to believe that it and the regulation of the affairs of the new possessions detained him in Syria until the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and that it

was from Jerusalem that, leaving the matter of the hostages, the tributary acquisitions, etc., with Ashpenaz, he hastily marched to Carchemish, surprised the army and forces which Necho of Egypt had left for the defense of that key to his Syrian conquests, defeated them in battle with great slaughter; in the pursuit relentlessly destroying or taking captive many of the Egyptians and their Greek or other allies, and so sufficiently terrorized Necho, their king, as to prevent any further attempt to regain the possessions wrested from Assyria, but to which Babylon had fallen heir from the "river of Egypt to the river Euphrates." On his return from the pursuit he must have again entered Judea, and from thence, after his reception of the news of his father's death, hastened across by the most direct course to Babylon, to make good his succession to the throne. His sudden departure was opportune for the "coming of the word of the Lord," and for another effort to bring the Judeans into harmony with Jehovah, and willing obedience to Babylon, by announcing to them the deplorable results which must follow their persistence in rebellion both against Jehovah and Babylon, a foretaste of which they had just experienced. Thus the first year of his sole reign would be the fourth of Jehoiakim, and would in part be passed in Babylon and Syria.

It is claimed that a disagreement is found in the fact that, in this matter pertaining to third Jehoiakim, Daniel refers to Nebuchadnezzar as "king of Babylon," while Jeremiah writes that the first year of his reign

was contemporaneous with the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xxv, 1). As to this, however, several views may be taken. Thus, it is possible that the one uses it in a sense different from the other; the former, perhaps, applying it to him as it was applied to his father when he was only viceroy, as may be shown later. It may also be assumed as certain that when this was written by the author, whenever and by whomsoever it was written, Nebuchadnezzar was either then reigning as king of Babylon or had previously so reigned. If he was reigning at the time when this was written it is not an incredible thing to suggest that the title then in familiar use would from its familiarity be attached to the name, especially in narrating what had occurred so shortly before his actual enthronement. Such a "prolepsis" is not without precedent. Thus in the "Babylonian Canon" or list of rulers in "Ptolemæus," as given in Schrader's *C. I. and O. T.*, vol. ii, p. 198, in the heading above the list, all are designated as kings, and the several dates of the beginning of their reigns are given. But, certainly, Nabonassar was not king, but was viceroy or governor under Assyria in 747, nor was he ever an independent sovereign or king. So Nabopolassar in 625 was yet subordinate to his suzerain, the king of Assyria; but eighteen years thereafter, by the dismemberment of the Assyrian empire, he became the first king of the later and last Babylono-Chaldean empire. Yet that did not discredit the supposition that he acted as a king would act, from the date named until he became king over the realm

placed under his government. In these instances they simply take the place of the omitted names of the suzerains.

Neither is there anything unreasonable in the position if taken, nor anything written in the history of either father or son which positively is antagonistic to the statement that for some years, possibly from the beginning of the siege of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar had been made co-r<sup>e</sup>x by his father, and that in this character had come to Jerusalem in the first year after the fall of Nineveh, which was the third of Jehoiakim, to claim and enforce on behalf of the new suzerain the rights and sovereignty acquired by conquest.

All this is in perfect consistency with a rational and unforced interpretation of Daniel. The Hebrew hostages were all placed in Babylon under training and culture, in which they were to be continued three years. An exception seems to have been made in the case of the four whose names have been preserved, in consequence of the test which at the suggestion of Daniel had been made of a Jewish diet; and after a ten days' trial they seem to have been exempted from the three years' course. When at the end of the three years the rest of these Hebrews were brought into the presence of the king the superiority of these four became still more manifest. For when the king communed with them, "among them all was found none like" these four. For, while the rest had been under the tutelage appointed for them, these had been in the actual service of the king; giving by and in this service actual

evidence that "God had given them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom; and that Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams" (i, 17-21). And as Daniel had "stood"\* or been in the service of Nebuchadnezzar, as is proved by his having interpreted the "dream" in this king's second year (ii, 1, *et seq.*), so he "stood"† in or during "the first year of Cyrus the king" (i, 21).

To the objection assumed to lie against the early date of the book of Daniel in the occurrence of Greek names of certain Greek musical instruments a brief notice may be given. That instruments with Greek names should be found in a country whose chief and greatest commercial city was within reach, by a navigable river, of the "Lower Sea" (the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean) should now neither excite surprise nor awaken suspicion. For the country was in Ezekiel's time called "a land of traffic," and its great city a "city of merchants," of whom Isaiah says, "The Lord sent to Babylon, and . . . brought down . . . the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships." The monuments show that the people of the low country were addicted to "maritime habits and pursuits. In their trading they certainly

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\* **וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם**, "and he stood;" LXX, *ἐστησαν*; Vulg., "steterunt." This interpretation of the expression, "therefore, stood they before the king" (i. e., because of this superiority manifested during the three years in the presence of the king, accords precisely with the story of the second chapter, beginning with, "And in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar," and removes all ground for a charge of inaccuracy, inconsistency, or contradiction. It was early found that these four did not need the three years' course to fit them to be of valuable service to the king.

† **וַיְהִי**, "and was," i. e., "and (such) was Daniel during (**בַּשָּׁנָה**) the first year of Cyrus," king of Persia.



have been supplied with the wares of many peoples of different foreign lands." It would be indeed surprising if a people so given to seafaring as the Greeks had not thereby found their way to the greatest city and commercial emporium of the Orient; or otherwise by overland caravan from Mediterranean ports. For it is now absolutely certain that as early as the time of Esar-haddon and Assurbanipal the island of Cyprus was covered with Greek colonies. Still earlier, the Ionians are mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon (722-705), who informs us that he had "drawn forth as fishes the Javanians (Ionians), who are in the midst of the sea" (Schr., *C. I. and O. T.*, vol. i, pp. 63, 64). Greeks, perhaps prisoners of war taken from Cyprus by Sargon, manned the fleet of Sennacherib in the "Lower Sea" (Persian Gulf). In a tablet dated about 640, found at Kouyunjik, the first and fourth witnesses to a contract are said by Mr. Pinches to be Greeks, the transactions taking place in Nineveh. Add to this that the Egyptian army defeated by Nebuchadnezzar was doubtless in part made up of the Ionian (Asiatic) Greeks, of whom numbers must have been taken captive, and brought, as was the custom of the times, and located in the immediate neighborhood of Babylon. It is pregnantly observable that these instruments were used under the direction of Nebuchadnezzar at the dedication of the image in the plain of Dura, the performers being, doubtless, the instrumental bands belonging to the palace and the army, both home and foreign. The vast assembly evidently comprised con-

tingents from the various "provinces" of the empire, and people of their various "nations and languages," among whom it is "unthinkable" that there should not be found representatives of so musically gifted a race as the Greeks, whether from the island province of Cyprus or from the Ionian Asiatic cities of the mainland. It is significant that these names occur only in the fifth, seventh, tenth, and fifteenth verses of Daniel's third chapter, and in connection with this great occasion of the gathering together of the "princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counselors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces"—a great occasion, in which the sudden outburst and clangor of a vast multitude in great variety of such instruments was to form a very conspicuous and essential feature, and in which all present and available musicians of whatever nationality would likely be participants; instruments of somewhat especial excellence and variety, and those of foreign origin, being distinctively named, separate and apart from "all" other "kinds of music." We may emphasize the fact that "all the rulers of the provinces" had been summoned, and as Cyprus was then within the imperial domain its ruler must have been among those that were present; and if for no other reason or objects than those which sufficed in the arrangement for the celebration of the Victorian jubilee, to bring together in the world's metropolis natives with their peculiar costumes and instruments musical, military, etc., these several rulers of the diverse peoples would

bring out the peculiarities of their subjects, and thus glorify at once themselves and their sovereign, and thus by active participation in the ceremonies of the grand gala day add greatly to its interest. It does not, therefore, necessarily follow that the use of these words, even if it could be conclusively shown that they were all Greek, demonstrates that the book had a later origin than the era of Nebuchadnezzar. Even the fact, if it be a fact, that one of the words is not extant in Greek writings earlier than Aristotle, or Alexander of Macedon, does not necessarily discredit this earlier use, since it may have been peculiar to the Cypriotic or Asiatic Greeks, but little of the surviving literature of whom is probably of a kind in which such instruments would be named. It is possible, also, that when used by Aristotle it came from the Asiatic Greeks; a result of the greater intimacy of the European and Asiatic kindred, brought about by the conquests of Alexander.

#### RECIPROCITY OF COURTEOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES DUE TO BOTH PARTIES IN CONTROVERSY

It is undoubtedly well for the upholders of the integrity of this book to treat with all due respect and placidly, patiently, unshrinkingly endeavor to answer all questions, to consider all the difficulties, to solve all the conundrums and meet the various objections, great and small, of the doubters of this integrity. But it seems well to suggest that difficulties, conundrums,

questionings present themselves to the believer, as to the theories and conclusions, both inferential and dogmatic, of the doubter; many of which theories and conclusions, to some, at least, seem largely to rest upon assumptions or misinterpretations, the minifying of the supernatural, its partial or entire rejection, the undue exaltation of mere naturalism, or other like matters. As to the theory of a later date for the book of Daniel, it seems difficult to conceive how it would have been possible, at any time after the Macedonian conquest, for a writer with the mental endowment, the literary culture and ability required, to concoct such matter as is found in this book, and yet in the greatly changed conditions of the empire escape the modifying influence of Greek customs, history and literature, the then current *patois* and vocabulary, and how he could and why he should write and combine, without the then existing necessity therefor, both Hebrew and Chaldaic, as accurately as in the earlier days. It is difficult for the upholder to understand, for example, and it would be a courtesy to him for the doubter, if possible, satisfactorily to show how the writer, if writing at any time after the Macedonian conquest, could know and why he should introduce in his history the name of Belshazzar, a name utterly unknown to other historians, except as derived from this book; and how this late writer happened to have this exclusive knowledge that Belshazzar lived at the date assigned? Yet that he then lived is no longer matter of controversy, but is indisputably proved by records which were buried out of sight, un-

known, unread in the days of the Maccabees, and have only been deciphered in the later years of this century. There is difficulty in accounting for the inserting of the name, title and story of Darius the Median by a writer of the later date, since the introduction of so many names of persons at that day utterly unheard of would increase the liability of its rejection as actual history, and tend to cause its exclusion from the sacred canon.

In truth, it would seem that, historically, the creation of this book, as it now exists, at any time subsequent to the loss of the cuneiform inscriptions would be as marvelously supernatural or miraculous as even the escape from the fiery furnace; and that the theory of its Maccabean or later origin should escape the death-dealing testimony of "the witnesses from the dust" is perhaps less credible than the narrative of the escape from "the den of lions."

#### NOTE ON DANIEL'S USE OF PERSIAN WORDS.

THE words in the book of Daniel which are claimed to be Persian, or of Persian origin, are translated in Driver's Daniel as follows:

"Choice food, delicacies; law; secret; satraps; counsel-giver; law-bearer; justice; kind; message, order, decree; minister; President; receptacle, sheath; palace; throne-room; present; mantle; necklace."

To the report that these are all Persian words, and to the translation of some of them objection might perhaps be substantiated. As to some of them an argument against the condemnation of the book because of

their presence in it might be made from the connection in which they are found, and the new use of that which is named. But arguments such as this may for the present safely be waived.

It is not our purpose to dispute the ethnic origin of these words, nor the rendering recited; nor is it at all necessary for us so to do, but rather otherwise, as may, perhaps, be hereafter apparent. For at a glance it is evident that all these words, except, perhaps, "satraps," "President," indicate what are matters of every-day life, or are common to all peoples and nations. Furthermore, it is not made an objection to Daniel's use, "that these words are in books written *after* the Persian empire was organized," and "when Persian influence prevailed," or because "many were permanently naturalized in Aramaic (both Syriac and the Aramaic of the Targums)." These are facts admitted, and incontestable proofs that such words were in early use in that country. But the mystery is, and there the objection to the date claimed for the book lies, that these words "should be used as a matter of course by Daniel under the Babylonian supremacy, or in the description of Babylonian supremacy, or in the description of Babylonian institutions *before* the conquest of Cyrus," and this is pronounced, "*ex cathedra*," "to be in the last degree improbable." At the same time and with the same authoritative dictum "this argument" (?) is said to be "confirmed by the testimony of the inscriptions." To this it might be answered that there is good reason to believe that there is no impossibility of the truth of



the assertion that the words were in use in Babylon "before the conquest by Cyrus," and that the *prima facie* evidence from the book itself is that Daniel did not write nor publish his account "under [during] the Babylonian supremacy," but after that had passed away and the Persian influence was absolute and everywhere felt in their widely extended empire. The absence of Persian words in contract tablets during "Chaldean supremacy" is what might be expected, and a negation or omission is not necessarily a positive argument or proof of certainty as to the opposite, nor can have any bearing upon it, unless they treat of subjects the same, or in which such words or their equivalents must be used, and of this, evidence has not, I think, been adduced. (See Driver's Daniel, p. lvii.)

As before stated, the things or matters indicated by these Persian words are clearly not merely peculiar to Persia, nor indeed limited to any one nation or people. "Food" is everywhere necessary for existence, and is often indicated even among the same people by different or several words or forms of expression, both native and foreign. But, for the sake of argument, suppose it be admitted—it might possibly even strengthen our position to contend—that these words were not in actual use in Babylonia prior to the conquest by Cyrus, or at the time when the events occurred of which Daniel writes an account, the effect of such an admission or contention upon the question as to the date when the book containing such words was written is not thereby absolutely settled. For a settlement in

that way it would seem necessary to assume that a man who lived during the period which was included in the claimed lifetime, circumstances, and in the midst of the associations and influences with which the book or story surrounds him could neither know nor use these Persian words or names for things common to all. Yet it seems certain that all these names were in use among the Persians; and no valid or absolutely indefeasible reason can be given, or a greater probability established, that for ten, twenty, or possibly thirty years these common Persian words, in a region where Persian influence was supreme, neither superseded, nor mingled with, nor shared in common with the native or Aramaic words of the same class or kind.

What now are the facts as set forth or implied in the statements of the book of Daniel as to his environments? From the taking of Babylon (B. C. 538) and the extinction of the Babylono-Chaldean empire, Daniel was absolutely in the power of the Medes and Persians, people of one and the same language; was in their employment in matters of state, and therefore must have acquired a greater or less familiarity especially with the common words of their language, and in his later years to him, as himself a foreigner, and indebted for favor to both himself and his nation, such words would most readily come, and to their use he would be most naturally drawn, as aiding and abetting the purpose of the dominant authority to Persianize all things in the empire.

In the argument of Professor Driver it seems to be

assumed that the book itself claims or gives indications that it was written during the supremacy of the Babylonian empire. But, if the book is to be taken as evidence, it is absolutely settled thereby that a large part of it could not have been written until after the conquest. Thus, at the close of the first chapter it is stated that "Daniel continued even to the first year of Cyrus," which, of course, was after the conquest. Neither could the fifth, nor sixth, nor ninth, nor tenth, nor eleventh, nor twelfth chapters have been written until after the conquest, if the book itself is to be taken in evidence. The *prima facie* evidence from the book itself is that it was written late in Daniel's lifetime, as late as near, if not after, the close of the reign of Cyrus, perhaps after he had retired outside of Babylon, to some residence or retreat near the great river Hiddekel (Tigris).

It need not be a matter of surprise that during this period of possible subserviency to Persian domination a few Persian names of common things, and two names of matters peculiar to the Medes and Persians, should even in Babylon have taken place among, or even superseded in common use, the vernacular Semite expressions. It would indeed be more surprising if such substitutions had not occurred, especially in view of the evident purpose of the Persians as quickly as possible to absolutely Persianize their vast empire.

It seems, also, to have been overlooked in the argument combated that Parsuans, or Persians, and their language could not be wholly unknown to the Baby-

Ionians long before the conquest by Cyrus and the lifetime of Daniel. Early as the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (B. C. 731) the name Poros, found in the king list of Ptolemy, is claimed by critics to be a Persian form of the name Pul, who is by them identified as Tiglath-pileser the Assyrian, who about that time is said to have taken the hands of Bel, and thereby to have been inaugurated as king of Babylon. Some thirty or more years later the Parsuans, or Persians, were among the allies of the king of Elam, who fought against Sennacherib for the mastery of Babylonia, and to them the sympathy of the Babylonians tended. During the reign of Nabopolassar both before and after the fall of Nineveh, and probably of Nebuchadnezzar, who had married the daughter of Cyaxares the Median king, the Babylonians and the Medes—the language of the latter being identical with that of the Persians—were thus in intimate relation with each other (607-563). It could not, therefore, be at all marvelous if a few such common words as these should be known among the people who did not write history or commercial tablets, and for state or through race antagonism be ignored by those who did write. As above intimated, it was different with Daniel the Jew, writing his book after the Persian supremacy, having no race prejudice, certainly not against Persians, who had greatly favored both himself and his people, and had every reason to coöperate with them in the Persianizing both language and customs in the empire. In his close contact with the Medes and Persians he would be more familiar with

the words day by day uttered in his presence by both superiors and inferiors, and would use them perhaps preferably to the Aramaic. It is fair to say that it is more to be wondered at that so few Persian words occur than that these few should be found in his writing, just as we may say that it would be strange that a writer in the Maccabean age with Greek supremacy, Greek language, Greek everywhere about him, whether in Judea or Babylonia, and in the decadence or collapse of Persian, should use any Persian words, or fail to use Grecian words and give to his story the Grecian coloring. In both cases the conclusion seems just that the tendency of the argument is to authenticate the early date for the writing of the book of Daniel. With a Median princess as queen in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, her vernacular, Persian, and Daniel's close association therewith, and with the government, during some fourscore years, covering the entire existence of the Babylono-Chaldean kingdom, and some part, if not the whole, of the reign of Cyrus; with the Greeks of Cyprus conquered by Sargon, and the order of Nebuchadnezzar that the governors of the provinces assemble on the plain of Dura, among whom was doubtless the governor of Cyprus with his civil and military retinues, among whom it is not unreasonable to assume that he would mingle Greeks in his musical band, nor is it unreasonable to assume that out of courtesy or curiosity, and for the necessity of their distinctly knowing that the Greek instruments were to share in the honor of signaling the time of worship; what could be

more natural than that Nebuchadnezzar should specifically name the instrument—theirs, perhaps, both by name and invention? Any objection, therefore, urged against the early date of this book based upon the occurrence of either Persian or Greek words therein, *“is to the last degree improbable,”* if not absolutely absurd.



# to 520.

MEDIA.		
reigned 53 years (707-654). Builds Ekbatana (Takht-l-sulayman).		B.C.
tes reigned 22 years (654-632).		707
es I reigned 40 years (632-592). (Daniel's Ahasuerus).		654
ith Assyria, Nineveh besieged; Scyths' invasion of Media com-		632
s suspension. Scythians subject Media and rule it for some	Years of Cyaxares I.	626
	1	
	7	
		625
war with Alyattes; form an alliance with Nabopolassar.		623
lipped June 30. Peace and Triple Alliance made. Astyages	18	615
Cyaxares marries daughter of Alyattes.	23	610
and Babylon's rebel viceroy join in war with Assyria. Nine-		
gain besieged.	25	608
lies under the command of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares take		
estroy Nineveh.	26	607

## ivers, to the MEDIAN EMPIRE.

**THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.**

The Dismembered Assyrian Empire gives place  
West of the Rivers, to the BABYLONO-CHALDEAN DOMINION; East of the Rivers, to the MEDIAN EMPIRE.

The Kingdom of the MEDES and PERSIANS (f) under CYRUS King of ANZAN, MEDIA, PERSIA and the COUNTRIES.  
Provinces: Judea, Babylonia, Chaldei, Syria, et al. Eastern Provinces: Anzan, Media, Parala, Elam and the Countries.



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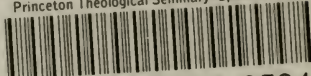




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