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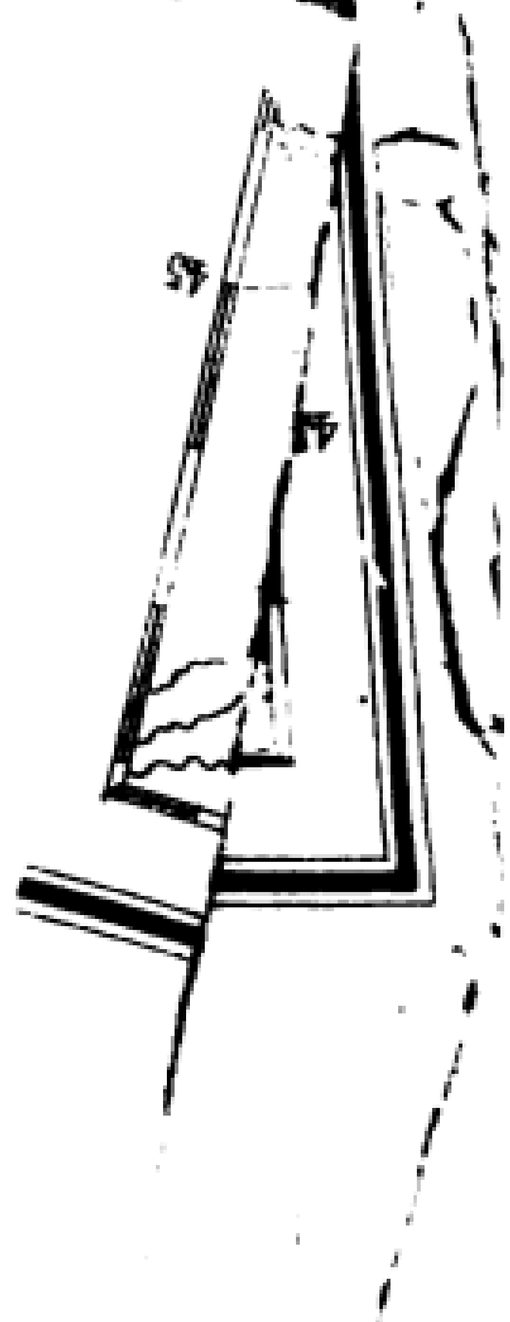

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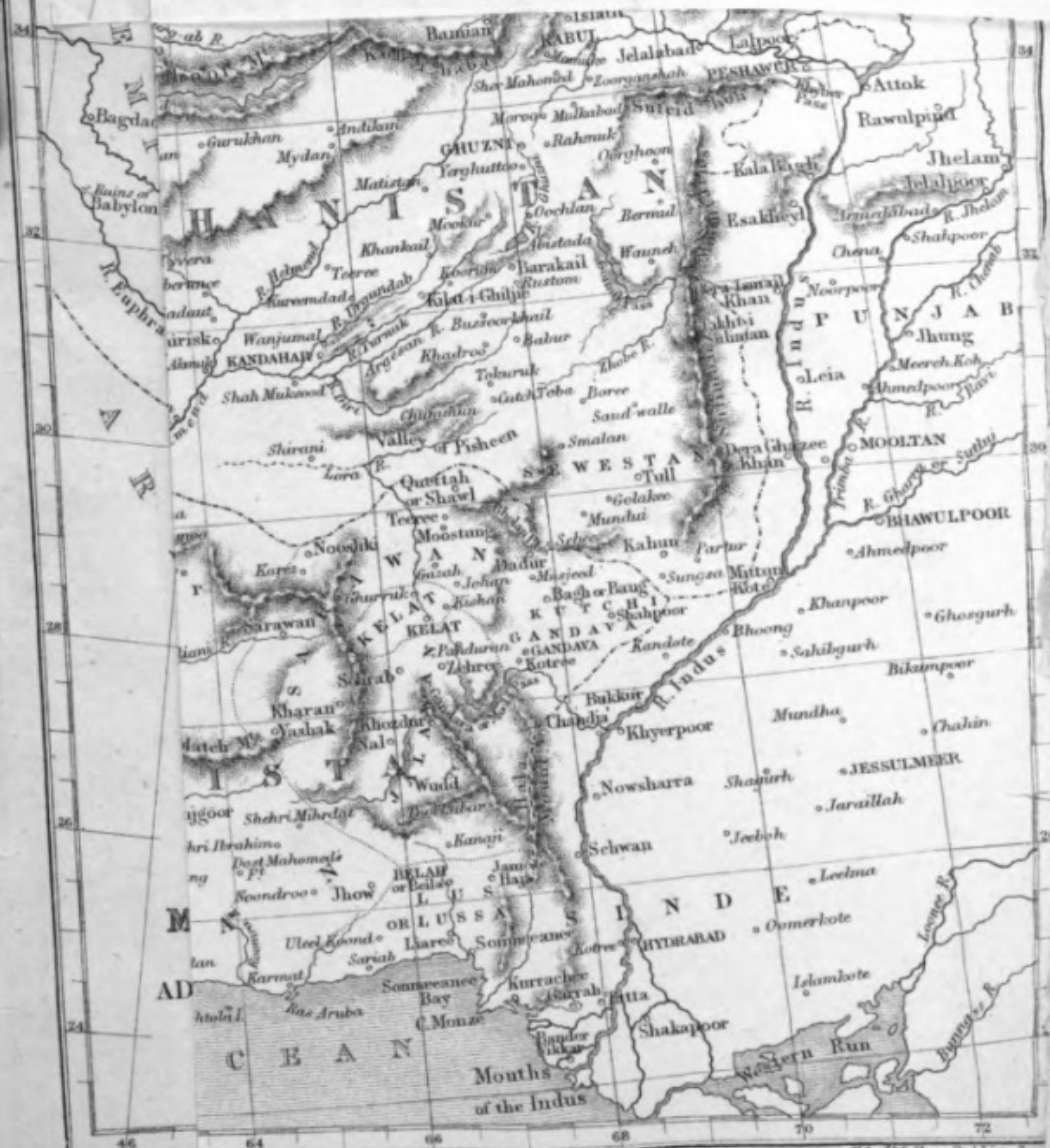
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Kala Bagh
Jhelam
Jelalpoor
Ruins of Babylon
Matistan
Mookur
Oochlan
Bermul
Esakheyl
Shahpoor
Khankail
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Ulee Koond
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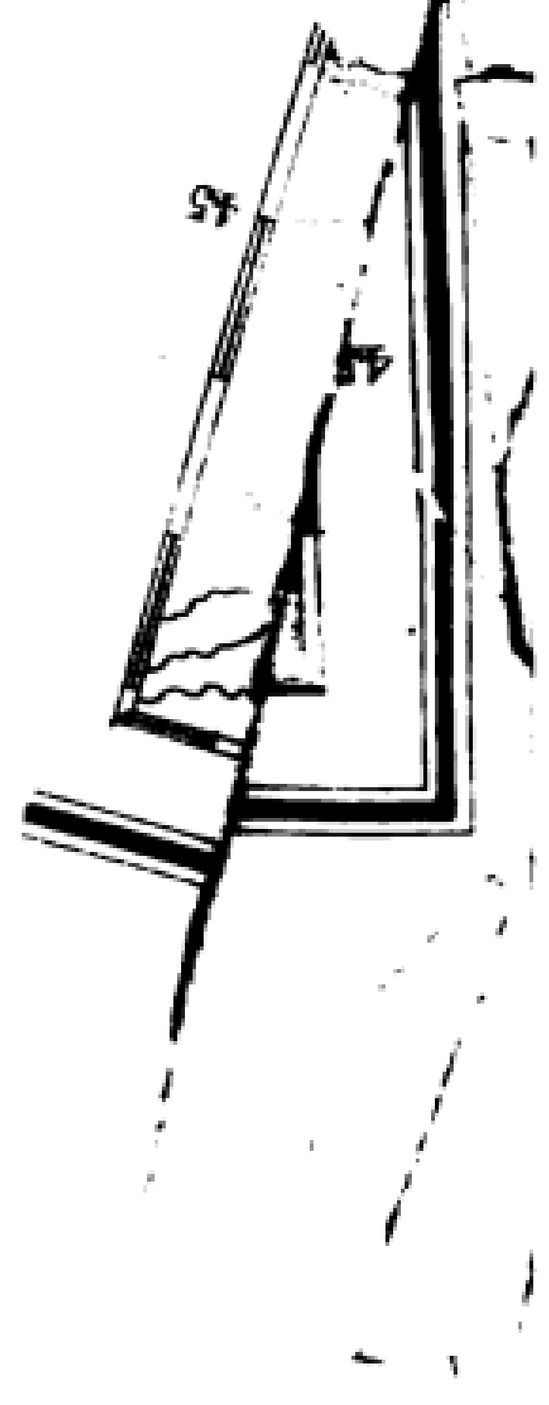

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THE

FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EASTERN WORLD;

OR,

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, MEDIA, AND PERSIA.

COLLECTED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES.

By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A.,

CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD;

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

FOURTH EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—Vol. III.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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BABYLONIA.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

"Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldæa, the land of their nativity."—EZEK. xxiii. 15.

THE manners and customs of the Babylonians, though not admitting of that copious illustration from ancient monuments which was found possible in the case of Assyria, are yet sufficiently known to us, either from the extant remains or from the accounts of ancient writers of authority, to furnish materials for a short chapter. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, and Nicolas of Damascus, present us with many interesting traits of this somewhat singular people; the sacred writers contemporary with the acme of the nation add numerous touches; while the remains, though scanty, put distinctly and vividly before our eyes a certain number of curious details.

Herodotus describes with some elaboration the costume of the Babylonians in his day. He tells us that they wore a long linen gown reaching down to their feet, a woollen gown or tunic above this, a short cloak or cape of a white colour, and shoes like those of the Bœotians.[1] Their hair they allowed to grow long, but confined it by a head-band or a turban;[2] and

[1] Herod. i. 195.

[2] Ibid. The μίτρα of Herodotus in this passage is generally regarded as a turban, but the monuments make it almost certain that this view is incorrect. Neither in the Assyrian nor in the Babylonian remains is there any representation of a turban. But the head-band or fillet is common. The ordinary meaning of μίτρα is "a fillet."

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they always carried a walking-stick with a carving of some kind on the handle. This portraiture, it is probable, applies to the richer inhabitants of the capital, and represents the Babylonian gentleman of the fifth century before our era, as he made his appearance in the streets of the metropolis.

The cylinders seem to show that the ordinary Babylonian dress was less complicated. The worshipper who brings an offering to a god is frequently represented with a bare head, and wears apparently but one garment, a tunic generally ornamented with a diagonal fringe, and reaching from the shoulder to a little above the knee. The tunic is confined round the waist by a belt. Richer worshippers, who commonly present a goat, have a fillet or head-band, not a turban, round the head. They wear generally the same sort of tunic as the others; but over it they have a long robe, shaped like a modern dressing-gown, except that it has no sleeves, and does not cover the right shoulder. In a few instances only we see underneath this open gown a long inner dress or robe, such as that described by Herodotus. A cape or tippet of the kind which he describes is worn sometimes by a god, but is never seen, it is believed, in any representation of a mortal.[3]

Babylonian of the lower ranks presenting an offering.

Babylonian of the upper class in the ordinary costume.

The short tunic, worn by the poorer worshippers, is seen also in a representation (hereafter to be given)[4] of hunters attacking a lion. A similar garment is worn by the man—probably a slave—who accompanies the dog, supposed to repre-

[3] Unless the figure represented above (vol. ii. p. 501, No. 1) is that of a mortal, which is somewhat doubtful.

[4] Infra, p. 9.

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sent an Indian hound;[5] and also by a warrior, who appears on one of the cylinders conducting six foreign captives.[6] There is consequently much reason to believe that such a tunic formed the ordinary costume of the common people, as it does at present of the common Arab inhabitants of the country. It left the arms and right shoulder bare, covering only the left. Below the belt it was not made like a frock, but lapped over in front, being in fact not so much a garment as a piece of cloth wrapped round the body. Occasionally it is represented as patterned;[7] but this is somewhat unusual.

Babylonian wearing a long under garment.

Babylonian soldier conducting captives (from a cylinder).

In lieu of the long robe reaching to the feet, which seems to have been the ordinary costume of the higher classes, we observe sometimes a shorter, but still a similar garment—a sort of coat without sleeves, fringed down both sides, and reaching only a little below the knee.[8] The worshippers who wear this robe have in most cases the head adorned with a fillet (see overleaf).

Patterned tunic, from a cylinder.

[5] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 527; Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, vol. i. p. 147.

[6] This cylinder is represented in full by Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 538). Other examples of the simple tunic will be found, infra, p. 18; Cullimore, Pl. vii. No. 36; Pl. viii. No. 39; Pl. xii. No. 64; Pl. xix. No. 98, &c.

[7] Lajard, Pl. lii. fig. 1. Compare Cullimore, Pl. viii. No. 39.

[8] Lajard, Pl. xxxvi. fig. 13; Pl. xl. fig. 1.

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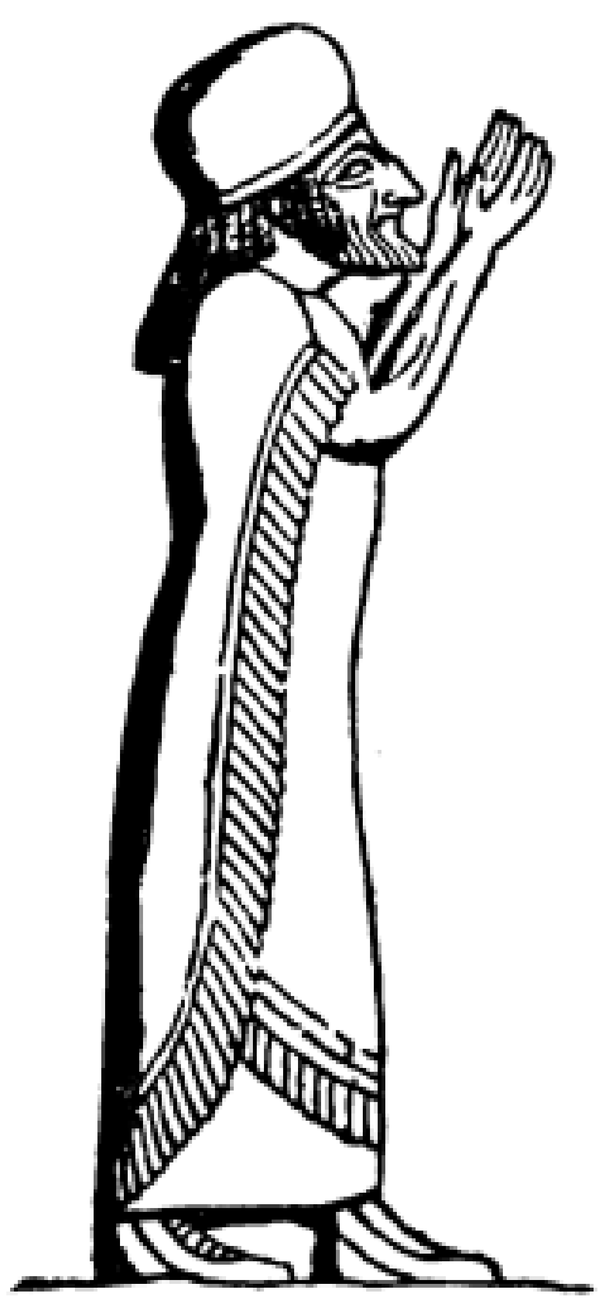
Babylonian wearing a short open coat.

It is unusual to find any trace of boots or shoes in the representations of Babylonians. A shoe patterned with a sort of check work was worn by the king;[9] and soldiers seem to have worn a low boot in their expeditions.[10] But with rare exceptions the Babylonians are represented with bare feet on the monuments; and if they commonly wore shoes in the time of Herodotus, we may conjecture that they had adopted the practice from the example of the Medes and Persians.[11] A low boot, laced in front, was worn by the chiefs of the Susianians. Perhaps the "peculiar shoe" of the Babylonians[12] was not very different.



Costume of a Susianian chief (Koyunjik).

The girdle was an essential feature of Babylonian costume,[13] common to high and low, to the king and to the peasant. It was a broad belt, probably of leather, and encircled the waist rather high up. The warrior carried his daggers in it; to the common man it served the purpose of keeping in place the cloth which he wore round his body. According to Herodotus,[14] it was also universal in Babylonia to carry a seal and a walking-stick.

Special costumes, differing considerably from those hitherto described, distinguished the king and the priests. The king wore a long gown, somewhat scantily made, but reaching down to the ankles, elaborately patterned

---

[9] See the representation of a king, vol. ii. p. 560.

[10] Such a boot appears to be worn by the soldier represented above, p. 3.

[11] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 316.

[12] Herod. i. 195. Ὑπόδημα ἐπιχώριον.

[13] See Ezek. xxiii. 15. (Quoted at the beginning of the chapter.) Girdles are worn in almost every representation of a Babylonian upon the monuments.

[14] Herod. i. 195. The seals of the Babylonians have been already described

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and fringed. Over this, apparently, he had a close-fitting sleeved vest, which came down to the knees, and terminated in a set of heavy tassels. The girdle was worn outside the outer vest, and in war the monarch carried also two cross-belts, which perhaps supported his quiver. The upper vest was, like the under one, richly adorned with embroidery. From it, or from the girdle, depended in front a single heavy tassel attached by a cord, similar to that worn by the early kings of Assyria.[1]

The tiara of the monarch was very remarkable. It was of great height, nearly cylindrical, but with a slight tendency to swell out toward the crown,[2] which was ornamented with a row of feathers round its entire circumference.[3] The space below was patterned with rosettes, sacred trees, and mythological figures. From the centre of the crown there rose above the feathers a projection resembling in some degree the projection which distinguishes the tiara of the Assyrian kings, but rounded, and not squared, at top. This head-dress, which has a heavy appearance, was worn low on the brow, and covered nearly all the back of the head. It can scarcely have been composed of a heavier material than cloth or felt. Probably it was brilliantly coloured.[4]

The monarch wore bracelets, but (apparently) neither necklaces[5] nor earrings. These last are assigned by Nicolas of Damascus to a Babylonian governor;[6] and they were so commonly used by the Assyrians, that we can scarcely suppose them unknown to their kindred and neighbours. The Baby-

---

at some length. (Supra, vol. ii. p. 566.) They were probably worn on a string round the wrist. (Compare vol. i. p. 107.) No clear trace has been found of Babylonian walking-sticks; but it is observable that the court officers at Persepolis are universally represented with sticks in their hands.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 491.

[2] The artist has not represented this tendency sufficiently. It is nearly as marked on the Black Stone as on the frieze represented above, vol. ii. p. 552.

[3] The similarity of this head-dress to that worn by the winged bulls and lions at Khorsabad and Koyunjik, adopted afterwards by the Persians at Persepolis (Flandin, tom. ii. Pls. lxxxi. lxxxii. &c.), is remarkable.

[4] As was the tiara of the Assyrians. (Supra, vol. i. p. 486.)

[5] A necklace is worn by the king represented on the Sir-i-Zohab tablet (infra, p. 7), but he is thought to be one of the Proto-Chaldæan monarchs.

[6] Fr. 10. See the *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 360.

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Ionian monuments, however, contain no traces of earrings as worn by men, and only a few doubtful ones of collars or necklaces;[7] whence we may at any rate conclude that neither were worn at all generally. The bracelets which encircle the royal wrist, resemble the most common bracelet of the Assyrians,[8] consisting of a plain band, probably of metal, with a rosette in the centre.

The dress of the priests was a long robe or gown, flounced and striped, over which they seem to have worn an open jacket

Fig. 1.

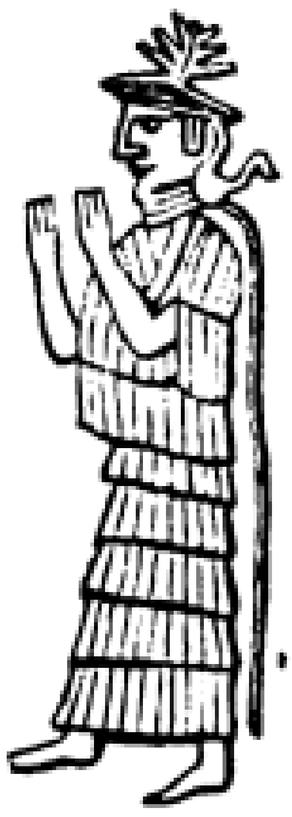
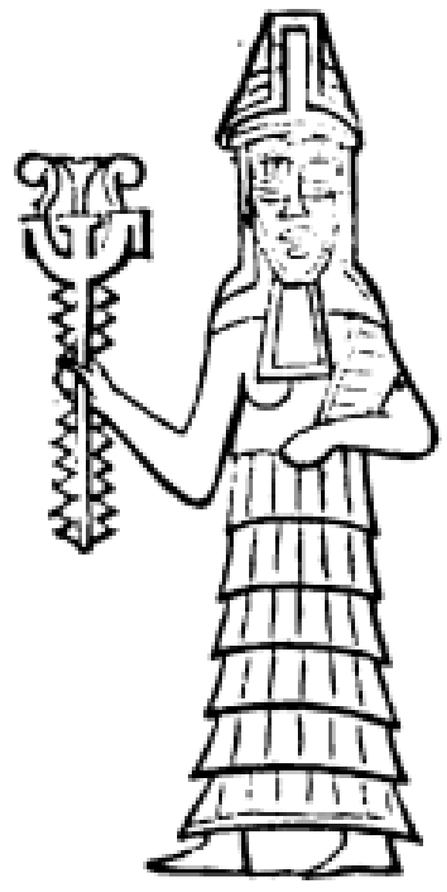


Fig. 2.

Costumes of the priests.

Fig. 3.



Priest wearing a peculiar mitre.

of a similar character. A long scarf or ribbon depended from behind down their backs.[9] They carried on their heads an elaborate crown or mitre, which is assigned also to many of the gods.[10] In lieu of this mitre, we find sometimes, though rarely, a horned cap; and, in one or two instances, a mitre of a different kind.[11] In all sacrificial and ceremonial acts the priests seem to have worn their heads covered.

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[7] A sort of collar or necklace is often worn by a god. (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 1; Pl. xxxviii. figs. 2 and 3; &c.) But there are only a very few doubtful cases where the worshipper seems to wear one. (See Lajard, Pl. xxxv. fig. 4; xxxvii. fig. 7; &c.)

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 490.

[9] This scarf is only an occasional appendage. Instances of it will be found in Lajard, Pl. xii. fig. 16; Pl. xviii. fig. 6; Pl. xxxviii. figs. 3 and 4; &c.

[10] Fig. 3, which follows the representation of Lajard, Pl. lvi. fig. 8, gives probably the most correct representation of the head-dress. A similar mitre is represented on the head of the priest in the Sir-i-Zohab tablet. (See next page.)

[11] See Lajard, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 7.

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On the subject of the Babylonian military costume our information is scanty and imperfect. In the time of Herodotus the Chaldæans seem to have had the same armature as the Assyrians[12]—namely, bronze helmets, linen breastplates, shields, spears, daggers, and maces or clubs; and, at a considerably

Priest-Vizier presenting captives to a king.

earlier date, we find in Scripture much the same arms, offensive and defensive, assigned them.[13] There is, however, one remarkable difference between the Biblical account and that given by

[12] Herod. vii. 63.

[13] The shields and helmets of the Babylonians are mentioned by Ezekiel (xxiii. 24), their breast-plates by Jeremiah (li. 3), their spears and swords by the same writer (vi. 23; xlvi. 14, 16), while axes are assigned them by Ezekiel (xxxvi. 9).

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Herodotus. The Greek historian says nothing of the use of bows by the Chaldæans; while in Scripture the bow appears as their favourite weapon, that which principally renders them formidable.[14] The monuments are on this point thoroughly in accordance with Scripture. The Babylonian king already represented carries a bow and two arrows.[15] The soldier conducting captives has a bow, an arrow, and a quiver.[16] A monument of an earlier date,[17] which is perhaps rather Proto-Chaldæan than pure Babylonian, yet which has certain Babylonian characteristics, makes the arms of a king a bow and arrow, a club (?), and a dagger. In the marsh fights of the Assyrians, where their enemies are probably Chaldæans of the low country, the bow is the sole weapon which we see in use.[18]

The Babylonian bow nearly resembles the ordinary curved

Babylonian bow.

bow of the Assyrians.[19] It has a knob at either extremity, over which the string passes, and is thicker towards the middle than at the two ends; the bend is slight, the length when strung less than four feet. The length of the arrow is about three feet. It is carefully notched and feathered, and has a barbed point. The quiver, as represented in the Assyrian sculptures has nothing remarkable about it; but the single extant Babylonian representation[20] makes it terminate curiously with a large ornament resembling a spear-head. It is difficult to see the object of this appendage, which must have formed no inconsiderable addition to the weight of the quiver.

Babylonian daggers were short, and shaped like the Assyrian;

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[14] See Jer. iv. 29; vi. 23; li. 3; &c. And compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 55, where the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes are characterized as "skilled to draw the bow" (*τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς*).

[15] Supra, vol. ii. p. 560.

[16] Supra, p. 3.

[17] This monument was, I believe, first noticed by Sir H. Rawlinson, who described it in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. ix. p. 31. The representation given on the preceding page is from a sketch made on the spot by that traveller.

[18] See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pls. 25 and 27.

[19] Supra, vol. i. p. 450.

[20] Compare above, p. 3.

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but their handles were less elegant and less elaborately ornamented.[21] They were worn in the girdle (as they are at the present day in all eastern countries) either in pairs or singly.

Babylonian quiver and dagger.

Other weapons of the Babylonians, which we may be sure they used in war, though the monuments do not furnish any proof of the fact, were the spear and the bill or axe. These weapons are exhibited in combination upon one of the most curious of the cylinders, where a lion is disturbed in his meal off an ox by two rustics, one of whom attacks him in front with a spear, while the other seizes his tail and assails him in the rear with an axe. With the axe here represented may be compared another, which is found on a clay tablet brought from

Lion attacked with spear and axe.

Sinkara, and supposed to belong to the early Chaldæan period.[22] The Sinkara axe has a simple square blade; the axe upon the cylinder has a blade with long curved sides and a curved edge; while, to balance the weight of the blade, it has on the lower side three sharp spikes. The difference between the two implements marks the advance of mechanical art in the country between the time of the first and that of the fourth monarchy.

Axes, Chaldæan and Babylonian.

[21] See vol. i. p. 460.

[22] See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 258. The tablet is in the British Museum.

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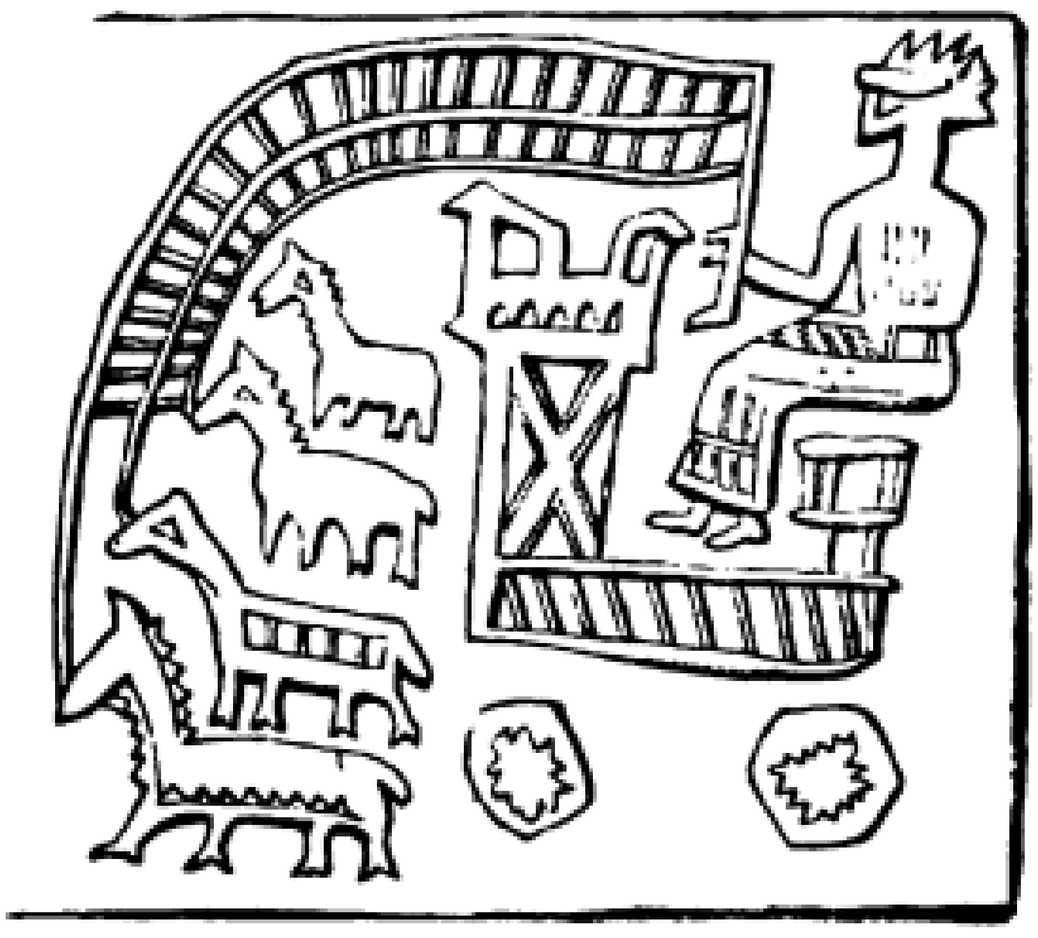
Babylonian armies seem to have been composed, like Assyrian,[1] of three elements—infantry, cavalry, and chariots. Of the chariots we appear to have one or two representations upon the cylinders,[2] but they are too rudely carved to be of much value. It is not likely that the chariots differed much either in shape or equipment from the Assyrian, unless they were, like those of Susiana,[3] ordinarily drawn by mules. A peculiar car, four-wheeled, and drawn by four horses, with an elevated platform in front and a seat behind for the driver, which the cylinders occasionally exhibit,[4] is probably not a war-chariot, but a sacred vehicle, like the *tensa* or *thensa* of the Romans.[5]



Babylonian four-horse chariot.

The Prophet Habakkuk evidently considered the cavalry of the Babylonians to be their most formidable arm. "They are terrible and dreadful," he said; "from them shall proceed judgment and captivity; their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly, as the eagle that hasteth to eat."[6] Similarly Ezekiel spoke of the "desirable young men, captains and rulers, great lords and renowned; *all of them riding upon horses.*"[7] Jeremiah couples the horses with the chariots, as if he doubted whether the chariot force or the cavalry were the more to be dreaded. "Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariot shall be as a whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us! for we are spoiled."[8] In the army of

[1] See vol. i. pp. 406-440.
[2] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxix. fig. 4, and Pl. xxxiv. fig. 9.
[3] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, Pl. xlv.
[4] Cullimore, *Cylinders*, Pl. i. fig. 6; Lajard, Pl. xli. fig. 3.
[5] Liv. v. 41; ix. 40; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 40; Cic. *in Ver.* ii. 1, 59.
[6] Habak. i. 7, 8.
[7] Ezek. xxiii. 23.
[8] Jer. iv. 13.

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Xerxes the Babylonians seem to have served only on foot,[9] which would imply that they were not considered in that king's time to furnish such good cavalry as the Persians, Medes, Cissians, Indians, and others, who sent contingents of horse. Darius, however, in the Behistun inscription, speaks of Babylonian horsemen;[10] and the armies which overran Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, seem to have consisted mainly of horse.[11]

The Babylonian armies, like the Persian, were vast hosts, poorly disciplined, composed not only of native troops, but of contingents from the subject nations, Cissians, Elamites, Shuhites, Assyrians, and others.[12] They marched with vast noise and tumult,[13] spreading themselves far and wide over the country which they were invading,[14] plundering and destroying on all sides. If their enemy would consent to a pitched battle, they were glad to engage with him; but, more usually, their contests resolved themselves into a succession of sieges, the bulk of the population attacked retreating to their strongholds, and offering behind walls a more or less protracted resistance. The weaker towns were assaulted with battering-rams;[15] against the stronger, mounds were raised,[16] reaching nearly to the top of the walls, which were then easily scaled or broken down. A determined persistence in sieges seems to have characterised this people, who did not take Jerusalem till the third,[17] nor Tyre till the fourteenth year.[18]

In expeditions it sometimes happened that a question arose as to the people or country next to be attacked. In such cases it appears that recourse was had to divination, and the omens which were obtained decided whither the next effort of the invader should be directed.[19] Priests doubtless accompanied

[9] Compare Herod. vii. 63 and 84-87.

[10] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 1, § 2.

[11] See Jer. iv. 29; vi. 23; xlvi. 4; l. 37; Ezek. xxvi. 7, 11, &c.

[12] Compare Is. xxii. 6, with Ezek. xxiii. 23.

[13] Jer. iv. 29. "The whole city shall flee for the *noise* of the horsemen and the bowmen." Ezek. xxvi. 10. "Thy walls shall shake at the *noise* of horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots."

[14] Habak. i. 8.

[15] Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22. For the use of battering-rams by the Assyrians, see vol. i. pp. 470-472.

[16] Habak. i. 10; Jer. vi. 6; xxxii. 24; xxxiii. 4; Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22; xxvi. 8.

[17] 2 K. xxv. 1-3; Jer. lii. 4-6.

[18] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2.

[19] Ezek. xxi. 21, 22. "For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to

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the expeditions to superintend the sacrifices and interpret them on such occasions.

According to Diodorus,[20] the priests in Babylonia were a caste, devoted to the service of the native deities and the pursuits of philosophy, and held in high honour by the people. It was their business to guard the temples and serve at the altars of the gods, to explain dreams and prodigies, to understand omens, to read the warnings of the stars, and to instruct men how to escape the evils threatened in these various ways, by purifications, incantations, and sacrifices. They possessed a traditional knowledge which had come down from father to son, and which none thought of questioning. The laity looked up to them as the sole possessors of a recondite wisdom of the last importance to humanity.

With these statements of the lively but inaccurate Sicilian those of the Book of Daniel are very fairly, if not entirely, in accordance. A class of "wise men" is described as existing at Babylon,[21] foremost among whom are the Chaldæans;[22] they have a special "learning,"[23] and (as it would seem) a special "tongue;"[24] their business is to expound dreams and prodigies;[25] they are in high favour with the monarch, and are often consulted by him. This body of "wise men" is subdivided into four classes—"Chaldæans, magicians, astrologers, and soothsayers"—a subdivision which seems to be based upon difference of occupation.[26] It is not distinctly stated that they are priests; nor does it seem that they were a caste; for Jews are enrolled among their number,[27] and Daniel himself is made chief of the entire body.[28] But they form a very distinct order, and consti-

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use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem," &c.

[20] See Diod. Sic. ii. 29-31.

[21] Dan. ii. 12, 14, 24, 27, 48; iv. 6, 18.

[22] The Chaldæans are the spokesmen for the whole body (Dan. ii. 4-11).

[23] Dan. i. 4. [24] Ibid.

[25] Dan. i. 17; ii. 2-11; iv. 6, 7; v. 7, 8.

[26] Dr. Pusey has successfully shown, against Lengerke, that in Daniel four definite classes of "wise men" are mentioned. (*Lectures on Daniel*, pp. 417-421.) These are the *Casdim* or Chaldæans, the *ashshaphim* or astrologers (compare שְׁפָה "twilight"), the *khartummim*, or sacred scribes (from חֶרֶט "stylus"), and the *m'cashshĕphim* (Chaldee, *gazĕrin*) or "soothsayers."

[27] Dan. i. 4, 20.

[28] Ib. ii. 48; iv. 9; v. 11.

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tute a considerable power in the state; they have direct communication with the monarch, and they are believed to possess, not merely human learning, but a supernatural power of predicting future events. High civil office is enjoyed by some of their number.[29]

Notices agreeing with these, but of less importance, are contained in Herodotus and Strabo. Herodotus speaks of the Chaldæans as "priests;"[30] Strabo says that they were "philosophers," who occupied themselves principally in astronomy.[31] The latter writer mentions that they were divided into sects, who differed one from another in their doctrines. He gives the names of several Chaldæans whom the Greek mathematicians were in the habit of quoting. Among them is a Seleucus, who by his name should be a Greek.

From these various authorities we may assume that there was in Babylon, as in Egypt, and in later Persia, a distinct priest class, which enjoyed high consideration. It was not, strictly speaking, a caste. Priests may have generally brought up their sons to the occupation; but other persons, even foreigners (and if foreigners, then *à fortiori* natives), could be enrolled in the order, and attain its highest privileges.[1] It was at once a sacerdotal and a learned body. It had a literature, written in peculiar language, which its members were bound to study. This language and this literature were probably a legacy from the old times of the first (Turano-Cushite) kingdom, since even in Assyria it is found that the literature was in the main Turanian, down to the very close of the empire.[2] Astronomy, astrology, and mythology were no doubt the chief subjects which the priests studied; but history, chronology

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[29] Dan. ii. 49; iii. 30.

[30] Herod. i. 181. Οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ (sc. τοῦ Βήλου).

[31] Strab. xvi. 1, § 6. Τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις φιλοσόφοις τοῖς Χαλδαίοις προσαγορευομένοις, οἳ περὶ ἀστρονομίαν εἰσὶ τὸ πλέον.

[1] Dan. i. 4; ii. 48. Compare Strab. xvi. 1, § 6. The Greek writers were apt to see castes where no real caste existed. Sir G. Wilkinson has shown that the priests in Egypt did not really form a caste (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 212, note [3], 2nd edition), though the Greeks unanimously teach otherwise. (See Plat. *Tim.* p. 11, A, ed. Stallbaum; Diod. Sic. i. 29; Strab. xvii. 1, § 3; &c.)

[2] The library of Asshur-bani-pal already described (supra, vol. ii. p. 212) was mainly composed of treatises in the early (Turanian) dialect.

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grammar, law, and natural science most likely occupied some part of their attention.[3] Conducting everywhere the worship of the gods, they were of course scattered far and wide through the country; but they had certain special seats of learning, corresponding perhaps in some sort to our universities, the most famous of which were Erech or Orchoë (Warka), and Borsippa,[4] the town represented by the modern Birs-i-Nimrud. They were diligent students, not wanting in ingenuity, and not content merely to hand down the wisdom of their ancestors. Schools arose among them; and a boldness of speculation developed itself akin to that which we find among the Greeks. Astronomy, in particular, was cultivated with a good deal of success; and stores were accumulated of which the Greeks in later times understood and acknowledged the value.

In social position the priest class stood high. They had access to the monarch;[5] they were feared and respected by the people; the offerings of the faithful made them wealthy; their position as interpreters of the divine will secured them influence. Being regarded as capable of civil employment, they naturally enough obtained frequently important offices,[6] which added to their wealth and consideration.

The mass of the people in Babylonia were employed in the two pursuits of commerce and agriculture. The commerce was both foreign and domestic. Great numbers of the Babylonians were engaged in the manufacture of those textile fabrics, particularly carpets and muslins,[7] which Babylonia produced not only for her own use, but also for the consumption of foreign countries. Many more must have been employed as lapidaries in the execution of those delicate engravings on hard stone, wherewith the seal, which every Babylonian carried, was as a

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[3] The tablet literature in the early Turanian tongue is believed to embrace all these subjects.

[4] Strab. l. s. c. Εστι δὲ καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν γένη πλείω· καὶ γὰρ Ὀρχηνοί τινες προσαγορεύονται καὶ Βορσιππηνοί.

[5] Dan. i. 20; ii. 2; iv. 7; &c.

[6] Berosus speaks of the "chief of the Chaldæans" (τὸν βέλτιστον) as keeping the kingdom for Nebuchadnezzar during the interval between his father's death and his own arrival at Babylon. He must have been a sort of Regent of the Empire. Daniel held not only high ecclesiastical but also high civil office (Dan. ii. 48).

[7] Supra, vol. ii. p. 570.

[8] Herod. i. 195.

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matter of course adorned. The ordinary trades and handicrafts practised in the East no doubt flourished in the country. A brisk import and export trade was constantly kept up, and promoted a healthful activity throughout the entire body politic. Babylonia is called "a land of traffic" by Ezekiel, and Babylon "a city of merchants."[9] Isaiah says that "the cry of the Chaldæans" was "in their ships."[10] The monuments show that from very early times the people of the low country on the borders of the Persian Gulf were addicted to maritime pursuits, and navigated the gulf freely, if they did not even venture on the open ocean.[11] And Æschylus is a witness that the nautical character still attached to the people after their conquest by the Persians; for he calls the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes "navigators of ships."[12]

The Babylonian import trade, so far as it was carried on by themselves, seems to have been chiefly with Arabia, with the islands in the Persian Gulf, and directly or indirectly with India. From Arabia they must have imported the frankincense which they used largely in their religious ceremonies;[13] from the Persian Gulf they appear to have derived pearls, cotton, and wood for walking-sticks;[14] from India they obtained dogs[15] and several kinds of gems.[16] If we may believe Strabo, they had a colony called Gerrha, most favourably situated on the Arabian coast of the gulf, which was a great emporium, and conducted not only the trade between Babylonia and the regions to the south, but also that which passed through Babylonia into the more northern districts.[17] The products of the various

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[9] Ezek. xvii. 4.

[10] Is. xliii. 14. This prophet speaks also of the "merchants" of Babylon (xlvii. 15).

[11] See above, vol. i. p. 102.

[12] Æschyl. *Pers.* ll. 52-55. Βαβυλὼν δ' ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ' ἐπόχους, καὶ τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς.

[13] Herod. i. 183. Compare the report of Nearchus in Arrian's *Indica* (xxxii. 7) with respect to the spice trade between Arabia and *Assyria*.

[14] It is a reasonable conjecture that the cotton and the "wood for walking-sticks," which were grown in the island of Tylos (Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9; v. 6), supplied the Babylonian market (Heeren, *As. Nat.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238). The pearl fishery of the Persian Gulf is first mentioned by Nearchus (Arr. *Indica*, xxxviii. 3). It was probably known to the Babylonians from a very early date. (See above, vol. i. p. 559.)

[15] Herod. i. 192; Ctes. *Indic.* § 5.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Strab. xvi. 3, § 3. Παραπλεύσαντι τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς διςχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἐν βαθεῖ κόλπῳ κεῖται

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countries of Western Asia flowed into Babylonia down the courses of the rivers. From Armenia, or rather Upper Mesopotamia, came wine,[18] gems, emery, and perhaps stone for building;[19] from Phœnicia, by way of Palmyra and Thapsacus, came tin,[20] perhaps copper, probably musical instruments,[21] and other objects of luxury; from Media and the countries towards the east[22] came fine wool, lapis-lazuli, perhaps silk, and probably gold and ivory. But these imports seem to have been brought to Babylonia by foreign merchants rather than imported by the exertions of native traders. The Armenians, the Phœnicians, and perhaps the Greeks,[23] used for the conveyance of their goods the route of the Euphrates. The Assyrians, the Paretaceni, and the Medes probably floated theirs down the Tigris and its tributaries.[24]

A large—probably the largest—portion of the people must have been engaged in the occupations of agriculture. Babylonia was, before all things, a grain-producing country—noted for a fertility unexampled elsewhere, and to moderns almost incredible. The soil was a deep and rich alluvium,[25] and was cultivated with the utmost care. It grew chiefly wheat, barley, millet, and sesame,[26] which all flourished with wonderful luxuriance. By a skilful management of the natural water supply, the indispensable fluid was utilised to the utmost, and conveyed to every part of the country.[27] Date-groves spread

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πόλις Γέρρα, Χαλδαίων φυγάδων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος . . . . Περίεμποροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Γερραῖοι τὸ πλέον τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων καὶ ἀρωμάτων. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὐναντίον φησὶ τοὺς Γερραίους τὰ πολλὰ σχεδίαις εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐμπορεύεσθαι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τὰ φορτία ἀναπλεῖν εἰς Θάψακον, εἶτα πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι πάντῃ. Compare Strab. xvi. 4, § 18, and Agathemer. *De Mar. Erythr.* § 87.

[18] Herod. i. 194.

[19] Diodorus relates that Semiramis brought a stone obelisk from Armenia down the Euphrates to Babylon (ii. 11, §§ 4, 5).

[20] See above, vol. i. p. 556.

[21] The Greek names of Babylonian musical instruments (Dan. iii. 5) point to an early commerce between Babylonia and Greece, which would naturally follow this line. (Compare Herod. i. 1.) The instruments imported brought their names with them. (See Pusey's *Daniel*, p. 26.)

[22] For the existence of this trade see Diod. Sic. ii. 11, § 1. For its probable objects see Heeren's *As. Nat.* vol. ii. pp. 204-213, E. T.

[23] Herod. i. 185.

[24] Diod. Sic. l. s. c.

[25] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9. Βαθεῖα γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ μαλακὴ καὶ εὐέκβοτος.

[26] Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[27] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, § 13; Herod. l. s. c.

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widely over the land,[28] and produced abundance of an excellent fruit.[29]

For the cultivation of the date nothing was needed but a proper water supply, and a little attention at the time of fructification. The male and female palm are distinct trees, and the female cannot produce fruit unless the pollen from the male comes in contact with its blossoms. If the male and the female trees are grown in proper proximity, natural causes will always produce a certain amount of impregnation. But to obtain a good crop, art may be serviceably applied. According to Herodotus, the Babylonians were accustomed to tie the branches of the male to those of the female palm.[1] This was doubtless done at the blossoming time, when it would have the effect he mentions, preventing the fruit of the female, or date-producing palms, from falling off.

The date palm was multiplied in Babylonia by artificial means. It was commonly grown from seed, several stones being planted together for greater security;[2] but occasionally it was raised from suckers or cuttings.[3] It was important to plant the seeds and cuttings in a sandy soil; and if nature had not sufficiently impregnated the ground with saline particles, salt had to be applied artificially to the soil around as a dressing. The young plants needed a good deal of attention. Plentiful watering was required; and transplantation was desirable at the end of both the first and second year. The Babylonians are said to have transplanted their young trees in the height of summer; other nations preferred the spring time.[4]

For the cultivation of grain the Babylonians broke up their land with the plough; to draw which they seem to have employed two oxen, placed one before the other, in the mode still common in many parts of England. The plough had two

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[28] Herod. l. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3; Zosim. iii. pp. 173-179.

[29] On the excellence of one kind of Babylonian date see Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8, p. 35, ed. Heinsius.

[1] Herod. i. 193. That Herodotus misconceives the means whereby the fructification was effected does not invalidate his testimony as to the fact. Theophrastus corrects his error. (*Hist. Plant.* ii. 9, ad fin.)

[2] Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 36, notes [8] and [9].

[4] Theophrast. l. s. c.

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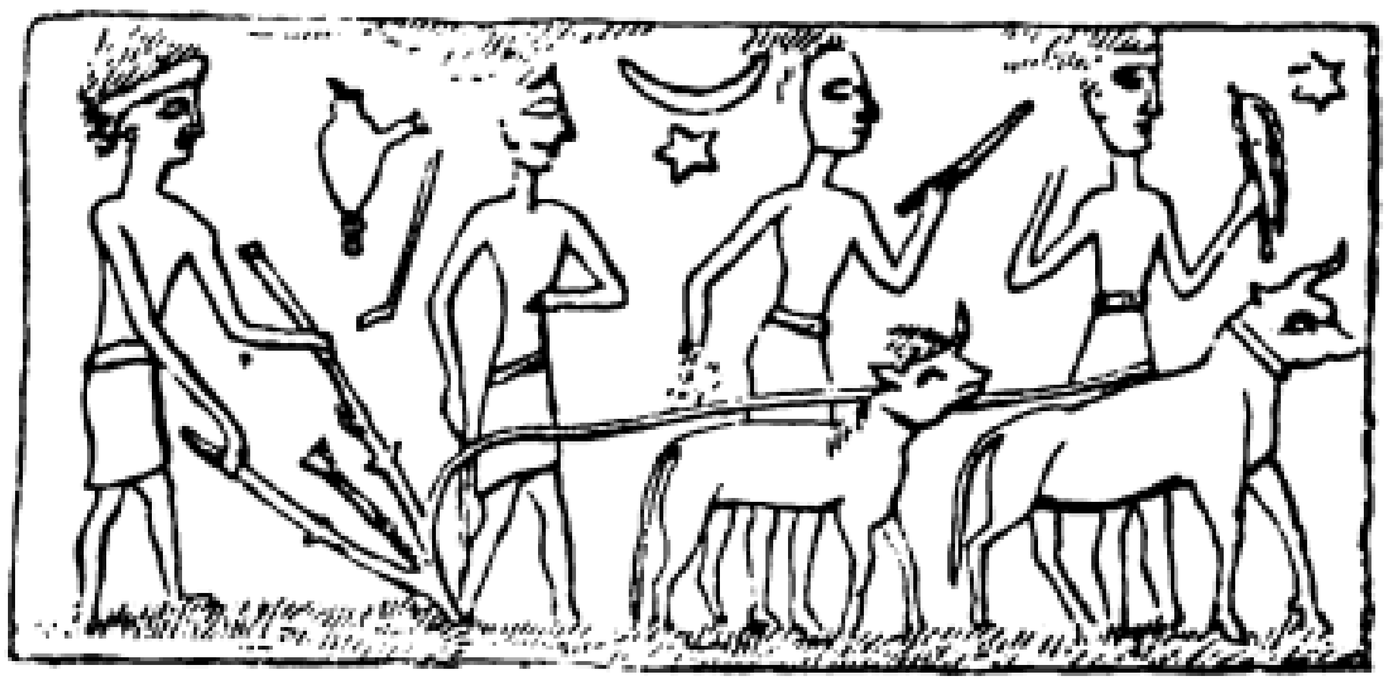
handles, which the ploughman guided with his two hands. It was apparently of somewhat slight construction. The tail rose from the lower part of one of the handles, and was of unusual length.[5]



Men ploughing, from a cylinder.

It is certain that dates formed the main food of the inhabitants. The dried fruit, being to them the staff of life, was regarded by the Greeks as their "bread."[6] It was perhaps pressed into cakes, as is the common practice in the country at the present day.[7] On this and goat's milk, which we know to have been in use,[8] the poorer class, it is probable, almost entirely subsisted. Palm-wine,[9] the fermented sap of the tree, was an esteemed, but no doubt only an occasional beverage. It was pleasant to the taste, but apt to leave a headache behind it.[10] Such vegetables as gourds, melons, and cucumbers, must have been cheap, and may have entered into

Milking the goat, from a cylinder.

[5] The plough here represented, which is from a cylinder figured by M. Felix Lajard (*Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxiv. fig. 15), may be contrasted with the Assyrian implement, of which a representation has been given above (vol. i. p. 567). It is of very much lighter structure, but is inferior to the Assyrian in having no apparatus for drilling the seed.

[6] Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[7] Rich, *First Memoir on Babylon*, p. 69, note. (See above, vol. i. p. 35, note [7].)

[8] Milking the goat is represented on a cylinder figured by M. Lajard, from which the above woodcut is taken. (*Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xli. fig. 5.)

[9] By palm-wine, which is mentioned both by Herodotus and Strabo (ll. s. c.) among the products of Babylonia, is (I think) to be understood the fermented sap of the tree, not the spirit which may be distilled from the fruit. (See above, vol. i. p. 35.)

[10] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3, § 55.

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the diet of the common people. They were also probably the consumers of the "pickled bats," which (according to Strabo) were eaten by the Babylonians.[11]

In the marshy regions of the south there were certain tribes whose sole, or at any rate whose chief food, was fish.[12] Fish abound in these districts,[13] and are readily taken either with the hook or in nets. The mode of preparing this food was to dry it in the sun, to pound it fine, strain it through a sieve, and then make it up into cakes, or into a kind of bread.

The diet of the richer classes was no doubt varied and luxurious. Wheaten bread, meats of various kinds, luscious fruits, fish, game, loaded the board; and wine, imported from abroad,[14] was the usual beverage. The wealthy Babylonians were fond of drinking to excess; their banquets were magnificent, but generally ended in drunkenness;[15] they were not, however, mere scenes of coarse indulgence, but had a certain refinement, which distinguishes them from the riotous drinking-bouts of the less civilised Medes.[16] Music was in Babylonia a recognised accompaniment of the feast; and bands of performers, entering with the wine, entertained the guests with concerted pieces.[17] A rich odour of perfumes floated around, for the Babylonians were connoisseurs in unguents.[18] The eye was delighted with a display of gold and silver plate.[19] The splendid dresses of the guests, the exquisite carpets and hangings, the numerous attendants, gave an air of grandeur to the scene, and seemed half to excuse the excess of which too many were guilty.

A love of music appears to have characterised both the Babylonians and their near neighbours and kinsmen, the Susianians. In the sculptured representations of Assyria,[20] the Susianians

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[11] Strab. xvi. 1, § 7. Τὰ Βόρσιππα ἱερὰ πόλις ἐστὶ . . πληθύουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτερίδες μείζους πολὺ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· ἁλίσκονται δ' εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ ταριχεύονται.

[12] Herod. i. 200.

[13] See above, vol. i. p. 41; and compare the woodcut, p. 37.

[14] For the use of wine, see Dan. i. 5; v. 1; Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 360; Q. Curt. v. 1. On its importation from abroad, see Herod. i. 194.

[15] Q. Curt. l. s. c.

[16] See above, vol. ii. p. 318.

[17] Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 362.

[18] Herod. i. 195.

[19] Dan. v. 2; Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 363.

[20] See above, vol. i. p. 542; and for the full representation of the entire scene, see Mr. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, Pls. 48 and 49.

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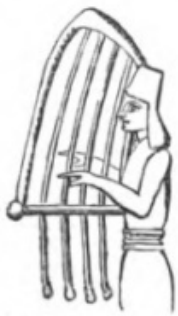
are shown to have possessed numerous instruments, and to have organised large bands of performers. The Prophet Daniel [21] and the historian Ctesias [22] similarly witness to the musical taste of the Babylonians, which had much the same character. Ctesias said that Annarus (or Nannarus), a Babylonian noble, entertained his guests at a banquet with music performed by a company of 150 women. Of these a part sang, while the rest played upon instruments, some using the pipe, others the harp, and a certain number the psaltery.[23] These same instruments [24] are assigned to the Babylonians by the prophet Daniel, who, however, adds to them three more—viz. the horn, the *sambuca*, and an instrument called the *sumphonia*, or "symphony." It is uncertain whether the horn intended was straight, like the Assyrian, or curved, like the Roman *cornu* and *lituus*.[25] The pipe was probably the double instrument, played at the end, which was familiar to the Susianians and Assyrians.[26] The harp would seem to have resembled the later harp of the Assyrians; but it had fewer strings, if we may judge from a representation upon a cylinder.[27] Like the Assyrian, it was carried under one arm,[28] and was played by both hands, one on either side of the strings.



Babylonian harp, from a cylinder.

The character of the remaining instruments is more doubtful. The *sambuca* seems to have been a large harp, which rested on

[21] Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. Compare Ps. cxxxvii. 3; and Is. xiv. 11.

[22] Ctes. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 530 B.

[23] Compare Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 362, with the fragment of Ctesias in Athenæus. Nicolas says of the women—*αἱ μὲν ἐκιθάριζον, αἱ δ' ηὔλουν, αἱ δὲ ἔψαλλον.* Ctesias says—*ἔψαλλον δὲ καὶ ᾖδον.*

[24] Compare the Septuagint version, which translates the Hebrew משרוקיתא by *σύριγξ*, the קיתרס by *κιθάρα*, and the פסנתרין by *ψαλτήριον*. *Σύριγξ* is probably used loosely for *αὐλός*. It was the technical name for the mouthpiece of the *αὐλός*. (See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s. v. *αὐλός*.)

[25] The Hebrew קרן is generally regarded as the curved horn, in contradistinction to the שופר or straight trumpet. But as the Assyrians seem to have employed the straight horn, and not (so far as we know) the curved one (see vol. i. p. 539), perhaps the קרנא of Daniel may represent the straight instrument. The LXX. render it by *σάλπιγξ*, which was straight, not curved.

[26] Supra, vol. i. p. 534.

[27] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxix. fig. 8.

[28] See above, vol. i. p. 530.

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the ground,[29] like the harps of the Egyptians. The psaltery was also a stringed instrument, and, if its legitimate descendant is the modern *santour*,[30] we may presume that it is represented in the hands of a Susianian musician on the monument which is our chief authority for the Oriental music of the period. The *sumphonia* is thought by some to be the bag-pipe,[31] which is called *sampogna* by the modern Italians: by others it is regarded as a sort of organ.[32]

The Babylonians used music, not merely in their private entertainments, but also in their religious ceremonies. Daniel's account of their instruments occurs casually in his mention of Nebuchadnezzar's dedication of a colossal idol of gold. The worshippers were to prostrate themselves before the idol as soon as they heard the music commence,[33] and were probably to continue in the attitude of worship until the sound ceased.

The seclusion of women seems scarcely to have been practised in Babylonia with as much strictness as in most Oriental countries. The two peculiar customs on which Herodotus descants at length—the public auction of the marriageable virgins in all the towns of the empire,[1] and the religious prostitution authorised in the worship of Beltis[2]—were wholly incompatible with the restraints to which the sex has commonly submitted in the Eastern world. Much modesty can scarcely have belonged to those whose virgin charms were originally offered in the public market to the best bidder, and who were required by their religion, at least once in their lives, openly to submit to the embraces of a man other than their husband. It would certainly seem that the sex had in Babylonia a freedom—

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[29] "Sackbut" is certainly a wrong rendering of *sabka* or *sambuca*, for the sackbut was a wind instrument, whereas the *sambuca* was certainly a kind of harp. (Compare Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 175 D; xiv. pp. 633-637; Vitruv. vi. 1; Suidas, ad voc. &c.)

[30] Gesenius regards *santour* as a corruption of *pesanterin*, the Chaldee representation of the ψαλτήριον of the Greeks. The resemblance of a (Susianian) instrument, represented on the monuments of Assyria, to the modern *santour*, has been already noticed. (See above, vol. i. p. 537; and compare Pusey's *Daniel*, p. 33.)

[31] Gesenius, ad voc. סומפניה; Joel Brill, *Comment. in Daniel*, &c.

[32] Ibn Yahia, *Comment. in Dan.* iii. 5. Compare Jerome on Luke xv., where the view is mentioned but combated.

[33] Dan. iii. 5, 7, &c.

[1] Herod. i. 196. Compare Nic. Dam. Fr. 131, and Ælian. *Var. Hist.* iv. 1.

[2] Herod. i. 199. Compare Baruch, vi. 43.

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and not only a freedom, but also a consideration—unusual in the ancient world, and especially rare in Asia. The stories of Semiramis and Nitocris may have in them no great amount of truth; but they sufficiently indicate the belief of the Greeks as to the comparative publicity allowed to their women by the Babylonians.[3]

The monuments accord with the view of Babylonian manners thus opened to us. The female form is not eschewed by the Chaldæan artists. Besides images of a goddess (Beltis or Ishtar) suckling a child, which are frequent,[4] we find on the cylinders numerous representations of women, engaged in various employments. Sometimes they are represented in a procession, visiting

Babylonian women making an offering to a goddess.

the shrine of a goddess, to whom they offer their petitions, by the mouth of one of their number,[5] or to whom they bring their children for the purpose, probably, of placing them under her protection:[6] sometimes they may be seen amusing themselves among birds and flowers in a garden,[7] plucking the fruit from dwarf palms, and politely handing it one to another. Their attire is in every case nearly the same; they wear a long but scanty robe, reaching to the ankles, ornamented at the bottom with a fringe and apparently opening in front. The upper part of the dress passes over only one shoulder. It is trimmed round

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[3] See also Dan. v. 10-12, where the queen enters the banqueting-house and gives her advice openly before the lords.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 140.

[5] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxviii. fig. 12.

[6] Ibid. Pl. xl. fig. 6.

[7] Ibid. Pl. xxvii. fig. 7.

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the top with a fringe which runs diagonally across the chest, and a similar fringe edges the dress down the front where it opens.

Babylonian women gathering dates in a garden.

A band or fillet is worn round the head, confining the hair, which is turned back behind the head, and tied by a riband, or else held up by the fillet.

Female ornaments are not perceptible on the small figures of the cylinders; but from the modelled image in clay, of which a representation has been already given, we learn that bracelets and earrings of a simple character were worn by Babylonian women,[8] if they were not by the men.[9] On the whole, however, female dress seems to have been plain and wanting in variety, though we may perhaps suspect that the artists do not trouble themselves to represent very accurately such diversities of apparel as actually existed.

From a single representation of a priestess [10] it would seem that women of that class wore nothing but a petticoat, thus exposing not only the arms, but the whole of the body as far as the waist.

The monuments throw a little further light on the daily life of the Babylonians. A few of their implements, as saws and hatchets, are represented; and from the stools, the chairs, the

[8] Supra, vol. ii. p. 559. [9] See above, p. 6. [10] Lajard, Pl. xl. fig. 6.

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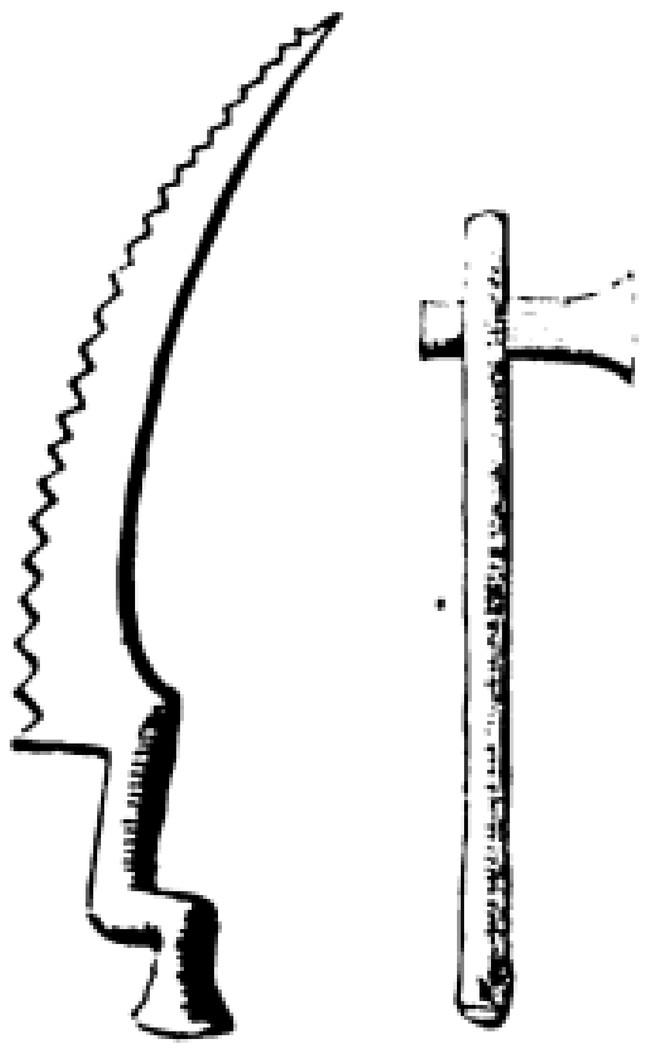
tables, and the stands for holding water-jars[11] which occur occasionally on the cylinders, we may gather that the fashion of their furniture much resembled that of their northern neighbours, the Assyrians. It is needless to dwell on this subject, which presents no novel features, and has been anticipated by the discussion on Assyrian furniture in the first volume.[12] The only touch that can be added to what was there said is, that in Babylonia, the chief—almost the sole—material employed for furniture was the wood of the palm-tree,[13] a soft and light fabric which could be easily worked, and which had considerable strength, but did not admit of a high finish.[14]



Babylonian saw and hatchet (from the cylinders).

[11] Supra, vol. ii. p. 569. Stools will be seen in the illustrations, vol. ii. p. 563, and above, p. 18.

[12] Pp. 391-6.

[13] Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8. Τῶν φοινίκων . . . τὸ μὲν κάρπιμον, τὸ δὲ ἄκαρπον· ἐξ ὧν οἱ περὶ Βαβυλῶνα τάς τε κλίνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη ποιοῦνται.

[14] Ibid. v. 4 and 7.

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CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION.

Ἤνεσαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ λιθίνους καὶ ξυλίνους.—DAN. v. 4.

THE Religion of the later Babylonians differed in so few respects from that of the early Chaldæans, their predecessors in the same country, that it will be unnecessary to detain the reader with many observations on the subject. The same gods were worshipped in the same temples and with the same rites[1]—the same cosmogony[2] was taught and held—the same symbols were objects of religious regard—even the very dress of the priests was maintained unaltered;[3] and, could Urukh or Chedorlaomer have risen from the grave and revisited the shrines wherein they sacrificed fourteen centuries earlier, they would have found but little to distinguish the ceremonies of their own day from those in vogue under the successors of Nabopolassar. Some additional splendour in the buildings, the idols, and perhaps the offerings, some increased use of music as a part of the ceremonial,[4] some advance of corruption with respect to priestly impostures and popular religious customs might probably have been noticed; but otherwise the religion of Nabonidus and Belshazzar was that of Urukh and Ilgi, alike in the objects and the mode of worship, in the theological notions entertained and the ceremonial observances taught and practised.

The identity of the gods worshipped during the entire period is sufficiently proved by the repair and restoration of the ancient

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[1] Compare vol. i. pp. 114-142.
[2] Ibid. pp. 142-145.
[3] Compare the priest on Urukh's cylinder (supra, vol. i. p. 194) with those represented in the preceding chapter (p. 6).
[4] Supra, p. 21.

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temples under Nebuchadnezzar, and their re-dedication (as a general rule) to the same deities. It appears also from the names of the later kings and nobles, which embrace among their elements the old divine appellations. Still, together with this general uniformity, we seem to see a certain amount of fluctuation—a sort of fashion in the religion, whereby particular gods were at different times exalted to a higher rank in the Pantheon, and were sometimes even confounded with other deities commonly regarded as wholly distinct from them. Thus Nebuchadnezzar devoted himself in an especial way to Merodach, and not only assigned him titles of honour which implied his supremacy over all the remaining gods,[5] but even identified him with the great Bel, the ancient tutelary god of the capital. Nabonidus, on the other hand, seems to have restored Bel to his old position,[6] re-establishing the distinction between him and Merodach, and preferring to devote himself to the former.

A similar confusion occurs between the goddesses Beltis and Nana or Ishtar,[7] though this is not peculiar to the later kingdom. It may perhaps be suspected from such instances of connection and *quasi*-convertibility, that an esoteric doctrine, known to the priests and communicated by them to the kings, taught the real identity of the several gods and goddesses, who may have been understood by the better instructed to represent, not distinct and separate beings, but the several phases of the Divine Nature. Ancient polytheism had, it may be surmised, to a great extent this origin, the various names and titles of the Supreme, which designated His different attributes or the different spheres of His operation, coming by degrees to be misunderstood, and to pass, first with the vulgar, and at last with all but the most enlightened, for the appellations of a number of gods.

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[5] Among the titles given by Nebuchadnezzar to Merodach are the following:—"The great lord," "the first-born of the gods," "the most ancient," "the supporter of sovereignty," "the king of the heavens and the earth."

[6] This may be concluded from the fact that in the time of Cyrus the great temple at Babylon was known uniformly as the temple of Belus. It receives some confirmation from the further fact that Nabonidus gave his eldest son a name (Belshazzar) which placed him under Bel's protection.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 139, and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 496, 497, 2nd edition.

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The chief objects of Babylonian worship were Bel, Merodach, and Nebo.[8] Nebo, the special deity of Borsippa, seems to have been regarded as a sort of powerful patron-saint under whose protection it was important to place individuals. During the period of the later kingdom, no divine element is so common in names. Of the seven kings who form the entire list, three certainly,[9] four probably,[10] had appellations composed with it. The usage extended from the royal house to the courtiers; and such names as Nebu-zar-adan, Samgar-Nebo, and Nebu-shazban,[11] show the respect which the upper class of citizens paid to this god. It may even be suspected that when Nebuchadnezzar's Master of the Eunuchs had to give Babylonian names to the young Jewish princes whom he was educating, he designed to secure for one of them this powerful patron, and consequently called him Abed-Nebo,[12]—"the servant of Nebo"—a name which the later Jews, either disdaining[13] or not understanding, have corrupted into the Abed-nego of the existing text.

Another god held in peculiar honour by the Babylonians was Nergal. Worshipped at Cutha as the tutelary divinity of the town,[14] he was also held in repute by the people generally. No name is more common on the cylinder seals. It is sometimes, though not often, an element in the names of men, as in "Nergal-shar-ezer, the Rab-mag,"[15] and (if he be a different person) in Neriglissar, the king.

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[8] This is sufficiently apparent from the native monuments. It is confirmed by the Jewish writers. (See Isaiah xlvi. 1; Jerem. l. 2; li. 44.)

[9] *Nabo*-polassar, *Nebu*-chadnezzar, and *Nabo*-nidus.

[10] *Labo* rosoarchod, which stands perhaps for *Nabo*-rosoarchod, as *Laby*-netus for *Nabo*-nahid or Nabonidus.

[11] See 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jerem. xxxix. 3 and 13.

[12] Abed-nego is a name which admits of no Semitic derivation. It has indeed been explained as equivalent to Ebed-melech (Arab. Abdulmalik), which means "the servant of the king;" but the only ground for this is the Abyssinian *negus*, "king," which became *naqa* in Achæmenian Persian, but of which there is no trace in either Babylonian or Assyrian.

[13] The Jews seem often to have played with the names of the heathen gods in a spirit of scorn and contumely. Thus Zir-banit becomes Succoth-benoth, "tents of daughters" (2 K. xvii. 30); Nebo becomes in one place Nibhaz, "the barker" (ibid. verse 31); Anunit becomes Anammelech, to chime with Adrammelech (ibid.), &c. Similarly Tartak may be suspected to be a derisive corruption of Tir, and Nisroch of Nergal, who was sometimes called simply *Nis* or *Nir*.

[14] Supra, vol. i. p. 136.

[15] Jerem. xxxix. 3.

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Altogether, there was a strong local element in the religion of the Babylonians. Bel and Merodach were in a peculiar way the gods of Babylon, Nebo of Borsippa, Nergal of Cutha, the Moon of Ur or Hur, Beltis of Niffer, Hea or Hoa of Hit, Ana of Erech, the Sun of Sippara. Without being exclusively honoured at a single site, the deities in question held the foremost place each in his own town. There especially was worship offered to them; there was the most magnificent of their shrines. Out of his own city a god was not greatly respected, unless by those who regarded him as their special personal protector.

The Babylonians worshipped their gods indirectly, through images. Each shrine had at least one idol, which was held in the most pious reverence, and was in the minds of the vulgar identified with the god. It seems to have been believed by some that the actual idol ate and drank the offerings.[1] Others distinguished between the idol and the god, regarding the latter as only occasionally visiting the shrine where he was worshipped.[2] Even these last, however, held gross anthropomorphic views, since they considered the god to descend from heaven in order to hold commerce with the chief priestess. Such notions were encouraged by the priests, who furnished the inner shrine in the temple of Bel with a magnificent couch and a golden table, and made the principal priestess pass the night in the shrine on certain occasions.[3]

The images of the gods were of various materials.[4] Some were of wood, others of stone, others again of metal; and these last were either solid or plated. The metals employed were gold, silver, brass, or rather bronze, and iron. Occasionally the metal was laid over a clay model.[5] Sometimes images of

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[1] The narrative in the Apocryphal Daniel, which forms the first part of our Book of "Bel and the Dragon," though probably not historical, seems to be written by one well acquainted with Babylonian notions. The king in the narrative evidently regards the idol as the eater of the victuals.

[2] *Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι* [οἱ Χαλδαῖοι] *τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν ἐς τὸν νηόν, κ.τ.λ.* (Herod. i. 182.)

[3] Herod. i. 181.

[4] See the passage of Daniel quoted at the commencement of this chapter.

[5] This appears to have been the case from the description of the image of Bel in the Apocryphal Daniel. (*Οὗτος ἔσωθεν μὲν ἐστι πηλὸς, ἔξωθεν δὲ χαλκός.* Apoc. Dan. xiv. 6.) Bronze hammered work, laid over a model made of clay mixed with bitumen, has been found in Assyria. (See above, vol. i. p. 368.)

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one metal were overlaid with plates of another, as was the case with one of the great images of Bel, which was originally of silver but was coated with gold by Nebuchadnezzar.[6]

The worship of the Babylonians appears to have been conducted with much pomp and magnificence. A description has been already given of their temples.[7] Attached to these imposing structures was, in every case, a body of priests;[8] to whom the conduct of the ceremonies and the custody of the treasures were entrusted. The priests were married,[9] and lived with their wives and children, either in the sacred structure itself, or in its immediate neighbourhood. They were supported either by lands belonging to the temple,[10] or by the offerings of the faithful. These consisted in general of animals, chiefly oxen and goats;[11] but other valuables were no doubt received when tendered. The priest always intervened between the worshipper and the deities, presenting him to them and interceding with uplifted hands on his behalf.[12]

In the temple of Bel at Babylon, and probably in most of the other temples both there and elsewhere throughout the country, a great festival was celebrated once in the course of each year.[13] We know little of the ceremonies with which these festivals were accompanied; but we may presume from the analogy of other nations that there were magnificent processions on these occasions, accompanied probably with music and dancing. The images of the gods were perhaps exhibited either on frames or on sacred vehicles.[14] Numerous victims were sacrificed; and at Babylon it was customary to burn on the great altar in the

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[6] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 517, 2nd edition).

[7] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 542-550.

[8] According to the Apocryphal Daniel *seventy* priests were attached to the great Temple of Bel at Babylon. (Apoc. Dan. xiv. 9.)

[9] Ibid. verses 14, 19, and 20. The fact is implied in Diodorus's statement that the priests were a caste. (Diod. Sic. ii. 29, § 4.)

[10] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 16.

[11] The goat is the ordinary sacrificial animal on the cylinders; but occasionally we see an ox following the worshipper. (See Cullimore, Pl. xi. No. 60.)

[12] See the figures of priests on page 6.

[13] Herod. i. 183.

[14] See above, page 10. Compare Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. "Vehitur enim simulachrum dei Heliopolitani ferculo, uti vehuntur in pompa ludorum Circensium deorum simulachra." The "deus Heliopolitanus" is the Sun-God of Sippara.

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precinct of Bel a thousand talents' weight of frankincense.[16] The priests no doubt wore their most splendid dresses; the multitude was in holiday costume; the city was given up to merry-making. Everywhere banquets were held. In the palace the king entertained his lords;[16] in private houses there was dancing and revelling.[17] Wine was freely drunk; passion was excited; and the day, it must be feared, too often terminated in wild orgies, wherein the sanctions of religion were claimed for the free indulgence of the worst sensual appetites.

In the temples of one deity excesses of this description, instead of being confined to rare occasions, seem to have been of every-day occurrence. Each woman was required once in her life to visit a shrine of Beltis, and there remain till some stranger cast money in her lap and took her away with him. Herodotus, who seems to have visited the disgraceful scene, describes it as follows. "Many women of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads,—and *here there is always a great crowd*, some coming and others going. Lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women; and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin, he says these words—"The goddess Mylitta (Beltis) prosper thee." The silver coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused; for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home; and from that time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released; but others, who are

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[15] Herod. i. 183.
[16] Dan. v. 1-4.
[17] Herod. i. 191. Λέγεται . . . χορεύειν τε τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι.

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ugly, have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the law. Some have even waited three or four years in the precinct."[18] The demoralising tendency of this religious prostitution can scarcely be overrated.[19]

Notions of legal cleanness and uncleanness, akin to those prevalent among the Jews, are found to some extent in the religious system of the Babylonians. The consummation of the marriage rite made both the man and the woman impure, as did every subsequent act of the same kind. The impurity was communicated to any vessel that either might touch. To remove it, the pair were required first to sit down before a censer of burning incense, and then to wash themselves thoroughly. Thus only could they re-enter into the state of legal cleanness.[20] A similar impurity attached to those who came into contact with a human corpse.[1]

The Babylonians are remarkable for the extent to which they affected symbolism in religion. In the first place they attached to each god a special mystic number, which is used as his emblem and may even stand for his name in an inscription. To the gods of the First Triad—Anu, Bel, and Hea or Hoa—were assigned respectively the numbers 60, 50, and 40; to those of the Second Triad—the Moon, the Sun, and the Atmosphere—were given the other integers, 30, 20, and 10 (or perhaps six).[2] To Beltis was attached the number 15,[3] to Nergal 12,[4] to Bar or Nin (apparently) 40, as to Hoa; but this is perhaps doubtful.[5] It is probable that every god, or at any rate all the principal deities, had in a similar way some numerical emblem. Many of these are, however, as yet undiscovered.

Further, each god seems to have had one or more emblematic signs by which he could be pictorially symbolised. The cylinders are full of such forms, which are often crowded into

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[18] Herod. i. 199. Compare Baruch vi. 43, and Strabo xvi. 1, § 20.

[19] The statement of Herodotus, that "from that time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with a Babylonian woman," is not repeated by Strabo, and is flatly contradicted by Q. Curtius. (See above, vol. ii. p. 504, note [18].)

[20] Herod. i. 198.

[1] Strab. l. s. c.

[2] The Babylonians had a double system of notation, decimal and sexagintal. They wrote in series either 3, 4, 5, 6, or 3, 4, 5, 10. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 500, 2nd edition.)

[3] Ibid. p. 497.

[4] Ibid. p. 521.

[5] Ibid. p. 514.

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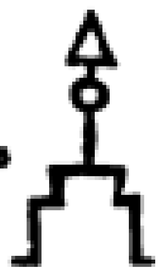
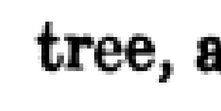
every vacant space where room could be found for them.[6] A certain number can be assigned definitely to particular divinities. Thus a circle, plain or crossed, designates the Sun-god, San or Shamas;[7] a six-rayed or eight-rayed star the Sun-goddess, Gula or Anunit;[8] a double or triple thunderbolt the Atmospheric god, Vul;[9] a serpent probably Hoa;[10] a naked female form Nana or Ishtar;[11] a fish Bar or Nin-ip.[12] But besides these assignable symbols, there are a vast number with regard to which we are still wholly in the dark. Among these may be mentioned a sort of double cross, often repeated three times, a jar or bottle,[13] an altar,  a double lozenge, one or more birds, an animal between a monkey and a jerboa, a dog, a sort of double horn,  a sacred tree, an ox, a bee, a spearhead.[14] A study of the inscribed cylinders shows these emblems to have no reference to the god or goddess named in the inscription upon them. Each, apparently, represents a distinct deity; and the object of placing them upon a cylinder is to imply the devotion of the man whose seal it is, to other deities besides those whose special servant he considers himself. A single cylinder sometimes contains as many as eight or ten such emblems.

The principal temples of the gods had special sacred appellations. The great temple of Bel at Babylon was known as Bit-Saggath, that of the same god at Niffer as Kharris-Nipra, that of Beltis at Warka (Erech) as Bit-Ana, that of the Sun at Sippara as Bit-Parra, that of Anunit at the same place as Bit-Ulmis, that of Nebo at Borsippa as Bit-Tsida, &c. It is seldom

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[6] See Cullimore's *Cylinders*, Pl. xviii. Nos. 92 to 95; Pl. xxii. Nos. 113 and 115. Compare Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxv. fig. 3; liv. A, fig. 12; liv. B, fig. 15.

[7] See vol. i. p. 128, where the same usage is assigned to the early Chaldæans.

[8] Ibid. p. 129.

[9] Ibid. p. 130.

[10] Ibid. p. 122.

[11] Ibid. p. 139.

[12] Ibid. p. 133.

[13] See the engraving of a cylinder on p. 18.

[14] The two last-named emblems are uncommon. For the bee see Cullimore, Pl. xxii. No. 117, and Pl. xxiv. No. 129. For the spearhead, Cullimore, Pl. xxvii. No. 147.

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that these names admit of explanation.[15] They had come down apparently from the old Chaldean times, and belonged to the ancient (Turanian) form of speech; which is still almost unintelligible. The Babylonians themselves probably in few cases understood their meaning. They used the words simply as proper names, without regarding them as significative.

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[15] Bit-Ana is certainly "the house of the god Anu or Ana," who was worshipped at Erech in conjunction with Beltis. (See above, vol. i. p. 116.) Bit-Parra may be "the house of Ph' Ra," or "the Sun." (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 501, note [3], 2nd edition.) The meaning of the other terms has not even (so far as I am aware) been conjectured.

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CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος . . πολλοὶ μέν κου . . ἐγένοντο βασιλέες . . οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐκεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά.—HEROD. i. 184.

THE history of the Babylonian Empire commences with Nabopolassar, who appears to have mounted the throne in the year B.C. 625; but to understand the true character of the kingdom which he set up, its traditions and its national spirit, we must begin at a far earlier date. We must examine, in however incomplete and cursory a manner, the middle period of Babylonian history, the time of obscurity and comparative insignificance, when the country was, as a general rule, subject to Assyria, or at any rate played but a secondary part in the affairs of the East. We shall thus prepare the way for our proper subject, while at the same time we shall link on the history of the Fourth to that of the First Monarchy, and obtain a second line of continuous narrative, connecting the brilliant era of Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar with the obscure period of the first Cushite kings.

It has been observed that the original Chaldean monarchy lasted under various dynasties from about B.C. 2400 to B.C. 1300,[1] when it was destroyed by the Assyrians, who became masters of Babylonia under the first Tiglathi-Nin,[2] and governed it for a short time from their own capital. Unable, however, to maintain this unity very long, they appear to have set up in the country an Assyrian dynasty, over which they claimed and sometimes exercised a kind of suzerainty, but which was practically independent and managed both the external and internal affairs of the kingdom at its pleasure. The first king

[1] Supra, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.

[2] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 58.

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of this dynasty concerning whom we have any information is a Nebuchadnezzar, who was contemporary with the Assyrian monarch Asshur-ris-ilim, and made two attacks upon his territories.[3] The first of these was by the way of the Diyaleh and the outlying Zagros hills, the line taken by the great Persian military road in later times.[4] The second was directly across the plain. If we are to believe the Assyrian historian who gives an account of the campaigns, both attacks were repulsed, and after his second failure the Babylonian monarch fled away into his own country hastily. We may perhaps suspect that a Babylonian writer would have told a different story. At any rate Asshur-ris-ilim was content to defend his own territories and did not attempt to retaliate upon his assailant. It was not till late in the reign of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser I., that any attempt was made to punish the Babylonians for their audacity. Then, however, that monarch invaded the southern kingdom,[5] which had passed into the hands of a king named Merodach-iddin-akhi, probably a son of Nebuchadnezzar. After two years of fighting, in which he took Kurri-Galzu (Akkerkuf), the two Sipparas, Opis, and even Babylon itself, Tiglath-Pileser retired, satisfied apparently with his victories; but the Babylonian monarch was neither subdued nor daunted. Hanging on the rear of the retreating force, he harassed it by cutting off its baggage, and in this way he became possessed of certain Assyrian idols, which he carried away as trophies to Babylon. War continued between the two countries during the ensuing reigns of Merodach-shapik-ziri in Babylon and Asshur-bil-kala in Assyria, but with no important successes, so far as appears, on either side.[6]

The century during which these wars took place between Assyria and Babylonia, which corresponds with the period of the later Judges in Israel, is followed by an obscure interval, during which but little is known of either country. Assyria seems to have been at this time in a state of great depression.

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[3] An account of these wars has been already given in the History of Assyria. (See vol. ii. pp. 61, 62.)

[4] Herod. v. 52.

[5] Compare vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

[6] Compare vol. ii. p. 79.

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Babylonia, it may be suspected, was flourishing; but as our knowledge of its condition comes to us almost entirely through the records of the sister country, which here fail us, we can only obtain a dim and indistinct vision of the greatness now achieved by the southern kingdom. A notice of Asshur-izir-pal's seems to imply that Babylon, during the period in question, enlarged her territories at the expense of Assyria,[7] and another in Macrobius[8] makes it probable that she held communications with Egypt. Perhaps these two powers, fearing the growing strength of Assyria, united against her, and so checked for a while that development of her resources which they justly dreaded.

However, after two centuries of comparative depression, Assyria once more started forward, and Babylonia was among the first of her neighbours whom she proceeded to chastise and despoil. About the year B.C. 880, Asshur-izir-pal led an expedition to the south-east and recovered the territory which had been occupied by the Babylonians during the period of weakness.[9] Thirty years later, his son, the Black-Obelisk king, made the power of Assyria still more sensibly felt. Taking advantage of the circumstance that a civil war was raging in Babylonia between the legitimate monarch, Merodach-sum-adin, and his younger brother, he marched into the country, took a number of the towns, and having defeated and slain the pretender, was admitted into Babylon itself.[1] From thence he proceeded to overrun Chaldæa, or the district upon the coast, which appears at this time to have been independent of Babylon,

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[7] Asshur-izir-pal tells us that, about the year B.C. 880, he recovered and rebuilt a city on the Diyaleh, which a Babylonian king named Tsibir had destroyed at a remote period. (See above, vol. ii. p. 86.)

[8] The passage in Macrobius is curious, and seems worth giving at length. "Assyrii quoque," says this writer, "Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis cæremoniis celebrant in civitate quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus dei simulacrum sumptum est de oppido Ægypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure, seu idem Senepos nomine fuit, perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam legatum Deleboris regis Assyriorum sacerdotesque Ægyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partimetis, diuque habitum apud Assyrios postea Heliopolin commigravit." (*Sat.* i. 23.) It is suspected that the Deleboras (or Deboras) here mentioned is identical with the Tsibir who took territory from the Assyrians. (See above, vol. ii. p. 81, note [14].)

[9] Supra, vol. ii. p. 86.

[1] Ibid. p. 102.

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and governed by a number of petty kings. The Babylonian monarch probably admitted the suzerainty of the invader, but was not put to any tribute. The Chaldæan chiefs, however, had to submit to this indignity. The Assyrian monarch returned to his capital, having "struck terror as far as the sea." Thus Assyrian influence was once more extended over the whole of the southern country, and Babylonia resumed her position of a secondary power, dependent on the great monarchy of the north.

But she was not long allowed to retain even the shadow of an autonomous rule. In or about the year B.C. 821, the son and successor of the Black-Obelisk king, apparently without any pretext, made a fresh invasion of the country.[2] Merodach-belatzu-ikbi, the Babylonian monarch, boldly met him in the field, but was defeated in two pitched battles (in the latter of which he had the assistance of powerful allies[3]), and was forced to submit to his antagonist. Babylon, it is probable, became at once an Assyrian tributary, and in this condition she remained till the troubles which came upon Assyria towards the middle of the eighth century B.C. gave an opportunity for shaking off the hated yoke. Perhaps the first successes were obtained by Pul,[4] who, taking advantage of Assyria's weakness under Asshur-dayan III. (ab. B.C. 770) seems to have established a dominion over the Euphrates valley and Western Mesopotamia, from which he proceeded to carry his arms into Syria and Palestine. Or perhaps Pul's efforts merely, by still further weakening Assyria, paved the way for Babylon to revolt, and Nabonassar, who became king of Babylon in B.C. 747, is to be regarded as the re-establisher of her independence. In either case it is apparent that the recovery of independence was accompanied, or rapidly followed, by a disintegration of the country, which

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[2] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.

[3] The Zimri of Mount Zagros, the Aramæans of the middle Euphrates, and the Chaldæans of the south.

[4] It must be allowed to be still doubtful whether Pul was a king of Babylon or no. The Jewish writers call him "king of Assyria." In Berosus he was represented as "Chaldæorum rex." It is possible that he was one of the rebel chiefs against whom Asshur-dayan III. had to contend, that his authority was established in Western Mesopotamia, and that he took the title of "king of Assyria."

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was of evil omen for its future greatness. While Nabonassar established himself at the head of affairs in Babylon, a certain Yakin, the father of Merodach-Baladan, became master of the tract upon the coast; and various princes, Nadina, Zakiru, and others, at the same time obtained governments, which they administered in their own name, towards the north. The old Babylonian kingdom was broken up; and the way was prepared for that final subjugation, which was ultimately effected by the Sargonids.

Still, the Babylonians seemed to have looked with complacency on this period, and they certainly made it an era from which to date their later history. Perhaps, however, they had not much choice in this matter. Nabonassar was a man of energy and determination. Bent probably on obliterating the memory of the preceding period of subjugation, he "destroyed the acts of the kings who had preceded him;"[5] and the result was that the year of his accession became almost necessarily the era from which subsequent events had to be dated.

Nabonassar appears to have lived on friendly terms with Tiglath-Pileser, the contemporary monarch of Assyria, who early in his reign invaded the southern country, reduced several princes of the districts about Babylon to subjection, and forced Merodach-Baladan, who had succeeded his father, Yakin, in the low region, to become his tributary. No war seems to have been waged between Tiglath-Pileser and Nabonassar. The king of Babylon may have seen with satisfaction the humiliation of his immediate neighbours and rivals, and may have felt that their subjugation rather improved than weakened his own position. At any rate it tended to place him before the nation as their only hope and champion—the sole barrier which protected their country from a return of the old servitude.

Nabonassar held the throne of Babylon for fourteen years, from B.C. 747 to B.C. 733.[6] It has generally been supposed that this period is the same with that regarded by Herodotus

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[5] Berosus, Fr. 11*a*. Ναβονάσαρος συναγαγὼν τὰς πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἠφάνισεν.

[6] See the "Canon of Ptolemy."

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as constituting the reign of Semiramis.[7] As the wife or as the mother of Nabonassar, that lady (according to many) directed the affairs of the Babylonian state on behalf of her husband or her son. The theory is not devoid of a certain plausibility, and it is no doubt possible that it may be true; but at present it is a mere conjecture, wholly unconfirmed by the native records; and we may question whether on the whole it is not more probable that the Semiramis of Herodotus is misplaced. In a former volume it was shown that a Semiramis flourished in Assyria towards the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth centuries B.C.[8]—during the period, that is, of Babylonian subjection to Assyria. She may have been a Babylonian princess, and have exercised an authority in the southern capital.[9] It would seem therefore to be more probable that she is the individual whom Herodotus intends, though he has placed her about half a century too late, than that there were two persons of the same name within so short a time, both queens, and both ruling in Mesopotamia.

Nabonassar was succeeded in the year B.C. 733 by a certain Nadius, who is suspected to have been among the independent princes reduced to subjection by Tiglath-Pileser in his Babylonian expedition.[10] Nadius reigned only two years—from B.C. 733 to B.C. 731—when he was succeeded by Chinzinus and Porus, two princes whose joint rule lasted from B.C. 731 to B.C. 726. They were followed by an Elulæus, who has been identified[11] with the king of that name called by Menander[12] king of Tyre—the Luliya of the cuneiform inscriptions;[13] but it is in the highest degree improbable that one and the same monarch should have borne sway both in Phœnicia and Chaldæa

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[7] Herod. i. 184. Among those who identify the reigns of Semiramis and Nabonassar, and suppose a close tie of relationship to have existed between them, are Larcher (*Hérodote*, tom. i. p. 468), Clinton (*F. H.* vol. i. p. 279, note [f]), Volney (*Recherches sur l'Histoire ancienne*, part iii. p. 79), Bosanquet (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 230), and Vance Smith (*Prophecies relating to Assyria*, pp. 66, 67).

[8] See above, vol. ii. p. 120.

[9] Ibid. p. 121.

[10] One of these princes bears the name of *Nadina*, which may have been corrupted into Nadius. (See above, p. 38).

[11] Bosanquet, *Fall of Nineveh*, p. 40.

[12] Ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14, § 2.

[13] See above, vol. ii. p. 158.

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at a time when Assyria was paramount over the whole of the intervening country. Elulæus therefore must be assigned to the same class of utterly obscure monarchs with his predecessors, Porus, Chinzinus, and Nadius; and it is only with Merodach-Baladan, his successor, that the darkness becomes a little dispelled, and we once more see the Babylonian throne occupied by a prince of some reputation and indeed celebrity.

Merodach-Baladan was the son of a monarch, who in the troublous times that preceded, or closely followed, the era of Nabonassar appears to have made himself master of the lower Babylonian territory[14]—the true Chaldæa—and to have there founded a capital city, which he called after his own name, Bit-Yakin. On the death of his father Merodach-Baladan inherited this dominion; and it is here that we first find him, when, during the reign of Nabonassar, the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser II. invade the country. Forced to accept the position of Assyrian tributary under this monarch, to whom he probably looked for protection against the Babylonian king, Nabonassar, Merodach-Baladan patiently bided his time, remaining in comparative obscurity during the two reigns of Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser his successor, and only emerging contemporaneously with the troubles which ushered in the dynasty of the Sargonids. In B.C. 721—the year in which Sargon made himself master of Nineveh[1]—Merodach-Baladan extended his authority over the upper country, and was recognised as king of Babylon. Here he maintained himself for twelve years; and it was probably at some point of time within this space that he sent ambassadors to Hezekiah at Jerusalem,[2] with orders to enquire into the particulars of the curious astronomical marvel,[3] or miracle, which had accompanied the sickness and recovery of that monarch. It is not unlikely that the embassy, whereof this was the pretext, had a further political

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[14] Supra, p. 38.

[1] Supra, vol. ii. p. 141; compare p. 156, note [6].

[2] 2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1.

[3] The ingenious explanation which Mr. Bosanquet has given of the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz (*Jour. of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 286-295) is probably known to most readers. A way is clearly shown in which the shadow *may* have gone back without any interference with the course of nature.

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object. Merodach-Baladan, aware of his inability to withstand singly the forces of Assyria, was probably anxious to form a powerful league against the conquering state, which threatened to absorb the whole of Western Asia into its dominion. Hezekiah received his advances favourably, as appears by the fact that he exhibited to him all his treasures.[4] Egypt, we may presume, was cognisant of the proceedings, and gave them her support.[5] An alliance, defensive if not also offensive, was probably concluded between Egypt and Judæa on the one hand, Babylon, Susiana, and the Aramæan tribes of the middle Euphrates on the other. The league would have been formidable but for one circumstance—Assyria lay midway between the allied states, and could attack either moiety of the confederates separately at her pleasure. And the Assyrian king was not slow to take advantage of his situation. In two successive years Sargon marched his troops against Egypt and against Babylonia, and in both directions carried all before him. In Egypt he forced Sabaco to sue for peace.[6] In Babylonia (B.C. 710) he gained a great victory over Merodach-Baladan and his allies, the Aramæans and Susianians,[7] took Bit-Yakin, into which the defeated monarch had thrown himself, and gained possession of his treasures and his person. Upon this the whole country submitted; Merodach-Baladan was carried away captive into Assyria; and Sargon himself, mounting the throne, assumed the title—rarely taken by an Assyrian monarch—of "King of Babylon."

But this state of things did not continue long. Sargon died in the year B.C. 704, and coincident with his death we find a renewal of troubles in Babylonia.[8] Assyria's yoke was shaken off; various pretenders started up; a son of Sargon and brother of Sennacherib re-established Assyrian influence for a brief space;[9] but fresh revolts followed. A certain Hagisa became

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[4] Isaiah xxxix. 2, 4.

[5] The dependence of Judæa on Egypt during Hezekiah's reign is indicated by the expressions in 2 K. xviii. 21, 24; Is. xxxvi. 6, 9.

[6] Supra, vol. ii. p. 147.

[7] Ibid. p. 148.

[8] An *interregnum* in the canon (ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα) necessarily implies a season of trouble and disorder. It does not show that there was no king, but only that no king reigned a full year.

[9] Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 1. (See the passage quoted at length in the second volume of this work, p. 156, note [8].)

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king of Babylon for a month. Finally, Merodach-Baladan again appeared upon the scene, having escaped from his Assyrian prison, murdered Hagisa, and remounted the throne from which he had been deposed seven years previously.[10] But the brave effort to recover independence failed. Sennacherib in his second year, B.C. 703, descended upon Babylonia, defeated the army which Merodach-Baladan brought against him, drove that monarch himself into exile, after a reign of six months, and re-attached his country to the Assyrian crown.[11] From this time to the revolt of Nabopolassar—a period of above three quarters of a century—Babylonia, with few and brief intervals of revolt, continued an Assyrian fief. The Assyrian kings governed her either by means of viceroys, such as Belibus, Regibelus, Mesesimordachus, and Saos-duchinus, or directly in their own persons, as was the case during the reign of Esar-haddon,[12] and during the later years of Asshur-bani-pal.[13]

The revolts of Babylon during this period have been described at length in the history of Assyria.[14] Two fall into the reign of Sennacherib, one into that of Asshur-bani-pal, his grandson. In the former, Merodach-Baladan, who had not yet given up his pretensions to the lower country, and a certain Susub, who was acknowledged as king at Babylon, were the leaders. In the latter, Saos-duchinus, the Assyrian viceroy, and brother of Asshur-bani-pal, the Assyrian king, seduced from his allegiance by the hope of making himself independent, headed the insurrection. In each case the struggle was brief, being begun and ended within the year.[15] The power of Assyria at this time so vastly preponderated over that of her ancient rival that a single campaign sufficed on each occasion of revolt to crush the nascent insurrection.[16]

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[10] See vol. p. 156, note [8].

[11] Supra, vol. ii. p. 157.

[12] Ibid. pp. 195 and 201.

[13] Ibid. p. 219, note [6].

[14] See above, vol. ii. pp. 157, 173-175, and p. 206.

[15] As Susub does not appear in Ptolemy's Canon, it is tolerably certain that neither his first nor his second reign lasted a year. The revolt of Saiil-mugina (Saos-duchinus) seems to have been put down within a few months. (See vol. ii. p. 207.)

[16] This remark is true of all the known cases of revolt. It might, however, require some qualification, if the history of the eight years from B.C. 688 to B.C. 680 were recovered. The interregnum of Ptolemy in this place implies either revolt or a rapid succession of viceroys—probably the former.

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A tabular view of the chronology of this period is appended.

CHRONOLOGY OF BABYLON FROM THE ARAB CONQUEST TO NABOPOLASSAR.

N.B.—*Babylonian dates fall one year below Assyrian, from the practice established at Babylon of recording a king's accession on the Thoth of the ensuing year.*

B.C.	Kings.	Contemporary kings of Assyria.	Remarkable events.
Ab. 1300	Dynasty of Assyrians .	Tiglathi-Nin I. . .	Babylon conquered by the Assyrians.
		* * *	
		Bel-kudur-uzur.	
	* * *	Nin-pala-zira.	
		Asshur-dayan I.	
		Mutaggil-Nebo.	
Ab. 1150	Nebuchadnezzar I. . .	Asshur-ris-ilim . .	Wars between Assyria and Babylon.
,, 1130	Merolach-iddin-akhi .	Tiglath-Pileser I .	
,, 1110	Merolach-shapik-ziri .	Asshur-bil-kala . .	
		Shamas-Vul I.	
	* * *	* * *	
	Taibir (Deboras) . . .	Asshur-Mazur	Babylon in Alliance with Egypt. Takes territory from Assyria.
	* * *	* * *	
		Asshur-dayan II.	
	* * *	Vul-lush II.	
	* * *	Tiglathi-Nin II.	
Ab. 880	. . .	Asshur-izir-pal . .	Assyria recovers her lost territory.
,, 850	Merodach-sum-adin . .	Shalmaneser II. . .	Civil war in Babylon. Assyria helps the legitimate king.
,, 820	Merodach-belatzu-ikbi .	Shamas-Vul II. . .	Babylon conquered. Passes under Assyria.
	* * *	Vul-lush III.	
		Shalmaneser III.	
		Asshur-dayan III.	
,, 775	Pul (?).		
754	. . .	Asshur-lush.	
747	Nabonassar	. . .	Babylon re-establishes her independence
744	. . .	Tiglath-Pileser II.	
733	Nadius.		
731	Chinzinus and Porus.		
725	Elulæus	Shalmaneser IV.	
721	Merodach-Baladan . .	Sargon.	
713 (?)	. . .	. . .	Embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah.
709	Arceanus (Sargon) . .	. . .	Babylon conquered by Sargon.
704	Interregnum	Sennacherib . . .	Babylon revolts.
703	Hagisa . . . . . / Merodach-Baladan .	. . .	Sennacherib conquers Babylon.
702	Belibus (viceroy).		
699	Assaranadius (viceroy).		
696 (?)	Susub	. . .	Babylon revolts. Revolt put down.
694 (?)	. . .	. . .	Ditto.
693	Regibelus (viceroy).		
692	Mesesimordachus (viceroy)		
688	Interregnum	. . .	Troubles in Babylon. Interregnum of eight years, coinciding with last eight years of Sennacherib.
680	Esarhaddon	Esarhaddon . . .	Babylon recovered by Esarhaddon.
667	Saos-duchinus (viceroy).	Asshur-bani-pal . .	Babylon revolts and again returns to allegiance.
647	Cinneladanus (or Asshur-bani-pal).		
626	Nebo-sum-iskun (?)	Asshur-emid-ilin.	
625	Nabopolassar	. . .	Assyrian empire destroyed.

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Having thus briefly sketched the history of the kingdom of Babylon from its conquest by Tiglathi-Nin to the close of the long period of Assyrian predominance in Western Asia, we may proceed to the consideration of the "Empire." And first, as to the circumstances of its foundation.

When the Medes first assumed an aggressive attitude towards Assyria, and threatened the capital with a siege, Babylonia apparently remained unshaken in her allegiance. When the Scythian hordes spread themselves over Upper Mesopotamia and wasted with fire and sword the fairest regions under Assyrian rule, there was still no defection in this quarter.[1] It was not till the Scythic ravages were over, and the Medes for the second time poured across Zagros into Adiabêné, resuming the enterprise from which they had desisted at the time of the Scythic invasion, that the fidelity of the Southern people wavered. Simultaneously with the advance of the Medes against the Assyrian capital from the east, we hear of a force threatening it from the south,[2] a force which can only have consisted of Susianians, of Babylonians, or of both combined.[3] It is probable that the emissaries of Cyaxares had been busy in this region for some time before his second attack took place, and that by a concerted plan while the Medes debouched from the Zagros passes, the south rose in revolt and sent its hasty levies along the valley of the Tigris.

In this strait the Assyrian king deemed it necessary to divide his forces and to send a portion against the enemy which was advancing from the south, while with the remainder he himself awaited the coming of the Medes. The troops detached for

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[1] Supra, vol. ii. p. 228.

[2] Abden. ad Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9. "Saracus . . . . certior factus turmarum vulgi collecticiarum quæ *à mari* adversus se adventarent, continuò Bussalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat." The *sea* here mentioned can only be the Persian Gulf.

There is some reason to think that Bel-sum-iskun, the father of Neriglissar (infra, p. 63), assumed the title of king of Babylon at this time. A fragment belonging to the reign of Asshur-emid-ilin, the last Assyrian king, seems to speak of his taking possession of the Babylonian throne.

[3] It has been conjectured that the "turmæ vulgi collecticiæ" were a remnant of the Scythic hordes which had recently overrun Western Asia. But we cannot well imagine them advancing *from the sea*, or acting in concert with their special enemies, the Medes.

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the former service he placed under the command of a certain Nabopolassar [4] (Nabu-pal-uzur), who was probably an Assyrian nobleman of high rank and known capacity.[5] Nabopolassar had orders to proceed to Babylon, of which he was probably made viceroy, and to defend the southern capital against the rebels. We may conclude that he obeyed these orders so far as to enter Babylon and install himself in office; but shortly afterwards he seems to have made up his mind to break faith with his sovereign, and aim at obtaining for himself an independent kingdom out of the ruins of the Assyrian power. Having formed this resolve, his first step was to send an embassy to Cyaxares, and to propose terms of alliance, while at the same time he arranged a marriage between his own son, Nebuchadnezzar, and Amuhia, or Amyitis (for the name is written both ways), the daughter of the Median monarch.[6] Cyaxares gladly accepted the terms offered; the young persons were betrothed; and Nabopolassar immediately led, or sent, a contingent of troops to join the Medes, who took an active part in the great siege which resulted in the capture and destruction of the Assyrian capital.[7]

A division of the Assyrian Empire between the allied monarchs followed. While Cyaxares claimed for his own share

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[4] Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210 B. Οὗτος [ὁ Ναβοπολάσαρος] στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς, κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νίνον ἐπιστρατεύει. Compare Abyden. ap. Euseb. l. s. c., where Nabopolassar is called Busalussor (leg. Bupalussor) by the same sort of abbreviation by which Nebuchadnezzar has become Bokht-i-nazar among the modern Arabs.

[5] It is unlikely that any one who was not an Assyrian would have received so high an appointment.

[6] "Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat." Abyden. l. s. c. "Is (Sardanapallus) ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam." Alex. Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 3. Χαλδαίων ἐβασίλευσεν Ναβοπολάσαρος ἔτη κά, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Τοῦτον ὁ πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλον καλεῖ, πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀστυάγην σατράπην Μηδίας, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀρωΐτην λαβόντα γύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210, A. The marriage of Nebuchadnezzar with a Median princess was attested by Berosus. (Fr. 14.)

[7] That the Medes and Babylonians both took part in the siege is witnessed by Polyhistor (l. s. c.), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 5, § 1), and the author of the Book of Tobit (xiv. 15). It was also the view of Ctesias (Diod. Sic. ii. 24-28). Herodotus in his extant work speaks only of the Medes (i. 106), while in our fragments of Abydenus the Babylonians alone are distinctly mentioned.

There is further considerable dis-

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Assyria Proper and the various countries dependent on Assyria towards the north and the north-west, Nabopolassar was rewarded by his timely defection, not merely by independence but by the transfer to his government of Susiana on the one hand and of the valley of the Euphrates, Syria, and Palestine on the other. The transfer appears to have been effected quietly, the Babylonian yoke being peacefully accepted in lieu of the Assyrian without the necessity arising for any application of force. Probably it appeared to the subjects of Assyria, who had been accustomed to a monarch holding his court alternately at Nineveh and at Babylon,[8] that the new power was merely a continuation of the old, the new monarch a legitimate successor of the old line of Ninevite kings.

Of the reign of Nabopolassar the information which has come down to us is scanty. It appears by the canon of Ptolemy that he dated his accession to the throne from the year B.C. 625, and that his reign lasted twenty-one years,[9] from B.C. 625 to B.C. 604. During the greater portion of this period the history of Babylon is a blank. Apparently the "golden city"[10] enjoyed her new position at the head of an empire too much to endanger it by aggression; and, her peaceful attitude provoking no hostility, she was for a while left unmolested by her neighbours. Media, bound to her by formal treaty as well as by dynastic interests, could be relied upon as a firm friend; Persia was too weak, Lydia too remote, to be formidable; in Egypt alone was there a combination of hostile feeling with military strength such as might have been expected to lead speedily to a trial of strength; but Egypt was under the rule of an aged and wary prince, one trained in the school of adversity,[11] whose years forbade his engaging in any distant enterprise, and whose prudence led him to think more of defending his own country than

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crepancy as to the leaders engaged in the siege. Abydenus and Polyhistor make the Median commander Astyages; the author of Tobit calls him Assuerus (Xerxes.) The same writer makes the Babylonian commander Nebuchadnezzar. I have followed in the text what seems to me the balance of authority.

[8] Supra, vol. ii. p. 194.

[9] So also Berosus (Fr. 14), and Polyhistor (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 3).

[10] Isaiah xiv. 4.

[11] Herod. ii. 151, 152.

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of attacking others.[12] Thus, while Psammetichus lived, Babylon had little to fear from any quarter, and could afford to "give herself to pleasures and dwell carelessly."[13]

The only exertion which she seems to have been called upon to make during her first eighteen years of empire, resulted from the close connection which had been established between herself and Media. Cyaxares, as already remarked, proceeded from the capture of Nineveh to a long series of wars and conquests. In some, if not in all, of these he appears to have been assisted by the Babylonians, who were perhaps bound by treaty to furnish a contingent as often as he required it. Either Nabopolassar himself, or his son Nebuchadnezzar, would lead out the troops on such occasions; and thus the military spirit of both prince and people would be pretty constantly exercised.

It was as the leader of such a contingent that Nabopolassar was able on one occasion to play the important part of peace-maker in one of the bloodiest of all Cyaxares' wars.[1] After five years' desperate fighting the Medes and Lydians were once more engaged in conflict when an eclipse of the sun took place. Filled with superstitious dread the two armies ceased to contend, and showed a disposition for reconciliation, of which the Babylonian monarch was not slow to take advantage. Having consulted with Syennesis of Cilicia, the foremost man of the allies on the other side, and found him well disposed to second his efforts, he proposed that the sword should be returned to the scabbard, and that a conference should be held to arrange terms of peace. This timely interference proved effectual. A peace was concluded between the Lydians and the Medes, which was cemented by a royal intermarriage; and the result was to give to Western Asia, where war and ravage had long been almost perpetual, nearly half a century of tranquillity.[2]

Successful in his mediation, almost beyond his hopes, Nabo-

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[12] The only even apparent exception is the siege and capture of Ashdod (Herod. ii. 157), which may have had a defensive object. Egypt needed for her protection a strong fortress in this quarter.

[13] Isaiah xlvii. 8.

[1] See Herod. i. 74, and compare above, vol. ii. pp. 410-412.

[2] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 412, 413.

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polassar returned from Asia Minor to Babylon. He was now advanced in years, and would no doubt gladly have spent the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of that repose, which is so dear to those who feel the infirmities of age creeping upon them. But Providence had ordained otherwise. In B.C. 610—probably the very year of the eclipse—Psammetichus died, and was succeeded by his son Neco, who was in the prime of life, and who in disposition was bold and enterprising. This monarch very shortly after his accession cast a covetous eye upon Syria, and in the year B.C. 608,[3] having made vast preparations, he crossed his frontier and invaded the territories of Nabopolassar. Marching along the usual route, by the *Shephêlah* and the plain of Esdraelon,[4] he learned, when he neared Megiddo, that a body of troops was drawn up at that place to oppose him. Josiah, the Jewish king, regarding himself as bound to resist the passage through his territories of an army hostile to the monarch of whom he held his crown, had collected his forces, and, having placed them across the line of the invader's march, was calmly awaiting in this position the approach of his master's enemy. Neco hereupon sent ambassadors to persuade Josiah to let him pass, representing that he had no quarrel with the Jews, and claiming a divine sanction to his undertaking.[5] But nothing could shake the Jewish monarch's sense of duty; and Neco was consequently forced to engage with him, and to drive his troops from their position. Josiah, defeated and mortally wounded, returned to Jerusalem, where he died.[6] Neco pressed forward through Syria to the Euphrates;[7] and, carrying all before him, established his dominion over the whole tract lying between Egypt on the one hand, and the "Great River" upon the other.[8] On his return three months later he visited Jeru-

[3] The last year of Josiah was (I think) B.C. 608—not B.C. 609, as Clinton makes it (*F. H.* vol. i. p. 328), nor B.C. 610, as given in the margin of our Bibles.

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 450, note [9].

[5] 2 Chron. xxxv. 21.

[6] 2 K. xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chr. xxxv. 23, 24. Compare Herod. ii. 159, where the battle is erroneously placed at Magdolum (Magdala) instead of Megiddo.

[7] 2 Chr. xxxv. 20; Jer. xlvi. 2.

[8] This is evident from what is said of the recovery of this tract by the Babylonians (2 K. xxiv. 17), and from the position of Neco's army in B.C. 605. (Jer. l. s. c.) It agrees also with the statements of Berosus (Fr. 14), except that Neco is there represented as a Babylonian satrap.

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salem,[9] deposed Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, whom the people had made king, and gave the crown to Jehoiakim, his elder brother. It was probably about this time that he besieged and took Gaza,[10] the most important of the Philistine towns next to Ashdod.

The loss of this large and valuable territory did not at once arouse the Babylonian monarch from his inaction or induce him to make any effort for its recovery. Neco enjoyed his conquests in quiet for the space of at least three full years.[11] At length, in the year B.C. 605, Nabopolassar, who felt himself unequal to the fatigues of a campaign,[12] resolved to entrust his forces to Nebuchadnezzar, his son, and to send him to contend with the Egyptians. The key of Syria at this time was Carchemish, a city situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, probably near the site which was afterwards occupied by Hierapolis. Here the forces of Neco were drawn up to protect his conquests, and here Nebuchadnezzar proceeded boldly to attack them. A great battle was fought in the vicinity of the river, which was utterly disastrous to the Egyptians, who "fled away" in confusion,[13] and seem not to have ventured on making a second stand. Nebuchadnezzar rapidly recovered the lost territory, received the submission of Jehoiakim, King of Judah,[14] restored the old frontier line, and probably pressed on into Egypt itself,[15] hoping to cripple or even to crush his presumptuous adversary. But at this point he was compelled to pause. News arrived from Babylon that Nabopolassar was dead; and the Babylonian prince, who feared a disputed succession, having first concluded a hasty arrangement with Neco, returned at his best speed to his capital.[16]

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[9] 2 K. xxiii. 33, 34.

[10] Herod. ii. 159; Jer. xlvii. 1.

[11] The great battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Neco, was in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xlvi. 2), whom Neco made king after his first successes.

[12] Οὐ *δυνάμενος ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν*. (Beros. Fr. 14.)

[13] Jer. xlvi. 5. Compare the narrative of Berosus. *Συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο.* (Fr. 14.)

[14] 2 K. xxiv. 1.

[15] Berosus speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's arranging the affairs of Egypt at this time (l. s. c.).

[16] On this occasion Nebuchadnezzar, to save time, traversed the desert with a small body of followers. The troops,

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Arriving probably before he was expected, he discovered that his fears were groundless. The priests had taken the direction of affairs during his absence, and the throne had been kept vacant for him by the Chief Priest, or Head of the Order.[17] No pretender had started up to dispute his claims. Doubtless his military prestige, and the probability that the soldiers would adopt his cause, had helped to keep back aspirants; but perhaps it was the promptness of his return, as much as anything, that caused the crisis to pass off without difficulty.

Nebuchadnezzar is the great monarch of the Babylonian Empire, which, lasting only 88 years—from B.C. 625 to B.C. 538—was for nearly half the time under his sway. Its military glory is due chiefly to him, while the constructive energy, which constitutes its especial characteristic, belongs to it still more markedly through his character and genius. It is scarcely too much to say that, but for Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonians would have had no place in history. At any rate, their actual place is owing almost entirely to this prince, who to the military talents of an able general added a grandeur of artistic conception and a skill in construction which place him on a par with the greatest builders of antiquity.

We have no complete, or even general, account of Nebuchadnezzar's wars. Our chief, our almost sole, information concerning them is derived from the Jewish writers.[1] Consequently, those wars only which interested these writers, in other words those whose scene is Palestine or its immediate vicinity, admit of being placed before the reader. If Nebuchadnezzar had quarrels with the Persians, or the Arabians,[2] or the Medes,

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the baggage, and the provisions returned by the usual route through Upper Syria. (Beros. l. s. c.)

[17] Berosus, l. s. c. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[1] As Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the authors of Kings and Chronicles, and Josephus. In the valuable fragment which Josephus has preserved from Berosus (*Contr. Ap.* i. 19), we have an account of only one war—that waged by Nebuchadnezzar in his father's lifetime. (See above, p. 49).

[2] A phrase in Berosus seems to imply that Nebuchadnezzar not only had a war with the Arabs, but that he conquered a portion of their country. (Κρατῆσαι δὲ φησὶν [ὁ Βηρωσσὸς] τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου, Συρίας, Φοινίκης, Ἀραβίας. Fr. 14.) Is this the conquest of the Moabites and Ammonites of which Josephus speaks? (*Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.)

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or the tribes in Mount Zagros, as is not improbable, nothing is now known of their course or issue. Until some historical document belonging to his time shall be discovered, we must be content with a very partial knowledge of the external history of Babylon during his reign. We have a tolerably full account of his campaigns against the Jews, and some information as to the general course of the wars which he carried on with Egypt and Phœnicia; but beyond these narrow limits we know nothing.

It appears to have been only a few years after Nebuchadnezzar's triumphant campaign against Neco, that renewed troubles broke out in Syria. Phœnicia revolted under the leadership of Tyre;[3] and about the same time Jehoiakim, the Jewish king, having obtained a promise of aid from the Egyptians, renounced his allegiance.[4] Upon this, in his seventh year (B.C. 598), Nebuchadnezzar proceeded once more into Palestine at the head of a vast army, composed partly of his allies, the Medes, partly of his own subjects.[5] He first invested Tyre;[6] but, finding that city too strong to be taken by assault, he left a portion of his army to continue the siege, while he himself pressed forward against Jerusalem.[7] On his near approach, Jehoiakim, seeing that the Egyptians did not care to come to his aid, made his submission; but Nebuchadnezzar punished his rebellion with death,[8] and, departing from the common Oriental practice, had his dead body treated with indignity.[9] At first

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[3] Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21; *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 1. Compare Jer. xxvii. 3.

[4] 2 K. xxiv. 1. The expectation of help from Egypt, which Josephus expressly asserts (*Ant. Jud.* x. 6, § 2), is implied in 2 K. xxiv. 7. We may suspect that the embassy sent ostensibly to claim Urijah (Jer. xxvi. 22) had really for its object to conclude an arrangement with Neco.

[5] Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 24. (See above, vol. ii. p. 414.) According to this writer, Nebuchadnezzar's army on this occasion numbered 10,000 chariots (!), 120,000 horse, and 180,000 foot.

[6] The grounds for believing that Tyre was invested *before* Jerusalem are given in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 422, note [6], 2nd edition).

[7] 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 6, § 3.

[8] Josephus (l. s. c.) accuses Nebuchadnezzar of a breach of faith on this occasion: but it is most likely that Jehoiakim surrendered without conditions.

[9] Joseph. l. s. c. Compare Jer. xxii. 19, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem," and xxxvi. 30, "His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost."

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he placed upon the throne Jehoiachin, the son of the late monarch,[10] a youth of eighteen;[11] but three months later, becoming suspicious (probably not without reason) of this prince's fidelity, he deposed him and had him brought a captive to Babylon,[12] substituting in his place his uncle, Zedekiah, a brother of Jehoiakim and Jehoahaz. Meanwhile the siege of Tyre was pressed, but with little effect. A blockade is always tedious; and the blockade of an island city, strong in its navy, by an enemy unaccustomed to the sea, and therefore forced to depend mainly upon the assistance of reluctant allies, must have been a task of such extreme difficulty that one is surprised it was not given up in despair. According to the Tyrian historians their city resisted all the power of Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years.[13] If this statement is to be relied on, Tyre must have been still uncaptured, when the time came for its sister capital to make that last effort for freedom in which it perished.

After receiving his crown from Nebuchadnezzar, Zedekiah continued for eight years to play the part of a faithful vassal. At length, however, in the ninth year,[14] he fancied he saw a way to independence. A young and enterprising monarch, Uaphris—the Apries of Herodotus—had recently mounted the Egyptian throne.[15] If the alliance of this prince could be secured, there was, Zedekiah thought, a reasonable hope that the yoke of Babylon might be thrown off and Hebrew autonomy re-established. The infatuated monarch did not see that, do what he would, his country had no more than a choice of masters, that by the laws of political attraction Judæa must gravitate to one or other of the two great states between which it had the misfortune of lying. Hoping to free his country, he sent ambassadors to Uaphris, who were to conclude a treaty and

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[10] Jer. xxvii. 1; Joseph. x. 71, § 1.

[11] 2 K. xxiv. 8. The number *eight* in the parallel passage of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxvi. 9) is evidently corrupt. Nebuchadnezzar would not have placed a boy of eight on the throne. Jehoiachin, moreover, had several wives (2 K. xxiv. 15.)

[12] 2 K. xxiv. 10-15; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10.

[13] Joseph. *contr. Ap.* i. 21. Compare Philostr. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 1.

[14] 2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1; lii. 4.

[15] The ninth year of Zedekiah was B.C. 588. Uaphris began to reign the same year.

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demand the assistance of a powerful contingent, composed of both foot and horse.[16] Uaphris received the overture favourably; and Zedekiah at once revolted from Babylon, and made preparations to defend himself with vigour. It was not long before the Babylonians arrived. Determined to crush the daring state, which, weak as it was, had yet ventured to revolt against him now for the fourth time,[17] Nebuchadnezzar came in person, "he and all his host,"[18] against Jerusalem, and after overcoming and pillaging the open country,[19] "built forts" and besieged the city.[20] Uaphris, upon this, learning the danger of his ally, marched out of Egypt to his relief;[21] and the Babylonian army, receiving intelligence of his approach, raised the siege and proceeded in quest of their new enemy. According to Josephus[22] a battle was fought, in which the Egyptians were defeated; but it is perhaps more probable that they avoided an engagement by a precipitate retreat into their own country.[23] At any rate the attempt effectually to relieve Jerusalem failed. After a brief interval the siege was renewed; a complete blockade was established; and in a year and a half from the time of the second investment,[24] the city fell.

Nebuchadnezzar had not waited to witness this success of his arms. The siege of Tyre was still being pressed at the date of the second investment of Jerusalem, and the Chaldæan monarch had perhaps thought that his presence on the borders of Phœnicia was necessary to animate his troops in that quarter. If this was his motive in withdrawing from the Jewish capital, the event would seem to have shown that he judged wisely. Tyre, if it fell at the end of its thirteen years' siege,[1] must have

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[16] Ezek. xvii. 15. "He rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people." Compare Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 3.

[17] Jehoiakim seems to have revolted twice—in his 8th and in his 11th year; Jehoiachin either had revolted or was on the point of revolting when he was deposed. Thus Zedekiah's revolt was the fourth within the space of thirteen years (B.C. 601-588).

[18] 2 K. xxv. 1.

[19] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 3. Τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβών. Compare Jer. xxxiv. 7.

[20] 2 K. l. s. c.; Jer. lii. 4.

[21] Jer. xxxvii. 5.

[22] *Ant. Jud.* l. s. c. Ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τῇ μάχῃ νικᾷ.

[23] See Jer. xxxvii. 7.

[24] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 4. Προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐπολιόρκει.

[1] It has been questioned whether the

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been taken in the very year which followed the capture of Jerusalem, B.C. 585.[2] We may suppose that Nebuchadnezzar, when he quitted Jerusalem and took up his abode at Riblah in the Cœle-Syrian valley,[3] turned his main attention to the great Phœnician city, and made arrangements which caused its capture in the ensuing year.

The recovery of these two important cities secured to the Babylonian monarch the quiet possession thenceforth of Syria and Palestine. But still he had not as yet inflicted any chastisement upon Egypt; though policy, no less than honour, required that the aggressions of this audacious power should be punished. If we may believe Josephus, however, the day of vengeance was not very long delayed. Within four years of the fall of Tyre, B.C. 581, Nebuchadnezzar, he tells us, invaded Egypt, put Uaphris, the monarch who had succoured Zedekiah, to death, and placed a creature of his own upon the throne.[4] Egyptian history, it is true, forbids our accepting this statement as correct in all its particulars. Uaphris appears certainly to have reigned at least as late as B.C. 569,[5] and according to Herodotus, he was put to death, not by a foreign invader, but by a rebellious subject.[6] Perhaps we may best harmonize the conflicting statements on the subject by supposing that Josephus has confounded two distinct invasions of Egypt, one made by Nebuchadnezzar in his twenty-third year, B.C. 581, which had no very important consequences, and the other

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real Tyre, the island city, actually fell on this occasion (Heeren, *As. Nat.* vol. ii. p. 11, E. T.; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 390), chiefly because Ezekiel says, about B.C. 570, that Nebuchadnezzar had "received no wages for the service that he served against it." (Ezek. xxix. 18.) But this passage may be understood to mean that he had had no sufficient wages. Berosus expressly stated that Nebuchadnezzar reduced all Phœnicia—*ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἁπᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο.* (Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 20.)

[2] The siege commenced in the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and lasted 13 years, terminating consequently in his 20th year, which was B.C. 585. (Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21.)

[3] 2 K. xxv. 6, 20, 21; Jer. xxxix. 5; lii. 9. Riblah seems to have been an important fortress at this time (2 K. xxiii. 33). Apparently it had taken the place of Hamath.

[4] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.

[5] Cambyses conquered Egypt B.C. 525. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 1, note [1].) Psammenitus (Psammatik III.) had then been on the throne a few months. Amasis, his father, who succeeded Apries, had reigned 44 years. (Herod. iii. 10. Manetho, as represented by Africanus, and the monuments agree.) This would bring the close of the reign of Apries (Uaphris) to B.C. 569.

[6] Herod. ii. 169.

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eleven years later, B.C. 570, which terminated in the deposition of Uaphris, and the establishment on the throne of a new king, Amasis, who received a nominal royalty from the Chaldæan monarch.[7]

Such—so far as they are known—were the military exploits of this great king. He defeated Neco, recovered Syria, crushed rebellion in Judæa, took Tyre, and humiliated Egypt. According to some writers his successes did not stop here. Megasthenes made him subdue most of Africa, and thence pass over into Spain and conquer the Iberians.[8] He even went further, and declared that, on his return from these regions, he settled his Iberian captives on the shores of the Euxine in the country between Armenia and the Caucasus! Thus Nebuchadnezzar was made to reign over an empire extending from the Atlantic to the Caspian, and from the Caucasus to the Great Sahara.

The victories of Nebuchadnezzar were not without an effect on his home administration and on the construction of the vast works with which his name is inseparably associated. It was through them that he obtained that enormous command of "naked human strength" which enabled him, without undue oppression of his own people, to carry out on the grandest scale his schemes for at once beautifying and benefiting his kingdom. From the time when he first took the field at the head of an army he adopted the Assyrian system[9] of forcibly removing almost the whole population of a conquered country, and planting it in a distant part of his dominions. Crowds of captives—the produce of his various wars—Jews, Egyptians, Phœnicians,

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[7] The prophecies of Jeremiah (xlvi. 13-26) and Ezekiel (xxix. 8-20; xxx. 4-26), especially the latter, are very difficult to reconcile with the historical accounts that have come down to us of the condition of Egypt in the reigns of Apries and Amasis. (Herod. ii. 161-182; Diod. Sic. i. 68.) Ezekiel's 40 years' *desolation* of Egypt must (I think) be taken as figurative, marking a time of *degradation*, when independence was lost. Of course such political degradation would be quite consistent with great material prosperity. (See the remarks of Sir G. Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325, 2nd edition.)

It is never to be forgotten that Berosus distinctly witnessed to the *conquest* of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. (Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 19. Κρατῆσαι δὲ φησὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου κ.τ.λ.)

[8] Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Compare Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10, § 3, and Mos. Chor. *Hist. Armen.* ii. 7.

[9] See above, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

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Syrians, Ammonites, Moabites, were settled in various parts of Mesopotamia,[10] more especially about Babylon. From these unfortunates forced labour was as a matter of course required;[11] and it seems to have been chiefly, if not solely, by their exertions that the magnificent series of great works was accomplished, which formed the special glory of the Fourth Monarchy.

The chief works expressly ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar by the ancient writers are the following:—He built the great wall of Babylon,[12] which, according to the lowest estimate,[13] must have contained more than 500,000,000 square feet of solid masonry, and must have required three or four times that number of bricks.[14] He constructed a new and magnificent palace in the neighbourhood of the ancient residence of the kings.[15] He made the celebrated "Hanging Garden" for the gratification of his wife, Amyitis.[16] He repaired and beautified the great temple of Belus at Babylon.[17] He dug the huge reservoir near Sippara, said to have been 140 miles in circumference, and 180 feet deep, furnishing it with flood-gates, through which its water could be drawn off for purposes of irrigation.[18] He constructed a number of canals, among them the *Nahr Malcha* or "Royal River," a broad and deep channel which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris.[19] He built quays and breakwaters along the shores of the Persian Gulf, and he at the same time founded the city of Diridotis or Teredon in the vicinity of that sea.[20]

To these constructions may be added, on the authority either of Nebuchadnezzar's own inscriptions or of the existing remains,

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[10] Beros. Fr. 14; 2 K. xxiv. 14-16; xxv. 11; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 20; Ezek. i. 1; Dan. i. 3; &c. [11] Polyhist. Fr. 24.

[12] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10, § 2; ap. eund. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Nebuchadnezzar, however, in the Standard Inscription, only claims to have repaired the wall.

[13] Taking the height of the wall, that is, at 75 feet, its width at 32 feet, and its circumference at 365 stades. The measurements of Herodotus would raise the cubical contents to more than 5,400,000,000 feet.

[14] Babylonian bricks are about a foot square and from 3 to 4 inches thick.

[15] Berosus, Fr. 14.

[16] Ibid. Compare Diod. Sic. ii. 10, § 1; Q. Curt. i. 5.

[17] Beros. l. s. c. Compare the Standard Inscription. *All* the inscribed bricks hitherto discovered in the Babil mound bear Nebuchadnezzar's legend.

[18] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41.

[19] Ibid. This is perhaps the *Chebar* of Ezekiel. In Pliny's time it was called the work of a certain *Gobar*, a provincial governor. (*H. N.* vi. 26.)

[20] Abyden. l. s. c.

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the Birs-i-Nimrud, or great Temple of Nebo at Borsippa;[21] a vast reservoir in Babylon itself, called the *Yapur-Shapu*;[22] an extensive embankment along the course of the Tigris, near Baghdad;[23] and almost innumerable temples, walls, and other public buildings at Cutha, Sippara, Borsippa, Babylon, Chilmad, Bit-Digla, &c. The indefatigable monarch seems to have either rebuilt, or at least repaired, almost every city and temple throughout the entire country. There are said to be at least a hundred sites in the tract immediately about Babylon, which give evidence, by inscribed bricks bearing his legend, of the marvellous activity and energy of this king.[24]

We may suspect that among the constructions of Nebuchadnezzar was another great work, a work second in utility to none of those above mentioned, and requiring for its completion an enormous amount of labour. This is the canal called by the Arabs the *Kerek Saïdeh*, or canal of Saideh, which they ascribe to a wife of Nebuchadnezzar, a cutting 400 miles in length, which commenced at Hit on the Euphrates, and was carried along the extreme western edge of the alluvium close to the Arabian frontier, finally falling into the sea at the head of the Bubian creek, about twenty miles to the west of the Shat-el-Arab. The traces of this canal which still remain[1] indicate a work of such magnitude and difficulty that we can scarcely ascribe it with probability to any monarch who has held the country since Nebuchadnezzar.

The Pallacopas,[2] or canal of Opa (Palga Opa[3]), which left the Euphrates at Sippara (Mosaib) and ran into a great lake in the neighbourhood of Borsippa, whence the lands in the neighbourhood were irrigated, may also have been one of Nebuchadnezzar's constructions. It was an old canal, much

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[21] See the inscription on the Birs i-Nimrud cylinders. (*Journal of As. Society*, vol. xviii. pp. 27-32.)

[22] See above, vol. ii. p. 538; and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 486, 2nd edition.

[23] This embankment is entirely composed of bricks which have never been disturbed, and which bear Nebuchadnezzar's name. (Sir H. Rawlinson's *Commentary*, p. 77, note.)

[24] Ibid. p. 76.

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 469, note ⁷, 2nd edition.

[2] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 21. Compare Strab. xvi. 1, § 11.

[3] Compare the Hebrew פְּלַג, "rivus." Opa would seem to be a proper name.

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out of repair, in the time of Alexander, and was certainly the work, not of the Persian conquerors, but of some native monarch anterior to Cyrus. The Arabs, who call it the Nahr Abba, regard it as the oldest canal in the country.[4]

Some glimpses into the private life and personal character of Nebuchadnezzar are afforded us by certain of the Old Testament writers. We see him in the Book of Daniel at the head of a magnificent Court, surrounded by "princes, governors, and captains, judges, treasurers, councillors, and sheriffs;"[5] waited on by eunuchs selected with the greatest care, "well-favoured" and carefully educated;[6] attended, whenever he requires it, by a multitude of astrologers and other "wise men," who seek to interpret to him the will of Heaven.[7] He is an absolute monarch, disposing with a word of the lives and properties of his subjects, even the highest.[8] All offices are in his gift. He can raise a foreigner to the second place in the kingdom, and even set him over the entire priestly order.[9] His wealth is enormous, for he makes of pure gold an image, or obelisk, ninety feet high and nine feet broad.[10] He is religious after a sort, but wavers in his faith, sometimes acknowledging the God of the Jews as the only real deity,[11] sometimes relapsing into an idolatrous worship,[12] and forcing all his subjects to follow his example.[13] Even then, however, his polytheism is of a kind which admits of a special devotion to a particular deity, who is called emphatically "his god."[14] In temper he is hasty and violent, but not obstinate; his fierce resolves are taken suddenly and as suddenly repented of;[15] he is moreover capable of bursts of gratitude and devotion,[16] no less than of accesses of fury; like most Orientals, he is vainglorious;[17] but he can humble himself before the chastening hand of the Almighty; in his better moods he shows a spirit astonishing in one of his country and time—a spirit of real piety,

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[4] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.
[5] Dan. iii. 2. [6] Ibid, i. 3, 4.
[7] Ibid. ii. 2; iv. 6, 7.
[8] Ibid. i. 10; ii. 12.
[9] Ibid. ii. 48, 49. [10] Ibid. iii. 1.
[11] Ibid. ii. 47; iii. 26-29; iv. 2, 34, 37.
[12] Ibid. iii. 14; iv. 8.
[13] Dan. iii. 4-20.
[14] Ibid. i. 2; iv. 8. Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions sufficiently show that this favourite god was Bel-Merodach.
[15] Ibid. ii. 12, 48; iii. 20, 26.
[16] Ibid. ii. 46-49; iii. 28-30; iv. 2, 34-37.
[17] Ibid. iv. 30.

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self-condemnation, and self-abasement, which renders him one of the most remarkable characters in Scripture.[18]

A few touches of a darker hue must be added to this portrait of the great Babylonian king from the statements of another contemporary, the prophet Jeremiah. The execution of Jehoiakim, and the putting out of Zedekiah's eyes, though acts of considerable severity, may perhaps be regarded as justified by the general practice of the age, and therefore as not indicating in Nebuchadnezzar any special ferocity of disposition. But the ill-treatment of Jehoiakim's dead body,[19] the barbarity of murdering Zedekiah's sons *before his eyes*,[20] and the prolonged imprisonment both of Zedekiah[21] and of Jehoiachin,[22] though the latter had only contemplated rebellion, cannot be thus excused. They were unusual and unnecessary acts, which tell against the monarch who authorised them, and must be considered to imply a real cruelty of disposition, such as is observable in Sargon and Asshur-bani-pal.[23] Nebuchadnezzar, it is plain, was not content with such a measure of severity as was needed to secure his own interests, but took a pleasure in the wanton infliction of suffering on those who had provoked his resentment.

On the other hand, we obtain from the native writer, Berosus, one amiable trait which deserves a cursory mention. Nebuchadnezzar was fondly attached to the Median princess who had been chosen for him as a wife by his father from political motives.[24] Not content with ordinary tokens of affection, he erected, solely for her gratification, the remarkable structure which the Greeks called the "Hanging Garden."[25] A native

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[18] See particularly ch. iv. 34, 35, 37. "I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honour the king of heaven, whose works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

[19] Supra, page 51, note [9].

[20] Jer. lii. 10. Compare 2 K. xxv. 7.

[21] Jer. lii. 11.

[22] Ibid. lii. 31.

[23] Supra, vol. i. p. 292, note [2]; vol. ii p. 219.

[24] See above, p. 45.

[25] Beros. Fr. 14. Κατασκευάσαι τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον, διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως, τεθραμμένης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις.

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of a mountainous country, Amyitis disliked the tiresome uniformity of the level alluvium, and pined for the woods and hills of Media. It was to satisfy this longing by the best substitute which circumstances allowed that the celebrated Garden was made. Art strove to emulate nature with a certain measure of success, and the lofty rocks[26] and various trees[27] of this wonderful Paradise, if they were not a very close imitation of Median mountain scenery, were at any rate a pleasant change from the natural monotony of the Babylonian plain, and must have formed a grateful retreat for the Babylonian queen, whom they reminded at once of her husband's love and of the beauty of her native country.

The most remarkable circumstance in Nebuchadnezzar's life remains to be noticed. Towards the close of his reign, when his conquests and probably most of his great works were completed,[28] in the midst of complete tranquillity and prosperity, a sudden warning was sent him. He dreamt a strange dream;[29] and when he sought to know its meaning, the Prophet Daniel was inspired to tell him that it portended his removal from the kingly office for the space of seven years, in consequence of a curious and very unusual kind of madness.[30] This malady, which is not unknown to physicians, has been termed "Lycanthropy."[1] It consists in the belief that one is not a man but a beast, in the disuse of language, the rejection of all ordinary human food, and sometimes in the loss of the erect posture and a preference for walking on all fours. Within a year of the time that he received the warning,[2] Nebuchadnezzar was smitten. The great king became a wretched maniac. Allowed to indulge in his distempered fancy, he eschewed human habitations, lived in the open air night and day, fed on herbs, disused clothing, and became covered with a rough coat of hair.[3] His

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[26] Ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλά. Beros. l. s. c.

[27] Δένδρεα παντοδαπά. Ibid.

[28] Compare Dan. iv. 22 and 30.

[29] Ibid. verses 10-17.

[30] Ibid. verses 20-26.

[1] See Dr. Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, pp. 425-430, and compare the treatise of Welcker entitled *Die Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit*, in the 3rd volume of his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 157 et seq.

[2] Dan. iv. 29.

[3] Ibid. verse 33.

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subjects generally, it is probable, were not allowed to know of his condition,[4] although they could not but be aware that he was suffering from some terrible malady. The queen most likely held the reins of power, and carried on the government in his name. The dream had been interpreted to mean that the lycanthropy would not be permanent; and even the date of recovery had been announced, only with a certain ambiguity.[5] The Babylonians were thereby encouraged to await events, without taking any steps that would have involved them in difficulties if the malady ceased. And their faith and patience met with a reward. After suffering obscuration for the space of seven years, suddenly the king's intellect returned to him.[6] His recovery was received with joy by his Court. Lords and councillors gathered about him.[7] He once more took the government into his own hands, issued his proclamations,[8] and performed the other functions of royalty. He was now an old man, and his reign does not seem to have been much prolonged; but "the glory of his kingdom," his "honour and brightness" returned; his last days were as brilliant as his first: his sun set in an unclouded sky, shorn of none of the rays that had given splendour to its noonday. Nebuchadnezzar expired at Babylon[9] in the forty-fourth year of his reign, B.C. 561, after an illness of no long duration.[10] He was probably little short of eighty years old at his death.[11]

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[4] We must not suppose that the afflicted monarch was allowed to range freely through the country. He was no doubt strictly confined to the private gardens attached to the palace.

[5] Dan. iv. 25. The "seven *times*" of this passage would probably, but not necessarily, mean seven years.

[6] Ibid. verse 34. It has been thought that there is a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's malady in the Standard Inscription. But this is now doubted. Perhaps we ought scarcely to expect that a king would formally record such an affliction.

[7] Ibid. verse 36. "My counsellors and my lords sought unto me."

[8] Ch. iv. of Daniel is Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation on his recovery.

[9] Abyden. Fr. 8.

[10] Berosus, Fr. 14. Ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον. This sober account of the Chaldæan historian contrasts favourably with the marvellous narrative of Abydenus, who makes Nebuchadnezzar first prophesy the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, and then vanish away out of the sight of men. (Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41; p. 456, D.)

[11] If we suppose him 15 when he was contracted to the daughter of Cyaxares (B.C. 625), he would have been 36 at his accession and 79 at his death, in B.C. 561.

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The successor of Nebuchadnezzar was his son Evil-Merodach,[12] who reigned only two years,[13] and of whom very little is known. We may suspect that the marvellous events of his father's life, which are recorded in the Book of Daniel, had made a deep impression upon him, and that he was thence inclined to favour the persons, and perhaps the religion, of the Jews. One of his first acts[14] was to release the unfortunate Jehoiachin from the imprisonment in which he had languished for thirty-five years, and to treat him with kindness and respect. He not only recognised his royal rank, but gave him precedence over all the captive kings resident at Babylon.[15] Josephus says that he even admitted Jehoiachin into the number of his most intimate friends.[16] Perhaps he may have designed him some further advancement, and may in other respects have entertained projects which seemed strange and alarming to his subjects. At any rate he had been but two years upon the throne when a conspiracy was formed against him; he was accused of lawlessness and intemperance;[17] his own brother-in-law, Neriglissar, the husband of a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, headed the malcontents; and Evil-Merodach lost his life with his crown.

Neriglissar, the successful conspirator, was at once acknowledged king. He is probably identical with the "Nergal-sharezer, Rab-Mag," of Jeremiah,[18] who occupied a prominent position among the Babylonian nobles left to press the siege of Jerusalem when Nebuchadnezzar retired to Riblah. The title of "Rab-Mag" is one that he bears upon his bricks. It is doubtful what exactly this office was; for we have no reason to believe that

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[12] Beros. Fr. 14; Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5; Abyden. ap. eund. i. 10.

[13] So the Astronomical Canon and Berosus (l. s. c.). Polyhistor (l. s. c.) gave him 12 years, and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2) 18 years.

[14] "In the year that he began to reign." (2 K. xxv. 27. Compare Jer. lii. 31.)

[15] 2 K. xxv. 28; Jer. lii. 32.

[16] Ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις φίλοις εἶχε. (*Ant. Jud.* l. s. c.)

[17] Προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς. (Beros. Fr. 14.)

[18] Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13. The real name of this king, as it appears upon his bricks, was Nergal-sar-uzur, with which the Hebrew Nergal-shar-ezer is clearly identical. This fact, added to the circumstance that the king bore the office of Rab-Mag, makes it almost certain that he is the person mentioned by Jeremiah.

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there were at this time any Magi at Babylon ;[19] but it was certainly an ancient and very high dignity of which even kings might be proud. It is remarkable that Neriglissar calls himself the son of Bel-sum-iskun, "king of Babylon"—a monarch whose name does not appear in Ptolemy's list, but who is probably to be identified with a chieftain so called, who assumed the royal title in the troubles which preceded the fall of the Assyrian Empire.[20]

During his short reign of four years, or rather three years and a few months,[21] Neriglissar had not time to distinguish himself by many exploits. So far as appears, he was at peace with all his neighbours, and employed his time principally in the construction of the Western Palace at Babylon, which was a large building placed at one corner of a fortified enclosure, directly opposite the ancient royal residence, and abutting on the Euphrates.[22] If the account which Diodorus gives of this palace [23] be not a gross exaggeration of the truth, it must have been a magnificent erection, elaborately ornamented with painting and sculpture in the best style of Babylonian art, though in size it may have been inferior to the old residence of the kings on the other side of the river.

Neriglissar reigned from B.C. 559 to B.C. 556, and dying a natural death in the last-named year, left his throne to his son, Laborosoarchod, or Labossoracus.[24] This prince, who was a mere boy,[25] and therefore quite unequal to the task of governing a great empire in critical times, was not allowed to retain the crown many months. Accused by those about him—whether

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[19] There is no ground for regarding the Babylonian priests as *magi*. By none of the old classical writers are they given the name. None of the terms applied to the "wise men" in Daniel resemble it. There is certainly a remarkable resemblance between the *mag* of Rab-Mag and *magus*. But the resemblance is less in the native language, where Rab-Mag is *Rabu-emga;* and the term *emga* is not used in Babylonian when a Magus is certainly intended. (See *Behist. Ins.* col. i. par. 13, &c.)

[20] See above, p. 44, note [2].

[21] As the nine months of Laborosoarchod are not counted in the Canon, we have to deduct them from the adjoining reigns—those of Neriglissar and Nabonadius.

[22] See above, vol. ii. p. 532.

[23] Diod. Sic. ii. 8, § 7. Compare above, vol. ii. p. 552.

[24] Laborosoarchod is the form which has most authority, since it occurs both in the Canon of Ptolemy and in Berosus (Fr. 14). Labossoracus or Labesoracus is the form given in the Armenian Eusebius. Josephus has Labosordacus in one place (*Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2); Abydenus (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41) Labassoarascus.

[25] Παῖς ὤν. Berosus, l. s. c.

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justly or unjustly we cannot say—of giving many indications of a bad disposition,[26] he was deposed and put to death by torture.[27] With him power passed from the House of Nabopolassar, which had held the throne for just seventy years.[28]

On the death of Laborosoarchod the conspirators selected one of their number, a certain Nabonadius or Nabannidochus,[29] and invested him with the sovereignty. He was in no way related to the late monarch,[1] and his claim to succeed must have been derived mainly from the part which he had played in the conspiracy. But still he was a personage of some rank, for his father had, like Neriglissar, held the important office of Rab-Mag.[2] It is probable that one of his first steps on ascending the throne was to connect himself by marriage with the royal house which had preceded him in the kingdom.[3] Either the mother of the late king Laborosoarchod, and widow of Neriglissar, or possibly some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, was found willing to unite her fortunes with those of the new sovereign, and share the dangers and the dignity of his position. Such a union strengthened the hold of the reigning monarch on the allegiance of his subjects, and tended still more to add stability to his dynasty. For as the issue of such a marriage would join in one the claims of both royal houses, he would be sure to receive the support of all parties in the state.

Very shortly after the accession of Nabonadius (B.C. 555) he

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[26] Διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη. (Beros. Fr. 14.)

[27] Ἀπετυμπανίσθη. Ibid. The word means literally "was beaten to death."

[28] From the commencement of B.C. 625 to the close of B.C. 556.

[29] The name is read as Nabu-nahid in Assyrian and Nabu-induk in Hamitic Babylonian. The former is the groundwork of Nabonnedus (Berosus), Nabonadius (Astr. Can.), and Labynetus (Herod.); the latter of Nabannidochus (Abyden.) and Naboandelus, which should probably be Naboandechus (Josephus).

[1] Τούτου (sc. Λαβασσοαράσκου) ἀποθανόντος βιαίῳ μόρῳ, Ναβαννίδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντα οἱ οὐδέν. (Abyden. Fr. 9.) Compare Berosus, Fr. 14, who calls Nabonadius Ναβόννηδόν τινα τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος.

[2] On his bricks and cylinders Nabonidus calls himself the son of Nabu-**-dirba, the Rab-Mag. (See *British Museum Series*, vol. i. Pl. 68.)

[3] This has been at all times the usual practice of usurpers in the East. (See Herod. iii. 68, 88; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 12, § 1; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325; &c.) That it was adopted by Nabonadius seems to follow, 1. from Belshazzar, his son, being regarded in Daniel as a son (descendant) of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 2, 11, 13, 18, 22), and 2. from his having a son to whom he gave the name of Nebuchadnezzar. (See *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 16, § 10; col. iii. par. 13, § 6.)

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received an embassy from the far north-west.[4] An important revolution had occurred on the eastern frontier of Babylonia three years before, in the reign of Neriglissar;[5] but its effects only now began to make themselves felt among the neighbouring nations. Had Cyrus, on taking the crown, adopted the policy of Astyages, the substitution of Persia for Media as the ruling Arian nation would have been a matter of small account. But there can be little doubt that he really entered at once on a career of conquest.[6] Lydia, at any rate, felt herself menaced by the new power, and seeing the danger which threatened the other monarchies of the time, if they allowed the great Arian kingdom to attack them severally with her full force, proposed a league whereby the common enemy might, she thought, be resisted with success. Ambassadors seem to have been sent from Sardis to Babylon in the very year in which Nabonadius became king.[7] He therefore had at once to decide whether he would embrace the offer made him, and uniting with Lydia and Egypt in a league against Persia, make that power his enemy, or refuse the proffered alliance and trust to the gratitude of Cyrus for the future security of his kingdom. It would be easy to imagine the arguments *pro* and *contra* which presented themselves to his mind at this conjuncture; but as they would be destitute of a historical foundation, it is perhaps best to state simply the decision at which he is known to have arrived. This was an acceptance of the Lydian offer. Nabonadius consented to join the proposed league; and a treaty was probably soon afterwards concluded between the three powers whereby they united in an alliance offensive and defensive against the Persians.[8]

Knowing that he had provoked a powerful enemy by this bold act, and ignorant how soon he might be called upon to defend

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[4] Herod. i. 77. The author's reasons for placing the fall of Sardis in B.C. 554, and consequently the embassy sent by Crœsus to Nabonadius in B.C. 555, have been fully given in his *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 286, 287, 2nd edition.

[5] See above, vol. ii. p. 427.

[6] Herodotus represents Crœsus as the aggressor in his war with Cyrus; but it is probable that he was so formally rather than really. Cyrus's attempt to detach the Greeks from Lydia (Herod. i. 76), and his presence in full force *in Cappadocia* as soon as Crœsus invades his territory, are sufficient proof that he was about to attack Crœsus. (See the chapter on the "History of Persia.")

[7] See above, note [4]. [8] Herod. i. 77.

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his kingdom from the entire force of his foe, which might be suddenly hurled against him almost at any moment, Nabonadius seems to have turned his attention at once to providing means of defence. The works ascribed by Herodotus to a queen, Nitocris, whom he makes the mother of Nabonadius (Labynetus)[9] must be regarded as in reality constructions of that monarch himself,[10] undertaken with the object of protecting Babylon from Cyrus. They consisted in part of defences within the city, designed apparently to secure it against an enemy who should enter by the river, in part of hydraulic works intended to obstruct the advances of an army by the usual route. The river had hitherto flowed in its natural bed through the middle of the town. Nabonadius confined the stream by a brick embankment carried the whole way along both banks, after which he built on the top of the embankment a wall of a considerable height, pierced at intervals by gateways, in which were set gates of bronze.[11] He likewise made certain cuttings, reservoirs, and sluices at some distance from Babylon towards the north, which were to be hindrances to an enemy's march,[12] though in what way is not very apparent. Some have supposed that besides

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[9] The Nitocris of Herodotus still remains one of the dark personages of history. She is unknown to the monuments. No other independent author mentions her. Her very name is suspicious, being Egyptian, not Babylonian. Yet still it is hard to imagine her a mere myth. Herodotus heard of her at Babylon, within little more than a century of the time when she was said to have lived. He heard of her in conjunction with another older queen, Semiramis, who is found to be a historical personage, only a little misplaced. (Supra, p. 39.) Again, Nitocris, though not known otherwise as a Babylonian name, was an Egyptian royal name *in use at this period*. (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325, 2nd edition.) Under these circumstances it is perhaps allowable to conjecture, 1. that there was such a person; 2. that she was an Egyptian princess, or at any rate of Egyptian extraction; 3. that she was the wife, or mother, of one of the later Babylonian kings, and was regarded as in some sense reigning conjointly with him. My own *impression* is that she was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, born of an Egyptian mother, and married successively to Neriglissar and Nabonadius, who each ruled partly in her right. I regard her as the mother of Belshazzar, whom Herodotus confounds with his father, Nabonadius; and I suspect that she is the queen who "came into the banqueting-house" at Belshazzar's impious feast, and recommended him to send for Daniel. (Dan. v. 10-12.)

[10] The river walls, which Herodotus ascribes to Nitocris (i. 186), were declared expressly by Berosus to have been the work of this king (*ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη*. Fr. 14). The bricks of the embankment are found to bear his name.

[11] Herod. i. 180. The river walls can scarcely have been built until the embankment was made. [12] Ibid. 185.

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these works there was further built at the same time a great wall which extended entirely across the tract between the two rivers[13]—a huge barrier a hundred feet high and twenty thick[14] —meant, like the Roman walls in Britain and the great wall of China, to be insurmountable by an unskilful foe; but there is ground for suspecting that this belief is ill-founded, having for its sole basis a misconception of Xenophon's.[15]

Nabonadius appears to have been allowed ample time to carry out to the full his system of defences, and to complete all his preparations. The precipitancy of Crœsus, who plunged into a war with Persia single-handed, asking no aid from his allies,[16] and the promptitude of Cyrus, who allowed him no opportunity of recovering from his first false step,[17] had prevented Nabonadius from coming into actual collision with Persia in the early part of his reign. The defeat of Crœsus in the battle of Pteria, the siege of Sardis, and its capture, followed so rapidly on the first commencement of hostilities, that, whatever his wishes may have been, Nabonadius had it not in his power to give any help to his rash ally. Actual war was thus avoided at this time; and no collision having occurred, Cyrus could defer an attack on the great kingdom of the south until he had consolidated his power in the north and the north-east,[18] which he rightly regarded as of the last importance. Thus fourteen years intervened between the capture of Sardis by the Persian arms and the commencement of the expedition against Babylon.

When at last it was rumoured that the Persian king had quitted Ecbatana (B.C. 539) and commenced his march to the south-west, Nabonadius received the tidings with indifference. His defences were completed; his city was amply provisioned;[1]

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[13] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 180, 2nd edition.

[14] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, § 12.

[15] The "Median Wall" rests wholly on Xenophon's authority. It is quite unknown to Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian, and the other historians of Alexander. Excellent reasons have been given for believing that the barrier within which the Ten Thousand penetrated was the old wall of Babylon itself. (See a paper read by Sir H. Rawlinson before the Geographical Society in 1851.)

[16] Herod. i. 71.

[17] Ibid. 79-86.

[18] Ibid. 153 and 177. See the Historical Chapter in the account of the "Fifth Monarchy."

[1] Προσεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. Herod. i. 190. Ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 18.

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if the enemy should defeat him in the open field, he might retire behind his walls, and laugh to scorn all attempts to reduce his capital either by blockade or storm. It does not appear to have occurred to him that it was possible to protect his territory. With a broad, deep, and rapid river directly interposed between him and his foe, with a network of canals spread far and wide over his country, with an almost inexhaustible supply of human labour at his command for the construction of such dykes, walls, or cuttings as he should deem advisable, Nabonadius might, one would have thought, have aspired to save his land from invasion, or have disputed inch by inch his enemy's advance towards the capital. But such considerations have seldom had much force with Orientals, whose notions of war and strategy are even now of the rudest and most primitive description. To measure one's strength as quickly as possible with that of one's foe, to fight one great pitched battle in order to decide the question of superiority in the field, and then, if defeated, either to surrender or to retire behind walls, has been the ordinary conception of a commander's duties in the East from the time of the Ramesside kings to our own day. No special blame therefore attaches to Nabonadius for his neglect. He followed the traditional policy of Oriental monarchs in the course which he took. And his subjects had less reason to complain of his resolution than most others, since the many strongholds in Babylonia must have afforded them a ready refuge, and the great fortified district within which Babylon itself stood[2] must have been capable of accommodating with ease the whole native population of the country.

If we may trust Herodotus, the invader, having made all his preparations and commenced his march, came to a sudden pause midway between Ecbatana and Babylon.[3] One of the sacred white horses, which drew the chariot of Ormazd,[4] had been drowned in crossing a river; and Cyrus had thereupon desisted from his march, and, declaring that he would revenge himself on the insolent stream, had set his soldiers to disperse its waters into 360 channels. This work employed him during the whole

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[2] Supra, vol. ii. p. 512. [3] Herod. i. 189. [4] Ibid. vii. 40.

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