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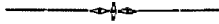
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may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood," and that implies that a communicant does eat the flesh and drink the blood; even if he does not *so* do it (in such a manner and spirit) as would be followed by the sanctifying effects. I do not remember my answer, but the observation remained on my mind for after-consideration, with the result that the expression was seen to lead to a conclusion contrary to that which had been suggested; the change of language in this single instance being an adoption of the Lord's word at Capernaum, with the implication that the spiritual act then required is necessary to make the sacramental act a reception of the sacred Body and Blood.

T. D. BERNARD.



ART. III.—CHALDEAN PRINCES ON THE THRONE OF BABYLON.

III.

THE origin and rise of Nabopolassar are subjects that have been much discussed. According to Abydenus, as quoted by Eusebius, he was the Assyrian General sent to Babylon by Sarakos—*i.e.*, Sin-shar-ishkun, the last King of Assyria—to stem the invasion of a host numerous as the locusts that came up from the sea, who on his arrival at that place immediately revolted and turned his arms against his master. This account, as Tiele observes, is by no means a mere fabrication.¹ The locust army coming up from the sea is the rising of the Chaldean tribes, eager to shake off the yoke of Assyria. But that Nabopolassar was an Assyrian General, or an Assyrian by race, seems very improbable. He must rather be looked upon as a Chaldean, appointed by Assurbanipal to the governorship of Babylon. That the Assyrian King should make such an appointment is not so strange as it might appear at first sight. Assurbanipal was doubtless enraged beyond measure with the Babylonians for siding with his rebellious brother, Shamash-shum-ukin. In that rebellion, as we have seen, the Chaldeans were largely mixed up, and amongst them Nabû-bel-zikri, the grandson of Merodach-baladan. Nevertheless, there is evidence that after the death of Nabû-bel-zikri the Assyrian King made overtures to the men of the "Country of the Sea," the leading Chaldean tribe, as though by their means he would hold down the Babylonians. Such, at least, appears to be the intention of the following curiously-worded proclamation:

"The will of the King to the men of the Country of the

¹ See "Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," Teil II., S. 421.

Sea, the men of the sea, even the sons of my servant — Peace be to your hearts, may you be well ! I am watching sharply over you from out my eyes, and from the face of the sin of Nabû-bel-zikri I have entirely separated you. Now Bel-ibni, my servant, my deputy, to go before, I send to be over you. . . . I have joined with you, keeping your good and your benefit in my sight.”¹

It is, then, not so much to be wondered at that the Governor of Babylon, at the close of the reign of Assurbanipal, should prove to be a Chaldean. It was a stroke of policy, not more risky than that of Esarhaddon, when he appointed Nahid-Marduk, the son of Merodach-baladan, to be vassal-lord of the Kaldi.²

The assumption by Nabopolassar of the crown of Babylon follows close on the death of Assurbanipal. The Canon of Ptolemy makes him the successor of Κινηλαδανος, the Kandalana of Mr. Pinches' tablet. Further, the Contract Tablets, the History of Berossus, and the Canon of Ptolemy, all agree in assigning twenty-one years as the length of his reign. As, then, his son Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to the crown in 705 B.C., it is clear that the accession of Nabopolassar must be placed in 726 B.C., the death-year of Assurbanipal. The sovereignty of Nabopolassar was confined probably in the first instance to the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, the rest of the Babylonian towns remaining loyal to Assyria. In a Contract Tablet from Erech, dated the seventh year of Sin-shar-ishkun, that Prince is still recognised as King.³ Presently the Assyrian King endeavoured to put down the newly risen Babylonian monarchy, but a fortunate alliance of Nabopolassar with the King of the Umman-Manda, the Medes of classical story, led to the overthrow of Assyria by that people and the consequent partition of her empire between them and their Babylonian allies.⁴ This sudden and utter collapse of Assyria, along with the immense accession of power resulting from it, must have suggested to Nabopolassar to seek after an empire such as no former King of Kaldû had ever conceived of. The earlier Chaldean Kings of Babylon had been content with dominion over Babylonia and the overlordship of the Kaldi ; the new monarch sought for a world empire, and if he could not meddle with the North,

¹ See "History of Assurbanipal," by George Smith, p. 189.

² See Cylinder A of Esarhaddon, Col. II. 32-41.

³ See "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band iv., S. 177.

⁴ See the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for September, 1896, Col. II. of the important inscription of Nabonidus found at Mujelibeh. This is the only cuneiform inscription which sheds any light on the fall of Assyria.

determined to extend his dominions to the limits of the West.

I have so far assumed Nabopolassar to be a Chaldean, but it may be asked, Where are the proofs? There are several proofs; but before they can be properly weighed we must divest ourselves of an error, for which there is no longer any excuse—the error of looking upon the terms “Babylonian” and “Chaldean” as synonymous. In this matter, as pointed out above, the records of Assyria have shown us our mistake, and in so doing have shed additional light on the language of Scripture. Owing to the close connection between the Chaldeans and the throne of Babylon, “Babylon” is found in the Book of Isaiah as a parallel to “the Chaldeans,” and “the virgin daughter of Babylon” answers to “the daughter of the Chaldeans.”¹ The same parallel is of frequent occurrence in the Book of Jeremiah (see especially chaps. i. and li.), and occurs also in Ezek. xii. 13. Nevertheless, it is probable that the sacred writers were quite as well acquainted with the difference between the Chaldeans and the native Babylonians as Sennacherib was, when he distinguishes between “Shuzub the Chaldean” and “Shuzub of Babylon.” Thus, when Habakkuk foretold how the Lord would “raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation,”² he could not have been thinking of the peaceable, ease-loving Babylonians. Again, when Ezekiel speaks of the figures of the Chaldeans portrayed on the walls of the palaces of Babylon, though he terms them “Babylonians,” seeing that they are the ruling race, and have made Babylon the seat of their power, yet he is at no loss as to their ethnic origin, for he adds immediately after “*the land of whose nativity is Chaldea.*”³ Lastly, in the Book of Jeremiah, whilst Nebuchadnezzar is frequently styled “the King of Babylon”—his proudest title—yet his army is “the army of the *Chaldees*,” and *not* of the Babylonians, seeing that the Chaldeans are the dominant military power. As, then, Scripture uses the term Chaldeans in its proper sense, to Scripture we make our first appeal in proof of the Chaldean origin of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore of Nabopolassar. Thus, in the Book of Jeremiah Nebuchadnezzar appears at the head of a Chaldean army, and is, therefore, presumably a Chaldean himself. Further, when we turn to the Book of Ezra, this presumption appears as a fact. In the letter of Tattenai to Darius he is expressly called “Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, *the Chaldean.*”⁴ Next to Holy

¹ Isa. xlvi. 1, 5; and xlvi. 14, 20.

² Hab. i. 6.

³ Ezek. xxiii. 15.

⁴ Ezra v. 12. Compare Tiele's words with respect to Nabopolassar: “Dass er ein Chaldäer war, steht bei mir ausser Zweifel. Ist es doch

Writ we point to the extracts from Berosus, preserved in the pages of Josephus. Berosus was a learned Chaldean priest, who wrote a history of Babylon early in the third century B.C. Quoting from this history, Josephus informs us that on the death of Nabopolassar his son, Nebuchadnezzar, "went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal persons among them had preserved the kingdom for him."¹ It is clear from this extract from Berosus that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a Chaldean, since it is most unlikely that this warlike race would reserve the kingdom for one who was of a different nationality from themselves. Other proofs may be obtained from ancient writers. Thus Alexander Polyhistor speaks of "Sardanapallus (:) the *Chaldean*," who reigned twenty-one years, as being the father of Nabucodrossor (Nebuchadnezzar).² Here, though the name is at fault, yet it is quite clear who is the person meant, viz., Nabopolassar. Again, we read in the pages of Diodorus Siculus that Belesys was the founder of the New Babylonian Empire.³ But this name Belesys, or *Balasu*, was a Chaldean name, and belonged to the royal house of Bit-Dakuri.⁴ It is, therefore, possible that Nabopolassar was one of the Princes of Bit-Dakuri, that his original name was *Balasu*, and that he assumed the name of Nabopolassar when he mounted the throne of Babylon.

There is, however, a yet further indication of the Chaldean origin of the Kings of the New Babylonian Empire—to wit, the character of their names. It has been pointed out above that the names of the gods Merodach and Nebo invariably form an element in the names of the Chaldean Kings of Babylon. Thus, in Dynasty VIII_A., we have :

Nabû-kin-aplu,
 Erba-Marduk,
 Nabû-shum-yukin I,
 Nabû-apal-iddina,
 Marduk-nadin-shumu,
 Marduk-balatsu-iqbi ;

bedeuts amer, als gewöhnlich angenommen wird, dass die Juden diese Monarchie so bestimmt eine Chaldäische nennen. Sie kannten die ethnische Bedeutung dieses Namens noch sehr gut" ("Bablonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," Teil II., SS. 421, 422).

¹ See Josephus c. Apion, i. 19.

² See Cory's "Ancient Fragments," p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75 ; and see Diod. Siculus, ii. 24.

⁴ See the Nimrud Inscription of Tiglathpileser, line 26, quoted above ; also Esarhaddon, Cylinder A, Col. II. 52.

and in Dynasty VIII.B:

Nabû-shum-yukin II.,
Nabû-natsir,
Nabû-nadin-zeri,
Nabû-shum-yukin III.

The same feature may be traced in the royal names of the family of Merodach-baladan, who claimed descent from Erba-Marduk, King of Babylon. Merodach-baladan had five sons, called respectively:

Nabû-zer-napishti-lishir } (Esarhaddon, Cylinder A,
Nahid-Marduk } Col. II. 32, 35),
Nabû-shum-ishkun (Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder,
Col. VI. 6),
Nabû-salim (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VI. 61);
Ikisha-Marduk (Inscription of Merodach-baladan,
Col. IV. 57).

Mention is also made of a grandson:

Nabû-bel-zikri (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VII.,
16);

and of another grandson:

Shuma-ai (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VI. 61),
whose name is evidently an abbreviation.

Let us apply this test, then, to the royal line of Nabopolassar by writing down in order the Kings and Princes of the New Empire as follows:

Nabû-pal-utsur (Nabopolassar, founder of the New
Empire).

Nabû-kudurri-utsur (Nebuchadnezzar II., the son
and successor of Nabopolassar).

Nabû-shu-lishir (a younger son of Nabopolassar).¹

Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodoch, the eldest son and
successor of Nebuchadnezzar).

Marduk-shum-utsur } (younger sons of Nebu-
Marduk-nadin-akhi } chadnezzar).²

Nergal-shar-utsur (Nergalsharezer, a usurper. Accord-
ing to Berossus, a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar).³

¹ See the inscription from the temple of Merodach, Col. III. 6.

² See R.P., N.S., vol. v., p. 141.

³ He is probably the Nergalsharezer of Jer. xxxix. 3; there called "Rab-mag"—i.e., *rubû imgu* ("the wise Prince")—an office or title which, he tells us, was held by his father, Bel-shum-ishkun, to whom he also gives the title "King of Babylon," but on what ground is not known.

Labashi-Marduk (son of Nergalsharezer, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar).

Nabû-nahid (Nabonidus, a usurper. According to Berosus, a Babylonian).¹

Bil-shar-utsur (Belshazzar.² According to the inscriptions, the oldest son of Nabonidus; probably a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar. See Dan. v. 11).

Nabu-kudurri-utsur (a younger son of Nabonidus, and probably a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar).³

The above list shows us at a glance that the same rule holds here. The name of one of the gods Nebo and Merodach is found to form an element in the name of every Prince of the family of Nabopolassar, and we have thus a further proof of the Chaldean origin of that family.

With regard to the above striking feature of Chaldean royal names, if it be asked in what light we are to regard it, the answer must be that Merodach and Nebo were the patron gods respectively of Babylon and its suburb Borsippa. Accordingly, when Babylon first comes into the light of history in the time of Khammurabi, then appears the god Merodach also. In the words of Professor Jastrow, "The first mention of this god occurs in the inscriptions of Khammurabi, where he appears distinctly as the god of the city of Babylon."⁴ Jastrow also points out the remarkable prominence assigned to this god by Khammurabi, so that when the King is addressing Marduk, he does not find it necessary to make mention at the same time of an entire pantheon, and appears for the moment to lose sight of the existence of the other gods. On the other hand, the name of the god Nebo seems to be intentionally omitted by Khammurabi, the King even going so far as to transfer the name of Nebo's famous temple at Borsippa to the temple erected by him at that place in honour of Merodach.

¹ According to the inscriptions, he was the son of Nabû-balatsu-iqbi, to whom he gives the title *rubû imgu*. See previous note.

² Bel=Merodach. See "Assyria: its Princes, Priests, and People," p. 58; and compare Jer. i. 2.

³ During the reign of Darius Hystaspes, an impostor who styled himself "Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus" reigned at Babylon for a short time (see the inscription of Behistun). This may be taken as a proof that Nabonidus had a son called Nebuchadnezzar, and is also an indication that he married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar II.

⁴ See "The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," by Professor Jastrow. Pinches, with a strong degree of probability, has identified Merodach with the Biblical Nimrod. He points out that, according to the inscriptions, Merodach built Babylon, Erech, and Nippur. Compare the statement of Gen. x. 10, and see Pinches' "Old Testament," pp. 126-130.

Apparently there was a fear lest Borsippa should take the place of Babylon. In later days, when Babylon and Borsippa became united as one city, this jealousy entirely died away, so that at the New-Year festival equal honours were paid to the two deities.¹ As an element in the names of the Kings of Babylon, Merodach makes his appearance toward the close of the Kassite dynasty, and Nebo, just forty years later, in the following dynasty. As the gods of the united towns of Babylon and Borsippa, Merodach and Nebo were looked upon by the Babylonians as the bestowers of sovereignty.² This sentiment was evidently respected by the Chaldeans, who looked upon Babylon as the chief city in the world, and regarded its crown as the highest prize. In their eyes it was emphatically

"The glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldeans' pride."

With the Assyrians the case was different. They did indeed respect Babylon and the ancient Babylonian cities as being the cradle of their race, and were seldom behindhand in sacrificing at the sanctuaries of Merodach and Nebo whenever occasion offered; but their minds were fully made up that the glory of Assur must never be eclipsed by that of the great gods of Babylon and Borsippa. Consequently, "Marduk" never appears as an element in the names of the Assyrian Kings, and "Nabû" only twice, whilst "Assur" occurs no less than twenty times.³

In conclusion, we may note that the worship of Merodach and Nebo appears to have attained its greatest height under Nebuchadnezzar. In the India House inscription of that monarch these divinities are adored almost to the exclusion of the other gods. The preference, however, is given to Merodach, to whom a prayer is addressed not unworthy of a monotheist.⁴ Merodach, then, must be the god alluded to in Dan. i. 2, whilst the name Belteshazzar, given by Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel, and which in its present form is an abbreviation, stands in all probability for *Bel-balatsu-utsur* ("Bel protect his life!"), since the King speaks of it as "according to the name of my god."⁵

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

¹ Compare Isa. xlvi. 1.

² See the India House Inscription, Col. I. 40-46.

³ The god Bel, whose name forms an element in the names of four of the earlier Assyrian Kings, is not Bel-Merodach, but the older Bel, the second god of the triad Anu, Bel, Ea. See "Assyria: its Princes, Priests, and People," pp. 57, 58.

⁴ See the India House Inscription, Col. I. 51; II. 1.

⁵ So Pinches in his "Old Testament," p. 402.