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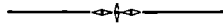
mummy of Rameses II., was concealed in a pit at a time when a foreign army entered Egypt.

All the mummies found were brought down to Cairo and placed in the Boolak Museum. It was my good fortune to see them there; and was it not indeed a strange and marvellous thing, after 3,300 years, to look upon, literally "in the flesh," the haughty, tyrannical Pharaoh whom Moses knew under such extremely different circumstances? The lotus-flowers (a flower very similar to our white water-lily) interred with him now crossed his breast, and—or was it pure fancy on my part?—still gave out their characteristic smell.

Five years after the discovery of the mummies, on June 1, 1886, in the presence of the Khedive, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and other Egyptian and foreign personages, the swathing bands of the body of Rameses II. were unrolled. His features were shown to be remarkably well preserved, and betokened a man of very advanced years. "The expression," writes M. Maspero in his official report, "is unintellectual, perhaps slightly animal." The nose was strongly curved or aquiline; the crown of the head was, of course, shaven, the hair of the sides and back of the head, however, had kept well, was very fine and soft in texture, but yellow in colour from the ingredients used in embalming. The chest is broad, the shoulders square, the arms were laid crosswise on the breast, the fingers and the nails of both hands and feet dyed red with henna or some similar dye. The mummy measured 173 centimetres in length, or about 5 feet 8 inches, and, as something must be allowed for drying and shrinking since death, in life Rameses II. must have been of above the average height.

Photographs of the mummy were taken on the same day that it was unrolled.

W. T. PILTER.



ART. IV.—"DARIUS THE MEDIAN"—WHO WAS HE?

WE are indebted to contemporary cuneiform inscriptions for the identification of the Belshazzar of Daniel, chap. v., with Bil-sar-utsur, the son of Nabonidus, the last King of the Empire of Babylon. The object of this paper is to show that from the same source a remarkable light is thrown on that much-debated, much-doubted-of personage, "Darius the Median."

The particulars stated regarding Darius in the Book of Daniel are as follows:

1. His name and descent. He is "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus" (Dan. ix. 1).

2. His nationality. He is "of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. ix. 1; xi. 1); "Darius the Median," as contrasted with "Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. v. 31; vi. 28).

3. The circumstances of his accession. We are told that after Belshazzar was slain he "received the kingdom," received it evidently from some other person, by whom he "was made King over the realm of the Chaldeans" (Dan. v. 31; R.V. ix. 1).

4. His age at the time of his accession, viz., "about threescore and two years" (Dan. v. 31).

5. The extent of his authority. Though apparently an under-King, he nevertheless acts as governor of "the whole kingdom," and puts forth a proclamation addressed to "all the peoples, nations and languages that dwell in all the earth," a royal decree, in which he speaks of "all the dominion of my kingdom" (Dan. vi. 1, 25, 26, R.V.).

6. The length of his reign. We read of his first year, and of that year only (Dan. ix. 1, 2; xi. 1).

7. His successor: "Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. vi. 28).

Bearing the above particulars in mind, we turn to the contemporary cuneiform documents, and first to the Babylonian Contract Tablets, a very ample collection of which has been published in the cuneiform character by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier.¹ The Contract Tablets are dated according to the day, month and year of the reigning monarch, and are thus especially useful in enabling us to determine approximately the length of the reign. On these tablets the year commences with the 1st of Nisan (March—April), and is the same as the Jewish religious year. It is also to be noted that the interval from the date of the monarch's accession to the close of the year is termed *ris sarrûti*, "the beginning of the reign," the following year being reckoned as the first year of the reign. In describing any particular tablet a very convenient system of notation has been adopted as follows: A tablet drawn up in the second year, the fifth month, and fourteenth day, is briefly described as, 2.5.14; one drawn up during the *ris sarrûti*, or accession year, in the ninth month, and on the twenty-fourth day, is described as Acc. 9.24. Any

¹ "Babylonische Texte. Inschriften von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums, copirt und autographirt von J. N. Strassmaier, S.J." The Inscriptions of Cyrus and Cambyses, alluded to in this article, are contained in parts vii., viii. and ix. A very useful selection from Strassmaier's collection will be found transliterated and translated into German by Dr. F. E. Peiser in vol. iv. of Professor Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek."

doubtful date, due to obliteration or omission, is indicated by an 0: thus, 4.0.26 tells us at a glance the year and the day, while it shows at the same time that the month is uncertain.

We shall now endeavour to show from these tablets, by a proof necessarily somewhat dry and complex, that Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, was King of Babylon for about ten months, or nearly so, dating from the first New Year after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

In the first place, then, in the Strassmaier "Inscriptions of Cambyses" that monarch is styled "Cambyses, King of Babylon, son of Cyrus, King of the countries," on the tablets dated 1.2.9, 1.4.7, 1.8.9, and 1.0.8. This style suggests that the above tablets belong, *in point of time*, to the reign of Cyrus, and that Cyrus was reigning as "King of the countries" at the same time that his son Cambyses was on the throne of Babylon. This natural inference is rendered a certainty by two other tablets among the "Inscriptions of Cambyses." The first bears date 1.4.25, and has the following style: *Kambuzia sar Babili inusu Kurasu abisu sar matâti*—"Cambyses, King of Babylon, at the time when Cyrus, his father, was King of the countries." The second, dated 1.9.25, reads thus: *Kambuzia sar Babili ina umisuma Kuras abisu sar matâti*, "Cambyses, King of Babylon; at that time Cyrus, his father, was King of the countries."

The question now arises, At what time during the reign of Cyrus, after the capture of Babylon, was his son Cambyses seated on the throne of Babylon? One would naturally suppose at the outset that it must have been toward the close of his reign that Cyrus allowed his son to have a share in the sovereignty; but we shall hope to show that the reign of Cambyses, as King of Babylon during his father's lifetime, belongs rather to the first year of Cyrus. This important point would be settled at once if we could only be sure of the reading of a certain tablet of the reign of Cyrus, dated 1.3.10, which runs thus: *sattu I KAN Kuras sar matâti [inusu] Kambuzia sar Babili*—"The first year of Cyrus, King of the countries [at the time when] Cambyses was King of Babylon." Unfortunately, however, the characters between *matâti* and *Kambuzia* are obliterated; but the tablets of Cambyses, dated 1.4.25 and 1.9.25, quoted above, suggest the insertion of *inusu*, or its equivalent *umisu*. This tablet then alone renders it highly probable that it was during the first year of Cyrus that his son Cambyses bore sway at Babylon. However, in a point so critical we hesitate to rest on the not quite certain evidence of a single tablet, and look about us for further proof. This may be obtained in the following manner:

In the Strassmaier "Inscriptions of Cambyses" there are no

fewer than twenty-three tablets, all dated the first year of Cambyses, and covering a period of rather less than ten months, viz., from 1.1.3 to 1.10.20, on which that monarch has the single title "King of Babylon" in contra-distinction to the more usual double title, "King of Babylon and King of the countries," or, as it is sometimes given, "King of Babylon and of the countries." Now, there is good reason for thinking that all, or nearly all, of these twenty-three tablets belong, *not* to the reign of Cambyses as sole monarch, but to his reign as King of Babylon in his father's lifetime; seeing that in the 310 inscriptions bearing date the succeeding years of his reign, the single title "King of Babylon" occurs for certain in but two instances,¹ and is never found in the tablets which are marked with his accession year.

To what time, then, in the reign of Cyrus do the above twenty-three tablets belong? If, as is only natural, we refer them to the close of that reign, then Cyrus must have died about the end of the tenth month, for the latest of the twenty-three is dated 1.10.20. But when we look at Strassmaier's "Inscriptions of Cyrus" this does not appear to have been the case, for the latest of the 346 dated tablets of Cyrus is marked 9.4.27, agreeably to which the earliest tablet of Cambyses is dated Acc. 6.12, only some six weeks later. Thus, then, these twenty-three tablets cannot belong to the close of Cyrus' reign. We shall now show that they belong to the first year of that reign, commencing on Nisan I., after the taking of Babylon. To arrive at this result we proceed to analyze Strassmaier's "Inscriptions of Cyrus." In Cyrus' accession-year Strassmaier furnishes us with ten tablets, on three of which, viz., Acc. 7.0,² Acc. 9.7 and Acc. 12.5, Cyrus is styled both "King of Babylon" and "King of the countries." Probably the double title was also found on the partly obliterated tablet Acc. 0.0. Clearly, then, during the six months or so of his accession year, Cyrus, and *not* Cambyses, was King of Babylon. Passing on to the first year of Cyrus, we are furnished with twenty-one tablets. On the earliest of these, dated 1.1.4, Cyrus is styled "King of Babylon," but after this date the title does not appear again, with three notable exceptions, until we reach the tablet dated 1.11.6. Of these exceptions, the first is the much-obliterated tablet 1.1.10, where the characters, which stand for *sar Babili*, "King of Babylon," are too uncertain to be depended upon. The second, dated 1.5.30, is only an apparent exception, for the real date of this tablet, as the contents show, is 1.10.0,

¹ Viz., on the tablets dated 3.9.9 and 5.7.21.

² This is the earliest tablet of Cyrus.

i.e., some four or five months later.¹ Also with regard to the third exception, dated 1.7.16, a close investigation will show that the year is uncertain, being in part obliterated.² Hence it appears that there is no dependable tablet between 1.1.4 and 1.11.6, on which Cyrus is styled “King of Babylon.” On the other hand, during the short interval from 1.11.6 to the close of the year, to which no less than nine of the twenty-one first-year tablets belong, we note the striking fact that the title “King of Babylon” appears *in no less than six cases out of the nine*. Thus for the first year of Cyrus we have the following result: During some ten months, from about the beginning of the year, Cyrus is not styled “King of Babylon” on the tablets, whilst during the last two months, at the close of the year, he receives that title on six tablets out of nine.

Proceeding next to analyze the fifty-eight tablets of Cyrus’ second year, we find that in no less than forty-three cases the double title is given, “King of Babylon and king of the countries”; in three cases “King of Babylon” only; in eight “King of the countries” only; whilst the remaining four are partly obliterated, or without any title. Similar results are obtained from an analysis of the succeeding years of the reign; *i.e.*, Cyrus is *almost invariably styled “King of Babylon,”* generally with the addition of the second title, “King of the countries.”

The above results make the absence of the title “King of Babylon,” during the interval 1.1.4 to 1.11.6, the more remarkable; and when we notice how that interval, both as regards its duration and its position in the circle of the year,

¹ The tablet in question reads as follows :

“576 sheep from the month Dhabatu
the 1st year of Cyrus, King of Babylon,
to the 20th day of the month Abu
under the care of Samas-sum-iksi.”

Hence its date is Dhabatu, the tenth month, from which the contract starts, and not Abu, the fifth month, which forms the close of the agreement.

² In explanation of the above, note that at the end of the fifth line of this tablet in its present condition stand two cuneiform signs. The first of these signifies *sattu* (“year”); the second, a single perpendicular wedge, gives the number of the year, so that the *apparent* reading is “year 1.” Observe, however, that this number must originally have been followed by the determinative sign, which is used in Assyrian to indicate that the previous sign represents a number. Now, as this determinative has vanished, it is clear that the end of the line is obliterated. Hence very possibly the number itself is in part obliterated, and instead of a single wedge, there may originally have been two or three (hardly four, for that would have necessitated a different arrangement of the wedges); *i.e.*, this tablet may quite as possibly belong to the second or third year of Cyrus as to the first. It ought, therefore, to be marked 0.7.16, the year being uncertain.

tallies with the interval 1.1.3 to 1.10.20 covered by the twenty-three tablets on which Cambyses bears the title in question the proof is conclusive, and we are forced to admit that during some ten months in the first year of Cyrus, Cambyses held the office of King of Babylon. Further, since all those twenty-three tablets of Cambyses are dated the first year, and no tablet on which he has the single title "King of Babylon" makes mention of any accession year; and since also Cyrus bore the title certainly as late as the Cyrus tablet dated 1.1.4, it is reasonable to infer that Cambyses was appointed to the post at the New Year. On this point very interesting evidence will meet us later, but for the present we pause to observe that in particulars (3), (6) and (7), Cambyses has now been shown to answer to the Darius of the Book of Daniel. His reign, which follows soon after the capture of Babylon,¹ has been proved to be limited to a first year; he evidently "receives the kingdom" from another—namely, his father Cyrus, and before the year is out he is succeeded by Cyrus on the throne.

Our next question will be, Would Cambyses, when only King of Babylon under his father Cyrus, be likely to put forth a decree in such royal style as that which meets us in Dan. vi. 25, 26? To this it might be sufficient to reply that the Babylonian scribes were jealous of the honour and glory of their ancient city, or, at least, slaves to usage and to the long-established styles and titles. But a better answer and more definite may be obtained from a deeply interesting, though sadly obliterated, passage in the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus. In this passage, which follows the account of the peaceful² entry of Cyrus into Babylon, and the sending back the images of the gods to their own cities, we are told that on a certain day, apparently near the close of the year, "the wife of the King," *i.e.*, of Nabonidus, died.³ "From the 27th day of Adar (the twelfth month) to the 3rd day of Nisan (the first month) there was lamentation in the country of Akkad. All the people of the land smote their heads. The fourth day

¹ According to the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus, his general, Gobryas, entered Babylon "without fighting" on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, Cyrus himself making his entry on the third day of the eighth month. That all, however, was not peaceful, despite the solemn assurance of the tablet, and that the whole town was not captured at once, may be gathered from a comparison of these dates with those found on the two latest tablets of Nabonidus, dated respectively 17.8.10 and 17.9.0. In fact, the tablets of Nabonidus overlap those of Cyrus, for the earliest tablet of Cyrus is dated Acc. 7.0. All this is a striking confirmation of Dan. v. 30, where surely the clash of arms is heard.

² See the previous note.

³ She was probably "the queen" of Dan. v. 10, a woman of great influence and commanding respect, as is clear from the Scripture account as well as from the record on the tablet.

Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, conducted the burial at the Temple of the Sceptre of the World. The men of the Temple of the Sceptre of the World . . .¹; here the inscription becomes partly obliterated, but in the next line some one is spoken of as “taking the hands of Nebo,” and in the following line we catch the words “The son of the King.” Clearly Cambyses is the subject of the passage and the leading figure. But what was he doing at the temple of Nebo, “the Temple of the Sceptre of the World”? According to Professor Sayce’s translation, just quoted, he was burying the wife of the late King. Mr. Budge makes out that he was “establishing a festival.”² Professor Schrader gives the simple rendering: “Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, went to the Temple of the Sceptre of the World.” But to see *what he went for* we must turn to another inscription.

In the year 1895, Dr. Victor Schiel discovered in the mound of Mujelibeh, on the site of Babylon, a semicircular pillar of diorite, on the flat side of which was an inscription of Nabonidus in archaic characters, drawn up in eleven columns.³ The King is telling how, with a view to make his reign prosperous, he went into different temples to secure the blessings of the several divinities. Among others, he entered this very temple which was now entered by Cambyses, entered it no doubt with the same object. His words are: “To the Temple of the Sceptre of the World, into the presence of Nebo, the prolonger of my reign, I entered. A right sceptre, a firm sword, a royal name ruling the world, he entrusted to my hands.” So then, when Cambyses “took the hands of Nebo,” the god entrusted to *his* hands “a right sceptre, a firm sword, a royal name ruling the world.” As is well known, the Assyrian Kings obtained recognition at Babylon of their authority as world-rulers by “taking the hands” of Bel.⁴ But that Nebo also had a voice in such matters is evident from the famous India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, where, after telling how “Merodach, the great lord, invested me with the lordship over the multitude of peoples,” the monarch adds: “And Nebo, the overseer of the multitudes of heaven and earth, for the governing of the peoples, a righteous sceptre placed in my hands.”⁵ We may infer, then, from the above

¹ See “Records of the Past,” New Series, vol. v., p. 163.

² See “Babylonian Life and History,” p. 85.

³ I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Boscawen for my information about this inscription, and for the translation given below, which has since been published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for September, 1896.

⁴ See “The Assyrian Chronicle” for B.C. 728 and 729. “Records of the Past,” N.S., vol. ii., p. 126.

⁵ See “Records of the Past,” N.S., vol. iii., p. 105.

that Cambyses, though only styled "King of Babylon" on those twenty-three Contract Tablets so often referred to, was yet, in the eyes of the Babylonian world, regarded as an empire-ruler, the vicegerent of his father Cyrus. And, indeed, the language of the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus certainly suggests that to some extent Cyrus associated his son with himself in his wider rule over the whole empire. Thus, in line 27 we read: "Unto me Cyrus the King, his worshipper, and to Cambyses, my son, the offspring of my heart, and to all my people, he (*i.e.*, Merodach) graciously drew near, and in peace before him we duly mar[ched]."¹ Again, in lines 34, 35: "May all the gods, whom I have brought into their own cities, intercede daily before Bel and Nebo. . . . May they say to Merodach, my lord: Let Cyrus the King, thy worshipper, and Cambyses his son [accomplish the desire] of their heart."

With regard, however, to the specially delegated sovereignty of Babylon, the most probable supposition is, that "after the year was expired, at the time when Kings go forth to battle,"² Cyrus, anxious to prosecute his schemes of conquest, deemed it advisable to set his son on the throne of Babylon. The actual date of the coronation ceremony was, we may suppose, the 4th of Nisan, the day on which Cambyses went into the Temple of the Sceptre of the World to take the hands of Nebo. It could not very well take place before that date because of the week of mourning for the venerated Queen, lasting from the 27th of Adar to the 3rd of Nisan. The reign, however, would be looked upon as beginning on Nisan I., so that already on the third of the month the title "King of Babylon" is found given to Cambyses on the Contract Tablets, while Cyrus receives it for the last time, previous to the ten months' interval, on the following day, the day when his son was crowned.³ A further evidence that Cambyses' reign was reckoned from the New Year is to be found in the fact that none of the twenty-three tablets in which he bears the single title "King of Babylon" are dated from the *ris sarruti*, for the simple reason that a reign beginning at the New Year could have no *ris sarruti*.

It thus appears that in particular (5) Cambyses corresponds admirably to the Darius of the Book of Daniel. Let us next proceed to consider particulars (2) and (4). First, then, as to the nationality of Cambyses. On his father's side he would

¹ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 167. The last word is partially obliterated, but enough remains to make the above translation probable. See Lyon's "Assyrian Manual," 1st edition, p. 41.

² 2 Sam. xi. 1.

³ *I.e.*, if we except the doubtful tablet 1.1.10.

doubtless be considered a Persian, for Cyrus, on his monuments at Pasargadæ, claims descent from Achæmenes: "I am Cyrus the King, the Achæmenian."¹ Further, the Annalistic Tablet under the year B.C. 548 gives him the title "King of the Country of Persia."² In what sense, then, could his son Cambyses be called a Mede? The answer to this question is that Cambyses probably had a Median mother, and that for certain political reasons, of which we shall speak later on, it was desirable to present him to the Babylonian world as a Mede.³ According to the Greek historian Ctesias, Cambyses was the son of Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, a Median princess whom Cyrus married after he had conquered Astyages, and captured his royal city of Ecbatana.

But if Cambyses was born after the capture of Ecbatana, he could not be "about threescore and two years old" when Cyrus entered Babylon. Let us inquire what his age might have been at that time. According to the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus it was at the commencement of the third year of that King's reign, B.C. 554, that Cyrus, hitherto a petty prince, "overthrew the widespread people of the Manda, and captured Astyages, the King of the people of the Manda,"⁴ The Annalistic Tablet, however, places this event apparently⁵ in the sixth year of Nabonidus, B.C. 551. In the first case, Cambyses might be as old as fourteen years, and in the second case as old as eleven years at the New Year, Nisan I., B.C. 539. At first sight this difference of age seems to present an insurmountable obstacle to the identification of Cambyses with "Darius the Mede." But, as has often been pointed out, numbers, being anciently represented by the letters of the Phœnician alphabet, are especially liable to be corrupted.⁶ How numerous such corruptions are is evident from a comparison of Scripture with Scripture,⁷ and also from the fact that the Assyrian historical records, though in substantial agreement with the Bible story, are yet irreconcilable in this matter of numbers. In the present instance a very slight change would transform the letters Yod Beth, which stand for twelve, into the letters Samech Beth, which represent

¹ See "Media," pp. 299, 301, in the "Story of the Nations" series.

² "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 160.

³ Compare the well-known story of our first Prince of Wales.

⁴ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 169.

⁵ "Apparently," because the succeeding context refers to the seventh year of Nabonidus. See "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. v., p. 159.

⁶ The representation of numbers by the letters of the Phœnician alphabet is prior to the development of the Aramean and Greek alphabets from the parent stock—i.e., prior to the twelfth century B.C. See "The Alphabet," by Isaac Taylor, vol. ii., p. 23.

⁷ See Haley's "Discrepancies of the Bible," pp. 380-392.

sixty-two.¹ It may well be, then, that the true reading of Daniel v. 31 is "twelve" rather than "threescore and two" years. And surely this more tender age suits better with the touching story of the following chapter. For into whose presence did the presidents and satraps "come tumultuously"?² Into the presence of a man of sixty-two years wielding the rod of empire? Hardly so; but they might thus break in on a boy of twelve. Again: Who is it whose whole heart goes out to the aged prophet in those warm sympathetic words, "Thy God, whom thou servest continually, He will deliver thee." Surely this is the language of some young, generous, impressible nature as yet not hardened by contact with the world. Thus, then, the internal evidence of the narrative favours the younger age. But if it should be objected that it is very unlikely that a boy of twelve should be thus invested by his father with sovereignty, we can only answer that such a practice is not unknown in the East.³ Also it is very possible that Cyrus may have had special reasons for such a step. For instance, it has often been suggested that he wished to gratify his Median allies by setting a Mede on the throne.⁴ How conveniently might he do this if that Mede were his own son, born of a Median mother! May he not also have wished to soothe and gratify the Babylonians? The wife of their renowned Nebuchadnezzar was a Median princess, daughter of the great Cyaxares, and his own son Cambyses was also sprung from Cyaxares.

But whatever may have led to the appointment of the youthful Cambyses to the throne of Babylon, Cyrus, on his return home, as we may suppose, saw fit to remove his son from that important post. Perhaps he discerned in him some of those signs of weakness so conspicuous in his later life, the traces of which are not wanting in the character of "Darius the Median," as portrayed in the Book of Daniel.

We come lastly to particular (1). How are we to explain the difference of names? How can Cambyses be Darius, and how can he be called "the son of Ahasuerus"? The difficulty

¹ The resemblance of Yod to Samech is very noticeable both on the Baal-Lebanon Inscription and on the Moabite Stone. Each of these letters is formed by three horizontal bars and a transverse bar, so that a carelessly formed Yod might be taken for a Samech, sixty-two seeming a more likely age for the new King of Babylon than twelve years. See Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," vol. i., pp. 204, 213.

² Dan. vi. 6, 11, 15, Revised Version, margin.

³ See the striking instance of a lad of twelve years acting as governor of Hillah, given by Layard in his "Nineveh and Babylon," and quoted in the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. vi., p. 298.

⁴ See the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. vi., p. 313.

which meets us here is very similar to that with which we are confronted in Ezra iv. 6, where Cambyses is called Ahasuerus, and the pseudo-Smerdis is called Artaxerxes. Probably the best solution is to be found in the statement of Herodotus that these royal names are merely appellatives. The name Ahasuerus—in its Greek dress Cyaxares and Xerxes—signifies, according to Herodotus, "the warlike," and the name Darius signifies "the strenuous." Professor Rawlinson adopts the same view, but with etymologies taken from the Old Persian. To the name Ahasuerus he gives the signification "Ruling Eye," and connects the name Darius with the Old Persian root *dar*, "to hold, possess."¹

In Dan. ix. 1 Darius is spoken of as "the son," or descendant, of "Ahasuerus," and also as being "of the seed of the Medes"—*i.e.*, his Median origin and his descent from Ahasuerus are put side by side as two facts closely related to each other. Who is the Ahasuerus here spoken of? In all probability he is the great Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, and founder of the Median monarchy, who, according to Herodotus, reigned over Media for forty years. How great this man was in the eyes of succeeding generations we know from the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis, column ii., paragraph 5, where Phraortes the Median, stirring up rebellion against Darius, is made to say, "I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares."² If, as Ctesias states, Cambyses was the son of Amytis the daughter of Astyages, then nothing would be more natural than to speak of him as "the son," or descendant, "of Ahasuerus"—*i.e.*, of Cyaxares.

It only remains to add a further note on particular (2). The Book of Daniel expressly states that Darius was "of the seed of the Medes." Now, the subjects of Astyages are called in the cuneiform inscription the "Manda," a word which, according to Professor Sayer, means "nomads." Hence it is a doubtful point whether we are to regard them as genuine Medes, or as a nomad race, whom the Greek historians have confused with the Medes.³ If they were not Medes, or, at any rate, if Astyages was not a Mede, then, as we believe the Book of Daniel, we cannot follow the statement of Ctesias, that Cambyses was the son of Cyrus by the daughter of Astyages. There is, however, another account of the relationship between the two families, for which we have the authority of both Herodotus and Xenophon. According to these

¹ See the "Speaker's Commentary" on the Old Testament, vol. iii., p. 422.

² According to the Behistun Inscription, the same claim was also advanced by a Sagartian rebel.

³ "Records of the Past," N.S., vol. iii., Preface, p. xiii.

writers it was Cambyses the elder, the father of Cyrus, who married Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, by whom he had issue Cyrus.¹ In this case it was the mother of Cyrus who belonged to the "Manda," of which perhaps there is a reminiscence in her name, Mandane; but who was the mother of Cambyses? Herodotus declares that she was a Persian lady, Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes;² Xenophon, that she was a Median princess, the daughter of a second Cyaxares.³ Though Herodotus is the more trustworthy writer, and Xenophon's "Cyropædia" according to Cicero was written "non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad effigiem justî imperii,"⁴ yet in this instance we are by no means inclined to place implicit trust in the Father of History, for he is undoubtedly at fault in regard to certain repeated statements, which evidently rest on this supposed pure Persian descent of Cambyses. For example, the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis is frequently referred to by Herodotus as a Median triumph; and Cambyses when nearing his end is represented as saying to his chief men: "I charge you all, and specially such of you as are Achæmenids, that ye do not tamely allow the kingdom to go back to the Medes." Yet what are the facts of the case? Professor Rawlinson has shown from the Behistun Inscription of Darius that the pseudo-Smerdis, so far from being a Mede, was probably born in Persia, and certainly obtained there his first adherents; also that his usurpation had nothing to do with the Medes.⁵ Hence in this question as to the nationality of the mother of Cambyses we prefer to side with Xenophon and Ctesias, or if need be with Xenophon alone, against Herodotus.

To some readers of this article the proposed identification of Cambyses with "Darius the Median" will perhaps seem allowable save for that one obstacle, the difference of age. Such persons, instead of an identification will choose rather to recognise a connection between the Cambyses, son of Cyrus, the "King of Babylon" of the Contract Tablets and the Darius of the Book of Daniel. For instance, they will prefer to regard Darius as the guardian of the youthful Cambyses, a post which the Persian general Gobryas may very well have occupied. But in view of the language used in Dan. vi. 25, 26, it seems harder to the writer to adopt such a solution of the difficulty than to believe in the comparatively easy corruption of the letters which stand for the number twelve into those

¹ See "Herodotus," i., § 108, and the "Cyropædia," i. 2, 1.

² See "Herodotus," ii., § 1, and iii., § 2.

³ See the "Cyropædia," viii. 5, 17, and 7, 9.

⁴ "Cicero ad Q. Frat.," i. 1, 8.

⁵ See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Essay II., in Appendix to Book III.

which stand for sixty-two. To put the matter in a nutshell: with the cuneiform documents before us, and the agreement thereto of the Scripture account in several important particulars, there certainly seems some ground for the presumption that this is a case in which the numerals have suffered corruption, and that the number sixty-two is at fault, even though we cannot be sure what number ought to stand in its place.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.



ART. V.—"THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

ALLEGORY has an undying interest for the human heart, and is one of the most effective ways of conveying and impressing religious truth. It was employed by our Lord; and all allegorists who have had a lesson to teach and have been true to nature have been general favourites with the people. Of those who have followed our Lord in this matter, the greatest is certainly John Bunyan, and the greatest of his works is undoubtedly "The Pilgrim's Progress." "Bunyan," wrote Lord Macaulay, "is indeed decidedly the first of allegorists as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakespeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown equal ingenuity; but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love." Macaulay tells us that though "The Pilgrim's Progress" was translated into several foreign languages during the author's lifetime, and passed far and wide amongst the people, it was not highly rated by the critical and fashionable world in the eighteenth century. The poet Young placed Bunyan among very inferior writers. Late in the eighteenth century Cowper did not venture to do more than to allude to the great allegorist:

"I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame."

It is not so now. Macaulay was, of course, attracted towards Bunyan by his religious and political principles; but he speaks with discrimination, and notices points of weakness. "That wonderful book," he says of "The Pilgrim's Progress," "while it obtains admiration from the most fastidious critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it." Doctor Johnson, all whose studies were desultory, and who hated, as he said, to read books through, made an exception in favour