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Section R93

No. _____

ORIENTAL RECORDS.

MONUMENTAL.

CONFIRMATORY OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

BY

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*Εξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα
κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*



Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.

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P R E F A C E .

I HAVE endeavoured so to collate some of the most ancient monumental records with Holy Scripture as to show that they confirm those portions of Sacred History with which they correspond ; and sometimes to show that they throw fresh light thereon.

Chiefly, yet by no means exclusively, in Egypt and Assyria, original writings of remote antiquity have been recovered, many of them older than the writings of the oldest existing histories, and all of them perfectly independent of the historians, whether sacred or secular. It is well known that the languages of these records all ceased to be spoken many ages ago, and that the very characters in which they are written were lost. Some of the earliest explorers of these recovered realms of knowledge are yet alive. Others whom they initiated into the new-found elements are now triumphantly pursuing the study ; but many of humbler class are driven to

confess with regret, and even shame, that we neglected to launch boldly on the deciphering of hieroglyphs and arrow-heads. However, we can devote attention to the translations they make ready to our hand, and use them for the prosecution of Biblical researches on an extended field. A few of the records now laid before the readers were made use of, some years ago, in another publication,¹ a far greater number have been, since then, accumulated; and a part of the collection is given in the present volume.

We may reasonably expect that, in course of time, as the store of new-found material enlarges, the entire mass of Bible History will be accompanied with similar documents, equally genuine; and that the result of such literary wealth will be a more intimate, and consequently, a far more intelligent knowledge of considerable portions of the Bible, with a more deep, lively, and reverential assurance of its perfectness and truth.

It is to be feared that a tendency exists, in some minds, to overlook the distinction between History and Legend. This tendency seems to be betrayed in such expressions as, "Biblical Legend," when speaking of what we apprehend to be plain historical statements in Holy Scripture. I can only presume to

¹ *Biblical Monuments*. Croydon, 1871-3.

suspect such a tendency in some of those who happen so to speak, and feel confident that the authenticity of these statements cannot be obscured by the accidental confusion of a moment. When the thoughts of an archæologist are for the time engrossed under the enchantment of his peculiar study, he may, imperceptibly to himself, adopt a familiar technicality with reference to a class of subjects to which it does not in strict propriety belong. It is my present object to promote that kind of deliberate comparison which Biblical Archæology requires. It can scarcely be necessary to observe, that the Oriental records in this volume are very various. Some are strictly history; others are legendary; others are no more than mythological or fabulous. But all have some value, if made use of with critical discrimination.

With regard to a possible objection that the translations are not all perfect, I apprehend that the translators themselves would be the very last to boast of their perfection, if that is to be understood of every word or sentence. But the translators and their work have been long enough before the world to gain the confidence they merit, and are certainly so far inured to the difficulties of archæological research to be among the least credulous of men. Yet even the languages written in cuneiform are now sufficiently

mastered for certainty in translation to be possible, and one of the chief Assyrian authorities, the late George Smith, of whom we may now speak the more freely as he is beyond the reach of this world's praise, assured me, in my very last conversation with him, that I might venture to publish, as final, his rendering of the inscriptions concerning the Creation and the Fall.

I could not adequately acknowledge the constant kindness of Dr. Birch, Mr. C. T. Newton, C. B., Mr. Murray, and other gentlemen in the British Museum, in the assistance afforded me while pursuing my enquiries there.

W. H. RULE.

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ORIENTAL RECORDS.

THE CREATION.

GENESIS I. 1, 2.

MOSES is author of the most ancient history in the world. Herodotus, sometimes called the Father of History, is supposed to have written his history between 440 and 430 years before Christ. Confucius flourished about 500 years before the Christian era, and Moses died about 1451.

The first historians of their respective countries derived their only certain information of past events from written records and inscribed monuments. Tradition, whether it came to them orally or in writing, brought little more than reports of events imperfectly remembered, facts indistinctly apprehended, and fables which could not be reduced to history. But written monuments are the sure materials of history, so far as their authors record the truth. They bear a visible testimony; or even if they only exhibit poems, tales of imagination, superstitious legends, mythological fables, incantations, hymns and

prayers to the gods, they have some value that can be estimated by the critical antiquarian, inasmuch as they contribute lineaments to some picture of humanity. Annals of kings, sepulchral epigraphs, and astronomical notices, supply the incidents and the dates for history.

The object of the present work is, chiefly, to collect literal confirmation of historical portions of Holy Scripture from veritable monuments of contemporaneous antiquity, and, in a few instances, even older than Moses.

Moses, however, stands on ground exclusively his own. His cosmogony has a character of incomparable simplicity. His account of the creation, and a considerable portion of the book of Genesis, is more than history. History, properly speaking, is the narration of what the writer has himself witnessed, or it may be what he faithfully relates after learning it from faithful witnesses. Come to him as it may, first of all it must have been seen. But no man saw the creation; no tradition has yet come to light with any credible account of it. Such an account, however, Moses wrote, describing with great brevity, but admirable clearness, the beginning of the material creation, and the works of the six days, before Adam passed through his deep sleep, and became conscious of his own existence.

It is indeed conceivable that the Author of our being would reveal to Adam, first of men, the relation now established between Himself and the created world, and inform him of the creation then perfectly finished. This information, committed to the knowledge and memory of the universal patriarch, might never be utterly forgotten. The tradition might pos-

sibly be cherished by a few, and even preserved, although imperfectly, by Noah. It is possible, but that is all that we can say, barely possible, that some primeval record, even in Paradise, might have been made by our first parent, or some confession of his fall, but there is nowhere any trace, or shadow of probability, of such a document. The clear character of truth impressed on the account of the creation by Moses must leave the persuasion on our mind that it was written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit of the Creator. The first sentences of his cosmogony read thus ; “ (1) In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. (2) And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. (3) And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.”

This English translation may not fully convey the sense of the Hebrew original, which it is always needful for an expositor to consult and soberly understand, but the words we have before us are quite clear enough for our present purpose. The state of the earth before Adam, or rather, before the dawning of the first day of time, as time has ever since been measured, can only be conjectured roughly by means of truly scientific research; and of such research, so far as it is or may be possible, we heartily acknowledge the value. But what is meant by *the beginning*, or how long the state continued which then began, when the earth was formless, and empty, and darkness was upon the face of it, is difficult even to conjecture; for it seems that the duration of such a world could not be calculated by any standard that we now possess. Say that it continued so for many ages, and let the geologist

conjecture as many as he pleases. There does not seem to be any occasion for controversy here. Probably there is no other passage in Scripture relating to the subject. No monument can help us. As for tradition, as that has to be handed down to us, and there were no men to hand it down before the creation, tradition cannot help us either.

All that we can look for is some intelligence of the ideas of the Chaldeans, and other archaic peoples, concerning the creation. Such intelligence may be gleaned from some fragments of the tablets brought from Nineveh by the late Mr. George Smith of the British Museum, and partially deciphered. More may be found even before bringing these sheets through the press. Mr. Smith believed that there are the remains of at least twelve, which he called "Creation Tablets," and that "the first fragment in the story is the upper part of the first tablet, giving the description of the void or chaos, and part of the *generation of the gods.*"

"(1) When above were not raised the heavens : (2) and below on the earth a plant had not grown up ; (3) the abyss also had not broken open their boundaries : (4) the chaos (or water), Tiamat (the sea) was the producing-mother of the whole of them. (5) Those waters at the beginning were ordained ; but (6) a tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded. (7) When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them ; (8) a plant had not grown, and order did not exist ; (9) were also made the great gods, (10) the gods Lahmu and Lahamu they caused to come (11) and they grew (12) the gods Sar and Kisar were made (13) A course of days and a long time passed (14) the god Anu (15) the gods Sar and

. . . .”¹ Who, we ask, who ordained those waters at the beginning? Nothing discovered in these fragments, nothing that we have yet seen from the same source, answers the question. The knowledge was lost, and could only be restored by a future revelation. On the reverse of this same tablet wisdom is attributed to Nebo; but Nebo, if this be the name of any being that existed, could not tell. That knowledge could only come by revelation, as it was imparted after the fall of Adam to a few men chosen from time to time to be the depositaries of the precious truth. But there are two other fragments from the same series.

The (supposed) second, third, or fourth tablet contains the following: “(1) When the foundations of the ground of rock [thou didst make] (2) the foundation of the ground thou didst call (3) thou didst beautify the heaven (4) to the face of the heaven (5) thou didst give”² One of the gods generated from the water is said to have laid the foundation of the earth.

On the obverse of the fifth tablet is the following: “(1) It was delightful, all that was fixed by the great gods. (2) Stars, their appearance [in figures] of animals he arranged. (3) To fix the year through the observation of their constellations, (4) twelve months (or signs) of stars in three rows he arranged, (5) from the day when the year commences unto the close. (6) He marked the positions of the wandering stars (planets) to shine in their courses, (7) that they may not do injury, and may not

¹ *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith, London, 1876, p. 62.

² *Ibid*, p. 67.

trouble anyone, (8) the positions of the gods Bel and Hea he fixed with him, (9) and he opened the great gates in the darkness shrouded, (10) the fastenings were strong on the left and right (East and West?). (11) In its mass (*i. e.* the lower chaos) he made a boiling, (12) the god Uru (the moon) he caused to rise out, the night he overshadowed, (13) to fix it also for the light of the night until the shining of the day, (14) that the month might not be broken, and in its amount be regular. (15) At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, (16) his horns are breaking through to shine on the heaven. (17) On the seventh day to a circle he begins to swell, (18) and stretches towards the dawn further. (19) When the god Shamas (the sun) in the horizon of heaven, in the east, (20) . . . formed beautifully and . . . (21) . . . to the orbit Shamas was perfected (22) the dawn Shamas should change (23) going on its path.”¹

The date of this inscription, or the older legend it may represent, is not known; but certainly, at the time of its composition, uranolatry was grown into a system, and the Chaldean or Babylonian astronomy had become a science.

With regard to the world before Adam we may observe, that what appeared to be an enlargement of our view of the first two verses of Genesis forced upon us by modern geologists, is by no means modern. Dr. Morrison, the eminent Chinese missionary, gives us a remarkable “extract from Chinese history.”

“Fang-kwan-shan says that Tae-keih, “the First

¹ *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith, London, 1876, p. 69.

Principle," MOVING, produced Yang; at REST, or still, produced Yin. From the pre-existence of Tae-keih, Yang and Yin were produced; these existing produced Wăn-wũh, *i. e.* "All things," exclusive of heaven, earth, and man. Wăn-wũh existing, Shing-jin, "perfect men," were born. But (he adds), how is it credible that more than 10,000 years elapsed, as is asserted, (after the existence of Tae-keih) before Yang was produced, and the heavens spread; and that 10,000 years more elapsed before Yin was produced, and the earth formed; that 10,000 more passed before Yin and Yang united to produce the various material existences (expressed by Wăn-wũh); and further, that 40 or 50,000 years more passed away, before the process of Yin and Yang was finished, and the Shing-jin appeared?

"Such a tale is contrary to all sense and reason. From Yaou (first king of China) and Shun to the present time is not more than three thousand and odd years. The three dynasties, Hea, Shang, and Chow, were not equal in duration to Tang and Yu, which preceded them; and the latter dynasties of Han, Tang, and Sung, were not equal to the San-tae. How can it be believed that 40 or 50,000 years elapsed after the formation of the heavens and the earth before man appeared, or the earth and water were adjusted, and food supplied to human beings? or that if the world had existed so long, these things should not have been arranged before Fũh-he and his successors? It is evident that Pwan-koo, who acted at the separation of the heavens and earth, could not have been long before Fũh-he, perhaps a thousand years, certainly not 10,000; and the time of Fũh-he

must have been very near Yaou and Shun, perhaps a hundred years, certainly not a thousand. No scholar should decline a thorough enquiry.”¹

All speculations apart, and fully agreeing with Fung-chow in discarding the fabulous events and periods abovementioned, we mark the statement that there was a belief, at the very commencement of the Chinese nation, that the world had existed many thousands of years before the creation of man.

What Moses says of the division of light from darkness, and the creation of Eve, must have been believed in Egypt very early, for in the 115th chapter of the Book of the Dead, as translated by Mr. Goodwin,² the following sentences occur: “I (Ra, chief of the gods), appeared before the sun. When the circumference of darkness was opened, I was as one among you (the gods). I know how the woman was made from the male.”

¹ *A View of China*, by the Rev. R. Morrison, Macao, 1817, p. 59, 60.

² *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*. It occurs in a number for 1873 or 1874. I neglected to mark the place when I made the extract.

THE ANTEDILUVIANS.

THE longevity of mankind between the expulsion from Paradise and the Deluge, their exceeding sinfulness, and the curse which was denounced on them, are the distinctive features of this obscure period of human history, and the traces of them still remain in some of the legends which have come to light. The ages of patriarchs in "the book of the generations of Adam" would seem fabulous if they were not found in a volume confirmed throughout by such abundant evidences of authenticity.

1. Adam lived years	930
2. Seth	912
3. Enos	905
4. Cainan	910
5. Mahalaleel	895
6. Jared	962
7. Enoch was translated at the age of	365
8. Methuselah lived years	969
9. Lamech	777
10. Noah	950

I am not aware of any Gentile genealogy which can be produced to answer to the genealogy produced by Moses (Gen. v.; ix. 28, 29). But it is well worthy of note that in the mythic or fabulous periods of most ancient nations, the lives attributed to men, and the duration assigned to generations and to dynasties, are

of enormous length; but when history begins, or is supposed to begin, life uniformly shortens, even as in Genesis we read that it was shortened after the Deluge. Some time before the Deluge "the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh; yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." (Gen. vi. 3.) The actual shortening of life, after the Deluge, took place gradually, and it is remarkable that 120 years was the length of Moses' life. In the time of the Psalmist, as now, the average number was reduced to seventy.

The antediluvian longevity according to Berosus, is enormously exaggerated by the superstition which confounds men with gods; and there were a few kings in Babylonia whose reigns, added together, covered a period of 432,000 years. Another fabulous chronology makes a succession of eighty-six kings to live through 34,080 years, being for each king an average reign of nearly 397 years. Students of chronology are familiar with examples of the kind, which are, after all, no more than lengthened shadows of an archaic truth.

As to the wickedness of men in the first 2400 years of the world, as we say, the "Creation Tablets" now quoted afford clear evidence, or, if any prefer to have it so, a distinct confession. One of Mr. Smith's fragments reads thus:

"(1) He (*i. e.* Hea) called his assembly. He said to the gods his sons, (2) I made them (3) shall not stretch until before he turns. (4) Their wickedness I am angry at, (5) their punishment shall not be small, (6) I will look to judge the people, (7) in their stomach let food be exhausted, (8) above let Vul drink up his rain, (9) let the lower regions be

shut up, and the floods not be carried in the streams, (10) let the ground be hardened which was overflowed, (11) let the growth of corn cease, may blackness overspread the fields, (12) let the plowed fields bring forth thorns, (13) may the cultivation be broken up, food not arise, and it not produce; (14) may distress be spread over the people, (15) may favour be broken off, and good not be given."

The solemn malediction was to the full accomplished.

"(16) He looked also to judge the people, (17) in their stomach food he exhausted. (18) Above Vul drank up his rains, (19) the lower regions were shut up, and floods not carried in the streams; (20) the ground was hardened which had been overflowed, (21) the growth of corn ceased, blackness spread over fields, (22) the plowed fields brought forth thorns, the cultivation was broken up, (23) food did not rise, and it did not produce, (24) distress was spread over the people, (25) favour was not given."¹

What can this be, if it is not a remembrance of the original curse by a generation that has forgotten Him who uttered the sentences recorded in the book of Genesis? "Unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." (Gen. iii. 17-19.)

¹ *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith, London, 1876, p. 154.

Nor does the fragment quoted above only exhibit a remembrance of the curse, but an evidence of its infliction. Rain was withheld, drought and famine followed, thorns came instead of harvest, "distress was spread over the people," for death must follow if there is lack of food, and "favour was not given" to mitigate the calamity. But when the Deluge was over, the apostate race no longer cumbering the ground, and Noah had offered up the sacrifice of thanksgiving, "the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, *as I have done*. While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." (Gen. viii. 21, 22.)

That the order of nature and course of seasons had been disturbed is here intimated, and that such disturbance had really taken place this recently discovered tablet expressly affirms; and the language of the inscription is more nearly that of plain historic statement than is usually found in the Chaldean legends. The family preserved in the Ark would not fail to speak of the state of things in the society of which they were once a part, and to contrast the world they had entered with the world whence they had escaped. There are several other fragments apparently relating to the same period, descriptive of the corruption and misery of mankind; but the texts are so broken up, and so much appears to be irrecoverably lost, that we can scarcely hope to add much more from the Royal Library at Nineveh in confirmation of the Mosaic record. But Babylon has yet to be explored.

THE DELUGE.

GENESIS VI.—VIII.

FEW ancient monuments can surpass in value an Assyrian tablet containing an account of the Deluge, discovered and translated by the late Mr. George Smith of the British Museum. The learned translator considered that, while its original composition could not have been later than the seventeenth century before the Christian era, it was probably written in the primitive Chaldean language, and may be nearly as old as the confusion of tongues. It appears to have been laid up early in the city of Warka, or Erech (Gen. x. 10), and eventually copied in Assyrian for the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. Now the first Chaldean empire dates from B.C. 2234 to 1976,¹ ending some years before the death of Noah; and the History of Izdubar, on twelve clay tablets, of which the legend of the Deluge covers a little more than the eleventh, was probably written in the language spoken in Chaldea at that time. This conjecture mainly rests on the last two lines of the last tablet of the series: "The twelfth tablet of the legends of Izdubar. Written like the ancient copy." Traces of the primitive text, written in an archaic language no longer well understood, confirm the translator in this persuasion.

¹ Mr. Smith preferred to date this empire from B.C. 2500 to 1500.

Izdubar, whom Mr. Smith believed to be the Nimrod of Genesis, after being a conqueror of "kings and monsters," fell sick, and came to fear death, man's last enemy. The Babylonians, as it appears, believed in the continued existence in this life of a patriarch named Hasisadra, whom they supposed to be translated to some remote region, and to be immortal. This is intimated on preceding tablets, and on the ninth Hasisadra is said to be dwelling somewhere by the Persian Gulf, in the company of the gods, and having the knowledge of death and life. Much that relates to Izdubar, but has no relevance to the Deluge, we pass over, and copy the principal portions of the eleventh tablet.

"*Column I.*—(8) Hasisadra¹ also said to Izdubar,² (9) Be revealed to thee, Izdubar, the concealed story, (10) and the judgment of the gods be related to thee. (11) The city Surippak³ the city where thou standest not placed, (12) that city is ancient the gods within it (13) their servant, the great gods (14) the god Anu, (15) the god Elu, (16) the god Ninip, (17) and the god lord of Hades;⁴ (18) their will he revealed in the midst and (19) I his will was hearing and he spake to me: (20) Surippakite⁵ son of Ubarratutu⁶ (21) make a ship after this (22) I destroy(?) the sinner and life (23) cause to ascend the seed of life all of it to the midst of the ship.⁷ (24) The ship which thou shalt make⁸ (25) 600(?)

¹ Noah. Σείσιθρος, Euseb. *Praef. Evang.*, lib. ix.

² Nimrod.

³ Εν Ηλιούπολει τῆ ἐν Σιππάρουσι, *Praef. Evang.*, lib. ix.

⁴ Ninkigal.

⁵ From Surippak.

⁶ Lamech.

⁷ Gen. vi. 5-7, 13.

⁸ Gen. vi. 14-21.

cubits shall be the measure of its length, and (26) 60(?) cubits the amount of its breadth and its height. (27) into the deep launch it. (28) I perceived and said to Hea my lord, (29) The ship making which thou commandest me (30) when I shall have made, (31) young and old will deride me. (32) Hea opened his mouth and spake and said to me his servant, (33) thou shalt say unto them, (34) he has turned from me and (35) fixed over me (36) like caves (37) above and below (38) closed the ship (39) the flood which I will send to you, (40) into it enter and the door of the ship turn. (41) Into the midst of it thy grain, thy furniture, and thy goods, (42) thy wealth, thy women servants, thy female slaves, and the young men, (43) the beasts of the field, the animals of the field all, I will gather and (44) I will send to thee, and they shall be enclosed in thy door.

“(45) Adrahasis¹ his mouth opened and spake and (46) said to Hea his lord: (47) Anyone the ship will not make (48) on the earth fixed (49) I may see also the ship (50) on the ground the ship (51) the ship which thou commandest me (52) which in

“*Column II.*—(1) Strong (2) on the fifth day it (3) on its circuit 14 measures its frame. (4) 14 measures it measured over it. (5) I placed its roof, it I enclosed it. (6) I rode in it on the sixth time, I examined its exterior on the seventh time, (7) its interior I examined on the eighth time. (8) With planks the waters from within it I

¹ The same as Hasisadra, by inversion of the elements.

stopped. (9) I saw rents, and the wanting parts I added. (10) 3 measures of bitumen¹ I poured over the outside, (11) 3 measures of bitumen I poured over the inside. (12) 3 men carrying its baskets, they constructed boxes. (13) I placed in the boxes the offering they sacrificed. (14) Two measures of boxes I had distributed to the boatmen. (15) To were sacrificed oxen (16) for every day (17) wine in receptacles and wine (18) I collected like the waters of a river, also (19) food like the dust of the earth also (20) I collected in boxes with my hand I placed. (21) Shamas² material of the ship completed. (22) strong and (23) the reed oars of the ship I caused to bring above and below. (24) they went in two thirds of it.

“(25) All I possessed the strength of it, all I possessed the strength of it silver, (26) all I possessed the strength of it gold, (27) all I possessed the strength of it the seed of life, the whole (28) I caused to go up into the ship; all my male servants and my female servants,³ (29) the beast of the field, the animal of the field,⁴ the sons of the people all of them, I caused to go up.⁵ (30) A flood Shamas made,⁶ and (31) he spake saying in the night: I will cause it to rain heavily, (32) enter to the midst of the ship and shut thy door. (33) That flood happened (of which) (34) he spake saying in the night: I will cause it to rain (*or* it will rain) from heaven heavily. (33) In the day I celebrated his festival, (36) the day of watching fear I had. (37) I entered to the midst of the ship and shut my door. (38) To close the ship

¹ Gen. vi. 14.² The sun.³ Gen. vii. 1.⁴ Gen. vii. 2-8.⁵ Gen. vii. 7-10.⁶ Gen. vii. 11.

to Buzur-sadirabi the boatman (39) the palace I gave with its goods.

“(40) The raging of a storm in the morning (41) arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide. (42) Vul in the midst of it thundered, and (43) Nebo and Saru went in front, (44) the throne bearers went over mountains and plains, (45) the destroyer Nergal overturned, (46) Ninip went in front and cast down, (47) the spirits carried destruction, (48) in their glory they swept the earth; (49) of Vul the flood reached to heaven. (50) The bright earth to a waste was turned.

“*Column III.*—(1) The surface of the earth like it swept, (2) it destroyed all life from the face of the earth (3) the strong deluge over the people, reached to heaven. (4) Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people. In heaven (5) the gods feared the tempest and (6) sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu. (7) The gods like dogs fixed in droves prostrate. (8) Spake Ishtar like a child, (9) uttered Rubat her speech: (10) All to corruption are turned, and (11) then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil. (12) As I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil, (13) to evil were devoted all my people; and I prophesied (14) thus: I have begotten my people, and (15) like the young of the fishes they fill the sea. (16) The gods concerning the spirits were weeping with her, (17) the gods in seats seated in lamentation, (18) covered were their lips for the coming evil. (19) Six days and nights (20) passed, the wind, deluge, and storm, overwhelmed. (21) On the seventh day in its course was calmed the storm, and all the deluge (22) which had

destroyed like an earthquake, (23) quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and deluge ended.¹ (24) I perceived the sea making a tossing; (25) and the whole of mankind turned to corruption, (26) like reeds the corpses floated. (27) I opened the window, and the light broke over my face, (28) it passed. I sat down and wept, (29) over my face flowed my tears. (30) I perceived the shore at the boundary of the sea, (31) for twelve measures the land rose.

“(32) To the country of Nizir went the ship;² (33) the mountain of Nizir³ stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able. (34) The first day and the second day the mountain of Nizir the same. (35) The third day and the fourth day the mountain of Nizir the same. (36) The fifth and sixth the mountain of Nizir the same. (37) On the seventh day in the course of it⁴

“(38) I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and turned, and (39) a resting place it could not enter, and it returned. (40) I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and (41) a resting place it could not enter, and it returned. (42) I sent forth a raven and it left. (43) The raven went, and the drying up of the water it saw, and (44) it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.⁵ (45) I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation, (46) I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,⁶ (47) by sevens herbs I cut, (48) at the bottom of them I placed reeds, pines, and spices. (49) The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning; (50) the gods like

¹ Gen. viii. 1-3.

² Gen. viii. 4.

³ The Ararat range.

⁴ Gen. viii. 6.

⁵ Gen. viii. 12.

⁶ Gen. viii. 20.

flies over the sacrifice gathered.¹ (51) From of old also the great god in his course (52) the great brightness of Anu had created. When the glory (53) of those gods on the charm round my neck I would not leave ;

“ *Column IV.*—(1) In those days I desired that for ever I might not leave them. (2) May the gods come to my altar, (3) may Elu not come to my altar, (4) for he did not consider, and had made a deluge, (5) and my people he had consigned to the deep. (6) From of old also Elu in his course (7) saw the ship, and went Elu with anger filled to the gods and spirits : (8) Let not any one come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep. (9) Ninip his mouth opened, and spake and said to the warrior Elu : (10) Who then will ask Hea the matter he has done ? (11) And Hea knowing also all things, (12) Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Elu : (13) Thou just prince of the gods, warrior, (14) when thou art angry a deluge thou makest ; (15) the doer of evil did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil. (16) The just prince let him not be cut off, the faithful let him not be destroyed. (17) Instead of thee making a deluge, may lions increase and men be reduced ; (18) instead of thee making a deluge, may leopards increase, and men be reduced ; (19) instead of thee making a deluge, may a famine happen, and the country be destroyed ; (20) instead of thee making a deluge, may pestilence increase, and men be destroyed. (21) I did not peer into the judgment of the gods. (22) Adrahasis a dream they sent, and the judgment of the gods he heard. (23) When his judgment was

¹ Gen. viii. 21.

accomplished, Elu went up to the midst of the ship. (24) He took my hand and raised me up, (25) he caused to raise and to bring my wife to my side; (26) he made a bond, he established in a covenant¹ and gave this blessing, (27) in the presence of Hasisadra and the people. (28) When Hasisadra, and his wife, and the people, to be like the gods are carried away; (29) then shall dwell Hasisadra in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers.

“(30) They took me, and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me. (31) When to thee whom the gods have chosen also, (32) for the health which thou seekest and askest, (33) this be done six days and seven nights, (34) like sitting on the edge of his seat, (35) the way like a storm shall be laid upon him. (36) Hasisadra to her also said to his wife: (37) I announce that the chief who grasps at health (38) the way like a storm shall be laid upon him. (39) His wife to him also said to Hasisadra the remote: (40) Purify him, and let the man be sent away: (41) the road that he came may he return in peace, (42) the great gate open and may he return to his country.”²

Returning for a moment to the assumed date of the Chaldean legend, 1650 years before Christ, or seven centuries after the Deluge, we observe that midway between the two dates Noah died. He had lived three centuries and a half to relate the true account of that great catastrophe. But at the same time a popular and partly fabulous account was current, disguised by the mythology then prevalent, no doubt, in

¹ Gen. ix. 9.

² *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 135.

continuation of the false worship of the antediluvian world. "The *nephilim* were in the earth in those days." (Gen. vi. 4.)¹ No translation has yet explained what those *nephilim* were. The "giants" of the Septuagint (*γίγαντες*) throws no light on it. Aquila uses a word capable of two meanings (*ἐπιπίπτοντες*), and Symmachus seems to take his rendering (*βίαιοι*) from the context, "The earth is filled with *violence* through them." Certainly such beings as people the Chaldean pantheon approach more nearly than giants to the "fallen ones" of the Hebrew, and the *apostates* of Aquila, as his word may be understood. If so, we conclude that the mythology of the tablets originated in the apostacy that was already in the earth when it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and accounts for the Babylonian legend as it differs from the true account which Noah would give of the Flood, and which Moses restored and perpetuated. But the story of the tablet is valuable, as a poem written after the event. It has not the form which was taken for poems in later times, but it is as much an historical poem as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*; or, to speak more accurately, it is a *mythological poem* founded on the fact, taken from the archives of Erech, a city of Nimrod, where it was deposited from 3600 to 4000 years ago, and eventually translated into Assyrian. It is immeasurably superior to an attenuated tradition given by Berosus, but enlarged again by Abydenus. Moses, unlike them all, wrote the veritable history 3300 years ago.

¹ הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם :

Moses represents the Deluge as a consequence of the wickedness of mankind. So does the tablet: and the tablet bears evidence of the gross demonolatry and nature-worship of that age. The gods named therein are Anu, Bel, Ninip, Hea, Vul, Nebo, Saru, Ishtar, Ninkigal, and a "great god" who is taken to be Assur. This is evidence enough that men had *fallen away* from the worship of the one and only Great God; and enough of the fabled attributes, and senseless worship of those false gods, is now known, to show the depth of the apostacy which brought down His anger on the world; confirming the truth of what Moses wrote, that "the wickedness of man was great in the earth," and that "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart," *every figment of the thoughts of his heart*,¹ "was only evil continually." (Gen. vi. 5.) They had utterly fallen away from their Creator; and any dim perception of divinity they might have, was expressed under some false name, and embodied in the form of an idol to be worshipped as if it were a god.

The writing on the twelve tablets is described as the history of Izdubar. Mr. Smith arrived at the conviction that Izdubar was Nimrod. I venture to proceed on this assumption, and find that it agrees with the tenor of the Mosaic record. Nimrod was the son of Cush, son of Ham, son of Noah. He was founder of Erech, where, it is believed, the original "History" of Izdubar was deposited.

Hasisadra (Noah), son of Ubaratutu (Lamech), is called the Surippakite, from Surippak, a city that

¹ קְלִיָּצָר מִהַשְּׂבוּת לְבוֹ

before the Flood is here said to have been ancient, and the gods dwelt in it, I. 11-13. In other words, Noah, when building the Ark, was a man of Surippak. Shamas, the sun-god, is introduced as speaking to Hasisadra, and making the Flood, II. 30-34. The feast of the sun is celebrated in Surippak, where Hasisadra lives, II. 35. Surippak must have been near to navigable waters into which the Ark could be launched, and so the tablet represents, I. 27. Here Berosus helps us to find the situation of Noah's dwelling-place, for he says that "Chronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that there would be a flood in which mankind would perish," and that he also "commanded him that whatever writings he possessed he should conceal *in the city of the sun* (not in Sippara, but) *in the country of the Sipparenes.*"¹ I take Surippak to be the city of the sun situate in the region of the Sipparenes, of which the metropolis was the great city of Sippara, near the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Surippak, the city of the Ark, may therefore have been at the head of the Persian Gulf, by the outflow of those rivers in the same channel, where now a tradition of the Arabs places that very city. This tradition of the Arabs, of which Mr. Smith is my informant, remarkably agrees with a tablet he mentions,² containing geographical notices, and among them one of "Surippak, the ship or ark city."

¹ . . . ἐν Ηλιούπολει τῇ ἐν Σιππάρουσιν ἀποκρύψαι, Euseb. *Praef. Evang.*, lib. ix.

² The tablet is printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. II., p. 46. The reference is in Mr. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, London, 1876, p. 169.

The state of mankind, especially in Chaldea, was not forgotten in the time of Berosus, who says that Babylon was then a great resort of people of many nations, who lived *disorderly like wild beasts*, ἀτακτως ὡσπὲρ τὰ θήρια.¹ Moses says that "the earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold, I will destroy them with the earth." (Gen. vi. 11-13.) The god of the legend says, "I destroy the sinner and life," I. 22. Ishtar said, "All to corruption are turned," III. 10, "To evil were devoted all my people," 13.

On points of lesser importance the agreement between the tablet and the Mosaic record is most striking. Moses speaks of the pitch used for making the Ark water-tight. So in the plain of the Euphrates, the builders of Babel used bricks for stone, and slime, or bitumen, had they for mortar. (Gen. xi. 3.) "The Lord said to Noah, Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch." (Gen. vi. 14.) This was to fill the interstices between the *planks of gopher*,² rendered *cypress* in the Targum, and *square cut* in the Septuagint; and there can be no doubt that whatever wood was used in building the Ark, the timbers would need much caulking before the time came to launch. Hasisadra says that this was done: "With planks the waters from within it I stopped. I saw rents and the

¹ Quoted from Alexander Polyhistor in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*.

² גִּפְרִי גִּפְרִי

wanting parts I added. Three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside. Three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside." No two directions for a piece of work could agree better, II. 8-11.

Both writings tell of a warning given, and a day appointed for the Deluge to begin. Before publishing his discovery of the Deluge Tablet, Mr. Smith communicated to the Society of Biblical Archæology a few lines he had read on another tablet which evidently refer to the same warning: "A command from the midst of the sea came down. A will from the midst of the heavens came forth. A storm like *urkiti* the earth covered. To the four winds terror swept like a fire. It destroyed the people of the cities. It caused pain to take hold of their loins, and terror. In city and country it struck them silent. Master and slave it struck down, and in heaven and earth it rained like a hail-storm, and a flood accumulated. To their sanctuaries the gods fled, and sought refuge."¹

Moses relates more fully the appointment of the day: "Yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights." "And it came to pass *after* seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. In the self-same day entered Noah," etc. (Gen. vii. 1, 4, 10-12.) The inscription is mutilated where Hasisadra gives an account of his own proceedings during the days of preparation, but enough remains to show that he *rode*

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. I., p. 89.

in the ship before the first night of heavy rain, and that after that first occupation of the ship, the processes of lading and embarkation went on from day to day. Then comes the appointed day: "In the day that I celebrated his festival, the day of watching, fear I had. I entered into the midst of the ship, and shut my door," II. 35-37.

The two accounts are not in exact verbal agreement. Yet they do agree in describing an interval between the first day of entering the Ark, or ship, and the first day of the Deluge. In each the interval is filled up with work of embarkation. Moses says that "Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth on the earth, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as God had commanded Noah; and it came to pass, after seven days, that the waters were upon the earth." (Gen. vii. 7-10.) Hasisadra says, "The whole I caused to go up into the ship, all my male servants and my female servants; the beast of the field, the animal of the field,¹ the sons of the people all of them I caused to go up," II. 28, 29.

The notes of time in the tablet are not clear enough to define the duration of the Flood, but it appears to be shorter than the time given in Genesis. But certainly the tablet presents clear indications of the

¹ The distinction between beast and animal is hardly intelligible; but M. Menant's version, *Les animaux domestiques, les animaux sauvages*, is not only clearer, but answers well to the clean and unclean beasts of Genesis.

ante-Mosaic sabbath. Even on the abraded surfaces of scattered fragments they begin to be deciphered. “. . . . I brought on the fifth day,” II. 2. After a lively picture of the raging and the destroying of the Flood comes the last week of its fury. “*Six* days and nights passed, the wind, deluge, and storm overwhelmed. On the *seventh* day in its course was calmed the storm, and all the deluge which had destroyed like an earthquake, quieted,” III. 19-23. “The mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able. The *first* day and the *second* day the mountain of Nizir the same. The *third* day and the *fourth* day the mountain of Nizir the same. The *fifth* and the *sixth* the mountain of Nizir the same. On the *seventh* day in the course of it I sent forth a dove,” etc., 33-38.

Hundreds of years before Moses this was written, at a time when the Lord of the sabbath was forgotten, and in Egypt the sacred institution itself was fallen out of remembrance. Moses did not find it in Egypt; Berosus found no trace of it, that we know, in Babylon. But when Moses wrote his history he found the sabbatic mark clearly impressed on the events of the Deluge. Observe them here :

“Yet seven days,” said the Lord to Noah, “and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights.” “And it came to pass, after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.” (Gen. vii. 4, 10.) “And it came to pass, *after the end* of forty days (which, according to the Hebrew method of counting, by including the day before and the day after, makes the sixth sabbath to fall first after the fortieth day), that Noah opened the window of the

ark which he had made, and sent forth a raven." (Gen. viii. 6, 7.) "Also," at the same time with the raven, "he sent forth a dove." "And he stayed *yet other seven days*, and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him in the evening," with an olive-leaf in her mouth. (Gen. viii. 10, 11.) "And he stayed *yet other seven days*, and sent forth the dove, which returned not again to him any more." (Gen. viii. 12.)

Here are six notations of weeks by Moses: in the tablet there are three. The coincidence is not fortuitous, but the difference shows that one writer did not borrow from the other.

We have now to mark an important aspect of the Chaldean legend. There is no mention of sail or mast in the Ark of Noah or the Ship of Hasisadra. There was no rudder to guide its course. It had not even oars to put it into motion.¹ The vessel, therefore, was not made to be navigated any more than the round basket in which the infant Moses floated down the Nile. The one, as the other, was only meant to float. It is hard to conceive what could have been the duties of Buzur-sadirabi the pilot, who could only act in the interior of what Hasisadra calls his "refuge" and his "palace." Navigation was out of the question; the ship, as it was less aptly called, drifted with the flood from Surippak to Nizir. He says, "I perceived the shore at the boundary of the sea; for twelve measures the land rose." The land which, when sighted, appeared to be the sea-shore, he soon discovers to be a mountain range.

¹ The characters translated "reed oars," II. 23, are "damaged and doubtful." *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., p. 591.

“To the country of Nizir went the ship; the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship,” III. 30-33. Now if the ship, or Ark, was launched or floated at Surippak, anywhere between the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the head of the Persian Gulf, when the ocean rose and overflowed the land, the fountains of the great deep being suddenly broken up, it must have been then that the vessel was carried over the shore at the boundary of the sea, as the sea came up over the land. Tremendous tidal waves broke over that boundary, the swollen ocean overflowed the continent from south to north, and the ship went with the advancing sea to the country of Nizir. “Now,” observes Mr. Smith, “the position of Nizir can be determined from an inscription of Assurnazirpal, king of Assyria. He made an expedition to this region, and starting from an Assyrian city near Arbela, crossed the Lower Zab, and marching eastward between latitudes 35 and 36, arrived at the mountains of Nizir. These mountains lay east of Assyria, but they form part of a series of mountain-chains extending to the north-west into Armenia.”¹ So this tradition agrees with the Biblical account of the Ark resting, not on the one mountain now called Mount Ararat, but on one of the mountains of Ararat,² Ararat being the name of the country. So Moses of

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 231. The passage quoted is as follows: “To the land of Nizir which they call Lulu-kinaba I drew near; the city Bunasi, one of their fortified cities . . . and twenty cities of their environs I captured,” col. II. 34. “Their corpses lay thick on the hills of Nizir. Seven cities in Nizir which were of their duly appointed fortresses,” 36, 37. “Cities of the land of Nizir, whose place no one had ever seen,” 39. And much more of the same kind. *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 59.

² עַל הַרֵי אֲרָרָט

Chorene connects the name Araratia with an historical event reported to have occurred B.C. 1750. An ocean-tide, we must observe, rising over the shores of Arabia and India, and carrying a floating vessel onward from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of Araratia, shows that the Deluge was not produced by a downfall of rain only, however heavy, but by a rising of the great deep itself. No conception that falls beneath the language of St. Peter can come up to the concurrent testimony of the Hebrew Scripture and Gentile tradition: "The earth, standing out of the water and in the water, the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished." (2 Pet. iii. 5, 6.)

The tablet has no account of the time that elapsed between the resting of the ship on the mountain-peak and the landing of the persons whom it carried, but there is an intimation that some considerable time intervened. "When his judgment was accomplished, Elu went up to the midst of the ship. He took my hand, and raised me up," IV. 23, 24. The Mosaic history, on the contrary, is exact in stating the time which passed while Noah waited for his release. In the seventh month of the six hundredth year of Noah's life, on the seventeenth day of the month, the Ark rested on one of the mountains of Ararat, and in the second month of the six hundred and first year, on the twenty-second day of the month, the ground was dry; that is to say, after the entire cessation of the Deluge, the waters were seven months and seven days in passing off the land, even in the mountainous region of Araratia.

The utter destruction of life is stated with equal distinctness in the legend and in the history.

The building of an altar and offering of a sacrifice by Hasisadra is narrated at greater length, and a tale so fully mythological could not be brief. The same act of Noah is far more historically told. The accounts agree, however, in telling the acceptability of the sacrifice. "The Lord," it is written in Genesis, "smelled a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more." (Gen. viii. 20.) In the tablet, disguised and spoiled as is that glorious spectacle, yet all its glory cannot be hidden, nor the God to whom the victims were offered quite concealed. "The gods collected at the burning; the gods collected at its good burning. The gods like flies (for multitude) over the sacrifice gathered. From of old also, the great god in his course, the great brightness of Anu had created. When the glory of those gods in the charm round my neck I would not leave, in those days I desired that for ever I might not leave them. May the gods come to my altar!" III. 49-53; IV. 1, 2.

Moses tells of the rainbow being made the sign of a covenant of reconciliation and mercy (Gen. ix. 9), and says that "Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years; and all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years; and he died." (Gen. viii. 28, 29.) The tablet also bears testimony to a covenant, and to the prolongation of the favoured patriarch's life. According to the legend, Elu (or Bel) was the god of vengeance, and it was he who in anger made the Deluge. Hea, another god, interceded for mankind, and implored Elu rather to punish sinners with devouring lions and leopards, or with famine and pestilence. Adrahasis, on this, was comforted with a

dream, and heard the judgment of the gods. "When his judgment was accomplished, Elu went up to the midst of the ship. He took my hand," says the patriarch, "and raised me up; he caused to raise and to bring my wife to my side. He made a bond, he established in a covenant, and gave this blessing in the presence of Hasisadra and the people: When Hasisadra, and his wife, and the people, to be like the gods are carried away, then shall Hasisadra dwell in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers. They took me, and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me." IV. 23-30.

Here again, one cannot help observing another feature of agreement. The Mosaic history leaves us to conclude, that all the 350 years of a life prolonged, although the average of human life was then reduced to 120 years, were spent in privacy. He gains no place in the history of the renewed world whereof he was the patriarch. He did no more than plant a vineyard, and then appears but once upon the sacred page, asleep, drunken and dishonoured. According to the legend, Izdubar finds him indeed, but in a remote place, and there, too, he is asleep!

In these two documents there are no sentences in duplicate. One does not anywhere repeat the other, but on the contrary, there are some differences, which those who regard the book of Genesis as a compilation of legends may call discrepancies. But differences in detail are inseparable from writings of authorship so diametrically opposite.

Just one more confirmatory witness, and this article concludes. We find it in China. "The Chinese civilization," says M. de Guignes, "is undoubtedly the

most ancient in the world. Authentically, that is to say, by the proofs furnished by Chinese history, it can be traced back through 2000 years before our era.”¹ We need not enter into the chronological question which this author raises, but accept the quotation he affords us. “The documents collected in the Shoo King, or Book, *par excellence*, especially those of the first chapters, are the most ancient in human history. It is true that the Shoo King was framed by Confucius in the second half of the sixth century before Christ, but that great philosopher had such profound respect for antiquity that he would not alter in the least the documents he placed in order. Besides, as is evident to Sinologists, the style of those documents differs from the later style of books following, as the style of the Twelve Tables differs from that of Cicero, which is a sufficient proof of their antiquity.”¹ Now, the very first chapter of the Shoo King, as translated by M. De Guignes, contains a statement that the Emperor Yao, who lived B.C. 2357–2256, was chosen Emperor of China *because of his successful labours in draining off the waters of the Deluge. If this be authentic history, it is triumphant evidence that in the reign of Yao the Deluge was known in China.*

¹ *Le Chou King*, par M. De Guignes, Paris, 1870.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

GENESIS XI. 1-9.

THE next great event after the Deluge was the building of a city and a tower in the land of Shinar, interrupted by the confusion of tongues, and consequent dispersion of the builders. (Gen. xi. 1-9.) Moses relates that they had brick for stone, and slime for mortar. As for the want of stone and substitution of brick, with the use of slime instead of mortar, that is notorious. One of the cities built after Babylon has received the name of *Mugheir*, "bitumened," instead of its original name of Ur or Hur. Lumps of hardened bitumen still cleave to the bricks; and whereas the inscriptions of the ancient world are elsewhere found on rocks or stones, in the plain country which the Babel-builders found in Shinar, the writing is all stamped or tooled in clay.

The city *and* the tower stood apart. This is clearly indicated in the Hebrew text,¹ and the distinction is as clearly preserved in the ancient versions. "The Tower of Babel," however, is the popular designation, but it must not be mistaken to mean that the tower of the Mosaic narrative was within the city.

The Greeks called that famous tower Borsippa, slightly varying the Chaldee name, which, according

¹ לראת אֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל וְאֶת־הַמִּנְהָר Gen. xi. 5.

to an eminent authority, M. Oppert, was Barsip, or Bar-zippa, and might be literally translated *tongue-tower*, a name suggested by the confusion of tongues. The mound which covers the site of that building is known by the Arabs as *Birs Nimrud*. The mound *Babil* is the ruin of the pyramidal temple of Bel, and answers exactly to the description given of it by Herodotus, so far as its original form is ascertained.

M. Oppert, commissioned by the French government to examine and report on cuneiform inscriptions, translates that part of a very long inscription which refers to Borsippa,¹ and which we gladly receive as the testimony of Nebuchadnezzar, tending to establish the identity of the original structure with the tower mentioned by Moses. Nebuchadnezzar is represented in the usual manner, as one speaking in his own person.

“The tower, the eternal house which I founded and built. I have completed its magnificence with silver, gold, other metals, stone, enamelled bricks, fir, and pine.

“*The first*, which is the house of the earth’s base, the most ancient monument of Babylon; I built and finished it. I have highly exalted its head with bricks covered with copper.

“We say for *the other*, that is, this edifice, the house of the seven lights of the earth, the most ancient monument of Borsippa. A former king built it, they reckon 42 ages, *but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words.* Since that time the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed the sun-dried clay.

¹ So Mr. Loftus also translates in his *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, London, 1857.

The bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps. Merodach, the great god, excited my mind to repair this building. I did not change the site, nor did I take away the foundation. In a fortunate month, in an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes(?) around the crude brick masses, and the casings of burnt bricks. I adapted the circuits, I put the inscription of my name in the *kitir* of the portico.

“I set my hand to finish it, and to exalt its head. As it had been in former times, so I founded it, I made it. As it had been in ancient days, so I exalted its summit.”

We follow M. Oppert in his description of the ruin, which he examined closely. The “head,” which Nebuchadnezzar exalted, has been lowered amidst the inevitable wrecks of time, but a part of it remains, and the summit of the ruin measures 152 or 153 feet English above the level of the plain. The line of frontage on the north side, as you approach from Babylon, is in length about 460 feet. The total circuit of the ruin is about 2,290 feet. In the middle of the north side you may walk up into the mass by an ascending footway, without steps, until you get to the level of a platform 82 feet broad by 92 feet long. You are then 75 feet above the plain, and find yourself at the base of a cone of baked brick, on which rests an enormous mass of masonry. Having mounted this also, but not without difficulty, you have a magnificent view over the plain of Babylon, the minaret of Hillah guiding your eye towards the site of ancient Babylon on the north-east.

Here you are in the midst of a heap of Nebuchad-

nezzar's bricks, each stamped with the usual three lines of cuneiform ; and here you see, around and beneath, the wreck of the once majestic tower. Enormous blocks of brick-work have fallen from the riven mass above, all bearing traces of vitrification by fire. In many parts they are completely vitrified, but the layers of bricks are still visible, as well as the cement which joined them. The tower was excellently built, and of great strength; but it is cleft and shattered through and through. Earthquake, again, has heaved the whole mass, as when first it made the original structure a heap ; and lightning too, if it was electric fire that produced the strange effect upon the detached blocks which made M. Oppert ask himself what conflagration would have been terrible enough to produce so strange an appearance.

The monument, as now found, is tenfold more impressive than if it had lain untouched by the king of Babylon, whose explanation both confirms and supplements the narrative of Moses ; and now, when the believer in Holy Writ witnesses the second overthrow of the Tower of Tongues, and surveys from the top of the ruin the desolation of the city, he almost feels as though he heard the very sentence of dispersion pronounced, and reads with full intelligence the words of Moses : So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth : and they left off to build the city. *Therefore is the name of it called CONFUSION, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth : and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.* (Gen. xi. 8, 9.)

¹ Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, Livre II., chapitre vi.

The recovered plan of the site of Babylon shows the position of Borsippa, there marked *Birs Nimrud*, between the inner and the outer wall. With regard to the name of the city, its derivation is unquestionably established by the sacred historian. The name *Bab-il* given to one of the mounds, and interpreted to mean "Gate of God," may possibly have such a meaning, but that cannot interfere with the authorised interpretation of the old word Babel.

Among the fragments lately found by Mr. Smith at Nineveh, there is one relating to the Babel-builders, with sixteen lines partly or entirely deciphered. So far as it is legible it reads thus: "(1) them? the father (2) of him, his heart was evil, (3) against the father of all the gods was wicked, (4) of him, his heart was evil, (5) Babylon brought to subjection, (6) small and great he confounded their speech. (7) Babylon brought to subjection, (8) small and great he confounded their speech. (9) Their strong place (tower) all day long they founded; (10) to their strong place in the night (11) entirely he made an end. (12) In his anger also word thus he poured out: (13) to scatter abroad he set his face. (14) He gave this command, their counsel was confused. (15) the course he broke. (16) fired the sanctuary."¹

Considering that often many copies are found of the same text, we may yet hope that another tablet, or parts of one, may come to hand, and supply the missing portions of this valuable inscription. Excavations on the site of Babylon may also bring to light much more material of the same kind.

¹ *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 160.

THE FOUR CITIES OF NIMROD.

GENESIS X. 9, 10.

THE genealogy known as the generations of the sons of Noah (Gen. x.) has already served the students of ethnology as the key to some of their most difficult subjects of research. We find there a line of descent from the father of the postdiluvian world to the first eminent founder of cities. Noah—Ham—Cush—Nimrod. Nimrod, we read, “began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord,” not so much a shepherd, rather a subduer and leader-captive of men, whose name became proverbial; “and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar,” verses 9, 10.

Before proceeding to note the identification of the other cities, we must necessarily spend a few moments on Babel.

The scriptural account of Babylon, as it began, is incomparably the best, if not really the only one yet known. “The whole earth was of one *lip* and of *the same words*. And it came to pass, as they journeyed *eastward*, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us

build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven ; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language ; and this they begin to do : and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth : and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel (that is, *confusion*), because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." (Gen. xi. 1-9.)

Neither from these words of Moses, nor from any authentic source, can we gather that Babylon was built before the Deluge, as some writers are now anxious to affirm. There is no historic trace or monumental vestige of any such city on the present site, or near it. When it became part of the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom it was a half-built and deserted place, a blighted work. It should have stood first in every respect, but only the name remained, and scarcely that. To Accad and Erech it was nothing. For ages it was buried in obscurity. Until Nabopalassar, and after him Nebuchadnezzar, it had no grandeur, and never could be called "the golden city." It was lifted into majesty after the fall of Nineveh, when it was made the seat of a new empire. During those times of comparative obscurity there

were kings at Babylon, as at other cities, and a few stray bricks bearing their names are sometimes found. During his visit to Nineveh in 1874, on re-opening the trenches, Mr. Smith obtained an Assyrian copy of an early Babylonian text written in the reign of Assur-bani-pal. It contains the name of a Babylonian king, Agu, king of Kassu, and Accad, king of Babylonia, king of Padan, and Alman, king of nations, and king of the four races. His great exploit was the recovery of images of Merodach and Zirat-banit, which had been carried away to Hani, a place north-east of Babylonia. The age was comparatively remote, but it left a long space of time between that king and the Deluge.¹

The most ancient Babylonian inscription as yet known is one of Sagaraktia, and if M. Menant calculates well, may be dated B.C. 2000, about 350 years after the Deluge; and Khammurabi, who comes next, he places at B.C. 1500.² An inscription of his, translated by Mr. Talbot, represents him as doing works by no means extensive, like those of a beginner: namely, a canal called after himself, Khammurabi; a general assemblage of the people, to be repeated yearly; a lofty citadel on a mountain of earth, on the bank of the canal.³ Other inscriptions collected by M. Menant partake of the same character.

As for the name of the city, it was "Confusion." In the inscriptions it is an ideogram; and as it is not spelt, it is idle to affirm that its form is *Bab-ilu*, and its meaning *gate of God*. The Arab, who knows a

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. III., p. 452.

² *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 106, 107.

³ *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 7, 8.

single mound by the name Babel, pronounces it Arabically *Bab-il*, but that means nothing. I make, however, this brief note, because the dream of an antediluvian Babylon, and a city so sacred as to be called, at any period of its history, the "Gate of God," has even already misled some.

Bab-ilu, I strongly suspect, will not be found among the names of Babylon. Neither was "Babel" used by the Babylonians themselves, but Karduniya. Of this there are very many examples, and M. Menant furnishes many in the volume now before me. One, consisting of very few words, is as good as a thousand for our present purpose: "At this time Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and Nebobaladan, king of Karduniya, entered into a treaty of peace together."¹

ERECH, the Orech of the Septuagint, perhaps known to the Greeks as Orchoē, is called Warka by the Arabs. It is situate about eighty-two miles south of Babylon, and forty-three east of the meridian of that city. Bricks stamped with the name Uruk, and dug out of the ruins, ready to crumble into dust with age, are now in the British Museum. They were laid into the buildings of Erech at least 4100 years ago, when Nimrod was yet alive. The ruins of the ancient Erech, about ten miles from the left bank of the Euphrates, lie on some undulating ground surrounded by marshes formed by the overflow of the river, accessible only from the month of November to March, when Mr. Loftus made his explorations. From the top of the principal ruin in the centre of a hill, the spectator

¹ "En ce temps-là, Salman-Asar, roi du pays d'Assur, et Nabu-bal-idin, roi de Kar-Dunias, firent un traité de paix entre eux." *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 133.

surveys a collection of shapeless mounds within a circumference of about six miles, where was a strong rampart, of which now fragments remain, here and there forty feet in height. The chief ruin is a tower that even now measures from the base two hundred feet. It is built of brick, and is called "the Buvarih," a word signifying in Arabic "bundles of reed," such being laid between the layers of brick. Two temples, one dedicated to the god Anu, and the other to the goddess Beltis, represent the religion of the primitive inhabitants.

No doubt there are treasures here existing which would amply reward the antiquarian, and even without excavation objects of interest are found. Such are clay tablets, which have been imbedded in fresh clay so as to make an impression of the inscriptions of contracts, for the twofold purpose of indenture and duplicate. More than all these vestiges of life, is the countless multitude of tombs that surround the ruins. Raised slowly to the height of sixty feet from the ground wherein the sarcophagi were first laid, the necropolis had risen, each body having deposited with it some relics, which, if they could be recovered, would be to some extent an index of the varying costume and occupation of successive generations. But what is of inestimably greater value, beneath the ruins of ancient Erech must be sought the records of events unknown to our historians, and the works of science and literature that may yet serve for the more abundant confirmation of that Sacred Volume which has defied the waste of time.¹

¹ *Babylone et la Chaldée*, par M. J. Menant, Paris, 1875.—Warka.

Assuming the Izdubar of the Deluge Tablet to be the Nimrod of Genesis, there is monumental evidence of his relation to Erech. On the last column of that tablet occurs the following passage: "Izdubar to him also said to Urhamsi," the sailor with whom he had made his voyage to search for Hasisadra, "Urhamsi, this account . . . if a man in his heart takes . . . may they bring him to the midst of Erech Suburi!" as if to be brought thither were a matter for felicitation. They then proceeded on their return voyage, and, when they reached land again, "the ship they left by the shore, 20 *kaspu* (140 miles) they journeyed the stage. For 30 *kaspu* (210 miles) they made the ascent, they came to the midst of Erech Suburi. Izdubar also said to him, Urhamsi the boatman; Ascend, Urhamsi, over where the wall of Erech will go; the cylinders are scattered, the bricks of its interior also for its mass are not made, and its foundation is not laid to thy height. One measure the circuit of the city, one measure of plantations, one measure the boundary of the temple of Namtur, the house of Ishtar; three measures together the divisions of Erech" ¹ The city, therefore, was not yet built. The ground for the foundation of the wall was cut, and perhaps some part of the foundation was laid, and could be made use of as a footway; but the lofty wall, above referred to, was not built; and as for the works to be erected in the inside, the bricks for them were not yet made. The plan, however, was roughly drawn by marking out the ground in three equal parts, one for the habitations of future citizens, one to grow

¹ Col. VI. 5-8, 25-32.

provisions for the inhabitants, and one for the temple of Namtur, and house of Ishtar, with such buildings and land as were necessary for the priests and the purposes of worship, the three sections being surrounded by the six mile wall. It would seem that the work had been suspended during Nimrod's absence, but there were the cylinders, either covered with inscriptions as usual, if they were of clay, or if marble, ready to receive them. Here then is a contribution to the history of Nimrod and his kingdom.

ACCAD, if a city, was long thought to be lost; or it was supposed to be a region occupied by the people called Accadians. But it is mentioned in a tablet found by Mr. George Smith at Nineveh, containing the answer of a Babylonian astronomer to questions from the king concerning two eclipses. "Concerning the eclipse of the moon about which the king my lord sent to me," writes the astronomer, "I have made observations in the cities of *Accad*, Borsippa, and Nipur. That which in the city of *Accad* I saw," etc. "The site of *Accad* may be ascertained hereafter, but now it is demonstrated that when that city was supposed to be lost it actually existed, and the geographical and archæological question is therefore greatly narrowed."¹ It also appears to have contained an observatory, where astronomical observations were made, interpreted, and registered. The same city is also mentioned elsewhere, and its name may perhaps occur often. It is found on a broken obelisk referring to the reign of Tiglath Pileser: "Merodach Baladan, king of nations, king of Sumir and *Accad*, son of Mili-sihu,

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, September 20, 1873.

king of Babylon, grandson of Kuri-galzu, the unequalled king.”¹

CALNEH, if we may believe the Talmud, occupied the same site as Nopher, which, again, may be identified with the town called Niffer by the Arabs. It is situate on the left of the Euphrates, about sixty miles S.S.E. of Babylon. The identification, notwithstanding the Talmud, is as yet very doubtful.

¹ Paper to *Society of Biblical Archaeology*, on “Canon of Berosus,” by Mr. George Smith.

UR OF THE CHALDEES, AND HARAN.

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GENESIS XI. 31.

UR takes the name of Mugheir. The ruins lie on the right bank of the Euphrates, on the side opposite to Warka, but farther north. The Mugheir, properly so called, is a tower seventy feet high, which rears its head on the northern extremity of the mounds which fill up the circuit of the ancient wall. It is an ancient Babylonian structure in excellent preservation, due to its perdurable material, bricks laid in bitumen, whence the Arabs give it the name "Bitumen," *Mugheir*. In each of the four angles of this tower was inserted a cylinder, or *timin*, the corner-stone of the Old Testament,(?) covered with inscriptions.

It is believed that, in times of old, the men of Ur carried on extensive trade, by sea with Egypt, and by land with Syria. A native of Ur therefore would be, generally speaking, more prepared to travel than many of his neighbours. But not only with Egypt; their communications would extend to the Persian Gulf, to Arabia and India.

Erech, or Uruk, is believed to have built the wall of Ur, and was first king of that city. Mr. George

Smith gave translations of ten stamps on bricks from Ur, namely, Warka, Senkereh, Niffer, and Zerghul,(?) which show that he was a great builder of temples for the worship of the gods Ur, Bel, Nana, Samas, Belat, and perhaps others; all of them being substantial and extensive works,¹ needing much human power for their erection, with great constructive skill in the builder, showing by their accomplishment in that age that mankind were both prolific and robust.

Ur of the Chaldees was the birth-place of Abraham. Here he was when the Lord called him at first, as one of the family of Terah, to enter on his memorable pilgrimage, and earn his title of Father of the Faithful. Ur has yielded at least one instructive monument; a small tablet of black stone, with an inscription in the most ancient character, like that on the bricks from Erech. It is in the Louvre, and has been translated by M. François Lenormant.²

“Dungi, man of might, king of the land of Ur, king of the country of Accad.

“Dungi, man of might, king of the land of Ur, king over the country of Accad; the temple, the high place; the temple, her place of exaltation, I have built.

“To the goddess Nana, lady of the temple of heaven, to his sovereign, Dungi, man of might, king of the land of Ur, king over the country of Accad; the temple of heaven, her place, I have founded it; her grand enclosure, I have built it.

“To the lady of the land of Mar (the West (?), his sovereign, Dungi, man of might, king of the land of

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 9.

² *Revue Archéologique*, Février, 1873.

Ur, king over the country of Accad, the temple Rag-guksa,¹ her high place, I have built."

This king Dungi is believed to have reigned three hundred years before Abraham, and the manner of worshipping the queen of heaven, as well as the temple, or high place, built to her honour, must have been well known to the son of Terah. No doubt the temple was so constructed as to last long. The ruins of such temples, as they were built in that country, remarkable for their colossal architecture, continue to this day, and the licentiousness of that kind of idolatry is notorious. It was indeed necessary that the future father of a family that was to be set apart for the service of the Most High should be sent away from such an abode, utterly separated from a religion and a society so desperately corrupt, and prevented from intermingling with other tribes no less depraved than they. The patriarch was therefore appointed to a life of incessant pilgrimage.

High places, however, were not yet forbidden. Abraham himself built an altar on a mountain between Bethel and Hai, and called on the name of the Lord. On a mountain, too, and even by divine command, he built an altar for the sacrifice of Isaac; and when the erection of high places was forbidden by the law of Moses, it was not because of their elevated situation, but to avoid the strange worship for which they were used by the heathen, and of which Dungi's high place is an early example.

Separation from Ur, we must observe, was absolutely necessary. Like Erech, it was a great burial place of Lower Babylonia, and we learn from Erech

¹ Meaning not known.

what was the character of the gods in such a place. The god Ana was its patron. He was the Pluto of the Chaldeans; "the old Ana," "the original chief," "lord of the lower world," "lord of darkness," "death," "ruler of the far-off city," "layer-up of treasures." The chief temple of the city was called "the house of Ana."¹

In Haran, rather than in Ur, the call of Abram took place. St. Stephen gives a brief but exact statement of the patriarch's removal from Ur, and afterwards from Haran, on his way to Canaan. "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, *before he dwelt in Charran*, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I will shew thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charran, and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell." (Acts vii. 2-4.)

The first migration from Ur, when Terah was head of the household, was no doubt led by himself, although Abram was chosen of God to be father of the elect family: "Terah took Abram his son, and Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarah his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, *to go into the land of Canaan*; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there. And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years, and Terah dwelt in Haran." (Gen. xi. 31, 32.)

Joshua, shortly before his death, reminds the Hebrews of the idolatry of Abram's family: "Joshua

¹ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. I., p. 115.

said unto all the people, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side the flood (Euphrates) in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, *and they served other gods*; and I took your father Abraham from the other side the flood, and led him throughout all the land of Canaan." (Jos. xxiv. 2, 3.)

Ur, we may note, lay west of the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris, about lat. 31° N. and long. $39^{\circ} 5'$ E. Haran, in lat. $36^{\circ} 50'$ N. and long. $48^{\circ} 8'$ E., on the east of the Euphrates, "beyond the flood."

It is evident, from the above quotations, that Abraham was first called when he dwelt with his father in Ur, and that the family went from Ur to Haran, it being the design of Divine Providence, whether known to Terah or not, that Abram should "go into the land of Canaan."

It is further evident that, when in Haran, the family "served other gods." There is a well known tradition that Abram demolished the images which Terah, being a maker of idols, had made; but this is not supported by any direct evidence, and therefore we pass it by; and later Syrian authorities yield a piece of information which coincides with the words of Joshua.

The Syrian biographer of Ephrem Syrus, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century after Christ, says that Ephrem visited "Haran, a city much frequented by pagans, and *full of idols*."¹ A bishop of Edessa, in the fifth century, was accused of having made a youth of loose character bishop of

¹ *Biblioth. Orient.*, fos. Sim. Assemani, Vol. I., p. 51.

Haran, a pagan city.¹ James, bishop of Sarug, early in the sixth century, discoursing concerning the gods of Haran, speaks with the utmost contempt of a favourite god of theirs, "Mari of the dogs," an idol with a dog's head, with which the people of Haran deceived themselves.² Julian the Apostate is said to have offered sacrifices there in the temple of Jupiter, and Haran appears to have retained, even later, its notoriety as a place for the manufacture, as well as the worship of idols.

The relative position of the city, the persistency of its pagan traditions, and the agreement of its ancient character as a chief seat of idol manufacture and worship with its reputation in later times, may justify us in regarding its prolonged existence and idolatrous character, so long after the establishment of Christianity, as both illustrative and confirmatory of the history of Abraham. The imperative command to that patriarch to quit his country, and his kindred, and to come into the land that He would show him, could not be fulfilled until he had not only left his country, Ur, but his kindred who established themselves as idol manufacturers in Haran, and had come into the land of Canaan that should be given into the exclusive possession of his children. The command was not satisfied by the first migration, and therefore it was repeated at Haran, where his family incurred the brand of infamy set on them by Joshua: "Now the Lord *said*"³

¹ *Biblioth. Orient.*, fos. Sim. Assemani, Vol. I., p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 327.

³ "Said," not "had said," which obscures the sense of the original וַיֹּאמֶר. The Lord said it then when they were in Haran. Compare Gen. xi. 31, 32; xii. 1-5.

unto Abraham, Get thee out of thy *country*, and from thy *kindred*, and from thy *father's house* unto a land that I will shew thee." (Gen. xii. 1.) Having been *brought forth* from the land of the Chaldeans (Neh. ix. 7), he was *sent out* from Haran, and thus extricated from the entanglements of an idolatrous home.

SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

GENESIS XIX.

THE geography of the Sea of Salt, or Dead Sea, is well exhibited in Smith's Biblical Dictionary by Mr. Grove. The destruction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar, as described in Gen. xix. is familiar to every reader. There was a popular notion, and perhaps it yet lingers, that after the destruction of the cities of the plain by fire, the very ground on which they had stood was covered with the sea, whence, perhaps, the name of Dead Sea. To account for such a submersion, it was necessary to suppose a miraculous depression of the Jordan valley after the fiery shower, which certainly was miraculous, and consumed the cities. But as no such miracle as the creation of a new lake is mentioned in any part of Holy Scripture, we have no reason to look for any physical confirmation or monumental record. The actual depth of the valley beneath the level of the Great Sea, or Mediterranean, is but part of the general configuration of the earth as created; and we are not informed of any account, or tradition, of any such natural convulsion as must have attended a sudden sinking of the ground to the extent necessary for making a basin for the new lake, cutting off the Jordan from the Akabah, into which it ought to flow, and entirely changing the fluvial system of that land. Besides this, the cities did not stand on what is now

the bed of the lake, but on what is known by a distinct and singular name, the *Kikkar* of the Jordan, which קִיקָר is translated "plain," although it has to be conjectured why this particular plain should so be called. The name is probably archaic and special; but be that as it may, it favours the belief that the condemned cities bordered on the river rather than the sea.

The extra-biblical notion of a submersion in the lake is therefore given up by those who have most carefully studied the subject. We agree that the site of the cities, the pentapolis, we may say, was in the valley or plain along the Jordan, and that there was no new formation of a sea in connection with the penal catastrophe in the time of Lot. It also follows that Sodom was not to be sought for in the bed of the Dead Sea, but somewhere near the river; and the tale of ruins having been seen deep under water by persons in boats could only have originated in a dream, if it was not a gratuitous invention.

About five and twenty years ago M. De Saulcy published a narrative of a journey of exploration he had made, with much labour and risk, around the Dead Sea, and therein related how he had found the ruins of Sodom, Gomorrah, and, as he *then* thought, Zoar, the first and chief of the cities northwards of the lake, on the west of the Jordan; and Gomorrah at the south extremity of the lake, near one of the streams which there flow into it; but, to borrow a figure of his own, he was immediately overwhelmed and put to silence by an avalanche of derisive contradiction. Persons of reputation joined in the cry. Their honourable position gave weight to their opinions, but no experience of theirs, for they did not survey

the ground, justified their confident rejection of the report. In the absence of a third party, who might have given decisive evidence on one side or the other, M. De Saulcy patiently kept silence, and probably passed in some quarters as an over credulous enthusiast. But he is now an Orientalist of long established reputation, and comes again, fortified with independent evidence.¹

A veteran traveller in Palestine, Fr. Lievin, has visited the ruins of Sodom, which he finds as De Saulcy found them. The eminent archæologist, Clermont Ganneau has undertaken excavations in a very ancient cemetery by Gomorrah. M. Saulcy himself has again visited the ruins on both sites, and emphatically renews his statement to the following effect.

North of the lake there is a mount called by the Arabs *Gebel Sedoum*, "Mount of Sodom," and below the mount, ruins called *Kharbet Sedoum*, "Ruins of Sodom," the Arabic exactly repeating the Hebrew name, סְדוֹם. These ruins do not lie in the route by which travellers in the Holy Land are generally conducted, but they are conspicuous enough not to be overlooked by those who pass near them, and to the eye of an archæologist they are of sufficient age and proper Biblical character. They consist of blocks of hewn stone, regularly laid by the builders, but much overthrown and in confusion, yet not in such confusion as to conceal the regularity of construction when the walls were standing. The other towns of the pentapolis are not yet certainly identified.

¹ "Notes sur la Pentapole maudite," in the *Revue Archeologique*, November, 1875.

E G Y P T.

JOSEPH.

IN the wilderness of Edom, somewhere on the track of caravans that came from Arabia and the East to trade with Egypt; or where fugitives from lands northward, lands often invaded by predatory bands from Assyria and Media, came seeking refuge in Egypt, a company of Midianitish traders pursued their way towards the same country. At the same time a company of herdsmen lay encamped amidst their cattle not far from the trodden way. These were Hebrews, brothers, and in a fit of jealousy sold one of their number to the Midianites for twenty pieces of silver. When those slave dealers reached the north-eastern province, then known as the land of On, or it might be Goshen, they sold their newly acquired "property" to Potiphar, captain of the king's guard, an officer who bore the significant title of "Prince of the Executioners," or "Captain of the Butchers,"¹ quite proper for the pitiless minister of a despotic master. (Gen. xxxvii. 15-36.) The lad's name was Joseph. His age was about seventeen years. His father's name was Jacob. His great-grandfather Abraham, renowned ancestor of all the Hebrew people.

He rapidly gained the confidence of Potiphar, and

¹ שַׂר הַמִּבְחָיִים

after some remarkable vicissitudes rose to the highest eminence possible for a subject, and lived as an Egyptian until his death, at the age of a hundred and ten years; and it must be evident to every intelligent reader of his history (Gen. xxxvii.-l.), that he became perfectly acquainted with the language, manners, learning, and religion of Egypt. From the pen of Moses, who also became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, we have a full account of Joseph; and in this part of the Pentateuch we may find the first lines of Egyptian history, which now come to light after many ages of oblivion in writings that were buried in tombs and temples, inscribed in marble, and written on papyrus.

Brugsch-Bey, who has long been engaged in writing the history of Egypt from those very monuments, confirms a conjecture of some of his predecessors that the Pharaoh who sent for Joseph from the prison to interpret his dreams, raised him to be second in the kingdom, and eventually gave welcome to Jacob and his family, was a sovereign of the seventeenth dynasty,¹ Ra-Apepi II. He believes that this Pharaoh was then resident in Ha-Ouar, a city marked Avaris in the maps, within the eastern border of Lower Egypt, not far from On, or An, called Heliopolis by the Greeks. It lay on the way to Goshen, where the Israelites eventually dwelt, and which is also called the land of Rameses. (Gen. xlv. 10; xlvii. 11.) The author of the book of Genesis well knew the city of Rameses, and the second Pharaoh whose name the city bears.

¹ Thirty-one dynasties are counted, beginning far back, beyond the possibility of certain date, and ending with the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, B.C. 332.

The favour accorded to the young Hebrew slave, and afterwards extended to his family, as well as the facility of refuge afforded to Hebrew fugitives or immigrants long before the time of Joseph, to Abraham himself, for example, is easily accounted for when it is remembered that a Shemitic population had been for ages accumulating in that province of Lower Egypt, retaining the characteristics of their race, but naturalised in the country, speaking the language of Egypt and even forgetting their own. M. Brugsch devotes an entire chapter¹ to an elaborate demonstration of the existence of Shemitism in Egypt.

At this early stage of Old Testament history, there are few monuments, if any, that can be called confirmatory, but there are some highly illustrative, that show how accurately Egyptian manners are presented in the text of Genesis. There is also a striking similarity in the historic incidents.

For example, the elevation of Joseph to be second in dignity to Pharaoh, is not without precedent. Under Osirtasen I., a king of the eleventh dynasty, a minister named Mentuhotep enjoyed an equal degree of royal favour. His history is summarised in a long inscription to be seen in the Museum of Boulac. He is there described as a man of authority, a legislator, at the head of all the royal works, Pharaoh's architect in chief, he had regulated his affairs, and tranquilised both worlds (Upper and Lower Egypt). He had been zealous in keeping up the worship of the gods, and in teaching the people of the country to do their duty. He had protected the poor, and defended the weak. Peace was in his

¹ *Histoire d'Égypte*, Vol. I., chap. xi.

words, and the book of Thoth was on his tongue. The king, his colleagues, and the great men of the kingdom loved him. He had beaten the king's enemies, conquered the Asiatics, quieted the Bedouins, and pacified the Negroes. He was most mighty in the plains, and chief in the valleys of foreign lands. He issued orders to Upper Egypt, and gave order to Lower. He was a second self to his majesty, and had no peer. Within the palace and without the great men bowed low in his presence.¹ His mummy was laid in one sarcophagus, that in a second, and the two in a third. The three are now deposited in the Museum at Berlin.²

Divested only of Egyptian extravagance is Moses' account of the investiture of Joseph with honours after he had interpreted Pharaoh's dream, and advised measures to be taken for averting the horrors of a famine. "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck, and made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt." (Gen. xli. 42-44.) There is an Egyptian tale of the investiture of a royal favourite, by name Neferhotep, and after bating from it what is impossible, the remainder much resembles this. An inscription in memory of the good fortune of Neferhotep, translated by M. Paul Pierret, has been published in English.³ As is usual in such compositions, the divine and the

¹ *Histoire d'Égypte*, Vol. I., p. 92.

² Lepsius, *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, Seit 22.

³ *Records of the Past*, Vol. II., second edition, p. 99.

human are so preposterously intermingled that one knows not which is which: but the performance of a grand ceremony gleams through the fable.

“In the third year of His Holiness King Horus (a king of the eighteenth dynasty, under which dynasty Joseph was in Egypt), His Holiness appeared like unto the sun, in the palace of the placid life (the royal palace being so called), after having consecrated loaves there to his father Ammon; as he left the chamber of gold, cries of joy and acclamations circulated all over the world, and the noise of them reached even to heaven. The divine father of Ammon (which was a sacerdotal title), Neferhotep, was called to receive recompenses coming from the king of millions of years (of life in the nether world), and which consisted of all good things in silver, gold, perfumed garments, bread, beverages, meat, cakes, in virtue of this order of my lord Ammon (a chief god), Let them give my favour before witnesses to the Kertab (another sacerdotal title), *Repose-of-the-heart-of-Ammon, Neferhotep*. Who replies, Numerous are the things which the god who is the king of gods giveth to him who knoweth him. He doth recompense him who serveth him, and he protecteth him who doth follow him of whom the sun is the body, and whom the solar disk doth ever accompany.”

In writings of this kind picture supplies the place of words; and so, underneath the legend, Neferhotep is represented receiving the chain of gold, which is not mentioned in the text. There can be no doubt that Joseph received his investiture with the accustomed pomp, but it is certain that he openly and constantly professed himself to be a worshipper of God,

not of Ammon-Ra, but of the God of the Hebrews, to whom he gave all the glory for the wisdom wherewith he was endowed. (Gen. xl., xli.) The person, however, who received recompenses from King Horus could not be Joseph, who flourished under another reign.

Brugsch-Bey supposes that it was at Ha-Ouar where Apepi received Joseph's father and brothers, with their servants. There may not be any remaining record of their arrival, but there is a picture which, if there were no presumption to the contrary, might be taken for it. It was found in a tomb by Champollion, has been often copied as a favourite illustration, and the legend is now translated by Brugsch.¹

"A family of Asiatics, of the descendants of Shem. For some unknown reason they are come. There are thirty-seven persons in the party, men, women, and children. They are in the presence of the governor of the nome Sar, Chnumhotep by name. A royal scribe named Neferhotep, presents to the monarch a leaf of papyrus, with an inscription dated in the sixth year of Osirtasen II. The chief of the family, named Abusah, respectfully approaches the person of Chnumhotep, and offers him the present of a wild buck. He is followed by companions armed with lances, clubs, and bows. Over the picture there is written, 'Come to present the cosmetic of Mesram, which the thirty-seven Aam's offer him.'"

The mention of cosmetic may seem trifling, and it is quite possible that the translator may not have exactly hit the meaning, but it may remind the reader of the "little balm, and a little honey, spices and

¹ *Histoire*, Leipzig, 1859, Vol. I., p. 62.

myrrh, nuts and almonds" sent down by Jacob from the country of the sons of Shem, if indeed Abu-sah was not the father of Joseph, Jacob himself. But it would seem impossible to identify Chnumhotep with Zaphnath Paaneach. What this latter name,¹ given by Pharaoh to Joseph, may signify has long been questioned, and perhaps M. Brugsch has found the key at last. He writes an Egyptian sentence, and transliterates it thus: *Za-pa-u-nt-âa-ânḫ*, and then translates, "Governor of the District of the City of Life," or "City of Aa-ankh," a name which, he says, is found to have been given to a city near San, or Tan, the Hebrew Zoan. It was there, in the field of Zoan, where the wonders were wrought that are recorded in Exodus. There it was, or thereabouts, that Joseph and his Hebrews lived. It may doubtless be objected that the title of a provincial governor would not be proper for one that was appointed to rule over all Egypt. But it may be replied that the service for all Egypt to which he was appointed was temporary, whereas the dignity and revenue of that governorship was permanent. This leaves the question undecided, but the conjecture, if that be all, is too happy to be passed over without notice.²

Just one more illustrative reference may be admitted here. It indicates the extremely timorous jealousy of strangers. When Joseph made himself strange to his brethren, "he spake roughly to them, and said to them, Whence come ye? Ye are spies, to see the nakedness of the land ye are come." (Gen. xlii. 7-9.)

¹ *𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘*

And this pretended insinuation was repeated. About the same time, Apepi (the same Pharaoh) sent a messenger to the Pharaoh of the South, who received him with the like rebuff: "Who sent thee into the land of the South? How art thou come to spy?"¹

¹ *Histoire*, Ed. 2me., Vol. I., p. 161.

EGYPT.

THE SEVEN YEARS' FAMINE.

IT has been too hastily taken for granted that there is no monumental sign of either the seven years' plenty, or the seven years' famine in Egypt. But whether or not there be any such signs in Egypt, it must be admitted that there are some in Arabia, which is nearly as good, for the famine extended far and wide beyond.

There can be little doubt that Job lived in Arabia. All that is known of Uz, Teman, Shukh, and Naamah, the place or country to which Job belonged, and the countries whence his friends came to visit him, goes to mark them all as Arabs, by residence at least. The patriarch's allusion to writing with a pen of iron, and with lead in the rock, for the perpetual preservation of his story, marks a style of rock-inscribing which prevailed in Arabia, and agrees with the fact that inscriptions are found cut broad and deep in the living rock, and filled up with lead, in good preservation, except that the lead may be fallen out, from the Peninsula of Sinai to Hadramaut. At least one such rock-inscription, relating to the Egyptian famine, brought from Hadramaut, with other Arabian monuments, can now be laid side by side with the Mosaic history.

In the year 1834, two British officers, Messrs. Wellsted and Cruttenden, cruising off the south coast of

Arabia, eastward from our naval station at Aden, being in lat. 14° N., and east of Greenwich $48^{\circ} 10'$, espied an opening in the tall cliff, and found it to be the entrance of a harbour running far inland, and overhung with lofty hills. On one of those hills they discovered what no European navigator had reported, the ruins of an ancient town of great extent, and apparently without inhabitant. A solemn silence brooded over what had been the site of no mean city, but is now a deserted solitude. It was afterwards found that Arabs of the surrounding desert, where they pitch their tents, wandering like the sons of Rechab, had some traditional knowledge of the place, and called it *Hisn Ghoráb*, "the Castle of Ghorab."¹ It had been a chief city of the Himyarite Arabs during some part, if not all, of an empire that lasted 2,500 years,² but at length, in the sixth century of the Christian era, became extinct.

A few years ago, Captain Haines, C.B., commander of the *Palinurus*, when on service on the coast between Cape Tartaque and Hisn Ghorab, having met with the chief of a tribe of Bedouins, questioned him as to the origin of his tribe. "We are the sons of Ad, the son of Aws (Uz), the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah," was the proud reply.³ In this newly explored region there are many rock-inscriptions of the kind alluded to by Job, the man of Uz, of the same lineage, and in a part of the same country. One of them was in the old castle. It consists of ten lines,

¹ See Kiepert's "Map of Arabia" for Ritter's *Erdkunde*.

² Abulfedæ *Historia Anteislamica*, Edit. H. O. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1831, lib. iv., De Regibus Arabum.

³ Haines' *Memoir of the South and East coasts of Arabia*.

and is descriptive of the flourishing condition of the once well peopled city, and of the surrounding country, at a very remote period. The language and character are known as Himyaritic, and the following is believed to be a closely literal translation :

“(1) We dwelt, living luxuriously . . in the Zenanas . . of this spacious mansion, our condition exempt from misfortune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel (2) the sea swelling against our castle . . with angry surge . . our fountains flowed . . with murmuring fall . . above (3) . . the 'lofty palms . . whose keepers . . the dry dates . . flung broadcast over our valley date grounds . . they cast from the hand . . the arid rice. (4) . . We hunted . . the mountain goats . . also the young hares . . on the hills . . with ropes . . and reeds . . beguiling them . . we drew forth . . the struggling fishes. (5) . . We walked with slow proud gait . . in . . needleworked . . many coloured silk vestments . . whole silks . . grass green . . chequered . . robes. (6) Over us . . presided . . kings . . far . . removed . . from . . baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men . . and they noted down for us according to the doctrine of Hud. (7) Good . . judgments written in a book . . to be kept . . and we believed . . in . . the miracle mystery . . and in . . the resurrection from the dead . . by the . . breath of God. (8) Made an inroad . . robbers . . and would do us violence . . collectively we galloped forth, we and our generous youth . . with stiff . . and sharp-pointed spears rushing onward. (9) Proud champions of our families and our wives . . fighting valiantly upon coursers . . with long necks . . dun-coloured . . iron gray . . and bright bay (10) . . with our swords . . still wounding

and piercing our adversaries, until . . . charging home, we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind."

Richard Pococke, an eminent Oriental traveller of the last century, found ten lines of the Arabic poet Kaswini, which he published as a specimen of Arabic poetry, and it is now found to be a translation, line for line, and word for word, of the ancient Himyaritic rock-inscription of Hisn Ghorab. Albert Schultens published his transcript of the same, and also another from Kaswini, describing them as "poems of the highest antiquity, found on marbles amidst the ruins of a fortress on the coast of the Hadramaut, in the neighbourhood of the emporium of Aden."¹

The second poem in seven verses as given in Arabic by Schultens, and translated by the Rev. Charles Forster,² relates the interruption of prosperity *after seven years of abundance*, and mentions *Joseph*. We must all unite with our late learned countryman in hoping that the original of this also may be found at Hisn Ghorab.

- 1 We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of
time ; nor had
we a desire but for the region-lord of the vineyard.
- 2 Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at
evening ;
their eyes pleasant to behold in their resting-places.
- 3 And twice the number of our camels were our
sheep,

¹ This Arabic version suggested to Mr. Forster the translation of the original Himyaritic, at the seventh line, by "resurrection from the dead by the breath of God," instead of "resurrection-mystery, and in the nostril-mystery."

² *Sinai Photographed*.

in comeliness like white does, and also the slow moving kine.

4 We dwelt in this castle *seven years of good life*, how difficult for memory its description!

5 *Then came years barren and burnt up*: when one evil year had passed away, then came another to succeed it.

6 And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good.

They died, and neither foot nor hoof remained.

7 Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God:

his footsteps fail not to be blotted out from his dwelling.

Here is a distinct mention of the seven years' plenty, and of succeeding years of barrenness and famine in Arabia, which exactly corresponds with the account in Genesis (xli. 54, 56, 57): "The seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in *all lands*: but in the land of Egypt there was bread." "And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all lands." But although all countries came, it did not follow that all countries could be supplied. Joseph could not empty the storehouses of Egypt to satisfy the cravings of all lands, nor sell away the bread at any price, when money became less precious than bread.

Such was the state of things when a lady in Yemen

wrote, or when in her name were written, some impressive lines to be inscribed on her tomb. Ebn Hesham relates that a flood of rain had laid bare a tomb in Yemen in which lay a woman, having on her neck seven collars of pearls, and on her hands and feet bracelets and armlets and ankle-rings, seven on each ; and on every finger a ring, in which was set a jewel of great price ; and at her head a coffer filled with treasure, and a table with this inscription :

“ In thy name, O God, the God of Himyar,
 I Tayar, the daughter of Dzu Shefar, sent my
 steward to Joseph,
 and he delaying to return to me, I sent my handmaid
 with a measure of silver, to bring me back a measure
 of flour :
 and not being able to procure it, I sent her with a
 measure of gold :
 and not being able to procure it, I sent her with a
 measure of pearls :
 and not being able to procure it, I commanded them
 to be ground :
 and finding no profit in them, I am shut up here.
 Whosoever may hear of it, let him commiserate me ;
 and should any woman adorn herself with an orna-
 ment
 from my ornaments, may she die with no other
 than my death.”¹

The temporal saviour of Egypt was ever consistent with himself. Inexorable with the Arabian princess, stern with his own brethren until he had proved them well, proof against the blandishments of Potiphar’s

¹ See Niebuhr’s *Voyage en Arabie*, pl. lix. The translation is by Mr. Forster.

wife, no pressure of importunity could induce him to send bread out of Egypt in the depth of famine. He was faithful to his charge, yet susceptible of every pure and generous affection.

While famine in Egypt from failure, or even from excess in the overflow of the Nile, would not, in any single year, be an improbable event, nor would an historian need to fortify his mention of it by monumental evidence, a succession of irregularity in the river, and famine in the land, for seven, would be most unlikely, and any such evidence is therefore welcome. On the tomb of an Egyptian, by name Buba, near the site of El-kab (Eileithyapolis), there is an epigraph relating his good deeds, and among others this is prominent: "When a famine broke out *for many years*, I gave corn to the city during each (successive) famine." The translator's note should be added.

"No doubt the last part of the inscription which we have preferred to reproduce textually, because of its capital importance, makes reference to an historical event in the form of a famine that prevailed during many years in Egypt. As such a calamity occurs very rarely indeed, as history knows but of one example, the seven years' famine in the time of Joseph, and as the inscription given above dates from a time obviously that of Joseph, the curious and important fact results that the numerous years of famine which happened in Egypt while Buba was alive, directly belong to the same event as is related in Holy Scripture, when it speaks of the seven years' famine which took place in Egypt, and in other parts of the world also."¹

¹ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 178, Ed. 1re.

EGYPT.

THE BONDAGE.

THE historian previously cited observes that the king who arose that did not know Joseph, was of the eighteenth dynasty, and often made incursions into their country. This first unfriendly king was Thothmes I. He carried hostilities into Mesopotamia, the "Aram-of-the-two-rivers" of the Old Testament,¹ and *Naharina* of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thothmes II. made his conquests in Arabia. Thothmes III. exceeded them both in warlike operations during a very long reign, and a long inscription at Karnac recounts several very long campaigns in Assyria and in Palestine. In those expeditions he collected vast numbers of prisoners, whom he employed in public works, together with the slave population previously obtained from Ethiopia in Africa, and from other countries. The Hebrews, welcomed into Egypt by the Hycsos, shepherd, or Asiatic kings of the preceding dynasty, are now treated as enemies, and made slaves. Like other slaves, they are employed in making bricks, hauling masses of stone, and heavy labour on the public works. Perhaps they are able to execute lighter and finer work, such as sculpture and decoration of palaces and temples.

¹ אַרַם נַחְרַיִם, Gen. xxiv. 10.

“A very curious picture, discovered on the wall of a funeral chapel at Abd-el-Nurna, in Thebes, exhibits prisoners hard at work making bricks, and building the walls of a temple of Ammon. Task-masters, armed with clubs, watch their labour, and inscriptions tell that they are captives taken by ‘His Holiness’ to build the temple of the god his father. This excellently illustrates the Scripture which says that Pharaoh set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens. ‘And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Rameses.’” (Ex. i. 11.)¹ “The building of a city, it must be remembered, does not always mean the laying its foundations, but rather the enlargement and adorning, or the completion. Rameses II., called The Great, is said to have enlarged and beautified the second of these cities, which was founded two hundred years earlier, and to have given it his name ‘City of Rameses’ on occasion of a victory over the Nethians. He made a triumphal entry there, as is related on papyrus, and in a stele which may now be seen.”²

This Rameses II. was the most likely of all before or perhaps after him to make use of his captives in extensive public works. He came early to the entire occupation of the throne. His father, Sethos I., had associated him in the government during the latter part of his reign, and had admitted him to some of the lesser functions of royalty even in his childhood. Brugsch quotes from a stele at Dakkeh in Nubia, erected in the third year of his reign, evidence that he was present at the public dedication of monuments, and laying the foundations of buildings. “When

¹ *Histoire*, p. 106, Ed. 1re.

² *Ibid.* p. 158.

thou wast but a young child, wearing plaited locks, there was no monument erected without thee When thou wast a boy ten years of age, all the buildings were in thy hands, laying the foundations.”¹ So early was he inducted into the arts of sculpture and architecture which were to minister to his pleasure and ambition through life, and of which there are vast remains existing, and frequent mention in the papyri. The third Sallier papyrus, for example, contains an account of the war of Rameses Miamon (for this was his title), with the Khita, or Canaanites, where he pleads with Ammon the merit of his architectural works, works which certainly made requisite the forced labour described by Moses. (Ex. i. 11.) The following is his prayer :

“Then said King Rameses, What art thou, my father Ammon? What father denies his son? Have I not made thee monuments very many? filled thy temple with spoils? built thee houses for millions of years? given treasures to thy house? dedicated to thee all lands? enriched thy sacrifices? I have slain to thee 30,000 bulls, with all wood of sweet scent, good incense coming from my hand. The making of thy court being completed, I have built thee great towers of stone above thy gate, groves everlasting. I brought thee obelisks from Elephantine. It is I who had eternal stones carried, guiding for thee galleys on the sea, conveying to thee the labours of all lands. When was it said such happened in other times?”²

When his wars with the Canaanites and others were quickly finished, he bent his care on the founding or

¹ *Histoire*, p. 137, Ed. 1re.

² *Records of the Past*, Vol. II., p. 63, second edition.

enlargement of cities, which he not only adorned, but fortified. So, during his long and prosperous reign of sixty or sixty-six years, he surpassed every other king of Egypt in the number and magnificence of his works, showing how great a mass of wealth and skill must have been at his disposal, with a vast amount of human power, no small part of it being Hebrew slaves. But this gigantic oppression at length provoked a retribution that spoiled the whole of it; and a later prophetic sentence reads: "I will make the rivers dry, and sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: I the Lord have spoken it. Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph,¹ and there shall be no more a prince in the land of Egypt." (Eze. xxix. 12, 13.) Egypt was in the height of her glory while Moses was known in Memphis as the son of Pharaoh's daughter. It began to decline when Pharaoh and his host were drowned in the Red Sea. But its fall was complete when the last Egyptian surrendered the kingdom into the hands of the Persian who roasted Apis, the sacred bull. Then was Ezekiel's prophecy fulfilled, and from that time to the present no Egyptian has been prince over Egypt.

Egypt abounds in monuments to this most mighty of the Pharaohs, and pride of the nineteenth dynasty, under whose crushing despotism the Hebrews groaned in bitter bondage. M. Champollion procured a drawing of a colossal statue of him, which once had towered aloft before a temple in the *Wadi Essebua* in Nubia, but then lay supine among the ruins. There

¹ Memphis.

still it lies, not only a memorial of the man, but an enduring symbol of the degradation of Egypt through long ages of abandonment, after the unchecked predominance of brute force, senseless idolatry, contempt of humanity, and defiance of the one living and true God.

The statue is a vast monolith, one of several which once adorned the court of his palace-temple. It represents the Pharaoh bearing a sacred ensign, decorated with a ram's head, in honour of the god Ammon. When the statue was erect, its head was surmounted with the *pschent*, or royal mitre, cut from a separate block of porphyry, which rolled off when the colossus fell, and it is lost. The figure is nearly naked, having only a shanty about the middle, which is held on by a belt, with the royal legend cut into it, and carrying a dagger that once had a hawk's head on the hilt. It is a walking figure, having one leg advanced, and a female behind, perhaps his wife, comparatively diminutive, of course, looking meekly up to him, and directing his steps.

An historical tablet of Rameses II., relating to the gold mines of Ethiopia, which poured their wealth into his treasury, contains extravagant ascriptions of divinity to him. It is true that every king of Egypt received the like, but if regal majesty could ever seem to be divine in the eyes of its worshippers, it might so appear when Egyptian royalty was at the very acme of its pride. Every part and member of the body of the great Rameses Miamon was honoured as the seat of some divine perfection. All Egypt, they said, lay at his feet in prostrate adoration.¹

¹ See a paper on the subject of this tablet, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by Samuel Birch, Esq., London, 1852.

A colossal head of this Rameses is one of the most conspicuous remains of Egyptian sculpture in the British Museum.

In the fifth or sixth year of his reign, according to the most probable computation, Moses was born. In his palace the Hebrew child was brought up, and there he received his earliest lessons in the wisdom of Egypt, and perhaps also in the state and art of that barbaric royalty. If the Jewish historian Josephus received a true tradition, the future captain of the Hebrew host was often fondled when an infant by this most mighty of the Pharaohs. He therefore could not have known the broken spirit of a slave, and must rather have imbibed a consciousness of social superiority, and fitness to be the leader of his brethren.

It is remarkable that the very name given to the Hebrew foundling by Pharaoh's daughter was also borne by seven princes, at least, of African Ethiopia. The proper Egyptian name, as we read, was *Mes*, or *Mesu*. Now Moses was eighty years old when he came back from his voluntary exile in the land of Midian; and if Rameses reigned sixty-six years, according to Manetho, and Menephtah II., his son, immediately succeeded him and reigned twenty years, that would make the exode coincident with the termination of the latter reign.

Menephtah left a few monuments of some victories of minor importance over the Libyans in Lower Egypt, but he did no great work, whatever he might have projected, beyond the erection of a few buildings. He did, however, lay heavy burdens on the slave-population for making bricks, as if to be in readiness for some extensive structures, just as the writer of the

book of Exodus relates. Exactly in agreement with this prominent feature in the Mosaic history is the information of Brugsch-Bey, who found on a papyrus an order for forced labour. It runs thus: "*For the execution of building for twelve years. The men for making bricks . . . shall be taken to the works at the house . . . to make the number of bricks daily, without any rest from their work in brick.*"¹

We observe that when "Moses and Aaron went in and told Pharaoh, Thus saith *the* LORD² God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast to me in the wilderness . . . Pharaoh said, Who is *the* LORD, that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go." (Ex. v. 1, 2). This disclaiming all knowledge of the God of Israel implied more than ignorance, more even than contempt. It had the strongest possible religious and political significance. Pharaoh was not merely ignorant: no intelligent Egyptian could be ignorant of the God of Abraham and of the Hebrews. The name of that God, to say nothing more, had been known for ages by frequent intercourse between people of both nations. But *to know*, both in Egypt and Assyria, was significant of homage to a king, and of worship to a god. In confirmation of the latter sense many quotations might be made, but I select one that is directly to the present point.

An inscription found by M. Mariette, in the ruins of the grand temple of Napata on Jebel Barkah, contains a full account of the ceremonial of a royal coronation.³ Among other ceremonies is that of accla-

¹ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 106, Ed. 1re.

² יהוה.

³ *Revue Archéologique*, Mai 1873.

mation. The assembled soldiery first make their choice publicly known by addressing a solemn prayer to the god Ammon Ra, shouting a recognition of himself: "We come to thee, Ammon. Give us our master, to make us live! *We do not speak to thee like one who does not know thee.*" The soldiers having thus prayed, the priests receive them at the gate of the temple of Ammon, and ask them why they come thither. They answer, "We come to this god, Ammon Ra, that he may give us our master. *We do not speak a word as if we did not know him: He is our guide.*" The Egyptians, like other heathens, had gods of their own choice and making. So Pharaoh, who certainly had not chosen to serve the God of Abraham, says that the God of the Hebrews is not a god that he acknowledges. *He knows Him not.* He and the Egyptians have never raised Him any acclamation. They say that He is not *their* God. Moses, to whom the formula was familiar, repeats it as it was spoken. The gods of Egypt were set up against the one true and living God, by the king, the priests, and the idolatrous multitude.

The insolence of Menephtah, when defying the God of the Hebrews, was but in agreement with the pride of the Pharaohs and their flatterers. A monument of Heremhel, a king of the eighteenth dynasty, furnishes a complete example. Heremhel is painted in the character of a conqueror, carried by military chiefs in a rich palanquin, and attended by slaves carrying fans to cool him. Other slaves prepare the way for the cortège. Warriors follow, leading captive princes. Soldiers again follow, carrying shields, with a trumpeter marching before them. A group of

functionaries, sacerdotal and civil, receive the king and pay him homage. The hieroglyphic legend is as follows: "The gracious god returns, after having subdued all peoples. His bow is in his hand, as that of the Lord of the Thebaid. The potent king. The glorious. He brings the chief of the vile country of Ethiopia. He returns from Ethiopia with the booty he has taken by force, as his father Ammon had ordained." The poor captive Negroes, perforce, give their acclamations, and address the Pharaoh with the following panegyric: "Bow down thy face, O Pharaoh, king of Egypt! Conqueror of the new peoples! Great is thy name in the land of Ethiopia, and thy warcries in its places. Thy valour, even thine, O king, hath defeated nations. Pharaoh is the sun to shine upon me."¹

The Hebrews "built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Ex. i. 11), otherwise called Rameses (Ex. xii. 37). A letter containing a description of the city Rameses, which was either built or rebuilt by Rameses II., their great oppressor, has been translated from the Anastasi Papyrus III., and not only tends to confirm the statement of Moses, but explains what is meant by a city of *קִסְפֵּינֹת* *treasures*, or perhaps less correctly *stores*.

A certain "clerk Panbesa salutes his lord," for whose information he writes: "I proceeded to Pa-Ramessu Meiamen (Abode of Rameses, beloved of the god Ammon; being his proper name, and the entire sentence the full designation of the city). I found it flourishing in good things without a rival,

¹ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 124, Ed. 1re.

like the foundation of Thebes . . . , the abode of felicity. Its meadows are filled with all good things, it is well provisioned daily. Its pools are filled with fish, its ponds with fowl; its fields are verdant with grass." Choice flowers and esculent plants are in them. "Its threshing-floors are full of barley and wheat." Vegetables and fruits whose names are not yet translated abound in its gardens. "Sweet wine of the produce of Egypt, which is superior to honey." Varieties of fish are in its ponds. "The pool of Horus furnishes salt, the Pahura lake furnishes nitre." "There is a supply of provisions there daily. Gladness dwells in it, none speaks scorn of it. The little ones in it are like the great ones. They say, Come, let us celebrate its heavenly festivals, and the season feasts. The papyrus marsh is adorned with Menhu-flowers, the pool of Horus with the Asi-flower; there are Sabara-flowers from the arboretum, festoons from the vineyards . . . fowls in flocks." The virgins of Aa-nech-tu, well appalled every day, and gaily adorned on the day of Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra, the War-god of the World, as Rameses is called, "on the morning of the feast of Ka-ha-ka, all assemble one with another to recite their petitions," and as the letter intimates they get plenty of sweet drinks, liquors, beer, wine, and "sweet refreshments from the lake Sakabaima, and garlands from the harbours. The sweet singers of Aa-nech-tu are of the school of Memphis. Joy remains there prolonged, unceasing. Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra, the War-god of the World, Ramessu Meiamen, is its god." ¹

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. VI., p. 13.

The rendering, *treasure-cities*, of our authorised version, might seem indefinite, but is fully justified by the native description now quoted ; and although an Assyrian text of a later age could not alone be trusted for interpreting the Hebrew account of an Egyptian matter, there is a cuneiform inscription which does afford some confirmation when it describes the golden Babylon as treasure-city of the god Merodach, and abode of the royalty of King Nebuchadnezzar.¹

The treasures, then, of this city were the provisions required for the delectation of a Pharaoh, and the place was built and furnished with immense labour, which required skill such as distinguished the Hebrews, and made them convenient slaves to the Sesostris of Egypt, and, ages later, to the Sardana-palus of Assyria.

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., p. 131.

EGYPT.

THE EXODE.

EXODUS XII.-XIV.

THE entire nation of Hebrew slaves, and also that mixed multitude of which Moses speaks (Ex. xii. 38), all being companions in hard bondage, had sent up one incessant wail of distress to heaven. The *Lord*, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the fathers of the Hebrews, heard their cry, and called Moses, who had taken refuge in the pasture lands of Midian, and sent him, with his brother Aaron, into Egypt, to demand release. They who have been companions in bondage shall rejoice together in deliverance. Captives of many Gentile tribes, stolen from the neighbouring lands of Africa and Asia, shall march together, the vast multitude swelling as it goes on from Rameses to Succoth.

The record of this gracious mission, and of the deliverance consequent, is given in the book of Exodus and the remainder of the Pentateuch, and needs not be repeated here. The Mosaic history is clear and graphic, and in that respect is such as only eye-witnesses could write. Arabian traditions and Roman tales, although they depart widely from historic truth, unite in giving corroborative evidence. There was such an escape of Hebrew slaves from

Egypt, and Arabians, Greeks, and Romans had heard of it.

Tacitus, for example, professes to have learned from the general consent of authors that the Jews, as he too hastily calls them,¹ were driven out of Egypt by the advice of an oracle, because they had brought some fatal disease upon the Egyptians, that Moses offered himself to be their leader, that he actually led them through a desert, and then gave them the code of laws by which they were thenceforth governed.²

Perhaps Trogus Pompeius, half a century before Christ, was the first in whose writings was discovered this disguised tradition of an event which the Gentiles could neither understand nor forget. Eusebius, indefatigable collector of ancient writings, has many pages in his *Evangelical Preparation*³ covered with extracts from spurious histories of Moses, unfriendly indeed, yet not unworthy of perusal. All his authors had related fabulous tales about the mission of Moses to Egypt, and dark tales of what Moses himself records without a shadow of obscurity. But they relate, while they distort, the facts; and the most absurd fictions of an Artabanus cannot possibly throw doubt on the memory of so great an event as that now before us.

It was not to be expected that after the impoverishment of Egypt by the loss from the population of

¹ In the time of Moses, as for ages before him, and thence onward until after the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam the son of Nebat, this people were only known as Hebrews, like Abraham himself, or Israelites, after Jacob. The *Jews*, יהודים, or men of the tribe of Judah, did not give their tribal name to all the nation until the Babylonian captivity, and that arose from the prominence then given them by the number of the captives brought from Jerusalem, and the deserved eminence of some of them.

² Taciti *Hist.*, V.

³ *Proparaskeué*, lib. ix.

600,000 men, besides women and children, with an untold number of other captives, besides the sudden destruction of the army and the death of the king, there would be any monument erected to perpetuate the memory of so great and ignominious a misfortune. Pharaohs, worshipped as if they were gods, and served with more passionate devotion than their subjects would render to the gods whose names they borrowed, would not suffer any national record to be made of so dark events. There is, therefore, little hope of discovering any considerable notice of the Exode, or of the events relating thereto, in the writings or monumental inscriptions of the country.

Dr. August Eisenlohr, Professor of the Egyptian language in the University of Heidelberg, had confessed his despair of finding in Egyptian records any thing relating to the events recorded in the book of Exodus, until the winter of 1869-70, when he studied in Alexandria the great papyrus which the late A. C. Harris had obtained during a journey in the valley of the Nile. This papyrus contains a history of the exploits of Rameses III., perhaps the sixth Pharaoh after Menephtah, the Pharaoh of the Exode.¹ It is written in the form of a royal address to the officers of government and the people. After a long enumeration of all that he had spent on the gods of Thebes,

¹ Menephtah I. was the son and successor of Rameses II., the famous oppressor of the Hebrews. Sethos II. was the successor of Menephtah. Here occurs a confusion in the list of kings which corresponds with the disorder and anarchy complained of in the papyrus. Between the two Rameses the line of succession has been stated thus:—Rameses II., Menephtah I., Sethos II., *Menephtah II.*, *Amenemah*, *Septah*, Sethos-Nekht, and his son Rameses III., author of the history, who disowns all that were called kings between the second Sethos and his father.

Heliopolis, and Memphis, and other gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, in buildings and offerings, the last five of the seventy-nine sheets, of which the manuscript consists, are filled with an account of his wars, maritime expeditions, and colonisation of the Peninsula of Sinai. As an introduction to this part of the history, Menephtah relates his accession to the throne, and the occurrences which preceded.

The accession of Rameses III. is dated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson at B.C. 1311, and the Exode is set down at B.C. 1491, or 180 years earlier, a period requiring six or seven reigns rather than two. Thirteen or fourteen lines are translated by Eisenlohr from the beginning of this introduction: "A people of Khara (*Syria*) had inhabited the east of Egypt," says the papyrus; "the land of Egypt was in a state of ruin. Every man did as he would. For many years they had no head who might preside over matters. The land of Egypt belonged to the princes in the districts. One killed the other through envy of his power. Other events took place thereafter in years of distress. One Syrian chief had made himself a prince among them. He brought the whole land into subjection under his sole rule. He assembled his companions, and plundered the treasures of the inhabitants. They made the gods like the human beings, offerings were no longer presented in the interior of the temples. The images of the gods were thrown down, and remained on the ground. His pleasure was in harmony with his plan."¹ Then follows an account of the gradual restoration of order, with return of prosperity; and finally, according to Rameses III., the

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. I., p. 355.

gods made *him* king, the land was pacified, and he was reigning gloriously over both the worlds of Upper and Lower Egypt.

On the publication of this part of the royal history, some stirring questions have arisen. Was the Syrian chief Moses? Was the plundering of the treasures the same thing as the spoiling of the Egyptians? (Ex. xii. 36.) Was that making the gods like men the putting the gods of Egypt to confusion by Moses' miracles? Was the consequent anarchy of the Egyptians, the state of things which inevitably followed the drowning of Pharaoh and his host? Dr. Eisenlohr gave a paper to the Society of Biblical Archæology, fully setting forth the arguments for and against the conclusions as here suggested, and left the subject to await future discoveries and profounder studies. For my own part, I venture to think that the answers to these questions will be in the main affirmative; that the Syrian will be found identical with Moses; that the anarchy which preceded his coming into Egypt, had followed the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, and that the decay of Egypt between the death of Menephtah I. and the reign of Rameses III. was mainly as he described it.

As to the route of the Hebrews from the city of Rameses to the Red Sea, it is not yet possible to lay it down on the map with any approach to certainty. The geography of ancient Egypt is nearly lost. Of the seven branches of the Nile only two remain. The area of Lower Egypt is probably enlarged by an advance into the Mediterranean. The surface has been raised. The old cities have been lost in ruins, covered with the drifted sand. High-

ways, canals, and tracks of caravans are unfrequented and forgotten. The names of hundreds of places have come to light, but where the sites were none can tell. Nor can any one certainly affirm where was Pihahiroth, or Baal-zephon, or perhaps Succoth and Etham. These all lay in the track of the Exode, or served to mark the way; and whether Migdol was a military tower or a town, and whether Baal-zephon was a watch-tower, a beacon, or a city, are questions for the exercise of antiquarian ingenuity.

According to a bold scheme lately revived by M. Brugsch-Bey, the Hebrews did not cross the Red Sea at all. He asserts that they struck away northwards to a place on the Mediterranean, east of the outfall of the Pelusian branch, which place he calls Etham; marched thence along the sea-side to another place to be taken for Pihahiroth; and next, by a heavier march, with the Mediterranean on their left, and the Serbonian lake, or bog, on their right, he brings them to a promontory which the Greeks called Mount Casius, but which he changes into Baal-zephon. There they see the Egyptian army perish in the Lake Serbonis, which he makes to be Yam Suph, the sea of reeds. But the Hebrews, as his own map would show, march away over a neck of solid land, and hasten southward toward the Wilderness of the Wandering, leaving the Red Sea and Egypt afar on the right hand, and the Egyptians behind them sunk in the sea of reeds. But when this ideal route is compared with the Mosaic narrative, we find that material portions of the latter are quietly omitted.

Without a moment's hesitation we leave this hypothesis, and avail ourselves of the information derived

from the survey of the Isthmus of Suez in the year 1855, and other scientific surveys that were subsequently necessary in order to the successful formation of the grand canal which is now a highway for Europe to the East.

All agree in regard to the course of "the Red Sea canal," said to have been begun by Pharaoh Necho, and from time to time cleansed and deepened by other sovereigns. It passed by the "City of Eels" (*Phragroriopolis*) on a line from west to east, receiving its waters from the Pelusian branch of the Nile, and emptying into that part of the tongue of the Red Sea which is now called the Lake Timsah, and lies more than half way across the Isthmus, measuring from the road of Suez to the Mediterranean. At the junction of the canal with what is now the lake was *the inland port* for merchandise between Egypt and the East. Boats from Bubastis or Memphis would here meet vessels from the cities of Arabia on the Red Sea and from Persia. An army, therefore, marching from Egypt into Arabia, and not desiring a conflict with the Phœnicians (which could be more certainly avoided by not going on a higher latitude than $30^{\circ} 20' N.$), would have to cross this continuation of the present Gulf of Suez at some part between where once was the Lake of Timsah and Suez.¹

So far as this, the way was ready for the complete

¹ The map prepared for M. Voisin, Director General of the Works of the Suez Canal, by M. Larousse, Hydrographic Engineer in 1866, can be had by reference to SUEZ in the Maps Catalogue in the British Museum. It exhibits most exactly the direction of the bed of the Red Sea, shown by lagunes above the Road of Suez, the Lesser and Greater Bitter Lakes, trending about N.N.W. the old marshland again where the channel narrowed, on to the Lake Timsah with its interior port for trade inland.

excavation of the new canal, except that the straight lines of its banks avoid the curvatures and indentations of the sea and lake banks, as they were in the time of Moses, and would be found again by the spades of the excavators. So prolonged, then, the channel of the Red Sea would intercept the course of the Hebrews. We cannot trace it all along, but we know where it began.

San, Tan, or Zoan lies on the parallel 31° N. in the maps,¹ Rameses is very near it, but a little southward. They journeyed from Rameses to Succoth (Ex. xii. 37), which lay about a day's journey due east. But "the LORD led them not the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt; but God led the people about," *made them face about*;² "the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (on the Egyptian side of the sea). "And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham in the edge of the wilderness." (Ex. xiii. 17, 18, 20.) There they encamped, and there "the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children that they turn" (shifting their course again), "and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon" (which some believe to have lain eastward, on the other side the narrow sea, the natural boundary between Egypt and Arabia), "*before it shall ye encamp by the sea.*" (Ex. xiv. 1, 2.)

¹ *L'Exode et les Monuments Egyptiens*, Discours prononcé à l'occasion du Congrès international d'Orientalistes à Londres, par Henri Brugsch-Bey, etc. Accompagné d'une Carte. Leipzig, 1875.

² וַיִּסַּב

Here they were, somewhere below the point where, from the time of Pharaoh Necho down to that of Trajan, the canal entered the Red Sea, but not probably below Suez; and from that place the vast multitude, with wide extended front, effected their miraculous passage. By a strong east wind the Lord fought for them, caused the sea to go back all that night, made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. "The waters," shall we say, which filled what were afterwards the two lakes abovementioned, and "became a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left." (Ex. xiv. 20, 21.)

It is quite true that we have not now quoted a written monument, but if the recovery of the early geography of the Isthmus makes the narrative of the Exode more clear, the effect is at least as good, and this trifling departure from the prescribed plan of our book may be forgiven.

THE WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING.

EXODUS XIV.—XVII.

WHEN the Hebrews had crossed the sea, and entered into the Wilderness of Arabia, where they were wanderers forty years, they found means to chronicle the incidents of their pilgrimage on the face of the rocks which line those valleys. A countryman of our own, the Rev. Charles Forster, was the first modern writer, as I believe, who called general attention to the subject. His first endeavours to translate what are known as the Sinaitic inscriptions awakened intense interest, but adverse opinion very soon chilled the enthusiasm kindled by so extraordinary a discovery. Perhaps because the recently discovered Assyrian marbles, with their mysterious inscriptions, absorbed the attention of those who could have deciphered the characters sculptured in the Wadi Mokatteb, no sufficient care was taken by competent Orientalists to ascertain their meaning. Some very learned men hastily surrendered themselves to the prejudice that they were nothing more than mediæval scribblings, and therefore beneath notice. Others felt no inclination to follow Mr. Forster in his earnest inquiries, or to run the risk of ridicule by seeming to put faith in what men of established reputation for

learning had decried as an illusion. Dean Stanley led the way in opposition to Mr. Forster, but afterwards appeared to encourage reconsideration of the matter.

But all were not incredulous. A controversy had arisen which could only be settled by actual investigation, and the governments of England and France both sent commissioners to the Wilderness of the Wandering, to examine and report. First of all the French government directed a competent antiquarian, M. Lottin de Laval, then in Egypt, to cross the Red Sea, take casts from the rocks, and send the casts to Paris. Soon afterwards, the British government caused some of the inscriptions to be photographed *in situ*. The casts, the photograms, and exact reproductions of both are now accessible, so that the matter may be removed from the region of blind controversy, and brought within the scope of science.

Yet all have not chosen to accept the opportunity afforded them for practical inquiry, and some eminent Oriental scholars who still persist in believing that these inscriptions are of no value, have not yet fairly examined for themselves. I could array some names of great eminence against my own conclusion; but as I have not seen the inscriptions otherwise translated, nor am aware that one of Mr. Forster's antagonists has produced any refutation of his renderings of Sinaitic or Himyaritic originals, it is enough to say that they think them to be mere worthless *graffiti*, not in any case dating farther back than the first century before Christ, and many of them contemporary with the monkish settlements in the Peninsula. They consider that if their paleographic and philosophic value

be something, their historic value is nothing. One brief writer pronounces them to be Christian; the work of monks. Others have nothing more to say than that no scholar can acknowledge them to be worth the trouble of deciphering. But so far as I can find, none of these objectors have made them the subject of serious study, no counter versions are produced, and we therefore turn for authentic information to one who has earned our confidence by actual inspection.

In February, 1851, M. Lottin de Laval crossed the Gulf of Suez from Egypt, and landed on that part of the Arabian shore where, as was thought most probable, Moses and the Hebrews would have first set foot after their passage through the Red Sea, and sang their song unto the Lord because He had triumphed gloriously. (Ex. xv.) He soon found himself at what the Arabs call "the Wells of Moses," where the water is nauseous, very acrid, and more salt than the water of the Caspian Sea. One only of the wells afforded water that could be drunk at all, but even that would not be tasted a second time any where else than in the frightful desert where it oozes from the earth. Domestic animals in Europe would refuse to drink it. It seemed to be an imperfect filtering from the Red Sea. That, he thought, must be the place called Marah, "bitterness," in the books of Exodus and Numbers.

Here his experience in ancient inscriptions enabled him to distinguish the veritably Mosaic, as he believed, from all that are later, certainly from the mediæval; and, concentrating his attention upon them, he made casts, or took "squeezes" of the inscriptions of higher

antiquity. More than three hundred of these, with exquisitely beautiful drawings of the neighbouring scenery, wild and majestic as it is, are collected in the volume of plates which accompany the narrative of his operations.¹ Nothing less than a perusal of that narrative could enable any one to form a just appreciation of his perseverance, faithfulness, chastened enthusiasm, and reverence.

The written character in these inscriptions partakes of resemblances to the Phœnician and the Himyaritic, but is distinct from both. Mr. Forster transferred many of them to a splendid volume of his own, with transliterations, translations and comments; honestly exulting in the issue of long-continued laborious literary work, in spite of all the contradiction and mistrust he had encountered. Great is our indebtedness to him for those labours. Several inscriptions relate to the passage through the Red Sea, and his renderings agree precisely with the Scriptural account.

“The wind blowing, the sea dividing into parts, they pass over.” (No. i.)

“The Hebrews flee through the sea; the sea is turned into dry land.” (No. iv.)

“The waters permitted and dismissed to flow, burst rushing unawares upon the astonished men, congregated from all quarters, banded together to slay treacherously, being lifted up with pride.” (No. v.)

“The leader divideth asunder the sea, its waves roaring.

¹ *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique du Sinai et l’Égypte moyenne, Histoire, Géographie, Épigraphe*: publiée sous les auspices de S. E. M. le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des Cultes. Par M. Lottin de Laval, ancien Chargé de Missions scientifiques, etc. Paris, 1855-1859.

The people enter, and pass through the midst of the waters." (No. x.)

"Moses causeth the people to haste like a fleet-winged she-ostrich, crying aloud; the cloud shining bright, a mighty army propelled into the Red Sea is gathered into one; they go jumping and skipping. Journeying through the open channel, taking flight from the face of the enemy. The surge of the sea is divided." (No. xli.)

"The people flee, the tribes descend into the deep. The people enter the waters. The people enter and penetrate through the midst. The people are filled with stupor and perturbation. JEHOVAH¹ is their keeper and companion." (No. xxiii.)

Again the inscribed rocks tell of the destruction of the Egyptian army.

"Their enemies weep for the dead, the virgins are wailing.

The sea flowing down overwhelmed them.

The waters were let loose to flow again." (No. viii.)

"The people depart fugitive.

A mighty army is submerged in the deep sea, the only way of escape for the congregated people." (No. xxi.)

On one of the rocks the landing of the Hebrews is described with a precision which must have startled

¹ The word rendered Jehovah by Mr. Forster may be represented in Arabic letters, *وَيَو* *wayewa*. Once I find *يَوِي* *yaweya*, and it probably occurs oftener. This is exactly the abbreviation adopted by the Karaite Jews in the East, as may be seen in their printed liturgies, thus *וי*, which I take as a remarkable coincidence.

the translator ; for the landing-place, or entrance from the shore into the first deep wadi between the rocks, to this day retains its name. It is now called the *Wadi Sádár*, being one of the chief avenues into the interior of the Sinai region, and is the way taken by persons coming from the Egyptian shore on the opposite side of the gulf, or from Suez at the head of the gulf on the Arabian side. Golius explains the Arabic word' to mean "a way that leads up from the water at a landing-place," as this wadi does. Dr. Stanley so mentions it. "A stair of rock," he says, "the Nūkb Badera, brought us into a glorious wadi (Sidri) enclosed between red granite mountains descending as precipitously upon the sands as the Bavarian hills upon the waters of the Königsee. It was a sight worthy of all remembrance before we reached this, to see, in the first break of day, the sunbeams striking the various heights of white and red ; and to think what an effect this must have had as the vast encampment, dawn by dawn, in these mountains, woke up with the shout, 'Rise up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee.' (Num. x. 35.) In the midst of the Wadi Sidri, just where the granite was exchanged for sandstone, I caught sight of the first inscription."² Dr. Stanley had not then seen what it would have delighted him to decipher in the lines following :

"Pilgrims fugitive through the sea find a place of
refuge at Sidr.

⁵  from  rediit ab aqatione.

² *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A. Fourth edition, p. 70.

Lighting upon plain ground, they proceed on their pilgrimage full of terror." (No. lxxvii.)

Then we track them, by the imperishable way-marks, as they go journeying through the desert :

"The Hebrews pass over the sea into the wide waterless desert, famishing with hunger and thirst." (No. xvii.)

"The people make many journeys: they are pilgrims far in the vast wilderness." (No. xxvi.)

The crying of the great multitude for water is continually recorded, as if their terror of perishing by thirst could never be forgotten, nor the miraculous answer to prayer, nor their thankless discontent.

"The people clamour vociferously.

The people anger Moses.

Swerving from the right way, they thirst for water insatiably.

The water flows, gently gushing out of the stony rock.

Out of the rock a murmur of abundant waters.

Out of the hard stone a springing well.

Like the wild asses braying, the Hebrews swallow down enormously and greedily.

Greedy of food like infants, they plunge into sin against Jehovah." (No. xlvi.)

The continuity of supply is well confessed :

"The people drink, wending on their way, drinking with prone mouth, JEHOVAH gives them drink again and again." (No. xxxix.)

Yet they fail to own the God who sustains them :

"The wild ass drinks again and again, drinking

copiously in the desert; the people, sore athirst, drink vehemently.

They quaff the water-spring without pause, ever drinking.

Reprobate beside the gushing well-spring." (No. lviii.)

The people's gluttony at Kibroth Hattaávah is registered.

"The people have drink to satiety. In crowds they swill.

Flesh they strip from the bone, mangling it.

Replete with food, they are obstreperous.

Surfeited, they cram themselves; clamouring, they vomit.

The people are drinking water to repletion.

The tribes, weeping for the dead, cry aloud with downcast eyes. The dove mourns, devoured by grief.

The hungry ass kicketh: the tempted men, brought to destruction, perish. Apostasy from the faith leads them to the tomb." (No. xxviii.)

Devouring flesh rapidly, drinking water greedily.

Dancing, shouting, they play." (No. xxxiv.)

"The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play" (Ex. xxxii. 6), and we know the plague that followed. It is said that Moses "called the name of that place *the graves of lust* (Num. xi. 34), because there they buried the people that lusted. And the people journeyed from Kibroth Hattaávah unto Hazeroth, and abode at Hazeroth." It would not have been unreasonable to expect, amidst other remains, some traces of those burial-places; and here and there

a traveller did entertain the thought, and almost believed that he had seen the graves of those Israelites. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk of the sixth century, so thought. Niebuhr, the traveller, in 1761, copied some hieroglyphics from what he considered to be tombstones. He found them in an extensive ancient cemetery on a mountain called *Sarbut-el-Khadem*. It was unlike all the hieroglyphics he had seen in Egypt, for there was not any Egyptian god among the figures; and so were all the tombs distinguished, both in form and situation. The Arabs of the desert still call them the "Jews' graves." Within the last few years they have been visited again, and a few sentences from one of the sepulchral inscriptions must be added to the rock-inscriptions we are quoting. It is given by Forster,¹ as he finds it, and so I take it.

"The apostates smitten with disease by God, by means of feathered fowls. Smitten by God with disease in the sandy plain, (when) exceeding the bounds of moderation. Sickening, smitten by God with disease: their marrow corrupted by God, by means of the feathered fowls. The people, given over to destruction, cry aloud. God pours down deep sleep, messenger of death, upon the pilgrims. The tomb is the end of life to the sick, smitten with disease by God."

It is observable that the birds in these sepulchral hieroglyphics are said to answer exactly to a bird of passage which crosses the Arabian peninsula periodically. They come from the sea, as did those mentioned in the book of Numbers. Their flight

¹ *Sinai Photographed*, p. 84.

וְיָשֶׁב
בְּבֵית
יְהוָה
וְיָשֶׁב

Sinaitic Inscription.

darkens the air. They are a sort of red crane, standing about three feet high, "as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth." (Num. xi. 31). When they reach Egypt, people eat them as a delicacy; so did the Hebrews in that wilderness, with a voracity that proved fatal.

An intimation of the tale of Miriam's attack on Moses, because of the Ethiopian woman he had married, is cut in the rock, and may be older there than in Numbers (chap. xii.), where we now read it at length. A translation of the inscription follows:

"Miriam,
 prophetess of lying lips and deceitful tongue,
 she causes the tribes to conspire against the pillar
 and prince of the people;
 convoked for tumult, perverted, full of strife, the
 people revile the meek and generous man:
 they load with reproaches the blessed one of
 God." (No. xlvi.)

Again we have allusion to their servile discontent:
 "The people, the Hebrews, lusting after Egypt, fall
 into confusion." (No. lxiii.)

And a mention of the fiery serpents:

"Bitten and destroyed by fiery, hissing serpents, the
 Hebrews are wounded for their crimes.
 Jehovah makes a stream flow from the stony
 rock." (No. lxvii.)

The quails, under a peculiar name, equivalent with red cranes, are not forgotten.

"Congregating on all sides to ensnare them, the
 people voraciously devour the red cranes.
 Bending the bow against them, bringing them down.

Eagerly and enormously eating the half raw flesh, the pilgrims become plague-stricken.”¹

With these extracts from Mr. Forster’s last work on the subject, I have availed myself sufficiently of his labours, and we are now in a position to survey the whole with perfect indifference to any lingering controversy; and accepting the translation before us as provisional, leave the texts to the few scholars whose knowledge of Hebrew, archaic Arabic, and Egyptian, qualifies them to approach the study without bias one way or the other.

Two years after Dr. Stanley’s less unfavourable observations in 1857, M. de Laval published the detailed narrative of his mission to the Wilderness, and by that time had found ample opportunity for studying, as well as editing, the inscriptions he had obtained, not at secondhand, nor by hand-copying, but by mechanical and unerring transfer from the face of the rock. After doing what no man before him had accomplished, Mr. Forster also having had no participation in his work, he devoted his concluding chapter to a calm consideration of the controversy; and not committing himself to any championship of Forster, contributed, as he says, “new arguments in support of his views.”

He reminds his readers that in the year of our Lord 518, these inscriptions were seen by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who described them as written in a language of very high antiquity, then lost, and were reputed to be the work of Israelites led that way by Moses. But as the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula did not speak a language introduced by conquest at some time

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 159.

within five or six hundred years by foreign conquerors, no inscription written within such a period could have been made in a language then lost. Those inscriptions, therefore, must have been as the natives reported, the work of people whose vernacular language had passed away with them.

M. De Laval perfectly agrees with travellers who have seen the worthless *graffiti*, scratched with the points of swords, or some such instruments, in the softer kinds of rock. But he affirms that our Sinaitic inscriptions were cut into the hard granite with tools proper for the purpose, the surface having been previously made smooth with much labour; this labour increased by the great height of many of the rocks,—not accessible without ladders, and perhaps also scaffolding, to the numerous and skilful workmen requisite for smoothing and letter-cutting of the kind; for the characters are large, many of them very large indeed, and deep. As for the Christian crosses which objectors tell us are of frequent occurrence, he says that such crosses are extremely rare; and when they do occur, have no relation to the inscriptions, being extraneous to them, merely cut in amongst them by modern hands. “As for the connection existing between the Sinaitic writing and that of Egypt,” he avows, “we are perfectly of Mr. Forster’s opinion, and shall support him with proofs. Twenty-two letters of the demotic Egyptian alphabet are constantly found in the Sinaitic inscriptions. With the exception of two or three variants, it is the same alphabet.” And after dwelling at length on the above points, he delivers his conclusion in the following sentences :

“We have not taken up with any party; we follow

no system ; we have nothing more in view than the advancement of science. Now, the result of our observations and long study in this matter is, that if these foreign writings are not the work of the Israelites, as many incline to believe; and if we must resign ourselves to think that a people so intelligent, so persevering as the Hebrew people, have not left in the indelible granite of the Peninsula of Sinai a single monument of their Exode, to thank God for being able, in the midst of so much misery and danger, to recover safety and liberty; *if* we must give up all this, *then* they cannot have been written by any other than a Shemitic race, having the most intimate relations with Egypt, to which it owed its civilisation and its art of writing ; an Aramean or ante-Islamic people, going at once from the Hauran to the Red Sea ; and this, I think, could only be the colony of the Nabatheans, whose metropolis was Petra. Beyond these two peoples all is conjecture and darkness."

This declaration of a veteran Orientalist who wrought hard amongst the written rocks of Sinai, month after month, assisted by competent workmen for the manual service of taking casts and impressions in paper for the French government,—but had no system to establish, nor any end to compass beyond the increase of knowledge, and the promotion of scientific truth—outweighs with me all the incredulity of gentlemen who have not yet produced one sentence of positive information to justify their adverse prejudice. Three years, again, after the narrative and the plates of De Laval were published, Mr. Forster had returned to his favourite study, worked directly from the plates printed in Paris, and gave, as I can

vouch after careful comparison, exact copies of all that he made use of, translated word by word, and wrote a critical justification of his version from page to page. Now, let competent persons do their best to revise, correct and advance upon the labours of De Laval and Forster, and I venture to believe that the fruit will be a more enlarged confirmation of the Mosaic history, with the addition of details that will much advance our understanding of it.

As in the profound solitude of the Arabian wilderness, so under the mounds of Nineveh and Babylon, in remote regions where the voice of man seldom disturbs the death-like silence, monuments of highest antiquity have lain out of sight for thousands of years, inaccessible to nearly all mankind, yet protected by obscurity of situation from the destroying hand of violence. But now the silence is broken, and lost languages take voice again.

JOSHUA.

JOSHUA IX.

DURING fourteen centuries, at least, there has been a report on record of a very ancient monument erected in Africa by some Canaanites who settled there after the conquest of their country by Joshua. Some have doubted, and some have believed, but latterly few have ventured to accept the account with confidence. Yet it is unfair to dismiss even a tradition without examination, and the evidence that is accessible must therefore be produced.

Moses of Chorene, historian of Armenia in the fifth century, writes as follows: "When he (*i.e.*, Joshua) had extirpated the Canaanites, some of them fled to Agra, and went by sea to Tarshish, as it appears by an inscription which remains graven on pillars in Africa within present memory, and is exactly to this effect: 'We, chiefs of the Canaanites, having fled from Joshua the robber, came to dwell here.'"¹

This account of the Armenian evidently represents what he takes to be generally believed, and therefore it cannot have the weight of original evidence; but evidence, as nearly original as could be expected, was produced about a century later by a trustworthy historian. Procopius, secretary and friend of Belisarius,

¹ A Joshua latrone profugi, nos praeffecti Chananaeorum, venimus hic habitatum. *Hist. Armen.*, Vol. I., p. 18.

who accompanied that general in his African expedition, not only wrote a history of the war with the Vandals, but incorporated in that work such information as he could gain of other matters. When in Numidia, in that part of northern Africa which may now be described as lying on the south side of the Strait of Gibraltar, he learned from the Africans themselves that the more ancient inhabitants had been called Maurousii, or Moors, and that they had been dislodged, either partly or entirely, by strangers from the East. He seems, like Josephus, to give *in compendium* a substantial repetition of the Old Testament narrative.

He says that when the Hebrews had left Egypt, and were not far from the border of Phœnicia, Moses their leader, a wise man, departed out of this life, and Jesus, son of Nave (as the Greeks wrote Joshua, son of Nun), succeeded to the leadership. When these people were led into Phœnicia, he (Joshua) took possession of the country, and, displaying more than human bravery in war, attacked all the natives, easily gained possession of the cities, and had the fame of being invincible. At that time all the sea-coast from Sidon to the entrance of Egypt was called Phœnicia, and was inhabited by various tribes, namely, Girgashites, Jebusites, and others, known by their several names in the history of the Hebrews. But when they heard that the strange leader was invincible, they left their own country, and migrated into the neighbouring country, Egypt. Hence, when they could not find room, the land being too small for them (for Egypt had now been well peopled from a remote age), they passed along northern Africa, established them-

selves along the coast so far as the Pillars of Hercules, and founded and established many cities of their own. The inhabitants, said Procopius, still used the language of the Phœnicians. They also built a fortified castle (*φρουρίον*) in the city of Numidia now called Tangier. There, near an abundant fountain, might be seen two tablets of white stone (*στήλαι δύο ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν*) which still preserved in the letters and language of the Phœnicians the following inscription :

Ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν οἱ φευγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου
Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ.

“ We are they who fled from the face
Of Joshua the robber, son of Nun.”¹

Here it is necessary to observe that these words were not inscribed on pillars, but the word *στήλη*, *stèle*, is employed technically, as was the custom of the Greeks, for a slab with its inscription. It is said there were two of these, made out of two stones. It is just possible that, according to a custom afterwards prevalent in Egypt, as in other countries, one might have been in the language of the new comers, and the other in that of the original inhabitants ; but it was most probably understood by Procopius that they were both in Phœnician, perhaps one over each of the castle gates. The phrase *ἀπὸ προσώπου*, like the Hebrew *מִפְּנֵי*, “ from the face of,” is a Shemitism which gives an air of genuine translation from a Phœnician original.

Five hundred years later, Suidas² the lexicographer registered the inscription in his book ; but it is evident

¹ Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, II., 10.

² Suidas, *Lex.* s. v. *Χαναάν*.

that he did not copy from Procopius, and it must also be noted that he speaks of the inscription as written on *tablets*, *πλάκες*, and standing in his time: a circumstance which is not at all incredible, although Suidas was two thousand years later than Joshua; for we have in our museums many inscriptions of more than twice that age. His words are, "And there are unto this time two such tablets in Numidia containing these words :

Ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν Χανααῖοι, οὓς ἐδιώξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ληστής.

"We are Canaanites, whom the robber Joshua drove out."

But this is not all. We find another independent witness, not indeed of the *stèle*, but of the emigration of Canaanites to Africa. It is produced by R. David Kimchi, in his commentary on the book of Joshua, chap. ix., in the words following :

ואמרו רבותי' ז"ל כי שלש כתבים שלח יהושע בכניסתן לארץ
שלח להם מי שרוצה להשלים יבא וישלים וחזר ושלח מי שרוצה
לעשות מלחמה יעשה מלחמה והזר ושלח להם מי שרוצה לפנות
יפנה מי שהאמין בהק"ב וחרד לדבריו הלך לו לאפריקי ואפר בדרש
כי הכנעני הוא שפנה מפני זה זכה להקיא לארץ ישראל ארץ כנען
על שמו וזכה לארץ טובה שהיא אפריקי :

"And our Rabbis, remember to bless them, say that Joshua sent forth three writings when they came into the land. He sent to them, saying, He who wishes to be at peace, let him come and be at peace. And again he sent to them, He who wishes to make war, let him make war. And again he sent to them, He who wishes to depart, let him depart. He who believed in the Holy Blessed One, and trembled at his words, betook himself to Africa. Then Joshua said

in his discourse, The Canaanite, he who departs from me, this man chooses to call the land of Israel land of Canaan after his own name, but prefers for a good land the land of Africa."

This tradition of a double alternative to the Canaanites between peaceful dwelling in the land of Israel, or departure thence, unless they chose to try the chance of war, which was practically equivalent to a dismissal from the country, taken together with the fact of an extensive emigration to Africa, where for ages they spoke their language, and exercised their idolatrous worship, certainly throws light and confirmation on the long prevalent belief that they possessed a stronghold near Tangier, and had set up an inscription there. The inscription, as preserved by Procopius, at once testifies their origin and demonstrates that the history of Joshua is not a myth.

G E Z E R.

 JOSHUA XVI., XXI.

JOSHUA, as we read in the book which bears his name (Jos. xvi. 1), drove out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, an ancient city of theirs; and on the partition of territory among the twelve tribes, Gezer was given to the Levites of the family of Kohath, and so became a sacred city. (Jos. xxi. 21). But the Canaanites still occupied the city, in spite of the Levites, and perhaps it was a quarrel with them which brought Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to be their enemy. "He went up, and took Gezer, and burned it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and gave it for a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife." Then, having absolute possession of the place, Solomon rebuilt Gezer. (1 Ki. ix. 16, 17.) The sacred historians tell us that it lay somewhere between Beth-horon and the sea, on the borders of Ephraim and Benjamin. From another notice it appears to have been a place of strategical importance, on account of its position; but all this notwithstanding, after the last captivity all knowledge of the place seems to have been lost. The most learned geographers could not tell where to place it on the map.

But one day, as M. Clermont Ganneau, in his study, was reading an Arabic chronicle of Jerusalem, he remarked a passage in the account of an incident which

took place in Palestine in the year 900 of the Hegira, or A.D. 1522. The chronicler was relating a skirmish of the governor with a party of Bedouin robbers in a village of the district of Ramle, of Palestine, now known as Khulda. The cries of the combatants, as they were cutting each other to pieces, could be heard, said the narrative, so far as *the hill of Gezer*.

Now for the first time M. Ganneau heard of this hill of Gezer, and all his predecessors in research had been equally ignorant of such a place. So he reflected on this piece of intelligence that the hill of Gezer was somewhere within ear-shot of Khulda; and considering that not even the lusty Bedouins could send their voice to a very great distance, he took what he thought might be a sufficient radius, threw a circle on the map round Khulda, and saw the area within which Gezer would probably be found. After wandering for some time in vain, and when on the point of giving up the search in despair, he met an old country woman whose faithful memory treasured the otherwise forgotten names of the district. Perhaps she was of Canaanitish blood, for she told him at once that if he wanted to find *Tell-el-Gezer* he must go to *Abu-Chuche*. Abu-Chuche was about three miles from Khulda: thither he went and found it. His first announcement of the discovery was received with ill-concealed marks of unbelief; but he had seen considerable ruins, known by the Arabs as the Gezer, and was content. Yet the discovery was not complete. About four years afterwards he came into the same neighbourhood on some other errand, and there discovered, with emotions which none but successful searchers like himself have ever felt, a short epigraph cut deep into a rock in

Hebrew and Greek letters, to mark the canonical distance, as one might say, it would be lawful for a person to travel from Gezer, "with its name written in the characters of both languages, and repeated twice."¹

Rare indeed are inscriptions in Palestine, and M. Ganneau beyond all others has the singular felicity of finding some. The reader of the present volume has one before him, from Dibon of Moab, and may expect others to follow.

¹ *La Palestine Inconnue*. Lecture faite à l'Institution royale de la Grande Bretagne (meeting of Palestine Exploration Fund) Paris, 1876, p. 18-22.

SOLOMON.

1 KINGS X. ; 2 CHRONICLES IX.

MOSES, and the sacred historians his successors, move heaven-guided down the path of time. As they advance, we often find them in unsought agreement with secular chroniclers, who, thinking of nothing less, grave the like records in marble, or cut them deep in the living rock, or depict them in the chambers of the dead. We are marking these coincidences. We pass by voluminous evidence of another kind, which is already familiar to the advocates of revealed religion, and confine ourselves almost exclusively to monumental witnesses.

Some passages in the reign of King Solomon may be thus illustrated. When David had gained many victories, and was come near to the close of a long and eventful life, he gave his son Solomon possession of the kingdom. Solomon then began that intercourse with other nations which, on the one hand, lifted the children of Israel out of obscurity, but, on the other, unhappily interwove their history with that of the most idolatrous of Gentiles.

The boundaries of Solomon's inheritance, as enlarged by his father's conquests, are not verbally defined, but may be conjectured. His dominion extended from the western bank of the Euphrates to the border of Egypt, spread far northward over

upper Syria, and southward approached Arabia. His merchant ships ploughed the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. His mariners, fraternising with the seamen of Tyre and Sidon, ventured on the Indian Ocean, and feared not the remote Atlantic. They went away through the Strait of Bab-el-mandel, circumnavigated Africa, passed up the Strait of Gibraltar, and returned from Tartessus, past Carthage, home. His chief seaports were at Joppa on the coast of Palestine, and at Ezion Gaber in the land of Edom, and served him for trading in the east and west. He laid a highway of communication from Jerusalem over the desert, through Palmyra, across the Euphrates to all the great cities of the Asian continent. To say nothing of the palaces he built, and the cities he founded, the construction of the Temple at Jerusalem absorbed the treasure accumulated by David, and bequeathed to him for that special purpose.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

Solomon's relations with Arabia cannot be forgotten. They are celebrated in the legends of the Koran, and related with pride in the traditions of Abyssinia. The historiographers of Kings and Chronicles (1 Ki. x.; 2 Chr. ix.) tell us how the queen of Sheba, having "heard of the fame of Solomon," in his best days, "concerning the name of the Lord, came to prove him with hard questions," not with trifling riddles such as amuse our children, but *with hard questions of the wise*,¹ such as Solomon himself mentions. (Pro. i. 6.) She did not come for the sake of merely political

¹ גִּבְרֵי הַחֲכָמִים וְהַיְדוּתָם

alliance, nor did she ask him to burn incense to her gods, neither is it certain that she was an idolater, but there has been much needless questioning about the country whence she came. "She came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold and precious stones." Our Lord Jesus Christ, speaking of this lady, calls her "Queen of the South." (Mat. xii. 42). Now this points to Arabia Felix, which lies south of Jerusalem, where spices, gold, and precious stones abound, and whence they would be brought on camels to Jerusalem, by a well frequented way, almost due south to north from Sheba, or Shaba, the capital city of the Himyarite Arabs. There is an often-quoted verse which accords with this allocation of the Sheba of our text: "India sends ivory, and the luxury-loving Sabæans their frankincense."¹ There is another fact in confirmation: that the 'brave Arabs gently submitted to the rule of queens. The annals of Tiglath Pileser tell of one of them, called Khabiba. Sargon mentions another, named Tsamsi. A part of the descendants of these Sabæans migrated into Africa, and flourished under the sway of Candace. The queen of Sheba who visited Solomon reigned over those Himyarites who traded with African Ethiopia, formed frequent settlements there, and eventually emigrated thither. For some ages that race overspread the countries now known as Hadramaut and Abyssinia, carrying with them their barbaric civilisation, their language, and their hereditary sympathies. As for the language, it was written in the old Himyaritic letter now found inscribed at

¹ "India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabæi." Virgil, *Georg.*, I., 57.

በሰሜን፡ገብ፡ ወወ ልዩ፡ ወመገጠ ስ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ስም ሳን፡ ገገግ
 ነገሥት፡ ቱዎ ድረስ፡ ደድረስ፡ ስእቴጌ፡ የተመኙ፡ እንደዮት፡ ስነ
 በተሹ፡ እቴጌ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይመስገን፡ ይህ ነ፡ ነኝ፡፡ እናተክ
 ጎም፡ እነወደዘረ፡ ሠናደት ጎም፡፡ የጌቴን፡ ስዎች፡ ሁሉ፡
 እንደዮት፡ ስነ በተሹ ሁ፡ አለ፡ በደገ፡ እደ ዘሹ፡ እቴጌ፡ የጌ
 ደሰ ሹ፡ ጌ ደ ደ፡ ሁሉ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ህዳግ፡ ይህ፡ ገግ
 ደሰ ሹ፡ ብሰሹ፡ ልኪብኝ፡፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እኩቴ እገኛ ገን
 ፡ ድረስ፡፡



Letter of Theodoros Emperor of Abyssinia

ጊ ስ፡ቆ ደ ስ፡፩ አም ላክ፡ንጉሠ
በአቴ ጌ፡የተመኙ፡አንዲት፡ሰኒ
መስገን፡ደህኖ፡ነኝ፡፡ አጥኹ
ም፡፡ የሌቴን፡ሰዎች፡ሁሉ፡
በደገኝ፡፡ አደ ዘሹ፡አቴ፡የጌ
አብሒር፡፡ ማደገ፡ደህ፡ገ፡
አብሒር፡፡ አሰቴ አገኛኝን

Emperor of Abyssinia.

Aden, and at Axum, with scarcely a shade of difference. In course of time their language became fixed under the name of Ethiopic, or *Gheez*, the speech of the free! it is now classic at Gondar, and counts with the few Oriental dialects which the more advanced Biblical students deem it right to know. It is the sacred language of the Abyssinian Church, and in it is written the national history, which, in one important respect, quite harmonises with what is commonly inferred from the narrative in Kings and Chronicles.¹

Solomon, exchanging gifts, gave her all that she desired. According to the Ethiopic history, which must not be too hastily accounted fabulous, she was numbered with his Gentile wives; and, after her demise, a son of theirs, whom she had brought with her from Jerusalem to Sheba, and was aptly named Menilek, "from me to thee,"² succeeded to his mother on the throne, and, independently of lineal descent, which is never constant through many generations, every successor to the sovereignty of Abyssinia is held to be successor of Menilek, son of Solomon.

It is worthy of remark that the same principle of succession, not dynastic, but elective, prevailed in Yemen before the dispersion of the Himyarites. There, as in Abyssinia, the crown descended not regularly from father to son, but any prince of the blood royal who had the strongest interest generally became king.³ The same kind of succession was

¹ With our present knowledge, this will scarcely be disputed. Asseman gives a geographical solution of what was once a question. *Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis*, Cap. x.

² מֵנִי לְךָ

³ "Preliminary Discourse" to Sale's *Koran*, Sect. I.

allowed in the earlier times of Hebrew royalty, when solemn proclamation, rather than right of inheritance, made the king. Solomon himself was so proclaimed by his father David's command. The worship of the God of Israel was adopted at the same time, and prepared the way for Christianity under Queen Candace, whose treasurer went to Jerusalem from the Island of Meroë "for to worship;" and by his conversion the way was further opened for the entire ingathering of the Abyssinians in the time of Athanasius and Frumentius. The Lion of Judah, emblem of royalty on the steps of Solomon's throne, is the device on the seal of the sovereign of Abyssinia, "King of Kings of Ethiopia." It is the facsimile of an impression from the seal of the late Theodore, attached to a letter written by himself shortly before his pitiable death, and addressed to the Queen-mother. The letter is in the British Museum, in the Magdala Collection of Ethiopic manuscripts.¹

Being written in Amharic, a dialect which I do not read, I am indebted to the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A., late of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the translation.² The seal speaks for itself. The Ethiopic title on the edge is "King of Kings, Theodore of

¹ Oriental Manuscripts, 829, fragments.

² "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. The King of Kings, Theodore. *May desirable (news) from the Queen-mother arrive.* How are you? I am well, thank God. And is thy mother, and *Ena Fayzaro* [the latter is a title, as much as princess] well? Ask how all the men of my house are, and tell me. Have good courage, my sister. Whatever necessities thou art in want of, say; this I am wanting, by the power of God, and send word to me. (Farewell) until God causes us to meet." The words printed in Italics are doubtful. The letter is written on a sheet of large folio paper, folded very small. On the back, so folded, it is addressed to the Queen-mother.

Ethiopia,"¹ with its equivalent in Arabic. Among the various titles accorded to the Emperor of Abyssinia is "Son of the Lion;"² and Ludolf informs us that he sometimes closes his letters with the sentence, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered."³

Besides tracing the royalty of their nation back to Solomon, the Abyssinians recognise the origin of their national faith in the instruction concerning the true God originally received from the king of Israel by the queen of Sheba. Peculiarities in their Liturgy, as it stood before the arrival of the Jesuits, who managed to effect some changes; a predominance of Old Testament names, which they were not likely to derive from modern Europe, nor from Alexandria in the time of Athanasius, nor even in the time of Candace; peculiar customs which are still retained, especially that of circumcision, although in course of time it differs from that operation as revived by Moses; veneration for the seventh day of the week, on which they never travel, although they have always observed the Christian sabbath on the first day; the large number of Jews in their country, and larger number in past ages, when they not only enjoyed perfect liberty, but possessed a considerable extent of territory under their own independent government; the very name of those Abyssinian Jews, who are commonly called *Falashas*,⁴ "Strangers," or "Pilgrims," as if in

¹ ንጉሠ : ነገሠት : ቴዎድሮስ : ዘሊትዮጵያ ::

² ወልደ : ለንበሳ ::

³ ዋሊ : ለንበሳ : ዘእግዚአብሔር : ይሁደ :: Ludolf, *Hist.*, II., i.

⁴ ፋላሽያን :

traditional allusion to their immigration as a people distinct from the Arabs with whom they were associated, but from whom they originally differed as to race and religion ; and also the Hebraised character of their Christianity and their domestic customs ; all these thus taken together, make Abyssinia in itself a monument of the time when Jerusalem was a joy in the whole earth, and when the fear of the Lord's people rested on surrounding nations.

Evidences of another class multiply ; evidences confirmatory of many passages in Holy Writ, attesting the truth of what is recorded therein, the truth of God, but the short-comings, the transgressions, and the declension of His people.

TADMOR IN THE WILDERNESS.

 I KINGS IX. 17, 18.

“**S**OLOMON reigned over all kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt.” “He had dominion over all on this side (westward of) the river; from Tiphseh (Thapsacus, a city near the passage of the Euphrates, where now is a place called Suriyeh) even to Azzah (Gaza, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, near Egypt), over all the kings on this side the river: and he had peace on all sides round about him.” (1 Ki. iv. 21-24.) “He built Gezer (a few miles east of Joppa), and Beth-horon the nether (now Beit-ur-et-tahta, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem), and Baalath (somewhere in the tribe of Dan), and Tadmor in the wilderness (where now stand the ruins of Palmyra).” (1 Ki. ix. 17, 18.) These were all “fenced cities with gates and bars” (2 Chr. viii. 5), and there is reason to believe that Tadmor was the chief of them from the first; and certainly it became far more important than any of them, occupying an honourable place in general history, and remaining to the present time a conspicuous object in its ruins.

Josephus, the Jew, who wrote some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, describes the Tadmor of his day as a “very great city which Solomon built, and

surrounded with very strong walls. The Syrians know it still by its original name (City of Palms), but the Greeks call it Palmyra.”¹

Pliny the elder had already written, no doubt from certain information, “Palmyra is a city noble for situation, richness of soil, and excellent water. Its extensive fields are surrounded by a sandy desert, but it is exempt from the natural condition of the wilderness. It is a free and independent city between two great empires, the Roman and the Parthian,” for at this time Palestine was a Roman province, “and on the first occurrence of discord between them is regarded with solicitude by both.”² The story of its long resistance to all the power of the Roman army when defended by the brave Queen Zenobia, and its fortunes following, are well known. The discovery of its majestic ruins in the year 1691, with Mr. Wood’s volume on *The Ruins of Palmyra*, impressed the public of this country with a feeling little short of enchantment. But we take the note of Pliny as a Gentile monument of the durability of a great work whereof the city itself was but a part, and we remember some passages in history which it forcibly illustrates.

In the depth of the Syrian desert, about midway between Damascus and the spot known of old as the Fords of the Euphrates, and on the ancient track of caravans into Mesopotamia and the further East, lies

¹ . . . πόλιν μεγίστην . . . οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τείχεσιν ὄχυρωτάτοις περιβαλῶν, Θαδάμορα ὠνόμασε, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπι νῦν καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Παλμυράν. *Antiq.*, VIII., vi. 1.

² “Palmyra urbs nobilis situ, divitiis soli, et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exemta a rerum natura, privata sorte inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura.” *Nat. Hist.*, V., 25.

an extensive oasis, an island of palm-groves and pleasant fields, amidst an ocean of sand. It was not accessible, without peril, to an army on foot, but afforded rest and food for camels, and served well for the establishment of an emporium for commerce. There Solomon built the City of Palms, a fenced city, encompassed with walls high and strong, to be a seat of commerce, a place of refuge, and a fortress for defence. Nor is this bare conjecture. During a thousand years it continued to be a mart. After that space of time, when its walls were kept up to their original strength at least, when the stores were full of precious goods, while the thoroughfare for trade was well frequented, and the way to Gaza was not yet desert, it was incidentally mentioned by Appian that the inhabitants, being traders, sold to the Romans Indian and Arabian goods brought out of Persia.¹ From Tiphseh on the Euphrates, through Tadmor, down to Damascus and Jerusalem, and thence to Joppa, or Egypt, lay the track over sandy wastes, or on beaten plain, to convey the products of Persia and Arabia, Assyria or India, to the Phœnician fleets—for transport to the islands of the sea, remote Tarshish, or the store-cities of Egypt, and to bring back the riches of the West. From Tadmor, the centre of Hebrew commerce, the merchants corresponded directly or indirectly with cities that flourished in the days of Solomon, but for ages past have lain desolate without inhabitant. For distant voyaging use could be made of this grand trunk road and its diverging branches. So Jonah, son of Amittai, of the

¹ Ἐμποροὶ γὰρ ὄντες, κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβικα, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων. *De Bell. Civ.*, V., 9.

tribe of Zabulon, came down to Joppa when he fled from the presence of the Lord, who bade him go northward towards the Euphrates at the fords of Tiphseh; and at Joppa he found a ship, paid the fare accustomed, and set sail for Tarshish. When the tempest checked his course, and he was cast on shore again, he travelled back by the same road, crossed the river, diverged from the Persian way, and turned his dromedary's head toward Nineveh.

The discovery of this system of international correspondence for purposes of trade and policy, for ordinary travel, and for the receipt of tribute, brings evidence of the wisdom of Solomon in his happiest days, when he diligently cultivated the arts of peace, and when his diligence was sanctified with the loftiest aims and motives of religion. Then was there seen in the most eminent of Israelitish kings a brilliant contrast to the barbarism of Assyria and Egypt; and the pursuits of peace were preferred to the horrid custom, almost universally prevalent, of making predatory warfare, for the increase of territory or the praise of superior strength, in defiance of humanity and justice. We have confirmation, too, of scriptural statements concerning Solomon and the religion he professed. Not only in South Arabia and in African Ethiopia, among the descendants of those Arabians over whom the queen of Sheba reigned, but in other countries of the East he has been honoured above every other sovereign of antiquity. For many ages the impress of his influence remained in Spain, with the descendants of the colony which he established there for the maintenance of commerce; and in the same source originated the propagation of divinely

revealed truths which chastened the spirit of paganism, and on the shores of the Mediterranean prepared the way for the preachers of Jesus and the resurrection.

Whether the superior enlightenment of Persia, as it appears in the history of Cyrus the Great, with the religion professed by the Persians before the Magian corruption, is to be traced to the widely permeating influence of the faith which Solomon exalted by providing so munificently for the worship of Almighty God, or is owing to the tradition and lingering power of the truth made known at the creation of the world, or rather to the combination of both causes, is a question not so easy to be settled ; but it is most certain that the national benefits of active charity and the cultivation of international peace were signally promoted by the son of David, and that the rudiments of a policy worthy of Christianity are to be learned out of the Bible.

But the prosperity of that "city of palms," isolated as it was in the Syrian wilderness, but enduring for thirteen centuries amidst the fluctuations of the empires of Assyria, Babylon, Persia, the Syro-Macedonian monarchies, and Parthia, with the stately remains yet standing, attest the political wisdom of Solomon, and the authenticity of his history as we find it in the books of Kings and Chronicles.

SHISHAK, KING OF EGYPT.

 I KINGS XI. 40.

LESS favourable to himself and to his country than his relation with Arabia, were Solomon's communications with Egypt. He "made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt (probably the first king of the twenty-second dynasty, Sheshonk I.), and took Pharaoh's daughter" (1 Ki. iii. 1), a woman very unlike the queen of Sheba. She came to see the wisdom of Solomon, or to learn the worship of God; but Solomon, perhaps moved by an ambitious policy, made the first overture to the sovereign of a country whose Hamitic population, addicted to excessive superstition and gross idolatry, could have no sympathy with Hebrews.

The communication thus opened with Egypt led to disastrous consequences. The king became rapidly debased by his attachment to foreign women, in whose homes vicious luxury and pride were most intimately associated with the worship of their gods. He adopted their customs, and encouraged their idolatrous abominations. While he was thus entangled with the Egyptian connections, Jeroboam, one of his servants, of whose rising influence he was jealous, "arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon." (1 Ki. xi. 40.)

After the flight of Jeroboam, and death of the king, Rehoboam, son and successor to the throne, following up the bad example of his father, set up the worship of idols in Judæa; and in the fifth year of his reign, this same Shishak, king of Egypt, came to Jerusalem, robbed the temple of its treasures, and took away the treasure of the king's house. (1 Ki. xiv. 25-27.) The second book of Chronicles adds some important particulars. "It came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him. And it came to pass that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots, and three score thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem." (2 Chr. xii. 1-4.)

This first name of a Pharaoh that appears in the Bible is found also in the memorials of Egypt. The *first*, I say, because the name given to the Pharaoh with whom Abraham, ages before, had correspondence, is not Egyptian but Hebrew; and until the time of Solomon, no Egyptian name of a king appears in sacred history, and this name is identified with Sheshonk I. He built the great temple of Karnak in honour of the god Ammon (or Amen), and in the wall that surrounds the temple there was a grand piece of bas-relief sculpture in memory of his successful expeditions into Palestine. Brugsch-Bey calculates the date of the expedition mentioned by the sacred

historians, and finds it synchronous with the fifth year of Rehoboam. He also reads these words on the sculpture, concerning Sheshonk I., "Who is crowned king to unite the two worlds;"¹ that is to say, as already explained, Upper and Lower Egypt; and the accomplished historian copies from the monument the names of the places he had taken. Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole minutely examines the names, and confirms the identification of the following, which are familiar as occurring in the historical books of the Old Testament: Taanach, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Beth-horon, Ayalon, Megiddo, Shoco, Beth-Tappuah.² Other names there are, identified with equal clearness, but these belong to the invasion mentioned in the passages above quoted. This invasion took place about 971 years before Christ.

But the inspired historian, by the mere placing of a sentence, almost presages the affliction that was to follow. "Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon." Then he returned, but it was only to begin the story of that fatal schism which rent Israel from Judah.

¹ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 228.

² Smith's *Dictionary*, s. v. Shishak.

SOLOMON'S FOLLY.

 I KINGS XI. 1-8.

THE record of a special gift of wisdom to Solomon does not in the least imply that the gift was absolute and perpetual. It was made in answer to a prayer (I Ki. iii. 5-13), but the donation was accompanied with a conditional promise of long life, delivered in such terms as to intimate that the gift was not irrevocable, inasmuch as he might depart from the ways of David his father, break the statutes and commandments of the Lord (I Ki. iii. 14), and thereby forfeit the grace received.

After a memorial of Solomon's wisdom and piety, we find an equally clear account of his departure from the way of obedience, and his open allowance and support of idolatry. The occasion of this defection is also stated thus: "But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, etc., of the nations concerning which the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall not go in unto them; for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods. Solomon clave unto these in love." "It came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods." "Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch, the

abomination of the children of Ammon. *And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense, and sacrificed unto their gods.*" (1 Ki. xi. 1-8.) Of all those heathen women under whose influence the once wisest of kings fell into a depth of moral imbecility, Pharaoh's daughter was the first and chief, and she, of course, was indulged with a high place for offering incense to her god.

If, in her preference of objects of idol-worship, she followed the fashion of Egypt then prevailing, her goddess would most probably be Pasht, the *cat-headed*. One of the Sheshonks, probably her father, had a temple of great magnitude and beauty erected and adorned in honour of Pasht, in the city of Bubastis, which is described with sufficient minuteness by Herodotus and others. Two images of Pasht, in pure black basalt, well polished, are in the British Museum. They were brought from that temple, and are almost perfectly alike, bringing to our view a chief object of adoration of the Egyptian princess. She was the tutelar goddess of cats, animals of equal sanctity in Egypt with ibises and black bulls; not less favoured, and with many persons more beloved. They were so sacred that the killing of a cat was accounted a deeper crime than the murder of a man. In Shishak's grand temple of Bubastis there was a most sacred cemetery for these animals. Bodies of deceased cats were embalmed at considerable cost, swathed, boxed, and solemnly conveyed from all parts of Egypt to the city of Pasht, where they might abide in sanctity inviolate. When a person of sufficient wealth and zeal had a cat die in his house, he might so distinguish its remains; but wherever in Egypt a cat should cease to

live, its body was embalmed with reverence, and buried within the precinct of some temple, far or near.' Think of Solomon in the height of wisdom, and leading the devotions of a nation at the dedication of his magnificent temple to the one living and true God, in the flower of his earlier manhood. Think of him again in his decrepitude, providing incense to be burned in honour of the cat-headed idol of one of his wives! "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth the Lord." (Jer. ix. 23.)

¹ Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. V., p. 161.

MESHA, KING OF MOAB.

2 KINGS III. 4, 5.

ATENTION has recently been drawn to a passage of Scripture which had for ages been little noticed: "Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool; but it came to pass that when Ahab was dead, the king of Moab," as it might have been expected he would do, at the earliest opportunity, "rebelled against the king of Israel." (2 Ki. iii. 4, 5.) The kings of Moab had been tributary ever since the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 2); but, following the general custom of repudiating debts contracted in times of weakness, after this tribute had been paid 144 years, he refused to pay it any longer. So many years had elapsed, and circumstances had so far changed, that Moab ventured to cast off the bond. But so long submission shows that the disparity between Israel and Moab in time past must have been very great. Revolt now seemed practicable, and so formidable had this royal sheepmaster become, that Jehoram, son of Ahab, would not venture to encounter him alone, but had recourse to the kings of Judah and Edom for assistance. Even the three kings together only made up their minds to meet Mesha in battle after much timorous hesitation. They

did indeed suppress the Moabite uprising for a time. Mesha was driven to despair when he saw their united forces lay siege to his chief city, Dibon; and, as if to make his imprecations more effectual, offered up his eldest son upon the wall, in their sight, as an oblation to soothe the anger of his god, Chemosh, to whose displeasure he was accustomed to attribute every adverse event. After the horrid sacrifice he fled, but was not pursued, and therefore the conquest of the city and land of Moab was not yet complete.

The Moabites, terrified and provoked beyond measure, but only half subdued, recovered courage, and breathed vengeance against Israel. King Jehoram and his half-hearted allies, themselves fearing the effect of the indignation they had roused, would not stay to brave it, but departed from Mesha, as though they had themselves been beaten, and returned to their own land. (2 Ki. iii. 26, 27.) The sacred writer records their terror without extenuation or disguise. A victorious army deserts the field, and comes home empty! Unlike many Gentile annalists, he conceals nothing, but does not needlessly prolong the tale of humiliation, which in due time will be resumed. Mesha will take revenge.

A little further on we read of the miserable end of Joram, who had received a severe wound in a battle with the Syrians, and when slowly recovering, and seated helpless in his chariot, was shot through the heart with an arrow by Jehu, the usurper of his throne. (2 Ki. ix. 24.) The interval from the accession of Omri to the death of Joram was a little over forty years, and this accords with a passage in

the inscription which will presently be set before the reader.

The next thing that we read of Moab is, that about fifty-eight years after the battle of Dibon, "the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year." (2 Ki. xiii. 20.) It is not said how strong the bands were, nor what they did: it rather appears that they were no more than armed robbers, come to rob the people of the country who had no power to defend themselves. They were *plunderers*, as the name given them in the Hebrew original, and its equivalent in the Septuagint version, both imply.¹ They came to get what they could take by surprise from a helpless people.

About three centuries later, again a great change took place in Moab, not the consequence of any single struggle, but the effect of causes which it is easy to conjecture, even if it be not quite possible to enumerate.

The forty-eighth chapter of the book of Jeremiah contains "the judgment of Moab," which will assist the reader to peruse the inscription with clearer intelligence. The prophet apostrophises Moab as a people who trusted in their works and treasures, a nation which had been at ease from her youth, had never gone into captivity, had held Israel in derision, and skipped for joy when she spake of him. The prophet enumerates, name by name, the very places of which Mesha had made his boast, and denounces ruin on them all. Desolation, indeed, had overtaken them for ages before his words were written, and where-

¹ מַדְבָּרִים and μονόζωνοι.

abouts they should be placed on the map has long remained an unsolved problem to the best-informed geographers.

Many years ago, however, the site of Dibon was discovered, and the ruins were found to be extensive. So lately as August, 1868, a large black stone was discovered half buried in the ruins, inscribed with unknown characters. After a delay, which will ever be regretted, and not before the greed of the Arabs, and their superstition, were so powerfully stirred that they heated the stone over a fierce fire, and split it into pieces by pouring cold water over it,—the pieces were gathered up with much difficulty, and purchased at great cost. Yet we must be thankful, however hard the terms; for the inscription is beyond price, being in the language and character written in that land B.C. 896, say 2,780 years ago. It is a block of extremely hard black basalt, full three feet three inches high, two feet wide, and as much thick. The inscription consists of thirty-four lines in Phœnician. The characters are rather small, not deeply incised, but little worn with time, and until the stone was shattered the inscription was unbroken. A point (·) separates each word from the one following, and the text is divided into periods by short bars (|), which greatly facilitate translation.¹

The following version is from the French of M. Ganneau, to which I add references to the passages of Scripture which it illustrates, and should be compared with by those who wish to study the matter at leisure for themselves:—

¹ *La Stèle de Mesa Roi de Moab, 896 av. J. C.* Lettre à M. le Cte. de Vogue, par Ch. Clermont Ganneau, Paris, 1870.

“I am Mesa, son of Chamos-Gad, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I have reigned after my father. And I have built the sanctuary for Chamos in Karha (*Sanctuary of Salvation*), for he has saved me from all transgressors, and has made me look upon all my enemies with contempt. Omri was king of Israel, and oppressed Moab during many days, and Chamos was irritated at his aggressions. And his son succeeded him, and he said, he also, ‘I will oppress Moab.’ In my days, I said, ‘I will him and I will visit him and his house.’ And Israel was ruined, ruined for ever. Omri gained possession of the land of Medeba.¹ And he dwelt there (*Ahab*) his son lived forty years, and Chamos made him (*perish*) in my time.²

“Then I built Baal-Meon³ and constructed Kiria-thaim.⁴ And the men of Gad dwelt in the country (*Ataro*)th from ancient times, and the king of Israel had built the city of Ataroth.⁵ I attacked the city and I took it; and I killed the people of the city, a spectacle to Chamos and to Moab, and I carried away from there the and I dragged it on the ground before the face of Chamos at Kerioth,⁶ and I brought there the men of Saron (*Chofen*(?)) and the men of Maharuth(?).

“And Chamos said to me, ‘Go, take Neboh’ from Israel.’ I went by night, and I fought against the city from the dawn to mid-day, and I took it: and I killed all seven thousand (*men, and I carried away*

¹ Num. xxi. 29, 30; Jos. xiii. 9; Isa. xv. 2.

² 1 Ki. xxii. 20-38.

³ Eze. xxv. 9.

⁴ *Ibid*, and Jer. xlvi. 1, 23.

⁵ Num. xxxii. 34.

⁶ Jer. xlvi. 24, 41; Amos ii. 2.

⁷ Num. xxxii. 3.

with me) the women and the young girls; for to Astar Chamos belongs the consecration of women; and I brought from thence the vessels of the Lord, and I dragged them on the ground before the face of Chamos.

“And the king of Israel had built Yahas,¹ and resided there during the wars with me. And Chamos drove him from before my face. I took from Moab two hundred men in all, I made them go up to Yahas, and I took it to annex it to Dibon. It is I who have built Karha, the wall of the forests, and the wall of the hill. I have built its gates, and I have built its towers. I have built the palace of the king, and I have constructed the prisons of the in the midst of the city.

“And there were no wells in the interior of the city in Karha: and I said to all the people, ‘Make you every man a well in his house,’ and I dug cisterns for Karha for of Israel.

“It is I who have built Aroer,² and have made the road of Arnon. It is I who have built Beth-Ramoth³ which was destroyed. It is I who have built Bosor,⁴ which (*is powerful*) Dibon,⁵ of the military chiefs, for all Dibon was submissive. And I have filled with the cities which I have added to the land (*of Moab*).

“And it is I who have built Beth-Diblathaim,⁶ and

¹ Isa. xv. 4; Jer. xlvi. 1-25; Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Jos. xiii. 18; Jud. xi. 20. Cf. 1 Chr. vi. 78; Jos. xxi. 36; Jer. xlvi. 21, 34.

² Jos. xiii. 15, 16; 2 Ki. x. 33; 1 Chr. v. 8. Cf. Jer. xlvi. 19.

³ Num. xxi. 19; xxii. 41; Isa. xv. 2. These places are noted, conjecturally, by the interchange of *במה* and *רמה*.

⁴ 1 Macc. v. 26, 36.

⁵ Num. xxi. 30; xxxii.; Jos. xiii. 9; Isa. xv. 2; Jer. xlvi. 18, 22.

⁶ Jer. xlvi. 22.

Beth-Baal-Meon,¹ and I have raised there the
the land. And Horonaim,² he resided there with
.

“And Chamos said to me, ‘Go down and fight against Horonaim.’ Chamos, in my day the year”

It is said that M. Ganneau afterwards found a fragment of the stone containing the name of David. Mesha boasts that, having taken the city of Ataroth, he carried away *the Ariel of David*.³ Not only is it interesting to find a mention of David on the Moabite stone, but also, if I mistake not, a key to the word *Ariel*, which has perplexed many translators, although the authors of our English Version understood it perfectly. “Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, slew two lion-like men⁴ of Moab.” (2 Sam. xxiii. 20.) With reference to Moab, therefore, the same epithet is employed by the writer of the books of Samuel and by the author of the inscription on the Moabite stone. It occurs elsewhere (Isa. xxxiii. 7) in the Old Testament, with the same meaning, and answers well to some of the remarkable men whom King David had near his person, and are mentioned in the chapter here quoted. Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon*, brings several quotations to show that with both Arabs and Persians, “Lion of God”⁵ was the epithet of honour given to a brave and powerful soldier, and a title of honour conferred on warlike kings. The capture of one of David’s captains at

¹ Jer. xlviii. 23, 24.

² Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34.

³ *Révue Archéologique*, Mai, 1872, p. 334.

⁴ אַרְיֵל is the word. In the text of Samuel it is אַרְיֵלֵי.

⁵ *Hieroz.*, Vol. I., p. 716, 717.

Ataroth must have occurred in the war mentioned in 1 Chr. xviii. 2, when "David smote Moab, and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts."

The following is the Phœnician alphabet as it was found on the Moabite stone. It evidently springs from the same origin as the Samaritan; or, in other words, they both belong to the old Hebrew; and the language spoken by Mesha, by Ahab, and by Moses, was, no doubt, substantially if not perfectly the same; that is to say, allowing for the inevitable differences in vocabulary and usage resulting from contiguity with the spoken dialects of Hebrews in Egypt, of Moab, and Samaria.

כ	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊

ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל
𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕

Having examined the facsimile copy of the inscription, as published by M. Ganneau, and from him by Mr. Ginsburg, I find that the name rendered Yahveh is precisely the same as the Hebrew tetragrammaton; and on this I have to note that while Yahveh is purely conjectural, and there are many conjectures, far and wide, but not one on which there is anything like a common agreement, this pointing, יהוה, is quite inconsistent with Hebrew etymology. The word, I venture to believe, cannot be Hebrew. Perhaps the Moabite

inscription is the only Gentile document yet known in which the original name is found, unless the Samaritan Pentateuch be considered such; but that is letter for letter, excepting the notorious instances of corruption. We may infer, I think, from this Moabite stone, that the name, as spoken by the Hebrews of that age, was familiar to their Moabite neighbours, that the then known pronunciation did not require the use of other letters, and that, after all, our pronunciation יהוה is as nearly right as can be.

SYRIA.

 SHALMANESER, BENHADAD, HAZAEL.

2 KINGS VIII. 7-15.

BEFORE any Assyrian monarch had found a place in the pages of sacred history, the name of Shalmaneser II.¹ appears prominently in the Assyrian inscriptions in connection with those of Benhadad, king of Syria, and Hazael, his successor. The Hebrew text, indeed, bears no express reference to Shalmaneser; but independently of this silence, which is easily accounted for, the Assyrian and Hebrew records perfectly agree, and our illustrations of the history of the Hebrew monarchy from the cuneiform monuments may therefore fitly commence at this point.

On referring to the passage above quoted, the reader will find that at the time of Elisha's visit to Damascus, this king Benhadad lay sick; that the prophet foretold his death, and predicted his servant's accession to the throne; that Benhadad shortly died, and Hazael reigned in his stead. This is not the place for comment on the entire passage, wherein the demise of one and the succession of the other is all

¹ To be distinguished from Shalmaneser III., who conquered Samaria, and made the first deportation of captives to Assyria.

that is common to the documents before us ; but some knowledge of the relations between Syria and Assyria at the time is helpful to a successful exposition of this portion of the second book of Kings.

The inscriptions now to be referred to are collected by the late Mr. George Smith, in his work on the *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, in the sixth chapter.¹

In the year B.C. 854, as the author calculates, Shalmaneser II. departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, captured some cities, slaughtered the inhabitants, as the general custom was, took their gods and their treasures, and carried them to his city of Assur. On rafts of inflated skins, he crossed the river Euphrates in its flood.

After making havoc with many cities west of this river, he came to a city called by the Syrians Pethor, and received silver, gold, lead, copper, and vessels of copper. Thence he approached the city of Halman (Aleppo), and pursued his triumphant course further, enriched with silver and gold in tribute ; for which he made sacrifices and libations before the god Vul of Halman, and found no resistance until he met the hosts of Benhadad, whom he fought, and thus described the fruit of a great victory :

“Aroer, my (*sic*) royal city, I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned. 12,000 chariots, 12,000 carriages, and 20,000 men of Ben-hadar of Syria ; 700 chariots, and 10,000 men of Irhuleni of Hamath ; 2000 chariots, and 10,000 men of Ahab of Sirhala (Israel), 500 men of the Goim, 1000 men of Egypt ; 10 chariots and 10,000 men of Irquanata,

¹ *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, by George Smith. Bagster and Sons, London.

200 men of Matinubahal of Arvad, 200 men of Usanata, 30 chariots and 10,000 men of Adoni-bahal of Siana, 1000 of Ginidibuh of Arabia, etc. From Aroer to Kirzau their overthrow I accomplished; 14,000 men of their warriors, with weapons I destroyed. Like Vul o'er them a storm I raised, their wounded the face of the district I caused to fill, the whole of their army with weapons I struck down. With their corpses the extent of the district was turned to desert, to the bottom its life I crushed, the whole of their fields I destroyed, and with the bodies over the Orontes a bridge I made. In the midst of the battle their chariots, their carriages, their horses fastened to the yoke, I took from them."¹ According to a second and third account of the same expedition, he carried this invasion onward to the sea-coast and received tribute from the Hittites in Palestine.² After this terrible calamity, the Syrians might well tremble at the name of Shalmaneser, but it does not seem that the marauder attacked Damascus.

In his tenth year Shalmaneser came again, and again in the twelfth; each time meeting in battle the forces of Benhadad and twelve confederate kings, and each time they were worsted, the Assyrian departing with great spoil. A short inscription tells of one decisive battle:

"In my fourteenth year the whole of the country without number I collected; with 120,000 of my warriors the river Euphrates I crossed. In those days Ben-hadar of Syria, Irhulini of Hamath, and the kings beside the sea, above and below, their warriors

¹ Extract I.

² Extract II., III.

without number collected, to my presence they came. With them I fought, their overthrow I accomplished, their chariots and their carriages I brought out; their weapons of war I took from them. To save their lives they fled.”¹

After such a succession of defeats, with the horrors, losses, and weariness of the battles, and the attendant sufferings of his people through eight or nine years, Benhadad could be hardly otherwise than sick; it appears from the annals of Shalmaneser that he did not live to face the enemy again, and his death is duly recorded.² Hazael reigned in his stead. During this long war, the Israelites had joined with the Syrians against the Assyrian, and Ahab is named by Shalmaneser as one of the confederate kings, and one of the strongest. But the crisis is now come, and an inscription on one of Mr. Layard's bulls tells of it:

“In the eighteenth year, the sixteenth time, the river Euphrates I crossed. Hazael of Syria to the might of his warriors trusted, and his warriors in numbers he gathered. Saniru, a peak of the mountains which are in front of Lebanon,³ as a stronghold he made. With him I fought. His overthrow I accomplished. 18,000 of his army with weapons I destroyed, 1121 of his chariots, 470 of his carriages, with his camp, I took from him. To save his life he fled. After him I pursued. In Damascus, his royal city, I besieged him. His plantations I cut down. To the mountains of Hauran I went. Cities without number I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned. Their spoil, without number, I carried off.

¹ Extract IV., VI.

² 2 Ki. viii. 15.

³ The Antilibanus ridge.

To the mountains of Bahlirasi, which are at the head of the sea, I went. An image of my majesty in the midst I made. In those days the tribute of Tyre and Sidon, and of Jehu son of Omri, I received.”¹

But Hazael was not utterly subdued; and however exaggerated the tales of conquest may be, there is no reason to doubt that, in substance, they are true. Shalmaneser does not pretend that he has conquered Damascus, but in setting up the image of his majesty, doubtless planted as a royal standard with great pomp, he assumed sovereignty over Syria; and when he came three years later, and captured four of Hazael's fortresses, it does not appear that he encountered any active resistance, nor does he anywhere complain of provocation. For aught we see, he was in all his warlike operations the unprovoked aggressor. He does not say that the people whose lands he wastes, whose towns he destroys, and whom he slaughters and enslaves by thousands, have done him any wrong. In after times it will be otherwise. Future inscriptions will tell of tribute withheld, revolts raised, and hostile alliances formed against the majesty of Assyria, whose function, in the order of Divine Providence, will appear to be the chastisement of Israel.

As for Hazael, when he received from Elisha, who had anointed him to be king of Syria, the intimation that he would destroy the strongholds of the children of Israel, slay their young men with the sword, dash their children, and rip up their women with child, it is not surprising that he should exclaim, “But what!

¹ Extract VIII.

is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" Nevertheless, Syria was becoming a province of Assyria. Hazael became an instrument of chastisement, contrary to all expectation, when he mounted the throne of Benhadad, and the sad prediction was fulfilled.¹

¹ 2 Ki. xii. 17, 18; 2 Ch. xxiv. 23, 24.

ASSYRIA.

CONQUEST OF SAMARIA.

2 KINGS XVII. 3-6, etc.

THE writer of the second book of Kings (chap. x. 32) says, that “in those days” (about B.C. 860), “the Lord began to cut Israel short, and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel.” It is not said by whom the Lord began to cut Israel short, except by the Syrians. Assyrians are not here mentioned; and a reverse occurring in a war with Syria might certainly be sufficient to account for the expression, “began to cut short in Israel:”¹ for if it were nothing more than smiting with the sword “in all their borders, from Jordan eastward, in all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan” (2 Ki. x. 32), that would be no inconsiderable cutting short, quite enough to straiten the resources of the country; and the occurrence of any other disaster before the effect of it had passed away would be distressing indeed. But that some greater and more memorable calamity did follow, is plainly intimated by the word *began*.²

Evil doing will again bring forth its inevitable fruit :

¹ לַקְצוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל

² הֵחֵל

Assyria now comes upon the field. The Assyrian king, Shalmaneser, began to reign soon after the event, and continued on the throne from B.C. 858, two years after the incursion of Hazael, until B.C. 823; and an invasion by him came heavily upon the impoverished provinces of Israel. Now the following statement occurs in an inscription of this king, translated by M. Oppert: "I received tribute from Jehu, son of Omri; silver, gold, gold in plates, *zukur* of gold, gold cups, gold *delami*, sceptres which are in the hand of the king, and bdellium." And in another inscription we find Shalmaneser enumerating among his captives, or the contingents for his army, "ten thousand men of Ahab (so called, but Ahab was already dead), of the country of the Israelites;"¹ a draught heavy enough, at such a time, to accelerate the cutting short. After that large contribution to the Assyrian treasury an annual tribute followed, the strength of Israel was exhausted, and its independence lost. Even their kings could not reign over them without the grace of the king of Assyria.

Soon afterwards we read that "Pul, the king of Assyria, came against the land (of Israel), and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be with him, *to confirm the kingdom in his hand.*" Hence we must infer that the relation of tributary to Assyria was by this time established; and about B.C. 771, as we learn from an inscription on a pavement-slab from the royal palace at Nimrud, the king "received from the Medes, Elamites, Armenians, and Mesopotamians on the north and east, from the

¹ Translated by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 99.

country of *Samaria*, from Tyre and Sidon, Idumea and Palestine on the western sea, *tribute and spoil.*"¹

Next came Tiglath Pileser II., "and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kadesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." (2 Ki. xv. 29.) Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert believed that they had detected a record of this invasion on some marbles, but so broken and defaced that it was impossible to make a complete translation of it. But Mr. George Smith, in one of his visits to Nineveh, found the remains of a palace of Tiglath-Pileser, and part of an historical tablet at Nimrod. From these, and from some other sources, he has been able to give a translation of the annals of this monarch. A description of him, pompous as usual, is taken from the tablet discovered in the temple of Nebo.

"Palace of Tiglath-Pileser, the great king, the powerful king of nations, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four regions. The powerful warrior, who in the service of Assur his lord, the whole of his haters has trampled on like clay, swept like a flood, and reduced to shadows. The king who, in the might of Nebo and Merodach, the great gods, has marched, and from the sea of Bit-yakin to the land of Bikni by the rising sun, and from the sea of the setting sun to Egypt; from the west to the east all countries possesses, and rules their kingdoms."²

From the same tablet we read that certain tribes

¹ *Athenæum*, No. 1476, p. 174.

² *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 256.

“at the boundaries of the setting sun, who knew no rivals, whose place was remote,” heard of the might of his dominion, brought gold, silver, camels, she-camels, and gum, as tribute, and kissed his feet.¹ Here first he saw the sun set in the waves of the Mediterranean, received homage of the Phœnicians, established a governor, one Isdibil, “over against Egypt,” and made a note to the effect that in the countries which had become tributary he appointed the worship of Assur. Among those countries we see the names of Carchemish, Moab, Ascalon, Idumea, Gaza (perhaps the residence of his new governor, Isdibil), and Tyre. In this expedition he must have approached Jerusalem; for he wrote “Yauhazi (Ahaz) of Judah” among the kings who paid him tribute.² Further on we read how Rezon (Resin), king of Syria, lays at his feet 18 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, 200 talents of copper, 20 talents of *simladum* (untranslated) and 300 of something else not legible. Among the tributaries, on this occasion, we read of Hiram of Tyre, bearing the same name, or title, as the more eminent friend of David and Solomon.³

Again, on the same tablet we find a passage which harmonises with one in the book of Kings (2 Ki. xvi. 9), “. . . . the king of Assyria went up against Damascus and took it.” How this came to pass we shall see further on. For the present we recite a few words from the inscription: “. . . . his warriors I captured with the sword I destroyed the lords of chariots their arms I broke, and their horses I captured his warriors

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 263.

² *Ibid.*

³ Azariah of Judah; but there must be a mistake of name.

bearing shields and spears, in hand I captured them, and their fighting line of battle. He (Resin) to save his life fled away alone, and like a deer, and into the great gate of his city he entered. His generals alive in hand I captured, and on crosses I raised them. His country I subdued. Forty-five men of his camp, Damascus his city I besieged, and like a caged bird I enclosed him." Here the shattered tablet leaves the tale of Resin unfinished, but it is told in the passage partly quoted above: "The king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir (a place, or country, now unknown) *and slew Resin,*" having probably reserved him to be put to death with some circumstances of peculiar torment and ignominy. The deportation of captives mentioned in the sacred narrative is more fully detailed in the inscription: "His forests the trees of which were without number, I cut down, and I did not leave one Hadara the house (place of abode) of the father of Resin of Syria, the city of Samalla I besieged, I captured. Eight hundred people and their children, their oxen, their sheep, I carried captive. Seven hundred and fifty women of the city of Kuruzza the city Armai. Five hundred and fifty women of the city of Mituna I carried captive. Five hundred and ninety-one cities of Syria like a flood I swept."¹ How extensive a country the land of Syria might be is hardly to be calculated, but this last number for the cities looks excessive.

We learn from the second book of Kings that Pekah

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 284.

was at this time the king of Samaria, and that he was succeeded by Hoshea (2 Ki. xvi. 1 ; xvii. 1). From the inscription we also learn, that Tiglath Pileser, “. . . . Pekah their king (probably this lacuna should be filled with a note of the death of Pekah), and *Hoshea to the kingdom over them I appointed their tribute of them I received, and to Assyria I sent.*”¹

At last, Shalmaneser IV. came up against Hoshea, king of Israel, “made him his servant,” and received his “presents,” a gentle name for tribute. “But the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea ; for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year : therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years.

In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.” (2 Ki. xvii. 3-6.) An apparent, but only an apparent, discrepancy occurs with reference to this event between the accounts in the second book of Kings and in the book of the prophet Isaiah. The historian says (2 Ki. xviii. 9) that Shalmaneser came up against Samaria, and besieged it (B.C. 721), and at the end of three years they took it. The prophet says (Isa. xx. 1) that Sargon (not Shalmaneser) sent Tartan to Ashdod, and took it. The same army would act both in

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 285.

Samaria and in Philistia, but the question is, Who sent it? Was it Shalmaneser or Sargon? The answer is at hand. Sargon succeeded to Shalmaneser in the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 722, in the year after his predecessor had left the besieging force before Samaria. Sargon, by his general, Tartan, took Samaria "in the first year of his reign," after a three years' siege begun by Shalmaneser, as appears in an inscription on one of Sargon's monuments, translated by Dr. Oppert, which also avers that he levied on the Samaritans fifty chariots to increase his royal state, carried captive 27,289 families, instead of whom he sent over from Assyria other prisoners of war, appointed governors over the whole country, and exacted tribute from them: that they, as well as the Assyrians, might take their share in bearing the public burdens.¹ This last deportation of the Israelites of the ten tribes under Sargon closes the biblical account of the hostile relations between their state and the kings of Assyria. This last event marks an epoch in Israelitish history.

The existence of the Samaritans as a distinct people is a living monument in evidence of the establishment of a new population in Samaria, and the appointment of a Hebrew priest "to teach them how they should fear the Lord." (2 Ki. xviii. 24-28.) The Samaritan Pentateuch is a venerable literary monument in confirmation of the same event.

There is yet another of a different kind. Within the region indicated as that of the Assyrian captivities under Tiglath Pileser II. and Sargon, or known by subsequent histories to have been occupied

¹ M. Jules Oppert, *Inscriptions de Dour Sarkayan*, Paris, 1870.

by Israelites in dispersion, are the Crimea and Tartary. In the Crimea there is, perhaps, the largest necropolis the Hebrews possess in the whole world, and it contains gravestones dated soon after the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Chwolson, of St. Petersburg, has examined no fewer than 700, and 150 copies of epigraphs in other Hebrew burialplaces, and found among them some of great antiquity. The oldest of those which he published reads thus :

“This is the tombstone of Buki, son of Isaac the priest. May his soul be in Eden, at the time of the salvation of Israel. In the year 702 of the years of our exile.”¹ The fruit of a most minute and patient study of these sepulchral epigraphs is exhibited by the learned Professor in a large and closely printed quarto volume, wherein he demonstrates that, in the course of ages three distinct eras have been observed, besides that of the creation, each dating from one of the three banishments:²

First banishment =	Assyrian	. . .	B.C. 696.
Second	„	Babylonian	. . . B.C. 586.
Third	„	Roman	. . . A.D. 69.

“*Our* captivity” marks the first, and as 702 — 696 = 6, the year of our Lord 6, being 702 years from the time when Sargon deported those 27,289 families

זאת ציון בוקי ¹
 בן יצחק כוהן לצ
 עת ישועת ישראל
 אל שנת השב
 שנים לגלותנו

² Achtzehn, *Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, Von D. Chwolson (mit 9 Tafeln) der Akademie vorgelegt den 9 Februar, 1865, St. Petersburg. 1865, Leipzig. The dates of these eighteen epigraphs are, respectively A.D. 6, 30, 89, 179, 197, 262, 305, 369, 625, 670, 678, 719, 807, 834, 898, 937, 958, 960.

from Samaria into Assyria. It is true there is a difference of 26 years between the Israelitish reckoning and the common reckoning,¹ but that does not invalidate the fact of the observance of an era which invests the Assyrian captivity with historical importance, which an unreal story, or even a trifling local occurrence could not have done.

Some idea of the force which finally overwhelmed Israel in Samaria may be gathered from an inscription of Sargon, found in his palace at Khorsabad, even after making the usual allowance for exaggeration.

“The great gods have made me happy by the constancy of their affection. They have granted me the exercise of sovereignty over all kings, and have reduced them all to my obedience. From the first day of my accession the princes, my rivals, disdained me not. I have never been, like a coward, afraid of combats and of battles. I have filled the rebels’ lands with terror, and have exacted from them symbols of submission presented in the four elements. I have laid open innumerable forests, deep and vast. I have made the rough places plain. I have traversed tortuous and arid valleys, that were the abodes of mortal heats, and have dug out cisterns by the way.

“By the favour and might of the great gods, my masters, I have forced my servants to obey me. By prayer I have obtained the defeat of my enemies. I have reigned from Jutnan, which is in the midst of

¹ Whoever wishes to pursue this important chronological question, should study it in a volume bearing the following title, *Messiah the Prince, or The Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel*, etc., etc., etc. By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S., London, 1869.

the sea, where the sun goes down, even to the confines of Egypt and the land of the Moschians, over vast Phœnicia, over Syria in its full extent, the whole of the Gutimuski, of far distant Media, where it bounds on the countries of the Bikni, onward to the territories of Albania, where you leave Ras, which bounds on Elam, away to the tribes of Itu, of Rubu, of Haril, of Kaldud, of Hauran, of Ubul, of Ruboa, of the Litai, of the Surappi, and of the Ukui, of Gambul, of Khindar, of Pukua (Pekod, Jer. l. 21 ?).

“I have reigned over the Suti hunters that are in the land of Yatur the notable, unto the cities of Samhun of Bal-Karakh, of Karakh-Tilit, of Gukat, of Dunni-Samas, of Bubi, of Tel-Khumba, which are dependencies of Elam, and of Tirat Dinuya, the high and the low, of the countries of Beth-Amu-Khan, of Beth-Dakkur, of Beth-Silan, of Beth-Sa’aka, with all from Chaldæa, over the country of Beth-Yakin on the sea-shore, on the borders of Asmun. I have received their tributes, I have set my lieutenants over them as governors, and I have reduced them under my dominion.”¹

¹ *Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad*, publiée commentée par MM. Oppert et Ménant, Paris, 1863, p. 6.

ASSYRIA.

CONQUEST OF JUDEA.

2 KINGS XVIII., etc.

THE kings of Judea followed those of Samaria in a career of sin and ruin. Ahaziah, king of Judah, grandson, on his mother's side, of Omri, "walked in the way of Ahab, and did evil in the sight of the Lord, as did the house of Ahab." (2 Ki. vii. 26, 27.) Under his reign, the idolatry which had prevailed in Samaria gained ascendancy in Judea also, and no efforts of succeeding kings could overcome it. Weakened by wars with the Israelites and with the Syrians, and debased by heathenism, the kingdom of Judah had fallen low when Ahaz began to reign; and "walked in the way of the kings of Israel," following the abominations of the heathen. Then the kings of Israel and Syria "came up to Jerusalem to war, and besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him." (2 Ki. xvi. 1-5.) But although failing to take Jerusalem, the Syrians recovered Elath to Syria, gaining thereby a place of great importance for Syria which was never recovered. Ahaz, in great alarm, "sent messengers to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, *I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.*" (2 Ki. xvi. 8.) This was a formal

surrender of sovereignty into the hands of the Assyrian, who not only made an end of the kingdom of Samaria, but exacted heavy payment for his service to Ahaz, who gave him "the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, with the treasures of the king's house." Then he marched to Damascus, captured that city, and with it made the whole kingdom of Syria his own.

Thus Tiglath Pileser found himself absolute master of two new kingdoms, Syria and Samaria, with a third, the kingdom of Judah, tributary. To Syria went king Ahaz to pay him a visit of submission, and give him yet more tribute. On that occasion, as it was usual for the conquered to receive the religion of the conqueror, and for the weak to worship the gods of the strong, he took the pattern of an Assyrian altar which he saw in Damascus, and sent it to the high priest in Jerusalem, with instruction to set up an altar after that pattern in the temple, and offer sacrifices thereon. (2 Ki. xvi. 6-16.)

After sacrilegiously mingling idolatry with the worship of Almighty God, Ahaz died, and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead. Hezekiah nobly resisted the shameful innovations, and put away every external sign of heathenism. "The Lord was with him, and he prospered whithersoever he went forth; and he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not." Probably Sargon was at this time on the throne at Nineveh, but there is a chronological difficulty. The dates, as calculated from the Assyrian canon, and from the notes in the Second Book of Kings (xviii. 9, 10, 13), do not agree; and appear irreconcilable, until material be found for another reading of the Hebrew

text, or, which is far more likely, a fuller knowledge of Assyrian documents.

After the death of Sargon, the recovery of Assyria from the revolt of Babylon, and the confusion consequent in other wars, Sennacherib was able to visit the rebel kingdom of Jerusalem, and make it a subject province of the empire. The annals of Sennacherib are so fully written, with but one exception, that they may be literally collated with the text of sacred history. Bearing in mind the essential difference of the two documents, remembering the sobriety of sacred history, the controlling influence of the Spirit of Truth which rested on the writers, and the boasting and exaggeration of the Assyrian annalist, we may venture to say that both are genuine, even though the latter be not perfectly authentic. I will now proceed to set them side by side. There are two inscriptions. The first is on a hexagonal clay prism found at Nineveh in 1830, and usually called "the Taylor Cylinder," containing annals of the first eight years of his reign. The second, known as "the Bellino Cylinder," comprises the first two years. Both are translated by H. F. Talbot, Esq. The latest editions, having the translator's last revision, are in the *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., whence I now transcribe.

2 Kings xviii. 13: "Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against *all the fenced cities of Judah*, and took them."

Taylor Cylinder, Col. II. 34-83; Col. III. 1-11: "In my third campaign to the land of Syria I went. Luliah¹ king of Sidon (for the fearful splendour of

¹ Elulæus of classical authors.

my majesty had overwhelmed him) to a distant spot in the midst of the sea fled. His land I entered. Sidon the greater, Sidon the lesser, Beth-Zitti,¹ Sarepta, Makalliba, Usu, Akziba,² Akku,³ his strong cities and castles, walled and fenced; and his finest towns (for the flash of the weapons of Ashur my lord had overcome them) made submission at my feet. Tubaal upon the throne over them I seated. A fixed tribute to my majesty, paid yearly without fail, I imposed upon him. Then Menahem king of Ussimiruna, Tubaal king of Sidon, Abd-iliut king of Arvad, Urumilki king of Gubal, Mitinti king of Ashdod, Buduel king of Beth Ammon, Kammuz⁴-Natbi king of Moab, Airammu⁵ king of Edom, the kings of the west country, all of them their great presents and wealth to my presence brought, and kissed my feet. And Zedek king of Ascalon, who had not bowed down to my yoke, the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the race of his father's house I carried off, and brought them to Assyria. Sarludari son of their former king Rukipti over the men of Ascalon I placed; a fixed gift of offerings to my majesty I imposed on him In the course of my expedition, the cities of Beth-Dagon,⁶ Joppa, Bannai-barka,⁷ and Hazor,⁸ cities

¹ The city of Olives.

² Achzib of Jos. xix. 29. Ecdippa of classical authors.

³ Accho of Jud. i. 31. Akka of the Arabs. The modern St. Jean d'Acre.

⁴ Kammuz (or Chemosh) was the chief god of the Moabites.

⁵ Perhaps the same name as Hiram.

⁶ Beth-Dagon in Judah is probably meant. Jos. xv. 41.

⁷ Bene-berek in Jos. xix. 45.

⁸ Hazor in Naphtali, Jos. xix. 36, seems too far north: perhaps Hazar Shual is meant.

of Zedek, which to my feet homage had not rendered, I attacked, captured, and carried off their spoils. The chief priests, noblemen, and people of Ekron who Padiah their king (holding the faith and worship of Assyria) had placed in chains of iron, and unto Hezekiah king of Judah had delivered him, and had acted towards the deity with hostility: these men were now terrified in their hearts. The kings of Egypt and the soldiers, archers, chariots and horses of Ethiopia, forces innumerable, gathered together and came to their assistance. In the plains of Altaku,¹ in front of me they placed their battle array: they discharged their arrows: with the weapons of Ashur my lord, with them I fought, and I defeated them. The chief of the chariots and the sons of the king of Egypt, and the chief of the chariots of the king of Ethiopia, alive in the midst of the battle my hands captured. The city of Altaku and the city of Tamna² I attacked, captured and carried off their spoil. Then I drew nigh to the city of Ekron. The chief priests and noblemen who had committed these crimes I put to death: on stakes all round the city I hung their bodies: the people of the city who had done likewise, together with their wives, to slavery I gave. The rest of them who had not been guilty of faults and crimes, and who sinful things against the deity had not done, to reward them I gave command. Padiah their king from the midst of Jerusalem I brought out, and on a throne of royalty over them I seated. Tribute payable to my majesty I fixed upon him."

The latter part of this extract fully explains what was the *offence* acknowledged by Hezekiah, but of

Eltekon of Jos. xv. 59.

² Timnah of Jos. xv. 10.

which there is no other trace in the Hebrew text. From all else we read there, it would rather seem that the king of Assyria was the offender; for although he had been at war with the northern tribes, he had abundantly avenged himself on them for any default of tribute, or for alliance with the king of Egypt, with whom the Assyrian was at war, and the Jewish king had not so offended him. Ahaz, Hezekiah's predecessor, had been as servile as the Assyrian (Tiglath-Pileser) could wish, and both he and Hezekiah had hitherto paid their tribute; but Hezekiah had now given him, if the cylinder tells truth, an occasion for just complaint. The Phœnician cities had openly revolted, and the present expedition of Sennacherib, marching through Samaria, cut its way through Phœnicia, capturing city after city, as he went to attack Egypt, where he was at war; and he might have been content to pursue that object only, if Hezekiah had not involved himself and his subjects by making common cause with the Phœnicians. The people of Ekron had revolted against Padiah their king, who professed the faith, and followed the worship of Assyria. They deposed him from his petty throne, bound him in chains, and sent him thus disgraced to Jerusalem. Hezekiah received him as a captive, kept him in bonds, and by so doing made himself a party with the enemies of Assyria; who then came into Judea with a hostile force, took the cities, laid the country waste, and having settled matters with Syrians, Philistines, and Egyptians, hastened to chastise the king of Judea, who now, but too late, confesses that he has offended.

2 Kings xviii. 14-18: "And Hezekiah king of Judah

sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, *I have offended*; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great host against Jerusalem. And they went up, and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field."

Taylor Cylinder, III. 11-41: "And Hezekiah king of Judah, who had not bowed down at my feet; forty-six of his strong cities, his castles, and the smaller towns in their neighbourhood beyond number, with warlike engines¹ I attacked and captured. 200,150 people small and great, male and female, horses, mares, asses, camels, oxen and sheep beyond number, from the midst of them I carried off and distributed them as a spoil. He himself, like a bird in a cage, inside Jerusalem his royal city I shut him up; siege-towers against him I constructed. The exit of the great gate of his city to divide it² he had given command. His cities which

¹ Several engines are named, but the names could not be identified.

² To divide the gate means, as the translator thinks, to raise the draw-bridge.

I plundered from his kingdom I cut off, and to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padiah king of Ekron, and Izmi-Bel king of Gaza I gave them. I diminished his kingdom. Beyond the former scale of their yearly gifts, their tribute and gifts to my majesty I augmented and imposed them upon them. He himself, Hezekiah, the fearful splendour of my majesty had overwhelmed him. The workmen, soldiers, and builders whom for the fortification of Jerusalem his royal city he had collected within it, now carried tribute, and with thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver; woven cloth, scarlet, embroidered; precious stones of large size; couches of ivory, moveable thrones of ivory; skins of buffaloes, teeth of buffaloes; dan wood, ku wood, a great treasure of every kind. And his daughters, and the male and female inmates of his palace, male slaves and female slaves, unto Nineveh my royal city after me he sent; and to pay tribute and do homage he sent his envoy."

Nothing can be said in extenuation of the blasphemy of Rabshakeh; for a heathen who believed, or pretended to believe, that every nation had its own god, that the gods fought for the people, and the mightiest gods gave the greatest victories, could possibly regard the God of the Hebrews with contempt: unless, indeed, the conquest of Samaria, and the losses already suffered by the kings of Judah, had led that heathen to believe that the power of Hezekiah's God had declined; but they could not appreciate, and perhaps they did not know, the reason why the Lord had withdrawn His help from the very nation He had raised up and protected. And while

we well know the boastfulness of the Assyrian kings and their flatterers, we must acknowledge that Sennacherib was a successful warrior, and a famous king, who made a prominent place for himself in history. Bearing these remarks in mind, the reader may study the insolent challenge of Rabshakeh, and a part of the inscription on the Bellino cylinder, in which Sennacherib himself is made to boast of achievements which, after all, are not to be denied.

2 Kings xviii. 28, 29, 32, 33, 35 : “ Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews’ language, and spake, saying, Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria : Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you ; for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand Hearken not to Hezekiah, when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand ? ”

Bellino Cylinder, Lines 2-34 : “ Sennacherib the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king unrivalled, the pious monarch, the worshipper of the great gods ; the protector of the just, the lover of the righteous the noble warrior, the valiant hero, the first of all kings, the great punisher of unbelievers, who are breakers of the holy festivals. Ashur, the great lord, has given to me an unrivalled monarchy. Over all princes he has raised triumphantly my arms. In the beginning of my reign I defeated Marduk Baladan, king of

Babylonia,¹ and his allies the Elamites, in the plains near the city of Kish. In the midst of that battle he quitted his camp, and fled alone: he escaped to the city of Gutzumman: he got into the marshes full of reeds and rushes, and so saved his life. The chariots, waggons, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries, which, in the midst of the battle he had abandoned, were captured by my hands. I entered rejoicing into his palace in the city of Babylon: I broke open his royal treasury; gold and silver, precious stones of every kind, goods and valuables, and much royal treasure; his wife, the men and women of his palace, the noblemen, and those who ranked first among all his men of trust, and were clothed with the chief authority in the palace, I carried off, and I counted them as a spoil. I marched after him to the city Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search through the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered.

“In the power of Ashur my lord, 89 large cities and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldea, and 820 small towns in their neighbourhood I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils. The Arabians, Aramæans, and Chaldæans who were in the cities of Erech, Nipur, Kish, Harris-Kalama, and Tiggaba, and the people of the cities which had been in rebellion I carried away, and I distributed them as a spoil. Belibus, the son of a *Rabbani*, who was prefect(?), of

¹ Merodak Baladan, king or viceroy of Babylon, and wily correspondent of Hezekiah. (2 Ki. xx. 12; 2 Chr. xxxii. 3; Isa. xxxi.) When Sennacherib conquered Merodak Baladan, he saved Babylon to the Assyrian empire, so long as it lasted. When Nineveh fell, it became metropolis of the empire which took its name.

Suanna¹ city, who, as a young man, had been brought up in my palace, I placed over them as king of Leshan and Akkadi. During my return, the tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yodakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha, Bukudu, Khamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu, Aramæans all of them, my rebels, I completely conquered. 208,000 people, male and female: 7000 horses and mules; 11,173 asses; 5230 camels; 80,100 oxen; 800,600 sheep; a vast spoil, I carried off to Assyria. In the course of my expedition I received the great tribute of Nebo-bil-zikri, chief of Ararat: gold, silver, meshukan wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep. The people of the city Khirimmi, obstinate enemies, who from old times had never bowed down to my yoke, I destroyed with the sword. Not one soul escaped. That district I settled again. One ox, ten sheep, ten goats(?) (these twenty (-one) beasts being the best of every kind), I appointed as a sacrifice to the gods of Assyria, my lords, in every township.

“In my second expedition, Ashur, the lord, giving me confidence, I marched against the land of the Kassi and Yatsubi Galla (men of great stature), obstinate enemies, who from old times had never submitted to the kings, my fathers. Through the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback, for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below; but in dangerous places I alighted on my feet, and clambered like a mountain goat; the city of Beth-Kilamzakh, their great city, I attacked and took. The inhabitants, small and great, horses, mules,

¹ Suanna was the name of a part of Babylon, accounted sacred.

asses, oxen and sheep, I carried off from it, and distributed them as a spoil. Their smaller towns without number I overthrew, and reduced them to heaps of rubbish. A vast building, which was their hall of assembly, I burnt with fire, and left it in ruins. I rebuilt that city of Beth-Kilamzakh, and I made it into a strong fortress. Beyond former times I strengthened it and fortified it. People drawn from lands subdued by my arms I placed to dwell within it. The people of Kassi and Yatzubi-galla, who had fled away from my arms, I brought down from the mountains, and in the cities of Kar-Thisbe and Beth-kubith I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my general, the prefect of Arrapkha, I placed them. A stone tablet I made: I wrote on it the victories which I had gained over them, and within the city I set it up. Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I took the road to the land of Illipi. Before me Ispabara their king abandoned his strong cities, and his treasures, and fled to a distance. All his broad country I swept like a mighty whirlwind. The city Marupishti, and the city Akkudu, his royal residence, and 34 great cities, with numberless smaller towns in their neighbourhood, I ravaged, destroyed, and burnt them with fire. I cut down their woods. Over their corn-fields I sowed thistles. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert. The inhabitants small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, oxen and sheep beyond number, I carried off and sent them away, until none were left. The strong cities of Sisirta and Kummakhli, and the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, together with the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his land, and

added them to the empire of Assyria. I established the city of Ilinzash to be the royal city and metropolis of that province. I abolished its former name, and I gave it the name of the city of Sennacherib. During my return I received a great tribute from the distant Medians, who, in the days of the kings, my fathers, no one had ever heard even the name of their country; and I made them bow down to the yoke of my majesty."

Within this vast field of conquest there are tribes which no translator can identify, and cities utterly lost out of sight. Successive waves of conquest have razed them to their foundations, and the foundations themselves must lie buried deep under the overgrowth and accumulation of five-and-twenty centuries. But there are some dim traces to show that they belong to the territories named by Rabshakeh in his defiance when he asked, "Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim of Hena, and Ivah?" (2 Ki. xix. 12, 13.) Far from disputing a word of it, the king confirmed it all in the most solemn manner. "Of a truth, Lord," said he, "the kings of Assyria *have* destroyed the nations and their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone, therefore they have destroyed them." (2 Ki. xix. 17, 18.) The annals of Assur-nasir-pal, one of Sennacherib's "fathers," tell how the people of Hamath submitted to his yoke; how the great men and the

multitudes of the city submitted to his yoke, some of them living, and some with their tongues rooted out, and lifeless.¹ Then follows a horrible tale of vengeance. Shalmaneser exults in the capture of two cities in the land of Hamath, with the impressment of 2000 chariots.² Assur-nazir-pal "overthrew, demolished, and reduced to heaps of ruins 250 towns surrounded with strong walls in the land of Nairi, or Mesopotamia.³ Shalmaneser marched through the country of Gozan, between Mesopotamia and Armenia,⁴ and thither Pul and Tiglath Pileser also had carried the Israelites captive. But the extent of those conquests were not so much calculated to terrify Hezekiah and his people as their appalling barbarity; for they crucified or impaled their captives, flayed them alive, deprived them of eyes, ears, and tongues while yet alive, left the bodies to be eaten by birds and beasts of prey, and piled up the heads of the slain in pyramids at the gates of the cities.

Strangely in accord, Rabshakeh and Isaiah agree to confirm our trust in the veracity of the biblical historians. A few more words from the defiance of the Assyrian soldier, with reference to Egypt, furnish an illustration: "Now, behold, thou (Hezekiah) trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which, if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all that trust in him." (2 Ki. xviii. 21.) Jews and Assyrians alike had experience of the falseness of the Pharaohs. Within the narrow space of four years, repeated proof of it is recorded in the Assyrian

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

annals, and the mortification consequent was still rankling in them both. B.C. 715, "Egypt makes alliance with Assyria." B.C. 712, "Egypt stirs up revolt in Palestine against Assyria." And again, in the very next year, B.C. 711, "when Sargon takes Ashdod in Palestine, the king of Egypt abandons his allies,"¹ leaving them to the cruel fate described in the annals of Sennacherib. Isaiah, no less than the heathen soldier, bears the same condemning witness: "Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion." (Isa. xxx. 1-3.) After saying much to the same effect, Ezekiel almost seems, in the spirit of prophetic inspiration, to catch an echo to the bitter truth told by the messenger from Babylon to the king: "All the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the Lord, *because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel.*" (Eze. xxix. 6.)

A common foundation of historic truth lies under the narratives in the Kings and the Chronicles, and also in the official records of the East. We have only to add them all together, taking into consideration the differences of character and position between the several parties, and set down harmonically what they all say, and an enlarged and supplemented piece of history is the result. It would not be thought necessary, I am persuaded, to delete so much as one word from the sacred history, nor to omit anything from

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. II., p. 328, 329.

the Assyrian and Babylonian annals that would disturb the harmony, if indeed we were capable of thinking that the cause of scriptural truth could be served by any sort of suppression or concealment, and were not intimately assured that even if the monuments we quote were very different from what they are, Holy Scripture would suffer no discredit from the fullest disclosure of every ancient document, come whence or be it what it might.

THE ARMY OF SENNACHERIB SMITTEN.

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2 KINGS XIX. 35.

THE annals of Sennacherib do not contain any account of that plague and dispersion of his army which is recorded in the Bible. Neither do those of Nebuchadnezzar tell of his madness. Yet, as the madness of Nebuchadnezzar recorded by Daniel accounts for the intermission of his activity which is apparent in his annals, so there is left in the annals of Sennacherib a space to be occupied by the disastrous event, which is filled up by the sacred historians. (2 Ki. xix.; 2 Chr. xxxii.; Isa. xxxvii..) And I venture to say, that if an inscription were produced purporting to be the annals of either Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar, and relating the madness of the one, or the miraculous rout of the army of the other, the most eminent and most learned Assyrian scholars would be the first to suspect, if not to believe such inscriptions to be spurious. There is, I venture to say, nothing of the kind yet known in the whole round of published Assyrian and Egyptian monumental record.

The Assyrian army had not yet approached Jerusalem, but lay encamped at Lachish, on its way towards Egypt, with Sennacherib at its head. Thither

Hezekiah sent messengers, with a splendid gift, acknowledging his fault, which is elsewhere explained. On receiving this gift at Lachish, Sennacherib resolved to force Hezekiah to absolute submission, with surrender of his kingdom, and "sent Tartan, and Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, to king Hezekiah, with a great host (or strong detachment) against Jerusalem," where Rabshakeh declared war, and demanded surrender, under a threat of destroying Jerusalem; uttering insolent blasphemies. Hezekiah, after consulting the prophet Isaiah, gave no sign of submission, and the messengers, evidently unprepared with sufficient force to execute their threats, returned to their master. "So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish" (2 Ki. xix. 8), which city he appears, by an inscription, on one of the slabs brought to England by Mr. Layard, to have destroyed after a successful siege. "And when he heard say of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee, he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah" with a letter threatening destruction. (2 Ki. xix. 9-13.) Being at Libnah pursuing his campaign and endeavouring to clear the way towards Egypt by the capture of Lachish, in the lowlands on the south-west of Judea, it is evident that Sennacherib was not on march towards Jerusalem, but that he expected at once to encounter the king of Egypt, who was on his way to meet him before he could enter Egypt. He therefore only sent a letter of threatening to Hezekiah, and no doubt expected at Libnah to give battle to Tirhakah. The messengers came to Jerusalem again, delivered the letter to Hezekiah, who

received it from "the hand of the messengers and read it. And Hezekiah went up into the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord." (2 Ki. xix. 14.) Then Isaiah the prophet brought a message of assurance from the Lord to Hezekiah, concluding with these words: "Thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord. For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake." (2 Ki. xix. 32-34.)

During these communications, it is reasonable to suppose that a king so warlike as Sennacherib would be urging his forces on their march, and getting much nearer to Egypt than when he despatched the messengers from Libnah to Jerusalem. Now comes the memorable night: "It came to pass *that night* (ere the messengers could get the answer for their master) that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand, and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." (2 Ki. xix. 35.) On this the inscriptions are silent. What say they elsewhere?

When Herodotus went to Egypt, perhaps two centuries and a half later, he found a report of the event, not historically exact, but changed, as all unwritten imitations of history must be changed by the ignorance, carelessness, or party-bias of the narrators. He reports it thus:

"The next king, I was told, was a priest of Vulcan,

called Sethôn.¹ This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of the Egyptians, as though he did not need their services. Among other indignities which he offered them, he took from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior. Afterwards, therefore, when Sennacherib,² king of the Arabians³ and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors, one and all, refused to come to his aid. On this the monarch, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept, he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send those who should help him. Sethôn, then, relying on the dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans, and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, which commands the entrance into Egypt, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay here, opposite one another, there came in the night a multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bow-strings of the enemy, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they

¹ Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, that the next king after the Sabacos mentioned in the preceding chapter was Tirhakah. (Note in Rawlinson's *Herodotus* on this place.)

² Σαναχάριβος.

³ That the Assyrian empire extended into Arabia, or at least included Arab populations, is evident. Tiglath-Pileser sent Arabs, with others, to re-people Samaria.

commenced their flight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day in the Temple of Vulcan, a stone statue of the king with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: *Whoever thou art that lookest on me, be pious.*"¹

This, at least, is certain, that the Assyrian army was marching to Egypt, and was not near Jerusalem; that the king came forth to meet them; and that by an event which the Egyptians considered to be miraculous, the army was disabled in a single night, and betook themselves to flight. That they attributed the flight to mischief done to their weapons by field-mice, does not in the least degree weaken the credibility of the fact that a great calamity befel the enemy, and not by any ordinary means. By what instrument the angel of the Lord smote the Assyrians we know not, nor did the Egyptians know; but they knew that many fell, and they also knew that many fled. They well knew that field-mice were very destructive,² and would easily believe that they spoiled the quivers, the bow-strings, and the shields, but no multitude of field-mice could kill the greater part of a vast Assyrian army. So this fable at once confirms and disguises the main fact.

¹ *Herodotus*, II., 141. Vulcan is identified with Pthah, the supreme god of Memphis, father of the gods, and victorious over darkness and confusion. (*Pierret. Dict. Égypt. s. v.*)

² Bochart collects a large number of quotations in proof that Phœnicia was infested with field mice, whose ravages were sometimes terrible. (*Hierozoicon*, Lib. III., Cap. xxxiv.) That might be, and it may account for the choice of mice to play a part in the little fable recited to Herodotus; but it was not mice that smote those myriads of men with death.

SENNACHERIB, ESARHADDON, TIRHAKAH.

2 KINGS XVIII. 17-36; XIX. 36, 37.

A PASSAGE in the Annals of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, throws light on a passage in the second book of Kings (2 Ki. xviii. 17-36), and a fragment published as the will of Sennacherib illustrates another passage in the same book. (2 Ki. xix. 36, 37.)

Sennacherib had sent Rabshakeh to defy Hezekiah, and to terrify the inhabitants of Jerusalem into submission. Sennacherib was then at Lachish; Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh were before Jerusalem. When king Hezekiah heard of the words of Rabshakeh, he covered himself with sackcloth, went into the house of the Lord, and sent messengers to intreat Isaiah the prophet to lift up his prayer for the remnant that was left after the humiliation of Judah, and the spoiling and exactions of the enemy. Then Isaiah said to the king's messengers, "Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the word which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish. And when he (Sennacherib) heard say of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee, he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah, saying," etc.

The messengers delivered a letter from Sennacherib, repeating in less offensive language, the defiance so insolently given by Rabshakeh. Then followed the smiting of the Assyrian army by the Angel of the Lord, causing the death of 185,000 men in one night. This again caused the precipitate return of Sennacherib to Nineveh, where he took up his residence for the last time. "And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. *And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.*"

Esarhaddon, as it would appear, was the most favoured son of Sennacherib, who on some occasion had made him very magnificent gifts, and conferred on him a new name, which must have provoked the jealousy of the others. We learn this from an inscription translated by Mr. Sayce, who published it as "The Will of Sennacherib." It reads thus: "I, Sennacherib, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, have given chains of gold, stores of ivory, a *cup* of gold, crowns and chains besides, all the riches of which there are heaps, crystal and other precious stone and bird's-stone: one and a half manehs, two and a half cibi, according to their weight, to Esarhaddon my son, who was afterwards named Assur-cbil-mucin-pal according to my wish; the treasure of the Temple of Annuk and

(Nebo)-irk-erba, the *harpists* of Nebo.”¹ These heaps of treasure, like the humbler gift of Joseph’s many-coloured coat, seem to have brought grief to the giver.

Perhaps the gifts and the name were meant to indicate an intention that the receiver should succeed his father on the throne of Assyria. Esarhaddon himself recorded the accomplishment of such intention in a document which, if it does not convey the idea of a divided family, certainly describes a division in the kingdom. At the time of the parricide, Esarhaddon was in a distant part of the empire, in command of an army, and from the tenor of the inscription it is evident that he also received intelligence of the rebellion of a discontented governor in Chaldea. The first line of the inscription is lost, and the translation begins with the second, thus: “From my heart I made a vow. My liver was inflamed with rage. Immediately I wrote letters (*saying*) that I assumed the sovereignty of my father’s house.” After some inevitable delay for making needful preparations, as the inscription goes on to say, “Then, as a *sirin* spreads its wings, so I displayed my standards, as a signal to my allies; and with much toil, and in haste, I took the road to Nineveh.” He encounters enemies by the way, gets evil tidings, and enters on a troublous reign.²

Certainly Esarhaddon had to encounter Tirhakah, and this part of the history is supplied by his son, Assurbanipal, in the following lines, extracted from his annals: “I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis, son of the great king of Riduti, whom Assur and Sin the lord of crowns, from days remote,

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., second edition, p. 138.

² *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 103, seq.

prophesying his name, have raised to the kingdom, and in the womb of his mother created him to rule Assyria.”¹ Riduti, of which Assurbanipal here speaks, was the north palace of Nineveh, Koyunjik. “I entered into Riduti the palace, the royal property of Sennacherib, the grandfather my begetter, the son of the great king who ruled the kingdom within it, the place *where Esarhaddon, the father my begetter, within it grew up*, and ruled the dominion of Assyria.”² And here we may note, by the way, that we are indebted to Assurbanipal for the preservation of that magnificent library of which, in great part, Mr. George Smith might have been almost designated the curator. He says, “I, Assurbanipal, within it preserved the wisdom of Nebo (god of letters), all the royal tablets, the whole of the clay tablets, all there were, their subjects I studied.”³

Returning now to Sennacherib and Tirhakah, we observe that the sacred historian calls Tirhakah king of *Ethiopia*,⁴ not yet Egypt; for at this time he had not conquered the whole country, nor assumed the title of king over all Egypt; as he did after the conquest of Memphis and Lower Egypt. This appears, from inscriptions on the back of slabs at the entrance of the south-west palace at Nimrud, on a bronze lion dug up at Nebi-yunus, and on the slabs of the palace which Esarhaddon built at Sherif-Khan.⁵ Assurbanipal makes this plain, and so confirms the scriptural account in the following passage of the annals: “Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, of whom Esar-

¹ Column I., lines 1-5.

² Lines 24-28.

³ Lines 31-33.

⁴ מֶלֶךְ כְּנַעַן

⁵ Canon Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, Vol. II., p. 202.

haddon king of Assyria, my father and begetter, *his overthrow had accomplished*, and had taken possession of his country; he, Tirhakah, the power of Assur, Ishtar, and the great gods my lords, despised, and trusted to his own might. Of the kings and governors whom in the midst of Egypt the father my begetter had appointed, to slay, plunder, and to capture Egypt he came against them; he entered and sat in Memphis, the city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the boundaries of Assyria had added.”¹ The interval of time between the discomfiture of Sennacherib and the victory of Assurbanipal was occupied by the reign of Esarhaddon over Assyria, with his defeat of Tirhakah the Ethiopian, who retreated again to Thebes, when Assurbanipal took possession of Lower Egypt, as related in the annals: “Tirhakah, in the midst of Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army; the terror of Assur and Ishtar overcame him, and he went forward; fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him, and his gods glorified me before my camp. Memphis he abandoned, and to save his life he fled into Thebes.”²

The pursuit of Tirhakah to Thebes, where he was then again acknowledged as king of Ethiopia, but where he was eventually conquered by the Assyrian, and died, with the temporary annexation of both Memphis and Thebes to Assyria, by that time sinking into swift decay, lies beyond the scope of these notes.

One of the most remarkable events in the life of Esarhaddon was his carrying Manasseh, king of Judah, captive to Babylon.

¹ Column I., lines 52-62.

² Lines 85-90.

MANASSEH.

2 CHRONICLES XXXIII. 2, 9, 11.

MANASSEH, son and successor of Hezekiah, "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, like unto the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel." "So Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err, and to do worse than the heathen." "Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon." (2 Chr. xxxiii. 2, 9, 11.) A full account of Manasseh's abominations is also to be found in the second book of Kings (xxi.). The captivity of this apostate king in Babylon is mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon discovered in Koyunjik, and translated by Mr. Talbot.

"I assembled the kings of Syria, and of the nations beyond the sea: Baal king of Tyre: Manasseh king of Judah: Kadmukh king of Edom: Mitzuri king of Moab: Reuben(?) king of Gaza: Mitinti king of Ascalon: Ituzu king of Amgarvun: Milki-Asaph king of Gubal: Kulu-Baal king of Arvad: Abi-Baal king of Ussimiruna: Buduel king of Beth-Ammon: Ussur-Milki king of Ashdod: *the twelve kings of the sea coast.*

“Also Ekistuz king of Edihal (and nine others who are named in order), *the ten kings of Cyprus*, which is in the middle of the sea : altogether *twenty-two kings of Syria and the sea-coast*, and the islands, all of them, and I passed them in review before me.”¹

When our translators say that Manasseh was taken “among the thorns” they give *one* meaning of the Hebrew word,² but fail to give its proper signification in this place. Esarhaddon took him not among thorns, but *with hooks*, or *rings*, such as were actually used to make prisoners more helplessly at the mercy of their captors, who passed the sharp iron through their nostrils or lips, and so led them. Manasseh was thus led away, perhaps to the cage in which he was to be shut up while conveyed to Babylon. So was this recreant son of a faithful father subjected to the painful and ignominious punishment which it suited the savage nature of Esarhaddon to inflict. For he was no less wantonly and atrociously cruel than any, even the worst, of his predecessors.

It had pleased Esarhaddon to separate twenty-two kings from the promiscuous multitude of captives, and to keep them near his person, while the people were otherwise disposed of. No doubt they were subject to the utmost degradation, exposed to the vilest insults, mortified and tormented in every way possible, so that the author of the books of Chronicles might well say, “When he was *in affliction* he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 107.

² פְּחוּרִים “in iron hooks,” or “clasp-rings.” The Septuagint say ἐν δεσμοῖς. The Vulgate “catenis.” The old Latin “vinculis.” The Judeo-Spanish, best of all, “grillos.”

God of his fathers." (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12.) The kings were taken to Babylon, where Esarhaddon had a palace and sometimes resided, but the great body of captives were distributed, probably, to various public works; and how they were afflicted we may learn to conjecture from what is said in another inscription immediately after the mention of the kings: "I caused crowds of them to work in fetters in making bricks. That small palace, I pulled down the whole of it. Much earth in baskets from the fields I brought away, and threw it upon that spot, and with stones of great size I completed the mound. . . . Great beams and rafters of ebony-wood, cedar and cypress from the mountains of Sirar and Lebanon, divine images, bas-reliefs, stone *ilu*, slabs of granite and alabaster, and of various other stones from the mountain quarries, the place of their origin, for the adornment of my palace, with labour and difficulty, unto Nineveh they brought along with them."¹

How men were leashed to the immensely thick cables to which incalculably ponderous loads were attached, what mechanical appliances were in use, and how pitilessly the drivers of those human cattle beat them with clubs to compel desperate efforts, may be seen on the sculptured slabs of the Gallery of the British Museum. Some idea may so be formed of the greatness of their affliction!

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 120.

LACHISH.

2 KINGS XVIII., XIX.

LACHISH, a strong city of the Philistines, is not mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib already quoted. It is, however, mentioned in the Bible as one of the Philistinian cities which Sennacherib punished for their disaffection to himself and their alliance with the king of Egypt, with whom the Assyrians were at war. After the account of its conquest by Joshua, very little indeed is said of Lachish in the sacred text beyond what is recorded, that "Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear," etc. The same is noted elsewhere (2 Ki. xviii. 14.) And in the next chapter (xix. 8) it is "heard that he was departed from Lachish."

Now when it is remembered that Sennacherib is in the height of his victories, carrying all before him, and having under his own absolute command a force that nothing could resist, and attacking a place where men and women tremble at the sound of his name, it is not possible to believe that he has departed from Lachish with the downcast air of a man disappointed of his prey, or too much cowed by superior strength to carry on hostilities. Under this persuasion we survey a bas-relief, taken from a temple he built in

the city of Nineveh, and actually transported from Koyunjik to London, wherein he is represented as sitting on a royal throne, with his right arm uplifted, and holding two arrows; resting on a bow which he holds with his left hand, and having the following words cut in the marble over his head:

“Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment, before the city of Lachish;¹ I give permission for its slaughter.”²

Probably this was his last sentence, abandoning the city to the cupidity and brutality of his army, and leaving the population, men, women, and children, to unsparing slaughter. This done, there can be no more to do, and he coolly “departs from Lachish,” leaving the desolated ruins, with the unburied carnage, to be a terror to Philistia, Judea, and Egypt.

¹ Lakhisha.

² This may be seen, with other marbles from the same palace, in the Assyrian Basin in the British Museum. The inscription is translated by Mr. Layard, who found it, and describes the sculpture in his *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 152.

ASSYRIA.

THE DOOM OF ASHDOD.

ISAIAH XX. 1, 2.

“**I**N the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and fought against Ashdod, and took it; at the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah, the son of Amoz.” (Is. xx. 1, 2.)

Ashdod, in the time of the prophet, was a strongly fortified city, capital of one of the Phœnician states, of which nothing now remains but its name, Arabianized into *Esdud*. It was then a place of great consequence. Situate on the road from Jerusalem to Egypt, capable of resisting an enemy, when strong walls often served instead of strong armies, and supported by all the states of the Philistines, it was a place well fitted for political intrigues. An ill disposed king could do incalculable mischief there by harbouring criminal fugitives, promoting active disturbers of the peace of other communities, and plotters of rebellion. Azuri was one of the worst of them. He was an active promoter of revolt against Assyria, to which power all Philistia was tributary, as well as Judah and Samaria, and an agent of the king of Egypt, who was at war with Assyria. Isaiah predicted that the king of Assyria would take away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, to the shame of Egypt; and that the adherents of Egypt

should be ashamed of Egypt their expectation, and of Egypt their glory, and should ask whither they might flee for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria, and how they should escape.

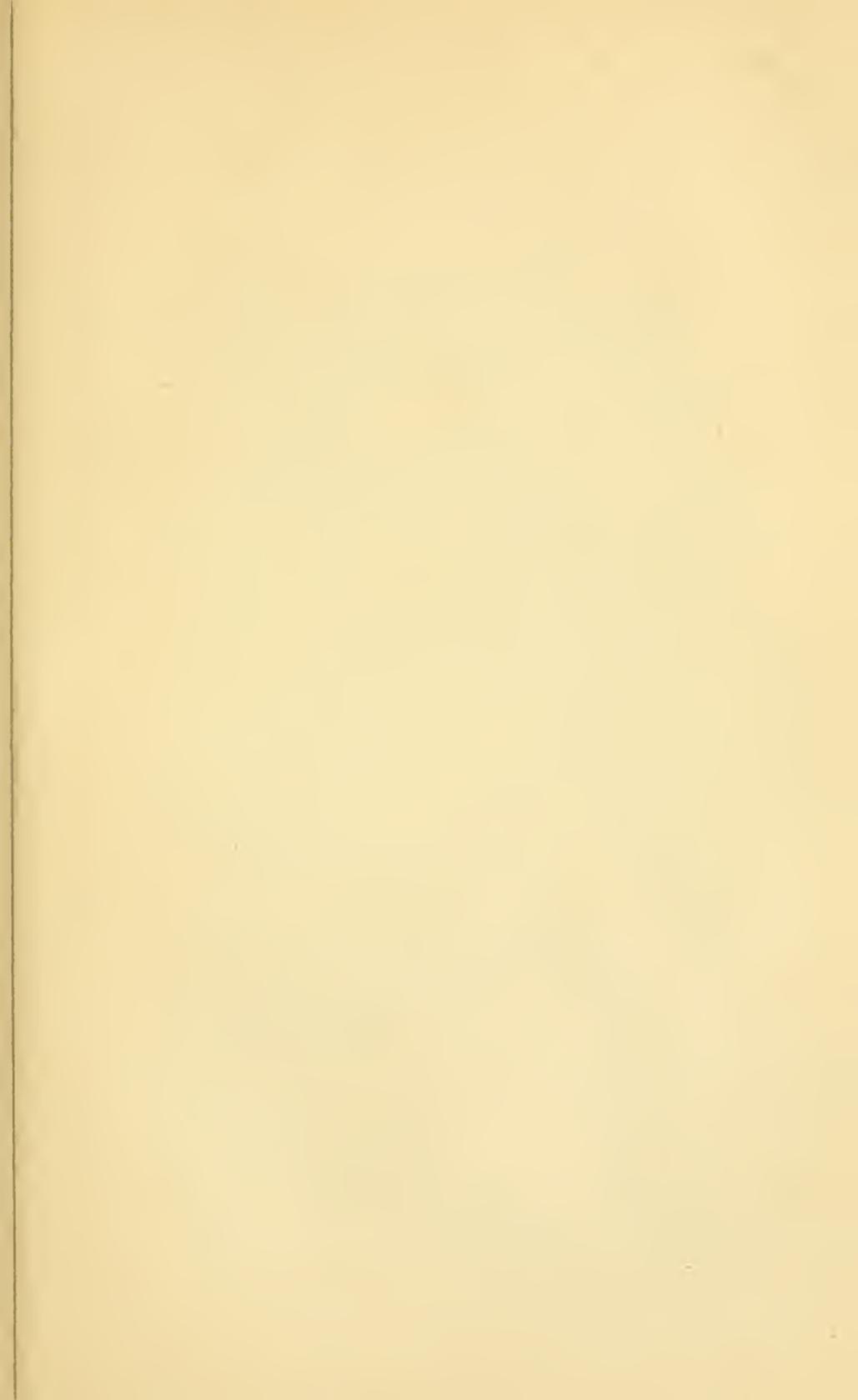
Mr. Smith discovered, when at Nineveh, some fragments of a cylinder containing a long history of the reign of Sargon, and translated therefrom the following account of the expedition mentioned by Isaiah. I take the liberty of setting aside the transposition of the words, so as to make the style of the translation English.

“In my ninth expedition to the land beside the great sea, I went to Philistia and Ashdod. Azuri, king of Ashdod, hardened his heart not to bring tribute, and sent enemies of Assyria to the kings round him, and did evil. I broke his dominion over the people round him, and carried off From that time Ahimiti son of his brother, I raised before his face, and appointed him over his kingdom. I appointed over him taxes and tribute to Assyria like that of the kings round him. But the evil people hardened their heart not to bring taxes and tribute, and revolted against their king, and for the good he had done they drove him away, and appointed to the kingdom over them Yavan (who was) not heir to the throne. They seated him on the throne of their lord, and prepared their cities to make war they fortified the dominion against capture; they faced its and excavated a ditch around it (*i.e.* Ashdod). They made it twenty cubits (34 feet) in its depth, and brought the waters of the springs in front of the city. The people of Philistia, Judah, Edom and Moab, dwelling beside the sea, bringing tribute and presents

to Assur my lord, were speaking treason. The people and their evil chiefs carried their presents unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, a monarch who could not save them, and besought his alliance to fight against me. I Sargon the noble prince, revering the oath of Assur and Merodach, guarding the honour of Assur, passed my warriors of my guard entirely over the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in their full flood. And he, Yavan their king, who trusted in his own might, and did not submit to my dominion, heard of the advance of my expedition to the land of the Hittites, and the majesty of Assur my lord overwhelmed him, and he fled away to the border of Egypt, the shore of the river at the boundary of Meroe he took part under the waters a place remote, and his hiding-place was not discovered. The cities of Ashdod and Gimzo of the Ashdodites I besieged and captured. His gods, his wife, his sons and his daughters, his furniture and goods, and the treasures of his palace, with the people of his country, I counted as a spoil, and I built those cities a second time. I seated within them people the conquests of my hands from the midst of the countries of the rising sun; and I placed them with the people of Assyria, and they performed my pleasure."¹

This inscription is not only valuable for its singular adaptation to the brief prophecy of Isaiah in relation to Ashdod, Egypt, and Assyria, but also as it sheds light on the position of Judea in relation to all those countries, and most especially at the juncture preceding the last advance of Sennacherib against Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah.

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 289-292.





Nineveh.

NINEVEH.

JONAH I. 2.

ASSUR, whose name passes to the country of Assyria, and whom the Assyrians deified, was the founder of Nineveh. "Out of that land (Shinar) went forth Assur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah; and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." (Gen. x. 11, 12.) Nineveh retains its original name; the two great mounds of Koyunjik and Nebi Yunus are on its site, and the ancient walls in almost unbroken continuity certify its original extent. The city Rehoboth cannot be found. Calah is covered with the mounds of Nimrud, on the east bank of the Tigris, about twenty miles south of Nineveh. Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300) built a new city, or enlarged the old one in Calah. Assur-nasir-pal rebuilt the city and erected a palace during his reign. The sculptures in the Nimrud gallery in the British Museum were brought thence. The names of Tiglath Pileser II., Sargon, Esarhaddon, and his grandson, Assur-ebil-ili, the last king of Assyria, are also intimately associated with Calah.¹

Nineveh is said by some to have been founded by Nimrod; but that is contrary to the Hebrew text of Genesis,² which cannot be fairly made to favour any

¹ G. Smith, *Discoveries*, p. 72, 73.

² כְּדִבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר יָצָא אֲשֶׁר בְּנֵי אֲדַמִּיתָה

such interpretation. Assur-ubalid (B.C. 1400) restored the temple of Ishtar, and from this time Nineveh rose in importance. Shalmaneser (B.C. 1300) again restored the temple of Ishtar, built a palace, and made the city the seat of government. From this time successive sovereigns did similar works, until Assur-nasir-pal (B.C. 885) rebuilt both temple and palace in great splendour. After him, again, other kings added to the architectural features of the city, until Sargon (B.C. 722) made Dur-sargina a royal city, honoured with his own name, which much displeased the Ninevites. Then Sennacherib came to the throne, and at once set to work to restore the glory of Nineveh, the great capital of Assyria.¹ As it was during his reign that the state of the Israelites was most affected by relations with Assyria, the annals of Sennacherib can be most appropriately quoted for an account of Nineveh.

“ In those days, Nineveh, the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar: within which dwells the worship of the gods and goddesses. The ancient *timin*² of its palace, those of old time had stamped its clay with *sacred*(?) writing, and repeated it in the companion-tablets. A splendid place, a storehouse of every kind, and a treasury for all their jewels and regalia, they erected within it. Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 91, 92.

² *Timin*. The *timin* was the terra-cotta tablet, or cylinder, deposited in the hollow of the foundation stone. Sometimes such a stone, with its *timin*, was at each of the four corners, or at every angle of a palace or temple. It was regarded with peculiar reverence, and intended to remain for ever. If removed, and found by a subsequent king, or in his reign, it would be the duty of that king to have it restored to its proper place.

me over Assyria, and governed the city of Bel (*i.e.*, Nineveh); and every year without fail augmented its interior rooms, and treasured up in them all their revenues which they received from the four countries. Not one among them all, though the central palace was too small to be their royal residence, had the knowledge nor the wish to improve it. As to caring for the health of the city, by bringing streams of water into it, and the finding of new springs, none turned his thoughts to it, nor brought his heart to it. Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, resolved in my mind to complete this work, and I brought my heart to it. Men of Chaldæa, Aram, Manna, Kue, and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke, I brought away as captives, and I compelled them to make bricks. In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldæa, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tale of bricks, in order to complete this work. The former palace, of 360 measures long, adjoining the gardens of the great tower: 80 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the temple of Ishtar: 134 measures wide, adjoining the watchtower of the house of worship: and 95 measures wide which the kings my fathers, who went before me, had built for their royal residence, but had not beautified its front. The river Tibilti¹ had ruined the brickwork of it when it ravaged the quays of the central city.² The trees of

¹ Tibilti. Perhaps another name for the Tigris, meaning "The Stream of Fertility." Most of the rivers appear to have had fanciful or poetical names: we there read that the Euphrates was called "Life of the Land;" and the Tigris "Babilat Nukhsi," or "Stream of Gladness," etc., etc.

² Central city. The old palace is called in the Bull Inscription, "The Palace of the Central city."

its gardens had been burnt for firewood years ago. For a long time this river had undermined the front of the palace. In the high water of its floods it had made great rents in the foundation, and had washed away the *timin*. That small palace I pulled down, the whole of it. I made a new channel for the river Tibilti, I regulated its water, I restrained its flow. Within its old limits I walled up its stream. The low platform¹ I raised higher, and paved it firmly with stones of great size, covered with bitumen, for a space of 354 measures in length, and 279 in breadth. That space I elevated above the waters, and restored it to be again dry ground. 1700 measures long: 162 measures wide on the upper side towards the north; 217 measures wide in the centre, 386 measures wide on the lower side towards the south, fronting the river Tigris, I completed the mound, and I measured the measure. The *timin* of old times had not been forgotten, owing to the veneration of the people. With a layer of large stones I enclosed its place, and I made its deposit secure. The written records of my name, 160 fathoms of bas-reliefs, I sculptured in the palace, but the lower part of the wall, next to the ground, I left to be filled up in future times. Afterwards I resolved to have more tablets carved. I sculptured twenty fathoms of them, in addition to the former ones, so that I formed 180 fathoms of them altogether. The enclosure itself I increased beyond what it was in former days: above the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I liberally augmented its dwellings. And its fine buildings of

¹ Low platform. The old palace being pulled down, its platform remained, but so low as to be nearly on a level with the neighbouring river.

ivory, *dan* wood, *ku* wood, *meshukan* wood, cedar wood, cypress wood, and pistachio wood. And in the midst I placed my royal residence, the palace of Zakdi-nu-isha.¹ Around it I planted the finest of trees, equal to those of the land of Khamana, which all who are knowing prefer to those of the land of Chaldea. By my care I caused the uprising of springs in more than forty places in the plain: I divided them into irrigating canals for the people of Nineveh, and gave them to be their own property. To obtain water to turn the flour mills, I brought it in pipes from Kishreh to Nineveh, and I skilfully constructed water-wheels. I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kut-zuru² from the distance of half a kasbu³ into those reservoirs, and I covered them well. Of Nineveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged the dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones, and I widened those which were too narrow. I made them as splendid as the sun. In future days, if one of the kings, my sons, whom Assur shall call to the sovereignty over this land and people, when this palace shall grow old and decay, shall repair its injuries, shall see the written record of my name, shall raise an altar and sacrifice a male victim, and shall then replace it in its place, Assur will hear and accept his prayers.”⁴

Although such extensive works as these were not accomplished when, by the word of the Lord to Jonah, Nineveh was described as “that great city, wherein were more than six score thousand persons that could

¹ Has-not-an-equal.

² Kutzuru. Still called the Khausser.

³ The kasbu is seven miles.

⁴ “Annals of Sennacherib” from Bellino’s Cylinder, by Mr. Fox Talbot. *Records of the Past*, first edition, Vol. I., p. 28-32.

not discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle" (Jon. iv. 11), it is evident from this detailed account of the vast improvements and additional works of Sennacherib, that such works could only have been conducted in a city already great. It is to be remembered that the predecessors of this magnificent builder had at their command immense bodies of artificers and labourers, with an ever-increasing revenue from subject and tributary states. The most choice of captives, and the richest of the spoil, were always taken to swell the population and enrich the treasury of Nineveh; the native population of the capital of so great an empire being naturally large, independently of such accessions. It is evident from the remains of the palace of Assurbani-pal, which are to be seen in the Nimrud gallery of the British Museum, that the art of sculpture was considerably advanced in the time of Jonah, with no scarcity of skilled workmen; while the subjects of these Assyrian sculptures indicate what the cuneiform inscriptions abundantly confirm, active warfare and national wealth, with much barbarity.

With persons of one class, not knowing the right hand from the left, numbering 120,000, where, nevertheless, the intelligence and culture of the greatest empire of that age were congregated, calculate as you may, the aggregate of all classes must have been very great. The city in those days was, no doubt, ill provided with many things necessary for the health of the inhabitants: probably the mass of the population was poor, the city was certainly unclean; but, beyond the shadow of a doubt, it was great.

The dimensions of the royal city may even now be

known by the extent of its walls, of which the remains are at this day conspicuous, in some places now standing fifty feet high, above the *debris* at their foot, and in circuit nearly nine miles. This is indeed considerable, but the area therein enclosed was not covered with buildings like an English town. There was the grand and spacious palace at Koyunjik, and the lesser palace at Nebi Yunus, with their stately halls, long galleries, and multitudinous chambers, with surrounding gardens and grounds, and at least four temples; palaces, too, for gods and priests; courts and high places for the worshippers. The temples were: two for Ishtar, the patron goddess, one for Nebo, and a ziggurat or temple-tower. Here dwelt lords and princes, the highest officers of state and others in long descending rank, each having his retinue of servants, and many, if not all, their harems. No room could be found for a general population within those enclosures, nor, from what we know of eastern cities, would such a population be admissible within the royal precinct. Outside that, covered again by outer walls, lay the great city far and wide, with its myriads and myriads of people, flourishing gardens, broad pastures, and much cattle, the whole covered again, as the wet moat covers the garrison, with the waters of the Tigris, the Zab, and the Khosr.

SIN AND REPENTANCE OF THE NINEVITES.

JONAH III.

WE are indebted to Nineveh for a rich treasure of historic evidence, laid up in its ruins for nearly 2500 years. The cry of Jonah (chap. iii. 4), "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," threatened an overthrow sudden, utter, and irremediable. The Ninevites repented. But repentance wrought by terror, produced but scanty fruit, and soon was over.

Could the precise date of Jonah's mission be ascertained, that might serve as a clue to discover the actual state of affairs when this took place. In the absence of general agreement on this point, let us take what we find in the margin of the English Bible, and assume that the prophet entered the city in the year 862 before Christ. The monarch then on the throne of Assyria was Assur-nasir-pal, who reigned from 883 to 858, a period of twenty-five years. Accepting these dates, we would say that Jonah was in Nineveh in the twenty-first year of that king's reign; but even allowing a range of twenty years, more or less, from the first or second year of Assur-nasir-pal to the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser II., the character of the two kings is so similar, and the manners of the Ninevites at any time within the last

half of the ninth century before our era so unchanged, that we can perceive what were the sins that provoked the Divine displeasure, and see how great was the need of repentance both in king and people.

The Assyrians could not be exceeded in shameless barbarity. The annalist of Assur-nasir-pal, if not the king himself, boasts of it. Such sentences as the following need no comment :

“I am a king, I am a lord, I am glorious, I am great, I am mighty, I have arisen, I am chief, I am a prince, I am a warrior, I am great and I am glorious, Assur-nasir-habal, a mighty king of Assyria.” “Bubu, son of Bubua, son of the prefect of Nistun, in the city of Arbela *I flayed ; his skin I stretched in contempt upon the wall.*” “To Suri which is in Bit-Halupe I drew near ; the fear of the approach of Assur my lord overwhelmed them ; the great men and the multitudes of the city, for the saving of their lives, coming up after me, submitted to my yoke !” and notwithstanding their prompt submission and their meek reception of their conqueror, he says, “some slain, some living, some tongueless I made.” “A trophy along the length of the great gate (of Suri) I erected : the rebellious nobles who had revolted against me, and *whose skins I had stripped off*, I made into a trophy, some in the middle of the pile I left to decay ; some on the top of the pile *on stakes I impaled ;* some by the side of the pile I placed in order on stakes ; many, within view of my land I flayed ; their skins on the walls I arranged.” This horrible operation seems to be repeated everywhere.

“With my arms I destroyed 600 of their fighting men ; 3000 of their captives I consigned to the

flames; as hostages I left not one of them alive; Hulai the governor of their town I captured by my hand alive; their corpses into piles I built; their boys and maidens I dishonoured." Again, in another place, "200 of their captives in the flame I burned;" "much booty I burned with fire; many soldiers I captured alive; of some I chopped off the hands and feet; of others the noses and ears I cut off; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes; one pile of bodies while yet alive, and one of heads I reared up on the heights within their town; their heads in the midst I hoisted." "Their corpses like rubbish on the hills I piled up; their common people in the tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed; their spoil, their property I carried off." "200 of his soldiers, taken by my hands alive, I left to rot on the wall of his palace." "Their populace in the flames I burned." "700 of their soldiers I there impaled on stakes." "6500 of their warriors I smote down by my weapons; the remainder in starvation in the desert of the Euphrates I shut up." "The living soldiers I crucified on crosses at the gates of the town."¹ On the Bellino cylinder there is yet another example of diabolical barbarity: "The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames."

This king may be considered pre-eminent in the practice of such atrocities, but all the Assyrians were guilty of the like. Greed and ambition were the first incentives to their hostile expeditions, and the revolts provoked by their tyranny were made pretexts for insatiable vengeance. Their kings sought to maintain by terror the empire thus acquired. How they im-

¹ "Annals of Assur-nasir-pal," *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 39, seq.

paled or flayed alive their victims may be seen in those sculptured war-scenes which adorned their palaces. To annihilate such a nation would be a mercy to mankind, and when Nineveh was threatened with destruction within forty days, both king and people felt the terror which falls upon the guilty.

Yet they made profession of extraordinary piety. Sennacherib calls the Nineveh of his time "the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, within which dwelt the worship of all the gods and goddesses." This Assur-nasir-pal calls himself "worshipper of the great gods," and under the beneficent protection of them all. His treasury was glutted with the spoils of conquered, yet unoffending peoples. His wealth consisted of extorted tribute, the loot of abandoned palaces, the involuntary gifts of remote tribes who sought to avert the threatened plague of Assyrian soldiery by emptying their substance at the feet of their chief, of whose terrible exploits they had heard, while, to borrow his own words, he "swept the country like a mighty whirlwind; ravaged, destroyed, and burnt the towns with fire, cut down the woods, sowed the corn-fields with thistles, left the lands a desert, and carried off the inhabitants, small and great, male and female, with horses, mules, asses, oxen and sheep beyond number, until none were left." Therefore came the word of the Lord unto Jonah, saying, "Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me." (Jon. i. 2.) For this the prophet cried, as he entered the city, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." (Jon. ii. 4.) Smitten with guilty fear, as if all the countries he had wasted were coming

with one vast army with vengeance to overthrow Nineveh, the blood-thirsty king arose from his throne, laid his robe from him, covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and with his nobles caused a decree to be proclaimed and published throughout Nineveh, "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing, let them not feed, nor drink water; but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his own way, *and from the violence that is in their hands*; who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?" (Jon. iii. 5-9.)

This confession of the violence that was "in their hands" is admirably proper. It suits exactly the picture of murderous violence depicted in the annals above quoted. One might suppose that the prophet had set their sin before them, and taught them their duty to put that habitual violence away. They repented, says our Lord, at "the preaching" of Jonah, which must have been much more than the first alarming cry. (Matt. xii. 41.) So the author of the book of Jonah says that they turned from their evil way, from the violence that was in their hands. (Jon. iii. 10.)

But the change was prompted by fear, and the repentance, sincere for a moment, passed away. Nahum followed after Jonah, saw them relapsed into their old ways, and his prophetic denunciation gave no hope that the Lord would show forbearance any more. He, too, cried aloud, "Woe to the bloody city! It is all full of lies and robbery. The prey departeth not. The noise of a whip, and the noise of

the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear, and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is none end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses." (Nah. iii. 1-3.) By this time Shalmaneser and Sargon have spent fury on the captive Israelites enslaved in Assyria, and toiling under taskmasters. He declares that the same "violence" that was condemned through Jonah is now to be visited upon Nineveh by the overthrow which was then threatened, but respited, and the respite is now withdrawn. "God is jealous, and the Lord revengeth, and is furious; the Lord will take vengeance on his adversaries, and reserveth wrath for his enemies." (Nah. i. 2.) "It shall come to pass that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste." (Nah. iii. 7.) The prophet glances at the circumstances which will attend the fulfilment of this denunciation. "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." (Nah. ii. 6.) "The gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars." (Nah. iii. 13.) There were no native historians to describe the catastrophe which Nahum had so fully predicted in these few words, but some indistinct and clashing rumours have been collected, and the charred fragments of the palace and its furniture demonstrate how literal was the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Notwithstanding the faults of Ctesias as an historian, we must be content to have him as our only informant of some particulars concerning the fall

of Nineveh. He was a Greek physician in the Persian Court, where he spent seventeen years, and wrote a history of the Assyrians and Persians, for which he had the best accessible materials. Diodorus the Sicilian copies his description, and all that I can do is to repeat what has been repeated often and again from this one source, but is acknowledged to be quite consistent with probability. The readers of these pages may observe that those Assyrian kings who distinguished themselves as great conquerors made frequent incursions into Media, where they had many settlements and whither Shalmaneser carried his captives from Samaria. It is also well known that Babylonia submitted most unwillingly to the Assyrian kings, and that at this very time an Assyrian viceroy, with a strong military force, was resident in Babylon to hold it in subjection. From Media, therefore, and from Babylonia, trouble might always be apprehended, and thence it came. Cyaxares (so called by the Greeks) first king of Media, and the Assyrian viceroy in Babylon, the former as a declared enemy, and the latter as a traitor in revolt against his sovereign, united their forces, aided also by Scyths and by Arabians, and marched to Nineveh with a combined force of 400,000 men. After some fighting of doubtful issue, the king of Nineveh, whom Ctesias calls Saracus, retired into the city, shut himself up, and stood a siege. For two years the Medo-Babylonian army lay encamped outside, and Saracus, trusting in the strong walls and natural defences, lay within. Strong walls, extending to the Zab eastward, resisted the advance of the enemy; and the main channel of that river, down to its junction with the Tigris, was a protection

against the enemy on the east and south : the deep and rapid Tigris, flowing past the city on the west, was trusted as a yet more effectual defence, and Saracus felt secure.

But during the winter rains, the Tigris, more swollen than usual, overflowed its banks, and softened the foundation of the wall ; probably where the north-western angle, or bend of the wall, approached the river, and gradually undermined it by force of the descending flood. At last a portion of the lofty wall suddenly gave way, fell with a thundering crash, and left a wide breach to be open to the besiegers when the waters had subsided. The sound of the ruin was a signal of death to Saracus. With his own hands he set fire to the palace, and threw himself into the flames. The enemy soon rushed into the city, and whether they, or the Ninevites, or both, cast the fire-brands, a general conflagration devoured Nineveh. Probably the inhabitants were spared, for they would fraternize with their Babylonian kinsfolk. Either as captives or as allies, they crossed the Tigris, gave their hands to labour, and Mosul arose quickly on the opposite bank ; a second, but meaner Nineveh, which continues to this day, a ruinous and filthy place.

Old Nineveh, with all its grandeur, was but a city, or *cities*, of clay. Thick walls, indeed, were carried up high, but they were made of nothing better than sun-dried clay, sometimes defended with an outside casing of baked brick. Thus even temples and palaces were walled with perishable material. Colossal figures of winged bulls and lions, most of them human-headed, were at the portals. Sculptured

marble facing adorned the chambers, but these ornamental accessories did not sustain any part of the barbaric piles. The precious *rilievi* represented kings, gods, and armies, warlike expeditions and royal hunts, sieges, conquests, triumphs, industries. Thus those halls of state became sculpture-galleries, reared to perpetuate scenes of kingly magnificence. After the sculptor had exhausted his utmost skill, the graver showered on all the available surfaces of his work in broad, historic bands, myriads of combinations of wedge and arrow-headed characters. The walls, weather-beaten and deserted, softened and fell, yet so slowly as not to overturn in mass, but gradually bury out of sight the costly works; the soft heap saving them from atmospheric corrosion and brute violence for nearly twenty-five centuries.

Charred cedar of Lebanon, and other precious woods fallen from roofs and floors, split and half calcined marble statues, found under the mounds, give proof that however far from perfection Ctesias may have been, he was not mistaken when he wrote of burning palaces.

Within the last five-and-twenty years, with insight and perseverance beyond example in human history these records have disclosed ideograph and syllabary to the decipherers; more than one or two languages have been recovered from utter oblivion, reduced to grammar, and may now be learned and translated as easily as if they were Attic Greek, or the Hebrew of Moses. They bring us the history, the mythology, the science, and philosophy of those great empires when in their greatest glory.

While all this treasure lay safely guarded by all-

wise Providence in the silent earth, the geographers of Greece and Rome believed Nineveh to be extinct with Troy and with Mycenæ. Pliny the elder wrote his *Ninus fuit . . . urbs quondam clarissima*, but knew not on which side of the Tigris the once most famous city stood. Pausanias moralised on the deletion by cruel fortune of Ninus and Bœotian Thebes. Most people said that Nineveh was irrecoverably lost. Oriental tradition did indeed linger on her grave, but the Musulmans ignorantly built wretched little villages over the palaces and temples of Sennacherib, Esarhad-don, and Sardanapulus; while the Jews and Christians of Mosul, somewhat more enlightened, pointed to the mounds with a certain traditional respect. Seven centuries ago Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela visited Mosul, found that only a bridge of boats over the Hiddekel¹ separated him from the soil once trodden by Shalmaneser, conqueror of Samaria. But he did not set foot upon it. He did not turn aside upon the track of the ten captive tribes, whose living progeny he had come to seek. He counted seven thousand Israelites in Mosul, glanced across the river, saw the wilderness, cried, "A desolation!"² gave a brotherly farewell to his brethren in the second Nineveh, and went on with his visitation of the Asiatic synagogues. We shall not now follow him, but wait here awhile, to take the benefit of recent explorations and scientific survey.

Captain Felix Jones, "appointed surveyor in Mesopotamia," has examined the mounds, followed the excavators and antiquarians, surveyed the country all round, and sent his authenticated maps to the British

¹ Tigris.

² הרבה

Government, with minutely detailed written explanations. He inclines to the belief that Jonah's enumeration of its inhabitants has reference to the whole of the tract between the Tigris and the Zab, measuring from the juncture of the rivers high enough northward to include Khorsabad. He calculates the entire circuit to be sixty-one and a half miles. "Koyunjik (he says) may be properly called the acropolis of Nineveh," and the whole area, containing much cattle, as well as six or seven hundred thousand souls, would take the name of Nineveh. This, to my own mind, has all the evidence of certainty.

One feature of the ancient cities, clustered on the plain within the circuit now marked out, and having their natural defence in the rivers, the marsh lands, and the mountains around, consists of a multitude of solid brick pyramids of considerable height, so constructed that hundreds of persons might cover the sides of each of them. They are literally *high places*, but unlike those in Palestine; and Captain Jones supposes that they might serve as places of assemblage for prayer, or adoration of the gods.

No language can be better than his own for comparison with the third and fourth chapters of the book of Jonah. He says that "these works, more than any thing else, speak of the populousness of the district (of Koyunjik and Nebi Yunus), and indeed of all Assyria, for they exist in every direction within the extended limits of that empire. Every homestead appears to have had one attached, and if really intended for sacred practices, we may imagine the solemnity of the scene presented by the assemblage of congregations around the various pyramidal altars

in the open air. Any sufficient signal by day, or a sacred fire at night, displayed from the chief sanctuary, might have prostrated the whole nation, under the great canopy of heaven only, in simultaneous prayer." From the acropolis at Koyunjik a signal might summon all the surrounding population to attention. Swift messengers might "proclaim and publish through Nineveh the decree of the king and his nobles." Man and beast covered with sackcloth; the king sitting in ashes; the crowds upon the high places, crying aloud to God; Jonah in retreat somewhere on the hills you see marked on the map, east of the royal city; every habitation empty; the most high God unseen, yet present, relenting with the repentance of the people; the impatient prophet, under his withered gourd, sullenly listening to the word of the Lord: "Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?" All this indicates a scene of grandeur surpassing the powers of language to describe.¹

¹ *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh, etc.*, by Felix Jones, London, 1855. With three maps.

ASSYRIA.

ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.

JONAH III.

DURING the reign of Assur-nasir-pal, if the received chronology is not very incorrect, Jonah the son of Amittai was sent to Nineveh to call the Ninevites to repentance.¹ They repented at his call, and the city, threatened with destruction, was consequently spared. "The people of Nineveh *believed God,*" which obviously implies that the prophet delivered his message in the name of his God, "and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes, and caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither

¹ The reign of Assur-nasir-pal began B.C. 885, and ended in 858. The journey of Jonah to Nineveh is dated at about B.C. 862, and we may say that it took place some time during that memorable reign. About B.C. 825, 33 years after that king's death, a predictive promise of the Lord by Jonah was fulfilled. (2 Ki. xiv. 23-27.) That promise was given, as we may reasonably suppose, about the time of the death of Ahab, or soon after, when Ephraim and Judah, which had been united in the fatal battle where Ahab fell, "saw their sickness and their wound, went to the Assyrian, and sent to the king of Jareb who could not heal them." (Hos. v. 13.) After that battle there was no war with Israel for three years, but then B.C. 883, the first year of Assur-nasir-pal, the Syrian war was renewed, and most probably, the appeal noticed by Hosea was then made.

man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not." (Jon. iii. 5-9.)

The name of Jonah's God is not mentioned here, and it may be questioned whether Jonah proclaimed it. But considering the correspondence between Israel and Assyria mentioned in the book of the prophet Hosea, and the power of the two Hebrew kingdoms at the time, a power so great that this very king with all his ambition of conquest, when he led his victorious army from the Tigris to the Mediterranean, as his annals testify, did not encroach on either of their territories, it is not to be imagined that he was ignorant of the existence of their *one God*, to whom all their greatness would be attributed. In discussing this question we are also reminded that Jonah did not conceal the sacred name when, a very short time before, he was on board ship on the Mediterranean Sea, on his attempted voyage to Tarshish, but said to the sailors who cast on him the blame of the storm, "I am an Hebrew, and I fear the LORD (יהוה). Wherefore they cried unto the LORD, and said, We beseech thee, O LORD," etc. "Then the men feared the LORD exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the LORD, and made vows." (Jon. i. 9, 14, 16.) It is most unlikely that Jonah would confess the name of his God so freely and so successfully in the ship, and while preaching so boldly in the city suppress it there.

The author of the book of Jonah says that the

sailors offered a sacrifice and made vows, and that the king commanded his people to cry mightily to Jonah's God. Neither the king nor the sailors made any promise, like Naaman the Syrian, that they would not worship any other god, or, to use the language of the Decalogue, that they would not have any other god in His presence, or *before Him*; but it would almost appear that, for that time at least, Assur-nasir-pal took *the* LORD into the number of his gods. A suggestion of a translator of his annals¹ raises the question whether he did not, and I can do no more than mention it, and take this opportunity for one or two further observations.

The king gives a very pompous account of himself, such as was customary with all kings in their autobiographical monuments, the very first sentence justifying the conjecture that *Yareb*, the name or title bestowed on him by the prophet Hosea signifies *greatness*, and then speaks, or is represented as speaking, thus :

"I am great and I am glorious, Assur-nasir-habal, a mighty king of Assyria, proclaimer of the moon-god, worshipper of, exalter of *Yav*." (Col. I. l. 33.)

"By help of Assur and *Yav*, the great gods who aggrandise my royalty, chariots and an army I collected." (Col. I. l. 76.)

"In honour of Assur the sun-god, and *Yav*, the gods in whom I trust, my chariots and army I collected." (Col. I. l. 104.)

Assur, the chief of their gods, retains his first place, and *Yav* is placed next to him, an honourable position, certainly, if *Yav* is no more than one of the many gods of which he boasts himself a worshipper.

¹ The Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A., *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 37.

“I gave them battle; on two days before sunrise, like *Yav* the inundator, I rushed upon them.” (Col. II. l. 106.)

More remarkable is the next mention of *Yav*, being a literal repetition of Jonah’s words, “the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land.” (Jon. i. 9.)

“An altar to Ninip my lord I therein consecrated: a temple for Beltis, Sin, and Gulanu, Hea-Manna, and *Yav*, *great ruler of heaven and earth*, I founded.” (Col. II. l. 135.)

The name is also found in combination, just like the Hebrew *Yah*, in proper names. There is *Il-yav*, for a city, and *Zab-yav*, for a person. (Col. I. l. 78; Col. II. l. 24, 30, 39.)

On this name *Yav*, on its first occurrence, the learned translator makes a note: “The god *Yav* may be the *Yaveh* of the Moabite stone.” On reference to the fac-simile of that inscription, I find in Phœnician characters an exact repetition of the Hebrew tetragrammaton; but in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, where the annals of Assurbanipal are printed, this and other proper names are not written phonetically, but in ideograms, as is usual in the Assyrian inscriptions. The determinative for a god is prefixed. Mr. Rodwell, however, was guided in his rendering by indications, as he conceived, from other sources, and meanwhile I must refrain from making any use of it.

With respect to the original name, about which so many conjectures have been hazarded, I will but venture a few words. Among the Sephardim, whose pronunciation I prefer to follow, I have heard it

sounded *Ye-ho-váh*. As for the fantastic and barbarous diversity of vocalisation in which some Jews indulge, by way of exhibiting their ingenuity, they are profanely ridiculous; but something may be learned from better sources. The Karaites pronounce the name in prayer, which other Jews do not, and it appears to be written in their liturgies as they speak it, thus: יי with a vowel-mark for *kametz* (◌), and to be read, as I suppose, *Yāvāi*. On examining the plates of M. Lottin de Laval, I find the name in the Sinaitic rock-inscriptions in precisely the same form, but understand that the character there taking the place of the Hebrew י may have the Arabic sound, and so be read as *Yāvāi*. It remains, however, to ascertain what vowels would be required by the dialect of those inscriptions. Perhaps further examination may show that the sacred name so sparingly uttered by true Jews, if uttered at all, was variously spoken both by Jews and Gentiles; and so the true pronunciation was lost, not so much in the depth of reverential silence, for, as it is said in the book of Chozri, the vowels were written in the hearts of the people, as amidst the multitude of changes it underwent in articulation by speakers of many nations.

As for the *fact* that the king and people of Nineveh worshipped Jonah's God, it is distinctly affirmed in the book which bears the name of the prophet, but concerning all that relates to the event recorded in that book the annals are silent; and the insufficiency of a mere word, especially if the word is doubtful, to furnish monumental confirmation, may be learned from the example now before us.



Balway

CANAL

OF

LAKE HIRDIYAH

NEW GRANITE-SPALL
CANYON

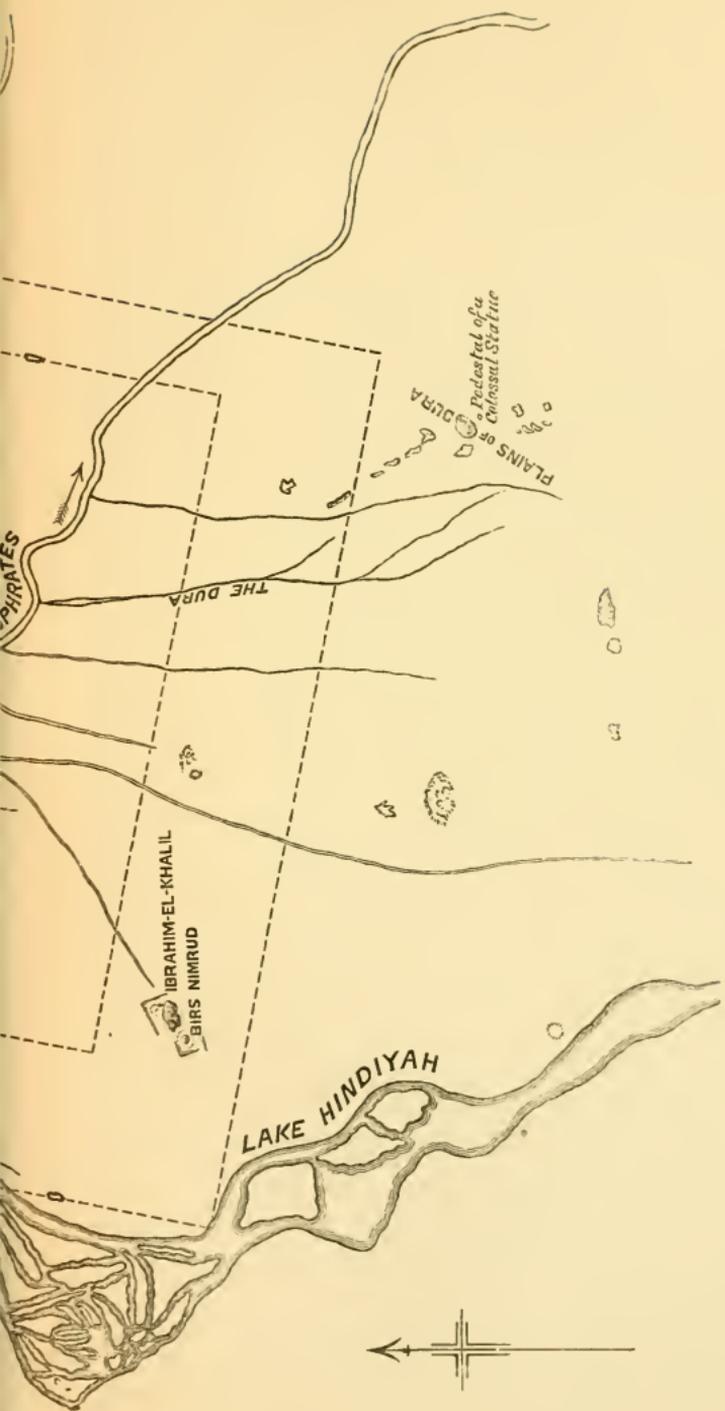
ROAD

RAILROAD

MULHAN

DITCH

CANYON



Babylon.

BABYLON.

DANIEL IV. 29, 30.

AS king Nebuchadnezzar “walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, he spake and said, Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?” (Dan. iv. 29, 30.)

Our present business is not to comment on the character of the king nor to expound the teaching of the text, but only to verify the history. It may be said that Babylon was built ages before Nebuchadnezzar came into existence (Gen. xi.), as every one knows, but it must be remembered that the speech of the builders was confounded; they were, in effect, driven from the ground, their work lay unfinished, and for aught we know to the contrary, it fell to ruin beyond the possibility of reparation. We may reasonably imagine that it did so perish; but, after the dispersion of the first builders, others renewed the labour, which was gradually prosecuted by successive generations, until shortly before the fall of Nineveh, head of the Assyrian empire, Nabopolassar, governor of Babylon, revolted traitorously against his master, and in the course of events, which we need not recount, Babylon became the seat of imperial government, and Nebuchadnezzar built the city in the same sense as Augustus built Rome, and having found that

city brick, left it marble. The amazing activity of the king of Babylon, whose dreams were interpreted by Daniel, is attested by the innumerable bricks, with his name imprinted on them, that are dug out of the ruins. Another, and more express evidence is found in what is called "the standard inscription" of Nebuchadnezzar, found in one of the mounds.

"The double inclosure (the two great walls around the city and grounds of Babylon) which Nabopolassar, my father, had made but not completed, I finished. Nabopolassar made its ditch. With two long embankments of brick and mortar he bound its bed. He made the embankment of the *Arakha* (river). He lined the other side of the Euphrates with brick. He made a bridge over the Euphrates, but did not finish its buttresses(?). From (. . . . *name of a place*) he made with bricks burnt as hard as stones, by the help of the great lord Merodach, a way (for) a branch of the *Shimat* to the waters of the *Yapur-shapu*, the great reservoir of Babylon, opposite to the gate of Nin.

"The *Ingur-Bel* and the *Nimiti-Bel*, the great double wall of Babylon, I finished. With two long embankments of brick and mortar I built the sides of the ditch. I joined it on with that my father had made. I strengthened the city. Across the river to the west I built the wall of Babylon with brick. The *Yapur-shapu*, the reservoir of Babylon, by the grace of Merodach, I filled completely full of water. With bricks burnt as hard as stones, and with bricks in huge masses like mountains, the *Yapur-shapu* from the gate of *Mula* as far as *Nana*, who is the protectress of her votaries, by the grace of his godship

(Merodach) I strengthened. With that which my father had made I joined it. I made the way of Nana, the protectress of her votaries. The great gates of the *Ingur-Bel*, and the *Nimiti-Bel*, the reservoir of Babylon, at the time of the flood, inundated them. These gates I raised. Against the waters their foundations with brick and mortar I built."

Then follows a description of the gates.

"For the delight of mankind I filled the reservoir. Behold! besides the *Ingur-Bel*, the impregnable fortification of Babylon, I constructed inside Babylon, on the eastern side of the river, a fortification such as no king had ever made before me, namely, a long rampart, 4000 *ammas* square, as an extra defence. I excavated the ditch; with brick and mortar I bound its bed; a long rampart at its head I strongly built. I adorned its gates. The folding-doors and the pillars I plated with copper. Against presumptuous enemies, who were hostile to the men of Babylon, great waters, like the waters of the ocean, I made use of abundantly. Their depths were like the depths of the vast ocean. I did not allow the waters to overflow, but the fulness of their floods I caused to flow on, restraining them with a brick embankment Thus I completely made strong the defences of Babylon. May it last for ever!"

Thus far Nebuchadnezzar relates the vast works he constructed, or finished on his father's beginning, for the defence of the city by all means possible, and supplying with an unfailing abundance of water, in order to provide shelter and defence for the construction of palaces and the rebuilding of Babylon on a scale of increased grandeur without fear of attack

from enemies. Then, after narrating what he did, on the same principle, at Borsippa, he resumes his recital of work done within the walls of Babylon :

“ In Babylon, the city which is the delight of my eyes, and which I have made glorious, when the waters (of the Euphrates) were in flood, they inundated the foundations of the great palace called *Tapratinisi*, or, Wonder of Mankind ; a palace with many chambers and lofty towers ; the high place of royalty situated in the land of Babylon, and in the middle of Babylon ; stretching from the *Ingur-Bel* (part of the double wall) to the bed of the *Shebil*, or eastern canal, and from the bank of the *Seppara* river to the water of the *Yapur-shapu*, which Nabopolassar, my father, built with brick, and raised up. When the reservoir was full, the gates of this palace were flooded. I raised the mound of brick on which it was built, and made its platform smooth. I cut off the floods of water, and the foundations of the palace I protected against the water with bricks and mortar, and I finished it completely. I set up long beams to support it. I built up its gates with pillars and beams plated with copper, and strengthened with iron. Silver and gold, and precious stones whose names are almost unknown” [Here follow many names of objects, treasures of the palace, which cannot be translated.] “these I stored up inside, and there I placed the treasure house of my kingdom.”¹

Nabopolassar, his father, had reigned over Babylonia, it is said, twenty-one years. The last king of Nineveh sent him thither to resist enemies that were

¹ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, II., 486, 487.

advancing against him in that direction, and to govern Babylon. But the general played false, and made proposals of alliance to the king of Media, who was at war with his master. Uniting their forces, they marched together against Nineveh, which after much fighting and a long siege fell, and the provinces of the empire were divided between Cyaxares the Median and Nabopolassar, who appears to have bestowed most of his energies on the city, now become the head of a great empire. It was he who laid the foundations of the two great walls, and began the other great works. Nebuchadnezzar witnessed those labours, and was no doubt privy to his father's plans for making Babylon the greatest and strongest city of the world. Those preparatory works made comparatively little show, but gave him an immense advantage. The walls rose under his hand, but nearly half the work had been already done. The canals were opened, but they had been dug out by his father, and perhaps the bricks made for making the embankments good. As Solomon built the Temple, in good part with materials collected by David, so did Nebuchadnezzar set to work in Babylon and the neighbourhood with his father's bricks, and timber, and copper, and gold, and his father's labourers and skilled artizans, ready to take his orders while he gathered in fresh tribute, made new conquests, and brought home a new force of slaves.

In addition to the above extract, borrowed from Sir Henry Rawlinson, I might have appropriated from a large collection of M. Menant,¹ copious

¹ *Babylone, etc.*, p. 197-218.

accounts of temples and palaces, more than enough to substantiate his boast that he had built Babylon, and more besides Babylon, although not enough to justify his pride.

The diligent survey and researches of Oppert, and the comprehensive studies of Ménant, to say nothing of others whose names are our household words, make us as familiar with the site of ancient Babylon as, without actual inspection, we could be with Jerusalem or Athens. They have traced the foundations of the two outer walls, named in the standard inscription, and described and measured by Herodotus, the reports of the ancients being checked by the surveys of the moderns. The remains of the temple of Bel within the great quadrangle on the northern side, reduced from its colossal elevation of 500 feet, by the violence of Xerxes and the waste of time, first robbed of its fifteen millions sterling worth of solid gold statues of gods, and vessels for sacrifice, and at last used as a quarry for building Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Southward, between the walls, Borsippa, the "Tower of Tongues," of which I have already spoken, standing just as it was seven hundred years ago, when Rabbi Jonathan of Tudela examined and measured it just as did M. Oppert very lately, recorded his results, and wrote: "This tower was struck with fire from heaven, which rent it from top to bottom."¹

We trace the acropolis of the royal city, where stood the palaces from whose terraces Nebuchadnezzar surveyed the placid flood of the Euphrates

¹ *Itinerarium D. Benjaminis cum Versione et notis Constantini L'Empereur.* Lugd. Batav., 1633, p. 77.

twenty miles away north and as many south, with the city at his feet, the vast plain and palm groves along the river banks, the hanging gardens near, and temples and villages intermingled in the prospect. Closely adjacent were the mansions of Daniel and his friends, busy in the cares of state administration; and here, too, the Chaldee magicians and the Babylonian princes with their craft and superstitions. Here the banquet hall of Belshazzar, and not far off the dens and the furnaces where suffered the victims of tyranny, and the witnesses to truth. Now, as the stranger treads the ground once trodden by king and prophet, he needs but little meditation to call up to view their familiar haunts; to see where once the wharves bordered the river, and where the gates that were opened to the soldiers of Cyrus, or, erewhile to the captives from Jerusalem. Now a deadly silence broods over the scene. Rabbi Benjamin saw the desolation much more horrid, for in his day the empty chambers of Babylon were the haunts of wild beasts and serpents, and none could venture into them, but now all are fallen in. All is one undistinguishable heap, and you can only be assured that on this spot Babel was first built, and the speech of man was first confounded, that the great captivity of Judah found honour and consolation here, and that heathen scribes penned, even where you stand, proclamations of honour and worship to the God of Israel, and deliverance to His captives.

This was the proud and luxurious court of Babylon, the seat of dominion over the mightiest nation that was under heaven, at the time when their sovereign pronounced the brief soliloquy which brought down

upon him the judicial insanity described by Daniel; and yonder, five or six miles south, Hillah, once a populous city, yet holds its place, and also marks a memorable site, where the plebeians of that age dwelt apart, with a broad intervening space to separate them from the courtiers and their lord.

BABYLON.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S MADNESS.

DANIEL IV. 16.

THE tale of great works done is abruptly interrupted. The king, if it is he who writes or dictates the account before us, does not say what befell him suddenly, how he lost his reason, and ran wild in the woods; but there are whispers from other quarters. Megasthenes, in the court of Seleucus Nicanor, and, after him, Abydenus, who wrote on the Assyrians, collected a report current among the Chaldeans, that in spite of all the power of the gods Bel and Beltis, the Persians and the Medes would fight against Babylon and make the Babylonians captive. They said that Nebuchadnezzar, inspired by some god, foretold the coming calamity, and cried, "O that before this comes to pass, rather than my citizens were given up, some deep would swallow me up, some sea engulf me for ever out of sight; or that I could flee away somewhither into the desert, where there are no cities, no track of men; where the wild beasts have their own laws, where the birds fly free; and I would roam alone among the rocks, and in the clefts of the earth. Gladly would I choose this, and come to a better end! Having uttered this prophecy he instantly disappeared, and his son Evil-Merodach

succeeded to the kingdom.”¹ Certainly this is impressive, and how far the account may have gained or lost in passing from hand to hand, matters little. There is, however, one very notable resemblance: Daniel says that an angel spake to the king; the Chaldeans heard that a god inspired him.

The remainder of the inscription, more than any such tradition, recalls the narrative of Daniel. “Four years(?) the seat of my kingdom in the city which did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power. The precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself and the honour of my kingdom I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach my lord, the joy of my heart, in Babylon, the city of his sovereignty and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, and I did not furnish his altars (with victims), nor did I clear the canals.”² And there are other negative clauses, not yet translated. But these few lines suffice to tell of an utter abandonment of all royal care. No joy in his palace. No erection of a place of strength. No treasure laid up. An utter cessation of public works in unfinished Babylon. No observance of religion. Even the canals uncleansed are choked with mud and waterweed. Only suspension of reason, or a paralysis of all energy, could account for this. There is but one apparent discrepancy between the text of Daniel and the inscription, which a few words may perhaps remove.

¹ Euseb., *Pamph. Praep. Evang.*, Lib. ix., sub fin.

² Rawlinson, *Ut supra*, p. 487.

“Four years,” according to the inscription, was the duration of Nebuchadnezzar's madness. “Seven times” it lasted, according to the book of Daniel (Dan. iv. 16),¹ well translated by Theodotion “seven seasons.”² But we must remember that summer and winter were the only seasons noted in Babylonia, and the Chaldee original says that they *changed* over the king. Now if seven seasons did really change over him, an eighth season began, and might be far advanced; and according to the usual method of counting periods of time, it would be necessary to say *four years*. Between seven and eight seasons, therefore, being equivalent with four years, the text of Daniel and the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar are in exact agreement. For this note I am indebted to Theodotion, who never saw the inscription.

Daniel relates the king's recovery, and return to his government. The inscription tells what further work he did. “As a further defence in war, at the *Ingur-Bel*, the impregnable outer wall, the rampart of the Babylonians, with two strong lines of brick and mortar I made a strong fort, 400 *ammas* square, inside the *Nimiti-Bel*, the inner defence of the Babylonians. Masonry of brick within them (the lines) I constructed. With the palace of my father I connected it. In a happy month and on an auspicious day its foundations I laid in the earth like . . . I completely finished its top. In fifteen days I completed it, and made it the high place of my kingdom. [A description follows of ornamentation of the palace.] A strong

¹ וְהָיָה שִׁבְעַת קַיָּוִם וְשִׁבְעַת קַיָּוִם

² Καὶ ἑπτὰ καιροὶ ἀλλαγῆσονται ἐπ' αὐτόν.

fort of brick and mortar in strength I constructed. Inside the brick fortification another great fortification of long stones, of the size of great mountains, I made. Like *Shedim* I raised up its head. And this building I raised for a wonder; for the defence of the people I constructed it.”¹

¹ Rawlinson, *Ut supra*.

BABYLON.

THE GOLDEN IMAGE, AND PLAIN OF DURA.

DANIEL III.

THE erection of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image probably took place about the year B.C. 580. The old notion that the *tselém*¹ of the book of Daniel was a statue in human form, raised on a pedestal, can scarcely be admitted. Such a notion is inconsistent with the exact statement of its proportions, three-score cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, about nine feet broad and ninety feet high. It is not credible that a man so little addicted to burlesque as Nebuchadnezzar's general conduct indicates would have had any human figure, much less his own, elongated so ridiculously; nor, in the Assyrian sculptures, for this was Assyrian in style, although set up in Babylonia, is there, as we suppose, any instance of such distortion. The description of the pillar, or obelisk, and of the state solemnity at its dedication, is entirely explained by the inscriptions.

An Assyrian king, named Assur-akh-bal, about 350 years earlier, erected a similar object in one of the cities he had conquered, and it is thus written in his annals: "I established true religious worship and holy rites throughout the land of Tsuki. As far as

¹ צֶלֶם

the land of Karduniah, I extended the true religion of my empire. The people of Chaldea, who were contemners and revilers of my religion, I impaled and slew them. Over all the lands which border on the river Euphrates I imposed my laws. I made an image of my majesty: the laws and emblems of my true religion I wrote upon it, and in the city of Tsuki I fixed it up.”

Here we see how the people of Chaldea, called contemners and revilers of the gods of the Assyrians, would be dealt with; and this glance discovers force in the circumstantial illustration of the incident in Daniel, and yet more force is given it by two verses of an oracle quoted by Justin Martyr, which shows that the old Chaldeans, perhaps coerced into idolatry in an earlier reign, might be very like the three Hebrews of sacred history :

“Only the Chaldeans attained to wisdom, and
the Hebrews,
Chastely worshipping as God a self-born king.”¹

Excepting all that is necessary from the praise of the Chaldeans, although the ill character given them by Herodotus and the Romans may not always have been deserved, we learn what would be the idolatrous character of such a celebration at Babylon in the age of Daniel. Then, again, we hear from Sennacherib of a similar festivity which took place much nearer the date of the narrative before us.

“On a fortunate and lucky day, during the public

¹ Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
Αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνώως. *Just. Mart. Cohort.*
ad Græc., xi.

worship of the people, I piously dedicated the foundation stone, I surrounded it with large *sarnat*(?) stones; I strengthened its *subuk*(?), I erected sculptured tablets containing my name (*i.e.* annals), which extended in length a hundred and sixty palms. Upon these I wrote”¹

If the three Hebrews had, by any act whatever, countenanced the worship of Nebuchadnezzar’s obelisk, recognised the memorials of the gods cut or carved in it, or failed to testify against the ceremonial, they would have denied the God of Israel. But there is yet, in some minds, a difficulty as to the *tselem* being golden. It was, no doubt, “clothed in gold,” or gilded, as were the gates and pillars of the temple in Jerusalem, and some of the obelisks in Egypt. So Brugsch describes two large ones near a temple at Assasiph, each a hundred and eight ells in height, and gilded all over.²

This image was erected on the plain of Dura (Dan. iii. 1-7), and it is now satisfactory to know where that plain was, as it seemed to have vanished out of sight, with the extinct topography of Babylon and its environs. But M. Oppert has actually found the place. Describing the ruins in the neighbourhood of Babylon, he says that “the group which touches nearest on the boundary of the city, southward, is that of Dura. After having followed the road of Diwaniyeh as far as the *Nahr Eyrib* (river of Job), near which is found a sanctuary dedicated to this saint, as the Mohammedans account him, and leaving on one side an Arab

¹ *Assyrian Texts*, translated by H. F. Talbot, London, 1856, No. I., p. 7, 8, 22.

² Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 109.

ruin called *Maamery*, you cross the long canal of *Keriyet-Ali*, go towards the plain south-eastward, cross the dry beds of old canals, and after a journey of eight kilometres, come to an old water-course called *Nahr-Dura* (the river Dura), and at length you will reach a number of little mounds on the south-east, bearing the name of *Tolûl-Dura*, or mounds of Dura. Then, having travelled from north to south, you come to where the river Dura discharges itself after a course of nearly a myriametre, or nine miles and a half."

The plain of Dura is therefore now known to have been an extensive plain south of Babylon; and this is one of the frequently occurring discoveries which encourage every earnest student to believe that when the wealth of material, as yet undiscovered or undeciphered, shall be laid open to the eye of the learned, and when cuneiform literature has become a recognised and accessible department of liberal education, little or nothing of what has been hitherto obscure in Old Testament history will continue unexplained.

With regard to obelisks, a few more words of observation may be desirable in confirmation of the view I have taken.

Casalius proves that, in Egypt, they were dedicated to the gods on their erection with very great public solemnity,¹ and religious rites, no doubt, and in Babylon it is not likely there would be any inferior observance. A Babylonian obelisk would somewhat differ in character from the Egyptian. Bands of imagery in relief would run round it, and the interspaces of polished marble would be covered with deeply cut

¹ Casalius, *De Veteribus Ægyptiorum Ritibus*, Cap. iii., De Obeliscis.

cuneiform inscription. The shaft would rest on a solid base, and be surmounted by a step-like finish. There are two such now set up in the British Museum, one of white marble, and the other black; the former is a monument of Assur-nasir-pal, and the latter of Shalmaneser. Assur-bani-pal, in his annals, relates that when in Thebes he found two lofty obelisks covered with beautiful carving, set up before the gate of a temple, which, notwithstanding their great weight, he removed, and brought to Assyria.¹ Samas-Rimmon, an Assyrian king, a contemporary of Ahab, king of Israel, made an image of his magnificent royalty, wrote upon it the laws of Assur his lord, the decrees of his own ascendancy, and the full history of the deeds which his hand had wrought, and caused it to be brought into the city of Tsibara, a fortified stronghold in the country of the Girubbundai.² Such examples as these frequently occur in the Assyrian inscriptions, and furnish a reliable key to the significance of this passage in the history of Daniel.

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 65, first edition.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

BABYLON.

THE FIERY FURNACE AND DEN OF LIONS.

DANIEL III. 15.

AT a grand assemblage on the plain of Dura, on the occasion of the erection of a lofty obelisk in honour of Nebuchadnezzar and his gods, three Hebrews refused to bow down before the image of his majesty. These faithful men were therefore cast into a burning fiery furnace, but they were miraculously delivered. (Dan. iii.) The prophet Jeremiah refers to this kind of punishment: "And of them shall be taken up a curse by all the captivity of Judah which are in Babylon, saying, The LORD make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab (two Jewish captives), whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." (Jer. xxix. 22.) From this passage, as well as from an intimation in the book of Daniel, that the furnace was "wont to be heated," we might confidently affirm that burning alive was a national custom with the Assyrians who were now in possession of the city and kingdom of Babylon.

A few lines in the annals of Assurbanipal put this beyond doubt: "Saulmagina my rebellious brother who made war with me, into a burning fiery furnace they threw him, and destroyed his life."¹ Further on

¹ *Annals of Assurbanipal*, col. IV., lines 107-109.

in the same document there is mention of another method of capital punishment, identical with death by lions, from which also Daniel (Dan. vi.) was delivered. Many of the followers of Saulmagina, it is related, made their escape at first, and so "with Saulmagina their lord were they not thrown into the fire. The burning fire they escaped from. The rest of the people alive, among the bulls and lions, as Sennacherib the father of my father, into the midst used to throw; lo! again, I following in his footsteps, those men into the midst of them I threw."¹ Saulmagina, it should be noted, was himself the viceroy at Babylon, where it appears the execution took place, and where the fellow conspirators were taken, "brought out, and placed in slavery."

The authenticity of the book of Daniel the prophet is not at this day seriously called in question, nor are we now engaged in any controversy of the kind; but we may quote a witness, in confirmation of its narrative of these events, from an ancient writing not included in the canon of Holy Scripture.

When Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to suppress the worship of Almighty God in Judæa, but was triumphantly resisted by the Maccabees, this part of sacred history was no less certainly believed than the indisputable narratives concerning Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah. The aged Mattathias, exhorting his sons before his death, held up to them the examples of those worthies, and then continued: "*Ananias, Azarias, Misael, having believed, were saved out of the flame.* Daniel, in his simplicity, was delivered from the mouth of the lions.

¹ *Annals of Assurbaniṣal*, col. V., lines 6-9.

And so do you, from generation to generation, consider that none of them who hope in him shall ever fail." ¹ Fictitious heroes, of whose presence there is no certain trace nor evidence, would not be so confidently held up to admiration in those crises of a nation's history when men's lives are in peril, and every man's ultimate and soul-sustaining hope must rest in assurance of the omnipotence and faithfulness of God, that God in whom his fathers trusted, and never were confounded. The deliverance of the three Hebrews took place about B.C. 580, and Mattathias gave this exhortation to his sons about 422 years later, B.C. 168, when he was an aged man. But it may fairly be averred that he had heard of it at least half a century before from ancestors of the highest intelligence and most direct information. For at least three generations they had been uninterruptedly high-priests and members of the priesthood from the day of Aaron. It is not conceivable that they would have cherished fables in the stead of history, especially when the events related were but of recent occurrence, and, if false, would have been openly contradicted by the Samaritans, who were in direct correspondence with official persons in Babylon, every moment ready to rebut any tale that would bring reproach on their government.

¹ 1 Macc. ii. 59-61.

B A B Y L O N .

THE GROVE.

2 KINGS XXIII. 6, 7.

WHEN good king Josiah suppressed the open practice of idolatry in Jerusalem, "he brought out the grove from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people, and he brake down the houses of the Sodomites¹ that were by the house of the LORD, where the women wove hangings² for the grove." (2 Ki. xxiii. 6, 7.)

It is not yet generally understood what this *grove* was, and the same obscurity hangs over passages where the word³ is used in the same sense. We are indebted to Assyrian sculpture for a solution of the difficulty, and the act of Josiah gives occasion for an explanatory note.

The prophet Ezekiel describes a vision he had had of abominations committed in the temple at Jerusalem a few years later than the death of Josiah, which no

¹ הַקְּדֻשִׁים, "prostitutes."

² בָּתִּים, "houses," or "curtains" to cover and inclose.

³ אֲשֵׁרָה. This Hebrew word, rendered *grove* in our English Bible is represented in the Greek Septuagint thirty-six times by *αλοςος*, *grove*, and twice by *δενδρον*, *a tree*.

doubt vividly and accurately represented the same idolatrous practices again introduced. "He brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw: and behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, *pourtrayed upon the wall round about*. And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery?" (Ezek. viii. 7-12.) Besides this, the prophet was shown women weeping for Tammuz, and men with their backs to the temple, worshipping the sun in the east.

Such chambers of imagery were in Assyrian and Babylonian palaces, where also were altars for incense before the images, and the fashion was now introduced into Jerusalem and Judah.

Imagery of the kind seen in the chambers of Solomon's temple may be seen in the galleries of the British Museum, and there the sacred tree is a frequently conspicuous object. It appears in the magnificently sculptured slabs of Assur-nasir-pal and his attendant gods. As it stands there, it is carved in marble. In a temple it would be a separate object, carved in wood, and erected near an altar. What

was its symbolical value I have not yet learned. Reduced to charcoal it might be pounded into dust, or if wrought in stone, calcined and then pulverised.

Hecataeus of Abdera, describing the temple of Zerubbabel, as it was in his day, after the return from Babylon, carefully contrasts it with the eastern temples in these explicit words: "There is no image therein, nor any sort of votive gift, nor any plant whatever, nor any thing you might call grove-like."¹ Grove-like, indeed, is all that could be said, and barely tree-like, but rigidly conventional. And where it reads in our English Bible, "Thou shalt not plant thee *a grove of any trees*," the rendering of אֲשֵׁרָה כָּל־עֵץ might better be "a grove," *asherah*, or "any tree." (Deut. xvi. 21.)

¹ Ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα τὸ παράπαν, οὐδὲ φύτευμα παντελῶς οὐδὲν, οἷον ἀλσῶδες ἢ τὶ τοιοῦτον. Hecataei Abderitæ, *Fragmentum apud Josephum contra Apionem*, Cap. xxii.

KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

JUDAH.

ISRAEL.

B.C.

B.C.

1055	David <i>Judah</i>	
1048	David <i>Israel and Judah</i>	
1015	Solomon ”	
975	Rehoboam	975 Jeroboam I.
958	Abijam	
955	Asa	954 Nadab
		952 Baasha
		930 Elah
		929 Zimri (7 <i>days</i>)
		— Omri
914	Jehoshaphat	918 Ahab
		897 Ahaziah
892	Jehoram	896 Joram (<i>prorex</i>)
884	Athaliah (<i>queen</i>)	884 Jehu
878	Joash	
		856 Jehoahaz
		841 Jehoash
839	Amaziah	825 Jeroboam II.
810	Azariah	

¹ These Assyrian dates are no more than proximate. They are taken from Professor Rawlinson, and are found in his *Herodotus*, and again in the second volume of his *Five Monarchies*. The reign of Vul-lush III., for example, stands in this list B.C. 810-781, but according to the marginal chronology in the English Bible, Pul (who is understood to be the same as Vul-lush) exacted money from Menahem, king of Israel, in 771, ten years onward in the reign of his successor. Canon Rawlinson, in Smith's

KINGS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLON.

*ASSYRIA.*¹

B.C.	
1130-1110	Tiglath-Pileser I.
1110-1090	Assur-bil-kala
1090-1070	Shamas-Vul I.
	”
	Asshur-mazur
	”
930-911	Assur-dayan II.

BABYLON.

B.C.	
911-889	Vul-lush II.
889-883	Tiglathi-Nin II.
883-858	Assur-nasir-pal
858-823	Shalmaneser II.
823-810	Shamas-Vul II.

Dictionary, s. v. PUL, nevertheless distinctly agrees with the received chronology, B.C. 771. The reader, therefore, must not be surprised at finding other variations of the same kind, which are, as yet, unavoidable, but having nothing to do with the accuracy of literal translation of Assyrian documents rendered by the same learned Assyriologues, to whom the chronology is confessedly perplexing.

JUDAH.

ISRAEL.

B.C.

B.C.

	784 Zachariah
	773 Shallum
	772 Menahem
	761 Pekahiah
	759 Pekah
758 Jotham	
742 Ahaz	
	730 Hoshea
726 Hezekiah	
	721 <i>Kingdom of Israel extinct</i>
698 Manasseh	
643 Amon	
641 Josiah	
610 Jehoahaz	
610 Jehoiakim	
599 Jehoiachin	
599 Zedekiah	
588 <i>Kingdom of Judah extinct</i>	

ASSYRIA.

BABYLON.

B.C.

810-781 Vul-lush III.

781-771 Shalmaneser III.

771-753 Assur-dayan III.

753-745 Assur-lush

745-727 Tiglath-Pileser II.

727-722 Shalmaneser IV.

722-705 Sargon

705-681 Sennacherib

681-668 Esar-haddon

668-626 Assur-bani-pal

626-625 Assur-emed-ilin

Nineveh destroyed

B.C.

625 Nebuchadnezzar

561 Evil-Merodach

559 Neriglissar

556 Laborosarchod

555 Nabu-nahid

Belshazzar¹538 *Babylon taken by Cyrus*

¹ The separate reign of Belshazzar has now been ascertained, but not, I think, the date.

SYNCHRONISM.

Three documentary writings lie before us. One is part of a clay tablet found among the unsorted thousands of fragments, with here and there only one unbroken, or nearly perfect. On this fragment there are eleven lines of inscription, of which one is obliterated, and the others are nearly or entirely perfect. Each line contains a note of the chief event of the year in Assyria. Each year has its own *eponym*; name instead of number, together with the event; name and event being together. The list, or *canon*, that may be constructed from such materials has a chronological value in proportion to the care

TABLET OF CANON.

B.C.

- 732 Nabubeluzur, governor of Sihime. Expedition to Damascus. [The Assyrian annals mention an expedition against Syria, Israel, and Philistia, and tribute received from Yaukhazi (Ahaz), king of Judah.]
- 731 Nergalluballid, governor of Ahizuhina. Expedition to Sapiya (Babylonia).
- 730 Belludari, governor of Bele, in the country. [No foreign expedition.]
- 729 Napharili, governor of Kirruri. The king the hand of Bel took. [Religious ceremonies in Babylon.]

taken to make the whole arrangement tally with the history, being in the exact order of occurrence, year following year without interruption or confusion. So far, then, as this tablet extends, *i.e.*, from B.C. 732 to B.C. 723 inclusive, it is a true chronological index. Two are in the Old Testament, and collation with the Scriptural statement of events during the same period will show, that the inspired prophet and the contemporary Biblical history drew from the same source of actual occurrence. The collation was continued by Mr. George Smith to the year B.C. 681.

BIBLE.

B.C.

732 Expedition of Tiglath Pileser against Syria and Israel in the reign of Ahaz. Isaiah (vii.-x.) relates the expedition of Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, against Syria and Israel, in the reign of Ahaz.

731 Isaiah (xiii. and part of xiv.) has predicted the capture of Babylon.

730

729 Pekah killed, and Hoshea made king of Israel; he pays tribute to Tiglath Pileser. (2 Ki. xv. 30.)

TABLET OF CANON.

B.C.

- 728 Durassur, governor of Tushan. The king the hand of Bel took. Di (*imperfect*).
- 727 Belharranbeluzur, governor of Gozan. Expedition to (*imperfect*). Shalmaneser on the throne sat. [Death of Tiglath Pileser.]
- 726 Merodachbeluzur, governor of Amida. In the country. [No foreign expedition.]
- 725 Tizkarnigbi, governor of Nineveh. Expedition to (probably Palestine).
- 724 Assursimuani, governor of Kalsi. Expedition to
- 723 Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. Expedition to

ASSYRIAN ANNALS.

- 720 Expedition of Sargon, king of Assyria, against Qarquar (Aroer), Damascus, and Samaria.
- 715 Egypt makes alliance with Assyria.
- 712 Egypt stirs up revolt in Palestine against Assyria.
- 711 Sargon takes Ashdod. King of Egypt abandons his allies.
- 710 Sargon captures Babylon.
- 702-1 Phenicia attacked by Sennacherib, king of Assyria; the king flees from Tyre to Cyprus.
- 702-1 Sennacherib marches through Palestine.

BIBLE.

B.C.

728

727 In the year of the death of Ahaz, the rod of the smiter is broken. (Is. xiv. 28-32.)

726 Accession of Hezekiah, king of Judah. (2 Ki. xviii. 1.)

725 Isaiah (xv., xvi.) prophecies against Moab. Expedition of Shalmaneser against Hoshea. (2 Ki. xvii. 3.)

724

723

BIBLE.

720 Isaiah (xvii.) prophecies against Damascus, Aroer, and Israel.

715

712 Isaiah (xviii., xix.) prophecies against Egypt.

711 Isaiah (xx.) prophecies against Egypt in the year of capture of Ashdod.

710 Isaiah prophecies (xxi. 1-10) against Babylon.

702-1 Isaiah prophecies (xxiii.) against Tyre.

702-1 Isaiah relates (xxiv. to xxix.) Sennacherib's invasion.

ASSYRIAN ANNALS.

B-C.

702-I Sennacherib defeats the Egyptian army at Eltekeh.

702-I Sennacherib attacks Judah.

681 Murder of Sennacherib, and accession of Esarhaddon.

The reader has only to cast his eye down these parallel columns, and perceive that the successive prophecies of Isaiah, and the portions of narrative which accompany them, correspond exactly with the order of events which is preserved in the chronology and history of Assyria. There are some differences between the chronology of the tablet and annals, and the marginal chronology of the Bible; but it must be allowed that the tablet is a formal register of eponyms,

BIBLE.

B.C.

702-1 Isaiah writes (xxx., xxxi.) against relying upon Egypt.

702-1 Isaiah's prophecy and narrative relate to Sennacherib's invasion of Judea. (xxxii. to xxxvii. 36.)

681 Isaiah relates murder of Sennacherib, and accession of Esarhaddon.

whereas the Hebrew history does not adhere so strictly to dates, nor note them in the same way; and that with regard to the difference between the tablet and the Hebrew, more than one explanation has been suggested. But while the same events are noted in Nineveh or Babylon as in Jerusalem, and in the same order of occurrence, the comparison of dates concerns the chronological student rather than the Biblical expositor.





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