586TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1917, AT 4.30 P.M.

E. WALTER MAUNDER, ESQ., F.R.A.S., *Lecture Secretary*, TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN said that hitherto his duties as Secretary had made it impossible for him to be asked to preside at one of the public meetings. He now felt extremely gratified that, the first time that he was eligible to take the Chair, the Council should have invited him to do so, and that he should have the pleasure and privilege of presiding at one of Dr. Pinches, lectures.

FROM WORLD-DOMINION TO SUBJECTION: THE STORY OF THE FALL OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S., Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London.

THE romance connected with the power and the wonders of Nineveh and Babylon has for ages attracted the attention of the world, and this romance has, perhaps, been rather increased than diminished by the legendary nature of what has come down to us with regard to the realm of which Babylon was the capital. Surrounded, as it was, by the mystery with which tradition had invested it, hints of other wonders over and above those related by the historians naturally fired the student's imagination.

And that Babylonia was in very deed a country of wonders there can be no doubt. As everyone who has watched the progress of the Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia knows, the Persian Gulf region is, for Europeans, an inhospitable tract, parched, dry, and rainless in summer, and swampy, notwithstanding drainage (to a certain extent) by innumerable waterways, in winter. In the wet season, malaria reigns, and the stranger finds life altogether too burdensome. Babylonia's fruitfulness in springtime, and later, is wonderful. It is one of

the principal homes of the date-palm—that tree whose fruit both Babylonians and Europeans have always highly appreciated. Otherwise, however, the tract north of the Persian Gulf is a treeless plain, into which all timber which the people need has to be imported. Before the fierce heats of summer it is a land of corn, and the fruits of the earth which are able to grow there, and it might become one of the granaries of the world.

Here, in this land of the Middle East, were located, of old, two races—the Sumerians and the Akkadians—non-Semites and Semites respectively; races suited to the soil, who became thoroughly acclimatized to their fruitful but sun-scorched country. Divided, in the beginning, like the Heptarchy in England, into several small states, a great nation ultimately arose by their gradual amalgamation under the military pressure and leadership of Babylon, and became the pioneer of ancient civilization in the Semitic East. The irrigation of their land had made the states of Babylonia great canal-diggers; the dearth of stone made them great users of brick in the constructions and buildings; and the bitumen-springs of Hit supplied them with a substitute for mortar ("slime"). The floods which inundate the country in the early spring, when the snows melt in the Armenian mountains, probably obliged the Babylonians to become geometricians, as they had to find and reinstate the boundaries of their plots. As agriculturists they were, in their day, probably unsurpassed, and they were among the earliest of great cattle-raisers and ass-breeders. Their literature was largely drawn upon by the Greeks and the Romans in the domain of sacred myth and history, and many thousands of documents testify to their knowledge and acuteness as lawyers, their inventiveness as writers and poets, and the wonders of their mythology and their religious system—their teachings in the domain of cosmology and theology. Their trying climate and the other disadvantages under which they laboured do not, therefore, seem to have impaired their energy as workers and as inventors, or their progress in war, art, literature, or such of the sciences as they were acquainted with, for besides agriculture it is probable that not only writing, but also astronomy, began in the Land of Shinar.

These primitive states of Babylonia had begun their political careers more than 3000 years before Christ, and they progressed from the position of small states to that of a "united kingdom" under one political head. This took place about 2000 years B.C.; and during the period following the great Ḫammu-rabi, who is identified with Amraphel, the realm of Babylon saw many

changes, and passed more than once under the rule of the kings of the daughter-state, Assyria, which had acknowledged the overlordship of Babylon even during the reign of Ḫammu-rabi. In this we may, perhaps, see the result of a less enervating climate than that of the south, notwithstanding the success of the Babylonians on the whole in war and the more civilizing activities of life. How far the Assyrians, on their side, were civilizers, is uncertain, but such an energetic people as they were must have had their ideas, like their southern neighbours.

For a long time it had been the desire of the Assyrian kings to become masters of Babylonia, and, as already stated, they had from time to time succeeded, but failed to make permanent the conquest of the land. This was therefore undertaken by Sargon of Assyria, who, however, seems to have found the task he had set himself not an easy one. His opponent was Merodach-baladan, the Chaldean chief of the tribe of Bît-Yakîn, who had ascended the Babylonian throne. Of the two pretenders, it is probable that Sargon of Assyria had the better claim to the rule of the land, as he was the descendant of two kings of Assyria who were acknowledged at the same time as kings of Babylonia. As a people akin to themselves, speaking the same language, having the same literature, and professing practically the same religion, the Babylonians probably had little or no objection to Assyrian rule. Sargon, therefore, found the efforts of his army crowned with success, and he was able, after a solemn entry into Babylon, to take up his abode in Merodach-baladan's palace, and receive the tribute of the Babylonian clans which he had subjugated. The subjugation of the Chaldean king only took place in 709 B.C. Sargon died (probably at the hands of an assassin) in 705 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. The Chaldean ruler, Merodach-baladan, took advantage of the change to come forth from his hiding-place, and aided by the Elamites and such of his followers as he could get together, succeeded in installing himself comfortably in his old palace at Babylon. Merodach-baladan's fresh term as ruler, however, was a short one, for the Assyrian king, having settled his affairs as well as he was able, again invaded Babylonia, drove out the Chaldean, taking much spoil and treasure, and reduced to subjection a number of rebellious Chaldean and Aramean tribes, including those of Puqudu (Pekod), Ḫagaranu, and Nabatu (Nabatean). Merodach-baladan took refuge in Nagîtu, a city on the Elamite shore of the Persian Gulf.

Apparently feeling that things in Babylonia would go better under a Chaldean ruler, Sennacherib placed on the throne

Bêl-ibnî, the Belibus of the Greeks, called Elibus by Alex. Polyhistor. This new ruler, however, did not give satisfaction —possibly he had tried to shake off the Assyrian yoke—and he was therefore carried off as a prisoner to Assyria, and Sennacherib's eldest son, Aššur-nadin-šumi, was placed on the Babylonian throne. Whilst the Assyrian king was warring in the neighbourhood of Cilicia, however, the Elamites seem to have been plotting against Assyrian rule in Babylonia. Sennacherib therefore went, "in ships of Ḫatti"—that is, Phœnician galleys (which were dragged overland and launched on the Euphrates) —to Nagîtu in Elam, where Merodach-baladan had taken refuge, and captured another pretender, whom he calls Šûzubu, and whom he carried in chains to Assyria. This led to reprisals on the part of the Elamites, who invaded Babylonia and carried off Aššur-nadin-šumi, the king, Sennacherib's son, to Elam, and set on the throne Nerigal-ušêzib (693 B.C.).

Nerigal-ušêzib only ruled for a year or eighteen months, as he was captured by the Assyrians, whose armies passed the Elamite border, and ravaged the country "from Râš (Rosh) to Bît-Burnaki." They would have been better employed, however, in watching over affairs in Babylonia, where another pretender, Mušêzib-Marduk, mounted the throne, and ruled for four years. It seems probable that this new King of Babylonia in some way incurred the displeasure of Menanu (Ummanmenanu), the King of Elam, who, after a battle with the Assyrians, the result of which is doubtful, aided by an army composed of Elamites and Babylonians, took Mušêzib-Marduk, and delivered him to the Assyrians. Sennacherib now again (688 B.C.) became King of Babylon. Whether on account of an attempt upon his life, or because the Babylonians were always favouring the cause of pretenders, giving him endless trouble, or, most probable of all, on account of the loss of his son, he destroyed the capital, committing such cruelties that the inhabitants never forgot them; and the seeds of such hatred were thus sowed which were to bring forth for Assyria the deadliest of all fruits—her own destruction.

This is a lesson which militarist powers will never learn—the wreaking of vengeance upon the innocent or the less guilty does not conduce to friendly feelings any more than do the breaking of treaties and ruthless neglect of the usages of civilized warfare.

Eight years more of life were left to Sennacherib before his assassination by his sons, but during this period there is nothing to show the state of affairs in Babylonia. To all appearance

the land was left unmolested, though under Assyrian rule. Further light upon this period may be expected if the records (as is possible) still exist. The assassination took place in 680 B.C., and, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, was due to a revolt, which lasted a month and twelve days. Two days less than two months after the beginning of the revolt, Esarhaddon son of Sennacherib, mounted the throne.

To all appearance a milder rule in Babylonia began with the new reign, and an attempt was made to conciliate the people, though with only partial success. During this period Babylonia had practically no history—her lot was that of Assyria, or what her Assyrian rulers ordained for her. It is hardly too much to conclude, however, that Esarhaddon had profited by his father's experience (its bitterness was doubtless well deserved), and allowed the Babylonians all the liberty they had been accustomed to enjoy.

In the matter of the succession to the throne, however, Esarhaddon made a serious mistake, for instead of leaving the twofold crown to his elder son, Aššur-banî-âpli, the "great and noble Asnappar" of the book of Ezra, he divided his domain, giving Assyria to this ruler and Babylonia to his second son, Šamaš-šum-ukîn, the Saosduchinos of the Greeks. It may be supposed that the elder son was the suzerain of the younger, who had to act practically as the elder's lieutenant. If this was the condition, however, Saosduchinos soon sought to have it set aside, and the two brothers found themselves in conflict one with the other. It seems to have been during or immediately after the first Elamite campaign that Aššur-banî-âpli had to turn his attention to affairs in Babylonia, and begin operations against his "faithless brother," to whom he had "done good," and "had appointed to the kingdom of Babylon." In a word, according to his own account, he had behaved with great generosity toward Saosduchinos, but "he constantly sought to do evil—above with his lips he speaks good things; below in his heart he was a plotter of rebellion (*kaṣir nîrtu*)." The Babylonians, who had been Aššur-banî-âpli's faithful subjects (*wardāni dagil pani-ia*), he turned aside, and spoke "speech of untruth" (*dabab lâ-kêtte*) concerning the King of Assyria with them. The people whom he thus turned aside were the Akkadians, the Chaldeans, the Arameans, and those of the sea-coast from Aqiba to Bâb-salimeti. But in addition to this, Saosduchinos set against his brother, King Umman-igaš, of Elam, whom Aššur-banî-âpli had befriended as a fugitive, together with the Kings of Media, Phœnicia, and Sinai.

Saosduchinos having placed all the chief cities of Babylonia in a state of defence against his brother, Aššur-banî-âpli sent his army and besieged Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, and Cuthah. More than one princely sympathiser in Elam supported Saosduchinos, but risings in Elam prevented them from having any useful effect. In the train of this war for supremacy between the two rulers followed famine and pestilence, in which the Babylonians "ate the flesh of their sons and their daughters." This state of things is fully confirmed by contemporary documents, though not with regard to the cannibalism.* In the end, as Aššur-banî-âpli has it, the gods threw Saosduchinos into the blazing fire, and thus ended his life. What actually happened—whether his palace was set on fire or he built a funeral-pile and perished by his own will and deed, or by some really accidental cause, is uncertain. It may be noted, however, that the last King of Assyria met with a similar fate. The picture of Babylon after the siege as given by Aššur-banî-âpli is terrible, though hardly worse than what we have had about Belgium when the German armies overran it. One circumstance, however, is worthy of note, namely, that whereas the Babylonians were in the position of rebels, the Belgians were an independent nation, owing no allegiance to the Germanic Powers in any way.

Aššur-banî-âpli died in 626 B.C., and the rule fell into the apparently weaker hands of Aššur-êtil-îlāni, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Sin-šarra-iškun, the Saracos of the Greeks. During these two reigns Babylon seems to have been peaceful—biding her time, perhaps, and waiting for a leader, though without knowing whence he was to come. Come, however, he did at last—a leader who was not a real Babylonian, but a Chaldean named Nabû-âbla-uṣur (Nabopolassar), a general sent by the Assyrian King Saracos, either to put down a revolt or to act as military governor of Babylonia.

It was a foolish thing to do on the part of Saracos, but in excuse it might be pleaded that Nabopolassar had hitherto been faithful, and was the most suitable person available. But the temptation was altogether too great, and, being invited, he joined the Median and the Scythian rulers in their attack on Assyria. The capital, Nineveh, is said to have held out for three years, at the end of which time the river, having "become its enemy," undermined a part of the wall, the result being that a gap was formed through which the enemy entered. Recog-

* See the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute, 1893, pp. 25 and 41–43.

nizing that all was lost, Sin-šarra-iškun (Saracos) caused a funeral-pyre to be erected, and having mounted it with his wives and concubines, fire was set thereto, and he perished in the flames. Thus ended the mighty Assyrian Empire, which had had its beginnings at Aššur (now *Qala'a-Shergāt*) close upon 2000 years before.

II.—World-Dominion.

Nabopolassar had now attained the height of his ambition, and perhaps more, as it is very probable that he became not only King of Babylonia, but of Assyria also; for when Cyrus took Babylonia, Aššur was one of the cities of his new domain. Henceforward the centre of political activity was transferred to Babylon. Though, doubtless, it was hard for the Assyrians to relinquish their proud position as a world-power, they probably found their conqueror a sufficiently mild ruler. Both Assyria and Babylonia had the bond of understanding which a common language always assures. Records of this period from Assyria would naturally be interesting. All that can be said is that, judging from certain names, some, at least, of the Assyrians seem to have migrated to Babylonia, and to have engaged in trade there. It is practically certain that they were at last identified with the natives of that more southern land, and in this connection it is noteworthy that Xenophon does not use the word "Babylonia" when speaking of it; the word used is "Assyria," and its ruler is the Assyrian king.

Having seated himself firmly upon the throne of the dual monarchy of Babylonia and Assyria, Nabopolassar proceeded to assure to himself the western domains over which the Assyrian kings had held sway. To this end he set out to re-establish Babylonian power in Syria, where Sargon of Agadé had made his influence felt 2200 years earlier, and Ḫammu-rabi had warred as overlord. Unfortunately the Bible narrative does not help us here, and we are indebted to Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, for the history of this period. After the division of the territory of Assyria, of which Egypt formed a part, the eastern allies began to quarrel among themselves, and the King of Babylon decided to act on his own account. Syria at that time was in reality a vassal of Egypt, Egypt having taken possession of it on the fall of Assyria. Having received news that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over parts of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer, and, committing certain parts

of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor (Nabû-kudurri-uṣur or Nebuchadrezzar), who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel. This is regarded as having taken place in 605 B.C. The governor attacked by the young Nebuchadrezzar was apparently Necho, who was completely defeated at Carchemish, and expelled from Syria.

Whilst upon this expedition, Nebuchadrezzar heard of the death of his father at Babylon, and hurried home to prevent complications. On arriving at Babylon, he found that all was quiet, his supporters having looked well after his interests. Thus auspiciously did the great king begin his reign (604 B.C.). His father had occupied the Assyro-Babylonian throne for twenty-one years.

Unfortunately the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar, though numerous, refer mainly to his architectural works. In this, however, they support the saying attributed to him in Daniel stated to have been uttered whilst enjoying the view of the city from the roof of his palace: "Is not this great Babylon which I have built, for the house of the kingdom, for the height of my power, and the honour of my majesty?" His inscriptions, however, do not show these words to be true—they only indicate that he rebuilt and enlarged the royal palace, now represented by the brick masses known as the Kasr, and rebuilt many of the great temples. He was, however, very proud of what he had done, and the enamelled brick bas-reliefs of the lion, the bull, and the dragon of Babylon which he had caused to be carved in the brickwork of the Ištar-gate, and probably elsewhere, are specially mentioned by him. In the inscriptions, however, there seems to be no distinction between the terms "build" and "rebuild," so that we must acquit the great king of uttering, either to himself or to others, a deliberate lie. The origin and foundation of Babylon possibly go back to 4000 years before Christ.

When Nebuchadrezzar came to the throne, he found himself king of a mighty nation, consolidated by his father's talent, and he could boast of having had a hand himself in its enlargement and in measures for its greater security. Everything was, to all appearance, at peace, and the new king had no reason to fear either a pretender to the throne or attack from without. This satisfactory state of things, however, was not to last, for Jehoiakim, King of Judah, as related in 2 Kings xxiv, 1 ff., after paying tribute for three years, rebelled, but was again reduced to subjection (604–602 B.C.).

Later, apparently owing to the promises of the King of

Egypt, Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim, in his turn incurred the hostility of the King of Babylon, who sent an army to besiege Jerusalem, and afterwards journeyed thither himself. The capture of the city followed, and the Jewish king, with his Court, were carried away to Babylon (598 B.C.) The number of captives on this occasion exceeded 10,000, and the treasures of the palace and the Temple formed part of the spoil. The country was not annexed, however, for Nebuchadrezzar made Mattaniah King of Judah instead of Jehoiachin, changing his name to Zedekiah (Bab. form *Ṣidqâ*, *Ṣidqaa*, or *Ṣidqaya*).

Passing years seemingly weakened any gratitude Zedekiah may have felt to the power which had raised him, and, encouraged by Pharaoh Hophra, he rebelled in the ninth year of his reign, the result being that Jerusalem was once more besieged. Pharaoh Hophra thereupon marched with an army to the help of his ally; but this move gave the Jewish capital but little relief, for Nebuchadrezzar's army merely raised the siege of Jerusalem long enough to defeat the Egyptians (Jer. xxxvii, 5–7). The city was taken at the end of a year-and-a-half, notwithstanding a very courageous resistance (July, 586 B.C.).

Zedekiah, with his army, fled, but was pursued by the Chaldeans and captured near Jericho. Nebuchadrezzar was then at Riblah with his officers (2 Kings xxv, 6), and there judgment was at once pronounced against the faithless vassal, whose sons were slain before his eyes, his own sight destroyed, and he himself carried captive to Babylon. It was a barbarous sentence, but quite in accordance with the customs of the age, just as the legal formalities apparently conformed to Babylonian usage. The destruction of the Temple and all the principal houses in the city, by Nebuzaradan (Nabû-zēr-iddina), the captain of Nebuchadrezzar's guard, followed, and those remaining in the city were carried captive. The lowest class of the people only remained, in order to carry on the cultivation of the land. Naturally a new governor was appointed—not, as might reasonably have been expected, a Babylonian, but a Jew—Gedaliah, son of Ahikam. His death at the hands of his own countrymen took place shortly afterwards, and with him disappeared the last vestige of Jewish rule in Palestine.

The turn of Tyre came next, and it is said that Nebuchadrezzar blockaded this maritime port no less than thirteen years (585–573 B.C.).

From a fragment of a tablet in the British Museum, referring to Nebuchadrezzar's thirty-seventh year (567 B.C.), we learn that

he made an expedition against an Egyptian king, who seems, from the remains of his name, to have been Amasis. In this record a city—or, perhaps, a province—called Pûṭu-yâman is referred to, and described, apparently, as being a distant district "within the sea." This idiom is used by Aššur-banî-âpli when speaking of Cyprus.

Notwithstanding the doubt which exists with regard to Tyre, it is certain that the Babylonian king ultimately became master of the city, for a contract exists dated there on the 20th of Tammuz, in Nebuchadrezzar's fortieth year. Another tablet, dated at *âl mât Ṣuba'*, "the city of the land of Zobah," on the 16th of Tammuz in the same year—that is, six days earlier—is noteworthy, as it may point to the march of Nebuchadrezzar's army to take possession of the seaport, or, possibly, to some movement of troops thither for the consolidation of Babylonian power. The tablet dated at Tyre, in the fortieth year of Nebuchadrezzar, however, must have been drawn up during the rule of the judges who governed Tyre after the end of the reign of Baal, and suggests that they acted under Babylonian suzerainty. From this tablet we learn that the governor of Kades (*Kidiš*) at the time was Milki-idiri, but all the witnesses to the document seem to have been Babylonians, possibly present in Tyre in some official capacity. (See pp. 126–130.)

The destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib has already been referred to, as well as Esarhaddon's work there. In addition to these two rulers, however, both his sons—Šamaš-šum-ukin or Saosduchinos and Aššur-banî-âpli, "the great and noble Asnapper"—worked at restoring the temples. Nebuchadrezzar, in spite of this, doubtless found much to do there, and numerous records bearing his name deal at length with his architectural work. The great temple of Belus (Merodach), in Babylonian Ê-sagila, together with Ê-temen-ana-ki, "the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth," also called "the tower of Babylon," connected with it, were restored by him, as were likewise many, if not all, of the other fanes of the great city. His inscriptions also confirm what the classical authors say in recording that he made Babylon practically impregnable by means of high and massive walls and a well-constructed moat. To the above must be added the quays which he built along the banks of the Euphrates, which flowed through the city, and the augmentation of the great palace which Nabopolassar, his father, had built, by another just as extensive, which, he states (and this is confirmed by Herodotus), was erected in fifteen days! It is to be noted, however, that all the provisions for the defence of

Babylon which he places to his own credit are attributed by Herodotus to Nitocris, who was probably one of Nebuchadrezzar's queens. The hanging gardens, said by Herodotus to have been built by Nebuchadrezzar for his "Median" queen, Amuhia, were probably already in existence, as is implied by one of the bas-reliefs in the Assyrian Saloon of the British Museum; it was carved for Aššur-banî-âpli, the "great and noble Asnapper." It shows a slope, the highest portion of which is supported on arches, and the whole is richly planted with trees and irrigated by streams of water—a real oasis in a land which, during the hot season, is simply a desert. The celebrated "Ištar-Gate," discovered by the German explorers, is specially referred to by Nebuchadrezzar in the India House Inscription.

Wise, warlike, energetic, and religious, the second Nebuchadrezzar will always live in history as the type of an Eastern ruler of old who knew how to raise the nation which he governed to the highest pitch of its ancient glory and power. He was succeeded by his son, Awil-Maruduk (Evil-Merodach) in 561 B.C.

Who were the men who helped Nebuchadrezzar to attain for his country the height of its glory? Certain of his captains are named in the contract-tablets, but these were not to all appearance very highly placed officials. Queen Nitocris is credited with having thought out the scheme of the city's great defences—the walls, the lake, the winding river, which brought the navigator to the same spot on three successive days—and we may take it for granted that the great king may have been largely aided by the suggestions of this princess as well as by his other wives, notably the Median one, who doubtless suggested the arrangement, or at least the improvement, of the terraced plantation known as the "hanging gardens"; but the organization of the kingdom, both civil and military, must have been the king's own. It is worthy of note how suddenly these ancient powers fell from the lofty heights which they had attained with the departure of the genius which had raised them. The warlike energy of the ruler having departed, his reputation rested on his administrative ability, which lasted as long as his intelligence, and then, when his successor took his place—possibly an inexperienced man—plots and counter-plots brought confusion into the realm, and the falling-away, though slow, became more and more pronounced. That this happened in the case of Babylon, we shall see in the pages which follow.

Evil-Merodach, Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor, was apparently a man of a very different stamp, as is implied by the

statement in 2 Kings xxv, 27–30, where we learn that he honoured the captive King Jehoiachin of Judah, and placed his throne, in the latter's thirty-seventh year, above the thrones of the kings who were in captivity with him, changed his prison garments, and let him eat at the royal table for the remainder of his days. The Babylonian king doubtless felt that this was an honour due to an unfortunate prince no longer young. That Evil-Merodach displeased the Babylonians, there is no doubt, for, according to Josephus, Berosus states that "he governed public affairs lawlessly and extravagantly," probably meaning that he displeased the priestly and military classes. The Babylonian priest states that he was slain by his sister's husband, Neriglissoöros (Neriglissar, the Babylonian Nerigal-šarra-uṣur), who then mounted the throne (559 B.C.).

Being an adorer of Nerigal, the god of war, pestilence, and, as we may believe, sudden and violent death in general, it seems likely that the Babylonians—if they knew, which is doubtful—did not regard his having murdered his brother-in-law as a crime barring his mounting the throne. He himself, it is true, does not refer to the circumstances of his succession. He is content to describe himself as "son of Bel-šum-iškun," a personage probably of some importance, but of whom nothing is known except that Neriglissar makes him to be of royal rank. It is noteworthy that, before assuming the crown, Neriglissar was engaged in many commercial transactions, which, perhaps, indicate that he and his family were originally "princes of the people"—rich men who, by their commercial activity, had become known to a large section of the population; and it is probable that Neriglissar had used this popularity, together with his royal connections, as a stepping-stone to the supreme position to which he aspired. That he favoured the priestly class may be assumed from the fact that, in the first year of his reign, his daughter Gigîtu^{m} wedded Nabû-šum-ukîn, a priest of the celebrated temple of Nebo at Borsippa, on the New Year's Day.

Like Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, he poses as patron of Ê-sagila, the great temple of Belus (Merodach) at Babylon, and Ê-zida, at Borsippa, to which his son-in-law belonged. With regard to the government of his kingdom, he states that Nebo had caused his hands to hold a just sceptre, and Ura, prince of the gods (he was identified with Nerigal, god of war, referred to above) had given him his weapon to keep the people and preserve the country. This looks as though the god of pestilence was also the god of the assassin. After mentioning his father, Bêl-

šum-iškun, "king of Babylon," he speaks of the restoration and decoration of Ê-sagila and Ê-zida, of the palace which he built for himself in the capital, and other architectural work.

He died in Nisan or Iyyar of the 4th year of his reign, and was succeeded by Lâbâši-Maruduk, the Greek Laborosoarchod, his son. According to Berosus, he occupied the throne for nine months only (555 B.C.). He is said to have been a mere youth at the time of his accession, but from a tablet dated in his father Neriglissar's second year, he would seem, in 557 B.C., to have been old enough to have a separate establishment, his house-steward having been Nabû-ṣabit-qatê, a royal official. Berosus states that "a plot was hatched against him, and he was tormented to death, by reason of the very ill-temper and ill-practices which he exhibited to the world." The contract-tablets seem to indicate that his reign lasted not nine months, but nine weeks only.

Though the prosperity of Babylonia seems to have been well maintained during this period of short reigns following the death of Nebuchadrezzar, it is clear that there was a considerable amount of discontent; and that feeling, on the part of the people, or the more highly-placed administrative officials, had reached such a point that they had no inclination to allow a young ruler like Lâbâši-Maruduk sufficient time to show what he could do. It is clear, also, that they had another personage in their mind, who, they thought, would be more successful. This man was Nabonidus, who possibly had already had some experience in administrative work, and if so, he had probably gained the confidence of a certain section of the people. One thing, however, is clear, and that is, that plotters, during his reign, were either non-existent, or altogether unsuccessful. In addition to the confidence which his personality seems to have inspired, there was the fact that he had a son possessing a considerable amount of energy, who, had he been allowed to ascend the throne, might have changed the course of events for Babylon; but the crisis came too early, as the sequel will show.

Neriglissar, judging from his cylinder-inscription, considered it needful to lay stress on his royal descent, real or assumed, but apparently Nabonidus had nothing of that nature to bring forward as a claim to public and official support when he ascended the throne. He could only state that he was son of Nabû-balaṭsu-iqbî, the *rubû êmqu*, "prince sagacious," or the like. Who this personage was we have yet to learn. But although he only bases his claim to the nation's goodwill on this member of his ancestry, the Book of Daniel, in describing

Belshazzar, his son, as "son of Nebuchadrezzar," suggests another, namely, that Nabonidus had espoused a princess of Nebuchadrezzar's family. Two copies of a contract in the British Museum, moreover, make a certain Nabonidus to have borne the title "king of the city" (probably Babylon), but whether this had anything to do with the last king of Babylon or not is uncertain. We shall return to this subject, however, later on. (See pp. 19–20.)

Unfortunately the Babylonian Chronicle dealing with Nabonidus's reign is very incomplete. Toward the beginning of this record, some ruler, probably a Babylonian, is said to have stayed for a time at Hamath (*mât Ḫamâti*) in the month Tebet. After this he seems to have gone to Ammananu (mount Amanus?) to cut down trees. Later on, the Chronicle has a reference to the sea of the Land of Amurrū—that is, the Mediterranean coast, which the Babylonian king, imitating his predecessors of older time, may have visited. Remains of other lines suggest details, but nothing really certain, and then comes a gap. Whether the above, and the historical statements which must have occupied the gap, refer to the reign of Nabonidus or not, is uncertain.

Where the text is again readable, however, there is no doubt that the reign referred to is that of Nabonidus. This paragraph speaks of Astyages' march against Cyrus, the revolt of the army of the former against him, and their handing him as a prisoner to Cyrus. Cyrus then entered Ecbatana, Astyages' capital, and took a great quantity of booty.

According to the great cylinder-inscription of Nabonidus, this had been revealed to him three years previously in a dream, in which, when the Medes were besieging Haran, Merodach commanded Nabonidus to rebuild the temple of the moon-god Sin in that city. The Babylonian king, however, did not know that the army of Astyages had revolted against him, and delivered him to Cyrus, "his (Merodach's) young servant," but he refers to the booty captured by the Anzanite* king. Nabonidus then goes on to give details of his restoration of the temple at Haran, which city would probably yield many important records to the explorer.

Noteworthy is the fact, that the writer of the Babylonian Chronicle was not so liberal-minded as the king of Babylon, who speaks so appreciatively of Cyrus. As far as one can judge, any great and praiseworthy deeds that Nabonidus may have done

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* Anzan or Anšan was a portion of Elam, and under Cyrus's rule.

are left unmentioned. When we come to Nabonidus's seventh and following years, he seemingly complains that the king was then in Temâ (probably "the city of the king's house"); and his son, with the army and the great men, were in Akkad. The king did not go to Babylon, Nebo did not go to Babylon, Bel (Merodach) did not go forth, and the New Year's festival did not take place. This happened for several years, and the people apparently became discontented, as much importance was attached to such observances. As to the priesthood, their murmurings must have been deep, if not loud, as the temple-treasury probably suffered from lack of the usual offerings. In the ninth year of Nabonidus's reign the queen-mother died in Dûr-karaši on the Euphrates, and the son of the king and his soldiers mourned for her three days. At this period Cyrus, who is here called "king of Persia" (*šar mât Parsu*), gathered his army, and crossed the Tigris below Arbela. Whether this was a threat against Babylonia or not is uncertain; but he seems to have taken some ruler captive, and to have taken "that silver," or "his silver" (*kaspu šâšu*). The record being mutilated, the traces merely suggest that Cyrus placed a garrison in this district, but withdrew it on a new king being appointed. This, as will be seen later, would be characteristic of his methods. What the presence of an Elamite officer in Akkad in Nabonidus's tenth year portends is uncertain—perhaps Cyrus was trying to come to an agreement with the Babylonian king upon some political matter.

The paragraph referring to the neglect of the gods is repeated for Nabonidus's eleventh year, and may have been introduced for all the remaining years of his reign. Naturally there was a reason for this omission on his part, such as, that he was suffering from some malady which confined him to his palace. Nevertheless, his interest in the temples of his land was very marked, for he often restored them, and took great pleasure in having their foundations explored to find the records of early kings, his predecessors, which he read, and duly restored to their places, in accordance with custom.

At this point there is a considerable gap in the record until Nabonidus's seventeenth year, the last of his reign, of which a translation will be found in the *Journal* of the Institute for 1914, pp. 186 ff. From this it would seem that the neglected ceremonies had been resumed, probably on account of the danger of invasion which, it was felt, was now very near. In the month Tammuz, Cyrus had reached Opis, and a battle took place there, in which the words which follow imply that the Babylonians

were defeated. A few days later Sippar was taken without fighting, and Nabonidus fled. On the 16th of Tammuz Babylon was entered by Gobryas (Darius the Mede) with the army of Cyrus, and it was apparently in that city that Nabonidus was taken prisoner. Efficient measures were taken for the protection of the Temple of Belus, and probably, also, for the other sacred places of the Babylonians. On the 3rd of Marcheswan Cyrus entered Babylon, and deputations met him asking that the city might be spared—a grace which was at once accorded. On the night of the 11th of Marcheswan Gobryas seems to have made an attack on some portion (? the citadel) which still held out, and "the son of the king died."* Six days' mourning—the last three days of the year and the first three of the next—for him took place.

Such is the story of Babylon's rise to power during the days of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, and her subjection under Nabonidus and his son Belshazzar, who was apparently regent.

Now, in the translation which I gave in the *Journal* of the Institute for 1914, I followed the Babylonian Chronicle, which makes Sippar to have been taken on the 14th day of Tammuz, the fourth month. This, however, is not confirmed by the contract-tablets found there, and it is clear that the copyist of the record in the British Museum has made a mistake, and written Tammuz—the ideograph for which has one wedge less—for Tisri, the seventh month. A tablet indicated by Strassmaier as being dated in the month Chisleu of the seventeenth year of Nabonidus, probably really belongs to Nisan, the first month of that year, so that the real "last date" seems to be that of the Sippar tablet bearing the date "10th day of Marcheswan"—that is, the day before Belshazzar's death.

Combining this with the data of the Chronicle, we see that the invasion and conquest of Babylonia occupied 42 days—it was probably on the 1st day of Tisri that Cyrus fought the battle of Opis, and he assumed the rule of the country, through Gobryas the Mede, his administrator, on the 12th of Marcheswan. Normal life at Sippar was hardly disturbed until the 10th of Tisri, and resumed its usual course on or before the 24th of

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* Contract-tablets in the possession of Mr. W. Harding Smith imply that Belshazzar held, as Sir H. C. Rawlinson suggested many years ago, the position of viceroy; and that Gobryas also occupied a similar position in the time of Cambyses.

Marcheswan. The capital's calm was disturbed for a few days less, and would have resumed its course a few days earlier but for the crowds of petitioners seeking the new ruler's presence.

Naturally, this was a wonderfully rapid conquest, and it was carried out, as the Babylonian Chronicle indicates, with a minimum of disturbance to the conquered. It has often been said that Xenophon's *Cyropedia* is a romance, and this may be true; but one thing is certain, and that is, that Xenophon lived much nearer to the time when the events recorded therein took place than we do, and must have known—certainly from Persian sources, and perhaps from the Babylonians themselves—what really happened.

Xenophon also tells of the reputation Cyrus had for clemency, and the most noteworthy instance of it is that in which (*Cyrop.* V, p. 85, in Nimmo's series) he proposes that labourers (agriculturists) should be left by both sides to pursue their daily work, in order that, after the war, want and famine might be avoided, and to this the Assyrian king consents.

In Xenophon's account of the taking of Babylon, the well-known story of the entering of the city through the river-bed whilst a festival was in progress is given. It was apprehended that the Babylonians might try to drive back the invaders by attacking them from the house-tops, but Cyrus pointed out that this could easily be stopped by setting fire to the porches, as the doors were of palm-wood, painted over with bitumen. The entry into the city was duly effected, and by a ruse they got the people within the palace to open the gates. The King (Belshazzar) was found with his sword in his hand, surrounded by his friends, eager to defend him. Overpowered by numbers, he died fighting for his life and his throne; as for saving his country, that was past hoping for.

The castles—that is, the palaces of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar—having been given up by their now demoralized defenders, the people were commanded to deliver up their arms, which they did. The Magi (evidently the Babylonian priesthood) were then ordered to choose for the gods the first-fruits of certain lands owned by them, in accordance with the usage in conquered countries; and houses, palaces, and property were delivered to Cyrus's followers as rewards for their services. The Babylonians were then directed to cultivate their lands, pay their taxes, and serve those to whom they were severally given.

Cyrus, having let it be known that people might seek his presence, either to pay homage or to consult with him, they

came in such disorderly multitudes that precautions against a renewal of this state of things had to be taken. The crowds who sought him seem to be referred to in the Babylonian Chronicle, but this record contains no mention of disturbances of any kind. The statements of the Chronicle, an official document, are probably to be preferred.

When Cyrus entered the palace, he sacrificed to Vesta (doubtless one of the forms of Zêrpanîtu^{m}) and "Regal Jove" (Bel-Merodach), with other deities whom the Magi (Babylonian priesthood) thought proper. Cyrus seems to have been of opinion that the common people of Babylonia entertained considerable enmity toward him, and he therefore surrounded himself with guards, those most closely attached to him being eunuchs. For the keeping of the city a Persian garrison was installed, for which the Babylonians had to provide. A long speech is attributed to him, in which he tells his followers that according to the laws of war all the property of the conquered belonged to them, and they were entitled to take it if they so chose. Whether this was in any case actually done does not appear, but it may be regarded as hardly probable, as the Babylonians seem to have lived fairly contentedly under his rule—or, rather, under that of Cambyses and Gobryas the Mede, both of whom acted as governors-general in turn.

Notwithstanding all possible defects that may have belonged to his nature, Cyrus showed consideration for the country, friendliness toward the people, but severity in matters which concerned his own safety and authority after having assumed the title "King of Babylon." In an age far more barbarous than our own he exhibited a moderation and a breadth of view which but few, in more civilized times, have shown; and it may truly be said that if his dynasty did not last the fault was not his.

*** At the close of his Paper, Dr. Pinches showed an interesting series of lantern slides.

APPENDIX.

TEXTS.

1. Nabonidus, "King of the City."
2. The Babylonians at Zobah.
3. The Babylonians at Tyre.
4. The latest date of the reign of Nabonidus.

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1. NABONIDUS, "KING OF THE CITY."

The following document is preserved in two examples, both of them, apparently, copies of an original which has not yet been found. The variants probably indicate that the copyists were not very careful in reproducing the characters of their original:—

(British Museum, S + 769 and S + 734.)

(1) A-di-'i-îlu âbli-šu ša Nabû-zēr-iddina (var. -id-di-na) (2) u sinništu Ḫu-li-(i-)ti âššati-šu (addition: Iltu Ḫu-li-tu^{m}) (3) Mar-duk-a mâra (var. ma-ra)-šu-nu a-na šîmi ḫa-ri-iṣ (var. šîmi (?) ḫa-ri-ṣu (?), a-na omitted) (4) a-na Šu-la-a âbli-šu ša Zēr-ukîn id-din (var. i-nam-din) (5) bu-ut (var. bu-ut-ti) si-ḫi-i u pa-ki-ra-nu (6) ša ina muḫḫi (var. muḫ-ḫi) Mar-duk-a el-la-' (var. i-li-mu na-šu-u) (7) A-di-'i-îlu Ak-ka-du-u (?) (var. mâra-šu it-ti-šu) (8) na-šu-u (var. na-šu-u-šu).

(9) âwēlu mu-kin-nu Nabû-na'id ša êli âli (var. âbil âwēlu šarri . . .) (10) A-kar-'-u Mu-še-zib-Bêl (11) âbli-šu ša Mar-duk-a Zēri-ia (12) âbli-šu ša Bab-îla^{ki}-a-a (var. Ba-bi-la-a-a) Kên-zēru (13) âbli-šu ša Ya-di-'i-îlu (var. A-di-'i-îlu) Re-mut âbil (var. âbli-šu ša) Mar-duk-a (14) u âwēlu ṭup-šarru Nabû-zēr-ikîša (-ša) âbli-šu ša Re-mut Ḫu-uṣ-ṣi-ti ša Mu-šal-lim-^{d}Maruduk (15) waraḫ Šabaṭi ûmu šiššēru šattu samattu (16) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šar Bâbîli^{ki}.

Translation.

Adi'i-îlu, son of Nabû-zēr-iddina, and Ḫulîti, his wife,* have given† Marduk'a, their son, for the price agreed upon, to Šulâ, son of Zēr-ukîn. Liability to refusal and annulment, which were upon Marduk'a, exist not—Adi'i-îlu and the Akkadian have taken (it).‡

* Addition, "the divine Ḫulîtu^{m}." † Var. "will give."

‡ The probable translation of the variants *îlimu našû Adi'i-îlu mâra-šu itti-šu našû-šu* is: "It exists not—it is taken away. Adi'i-îlu (and) his son with him have taken it away."

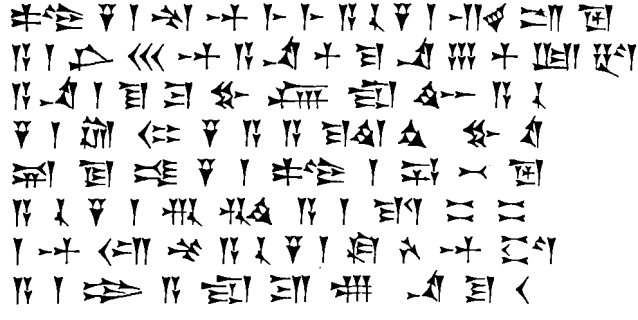
Witnesses: Nabû-na'id, who is over the city*; Akar'u; Mušêzib-Bêl, son of Marduk'a†; Zēria, son of Bâbîlaya; Kênzēri, son of (Y)adi'i-îlu; Rêmut, son of Marduk'a†; and the scribe, Nabû-zēr-ikîša, son of Marduk-ušabšî (?). Ḫuṣṣiti-ša-Mušallim-Maruduk, month Sebat, day 16th, year 8th, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

For such a short text, the variants are numerous, and suggest a defective original. Nevertheless, recent discoveries in the matter of transcription indicate that the whole may not be so suspicious as it looks. Assyrian variants show, that 𒀀, *a*, may be read as *ya*, and it is therefore possible, that Yadi'i-îlu is the true reading in every case. The reason of the transposition of Marduka into Dukmara in lines 11 and 13 is unknown—the original Sumerian form of the name is Amar-uduk, "the steer of day," and as *uduk*, "day," contains the same ideograph as the name of the Sun-god Šamaš, this transposition may be due to Egyptian influence, scribes of that nationality having been accustomed to place divine name-elements first.

2. The Contract dated at Zobah, 564 B.C.

(British Museum, 84–2–11, 26.‡)

Obverse.



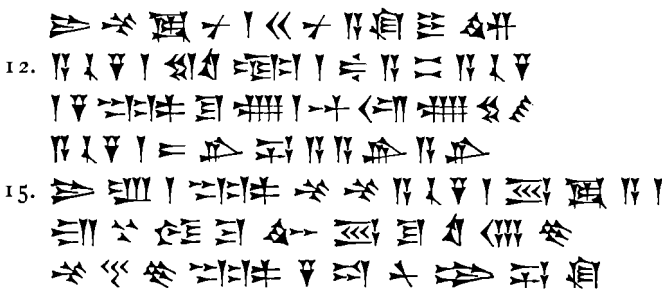
Edge.

* Var. "the son of the king . . . ."

† Var. Duk-mar-a.

‡ No. 360 of *Inschriften von Nebuchodonosor*, by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., Leipzig, 1889.

REVERSE.



Transcription.

OBV. Imeru ša $^{m.}$Warad-$^{d.}$Me-me âbli-šu ša $^{m.}$Gi-mil-lu
âbil $^{m.}$Epeš(-eš)-îli a-na bar ma-na šiššet bar šiqli kaspi
3. a-na $^{m.}$Šu-ba-bu-sa-ra' âbli-šu
sa $^{m.}$Kar-mi-ša-a-a id-din bu-ut
kalû-tu^{m} ša išten imeri $^{m.}$E-til-lu
6. âbli-šu ša $^{m.}$Re-mut âbil $^{m.}$Da-bi-bi
$^{m.d.}$Nerigal-iddina âbli-šu ša $^{m.}$Dayan-$^{d.}$Maruduk
âbil $^{m.}$Lugal-a-ra-zu-u na-šu-u
9. imeru šu-gu-ru-ru ša ina muḫ-ḫi
ap - pi - šu ši - in - du
REV. ^{awēlu} Mu-kin-nu $^{m.}$Man-nu-a-ki-i-âddu
12. âbli-šu-ša $^{m.}$Li-šir $^{m.}$Ar-a-bi âbli-šu-ša
$^{m.}$Ša-$^{d.}$Nabû-šu-u $^{m.d.}$Nergal-u-še-zib.
âbli-šu ša Tab-ni-e-a abil Ir-a-ni
15. ^{âwēlu} ṭupšarru $^{m.d.}$Nabû-šum-iddina âbli-šu ša $^{m.\ warḫu}$ Ûlulaa
Âl mât Ṣu-ba-' waraḫ Du'uzi ûmu šiššerū
šattu irba'a $^{d.}$Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, šar Bâbîli^{ki}.

Translation.

(Concerning) the ass which Warad-Meme, son of Gimillu, descendant of Êpeš-îli, sold to Šubabu-sara', son of Karmišaya. Êtillu, son of Rêmut, descendant of Dabibi, (and) Nerigal-iddina, son of Dayan-Maroduk, descendant of Lugal-arazū, respond. The ass is a spirited one, upon whose nose there is a mark.

Witnesses: Mannu-akî-Addu, son of Lîšer; Arabi, son of Ša-Nabû-šû; Nerigal-ušêzib, son of Tabnêa, descendant of Irani; scribe: Nabû-šum-iddina, son of Ululaya. City of the land of Zobah, month Tammuz, day 16th, year 40th, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes.

This tablet apparently has more Biblical interest than that from Tyre. As already stated, it is dated six days earlier. The place where is was drawn up, *âl mât Ṣuba'*, must be the capital of the tract known as Aram Zobah. As this form of the name is practically exactly that of the Hebrew צוֹבָה it is doubtful whether the *Ṣabiti* of the Assyrian tribute-lists be the same place or not. Most scholars, however, think that there were two districts of the same or similar names. This, of course, is possible, but farther than that we can hardly go. The position required for the Assyrian Ṣubiti is between Hamath and Damascus, though Aššur-bani-âpli's great historical cylinder indicates that there was a place of the same name in the Hauran. The Hebrew Zobah was a place of great mineral wealth, and rich in vineyards and fruitful fields.

Among the names in this contract is that of Subabu-sara' son of Karmišaya, or "the Karmišite." The first element of Subabu-sara' reminds us of the Old Testament Shobab: (1) the name of one of David's sons, and (2) a son of Caleb. The first character of Karmišaya is doubtful, but if, by chance, the reading be correct, the name may be a shortening of Carchemishite (Karkamišaya). Otherwise we ought, perhaps, to read *te* instead of *kar*, making *Temišaya*, "the Temišite." The true reading will, perhaps, be revealed by again consulting the original, but this can only be when the British Museum is again opened to the public.

If *sara'* have any connection with the Hebrew סַר, *Šubabu-sara'* may mean "Shobab the prince," or the like. It is also worthy of note that *ma* may be read instead of *ba* (*Šumabu-sara'*), but that adopted in the translation is more probable.

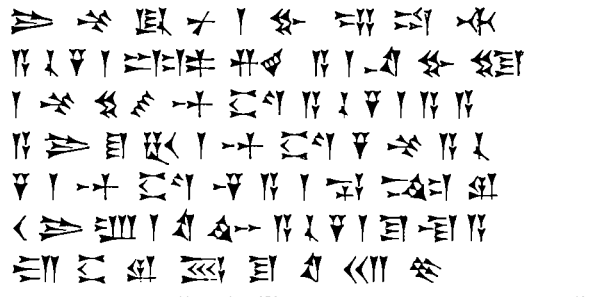
In line 12 is written for . It is noteworthy that, in line 13, there is no determinative before Irani. The day of the month, line 16, is slightly doubtful.

3. The Tablet dated at Tyre, 564 B.C.

British Museum, 81–4–28, 88.

Obverse.

REVERSE.



Transcription.

OBV. A-di-i ûmu ḫamiššērū ša waraḫ Ayari
šalšet bûrāti û mârē-šu-nu
3. m.Mil-ki-i-di-ri awēlu bêl piḫati
ša âl Ki-di-iš ib-ba-kam-ma
a-na m.Abla-a âbli-šu ša m.Nadin-âḫi âbli awēlu šangu d.Šamaš
6. i-nam-din ki-i la i-tab-bak-ka
ḫamšet ma-na kaspi m.Mil-ki-i-di-ri
a-na m.Abla-a âbli-šu ša m.Nadin-âḫi âbil awel šangu d.Šamaš
9. i - nam - din
REV. awēlu Mu-kin-nu m.Bu-un-du-ti
âbli-šu ša m.d.Nabû-ušallim âbil m.Na-bu-tu
12. m.Mu-še-zib-d.Maruduk âbli-šu ša m.Abla-a
âbil awēlu ba'iri m.d.Marduk-šakin-šumi âbli-šu
ša m.d.Marduk-êṭir âbil m.E-ṭe-ru
15. u awēlu ṭupšarru m.Pir-'u âbli-šu ša m.Su-la-a
alu Ṣur-ru waraḫ Dumuzi ûmu êšraa-šinû
šattu irba'a d.Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, šar Bâbîli^ki.

Translation.

On the 15th day of the month Iyyar, Milki-idiri, governor of Kidiš, will bring the 3 cows and their young, and will give (them) to Ablaa, son of Nadin-âḫi, descendant of the priest of the Sun-god (Samaš). If he do not bring (them), Milki-idiri shall pay to Ablaa, son of Nadin-âḫi, descendant of the priest of Samaš, 5 mana of silver.

Witnesses: Bunduti, son of Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Nabutu; Mušêzib-Marodak, son of Ablaa, descendant of the fisherman; Marduk-šakin-šumi, son of Marduk-êṭir, descendant of Eṭeru; and the scribe, Pir'u, son of Šulaa. Tyre, month Tammuz, day 22nd, year 40th, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

There are no unusual words in this inscription. It is doubtful whether the names of the contracting parties (except Milki-idiri, who was a Phoenician or a Tyrian), and those of the witnesses and the scribe, give any information. Ablaa, as the descendant of a priest of the Sun-god, may have come from Sippar (Abu-habbah), in Babylonia, but the other people mentioned in this inscription were probably from Babylon.

4. The Tablet recording Deliveries in Marcheswan of Nabonidus's 17th Year (538 B.C.).

(1) Mišil ma-na kaspi a-di išten gurri sarti ultu šu-tu-um-mu šarri (2) a-na ṣi-di-i-tu^{m} a-na Bêl-šu-nu âbil Zêrû-tu (3) $^{d.}$Samaš-âḫê-êriba âbil $^{d.}$Nabû-a-na-ka-tu^{m}-si-ri-iḫ (4) Ṣab-di-ia âbli-šu ša Marduk Re-mut-$^{d.}$Bel (5) âbli-šu ša Ikîšaya (-ša-a) u Abu-lâ-îdû* âbli-šu ša Mar-duk (6) ša a-na êli immeri a-na âlu Ru-za-bu a-na (7) pa-ni $^{\hat{u}we\bar{e}lu}$ rab-ṣip-tu^{m} il-la-ku' nadin (-in) (8) Waraḫ-samna ûmu êšru šattu siba-šertu (9) $^{d.}$Nabû-na'id šar Bâb-îli$^{ki.}$

Translation.

½ a mana of silver with 1 *gur* of barley from the king's store, for necessities, have been given to Bêl-šunu, descendant of Zêrûtu, Samaš-âḫê-êriba, descendant of Nabû-ana-katu^{m}-siriḫ, Ṣabdiia, son of Marduk, Rêmut-Bêl, son of Ikîšaya, and Abu-lâ-îdû, son of Marduk, who is going to the city Ruzabu, to the presence of the revenue-officer, about the sheep.

Marcheswan, day 10th, year 17th, Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

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* Written in Sumerian, *Ada-nu-zu.*

I have not revised this inscription, and quote it from Strassmaier's copy, the date of which I suppose to be correct. The text is marked in the British Museum, "A.H., 83–1–18, 295," and is, therefore, one of the tablets excavated at Sippar (Abu-habbah) by the late Hormuzd Rassam. Even in war time, it is evident that the king's business was attended to. The position of Ruzabu, the city to which Abu-la-îdû was going, is not known. Instead of *z* and *b*, however, *ṣ* and *p* might be substituted, making *Ruṣapu*, which closely resembles the Hebrew *Rezeph*. The Assyrian form of this name, however, is *Raṣapu*. Nevertheless, identification with Rezeph is not altogether excluded, especially when we consider that it is identified with the modern *Ruṣafa*, south-west of Sura, on the Euphrates, and also on the Palmyra road.

It is noteworthy that this record (practically an historical document) has no witnesses. This is owing to the fact that, though belonging to the class of dated inscriptions, it is not really a contract.

Discussion.

The Chairman: We have had this evening, I think, one of the most fascinating of the many addresses which Dr. Pinches has given us. He has reconstructed for us the history of Babylon during the most interesting part of its existence, and I think he has brought home very vividly to us the politics and the intrigues of that time. And as we are now in a state of war, we can appreciate very keenly that the men who lived in those days acted very much as, unfortunately, men act in these.

Dr. Pinches refers to the character of Babylonia—*i.e.*, of Mesopotamia, as our troops have learnt to call it at the present time. We have one member, who has been a considerable time in Mesopotamia, and who not only knows that region, but also the Punjab very well indeed, and his view upon Mesopotamia is this: During the last few years the habitable portion of the Punjab has been largely extended, following on the sinking of wells right out in the desert and the extension of irrigation, so that the amount of country now under cultivation has greatly increased quite within a short space of time. The most prosperous peasantry in the world at the present time are now living where ten or fifteen years ago there was apparently an unreclaimable desert.

If this were done in Mesopotamia, and the land was irrigated as in the palmy days of Babylon, there is very little doubt that there would be room for millions of agriculturists; and we have in India exactly the population that wants that outlet. There is a great population, growing faster than the country can accommodate it, and Indians are finding their way into British colonies, where there is no suitable place for them. Here is a country, practically without inhabitants, ready for them.

Dr. Pinches makes a little reference to the astronomy of Babylon. That is a subject upon which I would like to say a few words, but not to-night—it would take one too far. The history of the beginnings of astronomy is one of very great interest, and Dr. Pinches and other Assyriologists have thrown a great deal of light upon it.

On page 113 Dr. Pinches notes that when speaking of Babylonia Xenophon uses the word Assyria. I should like to ask him what he would say about the use of the words Assyria and Babylonia in Holy Scripture. To the ordinary layman Assyria is sometimes used where he would expect Babylonia and Babylonia where he would expect Assyria, and the Higher Critics have laid much stress on the fact.

There was just one other point I wished to mention. Dr. Pinches says:—

> Cyrus proposes that labourers (agriculturists) should be left by both sides to pursue their daily work, in order that, after the war, want and famine might be avoided, and to this the Assyrian king consents.

Commentators on the Book of Job have pointed out that it has been generally the custom of the Bedouin Arabs to raid the agricultural districts, but it was a point of honour with them that they left the men alive. They did not kill the cattle or the labourers; they regarded them as the goose that laid the golden egg, and expected to come back the next year and raid them again. But you remember that Job's servants told him that the Sabeans and the Chaldeans had fallen upon them and slain the men at the ploughs. Dr. Pinches may be able to say whether that seemed to throw any light on this particular matter—whether the Chaldeans were usually in the habit of doing what the Bedouin Arabs abstained from doing —that is to say, slaughtering the peasants instead of merely robbing them.

Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S.: I have listened with great interest to Dr. Pinches' paper, and have imagined myself as something like an attendant at a funeral—the burial of the Higher Criticism. One or two things interested me particularly. There was the reference to astronomy. In our Chairman's book, *The Astronomy of the Bible*, which I would earnestly recommend to everyone who has not read it, it is pointed out that the Babylonians were only just able to refer to constellations which came within their purview. But farther north we have other constellations; and I think I am right in saying that he attributes the earliest knowledge of astronomy to nationalities or tribes farther north, whose knowledge descended to the Babylonian plains when the first inhabitants came from the mountains into the plains.

Dr. Pinches has referred to the buildings of Nebuchadrezzar, who stands upon his palace and says, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?" He has a little hesitation in allowing those words to be exactly appropriate to the Nebuchadrezzar of that time. But I think, if I may recall the fact, it will serve to establish the statement as correct that the city had been practically destroyed by Nabopolassar. When, therefore, Nebuchadrezzar comes into possession of it, there would no doubt have been a great deal for him to do. He would build the palaces and temples and erect new walls around. It would not be understood by those who heard his words that he had absolutely built the whole city as well as the temples and other permanent buildings which it would be regarded as more becoming he should build.

May I refer to the use of the word Assyria? In several passages of Scripture it is used as comprehending both Babylonia and Assyria. We always speak of Assyriology to cover the whole science and whole subject stated. So you find in the Book of Ezra the country is called Assyria. Therefore it quite establishes the propriety of the line used by Xenophon when he speaks of the whole country as Assyria. I thank Dr. Pinches most heartily for his admirable paper, which will be of great value in future in referring to the history of the time as established in the Book of Daniel.

Mr. M. L. ROUSE, B.A., B.L.: When the conquest of Babylonia began, one thing that attracted the conquerors was the immense fertility of the region. One of the chieftains returned with a great quantity of dates, and said to his associates: "Look what spoil awaits you

if you go and conquer that land." The Bible, it is true, speaks of Babylonia as all desert and dry waste, and so forth; but that prediction need not have been fulfilled immediately. In fact, one of the great proofs of the truth of the Bible is that Babylonia remained the same a long time after the Bible was completed. It was at a later time that the condition of desolation began, and it was completed by the wanton destruction of the Saracens and Turks.

May I say one word about the death of the queen-mother? Who is this queen-mother who in the ninth year of Nabonidus's reign died, and for whom the son of the king mourned? If the queen-mother died, and Nabonidus and his family were not related to her in any way, because, meanwhile, there had been another little dynasty, and if Nabonidus's son had not married the daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, as we suppose from the Bible, then who is this queen-mother? Surely it was because they were related to this queen-mother that they mourned for her. She seems to me to have been the wife or one of the wives of Nebuchadrezzar, the mother of the wife of Belshazzar. According to this theory, Belshazzar mourned the daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, and hence, in the solemn interview between Daniel and himself, he is reminded that Nebuchadrezzar his ancestor—we believe his grandfather—underwent that humiliation from God, and had his kingdom restored to him. I think that point proves that Nabonidus married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, and hence Belshazzar was a grandson of Nebuchadrezzar.

The Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON, M.A.: Can we alter the reading of the closing chapter of Daniel and instead of reading Darius read Gobryas?

Dr. PINCHES: I think we ought to regard him as being the same as Gobryas. He may have been known by two names.

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE: A lady wishes me to ask whether the facts we have had are from inscriptions, or whether some are from Berosus. May I ask another question? When we had the last and most interesting paper in 1914, the German discoveries were fully under discussion, and it seemed to me that it could only have been the citadel of Babylon they had discovered, and that Babylon must have been a far vaster country. Otherwise how could Sir Henry

Rawlinson have found Nebuchadrezzar's bricks in so many towns and villages?

The CHAIRMAN: I think the meeting will agree to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Pinches for a paper of most uncommon interest, and also for the very beautiful series of slides with which he supplemented it.

Dr. PINCHES: I am very much obliged to you for your kind reception of my paper, and for the vote of thanks. Our Chairman is an authority upon astronomy; and I have no intention of controverting what he says in that matter. I was much interested in what he said of the wells in the Punjab. I think it very possible that the fertility of Babylonia might be increased by some such means. She has rivers, and I believe Sir William Willcocks' scheme consisted in digging canals.

The remarks upon Cyrus's proposal that the labourers should be spared were also very interesting. I am quite prepared to accept the theory that the Chaldeans were a very merciless lot, though probably they were not worse than many other nations and tribes among their contemporaries. I do not think Cyrus had any intention of recommending that the labourers and cattle should be spared in order that he might come and rob them again the next year. I think his aim was higher. His aim was to become king of Babylonia, and leave the people in possession of all their property.

I am glad to think with regard to the Book of Daniel that the Higher Criticism is in fact buried. The tablets of which I have published accounts certainly do seem to imply that the portion of the Book of Daniel referring to the taking of Babylon is as correct as we could expect it to be. That is exceedingly satisfactory.

I have mentioned in the paper that there is no distinction in Assyrian inscriptions between "build" and "re-build," and that may be the case in Daniel. So when Nebuchadrezzar said, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?" the word "rebuilt" would come within the meaning of the term employed. I do not say that he claims to have built Babylon. We know that Babylon and its temples go back to a more ancient period than his time, or even that of his father. One thing is certain, that portions of Babylon were destroyed again and again and rebuilt by various kings; and Nebuchadrezzar did not claim to have done more than that.

The fertility of Babylonia is very great. It would be a very fine

country to annex. It might supply grain of which this country has such a limited amount. We have to import, it is said, four-fifths of our needs every year, so it would be decidedly advantageous if we could profit by the fertility of Babylonia.

Mr. Rouse suggested that the queen-mother referred to might have been a princess of the house of Nebuchadrezzar. That is very probable, and of course if she was Belshazzar's grandmother it would explain the mourning for her. But we have to consider that any other princess of the royal house may have been mourned for in the same way.

As to whether all my statements are from inscriptions—No, they are not, because a great many of the points are not touched upon by the inscriptions. I have drawn upon the Bible record, and upon Berosus as quoted by Josephus. Berosus is sometimes not quite trustworthy. I regard the Biblical record as being superior in that respect.

The extent of Babylon was the last question. Of course, we know it was regarded as a city of enormous size. How large, it is difficult to estimate, because I believe no traces of any outer wall are found. The portion thrown on the screen is described as being about the size of Munich or Dresden, and would be the old city. It would correspond with what we call "the City" in London. Naturally the increase of population made the construction of houses outside the walls absolutely necessary. It always occurs with great capitals, and that was the case with Babylon.

The meeting adjourned at 6.25 p.m.

Written Communications.

Dr. Thirtle:—

The fact that Xenophon speaks of *Babylon* as "Assyria" is highly significant. Clearly the two names were regarded *at the time* as connoting the same thing. I suggest that the practice is explained by the fact that the prestige of Old Babylon survived in the conquering empire of Assyria. Does not modern usage illustrate the designation of countries by two names; one old, the other more recent? Beyond question, the old-time *America* is continued in the modern United States; and moreover, in common speech (not too

precise), the more ancient *Britain* is confounded with "England." In each case the two names are employed interchangeably.

In a work published some years ago I pointed out the bearing of such interchange of names upon the familiar Isaianic problem. In the early division of Isaiah, Babylon and Assyria are found in close connection (as, for instance, in chapters 13 and 14), a fact which suggests that the Babylon of the second part of the Book was not the New Babylon of the Exile, but rather Old Babylon as continued in the Assyrian Empire. From the inscriptions we know that the kings of Assyria claimed to be kings of Babylon; and thither they deported prisoners (2 Chron. xxxiii, 11; cp. 2 Kings xvii, 24 ff.). Moreover, it is noteworthy that Cyrus, King of *Persia*, was also styled "King of Babylon" (Ezra i, 1; v, 13).

Rev. ANDREW CRAIG ROBINSON, M.A.:—

Three accounts—and three accounts only—of the career of Cyrus have come down to us in the writings of classical antiquity—

1st. The account of Ctesias preserved in a fragment of Nicholaus of Damascus.

2nd. The account of Herodotus contained in the first Book of his History.

3rd. The account of Xenophon contained in his *Cyropedia*.

Which of these is contradicted, and which supported, by the cuneiform inscriptions?

According to Ctesias, Cyrus was the son of a fellow named Atradates of the Mardian tribe, whose poverty caused him to live by plunder, whilst his mother, whose name was Argoste, made a living by keeping goats. This must be allowed to have been a very lowly origin indeed.

According to Herodotus, Cyrus was the son of a private Persian of good family named Cambyses, and his mother's name was Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media.

According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Cyrus was of royal descent. The Cyrus Cylinder proclaims his royal pedigree:—

> "I am Cyrus King of the host, the great King, the powerful King, King of Zindir, King of the land of Sumer and Accad, King of the Four Regions, son of Cambyses, the great King,

King of the city of Anzan, the grandson of Cyrus, the great King, King of the city of Anzan, son of Sispes (Teispes), the great King, King of the city of Anzan; the all-enduring royal seed whose reign Bel and Nebo love."

This royal descent of Cyrus is confirmed by the royal pedigree of his kinsman, Darius Hysdaspes, recorded in the great Behistun Rock Inscription. There Cyrus is referred to by Darius as "of our race," and Cyrus and Darius are shown to have had the same ancestor, Teispes, King of the city of Anzan, son of Achaemenes, from whom this line of Persian kings are called the Achaemenians.

There is also a short inscription on the ruins of Murghab, the remains probably of the tomb of Cyrus, repeated four times, "I am Cyrus the King, the Achaemenian" (Rawlinson, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, Part II, p. 270).

In the light of these inscriptions, the narrative of Ctesias with his robber married to a goatherd, and his ridiculous story of Cyrus as a "kitchen knave" in the household of Astyages—his stirring up of the Persians to rebel against the Medians, and the decisive battle in which 60,000 Medians were slain—which has been gravely accepted as serious history, may surely be dismissed with utter contempt.

Then Herodotus is contradicted also by these inscriptions, for his account makes Cyrus the son of merely a Persian of private rank—not son of a king, the descendant of a line of kings. So his wonderful story—which was eagerly accepted by antiquity, and also by grave historians of more recent times—about the son of Harpagus, whom Astyages, King of Media, had served up at a banquet for his father Harpagus to eat—an incident famous in antiquity under the allusion "Median banquets" passes away, and with it the victorious revolt of Cyrus and the Persians against the Medes.

So the natural story of Xenophon in the *Cyropedia* holds the field. He relates—in agreement with the cuneiform inscriptions—that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia; and he further says, in this agreeing with Herodotus, that his mother was Mandane, daughter of Astyages, King of Media. He gives a very natural account of the boyhood of Cyrus spent for a time at his grandfather's court in Media. After the death of Astyages, his son Cyaxares succeeded to the throne; and being threatened with war by the Babylonians, he sent to his brother-in-law, Cambyses,

requesting him to send to him his nephew Cyrus in command of a contingent of Persians. The uncle and nephew took the field, and carried on a successful campaign against the Babylonians. After a time, Cyaxares, who was of an indolent disposition, retired to his kingdom of Media, and Cyrus prosecuted the war. After he had invaded Babylonia, a local noble named Gobryas, governor of a principality under the King of Babylon, joined him. Later on in the *Cyropedia*, Xenophon relates in detail the stratagem of lowering the depth of the river by which Babylon was taken. In agreement with what the annalistic tablet seems to say, he states that it was Gobryas (in conjunction with another officer named Gadatas) to whom Cyrus committed the command of the force of Persians, who entered the city in the night of a great festival and by whom Belshazzar was slain.

After the fall of Babylon, Xenophon relates how Cyrus paid his uncle a visit in Media, on which occasion Cyaxares gave him his daughter in marriage, and saying that he had no legitimate male child, bestowed upon Cyrus the kingdom of Media as his daughter's dowry. Cyrus, on his part, told Cyaxares "that a house had been set apart for his special use in Babylon, and Government offices (*archeia*) as well, so that whenever he should come thither he might be able to put up in a residence of his own" (*Cyropedia*, VII, 17, 18, 19).

Since then Xenophon, who has so much to say about this King of Media, Cyaxares II., is confirmed in so many points regarding the birth and career of Cyrus by the cuneiform inscriptions, we are entitled to claim that if we identify Darius the Median with this Cyaxares of Xenophon, we are not identifying him with an imaginary person who never existed, but with a real historical king, who is not mentioned by Ctesias or Herodotus simply because they were in the same ignorance of his existence as they were of the royal birth of Cyrus, and of the existence of his lieutenant, Gobryas.

Of Darius the Median, Josephus says that he carried Daniel the prophet into Media, and honoured him greatly; and he relates the incident of his being cast into the den of lions. And this would seem to be the true explanation of the sixth chapter of the Book of Daniel—namely, that the whole of the incident there related

occurred in Media. The story in Daniel vi would surely seem to require that he whom the presidents approached with divine honours must—*pace* Dr. Pinches*—have been a king, and not a mere lieutenant, like Gobryas.

[* And the tablets referred to in footnote on p. 122.]