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ASSYRIAN HORSEMEN (Isa. xxxvi. 8) : KING OF ASSYRIA HUNTING LIONS.

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DONNELLAN LECTURES, 1912-13

THE OLD TESTAMENT
AND
MODERN CRITICISM

Six Lectures

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
IN THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE

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FOREWORD

THESE lectures are published in the words—substantially—in which they were preached in the College chapel. They are, in consequence, necessarily brief. For a fuller discussion of many of the subjects to which they relate, the reader is referred to a previous book by the present writer, “What about the Old Testament?”

August, 1913.

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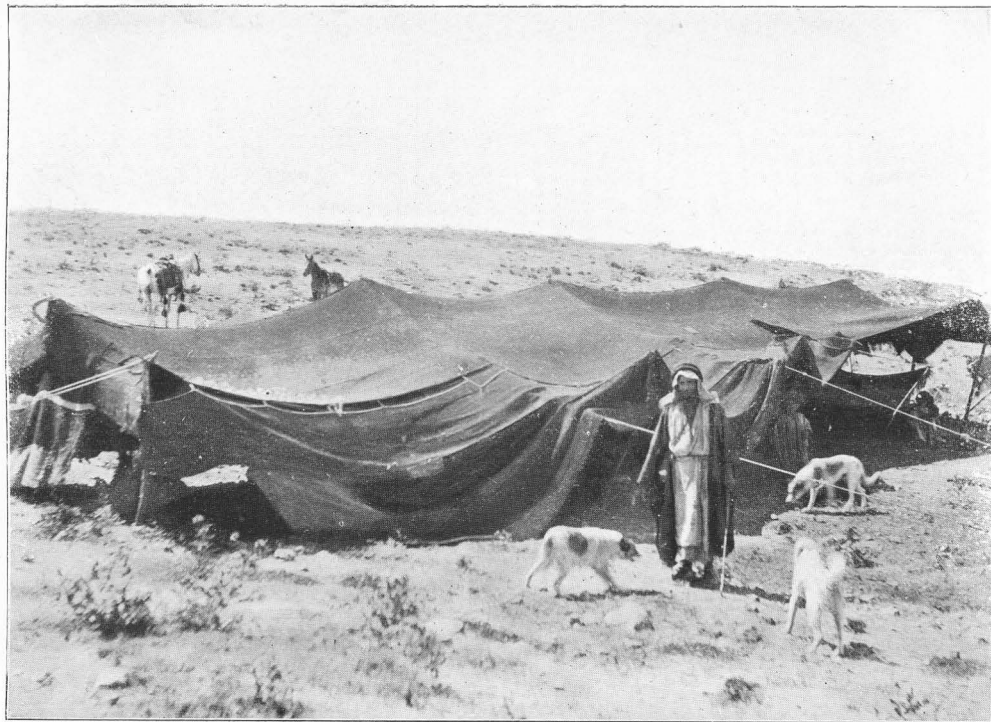
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ARAB TENT.

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DONNELLAN LECTURES

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND MODERN CRITICISM

LECTURE I

CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE PENTATEUCH IN VIEW OF THE GRAF-WELLHAUSEN THEORY

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."—1 THESS. v. 21.

CHAPTER I

THE peculiar features of the Pentateuch are many, but of these many peculiar features, attention is invited to only four, viz. ;—

Firstly, the EPISODE of SARAH and HAGAR.

Secondly, the ABSENCE of the name "JERUSALEM" from the PENTATEUCH.

Thirdly, the ABSENCE of any MENTION OF SACRED SONG from the RITUAL of the PENTATEUCH.

And fourthly, the ABSENCE of the DIVINE TITLE LORD OF HOSTS from the PENTATEUCH.

THE FIRST FEATURE OF THE PENTATEUCH to which I wish to call your attention, is

THE EPISODE OF SARAH AND HAGAR.

It is one of the commonplaces of archæology in the present day that in the second millennium before Christ the civilization, the law, and the language, of Babylonia reigned supreme in Canaan. Centuries before that time the Babylonian king, Sargon of Accad, had conquered the

land of the Amorites—as the Babylonians called Syria and Canaan—and the influence of Babylonia had proved persistent. The Book of Genesis tells us that Abram set out from Ur of the Chaldees; and sojourning at Haran in Mesopotamia until his father died; subsequently, by the command of God passed on to Canaan;—to be a wanderer in the Promised Land.

Professor Sayce in his work, *Patriarchal Palestine*, writes;—

“In entering Canaan Abraham would have found himself still surrounded by all the signs of a familiar civilization. The long-continued influence and government of Babylonia had carried to the land of the Amorites all the elements of Chaldean culture. Migration from Ur of the Chaldees to the distant West meant a change only in climate, and population, not in the civilization to which the Patriarch had been accustomed” (p. 80).

That Abram came originally from Babylonia would seem to be indicated by his very name. No other Hebrew in the Bible is recorded to have borne that name;—but in a tablet of Abel-Sin, the fourth king of the Dynasty of Babylon, about 1950 B.C.—the period of Abraham—the name occurs in the form Abe-ramu. Also at a much later period, in the Assyrian Eponym Canon, the name Ab-ramu or Abu-ramu = “honoured father,” is found as that of an official, who gave his name to the year 677 B.C.

A considerable number of the Critics of the present day, however, deny that Abraham was a real person at all; they hold that his life as we have it in the Old Testament, is an imaginative fiction of later times, an edifying story, composed to reflect back, and embody in the concrete person of an individual, the religious ideas of a later age. Thus Wellhausen in his celebrated work, *Prolegomena*, says of Abraham, that we may not regard him

“as an historical person; he might with more likelihood be regarded as a free creation of unconscious art” (p. 320).

This is more or less the general attitude of the Critics. Dr. Driver indeed seems to allow that there may have been some historical basis for the narratives of the patriarchs. He writes in *Authority and Archaeology*,

“It is highly probable that the Critics who doubt the presence of any historical basis for the narratives of the patriarchs are ultra-sceptical” (p. 150).



HAMMURABI, KING OF BABYLON, *circa* 2000 B.C.

"Amraphel, King of Shinar."—Gen. xiv. 1.

Reproduced by kind permission of the S.P.C.K. from Dr. Pinches' *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*.

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Now on the supposition that the narrative of the life of Abraham was fictitious, what reason could there be for making it start in Babylonia, and for giving him, who was represented as the great ancestor of the nation, a Babylonian name? Dr. Driver and the rest of the Critics assign what they consider the earliest portion of the narrative of the life of Abraham—and in particular the episode of Sarah and Hagar—to the supposed writers, “J” and “E” who, according to them, wrote in the “Early Centuries of the Monarchy” (Driver, *Introduction*, p. 125). But that was a time when it does not appear from the Bible that Babylonia exercised any influence whatever over the people of Israel. The name, Babylon, does not occur in the Historical Books earlier than 2 Kings xvii. 24—that is to say—not until after the extinction of the Northern Kingdom. The reign of Babylonian law had long before—with the conquest of Canaan—passed away, and the Law of Moses in some form or other—as even the Critics themselves would admit—governed the People of Israel in the early centuries of the monarchy. How then, if the life of Abraham be a fictitious story, composed at such a time as that, is its Babylonian environment to be accounted for? and what is to be said, in particular, about the episode of Sarah and Hagar?

The discovery in recent years of the Code of Hammurabi—identified with Amraphel King of Shinar—who reigned as King of Babylon *circa* 2000 B.C.—the time of Abraham—affords a most striking illustration of the way in which the life of Abraham is permeated through and through with Babylonian ideas, laws, and customs:—and the incident of Sarah and Hagar will be seen to constitute a TEST CASE, which shows that the narrative of the life of Abraham is no fictitious romance, but is a real history, in closest touch with the actual conditions of the time.

The incident related in Gen. xvi., where Sarai, because she has no children, gives her Egyptian maid Hagar to Abram as his wife, may always perhaps have appeared a strange and unnatural thing for Sarai to have done. Yet it was repeated by Rachel, who because she had no children, gave Bilhah to Jacob as his concubine;—and by Leah, who, because she considered she had not enough children, gave Jacob her maid Zilpah. And then after

that, we have no instance in the Old Testament of any other wife doing the same thing.

This circumstance then stamps the narrative in Genesis with a peculiar mark, which differentiates it from the succeeding portion of the Old Testament. What is the meaning of Sarai, Rachel, and Leah acting as they did? The answer is—that what they did was a *Babylonian Custom*. Sarai was married in Ur of the Chaldees, in the very heart of Babylonia;—and Rachael and Leah came from Haran in Mesopotamia, a place steeped in Babylonian customs and ideas.

The Code of Hammurabi contains the following enactments:—

(145) “If a man has married a wife, and that wife has given a maid-servant to her husband, etc.

(146) “If a man has married a wife, and that she has given a maid-servant to her husband and (the maid-servant) has borne children; (if) afterwards that maid-servant *make herself equal with her mistress as she has borne children* her mistress shall not sell her for silver—she shall place a mark upon her, and count her with the maid-servants.”

“has given a maid-servant to her husband,” says the Babylonian Code.

“Sarai . . . took Hagar her maid . . . and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife,” we read in Genesis.

What a close parallel! And again,

“afterwards that maid-servant make herself equal with her mistress as she has borne children” (The Code).

“and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes” (Genesis).

The eminent archaeologist Dr. Pinches, in his work, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, writes in the second edition of his work:—

“Reference has already been made . . . to the contracts of the period of Hammurabi’s dynasty, which illustrated the matter of Sarah giving Hagar to Abraham, because she herself was childless (Gen. xvi. 1, 2) that this was the custom in Babylonia is now confirmed by law 144” (p. 524).

He goes on to say:—

“Hagar despising her mistress (Gen. xvi. 4) is illustrated by law 146, which allows the mistress to reduce her to the

position of a slave again, which was agreed to by the patriarch, the result being that Hagar fled."

In the words then which Abram used, "Behold thy maid is in thy hand, do to her as it pleaseth thee," Abram was only conceding to Sarai what was her absolute right by Babylonian law, under this section of the Code of Hammurabi.

But as a writer on the subject,—Rev. John Urquhart (*Trans. Victoria Institute*, vol. xxxviii., p. 46)—has well pointed out, when on a later occasion, at the feast when Isaac was weaned, Sarah saw Ishmael mocking, and demanded that the bond-woman and her son should be cast out, using the words, "Cast out the bond-woman and her son, for the son of this bond-woman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac," Abraham would seem to have demurred, and we read, "the thing was very grievous in his sight because of his son." We can now, since the discovery of this ancient Code of Babylonian Law, see why, even apart from his natural affection for Ishmael, the thing should seem to Abraham "very grievous . . . because of his son," for that which Sarah called upon him to do would be a distinct breach of a certain enactment of the Code of Hammurabi. Abraham had acknowledged Ishmael as his son, and the Section of the Code which applied to his case was this;—

(170) "If a man his wife have borne him sons, and his maid-servant have borne him sons, the father in his lifetime have said to the sons which the maid-servant has borne him, 'my sons' has numbered them with the sons of his wife;—after the father has gone to his fate the sons of the maid-servant shall share equally in the goods of the father's house the sons that are sons of the wife at the sharing shall choose and take."

Thus we can see that Sarah when she said, "the son of this bond-woman shall not be *heir with* my son, even with Isaac," had evidently the consciousness of this law before her, and was insisting that in the case of *her* son *Isaac*, the *child of promise*, this every-day law should be discarded and set at nought. It was only in obedience to the command of God who announced to him that ample provision should be elsewhere made for Ishmael, who should become a nation, that Abraham sent Hagar and her son away.

A Critical writer on the Code of Hammurabi, Stanley A. Cook, in a book published in 1903, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, notices the point that;—

“Abraham’s words in xvi. 6 are so far quite in conformity with the law in C.H. (Code Hammurabi) Sec. 146;—Hagar is in her hands, let her do to her as she pleases” (p. 117),

but in discussing Sec. 170 he fails to perceive how that section exactly touched Abraham’s case when Sarah demanded that Ishmael should not be heir with Isaac.

In a much more recent book written by Dr. Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (The Schweich Lectures 1909) one might expect that in discussing the Code of Hammurabi (pp. 26, 27) the writer would have brought under the notice of his readers these sections of the Code, so remarkably “illustrating the Bible,” in the case of this incident of Sarai and Hagar. This however for some reason he does not do;—but in a note refers the reader, in regard to the Code in general, to the book of Stanley A. Cook just quoted, and an article by Johns in *Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible*. The last-named writer in giving the texts of Sections 146 and 170 of the Code, appends references to the two chapters in Genesis—xvi. and xxi. The point as already mentioned, is—strangely enough—passed over in silence by Dr. Driver.

The light thrown on this incident in the history of Abraham by these enactments of the Code of Hammurabi, from which it is evident that every step in the proceedings was ruled by Babylonian custom and law is demonstrative evidence of the genuineness of the narrative. This episode of Sarah and Hagar, as I have already said, is a TEST CASE, in which an incident in the life of Abraham can be laid side by side with an actual Code of Laws contemporary with the period. Every incident in the narrative, as we have seen, is affected and ruled by the enactments of the Code;—and this TEST CASE of Sarah and Hagar—gives to the theory that the history of Abraham is an imaginative work of fiction or romance—CONTRADICTION—EMPHATIC and DIRECT.

CHAPTER II

THE ABSENCE OF THE NAME "JERUSALEM" FROM THE
PENTATEUCH

THE Second Feature of the Pentateuch to which I wish to call your attention is—the ABSENCE OF THE NAME "JERUSALEM" FROM THE PENTATEUCH.

The first occurrence of the name in the Old Testament is found in Joshua x. 1—"Now it came to pass when Adoni-zedec, King of Jerusalem, had heard how Joshua had taken Ai," etc. In the Pentateuch the city is only once named (Gen. xiv.) and then it is called Salem—an abbreviation of its cuneiform name Uru-Salem.

Now on the traditional view of the Pentateuch the non-occurrence of the name presents no difficulty. The reason why shrines like Shechem, Hebron, Beersheba, and Bethel, are mentioned in Genesis with such distinguished honour is simply no doubt because they really *were* sacred places of venerable antiquity, consecrated perhaps by reason of the patriarchs having sojourned there, and erected their altars for sacrifice and worship;—which they had not done at Jerusalem.

But from the point of view of modern Critics, who hold that the Pentateuch was in great part composed to glorify the priesthood at Jerusalem, and that the Book of Deuteronomy in particular was found—produced—some say composed—to establish Jerusalem as the central and only acceptable shrine for the worship of Israel—this omission to name the great city, then of historic and sacred fame, which they wished to exalt and glorify, seems very strange indeed. According to the Critics the composers of the Pentateuch had a very free hand to write whatsoever they wished;—and they are held to have freely exercised it. It seems strange then to find the so-called "Yahvist," supposed to have written in the Southern Kingdom, and to have been imbued with all its prejudices, consecrating Bethel by a notable theophany (Gen. xxviii. 16-19), whilst in all that he is supposed to have written in the Pentateuch he never, even once, names his own Jerusalem. Between Bethel and Ai is the altar, which, according to him, appears to be most dear to Abraham;—and he makes

Jacob say ;—"Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not . . . and he called the name of that place BETHEL" (Gen. xxviii. 16-19).

But what is still more singular, the Priestly writer "P" —said to have written in Exilic times—to whom, according to the Critics, such shrines as Bethel ought to be anathema—is actually found consecrating Bethel by a very notable theophany in a passage which is attributed by Kuenen to "P 2" (*Hex.* p. 185). "And God went up from him in the place where he spake with him . . . and Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him BETHEL" (Gen. xxxv. 13-15). And whilst he thus glorifies Bethel this priestly writer, to whom Jerusalem with her priesthood is supposed to have been the ideal shrine—strange to say—never once—in all his writings in the Pentateuch even names Jerusalem. "If I forget thee O Jerusalem" wails the plaintive exile psalm, "let my right hand forget her cunning."

Was Jerusalem forgotten in Exilic days, with all her sacred and pathetic story? If not how strange that she is never named.

Still more remarkable however is the non-occurrence of the name "Jerusalem" in the Book of Deuteronomy ;—because according to the Critics the Book of Deuteronomy was found—some say composed—in the reign of Josiah for the purpose of being used to stamp Jerusalem as the one and only sanctuary of the nation.

Now in the Book of Deuteronomy the central sanctuary is referred to as "the place which the Lord thy God shall choose" (Deut. xii. 18, etc.);—but not only is Jerusalem not named but there is no intimation given that the central sanctuary is to be in a great city, nor any hint dropped as to which of the tribes should possess that sanctuary within its borders. To those who hold the "traditional" view however, that the Book of Deuteronomy was composed in the Mosaic Age, this non-occurrence of the name is only natural. When for example God commanded that the Passover should be sacrificed, "in the place that the Lord shall choose to place his name there"—Deut. xvi. 2—it was inevitable that the command—though in the ultimate issue it was destined to apply to Jerusalem—should before the people entered the Promised

Land—be simply delivered in this nameless way. Because before it was to mean Jerusalem, it was to apply to at least one other shrine of Jehovah's earlier choice—that is to say to Shiloh "where I set my name at the first"—Jer. vii. 12—and only in the end to mean Jerusalem.

But from the view of the Critics the omission of the name of this place which the priests desired to hallow, would be most strange indeed. Is it reasonable to suppose that those who produced the book to stamp Jerusalem as the central sanctuary, would have shrunk from naming that great sanctuary, or at least indicating where it was to be?

It would seem as if Wellhausen was exercised by this strange reticence. He writes:—

"How modest, one might almost say how awkwardly bashful is the Deuteronomic reference to the future place which Jehovah is to choose" (*Prolegomena*, p. 37).

"Awkwardly bashful," indeed, if Deuteronomy was written in the days of the Kingdom, in the midst of the sacred and historic traditions of Jerusalem—and with the design of setting up Jerusalem, for the first time as the sole and central sanctuary of the nation.

The so-called "Deuteronomic compiler of Kings," however, whom the Critics suppose to have also written at a time when the glories of Jerusalem lay behind him, is by no means "awkwardly bashful" about naming Jerusalem. He writes;—

1 Kings xi. 32,—“for Jerusalem's sake, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel.” 2 Kings xxiii. 27,—“Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I have said my name shall be there.” xxi. 7,—“in Jerusalem which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever.”

What is the explanation of all this? What is the inner meaning of this ABSENCE OF THE NAME JERUSALEM FROM THE PENTATEUCH?

Is it not this;—That AT THE TIME THE PENTATEUCH WAS WRITTEN JERUSALEM WITH ALL HER SACRED GLORIES HAD NOT ENTERED YET INTO THE LIFE OF ISRAEL?

CHAPTER III

THE ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF SACRED SONG FROM
THE RITUAL OF THE PENTATEUCH

THIS is in glaring contrast to the ritual of the Second Temple in which timbrels, harps, and Levite singers, bore a conspicuous part. Yet it was just in the days of the Second Temple that the Critics allege that a great portion of the Pentateuch was composed. How is it then that none of these things occur in the Mosaic ritual? It might have been expected that the priests in post-Exilic times would have sought to establish the highest possible sanction for this musical ritual by representing it as having been ordained by Moses. But no such ordinance in point of fact occurs, and the Pentateuch stands in its primitive simplicity destitute of any ordinance of music in connection with the ritual, except those passages in which the blowing of trumpets is enjoined at the Feast of Trumpets, the blowing of the trumpet throughout the land in the Year of Jubilee, and the command contained in a single passage (Num. x. 10) that in the day of gladness, and in the beginnings of the months, over the burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of the peace-offerings, the silver trumpets were to sound. No mention in connection with the ritual of cymbals, harps, timbrels, or psalteries—no mention of sacred song, or Levite singers. No music proper entered into the ritual, only the crude and warlike blare of trumpets. No ordinance of sacred song, no band of Levite singers. The duties of the Levites, in the Book of Numbers, are specially defined. The sons of Gershom were to bear the tabernacle and its hangings on the march; the sons of Kohath bore the altars and the sacred vessels; the sons of Merari were to bear the boards and bands and pillars of the sanctuary. No mention whatever of any ministry of sacred song. A strange omission this would be if the "Priestly Code" (so-called) which thus defines the duties of the Levites, had been composed in post-Exilic times, when Levite singers—sons of Asaph—cymbals, harp, and song of praise, formed leading features in the ritual.

Does it not seem that the Mosaic Code enjoining no

music but the simple sounding of the trumpet-blast, STANDS FAR BEHIND THESE NICETIES OF MUSIC AND OF SONG—SEEMING TO KNOW NOTHING OF THEM ALL?

CHAPTER IV

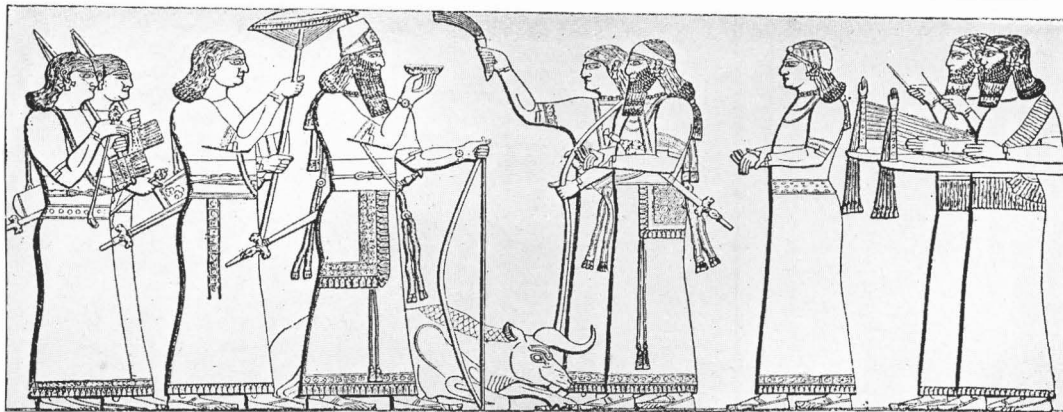
THE ABSENCE OF THE DIVINE TITLE "LORD OF HOSTS" FROM THE PENTATEUCH

THE fourth feature to which I wish to call your attention is the absence of the Divine title "Lord of hosts" from the Pentateuch. The first occurrence of this Divine title in the Bible is in 1 Sam. i. 3—"And this man went out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Lord of hosts in Shiloh." After this it occurs in a number of the remaining Books of the Bible, and with increasing frequency. The pre-Samuelitic period of the history of Israel is thus differentiated from the post-Samuelitic period by this circumstance, that in connection with the former period this title is never used, whilst in connection with the latter it is used, and with growing frequency—at all stages of the history, even down to the end of the Book of Malachi—occurring altogether 281 times. Now the theory of the Critics of the present day is that the Pentateuch was composed, edited, and manipulated during a period of more than 400 years by motley groups of writers of differing views and various tendencies. One writer composed one part and one composed another; these parts were united by a different hand, and then another composed a further part; and this by yet another was united to the two that went before, and after this another portion was composed by yet another scribe, and afterwards was joined on to the three. Matter was absorbed, interpolated, harmonized, smoothed over, coloured, edited from various points of view, and with different—not to say opposing motives. And yet when the completed product—the Pentateuch—coming out of this curious literary seething-pot is examined, it is found to have this remarkable characteristic, that not one of the manifold manipulators—neither "J," nor "E," nor "JE," nor "D," nor "RD," nor "P," nor "P2," nor "P3," nor "P4," nor any one of the "Redactors of P" who were innumerable—would

appear to have allowed himself to be betrayed even by accident into using this title, "Lord of hosts," so much in vogue in the days in which he is supposed to have written; and the Pentateuch, devoid as it is of this expression, shows an unmistakable mark that it could not possibly have been composed in the way asserted by the Criticism, because it would have been a literary impossibility for such a number of writers, extending over hundreds of years, to have, one and all, never even by accident, slipped into the use of this Divine title for Jehovah, "Lord of hosts" so much in vogue during those centuries in which they are supposed by the Critics to have written. IN POINT OF FACT, THE PENTATEUCH WAS WRITTEN BEFORE THE TITLE WAS INVENTED.

In concluding this Lecture I would point out that these four features in the Pentateuch to which your attention has been drawn are FACTS ABSOLUTELY UNDENIABLE. No one can deny that the incident of Sarah and Hagar shows a close agreement with the Code of Hammurabi;—no one can say that the name "Jerusalem" *does* occur in the Pentateuch;—no one can say that any mention of sacred song *does* occur in the Ritual of the Pentateuch;—and no one can say that the Divine title "Lord of hosts" *does* occur in the Pentateuch.

And in view of these undeniable facts, THE GRAF-WELLHAUSEN THEORY OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH—no matter what number of scholars should endorse it—IS LOGICALLY—AND ABSOLUTELY—IMPOSSIBLE TO BE TRUE.



A DRINK OFFERING.

Assur-nazir pal, King of Assyria (885-860 B.C.), preparing to pour out a libation over a bull.

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LECTURE II

THE MOSAIC RITUAL AND PRIMITIVE SEMITIC RITES OF SACRIFICE

“ Prove all things ; hold fast that which is good.”—1 THESS. v. 21.

CHAPTER I

IN the last lecture—as I would remind you—I called your attention to certain features in the Pentateuch, viz. ;— First, The Episode of Sarah and Hagar, and the vivid light thrown on the incident by the Code of Hammurabi ;—and secondly, to three facts of the deepest significance, viz. ;— that the name “ Jerusalem ” never occurs in the Pentateuch—that no mention of Sacred Song in connection with the Mosaic Ritual ever occurs in the Pentateuch—and that the divine title “ Lord of Hosts ” never occurs in the Pentateuch. And I pointed out—as you may remember—that IN FACE OF ALL THIS THE GRAF-WELLHAUSEN THEORY OF THE WAY IN WHICH THE PENTATEUCH WAS COMPOSED—WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE TRUE.

Discarding therefore that theory that the Mosaic Ritual was composed partly in the early centuries of the Monarchy—partly in the Reign of Josiah—and partly in Exilic and post-Exilic times—a theory which is really preposterous—I propose in the present Lecture to call your attention first of all to the Rules laid down in Leviticus for the regulation of the Mosaic Ritual ;—secondly to the fact that these Rules are in accordance with the principles of Primitive Semitic usage ;—thirdly to call attention to the strange Theory of the Critics in regard to the Day of Atonement ;—and fourthly to point out the natural evolution of the Ritual from its simpler form in Leviticus, adapted to the wilderness life, to its full development in the Book of Numbers, in preparation for the settled life in the Promised Land.

The principal sacrifices ordained in the Mosaic Ritual were these :—five in number ;—

First, the **BURNT OFFERING**, in which the entire flesh of the victim was consumed on the altar.

Second, the **PEACE OFFERING**, in which after the fat and intestines had been consumed on the altar, and a certain portion of the victim given to the priests—the remainder of the flesh formed a sacrificial meal or banquet for the lay offerer and his friends.

Third, the **MEAT—OR RATHER MEAL—OFFERING**, a sacrifice, consisting of **FINE FLOUR** mingled with **FRANKINCENSE** and **OIL** ;—out of which the priest was to take a handful of the flour and all the frankincense and burn it for a “**MEMORIAL**,” as it was technically called, on the altar. The remainder formed the portion of the priests.

Fourth, the **SIN OFFERING**. The ritual for this offering was twofold. First,—for the **PRIEST**, or for the **WHOLE CONGREGATION**, the victim was to be a young bullock—the priest was to bring the blood into the tabernacle—sprinkle it seven times before the veil of the Sanctuary—put some of the blood on the horns of the altar of incense—and pour the remainder at the bottom of the altar of burnt offering. He was then to burn the fat on the altar.

The carcase of the victim was to be carried out without the camp to a clean place and burned with fire.

This last point—the burning of the body of the victim without the camp—is one to which I would ask your particular attention.

The second—and inferior—ritual of the Sin Offering was for a **RULER**, or **ONE OF THE CONGREGATION**. The victims were respectively a male and a female kid. The priest with his finger was to put the blood on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, which stood at the door of the Tabernacle, and pour the remainder of the blood at the foot of the same altar. The flesh of the Sin Offering in these last two cases was to be eaten by the priests.

In the last three cases the ritual of the Sin Offering closes with the words, “**And the priest shall make an atonement for them (or him) and it shall be forgiven them**” (Lev. iv. 20).

Fifth, the **TRESPASS OFFERING**. This might consist, according to the circumstances of the case, of a kid or a lamb,

two turtle doves, or two young pigeons. In the case of "a sin through ignorance in the Holy things of the Lord," a fine in shekels of silver had to be brought, in addition to the offering;—and where wrong had been done to a neighbour restitution had to be made with a fifth part added.

These were the five principal species of sacrifice. There were certain rules of general application. It was at the door of the Tabernacle that the victim was to be slain;—and there the blood was to be sprinkled on the great brazen altar of burnt sacrifice. Every victim was to be without blemish;—and the lay offerer, before he slew the victim, was to place his hands upon its head, and so identify himself with it.

The directions which are given in the Mosaic Ritual for carrying out these various sacrifices are really perfectly simple; and only such as would be absolutely necessary for the guidance of the worshippers;—and when it is stated by the Critics, that these sacrifices were more simple in pre-Exilic times than in "P," they may safely be challenged to show wherein that superior simplicity consisted. At the same time, inasmuch as the sacrifices were frequently offered under abnormal circumstances, or under stress of some military or national emergency, they were often necessarily performed, not in any sacred place, but on the field of battle or some other spot at which the urgent occasion for the sacrifice had happened to arise. A service held in the present day by one of our military chaplains in the camp in time of war, although conducted according to the rites of the Church of England, is not quite the same thing as a service in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER II

THE MOSAIC RITUAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRIMITIVE SEMITIC USAGE

OF the simple ritual involved in these Levitical sacrifices the further remark is to be made that so far from its being of late development, every point which it contains may be said to be simply in accordance with PRIMITIVE AND ROOT PRINCIPLES OF SACRIFICE. Ancient principles of

sacrifice, probably of divinely-implanted origin, seem to have been specially regulated by God through Moses for the worship of His chosen people Israel.

First as to the place where the victim was to be slain ;—we have seen that this was to be at the door of the tabernacle ;—and it would appear that this sacrifice at the entrance of a tent represents primitive Semitic usage. Professor Curtiss in a work of his, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day,—A Record of Researches, Discoveries, and Studies in Syria, Palestine, and the Sinaitic Peninsula* ;—wrote ;—

“There can be no question that the sacrifice at the entrance of a tent, a cave, or at the threshold of a house, represents primitive Semitic usage. It may also be considered the altar, so far as we understand by that term the place where the blood of the victim is poured out. I have seen conspicuous examples of this usage in the Druse mountains and in other places.”

Professor Curtiss also mentioned the custom in Syria in the present day of smearing with blood the lintels and door-posts ; and this was also the custom in ancient Babylonia, and prevails in Egypt to this day. Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 472. Compare in the Mosaic Ritual the sprinkling of the blood on the altar at the door of the Tabernacle. . . .

In regard to the peace offering—the sacrificial meal in which the fat was burned on the altar—the words of Robertson Smith may be quoted ;—

“But a not less important seat of life, according to Semitic ideas, lay in the viscera, especially in the kidneys and liver, which in the Semitic dialects are continually named as the seats of emotions. . . . Now it is precisely this part of the victim . . . which the Hebrews were forbidden to eat, and in the case of sacrifice burned on the altar.”

HE also says ;—

“The importance attached by various nations to these vital parts of the body is very ancient, and extends to regions where sacrifice by fire is unknown. The point of view from which we are to regard the reluctance to eat of these is, that being more vital they are more holy than other parts, and therefore more potent and more dangerous ;—all sacrificial flesh is charged with an awful virtue, and all

sacra are dangerous to the unclean, or to those who are not duly prepared; but these are so holy and so awful that they are not eaten at all" (*Religion of the Semites*, pp. 379, 380, 381).

THE SIN OFFERING and the TRESPASS OFFERING are the real points at which Modern Criticism comes into conflict with the narrative of the Old Testament;—and these offerings are usually treated by the Critics as indications of the late date of the Levitical or "Priestly" Code;—chiefly it would seem because they indicate a connection between sacrifice and sin;—which Wellhausen at any rate declares was completely absent from the sacrificial ideas of the Israelites in the earlier days—indeed in the days even as late as Hosea and Amos. This particular point of the connection of sacrifice with sin will be dealt with later on, but in the meantime it is curious to note in regard to the ritual of carrying the flesh of the victim without the camp, and burning it there in a clean place, which is such a characteristic feature in the first two cases of the SIN OFFERING, that Professor Robertson Smith considered this to represent an older form of ritual than ANY BURNING ON THE ALTAR. He wrote;—

"It is commonly supposed that the first use of fire was upon the altar, and that the burning outside the camp was a later invention, expressing the idea that in the case of a sacrifice for sin the deity does not require a material gift but only the death of the offender."

But after giving his reasons for considering that this is not the case, he says,

"There is a variety of evidence that fire was applied to sacrifices, or to parts of sacrifices, AS AN ALTERNATIVE to their CONSUMPTION BY THE WORSHIPPERS before the altar became a hearth."

It will be remembered that in the Sin offering for THE PRIEST and for the WHOLE CONGREGATION, the flesh of the victim was taken and burned without the camp. This was an "alternative" to its consumption by the priests as was directed in the other two cases.

Professor Smith concludes the paragraph in these words;—

"The Hebrew piacula that were burned outside the camp represent an older form of ritual than the holocaust on the altar."

That is than the "whole Burnt Offering."

"And the thing that really needs explanation is the origin of the latter."

Here then we have a writer, held in the highest repute by the Critics, and who was a believer in the late origin of the Levitical Code, who yet nevertheless felt himself compelled to conclude THAT IN THE SIN OFFERING THAT CODE EMBODIED A FORM OF RITUAL MORE PRIMITIVE THAN EVEN THE BURNT OFFERING ITSELF, although the latter is admitted to go back to the earliest days of the Hebrews. The SIN OFFERING therefore—treated by Wellhausen and other Critics, as taking its rise just a little before the Babylonian Exile, and as a mark of lateness in the Levitical Code, would seem on the contrary to be a MARK OF THAT CODE'S ANTIQUITY, and if Professor Robertson Smith be right, to embody in its ritual IDEAS OF SACRIFICE PRIMITIVE—AND FUNDAMENTAL.

The strenuous efforts made by the Critics to show that the institution of the Sin offering is late, would seem to be closely connected with the dictum laid down by Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, p. 81) in the following words;—

"An underlying reference of sacrifice to sin, speaking generally, was entirely absent. The ancient offerings were wholly of a joyous nature—a merry-making before Jehovah—with music and song, timbrels, flutes and stringed instruments (Hos. ix. 1 *et. seq.*; Amos iii. 23, viii. 3; Isa. xxx. 32). No greater contrast could be conceived than the monotonous seriousness of the so-called Mosaic worship."

To this sweeping and daring assertion there is one simple and conclusive answer. It is that well-known passage in Micah vi. 6, 7;—

"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"

Here is this prophet Micah, who lived only some 40 years later than Hosea and Amos, and who was contemporary with Isaiah—all quoted in the above passage by Wellhausen—and who lived some 150 years before that



EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF INCENSE IN EGYPT, 1400 B.C.

Vignette from the Papyrus of Ani, *circa* 1400 B.C., showing Ani's soul, in the form of a human-headed bird, revisiting the mummified body on a bier in the tomb. In the stands at the head and foot of the bier incense is burning.

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time when according to Wellhausen—during the Exile—that “monotonous seriousness of the Mosaic worship” came in:—and what does Micah see? Does he see that, “any reference of sacrifice to sin . . . was entirely absent?”

No. What he evidently sees is this;—That both in his own days, and in the past, men came to God with impenitent hearts, with unrepentant lives—and mocked Jehovah by supposing that through sacrifice, apart from amendment of life, sin would be forgiven.

The prophet’s thought went back even to that early time, when in the various nations of the world, human sacrifice was sometimes offered and a man would give the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul. So closely in the mind of this prophet of Israel—140 years before the Exile—was sacrifice associated with atonement for sin.

Then the TRESPASS OFFERING also, Wellhausen and his followers assert to be a late institution—but both this and the Sin offering are mentioned together in the following passage in the Book of Kings;—

“The money for the Guilt (Trespass) offerings (Ashâm) and the money for the Sin offerings was not brought into the house of the Lord, it was the priests’” (R.V.). This was in accordance with Lev. xiv. 13 (R.V.).

These two offerings then—the Trespass offering and the Sin offering—are mentioned in this casual way, in the reign of King Jehoash, *circa* 880 B.C., as a common part of the religious life of the nation—nearly 3 centuries before the Exile.

CHAPTER III

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT AND THE VANISHED ARK

THE most solemn ceremonial of all under the Mosaic law was the great Day of Atonement, which was celebrated on the 10th day of the 7th month. On that day the people were to observe a strict Fast, and on that day only of all the year was the High Priest permitted to enter into the Most Holy Place, within the vail, before the Mercy Seat; where shrouded in a cloud of incense, he was to sprinkle

on the Mercy Seat the victim's blood, and make atonement for himself, and all the people.

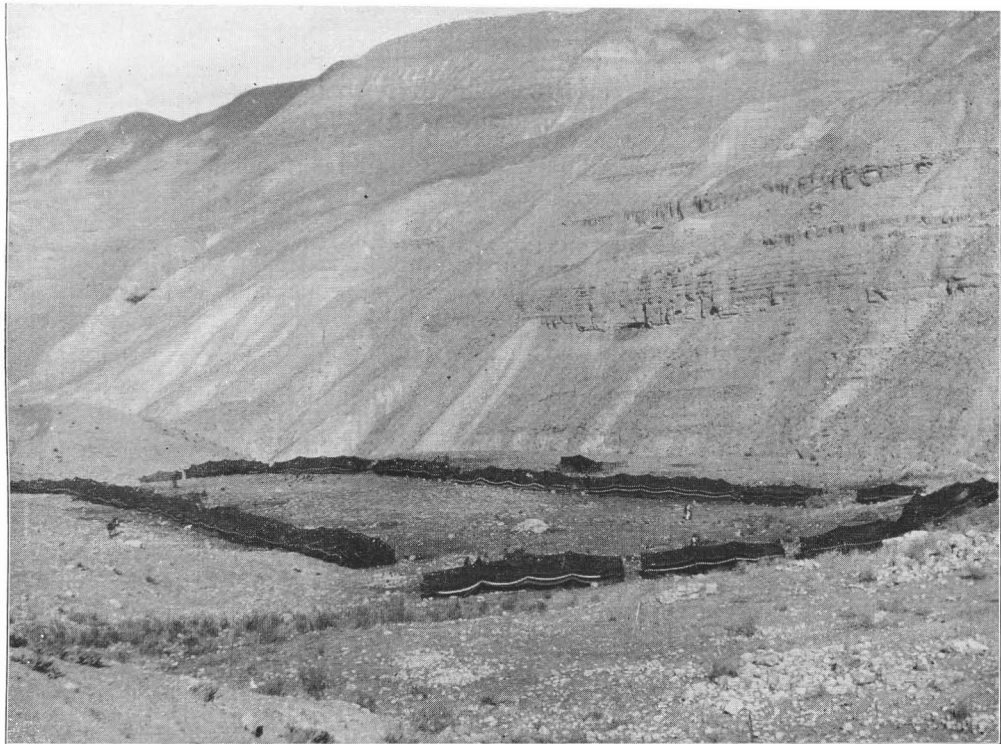
Now because they say they do not find this Fast in what they are pleased to call the "earlier codes," and because it is not mentioned by Nehemiah in chaps. viii.-x. ; the Critics maintain that it was not instituted until long after the Exile. The omission by NEHEMIAH however of any mention of the Fast of the Day of Atonement probably means that during the Exile this Fast had ceased to be observed. The observances of the Day of Atonement consisted of two parts ;—the High Priest in the Temple performed there the ceremonial of atonement ;—whilst the people on their part put themselves in touch with that ceremonial by fasting—the symbol of penitence for sin. But during the Exile, when there was no temple in which the ceremonial could be performed, the fast may well have been discontinued for a time ;—especially as during the Exile four new fasts—appropriate to the sad condition of the people—were newly instituted.

But what shall be said of the theory of the Critics, that the Ritual of the Day of Atonement, contained in Leviticus xvi. was drawn up for the first time in the period after the Exile? That ritual was much concerned with the Ark and its covering, the Mercy Seat ; but in the days after the Exile, both Ark and Mercy Seat had vanished for ever.

In the article on the word "Temple" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, we read ;—

"the ark and the sacred vessels were for ever lost after the destruction of the first temple . . . according to the Mishna the stone of foundation stood where the ark ought to be. Upon the Day of Atonement the priests used to put their censers on this stone."

We see that the Jewish tradition is, that the priests in the times after the Exile used to make the best attempt in their power to comply with the ritual of Leviticus xvi. by laying their censers of incense on the stone within the Most Holy Place which was supposed to mark the hallowed spot on which the ark had stood. This would seem most natural, as the nearest way of complying with an ancient ceremonial ordained when the Ark was in existence, and the ritual could be actually carried out. But for the



ARAB ENCAMPMENT: THE WILDERNESS.

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Critics to expect it to be believed—in accordance with their theory—that the priests after the Exile should in cold blood deliberately institute a novel ritual, which in consequence of the Ark having perished they would only be able to pretend to comply with by a hollow subterfuge—is surely supremely unreasonable.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RITUAL OF LEVITICUS IN THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

IN the earlier part of this Lecture we considered the leading features of the code, as laid down in Leviticus, for the regulation of the sacrifices of Israel, while the people were still in the wilderness. But in view of the change which was to take place in the conditions of their life, after they obtained possession of the promised land, certain modifications were introduced and these are laid down in the Book of Numbers. These modifications are concerned especially with three materials used in sacrifice—flour, oil, and wine. It is easy to understand, that these commodities were not very readily procurable in the wilderness;—for although no doubt the Israelitish camp was visited from time to time by many a caravan of “Midianites, merchantmen,” from whom fine flour, oil, frankincense, and wine could be purchased, yet in the wilderness such things were luxuries, and though men might from time to time elect to offer of their own free will the meal offering of fine flour with oil and frankincense, yet to require that an offering of flour and wine should be presented with EVERY victim, would be to demand from the people something, which in the wilderness they would find it impossible to give. But the case would be quite different after the people had entered into possession of the promised land. In that land flowing with milk and honey, with plenty of corn and olives, and oil, and vines and wine, a regulation that every sacrifice should be accompanied by an offering of flour, and oil and wine would involve no difficulty whatsoever.

And so accordingly it was ordained. Under the existing code of Leviticus it was not required that an animal should be accompanied by an offering of flour, oil, and

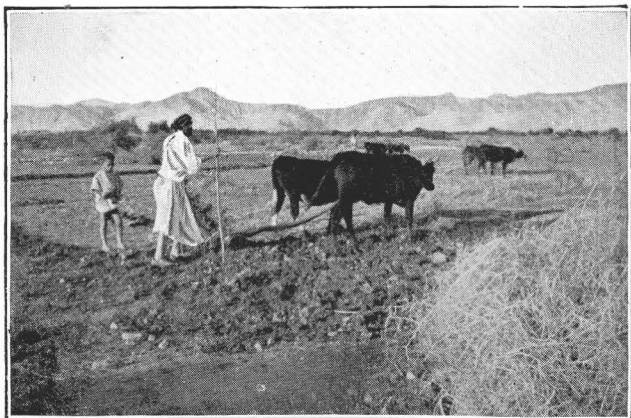
wine—the offering of the animal was complete in itself—a “Burnt offering,” “Peace offering,” etc., as the case might be;—with only one or two particular exceptions. But in the Book of Numbers, in view of the settled life in the Land of Canaan a change, as already remarked, passes over the ritual, and a remarkable evolution takes place;—for in the Book of Numbers it is prescribed, that with EVERY animal offered in sacrifice there is to be presented an offering of fine flour, oil, and wine, in specified quantities, according to the importance of the victim (Num. xv.). So now also in view of the flocks and herds which were to be theirs in the Promised Land the number of the animals to be sacrificed at the Great Feasts—hitherto left for the most part undefined—are now—in Numbers—specifically laid down, with their meal offering and their drink offering (chaps. xxviii.-xxix.).

Sacrifices on the Sabbaths, and New Moons were also instituted (Num. xxviii. 9-15).

But while the people were still in the wilderness, the ritual followed the wilderness code. The offerings of the Princes of the Tribes at the dedication of the altar,—recounted in Numbers vii.—conformed to the regulations laid down in Leviticus. Each of the Princes offered all the principal offerings mentioned there:—(1) a meat (or meal) offering consisting of fine flour mingled with oil, presented in a silver charger and a silver bowl, accompanied by incense in a golden spoon (*cf.* Lev. ii.). (2) A burnt offering consisting of one young bullock, one ram, and one lamb of the first year (*cf.* Lev. i.); (3) a sin offering, one kid of the goats (Lev. xxii. 4, 22, 23) and (4) peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, and five lambs of the first year (*cf.* Lev. iii.).

It will be observed that in these offerings by the Princes of the Tribes—related in this early chapter of Numbers—the meal offering is a distinct and independent offering by itself; and on the other hand that in the case of the burnt offering, sin offering, and peace offerings the animal victims are not accompanied by any meal offering or drink offering. All this was in accordance with the ritual of Leviticus—but not in accordance with the ritual prescribed subsequently in Numbers.

In this manner, then, the sacrificial ritual in Numbers



THE NATIVE PLOUGH, JERUSALEM.

The Promised Land.

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is linked in continuation with that ordained in Leviticus—of which it appears to be a natural evolution, in prospect of the people entering the Promised Land.

The modern school of Critics, for the most part, recognize that the ritual contained in Numbers is a development of that laid down in Leviticus (Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 96, 309, Driver, *Introd.*, p. 68); but they of course attribute that development to the times after the return from the Exile. Thus Kuenen speaking of Numbers expanding, explaining, and supplementing Leviticus says,

“All alike may be explained by the practical requirements revealed, or developed soon after 444 B.C. and provided for, either by the incorporation of a torah which had previously only been delivered orally, or by the framing of a new precept to meet the demands of the time” (*Hexateuch*, p. 309).

What these “practical requirements revealed or developed soon after 444 B.C.” might be is not added—nor what the “demands of the time.”

The antiquity of the drink offering is not questioned by the Critics and is amply proved by a number of passages. For example, the incident in 1 Sam. i. 24, 25,

“she took him up with her, with three bullocks, and one ephah of flour, and a bottle of wine, and brought him unto the house of the Lord in Shiloh. . . . And they slew a bullock,”

not only proves the antiquity of the offering of wine, but also shows that the ritual prescribed in Numbers, whereby with every offering of a victim a meal offering and a drink offering were to be combined was observed in the House of the Lord at Shiloh. So in later—but still pre-Exilic times we have Hosea saying,

“They shall not offer wine offerings, neither shall they be pleasing to him” (Hos. ix. 4). And in 2 Kings xvi. we find it said that King Ahaz

“burnt his burnt offering and his meat offering, and poured his drink offering . . . upon the altar.”

In this passage also we have the drink offering mentioned, and we find the ritual of Numbers in full action in the Temple at Jerusalem nearly 150 years before the Exile.

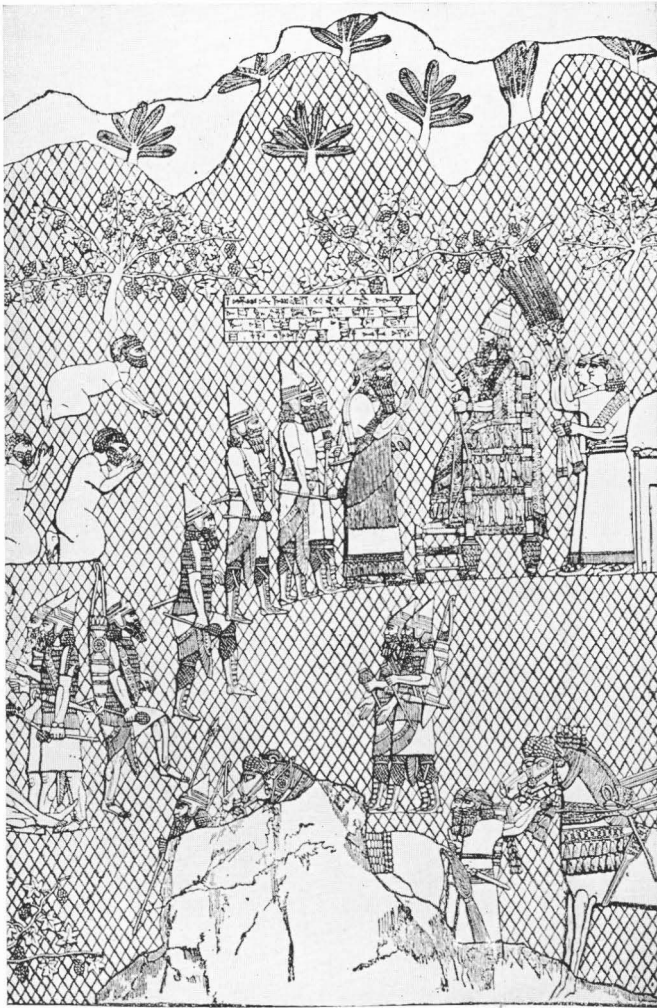
In the former Lecture I set before you, how, on archæological and literary grounds, the Graf-Wellhausen

Theory of the composition of the Pentateuch was impossible to be true.

In the present Lecture I have endeavoured to show you that the Mosaic Ritual so far from being—as Modern Criticism would have us believe—in great part of late invention, is on the contrary, in close touch with primitive Semitic rites of sacrifice:—and—that when the preposterous theory of its late origin is cleared away, and the statements of the Bible itself given heed to, the ritual of the sacrifices will be seen to have gone through a very transparent, and natural evolution, from a simpler rule as given in Leviticus, adapted to the limitations of the life of the People of Israel in the wilderness, to a fuller code set out in the Book of Numbers, as one which would be suited to their life in the midst of the fertile fields of the Promised Land.

If in view of all this it should be asked;—Is then all the voluminous literature of the present day which has been written in accordance with the theory in question, nothing else than the delusive product of a learned illusion?—what answer should one give? Well, to such a question, in my opinion, the answer ought to be,

Yes!—IN SO FAR AS SUCH LITERATURE RESTS FOR ITS VALIDITY ON THIS THEORY OF THE CRITICS WHICH IS FALSE—DELUSIVE AND VAIN IT UNDOUBTEDLY IS.



SENNACHERIB RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF THE INHABITANTS
OF LACHISH.

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LECTURE III

THE HISTORICAL SECTION IN ISAIAH

“Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah, Hear the word of the Lord of Hosts: Behold the days come that all that is in thine house and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left saith the Lord. And of the sons that shall issue from thee which thou shalt beget shall they take away and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon.”—ISAIAH xxxix. 5.

CHAPTER I

THE THEORY OF MODERN CRITICS

THE 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th chapters of the Book of Isaiah constitute a section of the Book, which, in the criticism of the Bible, is known as “The Historical Section.” These chapters contain certain incidents and scenes in connection with the Invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib King of Assyria;—the Sickness of Hezekiah King of Judah, and his “Writing” after he was recovered from his sickness;—and the Visit of Ambassadors from Merodach-Baladan King of Babylon, to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery, in connection with which Isaiah pronounced this prophecy which I have taken for my text, foretelling the Captivity in Babylon;—an event which did not occur until 100 years had passed away. A parallel account of these occurrences in almost identical words is given in the 2nd Book of Kings (Chap. xviii. 13 and Chaps. xix. and xx.).

Now modern critics refuse to believe that Isaiah, living about 700 B.C., could have foretold that it would be to Babylon that the People of Judah would, 100 years later, be carried into captivity, inasmuch as in Isaiah’s days *Assyria*, and not Babylon, was the great world-power:—

the prophet could never, they maintain, have foreseen that political event which really did occur, when through the utter destruction of Assyria, Babylon attained once more that proud position which in other days for ages she had held; and reigned again as Queen in Western Asia.

In consequence of this rooted unbelief in the power of Isaiah to foresee by the prophetic inspiration of God that the people of Judah should be carried into captivity to Babylon, the Critics hold as a fundamental article of their belief, in regard to the Book of Isaiah, that the 40th and following chapters of the Book, containing words of comfort and encouragement for the Exiles in Babylon, were not written by Isaiah the son of Amoz, but by an imaginary prophet, of whom neither history nor tradition ever heard, whom they suppose to have lived towards the close of the Exile, to whom they give the name of II Isaiah.

As the Critics then will not allow that Isaiah could have foreseen the Captivity in Babylon, they will not admit that the words of this prophecy which I have taken as my text were really spoken by Isaiah.

The theory of Dr. Driver, who may be taken as a representative Critic, may be stated thus;—

(1) Isaiah did not compose this Section.

(2) The Section was composed by some prophet—Dr. Driver cannot say who he was—living in the generation subsequent to Isaiah.

(3) The compiler of the Book of Kings, in which a parallel account of the same events occurs, who lived according to the Critics about 600 B.C.—a few years before the Exile—incorporated the work of this imaginary prophet in the 2nd Book of Kings; and

(4) (Here at last we come to the Book of Isaiah). The compiler of the Book of Isaiah (who is thrust back by the Critics to the times after the Exile) finding the account in the Book of Kings, and thinking it appropriate to the book which he was compiling, incorporated it in the Book of Isaiah.

Such is the preposterous theory. And as is usual in the theories of the Critics, that which is first is put last, and that which is last is put the first. An imaginary prophet, who is not known to have ever lived at all, is put first, and Isaiah, who is on all hands admitted to have lived in the

very midst of the scenes and actors of the events related, is put last. And Dr. Driver, who appears unable to believe that Isaiah 100 years before the event could, under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, have foretold the Captivity in Babylon, can readily believe that some imaginary prophet unknown to history, but supposed to have lived much closer to the Exile than Isaiah, wrote this Section, in which he embodied this prophecy of the Captivity in Babylon, representing it as having been spoken by Isaiah.

But what does all this amount to but a disbelief in the really predictive power of the Spirit of God;—a limitation of that power by the narrow conditions of time and human knowledge. When wireless telegraphy was first invented there were those who said, “Oh that may do very well for short distances, but it will never be available for anything like a hundred miles.” Yet now—for hundreds of miles—through yelling ocean tempests—over land and over sea—the wondrous message flies. It does not then seem scientific to venture to specify a limit even to the power of man—yet some appear to think they can define the reach of the power of God.

The present Lecturer believes in the power of Isaiah by the Spirit of God to predict the Captivity in Babylon, though it was 100 years away:—and it will be the aim of this Lecture to prove that Isaiah wrote this Section in which the prophecy is embedded.

CHAPTER II

THE EVIDENCE OF THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

IN regard to this Historical Section the remark may be made that there is perhaps no part of the Old Testament which is more amply confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions. The invasion of Sennacherib is proved to have taken place in the closing years of the 8th Century B.C., which would naturally fall within the lifetime of Isaiah. The description which Sennacherib gives of his campaign in Judæa accords exactly with the account in Isaiah.

“Hezekiah, King of Judah,” he says, “did not submit to my yoke: 46 of his cities . . . I besieged, I captured,

I counted as spoil. Himself I made like a caged bird in the midst of Jerusalem, the city of his royalty" (*Records of the Past*, vol. vii., p. 62).

The catastrophe which the Bible declares befel the Assyrian army would also seem to receive indirect confirmation from the unusual and abrupt way in which Sennacherib closes the account of the campaign. As Professor Rogers, a translator of the Taylor Cylinder, one of the principal inscriptions of Sennacherib, says:—

"His campaign closed suddenly and without the usual long list of spoil;—a lack which he attempts to supply by representing that the presents sent by Hezekiah to Lachish were sent to Nineveh" (*Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. vi., p. 81).

Merodach-Baladan also is largely mentioned in the inscriptions. Those of Sargon represent him as reigning in Babylon for 12 years (721 to 709) but tributary to Assyria, and Sargon says,

"Against the will of the gods of Babylon, the town of Bel who judges the gods, he had sent during twelve years ambassadors" (*Records of the Past*, vol. vii., p. 41).

The Assyrian monarch all these 12 years, it would appear, had watched with jealous eye the movements of the tributary King of Babylon, and marked how he kept sending out ambassadors to gain the friendships of the various states:

He "engaged," Sargon says, "an alliance with the King of Elam, and excited against me all the tribes of Mesopotamia."

It was at this time no doubt that the ambassadors from Merodach-Baladan came to Hezekiah to Jerusalem, ostensibly to congratulate him on his recovery, but really perhaps to stir him up against Assyria. Later the storm burst;—in the year 710-709 B.C. the King of Babylon refused to send his tribute;—war broke out;—he was attacked by Sargon;—and after more than one gallant struggle the power of Assyria proved too strong;—the forces of the Babylonian King were completely defeated, and he himself was obliged to retire for refuge into the marshy lands around the Persian Gulf. Once again—when Sargon died—and his son Sennacherib succeeded to the throne of Assyria—Merodach-Baladan seized the opportunity, and quickly

snatched the sovereignty of Babylon, just as he had done before on the death of Shalmanezar. But Sennacherib before long attacked him;—Merodach-Baladan was defeated; and again forced to take refuge in the lands about the Persian Gulf—the home-land at that time of the Chaldean race.

This happened in the year 701 B.C., and Merodach-Baladan on this occasion held the throne of Babylon for only six months. It was no doubt during his former reign of 12 years that he sent his ambassadors to Jerusalem. In the later, brief, feverish hour, when, for six months, under the impending sword of Assyria, he sat upon the throne of Babylon, he hardly would have had the time to send mere messages of courtesy: if he had sent an embassy at all it would doubtless have been to urge Hezekiah to send immediate aid;—but the embassy recorded in Isaiah would not seem to have been of such an urgent character. It would appear then that the account of this embassy ought in the Bible to precede and not to follow that of the invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib.

Thus the historical events and environment implied in this Section of Isaiah are shown by the Inscriptions to be absolutely genuine and in harmony with the period:—and such as would have been recorded by a contemporary—which Isaiah was.

CHAPTER III

OBJECTIONS AND CAVILS OF THE CRITICS

IT is one of the rules laid down by the Critics for the regulation of prophets, that every prophecy must rest on and start from conditions existing in the prophet's own time. Dr. Driver writes in *Isaiah his Life and Times*:—

“The prophet speaks primarily to his contemporaries and his predictions rest upon the basis of the history of his time; . . . Isaiah's prophecies have one and all as their human occasion the crises and circumstances of their own age” (2nd Ed., p. 186).

Waiving the question whether this is always the case or not, it can at any rate be seen that this particular prophecy of the Captivity in Babylon “rests upon the basis of the

history of" Isaiah's "own time." The "occasion, the crises, and the circumstances," which gave rise to the prophecy were those involved in the visit of the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan. And what more natural occasion could there be for Isaiah's being inspired to utter this prophecy than the arrival of these ambassadors? Babylon had suddenly become the sensational subject of the hour. These ambassadors who had come from that "far country"—and that famed city—whose very name 'spelt age-long empire—excited we can well imagine the most absorbing interest in Jerusalem and were in all men's mouths; the people of Jerusalem no doubt felt honoured by this embassy—the King was evidently flattered and excited beyond all bounds. In his foolish vanity he would show these men that great and rich though Babylon might be, the royal treasures of Jerusalem were choice and costly too. Then in the midst of all this vain fool's-paradise, there rose a darkening cloud over the prophet's soul—the spirit of the Lord came upon him—and, compelled, he spoke the fatal words of Judah's doom. He came to Hezekiah and he asked "What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee?" And the King joyfully replied "They are come from a far country unto me, even from Babylon." Then said the prophet "What have they seen in thy house?" And the King answered "All that is in my house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not showed them. Then said Isaiah, Hear the word of the Lord of hosts: Behold the days come that all that is in thine house . . . shall be carried to Babylon, nothing shall be left saith the Lord. And of thy sons which shall issue from thee which thou shalt beget shall they take away and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon" (Isa. xxxix. 3-7).

In this indissoluble way is the prophecy linked—to Isaiah—to the event—and to the hour.

Even Dr. Driver in one place definitely states:—

"The embassy of Merodach-Baladan the temporary 'king' of Babylon to Hezekiah afforded Isaiah a substantial motive for announcing a future exile to Babylon" (*Isaiah his Life and Times*, p. 127).

But he is far from allowing that these events were put

on record by Isaiah. Writing on 2 Kings xviii. 17-xix. 37 he says:—

“It includes a prophecy, xix. 21-31, attributed to Isaiah and unquestionably his; but there is no ground for supposing that the narrative as a whole although it stands also (together with xx. 1-19) in the Book of Isaiah . . . is from Isaiah’s hand . . . there are reasons for concluding it to be the work of a prophet writing in the subsequent generation, which was incorporated with slight additions by the compiler of Kings” (*Int.* p. 197).

The reasons which Dr. Driver brings forward against the narrative as a whole being from Isaiah’s hand will be examined presently; but in the meantime attention may be called to how he finds it on the one hand impossible to believe that this narrative was put on record by the real prophet Isaiah, who lived in the very midst of all its scenes and actors; whilst on the other hand he finds no difficulty whatever in believing that it was put on record by some phantom prophet of the generation subsequent to Isaiah’s—a mere creature of the imagination—created *ad hoc*—of whose existence there is not the slightest trace, and of whom neither history nor tradition ever heard. So, very often, in the minds of men, scepticism in one direction will be found to co-exist with strange credulity in another;—and the Critics seem to have an unbounded belief in the people of an unseen world of their own.

Dr. Driver with the rest of the Critics holds that this Historical Section is not from Isaiah’s hand: and that of the two texts—the one in Isaiah and the one in Kings—the one in Kings is the original.

The first reason which he brings forward in support of this view is, that the text in Kings has the fuller details. But surely it seems a thing very strange, that the Critics should argue that of two parallel accounts of the same occurrences that which has the fuller details is to be held to be the earlier. They generally profess an anxiety in the criticism of the Bible to get back from the more elaborate to the simpler account, which they usually hold to be the earlier. Here however it suits them to argue just the opposite, and to maintain that the version in Kings is earlier than Isaiah because it has fuller details. On the same grounds they might argue that the Books of

Chronicles were earlier than the Books of Kings because in so many places they give fuller details;—but that would land them in a palpable absurdity.

Dr. Driver asserts that

“The narrative as it stands in Isaiah shows manifest traces of having passed through the hands of the compiler of Kings especially in the form in which Hezekiah’s prayer is cast,”

but he does not indicate the points in which this is shown; also in xxxvii. 35 (“I will defend this city . . . for my servant David’s sake”) he says “the reference to David is a motive without parallel in Isaiah but of great frequency in Kings” (*Int.* p. 227).

It does not however seem correct to say that such a motive is without parallel in Isaiah. The regard of Jehovah for David in connection with the throne of Judah, and the city of Jerusalem, is expressed in many other passages in Isaiah; for example:—

“Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end upon the throne of David” (ix. 7).

“And in mercy shall the throne be established and he shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David” (xvi. 5).

“and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder” (xxii. 21, 22).

“Woe to Ariel, to Ariel the city where David dwelt” (xxix. 1).

Dr. Driver allows that the prophecy against Sennacherib (Isa. xxxvii. 22, 32)

“bears unmistakable marks of Isaiah’s hand,”

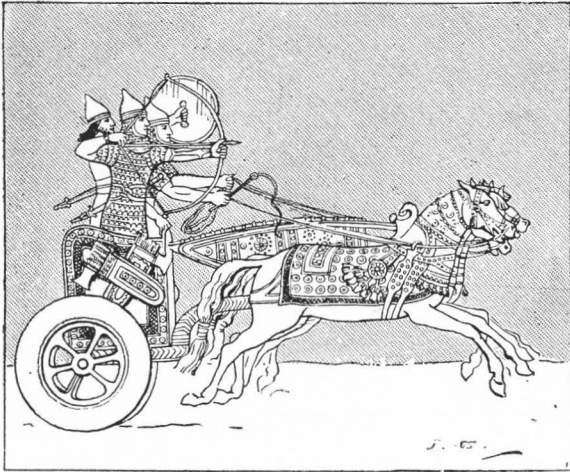
but he goes on to say that “the surrounding narrative”

“shows no literary traits pointing to him as its author” (*Int.* p. 227).

The “surrounding narrative” however practically consists of the boastful threatenings of Rabshakeh and these show precisely similar literary traits to the 10th chapter of the Book—a chapter which is very generally allowed by the Critics to be the work of Isaiah—and is indeed characterized by Dr. Driver himself as

“one of the most striking creations of Isaiah’s genius.”

In that most graphic chapter Isaiah, speaking as the



WAR CHARIOT.

(From an Assyrian bas-relief.)

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Anabasis of Xenophon.

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inspired prophet of Jehovah, describes in the passage commencing,

“O Assyrian the rod of mine anger”

the boastful utterances of a typical Assyrian, and the terror-inspiring advance of an Assyrian army. The whole passage abounds in thoughts and expressions resembling the insolent threats of Rabshakeh.

For example :—in the 10th chapter the typical Assyrian says :—

“Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus? . . . Shall I not as I have done unto Samaria and her idols so do to Jerusalem and her idols?”

So in the 36th chapter Rabshakeh says :—

“Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the King of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim. And have they delivered Samaria out of my hand . . . that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?”

And so throughout. It seems rather strange that Dr. Driver should declare that “the surrounding narrative . . . shows no literary traits pointing to ‘Isaiah’ as its author.”

Dr. Driver also says that

“a contemporary of the events related would hardly have attributed the successes against Hamath Arpad and Samaria which were in fact achieved by Tiglath-Pileser or Sargon, to Sennacherib.”

But it seems clear that all through his harangue Rabshakeh is speaking of Sennacherib, not as an individual, but as the representative at the moment of the whole line of the Assyrian Kings.

He adds that a contemporary of the events would hardly

“have expressed himself without any indication—and apparently without any consciousness—that Sennacherib’s assassination (681 B.C.) was separated from his invasion of Judæa (701 B.C.) by an interval of 20 years” (p. 227).

But the expression used is “dwelt” at Nineveh. In English the word “dwelt” implies living in a place for a

considerable time and this is also the signification of the Hebrew word used *Yesheb*. The same word is used constantly in a multitude of places in the Old Testament to express living in a place for a considerable time or even permanently, as in the passage 2 Kings xvi. 6.

“and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day;” and so the natural meaning of the expression “dwelt” at Nineveh is—that Sennacherib continued living there for a considerable time—as it happened for 20 years.

So conscious was the German archæologist Schrader that the Hebrew word *Yesheb* meant continued to live, that in his work *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, he thought it necessary to caution his readers not to conclude from this word that Sennacherib continued to dwell quietly in Babylon during those 20 years. His words are,

“But if the reader *by pressing the phrase used by the Hebrew historian* ‘and he remained or dwelt (*yesheb*) in Nineveh’ were to conclude that Sennacherib after the misfortune in the Palestino-Ægyptian war wholly abstained from military enterprises he would make a very great mistake” (*Vol. ii. p. 13*). (The italics are ours.)

Thus, so far from the Hebrew writer being unconscious—as Dr. Driver suggests—that a considerable time—20 years—elapsed between Sennacherib’s return to Nineveh and his assassination by his sons, he actually employs the very word—as Schrader recognizes—that would express that very thing.

It may be added that Schrader is the archæologist whom Dr. Driver specially quotes in connection with the history of this period (see *Isaiah his Life and Times*, 2nd ed. p. 75, etc.).

CHAPTER IV

ISAIAH AND KINGS RELATED AS SOURCE TO HISTORY

In opposition to all this I would point out, that this Historical Section in Isaiah is related to that in Kings, as source to history. The writer in Kings, it is agreed on all hands, was a compiler, who drew upon various sources in compiling his history; and in this particular part he would seem to have drawn on Isaiah as his principal

source. The 13th verse of the 18th chapter he seems to have taken from the 1st verse of the 36th chapter of Isaiah with which it agrees. In this verse in Isaiah Hezekiah's name is spelt in a particular way, and the compiler of Kings following his source spells it in the same way. The next three verses in Kings have no corresponding passage in Isaiah, and are no doubt drawn from some other source, which Dr. Driver supposes "may well be state-annals." In these verses Hezekiah's name in the four places where it occurs is spelt in a shorter form, and in spelling the name in this way the compiler of Kings is no doubt following his unknown source, whatever that may have been. From the next verse (the 17th) to the end of the section he would seem to have taken Isaiah as his source, and he uses all through the longer form of Hezekiah's name as it is found in Isaiah. Down to the 11th verse of the 20th chapter of Kings the differences between Kings and Isaiah are only verbal, except that the names Tartan, and Rabsaris, are given in the 17th verse in addition to Rabshakel, and that in the passage relating to the sickness of Hezekiah—in regard to the giving of the sign—the account in Kings is more verbose. The compiler of Kings naturally omitted the "Writing of Hezekiah . . . when he had been sick and was recovered of his sickness," which is found in Isaiah (xxxviii. 9-20) because this was of a private and devotional character, and he was compiling a political history of the Kingdom. But in the account of the visit to Hezekiah of the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan King of Babylon, and the prophecy of the Captivity in Babylon pronounced by Isaiah on that occasion, he seems to follow once more Isaiah as his source. The name however of the Babylonian King, in the one place where it occurs (2 Kings xx. 12), is spelt "Berodach" not "Merodach" as it is in Isaiah. "Merodach" is admitted on all hands to be the correct form of the name, as shown by the cuneiform inscriptions, and "Berodach" is probably due to the error of a transcriber. In three places where the divine title "Lord of hosts" occurs in Isaiah the compiler of Kings omits the title "of hosts" *Zebaôth* — and simply uses "Lord." As one of these occurrences however is in the expression "the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this" which is an Isaian phrase

found nowhere else in the Bible except in another passage in Isaiah (ix. 7) it is evident that he had Isaiah before him, and in these cases simply used his own expression "Lord." But there was one expression in his source, Isaiah, which he did not dare to change;—and that was the uniquely characteristic Isaian name for God—"The Holy One of Israel."

Finally, that Isaiah the son of Amoz was a recorder of political history is stated by the writer of the Book of Chronicles in two places, and there is no valid reason whatever for doubting his words. The first place is in connection with the reign of King Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22):—

"Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah first and last did Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz write"; and the second is in reference to the reign of Hezekiah—with which we are now more immediately concerned—(2 Chron. xxxii. 32, R.V.):—

"Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah and his good deeds behold they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," where the "book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" would seem to be the history—the "Vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz" the source.

We have seen then that the account of the events given in this "Historical Section" agrees with that recorded by the contemporary inscriptions, with a closeness which surely points to its composition by one, who, like Isaiah, lived in the midst of the occurrences, rather than by one supposed to have lived a generation later;—that the account agrees in its literary characteristics with writings which the Critics themselves admit to be from Isaiah's hand;—that internal evidence supports the view that the version in Kings—the author of which Book was admittedly a compiler—was taken from Isaiah, and not the reverse;—and finally that we have the definite statement of the writer of Chronicles—for doubting which no valid reason has been shown—that Isaiah was a recorder of political history.

What reasonable cause is there why it should be doubted that Isaiah wrote recording these events? He whose soul was wrapped up in the fortunes of the Kingdom of Judah:

whose heart throbbed with its every vicissitude. Would it not be natural that when a supreme crisis in the fortunes of Judah came through this invasion of Sennacherib;—when an important event occurred like the embassy from the King of Babylon which occasioned his own lips to utter such a momentous prophecy;—would it not, I say, be natural that Isaiah should place these events on record, which, as a matter of fact, have come down to us from immemorial time enshrined in the Book that bears his name.

APART THEN FROM THE SCEPTICISM which refuses to believe that Isaiah, inspired by the predictive power of the Spirit of God, could have foreseen at a distance of 100 years the Captivity in Babylon, THERE IS NO REASON FOR ANYONE TO DOUBT THAT THE “HISTORICAL SECTION” IN WHICH THAT PROPHECY IS EMBEDDED IS THE WORK OF ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOZ.

LECTURE IV

THOUGHTS ON SOME CRITICAL VIEWS OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

“They have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger.”—ISA. i. 4.

CHAPTER I

THE DIVINE TITLE “THE HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL”

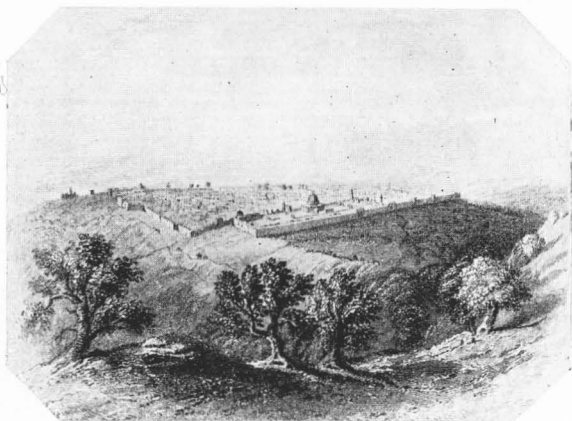
ONE of the things that strikes one very forcibly in the modern criticism of Isaiah is the facility with which the Critics allow themselves to assume the existence of a multitude of prophets, amongst whom they distribute the sublime prophecies contained in the Book. The effect of this is, that if their theories were true, the Book would teem with prophets of the foremost rank, of whose existence—no matter to what age the Critics may assign them—there is not a trace in history or romance; but who would constitute a very galaxy of genius—such a galaxy of genius as were very rare indeed. Such prophets, if they really existed, would have three most curious bonds of union with each other:—

1st. Their writings would have come down to us comprised in one book, bearing one name, Isaiah’s;

2nd. They would one and all be nameless and unknown to fame;

3rd. Their various groups would have a mark in common—the use of a peculiar name for God—“The Holy One of Israel.”

This name for God, “The Holy One of Israel”—*Qedôsh* Israel—is so remarkable, and occurs so rarely elsewhere in the Bible, that it would seem to constitute a distinguishing mark of Isaiah. Elsewhere in the Bible it is met with only in the following places, viz:—once in Kings, in a



JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

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passage identical with one in Isaiah; three times in the Psalms, twice in Jeremiah, and once in Ezekiel. In the Book of Isaiah it occurs 30 times.

In regard to this name Canon Rawlinson writes on Isa. xxxvii. 23.

“Even against the Holy One of Israel. A specially Isaian phrase employed by Isaiah twenty-eight times, and only five times in all the rest of Scripture. A strong proof, if any proof beyond the unmistakable Isaian spirit of the entire prophecy were needed, of the genuineness of the present passage” (*Commentary on Isaiah, Pulpit Commentary*, Vol. ii., pp. 19, 20).

And even the rationalist critic Hitzig on the same passage writes,

“the equally genuine prophecy of Isaiah (Isa. xxxvii. 22-32) where in the words ‘the Holy One of Israel’ in v. 23 . . . we clearly hear Isaiah’s voice” (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 411).

Now the Critics of the present day cut up the Book of Isaiah into fragments, and assign these fragments to various periods in the centuries before Christ. Cheyne may be taken as a representative Critic of the more advanced school, and if the fragments into which he cuts up the Book be collected into groups according to the various periods to which he assigns them we shall find that they arrange themselves as follows:—

Group 1. Assigned to the lifetime of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, 740-700 B.C. 8th century before Christ.

Group 2. Assigned to the closing years of the Exile, 549-538 B.C. 6th century before Christ.

Group 3. Assigned to post-Exilic times, chiefly to the time of Ezra, 444 B.C. 5th century before Christ.

Group 4. Assigned to *circa* 350 B.C., lifetime of Alexander the Great, or even later—in one case to 275 B.C. 4th or even 3rd century before Christ (see Cheyne—*The Book of Isaiah, Polychrome Bible*, 1893, *passim*).

Now if these groups of passages be separately examined it will be found that each of them contains a certain number of occurrences of Isaiah’s peculiar name for God, “The Holy One of Israel.”

Group 1 has 7 occurrences of the name.

Group 2 has 9.

Group 3 has 10.

Group 4 has 4,

making up the 30 occurrences of the name which are found in the Book of Isaiah.

Therefore whether one of these groups of passages taken by the Critics from the Book of Isaiah be dropped down by them in the 6th, the 5th, the 4th, or the 3rd century before Christ—Isaiah's peculiar name for God will be found embedded in it;—in each—to borrow the words of Hitzig—“we clearly hear Isaiah's voice.”

And another remarkable fact is this, that such groups of passages if they really belonged to these several periods to which the critics assign them—would by the possession of this sign peculiar to the Book of Isaiah stand out in glaring contrast to all writings contemporary with themselves— which would be without it—except that Jeremiah uses the expression twice—Ezekiel once—and three times it is met with in the Psalms.

The literary history then, it would seem, which the critics would have us believe is this:—Isaiah, the son of Amoz, in the 8th century B.C. adopted this name for God, “The Holy One of Israel,” which had never occurred in the Sacred Writings before—unless it may be 3 times in the Psalms. Seventy years later came the time of Jeremiah, 626-582 B.C., and were it not for two occurrences in the writings of that prophet the name might be supposed to have been absolutely lost. Then came Ezekiel, 592-570 B.C., and once more it might be supposed that the name had perished—only that Ezekiel employs it once.

A little more than 20 years later, however—so say the Critics—there arose a prophet—just before the end of the Exile—“II Isaiah”—and suddenly the name appears again—and in the passages assigned to him the name occurs 9 times.

The Exile comes to an end;—and nearly 20 years go by, when there arise—*circa* 520 B.C.—two prophets known to history, Haggai and Zechariah, who by their exhortations stir the people up to build the Second Temple—but neither of them in their writings use this name for God.

After this some ninety years pass by and there come the days of Ezra—444-432 B.C.—the time to which Group 3 has been assigned—and then the same phenomenon we saw



BRICK STAMPED WITH THE PRÆNOMEN OF RAMESES II.

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before recurs—and in this group of passages the Isaian name for God—"The Holy One of Israel"—is found 10 times.

To this same time—444 B.C.—belongs the real prophet Malachi—but never does he use this name for God.

In Group 4—attributed by Cheyne to 350-275 B.C.—the name in question occurs 4 times.

But all these passages, no matter how widely the Critics may choose to part them asunder, have this significant bond of union with each other, that they have all come down to us from ancient times contained in one Book—the Book of Isaiah.

The foregoing is a sketch of the literary history which we should have to assume if the Critics were right. It is not a credible history.

How does it happen, it may be asked, that a certain group of prophecies assigned by the Critics to the 6th century B.C., has this Isaian name for God—whilst all contemporary writers are without it? a certain group of prophecies assigned by them to the 5th century B.C. has this name—whilst all contemporary writers are without it? and a certain group of prophecies assigned to the centuries later have this Isaian name, but no known writer of the period has it?—the several groups of prophecies which use this name having this second curious bond of union with each other that they have all been handed down from ancient times in one and the same Book—the Book of the prophet Isaiah—which, whether it were through the inane simplicity of men or through some other cause, has always until quite recent times been—without doubt or hesitation—reckoned to contain exclusively the prophecies of Isaiah the son of Amoz. That these groups of prophecies, if they were written in so many different centuries, should have these two features in common, namely, that in contradistinction to their contemporaries they should all use Isaiah's unique name for God, and should all be handed down in one Book—the Book of Isaiah—and yet not be the prophecies of the prophet Isaiah—all this, if it were true, would indeed be more than wonderful—it would be a miracle.

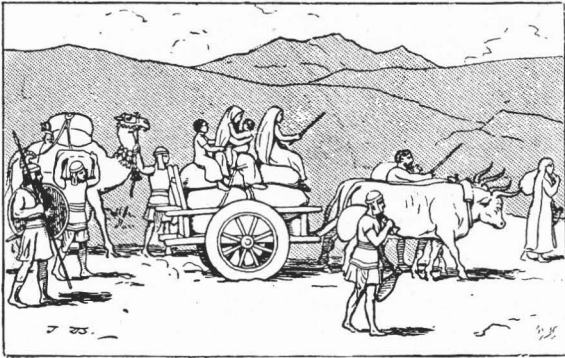
Just as the cartouche of an Egyptian king impressed upon a brick shows that the building in which the brick is embedded is the work of that particular king—so we may justly claim that this Isaian name for God—the cartouche

as it were of Isaiah the son of Amoz—impressed upon a passage in the Book of Isaiah—over and above all other proofs of the genuineness of the passage—is a trenchant refutation of every attempt to deny that the words are “the voice of Isaiah.”

And so in the chapters of the Book of Isaiah succeeding the 40th, which the Critics assign to the imaginary prophet II Isaiah, in this title for Jehovah, “The Holy One of Israel,” we 9 times hear the genuine Isaiah’s voice. In the 40th chapter and 25th verse we meet the words, “saith the Holy One,”—and in the 41st and succeeding chapters down to the 49th inclusive we meet with the following occurrences of this Great Name—“thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel”—“glory in the Holy One of Israel”—“the Holy One of Israel hath created it”—“Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel”—“your Redeemer the Holy One of Israel”—“I am the Lord, your Holy One”—“saith the Lord the Holy One of Israel”—“his name the Holy One of Israel”—“thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel.”

Thus these chapters are as it were stamped over and over again with this unique expression of Isaiah—and it is to be remembered that except for three occurrences in the Psalms, two in Jeremiah, and one in Ezekiel, this title for God is confined to the Book of Isaiah, and if there were such a person as II Isaiah we should have to believe that after this title had practically lain dormant since the days of Isaiah the son of Amoz who died some 150 years before;—the use of the title suddenly burst out, like a conflagration, 11 years before the close of the Exile.

We saw in the former lecture that Isaiah clearly foretold to King Hezekiah the future captivity in Babylon, and if the prophet had thus a premonition that the people of Judah would be carried into captivity it would seem to be most natural that he should leave behind him words for their encouragement and comfort:—and though the Critics profess to be unable to believe that a prophet would base his prophecies on a condition of things not yet existing, they are not justified in coming to this conclusion from the contents of the Book of Isaiah. For the Book abounds in prophecies concerned with events, the conditions connected with which were not yet existing, such as those, for example,



CARRIED INTO EXILE : SPOILS AND CAPTIVES IN WAR.

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which foretold the doom of Babylon—but when the Critics come to deal with such prophecies they simply rule that they were not spoken by Isaiah, transfer them to some imaginary prophet supposed to have lived near the time of their fulfilment, and *thus beg the whole question*. Yet even from a human point of view, Isaiah might easily realize the condition in which the people would find themselves as Exiles in Babylon. The practice that had begun to be the habit of the Assyrian kings of deporting the inhabitants of countries which they had conquered from their native homes to some other land had made exile one of the most familiar conditions of that age, and surely it is not a very great exercise of faith to believe that Isaiah enlightened by the Spirit of God would be able to transport himself in spirit into the future land of exile, and write words of comfort for those who should be exiles there.

CHAPTER II

A FAVOURITE ARGUMENT OF THE CRITICS

THERE is one favourite argument however which the Critics bring forward to show that the chapters beginning with the 40th are the work of a prophet living towards the close of the Exile, which they seem to think is quite unanswerable. In an article in the October number of the *Church Quarterly Review* 1912 Dr. Burney St. John's College Oxford states the argument in the following words;—

“Cyrus who is to be Yahve's instrument in bringing about the restoration, has already advanced upon his career of conquest, and the fact of his rise upon the horizon of the times is triumphantly cited as *the fulfilment of prophecy*, the fulfilment of an event which Yahve has announced in times past by the mouth of his prophets, and so a proof of His almighty power as against the powerlessness of the heathen gods.” (The italics are Dr. Burney's.)

“What becomes” he goes on “of this argument for Yahve's power based upon the fact that HE has already brought about past predictions through having raised up Cyrus to do His good pleasure if the prophecy was spoken or written more than 100 years before Cyrus was born?”

The answer to all this is that the “traditional” view—

the view of the Christian Church through all the centuries—which regards Isaiah the son of Amoz as the writer of this portion of the book as well as of the former, holds that Isaiah, in the spirit of prophecy, projected himself into the times of the Exile, the days of the fulfilment of his own predictions, in such a way, that these predicted scenes and events were as really present to his inspired consciousness as the times in which he actually lived. In connection with this subject Dr. G. A. Smith arguing on the side of the Critics, seems nevertheless fully to admit that

“Hebrew prophets were in the habit of employing in their predictions what is called ‘the prophetic perfect’—that is that in the ardour of their conviction that certain things would take place they talked of these—as the flexibility of the Hebrew tenses allowed them to do—in the past or perfect, as if the things had actually taken place” (*The Book of Isaiah*, xl-lxvi. p. 9).

In this way Cyrus, in full career of conquest, passing in prophetic vision before Isaiah’s eyes, would be spoken of by him as if he had already come. For in the conquests of Cyrus the fulfilment began of some of the most terribly sublime predictions spoken by Isaiah the son of Amoz those prophecies for example levelled against Babylon, contained in the 13th chapter of the Book—a chapter—which doubtless is—what it expressly claims to be—“The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see.” I have commanded MY SANCTIFIED ONES I have also called my mighty ones for my anger, even them that rejoice in my highness. The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together: the LORD of hosts mustereth the host of the battle. . . . Behold I will stir up THE MEDES against them, which shall not regard silver; and as for gold they shall not delight in it. . . . And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees’ excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.”

Believing then with ardent faith in his own inspired prophecies, Isaiah, as we hold, realized their fulfilment just as vividly as if he had actually lived in the days in which Cyrus appeared;—and on this vivid idea of the fulfilment of his own prophecies, as if that fulfilment was already a

realized historical fact, he has constructed this idealistic and highly rhetorical scene of Jehovah's controversy with the nations.

CHAPTER III

"SECOND ISAIAH"

BUT what is to be said of Second Isaiah, who we are so confidently assured by the Critics, wrote these chapters which, as we have seen, are impressed with this Isaian name for God—"the Holy One of Israel"?

The theory of the Critics is—that "Second Isaiah" was a sublime prophet who lived and prophesied in the closing years of the Exile. They define very accurately the duration of his prophetic activity, for—as they hold that he prophesied of Cyrus as the coming deliverer of the Jewish people—they will not allow that he began to prophesy until such time as he could have become aware that Cyrus, having conquered Croesus and the Lydian Kingdom, had marched forth from Sardis on his career of further conquests.

Dr. Driver writes in his *Introduction*;—

"The prophecy opens at some date between 549 and 538. . . . It introduces us, therefore, to the time when Cyrus is beginning his career of conquest in N.W. and Central Asia. The prophet's eye marks him in the distance as the coming deliverer of his nation" (*Int.* p. 231).

This means of course that the prophetic career of "Second Isaiah" is confined within the narrow limits comprised between the years 549 B.C., the year in which Cyrus marched forth from Sardis, and 538, the year in which Babylon fell:—that is to say—it is held that he prophesied for only 11 years.

Now from this there results a very interesting state of things:—and we are brought into very close touch—or at least we might expect to be—with this great prophet. It is evident that "Second Isaiah" beginning according to the Critics to prophesy only 11 years before the end of the Exile, must in all reasonable probability have been still living at its close. And in that case we can well imagine

what an outstanding personality he must have been. When Cyrus captured great Babylon and promulgated his decree giving the Jewish people freedom to return to their native land, was there anyone who would be so conspicuous—so great—so honoured—as that sublime prophet, who after having been the supreme comforter of the unhappy exiles towards the end of their captivity, had also proclaimed the glorious approach of the mighty conqueror who was to set them free? Who so conspicuous a personality as this great prophet?

And yet—is it not strange? in the Books of the Bible which treat of the close of the Exile there is not a trace to be found of his existence. In the Book of Ezra we find mention of Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah, Joshua the Priest, and others of lesser note, but of any prophet such as the “Second Isaiah” postulated by the Critics there is not a sign. Where was he? Some 20 years later the two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, are amply mentioned in the Book of Ezra, and the important work which they performed in stirring up the people to push forward the building of the house of God is very particularly recorded. But where was “Second Isaiah?” Was he a phantom? a myth? who vanished into air as soon as the Exile came to a close? His personality is utterly ignored! What sign is there that he ever existed?

A Critic like Cornill is obliged to admit:—

“It is lost labour to inquire into the name and personality of this ‘Second Isaiah.’ Bunsen’s assumption that he was Baruch, Jeremiah’s secretary, is quite groundless; the suggestion thrown out by Hitzig that possibly he was the High Priest Joshua, the son of Josedech, is not absolutely untenable, but not at all likely, and entirely undemonstrable” (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 154).

And not only is his personality ignored, but the prophecies which the Critics assign to him are ignored also. It might be expected that any writer, after the close of the Exile, in referring to the prophecies which were fulfilled on its coming to an end would have made some mention of a prophet so illustrious and so recent as “Second Isaiah,” whose prophecies would have been so fresh and vivid in men’s minds. Even if he were dead his prophecies might be mentioned.

But nothing whatever of the kind! It is Jeremiah—a prophet who lived a considerable time before the 11 years assigned to “Second Isaiah”—whose prophecy is referred to. It is that “the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled,” that “the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation,” etc.

So it is expressed in both Second Chronicles and Ezra. Not a word about any of the prophecies attributed by the Critics to “Second Isaiah”—notwithstanding that those prophecies would have been so recent—and of such a sensational character.

Is it likely that all this would be the case if “Second Isaiah” had been a real living man?

CHAPTER IV

THE THEORIES OF DR. KENNETT

BUT what is to be said of the ideas of Dr. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, who in a recent work of his, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah in the Light of History and Archæology*, forming the Schweich Lectures, 1909, seems to go further than most of the Critics in the lateness of the time to which he attributes an immense number of the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah? We read in the First Book of the Maccabees—the original authority for the history of the Maccabæan times (chap. iv. vv. 44-46) in connection with the cleansing and rededication of the Temple—as follows:—

“And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings which was profaned they thought it best to pull it down . . . because the heathen had defiled it, wherefore they pulled it down and laid up the stones in the mountain of the Temple in a convenient place *until there should come a prophet* to show what should be done with them.”

Again in 1 Macc. xiv. 41, we read:—“Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and High Priest for ever *until there should arise a faithful prophet.*” Thus it is plain that in the time of the Maccabees it was the conviction of the Jewish

people that they had no prophet among them. As Conder in his work *Judas Maccabæus* wrote :—

“The most remarkable characteristic of the early Hasmonean period was the expectant attitude of the nation. *It was a prophetless age*, and a time when the nation was eagerly looking forward to the appearance of a new prophet, a divinely-commissioned teacher who should instruct the people as to their future. This expectant attitude was shared by Judas and his brothers. They made no attempt to usurp any permanent authority and claimed only to be the dictators chosen until the divinely appointed leader should appear” (p. 190).

But in contradistinction to all this it would appear according to Dr. Kennett that in this prophetless age of the Maccabees the air was absolutely palpitating with prophecy. He sets down at the end of his book more than 50 passages from the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah which he attributes to the Second Century B.C. Of these passages 33 consist of entire chapters—some of them the most sublime in the Book of Isaiah; the 49th, “Listen, O Isles, unto me,” 52nd, “Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion,” 53rd, “Who hath believed our report,” 55th, “Ho every one that thirsteth,” 60th, “Arise, shine, for thy light is come,” and the 61st, “The spirit of the Lord is upon me,” etc., etc. They include all the chapters from 49 to 66—except one very inconvenient little verse, verse 5 in the 57th chapter :—“Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the cliffs of the rocks?” a very inconvenient little verse indeed—for to suppose that the Israelites offered their children in sacrifice to idols in the 2nd century B.C. would be impossible—and so the verse is simply cut out.

Here then we have Dr. Kennett attributing the greater number of the sublimest prophecies in the Book of Isaiah to a time when the Jews were convinced that there was no prophet among them—a time, too, when, as Dr. Kennett allows, the synagogues were a recognized institution, and in these synagogues the Law and the Prophets were read every Sabbath day. It were strange indeed if all this mass of magnificent prophecy without a prophet—such a contrast to the dull spiritless literature which is the unquestioned

product of that age—should have been so secretly and silently absorbed into the writings of the Prophets, read in the Synagogues every Sabbath Day, that its entry should not have attracted any notice, and that it should never have suggested to the scribes the thought—Is there not among us some great prophet?

Dr. Kennett seems conscious that his theories are somewhat drastic. He writes:—

“If, for example, the assignment of portions of the Book of Isaiah to the close of the Persian period (*i.e.*, some four centuries later than the time of Isaiah the son of Amoz) be compatible with faith . . . why should it be supposed that the assignment of these portions to the Maccabæan period is the outcome of scepticism?”

Why indeed? This remark of Dr. Kennett is not unreasonable. So far as the question of scepticism goes, what is the difference between six centuries and four?

It really would appear that there is no theory too far-fetched, or too puerile to be put forward in regard to the Books of the Bible by writers in the present day. Witness Cheyne's recent book published last year, *The Mines of Isaiah re-explored* (1912) with its strange Yerahme'el North Arabian theories. According to these latest ideas of Cheyne the liberator of the Jewish people was not the Persian King Cyrus but a successful North Arabian adventurer.

CHAPTER V

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

THE “traditional” view does not fail to recognize that there is a difference of style between the part of the Book of Isaiah which precedes and that which follows the 40th chapter. The style in the latter part is more full—more flowing—more rich and mellow. The writer of Chronicles by saying that “the rest of the acts of Hezekiah . . . are written in the vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz” (2 Chron. xxxii. 32 R.V.) seems to imply that Isaiah survived Hezekiah and lived into the reign of his son Manasseh, and with this the tradition of the Jews agrees, which in fact relates that in that reign he suffered martyrdom. It was

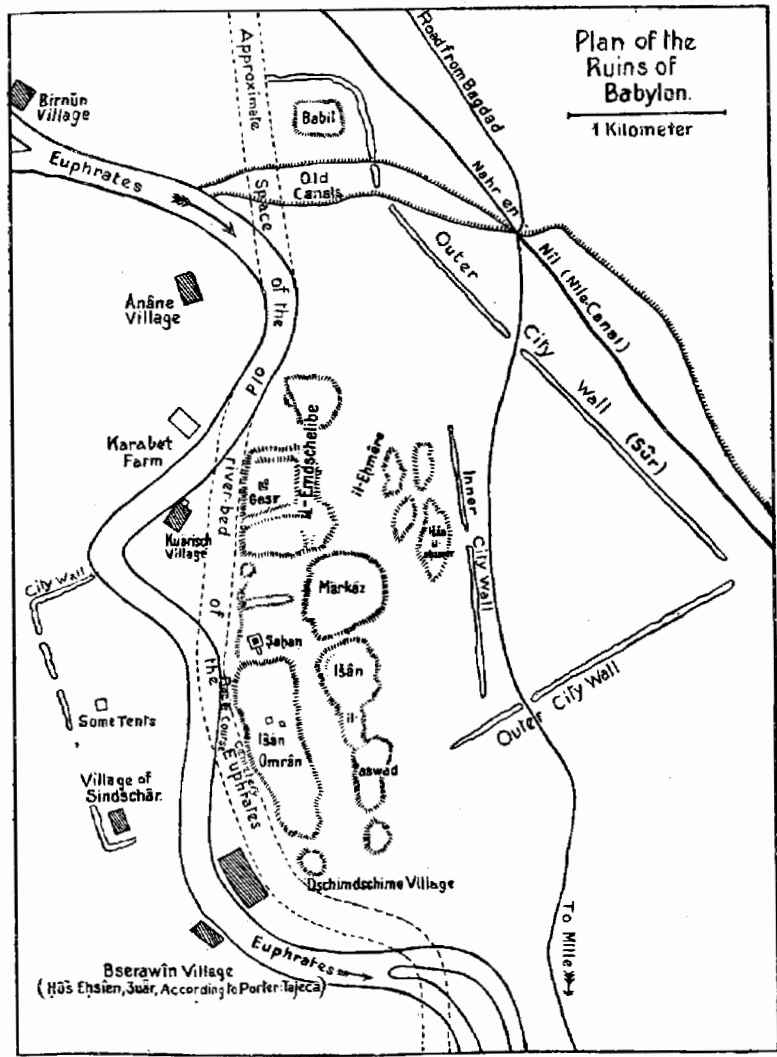
most likely in those later years of Isaiah's life, which were thus spent under the uncongenial reign of Manasseh, when no doubt he was no longer a *persona grata* at the palace, and was excluded from giving any advice on public affairs, that this part of the Book was written. Under these circumstances—to quote from Hengstenbergh's *Christology of the Old Testament*—

“ He transferred himself from the present, which afforded little that was consoling, to the future—in which and for which alone he lived. . . . He places himself in the time already predicted in his former prophecies, when Jerusalem was already captured by the Chaldæans, the land laid waste, and the people in the distant region of Babylonia, longing for their native home. It is in this period of time that he thinks—feels—and acts:—to him it has become the present, from which (though not without frequently casting a look upon the REAL PRESENT) he beholds the future—the nearer—the remoter—the remotest future. He directs his discourse to his unhappy countrymen in exile; he exhorts—rebukes—and consoles them by unfolding the prospect of a happier future” (p. 202).

And so we contend that THE LATTER PART OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH—EQUALLY WITH THE FORMER—IS THE WORK OF ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOZ—BUT OF ISAIAH IN THE INDIAN SUMMER—OF HIS GENIUS—AND HIS DAYS.

Plan of the
Ruins of
Babylon.

1 Kilometer



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LECTURE V

THE PERSONALITY OF DANIEL AND THE FALL OF BABYLON

“Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.”—EZEKIEL xiv.

“Behold thou art wiser than Daniel ; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.”—EZEKIEL xxviii. 3.

CHAPTER I

THE PERSONALITY OF DANIEL

THE theory of Modern Criticism in regard to the authorship of the Book of Daniel is that it is the work of a writer who lived in the days of the Maccabees—167-165 B.C. and wrote under the pseudonym “Daniel.” It is needless to remark that of any such brilliant genius living in the dull age of the Maccabees as the writer of the sublime Book of Daniel would have been—there is not a vestige of record or tradition. The supposed writer is a mere creature of the Critics’ imagination—of his personality there is not in Jewish literature a single trace.

It may well be asked—Why should such a prophet if he existed write under a pseudonym? The reason as given by a recent commentator on Daniel—Dr. Charles, Fellow of Merton,*—is, that in the days of the Maccabees the tyranny of legalism was so great that there was no room for a prophet—a prophet would not be listened to (*Daniel* p. xii). But this is really an utter misrepresentation of the state of feeling in the Maccabæan Age. On the contrary—as we saw in the last Lecture—the Book of 1st Mac-

* Now Canon of Westminster.

cabees clearly shows, that whilst the age was indeed an age without a prophet—it was nevertheless an age which was longing for a prophet to appear. So also we see that in the time of our Lord—when the same legalism was perhaps even still more rampant—the people were perfectly ready to receive a prophet.—They “all” held “John” the Baptist “as a prophet” (S. Matt. xxi. 26). S. Matthew tells us that Herod would have put John to death but that he feared “the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet” (xiv. 5); and S. Luke reports the Pharisees as deliberating among themselves as to how they should answer an embarrassing question of our Lord, “But and if we say, of men; all the people will stone us, for they be persuaded that John was a prophet” (S. Luke xx. 6). There was no reason in the world why, if there were a prophet in the days of the Maccabees—as the Critics allege there was—“the brilliant visionary” (as Dr. Charles calls him) should not come forward openly and speak living words to encourage the people;—the voice of a real living prophet would do more to put courage into the hearts of the people than twenty Daniels in masquerade.

The assumed writer of the Book of Daniel is supposed to have written his work in 167-165 B.C. whilst the revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes was going on. In the year 167 however when the revolt had been smouldering for only a year, the aged Mattathias, father of the Maccabæan brothers, died. His dying address to his sons—as given in 1 Macc. ii. 49-68—shows an intimate acquaintance with the events and persons contained in the Book of Daniel. After referring to Abraham, Joseph, Phinees, Jesus, Caleb, David, and Elias;—he goes on to say;—“Ananias, Azarias, Mishaël, by believing were saved out of the flame; Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.” The Critics strenuously affirm that this address is not historical but is merely put into the lips of Mattathias by the writer of 1 Maccabees. That may be so, or it may not. At any rate the writer of 1 Maccabees seems to have written about Ananias, Azarias, Mishaël and Daniel in the same matter-of-course way as he did about Abraham, Joseph, and the other worthies of the Old Testament.

With regard to the personality of the prophet Daniel

himself we are not dependent on any vague tradition. We have the plain and emphatic testimony of the prophet Ezekiel—his contemporary. In the former of the two chapters of Ezekiel from which I have taken my text we have Daniel named in two of the verses and referred to in two more ;—" Though these three men Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it,"—and in the 28th chapter and 3rd verse the prophet says ironically to the Prince of Tyrus, " Behold thou art wiser than Daniel ; there is no secret that they can hide from thee."

The genuine character of the passages in Ezekiel is undisputed—and the dates assigned to each by the Critics is respectively 594 and 588 B.C.

Now although Dr. Driver admits—rather grudgingly—that the contents of the Book rest on " a traditional basis," nevertheless he does not seem to care to admit that for the personality of Daniel we have the contemporary evidence of Ezekiel. He quotes with approval the words of Prof. Davidson who writes ;—

" It is scarcely natural that the prophet should mention Daniel in such terms, grouping him at the same time with two patriarchs of antiquity, if he were really a younger contemporary of his own. . . . The association with Noah and Job imply rather that in the mind of the prophet the Daniel whom he referred to was some ancient patriarch, renowned in the traditions of Israel for his piety and wisdom " (quoted in Driver's *Daniel* Int. pp. xvii., xviii.).

This objection based on the youthfulness of Daniel at the time Ezekiel wrote these words would seem to have no force whatever in view of the fact that quite a number of the most cherished heroes of the people of Israel,—distinguished for wisdom or valour—won their spurs in their youthful days, and were awarded highest honour as young men by their contemporaries. So it was in the case for example of Joseph, of Samuel, of David, and of Solomon. The people of Israel had ever been ready to honour youthful genius. And why not ? From East to West—in ancient times or now—does not the world belong to the young ?

When Napoleon Bonaparte—in the year 1800—was elected by the French nation First Consul of France, he was only 30 years of age. And when in the same year he

made his daring march across the Alps, and won the glorious battle of Marengo—what Frenchman would have thought it strange to place—the name of Bonaparte—glittering in its young glory—beside the famous names of Cæsar and of Marlborough?

And it was just when Daniel was in the full sunshine of his fame for righteousness, fidelity to his God, and super-human wisdom in revealing secrets that Ezekiel wrote—and therefore it was not unnatural that the prophet should place him, though a youth, on such a pinnacle of pre-eminence. Those who believe in the inspiration of the prophets of old would hold of course that the recognition of the powers of Daniel by the prophet Ezekiel was inspired by the same God from whom those powers had come.

But to what Daniel, it may be asked, would the Critics suggest that Ezekiel was referring—since they set the Daniel of the Captivity aside? Prof. Davidson suggests,—"some ancient patriarch, renowned in the traditions of Israel for his piety and wisdom." You see how instantly a phantom patriarch—a *deus ex machina*—is called into existence—and traditions about him are postulated too. But neither of any such patriarch or of any such traditions is there a trace to be found. The late Dean Farrar in spite of the fact that his book on Daniel is an impassioned attack on the "traditional" view, notices with scorn that some critics had referred Ezekiel's allusion

"to an imaginary Daniel who had lived at the court of Nineveh during the Assyrian exile; or to some mythic hero who belonged to ancient days—perhaps like Melchizedek, a contemporary of the ruin of the cities of the Plain. Ewald tries to urge something for the former conjecture, "yet," says Farrar, "neither for it nor for the latter is there any tittle of real evidence." Such was the verdict of one who was an ardent friend of the Criticism.



CYRUS.

(From a Sculpture at Pasargadæ.)

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CHAPTER II

THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF BABYLON

A VERY usual objection which is brought against the Book of Daniel in the present day is, that the cuneiform Inscriptions of the age of Cyrus, which have come to light in recent times, contradict the accounts of the fall of Babylon which have come down from the classical writers of antiquity, and contradict also the words in Daniel v., which seem to imply the same view of the history, viz. ;—"In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans slain."

The general account of the fall of Babylon which has come down to us from antiquity may be put in this way :—The classical authorities say that the Babylonians, after one encounter with the troops of Cyrus in which they were worsted, retired within the walls of Babylon, which seemed impregnable, and within which there had been stored up provisions for many years. Cyrus then invested Babylon. He commanded his soldiers to dig deep trenches surrounding the city, as if he were throwing up lines of circumvallation, but contrived that these trenches should be dug in such a way that at a moment's notice the waters of the river Euphrates could be turned into them and the depth of the river so much reduced in that part where it flowed through the city that his soldiers should be able to advance up the bed of the river, and enter the city through the unguarded gates. The Babylonians, secure within the walls of Babylon, "took no heed," Herodotus says, "of the siege," whilst Xenophon says "they laughed at the Persians and turned them into ridicule," so the work of digging the trenches went on without any attempt on the part of the besieged to interfere with it, and the siege in consequence was carried on "without fighting." This bloodless character of the siege as described by the classical writers—is an important point to note.

And Herodotus says that when Cyrus had set these things in order he himself went away with the inefficient part of his army, and employed it in diverting the river at another point into a marshy lake. This absence of Cyrus

for a while from the principal scene of operations is another point to be particularly noted.

But when the trenches were dug, Xenophon relates, Cyrus selected a night on which he heard there was to be some great feast in Babylon and as soon as darkness fell, taking a number of his troops, he caused the trenches to be opened—the water poured into them—and soon the river became shallower. Then Cyrus commanded two of his most trusted officers Góbryas and Gadatas, to lead the troops up the bed of the river, now rendered shallow, and enter the city by the river gates, which they seem to have expected to find open.

Babylon was holding high festival—the streets were full of revellers. The soldiers of Góbryas, mingling with the merry throng, pressed on to the palace—burst in through the guards, and reached the hall where the king was. They found him standing up—his sword already drawn, but overpowered by numbers, he fell, sword in hand, slain by the soldiers of Góbryas. Such appears to have been the tragic end of Belshazzar.

Cyrus instantly sent cavalry through the city and had proclamation made that the Babylonians should keep within their houses on pain of being slain. Next morning all arms and the towers of the city were surrendered—and thus—almost without fighting or bloodshed—Great Babylon was his.

And so there is little or no exaggeration in the boast of one of the Inscriptions of that time known as the "Cyrus Cylinder," which says that without fighting and battle the great god Merodach, as they put it, caused Cyrus to enter Babylon.

CHAPTER III

THE EVIDENCE OF THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

The other principal cuneiform inscription of the age is known as the "Annalistic Tablet." It gives certain particulars of several years of the reign of Nabonidos who was King and in the 17th year of his reign when Cyrus came against the Babylonian kingdom. Belshazzar—whom the inscriptions refer to as the king's son—would

seem most likely to have been associated with his father in the kingly power. The most remarkable passages in the tablet bearing immediately on the fall of Babylon are as follows;—

“ In the month Tammuz (June-July) Cyrus made battle at Opis on the Tigris. . . . Sippar was taken on the 14th day without fighting. Nabonidos fled. On the 16th day Gubaru (Gôbryas) governor of the land of Gutium and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting. After Nabonidos they pursued; he was captured in Babylon. . . . Marchesvan (October-November) the 3rd day Cyrus descended to Babylon. They filled the roads before him. . . . Cyrus promised peace to Babylon all of it. Gubaru (Gôbryas) his governor appointed governors in Babylonia. . . . The following very important passage is unfortunately mutilated. “ On the 11th day of Marchesvan, during the night, Gubaru made an assault (?) and slew the king’s son (?) ”

Professor Sayce observing an apparent discrepancy between the account of the fall of Babylon given in this inscription, and the account which has come down from the classical writers—in the particular point—that the inscription seems to say simply that Gôbryas and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon “ without fighting ”;—whilst the classical writers say that Babylon was taken only after a siege—came to the conclusion that the account of the classical authorities was unhistorical, and Daniel v., which seemed to involve the same view of the story was unhistorical too. The Critics as might be expected eagerly followed the lead thus given, and they have been reiterating this view of the matter ever since. Thus Dr. Driver writes;—

“ The story told by Herodotus (i. 191) and Xenophon (Cyp. vii. v. 15-31) of the stratagem by which Babylon was taken by Cyrus, the waters of the Euphrates being diverted, and the city entered during the night—according to Xenophon, by Gôbryas and Gadatas—from the river-bed while the people were all celebrating a festival,—which has been supposed to fall in with the representation in Dan. v. . . . is shown by the inscription to be unhistorical: Babylon it is clear offered no resistance to the conqueror ” (*Daniel*, p. xxxi.).

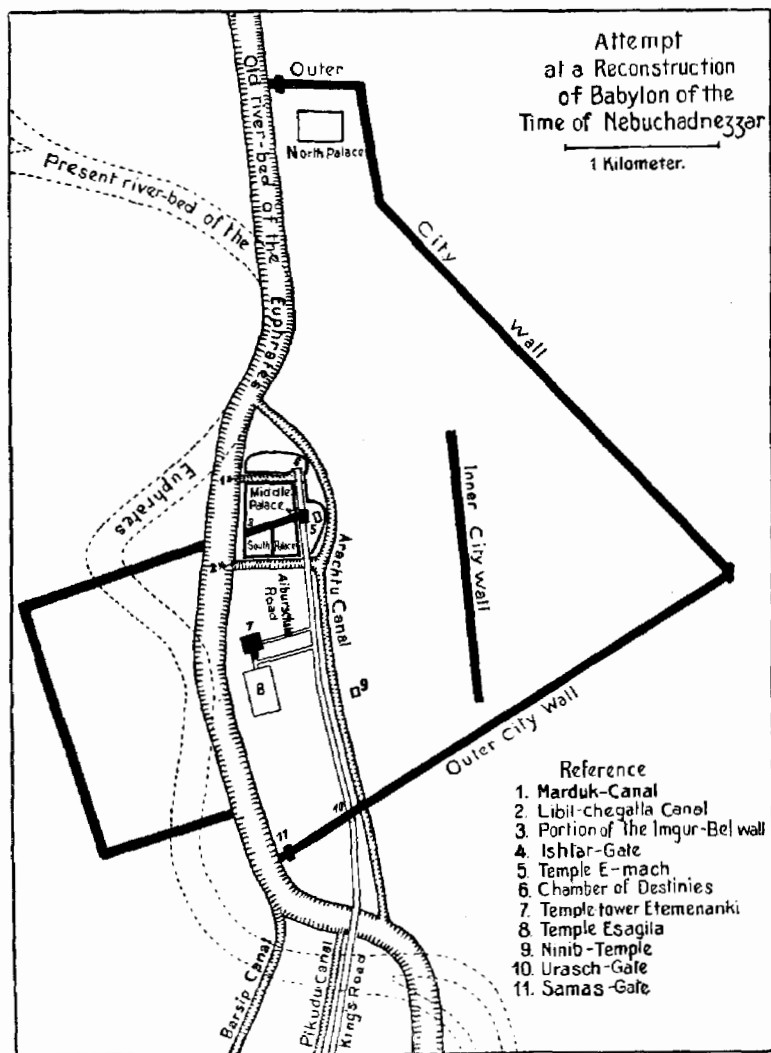
The classical account then, with which the narrative in the Book of Daniel seemed to agree, was cheerfully set aside by the Critics and the conclusion was accepted, that Babylon opened her gates to Góbryas without any siege in the month Tammuz—and that after three months had elapsed Cyrus himself, on the 3rd Marchesvan, came to Babylon.

But this conclusion was open to some strong objections:—

To some it might seem passing strange, that when the capital of the Babylonian kingdom, and by far the most famous city in Western Asia, had come into his power, Cyrus should treat the matter with such cool disdain as not to condescend to visit it, until three months had passed away. It was not his way to treat the conquered peoples with discourtesy.

And then too there was this other awkward circumstance that the merchants of Babylon continued to date their contract tablets in the “17th year of the reign of Nabonidos, King of Babylon” for three months after the month of Tammuz, in which Góbryas and the soldiers of Cyrus had entered Babylon. The only explanation—if it can be called an explanation—of this circumstance, so awkward for the theory, which has been offered is—that the capture of the city caused so little excitement in the minds of the inhabitants that the merchants went on dating their contract tablets in the reign of Nabonidos, as if nothing particular had happened. It may well be asked, Is this likely? Is it likely that the merchants of Babylon would be so foolish as to flout their new master by thus ignoring his sovereignty? And if they were so silly would Góbryas have stood such nonsense?

And then there was a third point which seemed to require explanation. What did that mysterious passage in the Annalistic Tablet mean, where it is said that “On the 11th day of Marchesvan”—that is to say, 8 days after Cyrus descended to Babylon—“during the night Gubaru (Góbryas) made an assault (?) and slew the king’s son (?)”? Did not this look very like what the Book of Daniel says in the fifth chapter, “In that night was Belshazzar . . . slain”? For do not the inscriptions say that Belshazzar was the king’s son? and does not the Book of Daniel say that Belshazzar was slain at night?



Reproduced by kind permission of J. C. Hinrichs from Weiszbach's *Stadtbild von Babylon*.

These three points then—however they might be ignored by the Critics—always seemed to the present lecturer to constitute a definite problem to which an answer was required.

The solution seems to have been afforded by the plans of the ruins of Babylon, showing the course of the walls, illustrating Weiszbach's *Stadtbild von Babylon*, published by Hinrichs, Leipzig, by whose permission they were reproduced in a book by the present lecturer. The plans referred to show that there was a not inconsiderable portion of the city, enclosed with walls, on the Western bank of the Euphrates* :—But the main portion of Babylon, containing the royal palace and the great temples were on the Eastern shore of the river. What therefore occurred at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus would seem to have been this;—Sippar lying N. of Babylon was taken;—and King Nabonidos who would appear to have been in it—fled. He probably crossed the river in escaping from the Persians and flying from the enemy took refuge in that part of the city of Babylon which was on the Western side of the Euphrates. Góbryas and the Persians pursued him, and the citizens opening the gates to the enemy, the king was captured. Thus in the words of the inscription, “on the 16th day Góbryas . . . and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting. After Nabonidos they pursued;—he was captured in Babylon.”

On this view Góbryas had, 'tis true, “entered Babylon,” but he was very far indeed from having really gained possession of the mighty city. He would find himself confronted by the river Euphrates, in breadth not much short of 200 yards—about the width of the Thames at Chelsea—its further shore lined with immense embankments—behind which was the real Babylon.

King Nebuchadnezzar some 70 years before in one of his inscriptions seems to have described the position by anticipation. Boasting of the fortifications which he had thrown up to defend Babylon, he says;—“Great waters

* This outlying portion of the city would seem to have been regarded by Nebuchadnezzar as an outwork of Babylon. In the *India House Inscription* he refers to it in these words: “And to the city for protection I brought near an embankment of enclosure beyond the river westward” (col. v., lines 31-35).

like the might of the sea I brought near in abundance, and their flowing by was like the sweeping past of the great billows of the Western ocean;—passages through them there were none; but mounds of earth I heaped, and embankments of brickwork I caused to be constructed” (*India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar*).

There in that Eastern part of the city, secure for the moment from the enemy, Belshazzar, son of the king, reigned;—and there the merchants of Babylon carried on their business transactions, and dated their tablets on which those transactions were recorded—safe from any interference of Gôbryas—on such a day of the month “in the 17th year of Nabonidos king of Babylon.” Three months then elapsed, before Cyrus descended to Babylon;—and these three months afforded time for the siege recorded by the classical writers, during which the soldiers of Cyrus round Babylon were digging the trenches—no very great task for a large army in the alluvial soil of Babylonia—whilst he himself—as recognized in the *Annalistic Tablet*—was absent;—employing (so Herodotus says) the inefficient part of his army in further reducing the waters of the Euphrates at another part by turning them into a marshy lake.

Then on the 3rd of the month Marchesvan—the tablet says—Cyrus descended to Babylon;—and after this occur the words, “On the 11th day of Marchesvan during the night Gubaru made an assault (?) and slew the King’s son (?)”

That was the night, no doubt, when the trenches were opened—the Persian troops under the shadow of the mighty mounds defending the eastern bank of the river, stealthily advanced through the shallower waters, entered the city by the river gates—Babylon was taken—and Belshazzar slain.

This is shown to demonstration by the fact that all the contract tablets dated previous to the 11th Marchesvan are dated in “the 17th year of Nabonidos King of Babylon”—whilst all those dated later than the 11th of that month are dated in the “accession year of Cyrus” (*Monuments*, pp. 522, 523, note), showing that it was only subsequent to the 11th of that month that the sovereignty of Cyrus was acknowledged in Babylon.

In the note already referred to Professor Sayce writes ;—
“It should be added that the contracts dated in the reign of Nabonidos which were witnessed on the 21st of Ab and the 5th of Elul, were drawn up in “the city of the King’s palace, Babylon,” while one dated the 7th of Chisleu of the accession year of Cyrus is simply inscribed “Babylon.”

Does it not seem as if the words “the city of the King’s palace, Babylon” were intended to define the city of Babylon on the East side of the river where the King’s palace was—as distinguished from Babylon on the Western side of the river—then in the hands of Cyrus?

And so I make bold to maintain that there is no real opposition between the accounts which have come down to us of the fall of Babylon contained in the writings of the classical authors on the one hand—and that which is implied by the cuneiform inscriptions of Cyrus which have come to light in these recent years.

AND THE WORDS IN THE VTH CHAPTER OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL STAND UNREFUTED :—“In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans slain.”

LECTURE VI

DARIUS THE MEDE

"And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old."—DANIEL v. 31.

CHAPTER I

NARRATIVES OF CTESIAS AND HERODOTUS COMPARED WITH THE INSCRIPTIONS

DR. DRIVER—following the opinions held by many other Critics—makes an elaborate attempt in the commentary



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.*

which he has written on the Book of Daniel to represent the writer of the Book as being obsessed with the idea that the independent reign of a Median king—Darius the Median—interposed between the conquest of Babylon and the reign of Cyrus. The vision of Daniel however contained in the 8th chapter would seem to clearly show that the idea before the writer's mind was not that of a Median

Kingdom succeeded by a Persian—but of a united Medo-Persian Empire. This is shown by the symbolism. We read in the 20th verse,

"The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia."

Dr. Driver contends that one of the horns—the one lower than the other—represents a Median kingdom coming after the Babylonian, and followed and superseded

* Reproduced by kind permission of Methuen and Co., from *A History of Egypt*, The Ptolemaic Dynasty—Mahaffy.

by a Persian. But this would not agree with the symbolism. For the ram is one—symbolizing the one united empire—the Medo-Persian;—the horns are two—symbolizing two kings and the two nations of which the one Empire was composed—the MEDES and PERSIANS. The rough goat—the King of Grecia—Alexander the Great—breaks *both* the horns of the ram. Alexander, as history tells us, brought to an end the united Medo-Persian Empire; but it was certainly not Alexander that brought to an end the distinct and independent Kingdom of Media—for that kingdom had passed away nearly 200 years before Alexander the Great was born.

By the symbolism of this vision then it would appear that the writer of the Book of Daniel regarded the Medes and Persians as united, which of course they were. How did this union come about?

Three different accounts have come down to us from antiquity;—

There is the account of Ctesias as preserved in a fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus, according to which Cyrus was the son of a certain man Atradates of the Mardian tribe, whose poverty caused him to live by plunder; whilst his mother, whose name was Argosté, made a living by keeping goats. Cyrus according to this authority, served in several menial capacities in the household of Astyages, King of Media, and rose high in favour with the King as his cup-bearer. A dream of his mother being interpreted by the Chaldæans to portend his future greatness fired his ambition. He treacherously stirred up the Persians—who were subject to the Medes—to revolt, and the battles which ensued ended in a decisive victory for the Persians, no less than 60,000 Medes having been slain. In the rout which followed Astyages King of the Medes was taken prisoner, and Cyrus was saluted by the victorious army King of Media and Persia.

This wonderful story of Ctesias is accepted in the present day by grave historians and Critics as a real account of the history. Let us look at it in the light of the inscriptions.

It will be noticed that this whole account of a conquest of the Medes by Cyrus and the Persians, related by Ctesias, rests upon and is closely connected with his distinct assertion that Cyrus was of lowly birth and

parentage—his father Atradates an obscure robber—his mother Argosté a goat-herd.

But the cuneiform inscriptions disclose a state of things far different from this, and show most clearly that this story told by Ctesias about the lowly origin of Cyrus would seem, apparently, to be a mere romance. The Cyrus Cylinder, one of the principal inscriptions of the age of Cyrus, proclaims his royal pedigree, set forth in the following style;—

“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 Ansan, the grandson of Cyrus the great king, King of the city of Ansan, son of Sispes (Teispes) the great king, King of the city of Ansan, the all-enduring royal seed whose reign Bel and Nebo love.”

There is a short inscription on the ruins at Murghab, the remains probably of the tomb of Cyrus the Great—repeated four times, containing the words;—“I am Cyrus the King the Achemenian” (Rawlinson, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. part ii., p. 270).

This royal descent of Cyrus recorded on the Cyrus Cylinder, and the inscriptions of Cyrus at Murghab is confirmed by the royal pedigree of his kinsman Darius, the son of Hysdaspes, contained in the great rock inscription, the Behistun Inscription of Darius. 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 Ansan, son of Achæmenes, from whom this line of Persian Kings are called the Achæmenians.

This three-fold evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions contradicts in the most emphatic way the idea of Ctesias that Cyrus was of lowly origin, and show the story to be mere romance—it may be based upon some false tradition. And with the fiction of the lowly birth of Cyrus, would seem to be discredited and pass away the whole succeeding narrative—which so depends upon it—of battles fought and countless Medians slain.

Then there is the account of Herodotus. His story is that the mother of Cyrus was—not Argosté, a goat-herd—but Mandané, the daughter of Astyages King of Media.

Highest Inscription, in front of the winged figure and over the Head of Darius. Marked A



BEHISTUN DETACHED INSCRIPTION A.

TRANSLATION BY RAWLINSON: "I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, King of Persia, King of the (dependent) provinces, the son of Hysdaspes, the grandson of Arsames the Achæmenian. Says Darius the King: My father was Hysdaspes; the father of Hysdaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes. Says Darius the King: On that account we have been called Achæmenians; from antiquity we have been unsubdued (or we have descended); from antiquity our race has been Kings. Says Darius the King: There are eight of my race who have been Kings before me; I am the ninth; for a very long time we have been Kings."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1846, vol. x., part 1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Society.

Astyages having learned from the interpretation of a dream that a son who should be born from his daughter should overthrow all Asia, sought to avoid the danger and defeat the prophecy by giving his daughter in marriage to a Persian named Cambyses, a man of good family but of a quiet disposition. Being afterwards terrified by another dream, he sent for his daughter from Persia, and as soon as Cyrus was born he commanded Harpagus one of his most trusted ministers of state, to take the child to his own house and kill it. Harpagus however instead of killing the child himself, desired one of the herdsmen of Astyages to lay the child in the most desolate place in the mountains where it might perish in the shortest time.

But the herdsman and his wife brought up Cyrus as their own son. When he was ten years old however circumstances occurred which caused him to be recognized by Astyages as his daughter's son. The King was greatly incensed with Harpagus for not having killed the child, and revenged himself upon him after a most revolting fashion. Cyrus was sent off to his parents in Persia but when he came to man's estate he was stirred up by Harpagus to excite the Persians to rebel against the Medes. King Astyages with the Medians marched against them, but he appointed Harpagus to command his army, who in secret was his deadly enemy. The battle which ensued was disastrous to Astyages; some of his soldiers deserted to the Persians but the greater part of his army took to flight. Astyages was taken prisoner, the Medes became the subjects of the Persians, and the victorious Cyrus was made King.

Here it will be seen that Herodotus also—when his story is compared with the inscriptions—is at fault about the parentage of Cyrus although he is not so much astray as Ctesias,—for he at least makes the mother of Cyrus—Mandané—to have been of royal birth, and correctly states the name of his father to have been Cambyses, but calls him merely a Persian of good family and is in complete ignorance that he was a King. This ignorance of the royal birth of Cyrus makes the story of Herodotus of no account as against that of Xenophon which shall be presently discussed.

CHAPTER II

THE MEDES AND THE MANDA

A REVOLT of the Persians against the Medes, resulting in a decisive victory for the Persians, forms, it will be seen, the climax of the narratives of Ctesias and Herodótus alike. On what tradition does this war between the Medes and Persians rest? It seems to rest on a tradition which confused the Medes—who were of Aryan race—with a completely distinct people called the Manda, who were of Scythian origin. In Assyrian the names were very much alike—Mada (Medes) and Manda;—the name of the capital city of each people was the same—Ecbatana;—and each of the peoples had a King of the same name Istuvegu or Astyages.

Professor Sayce writes:—

“It is . . . startling to find that Istuvegu or Astyages was king not of the Medes but of the Manda. The name of Manda was applied by the Babylonians and Assyrians to the nomad tribes who at times threatened their eastern and northern borders. . . . It would seem that the “Manda of Ekbatana were the Scythians of classical history.”

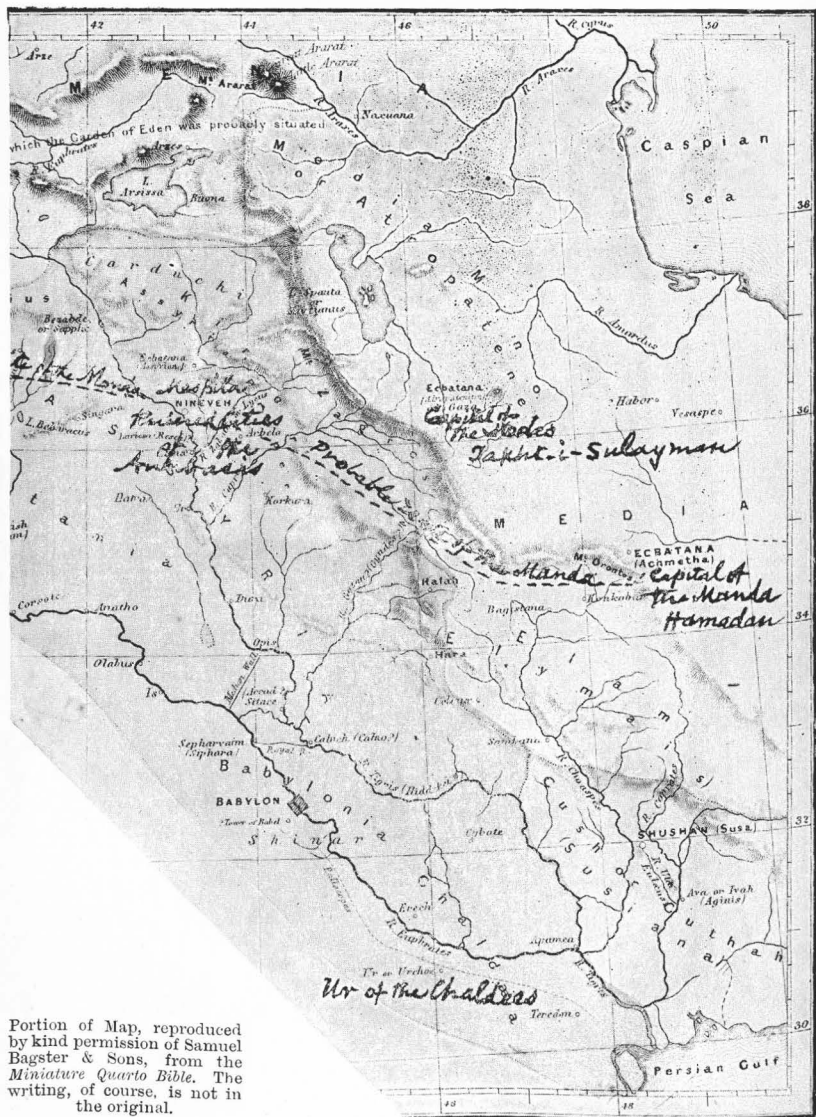
“Totally distinct from the Manda were the Mada or Medes. Their land lay to the north-east of that of Ekbatana, and extended as far as the shores of the Caspian. They consisted for the most part of Aryan tribes allied in blood and language to the Persians. . . . The Medes and Manda were confounded with each other” (*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 519 ff.).

(It is not suggested however that the general views put forward in this lecture are in agreement with those of Professor Sayce.)

The following inscription of Nabonidos King of Babylon (c. 549 B.C.) refers to the conquest of the Manda by Cyrus;—

“Merodach again spoke with me; the people of the Manda and the kings that are their allies exist no more. In the third year . . . I will cause them to come, and Cyrus the King of Anzan . . . with his little army shall overthrow the widespread people of the Manda; he shall

MAP OF ASSYRIA, MEDIA, ETC.



Portion of Map, reproduced by kind permission of Samuel Bagster & Sons, from the *Miniature Quarto Bible*. The writing, of course, is not in the original.

capture Istuvegu (Astyages) the king of the people of the Manda and bring him a prisoner to his own country" (*op. cit.* pp. 507, 508).

This victory of Cyrus over the country of Ecbatana is referred to also in the Annalistic Tablet and the King of that country Istuvegu (Astyages) is named. In that inscription it is recorded that his army revolted against him and delivered him to Cyrus, in which can be seen the origin of a similar statement of Herodotus in regard to Astyages King of the Medes, whom tradition seems to have confounded with Astyages King of the Manda.

The conquest of the Manda by Cyrus is also recorded on the Cyrus Cylinder;—

"the country of Kurdistan and all the people of the Manda he (Merodach) has subjected to his feet."

In his article in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible on "Acmetha" (Ecbatana) Professor Margoliouth, after mentioning that there were two cities of that name, quotes the Armenian historian, Moses of Choriné as speaking of the "second Ecbatana the seven-walled city." He also refers to a paper by Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, x. art. 2), which gives the position of the two cities—one in Lat. $34^{\circ} 8'$ N., surviving in the present Hamadan—this would be the capital of the Manda; the other—which Sir Henry considered the ancient capital of the Medes—further north in Lat. $36^{\circ} 25'$ at Takht-i-Sulayman, in the ancient Atropatené. The positions of the two cities are shown in Map No. 7 in the Oxford Teachers' Bible.

Thus we see that both Ctesias and Herodotus would seem to have allowed themselves to be misled by a distorted tradition.

CHAPTER III

THE NARRATIVE OF XENOPHON

WE now come to the third account of the career of Cyrus—that namely given by Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*. In this work Xenophon relates that Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia, and Mandané, daughter of Astyages King of Media. He gives a very interesting and

natural account of the boyhood and youth of Cyrus, of which a considerable part was spent at his grandfather's court in Media. He then goes on to tell how, on the death of King Astyages, his son Cyaxares succeeded to the throne of Media and soon after his accession found himself threatened with war by the Babylonians and their allies.

In view of this impending war, Cyaxares sent a message to his brother-in-law, Cambyses King of Persia, requesting him to despatch a force of Persian troops to his assistance, and very specially to send his nephew Cyrus—who had already become renowned for his prowess in arms—in command of the contingent. This was done and accordingly Cyaxares and his nephew took the field with the Median and Persian forces. . . . After some signal successes had been gained, Cyaxares, being of a rather indolent disposition, considered that enough had been achieved; but Cyrus persuaded his uncle to permit him to continue the campaign with his Persian forces and any of the Medes who might desire to go along with him. On this permission being granted, nearly the whole Median army volunteered, marched off with Cyrus and fought under his command side by side with the Persians. Cyaxares was much annoyed and mortified when he found himself thus abandoned by almost all his army;—but a meeting between the uncle and the nephew subsequently occurred, in the course of which Cyrus, by that fascinating charm by which he bowed the hearts of all men to his will, restored his uncle to good humour, and it was agreed that Cyaxares should return and guard the realm of Media whilst Cyrus pursued his career of conquest.

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" (*Cyropædia*, vii. 17, 18, 19).

The *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, however, has been treated both in ancient and modern times as if it were a mere

historical romance, in which even Xenophon himself made no profession of relating real history. But for such confident assumptions there would seem in reality to have never been any valid reason, and Xenophon—as he states himself—would seem to have sought in the historical framework of the *Cyropædia* to follow the true course of the life of Cyrus—as far as he was able to ascertain it. This he intimates very clearly in the first chapter, where he says:—

“Whatever things then we have inquired and seem to have ascertained about him (Cyrus) these we shall endeavour to relate” (*Cyropædia*, i. 1, 4).

Xenophon would seem then to have taken as the groundwork of his book the facts of the career of Cyrus so far as he was able to ascertain them;—and to have expanded this body of facts with incidents of life in camp from day to day, and all that discursive dialogue through which his conception of the character and disposition of Cyrus is so abundantly worked out. These episodes from day to day, and conversations and discussions between Cyrus and those with whom he came in contact form the feature in the work to which the word “romance” perhaps may be applied; but it would now seem to be placed beyond a doubt that that “romance” RESTS UPON A SOLID BASE OF HISTORY.

CHAPTER IV

THE CYROPÆDIA AND THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

THAT this is the case would seem to be clearly shown by the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Xenophon—unlike Ctesias and Herodotus—relates that Cyrus was of royal birth, the son of King Cambyses.

This is in accordance with the Cyrus Cylinder, which, as we have seen, says that he was the son of Cambyses, King of the city of Ansan, and gives his royal pedigree.

In the narrative of Xenophon, Góbryas is one of the most conspicuous of the officers of Cyrus, and is described as having been, before he came over to Cyrus, ruler of a territory under the King of Babylon as his suzerain.

In agreement with this the Annalistic Tablet of Nabonidos represents Góbryas as next to Cyrus the most

conspicuous figure on the side of the Persians. It calls him "Governor of Gutium" (Kurdistan) which may have been at that time subject to Babylon;—and may perhaps have been the principality over which—as related by Xenophon—Gôbryas was ruler before he came over to Cyrus.

Xenophon relates that it was to Gôbryas, in conjunction with Gadatas, another of Cyrus' most distinguished officers, that Cyrus, in the night in which Babylon was taken, entrusted the command of that selected band of troops which marching up the bed of the Euphrates reduced in depth entered the city through the river-gates, passed on to the palace, slew the King, and captured Babylon in her night of festival.

So the Annalistic Tablet—though imperfect unhappily at this important point—is held to relate that "On the 11th day of Marchesvan, during the night Gôbryas made an assault (?) and slew the king's son (?)."

Attention has already been called in the last Lecture to the fact that the contract tablets of the merchants of Babylon at that time would indicate that it was on that night—the 11th of Marchesvan—that Babylon came under the sovereignty of Cyrus.

Since Xenophon then, 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 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 Gôbryas*.

It would seem then from the narrative of Xenophon that, on the one hand, Cyaxares (Darius the Median) gave Cyrus all Media as his daughter's dowry; whilst on the other hand Cyrus gave Cyaxares a house and government offices (*archeia*) in Babylon—which would probably imply authority—thus associating him with himself in the kingdom.

Dr. Driver indeed says that;—

"In point of fact if Cyrus made anyone 'King' in Babylon it was his own son Cambyses, who in certain

inscriptions of his first year is named conjointly with himself" (*Dan.*, liii.).

But in the contract tablets referred to by Dr. Driver—published by Strassmaier—your particular attention is called to the months mentioned;—

No. 46. Year 1st. Tammuz, 4th month;—Cambyses King of Babylon, at that time his father King of countries.

No. 18. Tebet 10th month;—1st year of Cyrus King of Babylon.

No. 19. Tisri 7th month;—1st year of Cyrus King of Babylon, King of countries.

In each case it is the 1st year—but in the earliest month—the fourth—Cambyses the son is named king of Babylon—whilst in the two later months—the 10th and 7th—it is Cyrus the father who is named King of Babylon.

Therefore the year intended cannot be the same, because it cannot be supposed that Cambyses having been made King of Babylon by his father in the 4th month, was no longer King of Babylon in the 7th and the 10th months. *First year* must mean in the tablet in which Cambyses is named—the *first year of the joint reign of himself and his father*:—and *first year* where Cyrus is named King of Babylon must mean the *first year after Cyrus had conquered the Babylonian empire*. This is confirmed by the dating of other contract tablets, from which it would appear that it was comparatively late in his own reign that Cyrus appointed his son Cambyses King of Babylon. Thus in the following tablets published by Kohler and Peiser we find Cyrus still in the 8th year of his reign styled "King of Babylon."

"Cyr. 304 8th year of Cyrus, 'King of Babylon,' 'King of Countries.'"

"Cyr. 310 Sippar 3 Ab, 8th year of Cyrus, 'King of Babylon, King of Countries.'" — *Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, iv. Kohler and Peiser (1898) pp. 46, 73.

We are not debarred then from supposing that Cyrus associated Darius the Median (Cyaxares) with him in the kingdom after the fall of Babylon by the idea which Dr. Driver suggests, viz., that Cyrus in his *first year* appointed his son Cambyses to be King of Babylon—for that idea appears to be negatived by the inscriptions.

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. It was with Media, according to Josephus, that Daniel was by tradition most particularly associated; he was said to have built a tower at Ecbatana in Media, and in that tower Josephus says;—

“they bury the kings of Media, of Persia and Parthia to this day.”

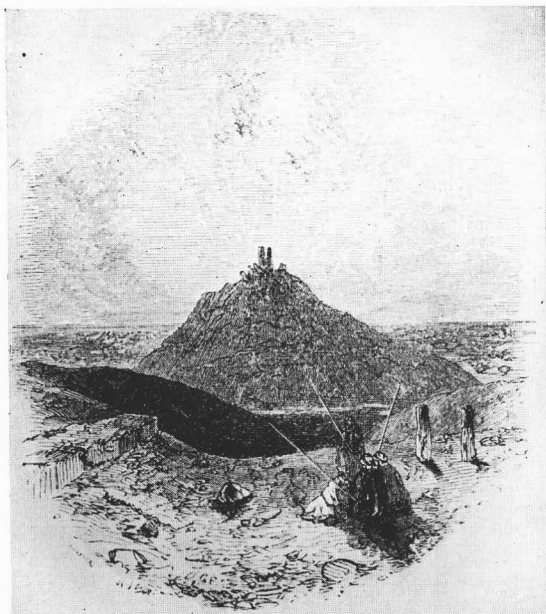
The story, indeed, in Daniel vi., which tells of how the prophet was cast into the den of lions, would seem assuredly to require that he whom the presidents and princes approached with their flattering and insidious request should be, not a mere lieutenant like Góbryas—as some writers have suggested—but a real king—invested with that divinity, which in those ancient days was held to be inherent in a king;—and also to require that the king in question should have that absolute and independent power which the Cyaxares of Xenophon would have in the kingdom of Media.

From all the considerations then brought forward in this Lecture, it is claimed;—

Firstly, that the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, which contains so much about Cyaxares II., is not a mere “historical romance,” to be treated with contempt, as the Critics represent it, but on the contrary, in the accounts which it gives of events and personages, rests on a firm historical basis, and is most strongly supported by the cuneiform inscriptions, and

Secondly, that the “traditional” view which identifies Darius the Median with Cyaxares II. WOULD SEEM TO BE REASONABLE AND TRUE;—and that the words in the Book of Daniel, “Darius the Median took the kingdom,” ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE FACTS OF THE HISTORY.

Lord Jesus, Master, ever present even when not named, bless the words which Thou hast granted to be spoken by Thy servant in this place.—Amen.



BIRS NIMROUD.

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