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THE RELIGIONS

OF

THE ANCIENT WORLD

BY

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Eastern World," etc.*



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The time has not yet come to construct a "Science of Religion," but certain results seem to follow from this review, viz. :—1. It is impossible to trace to any one fundamental conception the various religions.—2. From none of them could the Hebrew religion have originated—3. The sacred books of the Hebrews could not possibly have been derived from the sacred writings of these nations—4. This review gives no countenance to the theory of Comte—5. The facts point to a primitive religion, of which monotheism and expiatory sacrifice were parts, gradually corrupted and lost except among the Hebrews. page 174

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PREFACE.

THIS little work has originated in a series of papers written for the *Sunday at Home* in the years 1879 and 1881, based upon Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, from the chair which I have the honor to hold. During the twenty-one years that I have occupied that chair, I have continually felt more and more that the real history of nations is bound up with the history of their religions, and that, unless these are carefully studied and accurately known, the inner life of nations is not apprehended, nor is their history understood.

I have also felt that the desire to generalize upon the subject of ancient religions, and to build up a formal "Science of Religion," as it is called, has outrun the necessarily anterior collection of materials on which generalization might be safely based. I have, therefore, in my lectures to students, made a point of drawing their attention, from time to time, to the religious beliefs and practices of the various races and nations with whom my historical teaching has been concerned, and of exhibiting to them, as well as I was able, at once the external features and the internal characteristics of "The Religions of the Ancient World."

But the voice of a Professor, speaking *ex cathedra* rarely reaches far, nor do modern academical reforms tend in the direction of enlarging professorial influence within Universities. It thus becomes necessary for Professors, if they wish to advance the studies in which they feel especial interest, to address the world without through the Press, and this I have accordingly done from time to time, and shall probably continue to do, while life and strength are granted to me.

Of the shortcomings of the present work no one can be

more conscious than its author. I have represented myself towards its close (p. 173) as having done no more than touched the fringe of a great subject. Should circumstances permit, and sufficient encouragement be received, the sketch of Ancient Religions here put forth may not improbably receive at some future time such an expansion as may render it more porportionate to the vast matter of which it treats.

It is impossible to make acknowledgments to all those whose works I have consulted with advantage. But my obligations to Professor Max Müller's dissertations upon the Vedas, to Dr. Martin Haug's "Essays on the Parsee Religion," and to Mr. Dennis's "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria" seem to require special recognition. Apart from the works of these writers, three of the "Religions" could not have been so much as attempted. If I have ventured sometimes, though rarely, to differ from their conclusions, it has been with diffidence and reluctance.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

INTRODUCTION.

“Religio est, quæ superioris cujusdam, naturæ, quam Divinam vocant, curam cærimoniamque affert.”—CIC. *De Inventione*, ii. 53.

It is the fashion of the day to speculate on the origins of things. Not content with observing the mechanism of the heavens, astronomers discuss the formation of the material universe, and seek in the phenomena which constitute the subject-matter of their science for “Vestiges of Creation.” Natural philosophers propound theories of the “Origin of Species,” and the primitive condition of man. Comparative philologists are no longer satisfied to dissect languages, compare roots, or contrast systems of grammar, but regard it as incumbent upon them to put forward views respecting the first beginnings of language itself.

To deal with facts is thought to be a humdrum and commonplace employment of the intellect, one fitted for the dull ages when men were content to plod, and when progress, development, “the higher criticism” were unknown. The intellect now takes loftier flights. Conjecture is found to be more amusing than induction, and an ingenious hypothesis to be more attractive than a proved law. Our “advanced thinkers” advanced to the furthest limits of human knowledge, sometimes even beyond them; and bewitch us with speculations, which are as beautiful, and as unsubstantial, as the bubbles which a child produces with a little soap and water and a tobacco-pipe.

Nor does even religion escape. The historical method of inquiry into the past facts of religion is in danger of being superseded by speculations concerning what is called its "philosophy," or its "science." We are continually invited to accept the views of this or that theorist respecting the origin of all religions, which are attributed either to a common innate idea or instinct, or else to a common mode of reasoning upon the phenomena and experiences of human life. While the facts of ancient religions are only just emerging from the profound obscurity that has hitherto rested upon them, fancy is busy constructing schemes and systems, which have about as much reality as the imaginations of a novelist or the day-dreams of an Alnaschar. The patient toil, the careful investigation which real Science requires as the necessary basis upon which generalization must proceed, and systems be built up, is discarded for the "short and easy method" of jumping to conclusions and laying down as certainties what are, at the best, "guesses at truth."

It is not the aim of the present writer to produce a "Science of Religion," or even to speculate on the possibility of such a science being ultimately elaborated when all the facts are fully known. He has set himself a more prosaic and less ambitious task—that, namely, of collecting materials which may serve as a portion of the data, when the time comes, if it ever comes, for the construction of the science in question. A building cannot be erected without materials; a true science cannot be constructed without ample data.

Careful inquiries into the real nature of historical religions are necessary preliminaries to the formation of any general theories on the subject of religion worth the paper upon which they are written. And such inquiries have, moreover, a value in themselves. "The proper study of mankind is man;" and the past history of the human race possesses an undying interest for the greater portion of educated human kind. Of that past history there is no branch more instructive, and few more entertaining, than that which deals with religious beliefs, opinions, and practices. Religion is the most important element in the thought of a nation; and it is by studying their religions that we obtain the best clue to the inner life and true character of the various peoples who have played an important part in the drama of human affairs.

In the ensuing pages the religious tenets and practices of eight principal nations of antiquity are passed in review—the nations being those with which ancient history is chiefly concerned—the Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Iranians, Sanskritic Indians, Phœnicians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans.

The religion of the Jews has been omitted, as sufficiently well known to all educated persons. The religions of ancient barbarous races have been excluded, as not having come down to us in any detail, or upon sufficiently trustworthy evidence. The eight nations selected have, on the contrary, left monuments and writings, more or less extensive, from which it has seemed to be possible to give a tolerably full account of their religious beliefs, and one on which a fair degree of dependence may be placed. No doubt, as time goes on, and fresh discoveries are made of ancient documents, or an increased insight obtained into the true meaning of their contents, we shall come to know much more than we know at present on the subject here handled; but it is confidently believed that further research and study will only supplement, and not contradict, the views which are here put forward. The author will gladly see the sketch which he here attempts filled up and completed by Others. Δόξειεν ἂν παντὸς εἶναι προσαγαγεῖν καὶ διαρθρῶσαι τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα τῆ περιγραφῇ, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῶν τοιούτων εὐρετῆς, ἢ συνεργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν γεγόνασιν ἐπιδόσεις· παντὸς γὰρ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐλλείπον.

CHAPTER I.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

Αἰγύπτιοι θεοσιβέες περισσῶς ἐόντες μάγιστα πάσι
ἀνθρώπων.—HEROD. ii. 37.

THE religions of the ancient world, if we except Judaism, seem to have been, all of them, more or less polytheistic; but the polytheism grew up in different ways, was carried out to very different lengths, and proceeded upon considerably varying principles. In some places natural objects and operations appear to have presented themselves to the unsophisticated mind of man as mysterious, wonderful, divine; and light, fire, the air, the sun, the moon, the dawn, the cloud, the stream, the storm, the lightning, drew his attention separately and distinctly, each having qualities at which he marvelled, each, as he thought, instinct with life and each, therefore, regarded as a Power, a Being—the natural and proper object of worship and reverence. Elsewhere, men seem to have begun with a dim and faint appreciation of a single mysterious power in the world without them, and to have gradually divided this power up into its various manifestations, which by degrees became separate and distinct beings. The process in this case might stop short after a few steps had been taken, or it might be carried on almost interminably, until a pantheon had been formed in which the mind lost itself.

Where the polytheism grew up out of an analysis, the principle of the division might be either physical or metaphysical; a separation of nature into its parts, or an analysis of the Being presiding over nature into his various powers and attributes. Or these two processes might be combined and intermixed, the pantheon being thus still further enlarged at the expense of some confusion of thought and complexity of arrangement. Again, occasionally, there was a further

enlargement and complication, in consequence of the desire to embrace in one system analyses which were really distinct, or to comprise in a single national religion local diversities of arrangement or nomenclature, or even to admit into a system based on one principle elements which belonged properly to systems based upon others. The whole result in such a case was one of extensive complexity, and even contradiction; a tangle was produced which it was scarcely possible to unravel. The system, however, gained in richness and variety what it lost in logical sequence and intelligibility, and continued to have a firm hold on the minds of many when religions of greater internal consistency had lost their power.

The Egyptian polytheism was of the character last described. Its most striking characteristics were its multitudinousness, its complexity, and the connection of this latter feature with early local diversities in the names and offices of the gods. Wilkinson, who does not profess to exhaust the subject, enumerates seventy-three divinities, and gives their several names and forms.* Birch has a list of sixty-three "*principal* deities," † and notes that "others personified the elements, or presided over the operations of nature, the seasons, and events."‡ It is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the Egyptian pantheon in its final form comprised some hundreds of gods and goddesses,§ each known under a different name, and each discharging more or less peculiar functions. We say, "each discharging more or less peculiar functions," since some deities were so nearly alike, came so close the one to the other, that their identity or diversity is a moot point, still disputed among Egyptologists. In other cases the diversity is greater, yet still the features possessed in common are so numerous that the gods can scarcely be considered wholly distinct, and, indeed, are not unfrequently confounded together and blended into a single personage. We hear of Amen-Ra, Amen-Kneph, Ra-Harma-

* "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vols. iv. and v. For the forms, see his "Supplement," plates 21 to 72.

† See his "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics" in Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. v. pp. 581-583.

‡ "Guide to the British Museum," p. 4.

§ And inscription of Rameses II. speaks of "the *thousand* gods, the gods male, the gods female, those which are of the land of Egypt" ("Records of the Past," vol. iv. p. 31); but this phrase is no doubt rhetorical.

chis, Isis-Selk, Phthah-Sokari-Osiris, and the like. There is reason to believe that a main cause of this multiplication of deities, nearly or quite the same, which at first sight seems so strange and unaccountable, is to be found in the originally local character of many of the gods, and the subsequent admission of purely provincial deities into the general pantheon.

With a view to educe order out of this multitudinous confusion, attempts were made by the Greeks, and perhaps by some of the later Egyptians themselves, to classify the deities, and divide them into certain ranks or orders, each of which should comprise a certain definite number. Herodotus speaks of a first, a second, and a third order,* and assigns positively to the first order eight, and to the second twelve gods, leaving the third rank indeterminate. Some traces of a similar classification are found in some of the native writers; † and it is generally agreed that a distinction of ranks was recognized; but when an endeavor is made to specify the gods of each rank, insurmountable difficulties present themselves. It seems clear that even the first eight gods were not established by the general consent of the nation in all parts of Egypt, and probable that in one and the same place they were not always the same at different periods. According to what seems the earliest tradition, the eight names were those of Phthah, Ra, Shu (or Kneph), ‡ Seb, Osiris, Isis, Set, and Horus; according to the latest researches, they were, at Memphis, Phthah, Shu, Tefnu, Seb, Nu (or Nut), Osiris, Isis, and Athor; while at Thebes they were Ammon, Mentu, Tum (or Atum), Shu, Seb, Osiris, Set, and Horus. § Others have thought to find them in Ammon, Khem, Maut, Kneph, Sati, Phthah, Neith, and Ra, || or in this list with a single change—that of the last name, for which it is proposed to substitute that of Bast or Pasht. ¶

* Herod. ii. 43.

† As Manetho (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 19).

‡ The name given is Agathodæmon, who is thought to represent one or other of these gods.

§ See Birch's "Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300," "Introduction," pp. x. xi., and compare "Guide to the British Museum," p. 12.

|| Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Ancient History," vol. i. pp. 366-367.

¶ Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 284-286 (32nd edition).



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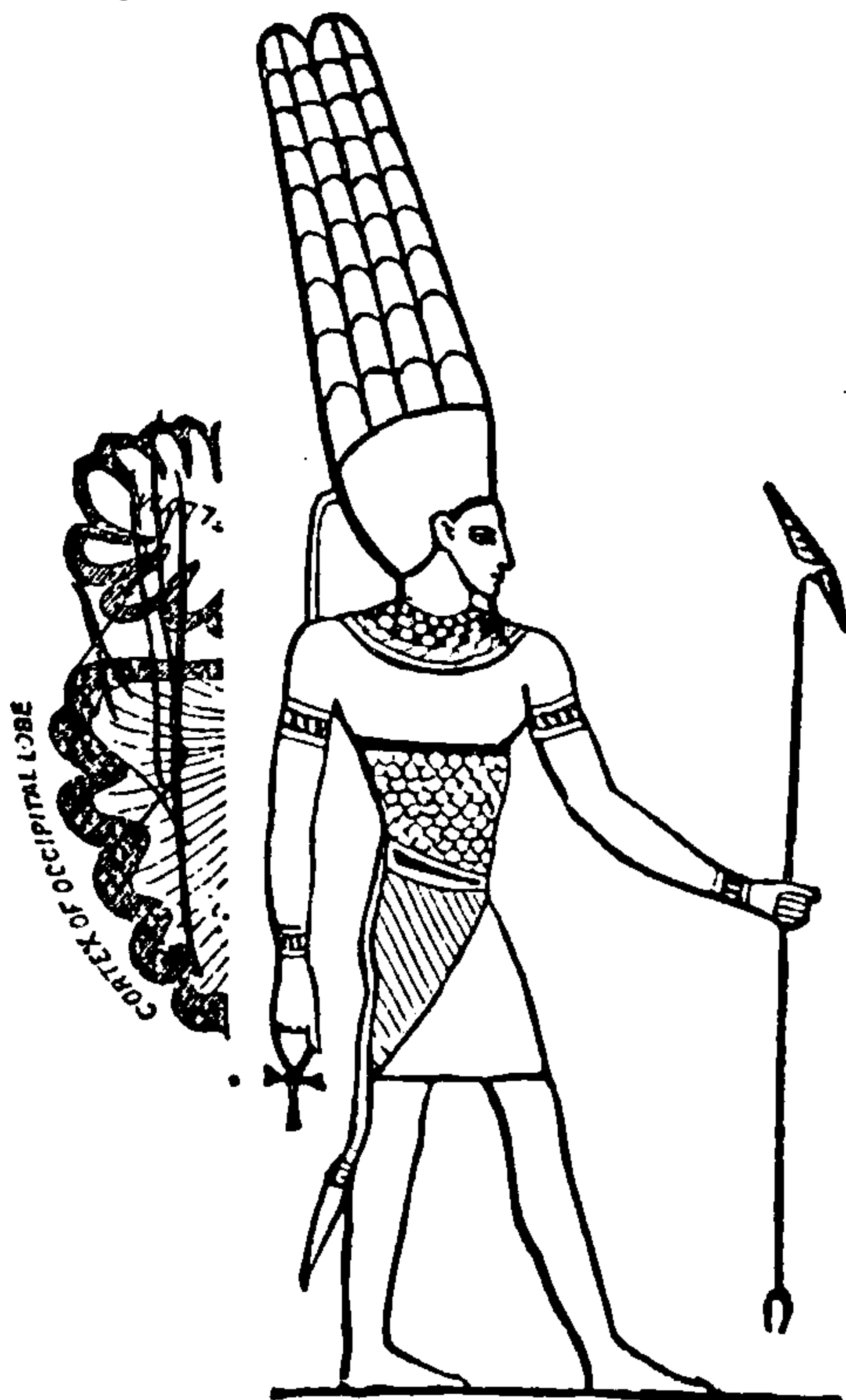
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and worshipped as Ammon-Ra,* a very intelligible god, neither more nor less than the physical sun, the source of light and life, "the lord of existences and support of all things." †



AMMON.

Khem was the generative principle, the power of life and growth in nature. He was rudely and coarsely represented as a mummied figure, with phallus in front, and forms an unsightly object in the sculptures. He presided primarily over the vegetable world, and was the giver of fertility and increase, the lord of the harvest, and the patron of agriculture. But the human species and the various kinds of animals were also under his charge, and from him obtained continuance. He is called, "the king of the gods," "the lifter of the hand," "the lord of the crown," "the powerful," ‡ and further bears the special title of Kamutf, "bull of his mother," in allusion to

the relation which he bore to Nature.

Kneph was the divine spirit or soul considered as forming the scheme of creation. His name is by some connected etymologically with the Egyptian word for "breath," § which is *nep*; and curious analogies are traced between him and the third Person of the Holy Trinity in the Christian system. || As "the Spirit of God," at the time of the creation "moved upon the face of the waters," so Kneph is rep-

* See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 21, 31, etc.; vol. iv. pp. 11, 16, etc.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 129, l. 12.

‡ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 142.

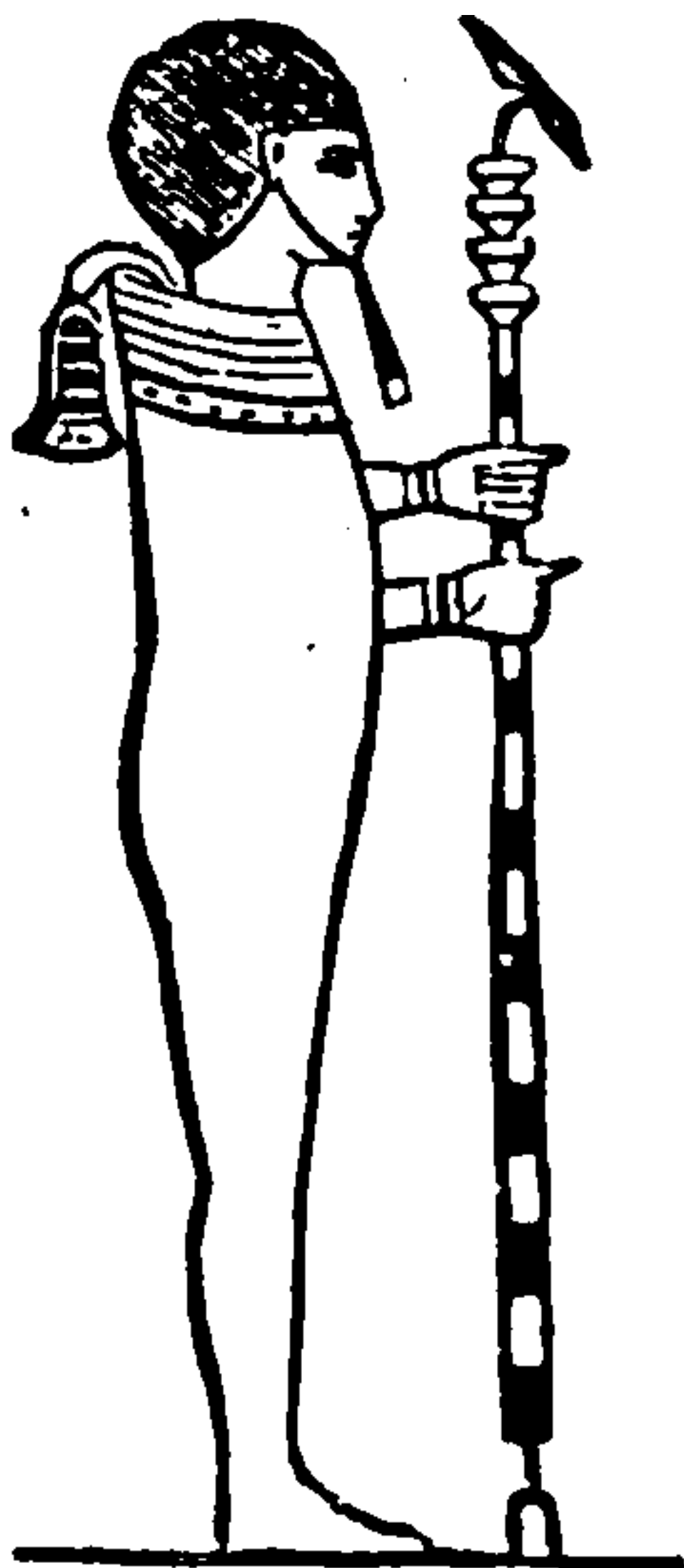
§ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 375.

|| Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. p. 236.

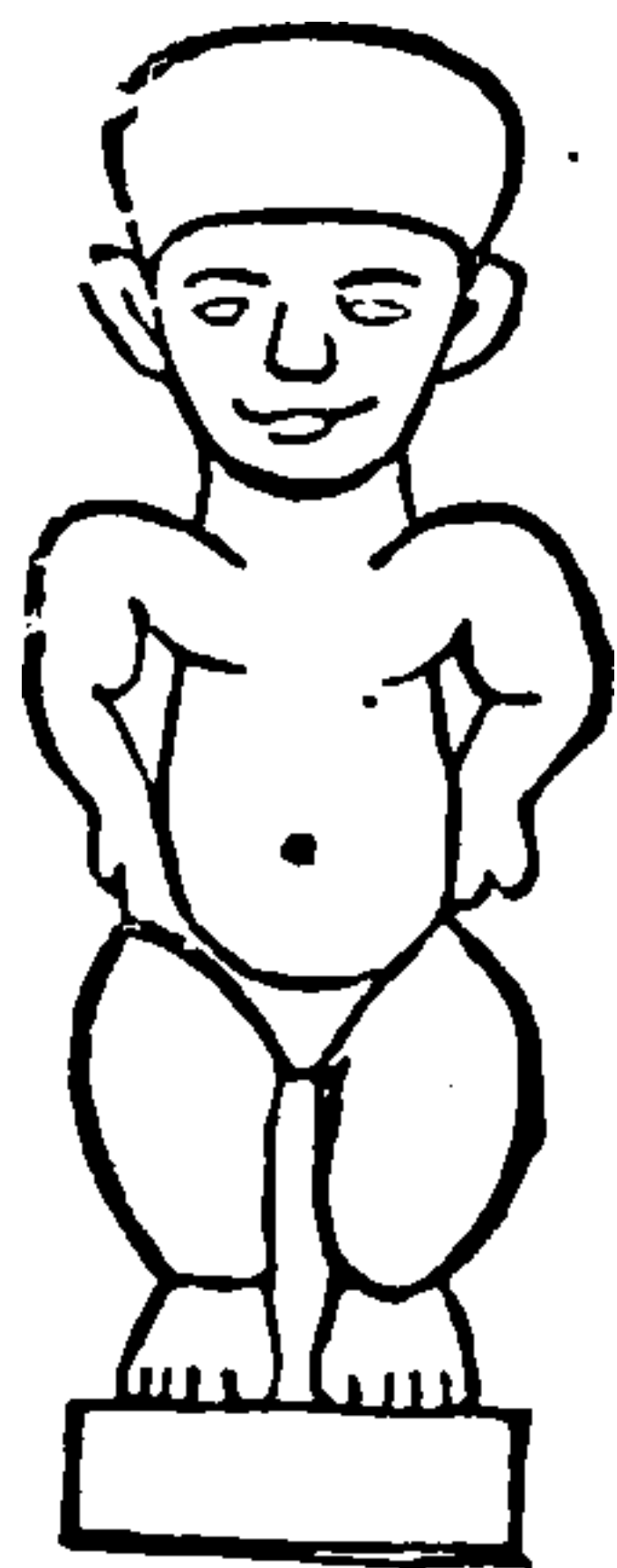
resented as the deity who presides over the inundations. As the Heavens were made by the "breath of God's mouth," so Kneph is called, "the god who has made the sun and moon to revolve under the heavens and above the world, and who has made the world and all that is in it."* Some representations exhibit him as a potter with his wheel; and the inscriptions accompanying them assign to him the formation of gods and men. It is perhaps as a procreating principle that he figured commonly with the head of a ram. Kneph was worshipped chiefly in Upper Egypt, at Elephantine and the Cataracts; but he was acknowledged also at Thebes, at Antæopolis, and elsewhere.

Phthah, whom the Greeks identified with their Hephaistos, and the Romans with their Vulcan, was a creator of a more vulgar type than Kneph or Khem. He was an artisan god, the actual manipulator of matter, and direct maker of the sun, the moon, and the earth. He is called, "the father of the beginnings," "the first of the gods of the upper world," "he who adjusts the world by his hand," "the lord of the beautiful countenance," and "the lord of truth."† He is also defined by an ancient writer ‡ as "the god who creates with truth."

We find him represented under three quite different forms, as a man walking or sitting, as a mummied figure, accompanied by "the emblem of stability," and as a pigmy or dwarf. A figure of this last description provoked the ridicule of Cambyses, the Persian conqueror of Egypt, who "entered the grand temple of Phthah at Memphis, and made great sport of the image."§ Forms of Phthah are also found consisting of two figures placed back to back, and even of three figures placed at an angle. These seem, however, to



PHTHAH.



PHTHAH.

* Bunsen, vol. i. p. 377.
 † "Records of the Past," vol. viii. pp. 5-15; Birch, "Guide to the British Museum." p. 13.
 ‡ Iamblichus, "De Mysteriis," viii. 3.
 § Herod. ii. 37.

represent combinations of Phthah with other nearly allied gods, and are called commonly "figures of Phthah-Sokari," or of "Phthah-Sokari-Osiris."

Ra was the Egyptian sun-god, and was especially worshipped at Heliopolis. Obelisks, according to some,* represented his rays, and were always, or usually, erected in his honor. Heliopolis was certainly one of the places which



RA.

were thus adorned, for one of the few which still stand erect in Egypt is on the site of that city.† The kings for the most part considered Ra their special patron and protector; nay, they went so far as to identify themselves with him, to use his titles as their own, and to adopt his name as the ordinary prefix to their own names and titles. This is believed by many to have been the origin of the word Pharaoh,‡ which was, it is thought, the Hebrew rendering of Ph' Ra = "the sun." Ra is sometimes represented simply by a disk, colored red, or by such a disk with the *ankh*, or symbol of life, attached to it; but more commonly he has the figure of a man, with a hawk's head, and

above it the disk, accompanied by plumes, or by a serpent. The beetle (scarabæus) was one of his emblems. As for his titles, they are too numerous to mention: the "Litany of Ra,"§ alone contains some hundreds of them.

Osiris was properly a form of Ra. He was the light of the lower world, the sun from the time that he sinks below the horizon in the west to the hour when he reappears above the eastern horizon in the morning. This physical idea was, however, at a later date modified, and Osiris was generally recognized as the perpetually presiding lord of the lower

* Zoega, "De Obeliscis;" Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 8, s. 14.

† See the Frontispiece of this book.

‡ So Wilkinson (in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 181, note 1) and others. But the derivation from *Ph'ouro*, "the king," is perhaps as probable.

§ See "Records of the Past," vol. viii. pp. 105-128.

world, the king and the judge of Hades or Amenti. His worship was universal throughout Egypt,* but his chief temples were at Abydos and Philæ. Ordinarily he was represented in a mummied form as the god of the dead, but sometimes he appears as a living man, standing or walking. He carries in his two hands the crook and the flagellum or whip, and commonly wears on his head the crown of Upper Egypt, with a plume of ostrich feather on either side of it. A special character of goodness attaches to him. We find him called, "the manifester of good," "full of goodness and truth," "the beneficent spirit," "beneficent in will and words," "mild of heart," "and fair and beloved of all who see him." †

Neith, or Net, the goddess of Sais, was identified by the Greeks ‡ with their Athéné (Minerva), but does not appear to have been really a goddess of wisdom. She was the female correspondent of Khem, the conceptive element in nature, as he was the generative. Her titles are, "the mother," "the mistress of heaven," "the elder goddess." § She is represented in the form of a woman standing and wearing on her head the crown of Lower Egypt. In her left hand she carries a sceptre, sometimes accompanied by a bow and two arrows; in her right she bears the *ankh*, or symbol of life. One of the signs with which her name is written resembles a shuttle; from which fact, combined with her carrying a bow and arrows, she has been called, "the goddess of war and weaving." || Her worship was not very widely spread, nor is she often mentioned in the inscriptions.

No part of the Egyptian religion was so much developed and so multiplex as their sun worship. ¶ Besides Ra and Osiris there were at least six other deities who had a distinctly solar character. These were Shu, Aten, Horus or Harmachis, Tum or Atum, Khepra, and Mentu. Shu was the

* Herod. ii. 42, with Wilkinson's note.

† "Records of the Past," vol. iv. pp. 99-103; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 320.

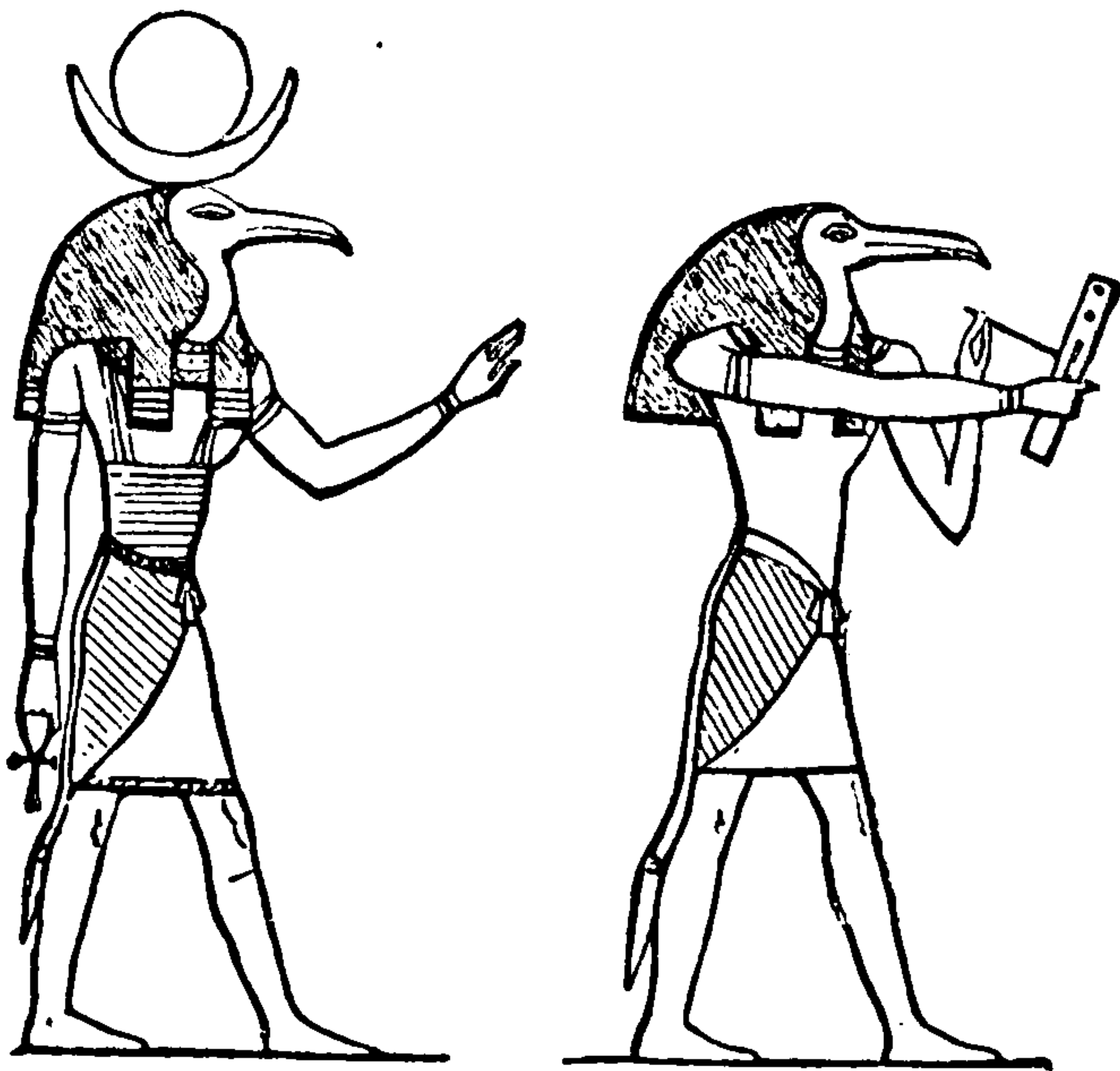
‡ Plat. "Tim." p. 22, A; Cic. "De Nat. Deor." iii. p. 248.

§ Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," vol. i. p. 386; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 285.

|| Birch, "Guide to Museum," p. 13.

¶ Birch goes as far as to say, that "most of the gods were connected with the sun, and represented that luminary in its passage through the upper or lower hemisphere" ("Guide," p. 11); but this seems to be an exaggeration.

sun's light, Aten the sun's disk, Har, or Har-em-aku (Horus or Harmachis), the sun at his rising; Tum (or Atum) the same luminary at his setting; Khepra was the life-giving power of the sun; while Mentu was a provincial sun-god, adopted into the general pantheon. Athor, moreover, the mother of Ra, and Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, were in some sort sun-goddesses, and bore upon their heads the disk of Ra, to mark their close connection with the great luminary.

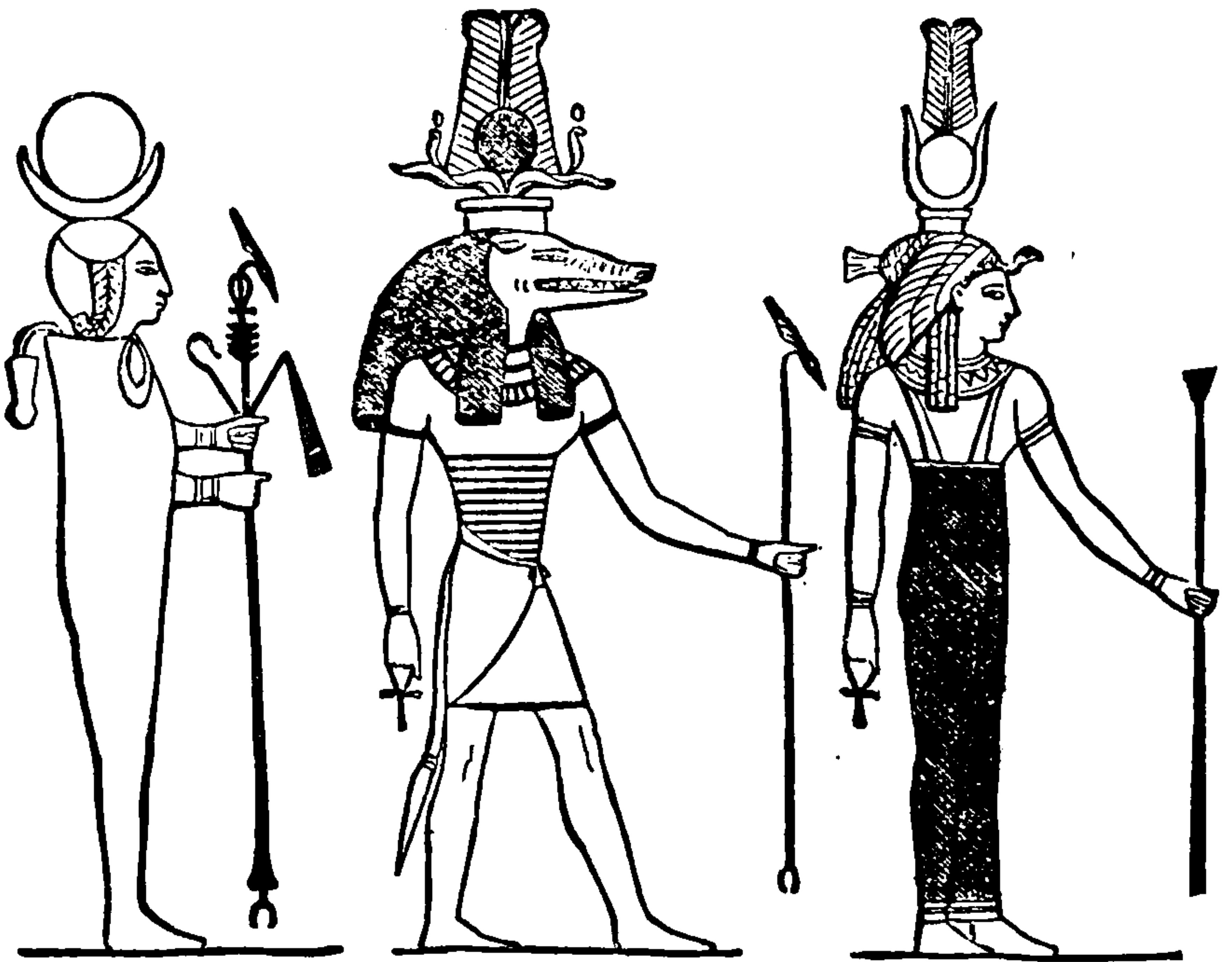


THOTH.

Compared with the worship of the sun, that of the moon was quite secondary and insignificant. Two gods only, Khons and Thoth, had properly speaking, a lunar character.* Of these Khons was the moon-god simply, while Thoth combined with his lunar aspect, somewhat curiously, the character of "the god of letters." He was represented with the head of an ibis; and the ibis and cynocephalous ape were sacred to him. Both he and Khons commonly bear on their heads a crescent and disk, emblematic respectively of the new and the full moon.

* Representations of Osiris are found as Osiris-Aah (Birch, "Guide to Museum," p. 15), or "Osiris, the moon god;" but these are purely abnormal.

Other deities of some importance in the religious system were Maut, the consort of Ammon, who represented matter or nature; Sati, the consort of Kneph, a sort of Egyptian Juno; Sekhet, the consort of Phthah, usually represented as lion-headed, or cat-headed; Seb, the Egyptian Saturn; Hanbar (Onuris), the Egyptian Mars; Sabak or Savak, the crocodile-headed god; Anuke, a war goddess; Nebta (Nephthys), sister of Osiris and Isis; Nut or Netpe, goddess of the firmament; and Ma, goddess of truth. The Egyptians had also gods of taste and touch, of silence, of writing, of medicine, of the harvest, etc. Almost any fact of nature, almost any act of man, might be taken separately and per-



TRIAD OF SAVAK-RA, ATHOR, AND KHONS.

sonified, the personification becoming thenceforth a god or goddess.

A class of deities possessing a very peculiar character remains to be noticed. These are the malevolent deities. Set or Sutech, the great enemy of Osiris, a god with the head of a griffin or giraffe; Bes, according to some,* the god

* So Wilkinson ("Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 431). Others regard Bes as simply a name of Set or Typhon (Birch, "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics," p. 581).

of death, Taouris the wife of Bes; and Apap, or Apepi, the great serpent, generally represented as slain by Horus.* All these were distinctly malignant and evil deities; their representations were, in every case, more or less hideous and grotesque; they were all feared and hated, but nevertheless worshipped; their figures were worn as charms, and even temples were built in their honor.

While the entire pantheon of Egypt was thus multiform and manifold, practically the deities who received worship in each several town and district were but few. Local triads were almost universally recognized, and in each place its special triad monopolized, so to say, the religious regards of the inhabitants.† At Memphis, the established triad consisted of Phthah, Sekhet, and Tum; at Thebes, of Ammon-Ra, Maut, and Khons; at Heliopolis of Ra, Nebhept (= Athor), and Horus; at Elephantine of Kneph, Sati, and Anuke; at Abydos, of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; at Ombos of Savak, Athor, and Khons; at Silsilis, of Ra, Phthah, and the Nile god, Hâpi or Neilus. Sometimes a fourth god or goddess was associated with the principal three, as Bast at Memphis, Neith at Thebes, Nephthys at Abydos, and Hak at Elephantine; but the fourth was always quite subordinate. Occasionally a city recognized more than one triad; for instance, Silsilis held in honor, besides Ra, Phthah, and Hapi, a triad consisting of Set, Thoth, and Netpe; and another comprising Ammon, Ra, and Savak.

Another peculiar feature of the Egyptian religion, and one which, though it may have had some redeeming points,‡ must be pronounced on the whole low and degrading, was the worship of live animals. In the first instance, certain animals seem to have been assumed as emblems of certain gods, § from some real or fancied analogy; after which, in course of time, the animals themselves came to be regarded as sacred; specimens of them were attached to the temples, kept in shrines, and carefully fed and nurtured during life,

* Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," "Supplement," pl. 42.

† "Egypt from the Earliest Times," "Introduction," p. xi.; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. pp. 230-233.

‡ The sacred character of cows and heifers secured a continual increase in the stock of cattle; that of cats and ichneumons, of ibises, hawks, and vultures, preserved those useful animals, of which the two former kept the houses free from mice and snakes, while the three latter were admirable scavengers.

§ As the vulture of Maut, the ibis of Thoth, and the ram of Kneph, etc.



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actual gods, and received the most profound veneration that it was possible to pay. Such were the Apis bulls, of which a succession was maintained at Memphis, in the temple of Phthah, incarnations according to some, of Phthah,* according to others of Osiris,† which were among the objects of worship most venerated by the Egyptians. Such, again, were the Mnevis bulls of Heliopolis, incarnations of Ra or Tum, and the Bacis or Pacis bulls of Hermonthis, incarnations of Horus. These beasts, maintained at the cost of the priestly communities in the great temples of their respective cities, were perpetually adored and prayed to by thousands during their lives, and at their deaths were entombed with the utmost care in huge sarcophagi, while all Egypt went into mourning on account of their decease.

The external manifestation of religion in Egypt was magnificent and splendid. Nowhere did religious ceremonial occupy a larger part in the life of a people. In each city and town, one or more grand structures upreared themselves above the rest of the buildings, enriched with all that Egyptian art could supply of painted and sculptured decoration, dedicated to the honor and bearing the name of some divinity or divinities. The image of the great god of the place occupied the central shrine, accompanied in most instances by two or three contemplar gods or goddesses. Around were the chambers of the priests, and further off court after court, some pillared, some colonnaded and all more or less adorned with sculpture and painting, the entrance to them lying through long avenues of sphinxes or obelisks, which conducted to the propylæa, two gigantic towers flanking the main doorway.‡ A perpetual ceremonial of the richest kind went on within the temple walls; scores of priests, with shaven heads and clean white linen garments, § crowded the courts and corridors; long processions made their way up or down the sphinx avenues, incense floated in the air, strains of music resounded without pause, hundreds of victims were sacrificed; everywhere

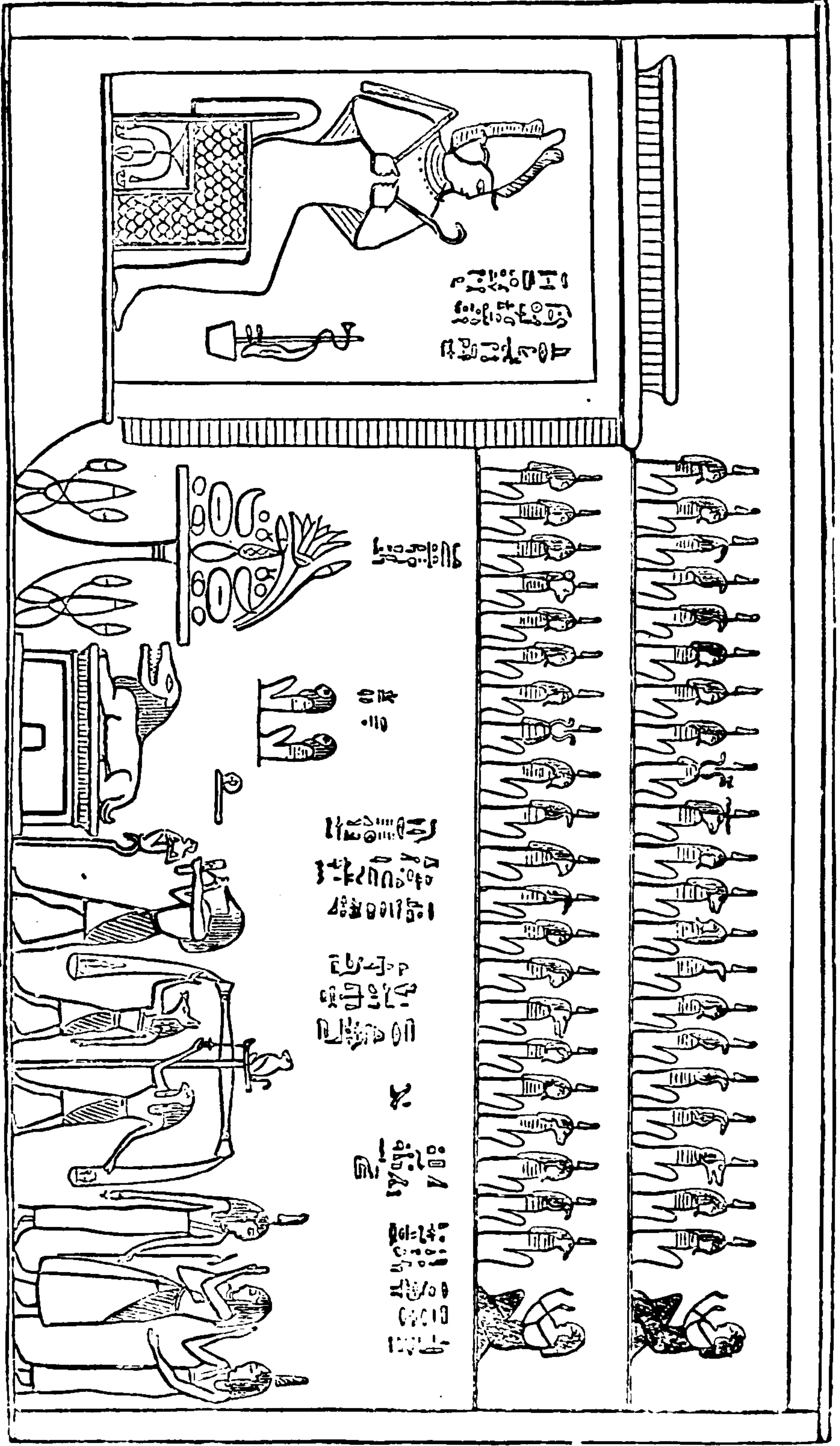
* See Birch, "*Egypt from the Earliest Times*," "Introduction," p. xii.

† Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "*Herodotus*," vol. ii. p. 428, note 2.

‡ These towers have been compared, with some reason, to those which commonly adorn the western façade of our cathedrals. (Fergusson, "*History of Architecture*," vol. i. p. 117.)

§ Herod. ii. 37.

THE JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS.



a holiday crowd, in bright array, cheerful and happy, bore its part in the festival, and made the courts re-echo with their joyous acclamations. The worship was conducted chiefly by means of rhythmic litanies or hymns, in which prayer and praise were blended, the latter predominating.* Ceremony followed ceremony. The calendar was crowded with festivals; and a week rarely passed without the performance of some special rite, some annual observance, having its own peculiar attractions. Foreigners beheld with astonishment the almost perpetual round of religious services, which engaged, or at any rate seemed to engage, the main attention of all ranks of the people.

Belief in a future life was a main principle of the Egyptian religion. Immediately after death, the soul, it was taught, descended into the lower world (Amenti), and was conducted to the "Hall of Truth," where it was judged in the presence of Osiris, and of his forty-two assessors, the "Lords of Truth," and judges of the dead. Anubis, the son of Osiris, who was called "the director of the weight," brought forth a pair of scales, and after placing in one scale a figure or emblem of Truth, set in the other a vase containing the good deeds of the deceased, Thoth standing by the while, with a tablet in his hand, whereon to record the result.† If the good deeds were sufficient, if they weighed down the scale wherein they were placed, then the happy soul was permitted to enter "the boat of the sun," and was conducted by good spirits to the Elysian fields (Aahlu), to the "Pools of Peace," and the dwelling-places of the blest. If, on the contrary, the good deeds were insufficient, if the scale remained suspended in the air, then the unhappy soul was sentenced, according to the degree of its ill deserts, to go through a round of transmigrations in the bodies of animals more or less unclean; the number, nature, and duration of the transmigrations depended on the degree of the deceased's demerits, and the consequent length and severity of the punishment which he deserved, or the purification

* See the "Litany of Ra," and the "Hymns" to Osiris, Amen, Amen-Ra., and Ra Harmachis, published in "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 105-134; vol. iv. pp. 99-104; vol. vi. pp. 99-101; and vol. viii. pp. 131-134.

† Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. v. pp. 314, 315. Representations of the scene are frequent in the tombs, and in the many copies of the "Ritual of the Dead." (See the accompanying woodcut.)

which he needed. Ultimately, if after many trials sufficient purity was not attained, the wicked soul, which had proved itself incurable, underwent a final sentence at the hands of Osiris, judge of the dead, and, being condemned to complete and absolute annihilation, was destroyed upon the steps of Heaven by Shu, the Lord of Light.* The good soul, having first been freed from its infirmities by passing through the basin of purgatorial fire guarded by the four ape-faced genii, was made the companion of Osiris, for a period of three thousand years, after which it returned from Amenti,



MUMMY AND DISEMBODIED SPIRIT.

re-entered its former body, rose from the dead, and lived once more a human life upon the earth. This process was gone through again and again, until a certain mystic cycle of years became complete, when, to crown all, the good and blessed attained the final joy of union with God, being absorbed into the divine essence from which they had once emanated, and so attaining the full perfection and true end of their existence.

With their belief in a future life, and their opinions regarding the fate of good and bad souls, were bound up in

* Birch, "Guide to Museum," pp. 14, 15.

the closest way their arrangements with respect to dead bodies, and their careful and elaborate preparation of tombs. As each man hoped to be among those who would be received into Aablu, and after dwelling with Osiris for three thousand years would return to earth, and re-enter their old bodies, it was requisite that bodies should be enabled to resist decay for that long period. Hence the entire system of embalming, of swathing in linen, and then burying in stone sarcophagi covered with lids that it was scarcely possible to lift, or even to move. Hence if a man was wealthy, he spent enormous sums of making himself a safe and commodious, an elegant and decorated tomb; either piling a pyramid over his sarcophagus, or excavating deep into the solid rock, and preparing for his resting-place a remote chamber at the end of a long series of galleries. With the notion, probably, that it would be of use to him in his passage through Amenti to Aablu, he took care to have the most important passages from the sacred book entitled the "Ritual of the Dead," either inscribed on the inner part of the coffin in which he was to lie, or painted on his mummy bandages, or engraved upon the inner walls of his tomb.* Sometimes he even had a complete copy of the book buried with him, no doubt for reference, if his memory failed to supply him with the right invocation or prayer at the dangerous parts of his long journey.

The thought of death, of judgment, of a sentence to happiness or misery according to the life led on earth, was thus familiar to the ordinary Egyptian. His theological notions were confused and fantastical; but he had a strong and abiding conviction that his fate after death would depend on his conduct during his life on earth, and especially on his observance of the moral law and performance of his various duties.*

* Bunsen, "*Egypt's Place*," vol. v. pp. 127-129.

† See Birch, "*Egypt from the Earliest Times*," p. 46:—"The Egyptian enjoyed all the pleasures of existence, and delighted more in the arts of peace than war. In his religious belief the idea of a future state, and probably of the transmigration of souls, was ever present to his mind, while—and his long life was one preparation for death—to be devoted or pious to the gods, obedient to the wishes of his sovereign, affectionate toward his wife and children, were the maxims inculcated for his domestic or inner life. Beyond that circle his duties to mankind were comprised in giving bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, oil to the wounded, and

The better educated Egyptian had a firmer grasp of the truths of natural religion. Below the popular mythology there lay concealed from general view, but open to the educated classes, a theological system which was not far removed from pure "natural theology." The real essential unity of the divine nature was taught and insisted on. The sacred texts spoke of a single being, "the sole producer of all things in heaven and earth, himself not produced of any," "the only true living God, self-originated," "who exists from the beginning," "who has made all things, but has not himself been made."* This being seems never to have been represented by any material, even symbolical form.† It is thought that he had no name, or, if he had, that it must have been unlawful to pronounce or write it.‡ Even Ammon, the "concealed God," was a mere external adumbration of this mysterious and unapproachable deity. He was a pure spirit, perfect in every respect, all-wise, all-mighty, supremely, perfectly good.

Those who grasped this great truth understood clearly that the many gods of the popular mythology were mere names, personified attributes of the one true Deity, or parts of the nature which he had created, considered as informed and inspired by him. Num or Kneph represented the creative mind, Phthah the creative hand, or act of creating; Maut represented matter, Ra the sun, Khons the moon, Seb the earth, Khem the generative power in nature, Keith the conceptive power, Nut the upper hemisphere of heaven, Athor the lower world or under hemisphere; Thoth personified the divine wisdom, Ammon the divine mysteriousness or incomprehensibility, Osiris the divine goodness. It may not be always easy to say what is the exact quality, act, or part of nature which is represented by each god and goddess; but the principle was clear and beyond a doubt. No educated Egyptian priest certainly, probably no edu-

burial to the dead. On the exercise of good works he rested his hopes of passing the ordeal of the future and great judgment, and reaching the Aahlu or *Elysian* fields, and Pools of Peace of the *Egyptian* paradise."

* Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. i. p. 522. Similar phrases are frequent in all the religious inscriptions, (See "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 129-132; vol. iv. pp. 99-100; vol. vi. 100, etc.)

† Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 178.

‡ *Ibid.*

cated laymen, conceived of the popular gods as really separate and distinct beings. All knew that there was but one god, and understood that when worship was offered to Khem, or Phthah, or Maut or Thoth, or Ammon, the one god was worshipped under some one of his forms, or in some one of his aspects. Hence, in the solemn hymns and chants, which were composed by the priests to be used in the various festivals, the god who is for the time addressed receives all the highest titles of honor, and even has the names of other gods freely assigned to him, as being in some sort identical with them. Thus in one hymn, Hâpi, the Nile god, is invoked as Ammon and Phthah; * in another, Osiris as Ra and Thoth; † while in a third Ra is Khem and Ammon, Tum and Horns and Khepra all in one, ‡ and though spoken of as “begotten of Phthah,” § is “the good god,” “the chief of all the gods,” “the ancient of heaven,” “the lord of all existences,” “the support of all things.” ||

It is not altogether easy to say what the educated Egyptian believed with respect to evil. The myth of Osiris represented him as persecuted by his brother, Set or Sutech, who murdered him and cut up his body into several pieces, after which he was made war upon by Horus, Osiris' son, and in course of time deposed and thrust down to darkness. ¶ In the latter mythology Set and Bes, Taouris and Apepi, were distinctly malignant beings, personifications, apparently, of an evil principle; and from the inscription, and papyri of this period, we should gather that the Egyptian religion was dualistic, and comprised the idea of a constant and interminable struggle between the powers of light and darkness, of good and evil; a struggle in which there was some superiority on the part of good, but no complete victory, not even a very decided preponderance. On the other hand, as we go back and examine carefully the more ancient monuments and the earlier writings, we find less and less trace of this antagonism; we find Set or Sutech spoken of as “great,” “glorious;” ** we find that the kings identify

* “Records of the Past,” vol. iv. p. 107, ll. 4 and 11.

† *Ibid.* p. 103, par. 24, *ad fin.*

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 130, 131, and 133.

§ *Ibid.* p. 129, l. 20.

|| *Ibid.* ll. 2-12.

¶ Wilkinson, “Ancient Egyptians,” vol. iv. pp. 329-333.

** “Records of the Past,” vol. iv. p. 29.



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always subordinate ; nor is the division regarded as in any case exhaustive of the divine nature, or exclusive of other divisions. Moreover, as already observed, the triad is frequently enlarged by the addition of a fourth person or character, who is associated as closely with the other three as they are with each other. Cudworth's view must therefore be set aside as altogether imaginary ; and the encomiast of the Egyptian religion must content himself with pointing out that a real monotheism underlay the superficial polytheism, without requiring us to believe that even the wisest of the priests had any knowledge of the greatest of all Christian mysteries.*

* See Latin translation of Cudworth's great work. p. 28.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGION OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

“Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth.”—ISAIAH xlvi. 1.
 “Merodach is broken in pieces.”—JER. l. 2.

THE Babylonian and Assyrian polytheism differed from the Egyptian, in the first place, by being less multitudinous,* and in the second, by having, far more than the Egyptian, an astral character. The Mesopotamian system was, moreover, so far as appears, what the Egyptian was not, a belief in really distinct gods. The great personages of the pantheon have for the most part their own peculiar offices and attributes; they do not pass the one into the other; they do not assume each other's names; they do not combine so as to produce a single deity out of several. We have no indication in the literary remains of Babylon or Assyria of any esoteric religion, no evidence on which we can lay it down that the conceptions of the educated upon religious subjects differed seriously from those of the lowest ranks of worshippers.* Berosus, who was a Chaldæan priest, and who should, therefore, if there was any such system, have been well acquainted with it, has in his extant fragments nothing monotheistic, nothing to distinguish his religious views from those of the mass of his countrymen. According to all appearance, the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians was thus a real polytheism, a worship of numerous

* It is true that the inscriptions speak in a vague way of “four thousand,” and even of the “five thousand gods” (“Records of the Past,” vol. vii. p. 128; Rawlinson, “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i. p. 101, note 18). But, practically, there are not more than about twenty deities who obtain frequent mention.

† The late Mr. Fox Talbot expressed in 1873 a somewhat different opinion. (See the “Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,” vol. ii. p. 35.) But it does not appear to me that he made out his case.

divinities, whom it was not thought necessary to trace to a single stock, who were essentially on a par the one with the other, and who divided among them the religious regards of the people.

An account of the Assyrian and Babylonian religion must thus be, in the main, an account of their pantheon. From the character of their gods, from the actions and attributes assigned to them, from the material representations under which they showed them forth, we must gather the tone of their religious thought, the nature of the opinions which they entertained concerning the mysterious powers above them and beyond them, whom they recognized as divine beings.

In each country, at the head of the pantheon stood a god, not the origin of the others, nor in any real sense the fountain of divinity, but of higher rank and dignity than the rest, *primus inter pares*, ordinarily named first, and assigned the titles of greatest honor, and forming the principal or at least the highest object of worship both to the kings and people. This deity is, in Assyria, Asshur; in Babylonia, Il or Ra. Some critics† are of opinion that the two gods are essentially one, that the Assyrian Asshur is neither more nor less than Il or Ra localized and regarded as the special god of Assyria, the protector of the Assyrian territory and the tutelary divinity of the Assyrian kings. But this view is not generally accepted, and seems to rest upon no sure foundation. There is a marked difference of character and position between the Babylonian Il in the Assyrian Asshur. Il in the Babylonian system is dim and shadowy; his attributes are, comparatively speaking, indistinct; and his very name is not of frequent occurrence.‡ Asshur in the Assyrian system is, of all the gods, by far the most pronounced and prominent figure. No name occurs so often as his; no god has attributes so clearly marked and positive. On these grounds it has been generally held, that the two are not to be identified, but to be kept distinct, and to be regarded

* See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 92.

† As M. Lenormant. (See his "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., p. 182.)

‡ In the six Assyrian volumes of "Records of the Past," I find the name of Il (or El) only four times (vol. v., pp. 21, 129; vol. vii., pp. 95, 96). In two of these places it seems to stand for Bel, who is called Bel-El sometimes (*Ibid.* vol. xi., p. 24).

as respectively peculiar to the two nations. We proceed, therefore, to speak of them separately.

Il (or Ra) was, as already remarked, a somewhat shadowy being. There is a vagueness about the name itself, which means simply "god," and can scarcely be said to connote any particular attribute. The Babylonians never represent his form, and they frequently omit him from lists which seem to contain all the other principal gods.* Yet he was certainly regarded as the head of the pantheon, and in the most ancient times must have been acknowledged as the tutelary deity of Babylon itself, which received its name of Bab-il (in Accadian, *Ka-ra*), meaning "the Gate of Il," from him. He seems to have had no special temple, being probably worshipped in all temples by the few persons who were his votaries. His name was, occasionally, but not very frequently, used as an element in the personal appellations of Babylonians.†

Asshur, the Assyrian substitute for Il or Ra, was primarily and especially the tutelary deity of Assyria and of the Assyrian monarchs. The land of Assyria bears his name without any modification; its inhabitants are "his servants" or "his people;" its troops "the armies of the god Asshur;" its enemies "the enemies of Asshur." As for the kings, they stand connected with him in respect of almost everything which they do. He places them upon the throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, directs their expeditions, gives them victory on the day of battle, makes their name celebrated, multiplies their offspring greatly, and the like. To him they look for the fulfilment of all their wishes, and especially for the establishment of their sons, and their sons' sons, on the Assyrian throne to the remotest ages. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is, "Asshur, my lord." They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name.

* As, for instance, that of *Agu kak-rimi* in the inscription published in vol. vii. of the "Records," pp. 7, 8, where ten "great gods" are enumerated, viz: Anu and Anunit, Bel and Beltis, Hea and Davkina, Zira (Zira-banit?), Sin, Shamas, and Merodach, but no mention is made of Il.

† "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 15; vol. ix. p. 99; etc.

Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and to make the conquered people conform to his laws.*

The ordinary titles of Asshur are, "the great lord," "the king of all the gods," "he who rules supreme over the gods." He is also called, occasionally, "the father of the gods," although that is a title which belongs more properly to Bel. He is figured as a man with a horned cap, and often carrying a bow, issuing from the middle of a winged circle, and either shooting an arrow, or stretching forth his hand, as if to aid or smite. The winged circle by itself is also used as his emblem, and probably denotes his ubiquity and eternity, as the human form does his intelligence, and the horned cap his power. This emblem, with or without the human figure, is an almost invariable accompaniment of Assyrian royalty. The great king wears it embroidered upon his robes, carries it engraved upon his seal or cylinder, represents it above his head in the rock-tablets whereon he



ASSHUR.

carves his image, stands or kneels in adoration before it, fights under its shadow, under its protection returns victorious, places it conspicuously upon his obelisk. And in all these representations, it is remarkable how he makes

the emblem conform to the circumstances in which he is himself engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur, too, has his arrow upon the string, and points it against the monarch's adversaries. When he is returning home victorious, with the disused bow in his left hand, and his right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur, too, has the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular acts, the Divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and the wings without the human figure.†

In immediate succession to Asshur in Assyria and Il in Babylonia, we find in both countries a triad, consisting of Anu, Bel, and Hea or Hoa. These three are called, *par*

* "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 17; vol. iii. pp. 86, 93, 95, 96; vol. v. pp. 14, 15, etc.; vol. ix. pp. 5, 8, 9, etc.

† See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. pp. 501.

excellence, "the great gods."* In execrations they are separated off from all the other deities, and placed together in a clause which stands at the head of the list of curses. In invocations their names follow, for the most part, immediately after the name of Asshur; and this is their usual and proper position in all complete lists of the chief gods.† Anu and Bel in the Babylonian system are brothers, both being sons of Il or Ra; but this relationship is scarcely acknowledged in Assyria. Hoa in both countries stands apart, unconnected with the other two, and, indeed, unconnected with any of the other gods, except with such as are his offspring.

It has been conjectured ‡ that in this triad we have a cosmogonic myth, and that the three deities represent, Anu, the primordial chaos, or matter without form; Hoa, life and intelligence, considered as moving in and animating matter; and Bel, the organizing and creating spirit, by which matter was actually brought into subjection, and the material universe arranged in an orderly way. But it may be questioned whether the veil which hides the esoteric meaning of the Assyrian religion has been as yet sufficiently lifted to entitle such conjectures to much attention. Our own belief is that Anu, Bel, and Hoa, were originally the gods of the earth, of the heaven, and of the waters, thus corresponding in the main to the classical Pluto, Zeus or Jupiter, and Poseidon or Neptune, who divided between them the dominion over the visible creation. But such notions became, in course of time, overlaid to a great extent with others; and though Hoa continued always more or less of a water deity, Anu and Bel ceased to have peculiar spheres, and became merely "great gods," with a general superintendence over the world, and with no very marked difference of powers.

Anu is commonly spoken of as "the old Anu," "the original chief," "the king of the lower world," and "the lord of spirits and demons." There is one text in which he seems to be called "the father of the gods," but the reading is doubtful. We cannot identify as his any of

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 121; vol. ix. pp. 100, 106, etc.

† "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 83; vol. v. p. 29; vol. vii. p. 7; vol. ix. p. 23, etc.

‡ See Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

the divine forms on the Assyrian or Babylonian monuments, nor can we assign to him any emblem, excepting that of the single upright wedge, which represents him on the Chaldæan numeration tablets. This single wedge has the numerical power of sixty, and sixty appears to have been assigned to Anu as his special number. Though a "great god," he was not one toward whom much preference was shown. His name is scarcely ever found as an element in royal or other appellations; the kings do not very often mention him; and only one monarch speaks of himself as his special votary.*

The god Bel, familiarly known to us both from Scripture † and from the Apocrypha, ‡ is one of the most marked and striking figures in the pantheon alike of Babylonia and of Assyria. Bel is the "god of lords," "the father of the gods," "the creator," "the mighty prince," and "the just prince of the gods." He plays a leading part in the mythological legends, which form so curious a feature in the Babylonian and Assyrian religion. In the "History of Creation" we are told that Bel made the earth and the heaven; that he formed man by means of a mixture of his own blood with earth, and also formed beasts; and that afterward he created the sun and the moon, the stars, and the five planets.§ In the "War of the Gods," we find him contending with the great dragon, Tiamat, and after a terrible single combat destroying her by flinging a thunderbolt into her open month.|| He also, in conjunction with Hoa, plans the defence when the seven spirits of evil rise in rebellion, and the dwelling-place of the gods is assaulted by them.¶ The titles of Bel generally express dominion. He is "the lord," *par excellence*, which is the exact meaning of his name in Assyrian; he is "the king of all the spirits," "the lord of the world," and again, "the lord of all the countries." Babylon and Nineveh are, both of them, under his special care; Nineveh having the title of "the city of Bel," in some passages of the inscriptions.

* Tiglath Pileser I. (See "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 24.) Yet even he is still more devoted to Asshur.

† Isaiah xlvi. 1; Jer. i. 2; li. 44.

‡ See the history of "Bel and the Dragon,"

§ Berosus ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 3.

|| "Records of the Past," vol. ix. pp. 137-139.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 164.



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ence of opinion with respect to the name of the last god of these three, which is never spelt phonetically in the inscriptions, but only represented by a monogram. He has been called Iva (or Yav), Vul, Bin, Yem (or Im), and recently Rimmon.* Without presuming to decide this vexed question, we propose to adopt provisionally the rendering "Vul," as the one likely to be most familiar to our readers, from its employment by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. George Smith, and Mr. Fox Talbot. We shall speak therefore of the second triad as one consisting of Sin, Shamas, and Vul, the gods respectively of the moon, the sun, and the atmosphere.

It is very noticeable that in Assyria and Babylonia the moon-god took precedence of the sun-god. Night probably was more agreeable to the inhabitants of those hot regions than day; and the cool, placid time when they could freely contemplate the heavens, and make their stellar and other observations, was especially grateful to the priestly astronomers who had the superintendence and arrangement of the religion. Sin, the moon, is thus one of the leading deities. He is called, "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth," "the king of the gods," and even "the god of the gods." † These seem, however, to be hyperbolical expressions, used by his votaries in the warmth of their hearts, when in the stage of religion which Professor Max Muller has designated "Henotheism." ‡ Sin more properly was "the brilliant," "the illuminator," "he who dwells in the sacred heavens," "he who circles round the heavens," and "the lord of the month." Again, for some recondite reason, which is not explained, he was selected to preside over architecture, and in this connection he is "the supporting architect," "the strengthener of fortifications," and, more generally, "the lord of building."

A close bond of sympathy united Sin with the two other members of the second triad. When the seven spirits of evil made war in heaven, and directed their main attack upon Sin, as the chief leader of the angelic host, Shamas

* "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. v. p. 441; "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 29; vol. vii. pp. 165, 170; vol. ix. pp. 23, 27, etc.

† In the inscription of Nabonidus. (See "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 146, 147.)

‡ "Contemporary Review," Nov. 1878, pp. 722.

and Vul instantly came to his aid, withstood the spirits, and, fighting firmly side by side with him, succeeded in repulsing them.* The three are frequently conjoined in invocations, execrations, and the like.† In offerings and festivals, however, Sin is united with Shamas only, the place of Vul being taken by a goddess who is entitled “the divine mistress of the world.” ‡

Sin was among the gods most widely and devoutly worshipped, both in Babylonia and Assyria. He had temples at Ur, Babylon, Borsippa, Calah, and Dur-Sargina. The third month of the year, called Sivan, was dedicated to him. In a month not so dedicated we find sacrifice to the moon prescribed on nine days out of the thirty.§ His name was widely used as an element in royal and other appellations, as, for instance, in the well-known name, Sennacherib, which in the original is *Sin-akhi irib*, or, “Sin has multiplied brothers.”



SIN.

Shamas, the sun-god, occupies the middle position in the second triad, which is either “Sin, Shamas, Vul,” or “Vul, Shamas, Sin,” though more commonly the former. His titles are either general or special. In a general way he is called, “the establisher of heaven and earth,” “the judge of heaven and earth,” “the warrior of the world,” and “the regent of all things,” while, with direct reference to his physical nature, he is “the lord of fire,” “the light of the gods,” “the ruler of the day,” and he who illumines the expanse of heaven and earth.”

The kings regard him as affording them especial help in war. He is “the supreme ruler, who casts a favorable eye on expeditions,” the “vanquisher of the king’s enemies,” “the breaker-up of opposition.” He “casts his motive influence” over the monarchs, and causes them to “assemble their chariots and their warriors,” he “goes forth with their armies,” and enables them to extend their dominions; he chases their enemies before them, causes opposition to

* See “Records of the Past,” vol. v. pp. 164–166.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 57, 93, etc.; vol. v. pp. 7, 122, 123; vol. ix. pp. 23, 100, etc.

‡ “Records of the Past,” vol. vii. pp. 159, 162, etc.

§ See the calendar referred to in the last note, where sacrifices to Sin are prescribed for the 1st, 2nd, 13th, 14th, 18th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 29th days of the month.

cease, and brings them back with victory to their own country.

Besides this, in time of peace, he helps them to sway the sceptre of power, and to rule over their subjects with authority. It seems that, from observing the manifest agency of the material sun in stimulating all the functions of nature, the Assyrians and Babylonians came to the conclusion that the sun-god exerted a similar influence over the minds of men, and was the great motive agent in human history.*

The worship of Shamas was universal. The seventh month, Tisri, was dedicated to him, and in the second Elul, he had, like the moon-god, nine festivals. His emblem appears upon almost all the religious cylinders, and in almost all lists of the gods his name holds a high place. Sometimes he is a member of a leading triad, composed of himself together with Sin and Asshur.† In the mythological legends he is not very frequently mentioned. We find him, however, defending the moon-god, in conjunction with Vul, when the seven spirits make their assault upon heaven; ‡ and in the deluge tablets we are told that it was he who actually made the Flood.§ But otherwise the mythology is silent about him, offering in this respect a remarkable contrast to the Egyptian, where the sun is the principal figure.

Vul, the god of the atmosphere, who completes the second triad, has, on the whole, a position quite equal to that of Sin and Shamas, whom he occasionally even precedes in the lists.|| Some kings seem to place him on a par with Anu, or with Asshur, recognizing Anu and Vul, or Asshur and Vul, as especially "the great gods," and as their own peculiar guardians.¶ In a general way he corresponds with the "Jupiter Tonans" of the Romans, being the "prince of the power of the air," the lord of the whirlwind and the tempest, and the wielder of the thunderbolt. His most common titles are "the minister of heaven and earth," "the lord of the air," and "he who makes the

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 105.

† This is the position which he holds regularly in the Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon. (See "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 58, 71, 77, 93-5, 99, 100, 103, etc.).

‡ See above, p. 43.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 138.

|| *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 100.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. iii. 46; vol. v. pp. 24-26.

tempest to rage." He is regarded as the destroyer of crops, the rooter-up of trees, the scatterer of the harvest; famine, scarcity, and even their consequence, pestilence, are assigned



VUL.

to him. He is said to have in his hand a "flaming sword," with which he effects his ravages; and this "flaming sword," which probably represents lightning, seems to form his emblem on the tablets and cylinders, where it is figured as a double or triple bolt. But Vul has also a softer character; as the god of the atmosphere he gives the rain; and hence he is "the careful and beneficent chief," "the giver of abundance," and "the lord of fecundity." In this capacity, he is naturally chosen to preside over canals, the great fertilizers in Mesopotamia; and thus we find among his titles, "the lord of canals," and "the es-

tablisher of works of irrigation." *

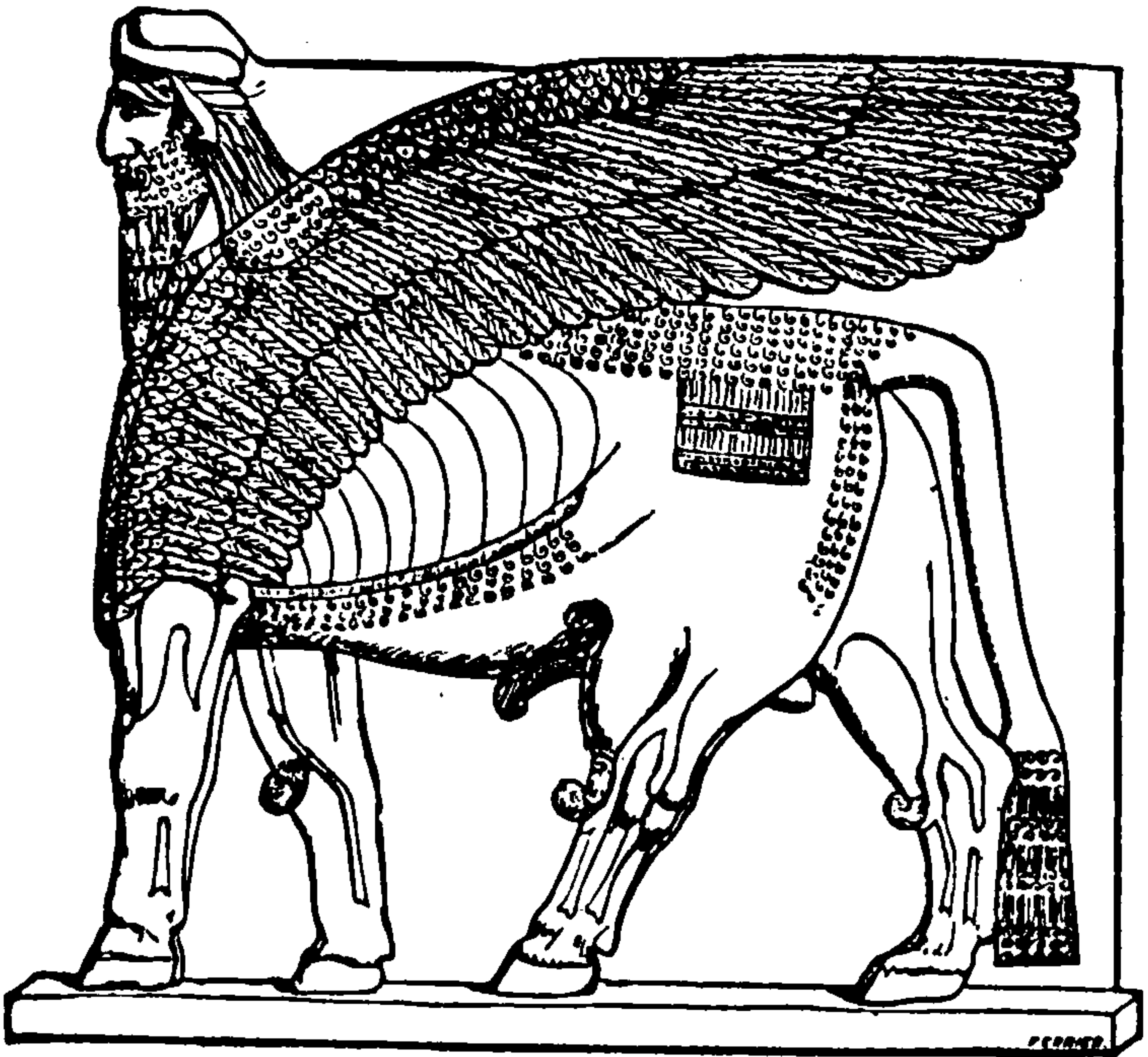
To the eight "great gods," whose functions have been here described, may be added most conveniently in this place, six goddesses. It was a general, though not a universal rule, in the Assyrian and Babylonian mythology, that each god should have a wife. From this law the heads of the respective pantheons, Il Asshur, were exempt; † but otherwise almost all the principal deities are united in pairs, one of whom is male and the other female. Anu has a wife called Anata or Anat, who is a pale and shadowy personage, the mere faint reflex of her husband whose name she receives, merely modified by a feminine inflection. Bil or Bel has a wife, Bilat, known to the classical writers as Beltis or Mylitta, ‡ a term standing to Bil as Anat to Anu, but designating a far more substantial being. Beltis is "the mother of the gods," "the *great* goddess," "the great lady," "the queen of the lands," and "the queen of fecundity." She corresponds to the Cybele of the Phrygians, the Rhea of the Greeks, and the "Magna Mater" or

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

† In one place I observe a mention of a "goddess Assuritu" ("Records," vol. i. p. 60), who might seem to be a feminine form of Asshur. But the original reads, "Asshur va Ishtar Assuritu," which shows Assuritu to be a mere title of Ishtar. (See G. Smith's "Annals of Assurbanipal," p. 17.)

‡ Herod. i. 131, 199; Hesychius ad. voc. Βήλθης.

“Bona Dea” of the Romans. Occasionally, she adds to this character the attributes of Bellona and Diana, being spoken of as presiding over war and hunting. The wife of Hoa has been called Dav-kina; but the first element of the name seems now to be read more generally as Nin, while the second is rendered by *azu*.* Ninazu is said to have been “queen of Hades” and “the lady of the house of Death.”† Her special office was to watch and soothe the last hours of the dying.‡ To the wife of Sin no proper name is given; but she is frequently associated with her husband under the appellation of “the great lady.” The wife of Shamas in Gula or Anunit, who was, like Beltis, a



NIN.

“great goddess,” but had a less distinctive character, being little more than a female Sun. Finally, Vul had a wife called Shala or Tala, whose common title is *sarrat*,

* “Records of the Past,” vol. ix. pp. 131, 132. Professor Sayce reads the name as Ninkigal (*Ibid.* p. 146).

† See Professor Sayce’s note on the passage last quoted.

‡ “Records,” vol. v. p. 146. Compare vol. iii. p. 141.

“Queen,” but who is a colorless and insignificant personage.

On the second of the two great triads which holds so high a place in the Assyrian and Babylonian pantheons, there follows a group of five gods, with an unmistakably astral character. These are Nin or Bar, Merodach or Marduk, Nergal, Ishtar, and Nebo, who correspond respectively to the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury.

Nin, or Bar, who presided over the most distant of the visible planets, Saturn, was more an object of worship in Assyria than in Babylonia. He has been called “the Assyrian Hercules,”* and in many respects resembles that hero of the classical nations. Among his titles are found, “the lord of the brave,” “the warlike,” “the champion,” “the warrior who subdues foes,” “the reducer of the disobedient,” “the exterminator of rebels,” “the powerful lord,” “the exceeding strong god,” and “he whose sword is good.” He presides in a great measure both over war and hunting. Most of the Assyrian monarchs represent themselves as going out to war under his auspices, and ascribe their successes mainly to his interposition. He is especially useful to them in the subjection of rebels. He also on some occasions incites them to engage in the chase, and aids them strenuously in their encounters with wild bulls and lions.† It is thought that he was emblematically portrayed in the winged and human-headed bull, which forms so striking a feature in the architectural erections of the Assyrians.

As Nin was a favorite Assyrian, so, Merodach was a favorite Babylonian god. From the earliest times the Babylonian monarchs placed him in the highest rank of deities, worshipping him in conjunction with Anu, Bel, and Hea, the three gods of the first triad.‡ The great temple of Babylon, known to the Greeks as the Temple of Bel, § was certainly dedicated to him; and it would therefore seem

* Layard, “Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 214; “Records of the Past,” vol. v. pp. 7, 21, 23, etc.

† See “Records of the Past,” vol. v. p. 21.

‡ See the Inscription of Agu-kak-rimi, published in the “Records of the Past,” vol. vii. p. 3, lines 5 and 6.

§ Herod. i. 181-183; Strab. xvi. p. 1049; Arrian, “Exp. Alex.” vii 17.

that the later Babylonians, at any rate, must have habitually applied to him the name of Bel, or "lord," which in earlier times had designated a different member of their pantheon. Merodach's ordinary titles are, "the great," "the great lord," "the prince," "the prince of the gods," and "the august god." He is also called, "the judge," "the most ancient," "he who judges the gods," "the eldest son of heaven," and in one place, "the lord of battles." * Occasionally, he has still higher and seemingly exclusive designations, such as, "the great lord of eternity," "the king of heaven and earth," "the lord of all beings," "the chief of the gods," and "the god of gods." † But these titles seem not to be meant exclusively. He is held in considerable honor among the Assyrians, being often coupled with Asshur, ‡ or with Asshur and Nebo, § as a war-god, one by whom the kings gain victories, and obtain the destruction of their enemies. But it is in Babylonia, and especially in the latter Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar, that his worship culminates. It is then that all the epithets of highest honor are accumulated upon him, and that he becomes an almost exclusive object of worship; it is then that we find such expressions as: "I supplicated the king of gods, the lord of lords, in Borsippa, the city of his loftiness," || and "O god Merodach, great lord, lord of the house of the gods, light of the gods, father, even for thy high honor, which changeth not, a temple have I built." ¶

In his stellar character, Merodach represented the planet Jupiter, with which he was supposed to have a very intimate connection. The eighth month (Marchesvan) was dedicated to him. ** In the second Elul he had three festivals—on the third, on the seventh, and on the sixteenth day. ††

Nergal, who presided over the planet Mars, was essentially a war-god. His name signifies "the great man," or the "great hero;" ‡‡ and his commonest titles are "the mighty hero," "the king of battle," "the destroyer" "the champion of the gods," and "the great brother." He "goes before" the kings

* "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 29.

† *Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 112, 119, 122; vol. ix. pp. 96, 106.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 20; vol. iii. pp. 53, 55; vol. v. p. 41; vol. x. p. 53, etc.

§ *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 25, 27, 45, etc.

|| "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 120.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 142.

** *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 169.

†† *Ibid.* pp. 159, 160 and 163.

‡‡ Sir Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 655.



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animals, and whose own amours were notorious. In one of the Izdubar legends, she courts that romantic individual, who, however, declines her advances, reminding her that her favor had always proved fatal to those persons on whom she had previously bestowed her affections.* There can be little doubt that in Babylon, at any rate, she was worshipped with unchaste rites,† and that her cult was thus of a corrupting and debasing character. But besides and beyond this soft and sensual aspect, Ishtar had a further and nobler one. She corresponded, not to Venus only, but also to Bellona; being called “the goddess of war and battle,” “the queen of victory,” “she who arranges battles,” and “she who defends from attack.” The Assyrian kings very generally unite her with Asshur, in the accounts which they give of their expeditions; ‡ speaking of their forces as those which Asshur and Ishtar had committed to their charge; of their battles as fought in the services of Asshur and Ishtar and of their triumphs as the result of Asshur and Ishtar exalting them above their enemies. Ishtar had also some general titles of a lofty but vague character; she was called, “the fortunate,” “the happy,” “the great goddess,” “the mistress of heaven and earth,” and “the queen of all the gods and goddesses.” In her stellar aspect, she presided over the planet Venus; and the sixth month, Elul, was dedicated to her.§

Nebo, the last of the five planetary deities, presided over Mercury. It was his special function to have under his charge learning and knowledge. He is called “the god who possesses intelligence,” || “he who hears from afar,” “he who teaches,” and “he who teaches and instructs.” ¶ The tablets of the royal library at Nineveh are said to contain “the wisdom of Nebo.”** He is also, like Mercury, “the minister of the gods,” though scarcely their messenger, an office which belongs to Paku. At the same time, as has often been remarked, †† Nebo has, like many other of the

* “Records of the Past,” vol. ix. pp. 125–128.

† See *Herod.* i. 199; of *Baruch*, vi. 43, and *Strabo*, xvi. p. 1058.

‡ “Records of the Past,” vol. i, pp. 69–86; vol. iii. p. 45, etc.

§ *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 169.

|| “Records of the Past,” vol. v. pp. 113, 122, etc.

¶ “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i. p. 91.

** “Records of the Past,” vol. i. p. 58.

†† Sir H. Rawlinson in the Author’s “*Herodotus*,” vol. i. p. 661; “Ancient Monarchies,” l. s. c.

Assyrian and Babylonian gods, a number of general titles, implying divine power, which, if they had belonged to him alone, would have seemed to prove him the supreme deity. He is "the lord of lords, who has no equal in power," "the supreme chief," "the sustainer," "the supporter," "the ever ready," "the guardian of heaven and earth," "the lord of the constellations," "the holder of the sceptre of power," "he who grants to kings the sceptre of royalty for the governance of their people." It is chiefly by his omission from many lists, and by his humble place,* when he is mentioned together with the really "great gods," that we are assured of his occupying a (comparatively speaking) low position in the general pantheon.

The planetary gods had in most instances a female complement. Nebo was closely associated with a goddess called Urmit or Tasmit, Nergal with one called Laz, and Merodach with Zirpanit or Zirbanit. Nin, the son of Bel and Beltis, is sometimes made the husband of his mother, † but otherwise has no female counterpart. Ishtar is sometimes coupled with Nebo in a way that might suggest her being his wife, ‡ if it were not that that position is certainly occupied by Urmit.

Among other Assyrian and Babylonian deities may be mentioned Nusku, a god assigned a high rank by Asshurbanipal; § Makhir, the goddess of dreams, || Paku, the divine messenger, ¶ Laguda, the god of a town call Kisik; ** Zamal, Turda, Ishkara, Malik, deities invoked in curses; †† Zicum, a primeval goddess, said to be "the mother of Anu; and the gods," ‡‡ Dakan, §§ perhaps Dagon, Martu, Zira, Idak, Kurrikh, etc. Many other strange names also occur, but either rarely, or in a connection which is thought to indicate that they are local appellations of some of the

Nebo's place varies commonly from the fifth to the thirteenth, and is generally about the seventh. Nebuchadnezzar, however, puts him third. ("Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 122.)

† "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 87.

‡ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 91.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 57, 58, 71, 77, 94, 95, etc.; vol. ix. pp. 45, 61, etc.

|| *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 152.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 165.

** *Ibid.* vol. ix. pp. 3 and 15.

†† *Ibid.* p. 101.

‡‡ *Ibid.* p. 146, and note.

§§ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 40; vol. v. p. 117; vol. vii. pp. 11, 27, etc.

well-known deities. No more need be said of these personages, since the general character of the religion is but little affected by the belief in gods who played so very insignificant a part in the system.

The Assyrians and Babylonians worshipped their gods in shrines or chapels of no very great size, to which, however, was frequently attached a lofty tower, built in stages, which were sometimes as many as seven.* The tower could be ascended by steps on the outside, and was usually crowned by a small chapel. The gods were represented by images, which were either of stone or metal, and which bore the human form, excepting in two instances, Nin and Nergal were portrayed, as the Jews, perhaps, portrayed their cherubim, by animal forms of great size and grandeur, having human heads and huge outstretched wings.† There was nothing hideous or even grotesque about the representations of the Assyrian gods. The object aimed at was to fill the spectator with feelings of awe and reverence; and the figures have, in fact, universally, an appearance of calm and placid strength and majesty, which is most solemn and impressive.

The gods were worshipped, as generally in the ancient world, by prayer, praise, and sacrifice. Prayer was offered both for oneself and for others. The "sinfulness of sin" was deeply felt, and the Divine anger deprecated with much earnestness. "O! my Lord," says one suppliant, "my sins are many, my trespasses are great; and the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease, and sickness, and sorrow. I fainted, but no one stretched forth his hand; I groaned, but no one drew nigh. I cried aloud, but no one heard. O Lord, do not Thou abandon thy servant. In the waters of the great storm, do Thou lay hold of his hand. The sins which he has committed, do Thou turn to righteousness."‡ Special intercession was made for the Assyrian kings. The gods were besought to grant them "length of days, a strong sword, extended years of glory, pre-eminence among monarchs, and an enlargement of the bounds of their empire."§ It is thought that their happi-

* As at Borsippa (Birs-i-Nimrod), where a portion of each stage remains.

† Ezek. x. 8-22.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 136.

|| *Ibid.* p. 133.

ness in a future state was also prayed for.* Praise was even more frequent than prayer. The gods were addressed under their various titles, and their benefits to mankind commemorated. "O Fire!" we read on one tablet,† "Great Lord, who art exalted above all the earth! O! noble son of heaven, exalted above all the earth. O Fire, with thy bright flame, thou dost produce light in the dark house! Of all things that can be named, thou dost create the fabric; of bronze and of lead, thou art the melter; of silver and of gold, thou art the refiner; of . . . thou art the purifier. Of the wicked man, in the night-time, thou dost repel the assault; but the man who serves his God, thou wilt give him light for his actions." Sacrifice almost always accompanied prayer and praise. Every day in the year seems to have been sacred to some deity or deities, and some sacrifice or other was offered every day by the monarch,‡ who thus set an example to his subjects, which we may be sure they were not slow to follow. The principal sacrificial animals were bulls, oxen, sheep, and gazelles.§ Libations of wine were also a part of the recognized worship, || and offerings might be made of anything valuable.

It is an interesting question how far the Assyrians and Babylonians entertained any confident expectation of a future life, and, if so, what view they took of it. That the idea did not occupy a prominent place in their minds; that there was a contrast in this respect between them and the people of Egypt, is palpable from the very small number of passages in which anything like an allusion to a future state of existence has been detected. Still, there certainly seem to be places in which the continued existence of the dead is spoken of, and where the happiness of the good and the wretchedness of the wicked in the future state are indicated. It has been already noticed, that in one passage the happiness of the king in another world seems to be prayed for. In two or three others, prayer is offered for a depart-

* Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. i. p. 107.

† "Records of the Past," vol. iii. pp. 137, 138.

‡ See the fragment of a Calendar published in the "Records of the Past," vol. vii. pp. 159-168.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 137, 159, and 161; "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii p. 56.

|| "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 124; vol. vii. p. 140.

ing soul in terms like the following: "May the sun give him life, and Merodach grant him an abode of happiness,"* or, "To the sun, the greatest of the gods, may he ascend; and may the sun, the greatest of the gods, receive his soul into his holy hands."† The nature of the happiness enjoyed may be gathered from occasional notices, where the soul is represented as clad in a white radiant garment,‡ as dwelling in the presence of the gods, and as partaking of celestial food in the abode of blessedness. On the other hand, Hades, the receptacle of the wicked after death, is spoken of as "the abode of darkness and famine," the place "where earth is men's food, and their nourishment clay; where light is not seen, but in darkness they dwell; where ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings, and on the door and the doorposts the dust lies undisturbed."§ Different degrees of sinfulness seem to meet with different and appropriate punishments. There is one place—apparently, a penal fire—reserved for unfaithful wives and husbands, and for youths who have dishonored their bodies. Thus it would appear that M. Lenormant was mistaken when he said, that, though the Assyrians recognized a place of departed spirits, yet it was one "in which there was no trace of a distinction of rewards and punishments."||

The superstitions of the Assyrians and Babylonians were numerous and strange. They believed in charms of various kinds; ¶ in omens,** in astrology, in spells, and in a miraculous power inherent in an object which they called "the Mamit." What the Mamit was is quite uncertain.†† According to the native belief, it had descended from heaven, and was a "treasure," a "priceless jewel," infinitely more valuable than anything else upon the earth. It was or-

* "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. p. 32.

† *Ibid.* p. 31.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 135.

§ "Transactions," etc., vol. i. p. 113.

|| "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 143.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 142.

** Among the remains of Assyrian and Babylonian literature are tables of omens derived from dreams, from births, from an inspection of the hand, or of the entrails of animals, and from the objects a traveler meets with on his journey. Dogs alone furnish eighteen omens (*Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 160-170).

†† See a paper by Mr. Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii, pp. 35-42.

dinarily kept in a temple, but was sometimes brought to the bedside of a sick person, with the object of driving out the evil spirits to whom his disease was owing, and of so recovering him.

Among the sacred legends of the Babylonians and Assyrians the following were the most remarkable. They believed that at a remote date, before the creation of the world, there had been war in heaven. Seven spirits, created by Anu to be his messengers, took counsel together and resolved to revolt. "Against high heaven, the dwelling-place of Anu the king, they plotted evil," and unexpectedly made a fierce attack. The moon, the sun, and Vul, the god of the atmosphere, withstood them, and after a fearful struggle beat them off.* There was then peace for a while. But once more, at a later date, a fresh revolt broke out. The hosts of heaven were assembled together, in number five thousand, and were engaged in singing a psalm of praise to Anu when suddenly discord arose. "With a loud cry of contempt" a portion of the angelic choir "broke up the holy song," uttering wicked blasphemies, and so "spoiling, confusing, confounding the hymn of praise." Asshur was asked to put himself at their head, but "refused to go forth with them." † Their leader, who is unnamed, took the form of a dragon, and in that shape contended with the god Bel, who proved victorious in the combat, and slew his adversary by means of a thunderbolt, which he flung into the creature's open mouth. ‡ Upon this, the entire host of the wicked angels took to flight, and was driven to the abode of the seven spirits of evil, where they were forced to remain, their return to heaven being prohibited. In their room man was created. §

The Chaldæan legend of creation, according to Berossus, was as follows:—

"In the beginning all was darkness and water, and therein were generated monstrous animals of strange and peculiar forms. There were men with two wings, and some even with four, and with two faces; and others with two heads, a man's and a woman's, on one body; and there were men with the heads and horns of goats, and men with

* "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 163-166.

† *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 127, 128.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ix. pp. 137-139.

§ *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 127.

hoofs like horses; and some with the upper parts of a man joined to the lower parts of a horse, like centaurs; and there were bulls with human heads, dogs with four bodies and with fishes' tails; men and horses with dogs' heads; creatures with the heads and bodies of horses, but with the tails of fish; and other animals mixing the forms of various beasts. Moreover, there were monstrous fishes and reptiles and serpents, and divers other creatures, which had borrowed something from each other's shapes, of all which the likenesses are still preserved in the temple of Belus. A woman ruled them all, by name Omorka, which is in Chaldee Thalath, and in Greek Thalassa (or 'the sea'). Then Belus appeared, and split the woman in twain; and of the one half of her he made the heaven, and of the other half the earth; and the beasts that were in her he caused to perish. And he split the darkness, and divided the heaven and the earth asunder, and put the world in order, and the animals that could not bear the light perished. Belus, upon this, seeing that the earth was desolate, yet teeming with productive powers, commanded one of the gods to cut off his head, and to mix the blood which flowed forth with earth, and form men therewith, and beasts that could bear the light. So man was made, and was intelligent, being a partaker of the Divine wisdom. Likewise Belus made the stars, and the sun and the moon, and the five planets." *

The only native account which has been discovered in part resembles this, but in many respects is different. So far as at present deciphered, it runs thus:—

“When the upper region was not yet called heaven, and the lower region was not yet called earth, and the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms, then the chaos of waters gave birth to all; and the waters were gathered into one place. Men dwelt not as yet together; no animals as yet wandered about; nor as yet had the gods been born; not as yet had their names been uttered, or their attributes [fixed] Then were born the gods Lakhmu and Lakhamu; they were born and grew up Asshur and Kisshui were born and lived through many days Anu (was born next).

* " " " " " "

* Berosus ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 2; Syncell "Chronographia," vol. i. p. 52.



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I will gather to thee the beasts of the field, and the animals, and I will bring them to thee; and they shall be enclosed within thy door.' Hasisadra his mouth opened and spake, and said to Hea, his Lord—'There was not upon the earth a man who could make the ship . . . strong [planks] I brought . . . on the fifth day . . . in its circuit fourteen measures [it measured]; in its sides fourteen measures it measured . . . and upon it I placed its roof and closed [the door]. On the sixth day I embarked in it: on the seventh I examined it without: on the eighth I examined it within; plants against the influx of the waters I placed: where I saw rents and holes, I added what was required. Three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside: three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside . . . (five lines obscure and mutilated). . . . Wine in receptacles I collected, like the waters of a river; also [food], like the dust of the earth, I collected in boxes [and stored up.] And Shamas the material of the ship completed [and made it] strong. And the reed oars of the ship I caused them to bring [and place] above and below. . . . All I possessed of silver, all I possessed of gold, all I possessed of the seed of life, I caused to ascend into the ship. All my male servants, all my female servants, all the beasts of the field, all the animals, all the sons of the people, I caused to go up. A flood Shamas made, and thus he spake in the night: 'I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily. Enter into the midst of the ship, and shut thy door.'"

The command of Shamas is obeyed, and then "The raging of a storm in the morning arose, from the horizon of heaven extending far and wide. Vul in the midst of it thundered: Neho and Saru went in front: the throne-bearers sped over mountains and plains: the destroyer, Nergal, overturned: Ninip went in front and cast down: the spirits spread abroad destruction: in their fury they swept the earth: the flood of Vul reached to heaven. The bright earth to a waste was turned: the storm o'er its surface swept: from the face of the earth was life destroyed: the strong flood that had whelmed mankind reached to heaven: brother saw not brother; the flood did not spare the people. Even in heaven the gods feared the tempest, and sought refuge in the abode of Anu. Like dogs the gods crouched down, and cowered together. Spake Ishtar,

like a child—uttered the great goddess her speech: “When the world to corruption turned, then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil. When I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil, then to evil were devoted all my children. I, the mother, have given birth to my people, and lo! now like the young of fishes they fill the sea.’ The gods were weeping for the spirits with her; the gods in their seats were sitting in lamentation; covered were their lips on account of the coming evil. Six days and nights passed; the wind, the flood, the storm overwhelmed. On the seventh day, in its course was calmed the storm; and all the tempest, which had destroyed like an earthquake, was quieted. The flood He caused to dry; the wind and the deluge ended. I beheld the tossing of the sea, and mankind all turned to corruption; like reeds the corpses floated. I opened the window, and the light broke over my face. It passed. I sat down and wept; over my face flowed my tears. I saw the shore at the edge of the sea; for twelve measures the land rose. To the country of Nizir went the ship: the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship: to pass over it was not able. The first day and the second day the mountain of Nizir, the same; the third day and the fourth day the mountain of Nizir, the same; the fifth and sixth the mountain of Nizir, the same; in the course of the seventh day I sent out a dove, and it left. The dove went to and fro, and a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a swallow, and it left; the swallow went to and fro, and a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a raven, and it left; the raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and it did eat: it swam, and wandered away, and returned not. I sent the animals forth to the four winds: I poured out a libation: I built an altar on the peak of the mountain: seven jugs of wine I took; at the bottom I placed reeds, pines, and spices. The gods collected to the burning: the gods collected to the good burning. Like *sumpe* (?) over the sacrifice they gathered.’”

One more example must conclude our specimens of the legends current among the Assyrians and Babylonians in ancient times. As the preceding passage in myth based upon history, the concluding one shall be taken from that portion of Assyrian lore which is purely and wholly imagi-

native. The descent of Ishtar to Hades, perhaps in search of Tammuz, is related as follows * :—

“To the land of Hades, the land of her desire, Ishtar, daughter of the Moon-god Sin, turned her mind. The daughter of Sin fixed her mind to go to the House where all meet, the dwelling of the god Iskalla, to the house which men enter, but cannot depart from—the road which men travel, but never retrace—the abode of darkness and of famine, where earth is their food, their nourishment clay—where light is not seen, but in darkness they dwell—where ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings, and on the door and the door-posts the dust lies undisturbed.

“When Ishtar arrived at the gate of Hades, to the keeper of the gate a word she spake : “O keeper of the entrance, open thy gate ! Open thy gate, I say again, that I may enter in ! If thou openest not thy gate, if I do not enter in, I will assault the door, the gate I will break down, I will attack the entrance, I will split open the portals. I will raise the dead, to be the devourers of the living ! Upon the living the dead shall prey.’ Then the porter opened his mouth and spake, and thus he said to great Ishtar : ‘Stay, lady, do not shake down the door ; I will go and inform Queen Nin-ki-gal.’ So the porter went in and to Nin-ki-gal said : ‘These curses thy sister Ishtar utters ; yea, she blasphemes thee with fearful curses.’ And Nin-ki-gal, hearing the words, grew pale, like a flower when cut from the stem ; like the stalk of a reed, she shook. And she said, ‘I will cure her rage—I will speedily cure her fury. Her curses I will repay. Light up consuming flames ! Light up a blaze of straw ! Be her doom with the husbands who left their wives ; be her doom with the wives who forsook their lords ; be her doom with the youths of dishonored lives. Go, porter, and open the gate for her ; but strip her, as some have been stripped ere now.’ The porter went and opened the gate. ‘Lady of Tiggaba, enter,’ he said : ‘Enter. It is permitted. The Queen of Hades to meet thee comes.’ So the first gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the great crown was taken from her head. ‘Keeper, do not take off from me the crown that is on my head.’ ‘Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the

* The translation of Mr. Fox Talbot, as given in the “Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,” vol. iii. pp. 119–124, and again in “Records of the Past,” vol. i. pp. 143–149, is here followed.

Land insists upon its removal.' The next gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the ear-rings were taken from her ears. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the ear-rings from my ears.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The third gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the precious stones were taken from her head. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the gems that adorn my head.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The fourth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the small jewels were taken from her brow. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the small jewels that deck my brow.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The fifth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the girdle was taken from her waist. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the girdle that girds my waist.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon its removal.' The sixth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the gold rings were taken from her hands and feet. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the gold rings of my hands and feet.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The seventh gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the last garment was taken from her body. 'Keeper, do not take off, I pray, the last garment from my body.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon its removal.'

"After that Mother Ishtar had descended into Hades, Nin-ki-gal saw and derided her to her face. Then Ishtar lost her reason, and heaped curses upon the other. Nin-ki-gal hereupon opened her mouth, and spake: 'Go, Namtar, . . . and bring her out for punishment, . . . afflict her with disease of the eye, the side, the feet, the heart, the head' (some lines effaced)

"The Divine messenger of the gods lacerated his face before them. The assembly of the gods was full. . . . The Sun came, along with the Moon, his father, and weeping he spake thus unto Hea, the king: 'Ishtar has descended into the earth, and has not risen again; and ever since the time that Mother Ishtar descended into hell, the master has ceased from commanding; the slave has ceased from obeying.' Then the god Hea in the depth of his mind formed a design; he modeled, for her escape, the figure of a man of clay. 'Go to save her, Phantom, present thy-

self at the portal of Hades; the seven gates of Hades will all open before thee; Nin-ki-gal will see thee, and take pleasure because of thee. When her mind has grown calm, and her anger has worn itself away, awe her with the names of the great gods! Then prepare thy frauds! Fix on deceitful tricks thy mind! Use the chiefest of thy tricks! Bring forth fish out of an empty vessel! That will astonish Nin-ki-gal, and to Ishtar she will restore her clothing. The reward—a great reward—for these things shall not fail. Go, Phantom, save her, and the great assembly of the people shall crown thee! Meats, the best in the city, shall be thy food! Wine, the most delicious in the city, shall be thy drink! A royal palace shall be thy dwelling, a throne of state shall be thy seat! Magician and conjuror shall kiss the hem of thy garment!’

“Nin-ki-gal opened her mouth and spake; to her messenger, Namtar, commands she gave: ‘Go, Namtar, the Temple of Justice adorn! Deck the images! Deck the altars! Bring out Anunnak, and let him take his seat on a throne of gold! Pour out for Ishtar the water of life; from my realms let her depart.’ Namtar obeyed; he adorned the Temple; decked the images, decked the altars; brought out Anunnak, and let him take his seat on a throne of gold; poured out for Ishtar the water of life, and suffered her to depart. Then the first gate let her out, and gave her back the garment of her form. The next gate let her out, and gave her back the jewels for her hands and feet. The third gate let her out, and gave her back the girdle for her waist. The fourth gate let her out, and gave her back the small gems she had worn upon her brow. The fifth gate let her out, and gave her back the precious stones that had been upon her head. The sixth gate let her out, and gave her back the ear-rings that were taken from her ears. And the seventh gate let her out, and gave her back the crown she had carried on her head.”

So ends this curious legend, and with it the limits of our space require that we should terminate this notice of the religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT IRANIANS.

Ἄριστοτέλης φησὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχὰς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα.—DIOG. Laert. Proem, p. 2.

THE Iranians were in ancient times the dominant race throughout the entire tract lying between the Suliman mountains and the Pamir steppe on the one hand, and the great Mesopotamian valley on the other. Intermixed in portions of the tract with a Cushite or Nigritic, and in others with a Turanian element, they possessed, nevertheless, upon the whole, a decided preponderance; and the tract itself has been known as "Ariana," or "Iran," at any rate from the time of Alexander the Great to the present day! * The region is one in which extremes are brought into sharp contrast, and forced on human observation, the summers being intensely hot, and the winters piercingly cold, the more favored portions luxuriantly fertile, the remainder an arid and frightful desert. If, as seems to be now generally thought by the best informed and deepest investigators, † the light of primeval relation very early faded away in Asia, and religions there were in the main elaborated out of the working upon the circumstances of his environment, of that "religious faculty" wherewith God had endowed mankind, we might expect that in this peculiar region a peculiar religion should develop itself—a religion of strong antitheses and sharp contrasts, unlike that of such homogeneous tracts as the Nile valley and the Mesopotamian plain, where climate was almost uniform,

* Strabo, who is the earliest of extant writers to use "Ariana" in this broad sense, probably obtained the term from the contemporaries of Alexander. It was certainly used by Appollodorus of Artemita (ab. B.C. 130).

† See Max Müller, "Introduction to the Science of Religion," Lecture I. pp. 40, 41.

and a monotonous fertility spread around universal abundance. The fact answers to our natural anticipation. At a time which it is difficult to date, but which those best skilled in Iranian antiquities are inclined to place before the birth of Moses,* there grew up, in the region whereof we are speaking, a form of religion marked by very special and unusual features, very unlike the religions of Egypt and Assyria, a thing quite *sui generis*, one very worthy of the attention of those who are interested in the past history of the human race, and more especially of such as wish to study the history of religions.

Ancient tradition associates this religion with the name of Zoroaster. Zoroaster, or Zarathrustra, according to the native spelling, † was, by one account, ‡ a Median king who conquered Babylon about B. C. 2458. By another, which is more probable, and which rests, moreover, on better authority, he was a Bactrian, § who, at a date not quite so remote, came forward in the broad plain of the middle Oxus to instil into the minds of his countrymen the doctrines and precepts of a new religion. Claiming divine inspiration, and professing to hold from time to time direct conversation with the Supreme Being, he delivered his revelations in a mythical form, and obtained their general acceptance as divine by the Bactrian people. His religion gradually spread from "happy Bactra," "Bactra of the lofty banner," || first to the neighboring countries, and then to all the numerous tribes of the Iranians, until at last it became the established religion of the mighty empire of Persia, which, in the middle of the sixth century before our era, established itself on the ruins of the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms, and shortly afterwards overran and subdued the ancient monarchy of the Pharaohs. In Persia it maintained its ground, despite the shocks of Grecian and Parthian conquest, until Mohammedan intolerance drove it out at the point of the sword, and forced it to seek a refuge further east, in the peninsula of Hindustan. Here it still continues, in Guzerat and in Bombay, the creed of

* Hang, "Essays on the Religion, etc., of the Parsees," p. 255.

† See "Zendavesta," *passim*.

‡ Berosus ap. Syncell "Chronographia," p. 147.

§ Hermlpp. ap. Arnob. "Adv. Gentes," i. 52; Justin, i. 1; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Moses Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 5.

|| "Vendidad," Furg. ii. s. 7.



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generally of the Iranian religion we must necessarily regard Dualism as a part of it. The Iranians of historic times held that from all eternity there had existed two mighty and rival beings, the authors of all other existences, who had been engaged in a perpetual contest, each seeking to injure, baffle, and in every way annoy and thwart the other. Both principles were real persons, possessed of will, intelligence, power, consciousness, and other personal qualities. To the one they gave the name of Ahura-Mazda, to the other that of *Angro-Mainyus*.

Here let us pause for a moment, and consider the import of these two names. Names of deities, as Professor Max Müller has well pointed out,* are among the most interesting of studies; and a proper understanding of their meaning throws frequently very considerable light on the nature and character of a religion. Now, Ahura-Mazda is a word composed of three elements: "Ahura," "maz," "da." The first of these is properly an adjective, signifying, "living;" it corresponds to "asura" in Sanskrit, and like that passes from an adjectival to a substantival force, and is used for "living being," especially for living beings superior to man. Perhaps it may be best expressed in English by the word "spirit," only that we must not regard absolute immateriality as implied in it. "Maz" is cognate to the "maj" in major, and the "mag" or "meg" in "magnus" and μέγας; it is an intensitive, and means "much." "Da" or "dao" is a word of a double meaning; it is a participle, or verbal adjective, and signifies either "giving" or "knowing," being connected with the Latin "do," "dare" (Greek δίδωμι), "to give," and with the Greek δαῖναι, δαῖμων, "to know," "knowing." The entire word "Ahura-Mazda," thus means either, "the much-knowing spirit," or the "much-giving spirit," the "all-bountiful," or "the all-wise." †

Angro-Mainyus contains two elements only, an adjective and a substantive. "Angro" is akin to "niger," and so to "negro;" it means simply "black" or "dark." "Mainyus," a substantive, is the exact equivalent of the

* "Introduction to the Science of Religion," Lecture III. pp. 171 *et seqq.*

† See Haug, "Essays," p. 33; Brockhaus, "Vendidad-Sadé," pp. 347 and 385: and Sir H. Rawlinson, "Persian Vocabulary," ad voc. "Auramazda."

Latin "mens," and the Greek μένος. It means "mind," "intelligence." Thus Angro-Mainyus is the "black or dark intelligence."

Thus the names themselves sufficiently indicated to those who first used them the nature of the two beings. Ahura-Mazda was the "all-bountiful, all-wise, living being" or "spirit," who stood at the head of all that was good and lovely, beautiful and delightful. Angro-Mainyus was the "dark and gloomy intelligence," that had from the first been Ahura-Mazda's enemy, and was bent on thwarting and vexing him. And with these fundamental notions agreed all that the sacred books taught concerning either being. Ahura-Mazda was declared to be "the creator of life, the earthly and the spiritual;" he had made "the celestial bodies," "earth, water, and trees," "all good creatures," and "all good, true things." He was "good," "holy," "pure," "true," "the holy god," "the holiest," "the essence of truth," "the father of truth," "the best being of all," "the master of purity." Supremely happy, he possessed every blessing, "health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality."* from him came all good to man—on the pious and the righteous he bestowed, not only earthly advantages, but precious spiritual gifts, truth, devotion, "the good mind," and everlasting happiness; and, as he rewarded the good, so he also punished the bad, although this was an aspect in which he was but seldom contemplated.

Angro-Mainyus, on the other hand, was the creator and upholder of everything that was evil. Opposed to Ahura-Mazda from the beginning, he had been engaged in a perpetual warfare with him. Whatever good thing Ahura-Mazda had created, Angro-Mainyus had corrupted and ruined it.† Moral and physical evils were alike at his disposal. He could blast the earth with barrenness, or make it produce thorns, thistles, and poisonous plants; his were the earthquake, the storm, the plague of hail, the thunderbolt; he could cause disease and death, sweep off a nation's flocks and herds by murrain, or depopulate a continent by pestilence; ferocious wild beasts, serpents, toads, mice,

* The expressions in inverted commas are all taken from *Hang's* translations of the *Yasna* given in his "Essays." The exact place of each is noted in the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i: 48, 49.

† See the Second Fargard of the "Vendidad," which is given at length in the above-mentioned work, vol. iii. pp. 238-240.

hornets, mosquitoes, were his creation ; he had invented and introduced into the world the sins of witchcraft, murder, unbelief, cannibalism ; he excited wars and tumults, continually stirred up the bad against the good, and labored by every possible expedient to make vice triumph over virtue. Ahura-Mazda could exercise no control over him ; the utmost that he could do was to keep a perpetual watch upon his rival, and seek to baffle and defeat him. This he was not always able to do ; despite his best endeavors, Angro-Mainyus was not unfrequently victorious.

The two great beings who thus divided between them the empire of the universe, were neither of them content to be solitary. Each had called into existence a number of inferior spirits, who acknowledged their sovereignty, fought on their side, and sought to execute their behests. At the head of the good spirits subject to Ahura-Mazda stood a band of six dignified with the title of Amesha-Spentas, or "Immortal Holy Ones," the chief assistants of the Principle of Good both in counsel and in action. These were Vohu-mano, or Bahman, the "Good Mind" ; Asha-vahista, or Ardibehesht, "the Highest Truth ;" Khshathra-vairya, or Shahravar, the genius of wealth : Spenta-Armaiti (Islandarmat), the genius of the Earth : Haurvatat (Khordad), the genius of Health : and Ameretat (Amerdat), the genius of Immortality.* In direct antithesis to these stood the band, likewise one of six, which formed the council and chief support of Angro-Mainyus, namely, Akomano, "the Bad Mind" : Indra, the god of storms : Saurva : Naonhaitya : Taric : and Zaric.† Besides these leading spirits there was marshalled on either side an innumerable host of lesser and subordinate ones, called respectively *ahuras* and *devas*, who constituted the armies or attendants of the two great powers and were employed by them to work out their purposes. The leader of the angelic hosts, or *ahuras*, was a glorious being, called Sraosha or Serosh ‡—"the good, tall, fair Serosh," who stood in the Zoroastrian system where Michael the Archangel stands in the Christian.§ The

* Haug, "Essays," p. 263; Pusey, "Lectures on Daniel," pp. 536, 537.

† Haug, l. s. c.; Windischmann, "Zoroastrische Studien," p. 59.

‡ On Serosh, see the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. pp. 55, 57.

§ It is no doubt true, as Dr. Pusey observes ("Lectures on

armies of Angro-Mainyus had no such single leader, but fought under the orders of a number of co-equal captains as Drukhs, "destruction": Aêshemo, "rapine": Daivis, "deceit": Driwis, "poverty": and others. Offering an uninterrupted and dogged resistance to the army of Ahura-Mazda, they maintained the struggle on something like equal terms, and showed no sign of any intention to make their submission.

Neither Ahura-Mazda nor the Amesha-Spentas were represented by the early Iranians under any material forms. The Zoroastrian system was markedly anti-idolatrous, and the utmost that was allowed the worshipper was an emblematic representation of the Supreme Being by means of a winged circle, with which was occasionally combined an incomplete human figure, robed and wearing a tiara. A



WINGED CIRCLE.

four-winged figure at Murgab, the ancient Pasargadæ, is also possibly a representation of Serosh; but otherwise the objects of their religious regards were not exhibited in material shapes by the early Iranians.

Among the angelic beings revered by the Iranians lower than the Amesha-Spentas, but still of a very high rank and dignity, were Mithra, the genius of light, early identified with the sun; Tistrya, the Dog-star;* Airyaman, a genius presiding over marriage; † and others. Mithra was originally not held in very high esteem; but by degrees

Daniel," p. 535), that the characters of the Amesha-Spentas, and of the other great spirits or genii of the Zendavesta, is altogether "below that of the holy angels," and that the term "archangel," if applied to any of them, is "a misnomer" (*Ibid.* p. 538). But still there is sufficient resemblance to make the comparison natural and not improper.

* "Zendavesta," iii. 72 (Spiegel's edition).

† Hang, "Essays," p. 231.



FOUR-WINGED FIGURE AT MURGAB.

he was advanced, and ultimately came to occupy a place only a little inferior to that assigned from the first to Ahura-Mazda. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, placed the emblems of Ahura-Mazda and of Mithra in equally conspicuous positions on the sculptured tablet above his tomb; and his example was followed by all the later monarchs of his race whose sepulchres are still in existence.* Artaxerxes Mnemon placed an image of Mithra in the temple attached to the royal palace at Susa.† He also in his inscriptions unites Mithra with Ahura-Mazda, and prays for their conjoint protection.‡ Artaxerxes Ochus does the same a little later;§ and the practice is also observed in portions of the Zendavesta composed about || this period. Ahura-Mazda and Mithra are called “the two great ones,” “the two great, imperishable, and pure.” ¶

The position of man in the cosmic scheme was determined by the fact that he was among the creations of Ahura-Mazda. Formed and placed on earth by the Good Being, he was bound to render him implicit obedience, and to oppose to the utmost Angro-Mainyus and his creatures. His duties might be summed up under the four heads of piety, purity, industry, and veracity. Piety was to be shown by an acknowledgment of Ahura-Mazda as the One True God, by a reverential regard for the Amesha-Spentas and the Izeds, or lower angels, by the frequent offering of prayers, praises, and thanksgivings, the recitation of hymns, the occasional sacrifice of animals, and the performance from time to time of a curious ceremony known as that of the Haoma or Homa. This consisted in the extraction of the juice of the Homa plant by the priests during the recitation of prayers, the formal presentation of the liquid extracted to the sacrificial fire, the consumption of a small portion of it by one of the officiating ministers, and the division of the remainder among the worshippers.** In sacrifices the priests were also necessary go-betweens. The

* See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 429, and Flaudin, "Voyage en Perse," pls. 164 bis. 166, 173-176.

† Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 372.

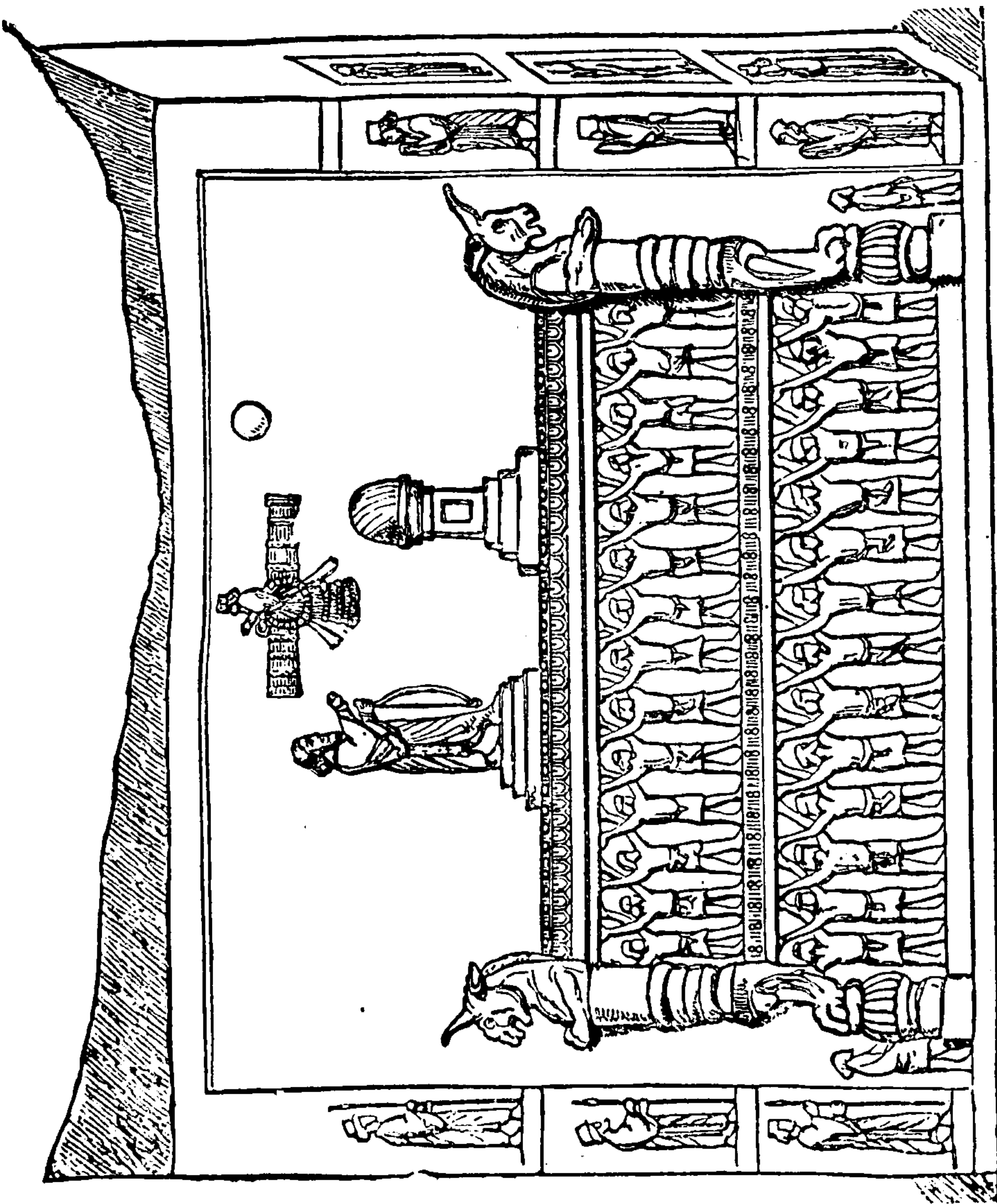
‡ *Ibid.*

§ Sir H. Rawlinson "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. i. p. 342.

|| "Yasna," i. 34; ii. 44; iii. 48; "Mihr Yasht," 113.

¶ See Pusey's "Lectures on Daniel," p. 542, note 3.

** See Hang, "Essays," p. 239.





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basest, the most contemptible, and the most pernicious of vices.

If it be asked what opinions were entertained by the Zoroastrians concerning man's ultimate destiny, the answer would seem to be, that they were devout and earnest believers in the immortality of the soul, and a conscious future existence. It was taught that immediately after death the souls of men, both good and bad, proceeded together along an appointed path to the "bridge of the gatherer." There was a narrow road conducting to heaven, or paradise, over which the souls of the good alone could pass, while the wicked fell from it into the gulf below, where they found themselves in the place of punishment. The pious soul was assisted across the bridge by the angel Serosh, "the happy, well-formed, swift, tall, Serosh," who went out to meet the weary wayfarer, and sustained his steps as he effected the difficult passage. The prayers of his friends in this world much availed the deceased, and helped him forward greatly on his journey. As he entered the angel Vohu-mano rose from his throne, and greeted him with the words—"How happy art thou, who hast come here to us, exchanging mortality for immortality!" Then the good soul went joyfully onward to the golden throne, to paradise. As for the wicked, when they fell into the gulf, they found themselves in outer darkness, in the kingdom of Angro-Mainyus, where they were forced to remain in a sad and wretched condition.*

It has been maintained by some that the early Iranians also held the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.† Such a doctrine is certainly contained in the more recent portions of the Zendavesta; and it is argued that there are expressions in the more ancient parts of that work which imply it, if they do not actually assert it. But a careful examination of the passages adduced makes it evident, that no more is in reality asserted in them than the continued existence of the soul; and Spiegel comes to the conclusion that, even so late as the time when the "Vendidad" was written, "the resurrection of the body was not yet known to the Parsees," ‡ or Persians.

The original religion of the Iranians was Dualism of a

* "Vendidad," xix. 30-32; Hang, "Essays," p. 156.

† Hang, "Essays," p. 266.

‡ Spiegel, "Avesta," vol. ii. p. 248, 249.

very pronounced type, assigning, as it did, to Angro-Mainyus complete independence of Ahura-Mazda, and equal eternity with him, with almost equal power. It verged upon polytheism by the very important position which it assigned to certain of the aburas or angels, whom it coupled with the Principle of Good in a way which derogated from his supreme and unrivalled dignity.* In its morality it maintained a high tone; but it imposed on its followers a burdensome yoke of ceremonial observances. It taught a future life, with happiness for the good and misery for the wicked; but unfortunately inclined to identify goodness with orthodoxy, and wickedness with a rejection of the doctrine of Zoroaster.

It may help the reader to understand the inner spirit of the religion, if we give one or two specimens of the hymns which constituted so important a part of the Zoroastrian worship. The following is one of the Gâthâs, and is by some assigned to Zoroaster himself †:—

“Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen
Thy praise, Ahura-Mazda, and thine, O Vohu-mano.
Asha! I ask that thy grace may appear in the lights of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what is
purest,
So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,
Choose the creed he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side.

These two Spirits are twins; they made known in times that are
bygone
That good and evil, in thought, and word, and action.
Rightly decided between them the good; not so the evil.

When these Two came together, first of all they created
Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil
Wretchedness, but for the good a happy blest existence.

Of these Two the One who was evil chose what was evil;
He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless
Heaven,
Chose what was right; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura-
Mazda.

* Pusey, “Lectures on Daniel,” p. 535, note 9.

† Hübschmann, “Ein Zoroastrisches Lied d. mit Rücksicht auf die Tradition, übersetzt und erklärt.” München, 1872. Compare Max Müller, “Lectures on the Science of Religion,” pp. 237-239.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshipped the
Devas:

They the *Bad Spirit* chose, and, having held counsel together,
Turned to Rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might; and with might came wisdom and
virtue;

Armaiti herself, the *Eternal*, gave to their bodies
Vigor; e'en thou wert enriched by the gifts that she scattered,
O Mazda.

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be
punished;

Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the right-
eons—

Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha the
Truth-God.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it,
O Ahura-Mazda, O Truth-God bliss conferring!

Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth!

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood;
But in the house where dwell Vohu-mano, Mazda, and Asha—
Beautiful house—shall be gathered forever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,
Precepts, which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,
Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them."

Our other specimen is taken from the "*Yasna*," or "*Book on Sacrifice*," and is probably some centuries later than the great bulk of the *Gâthâs** :—

"We worship Ahura-Madza, the pure, the master of purity:
We worship the Amesha-Spentas, possessors and givers of blessings:

We worship the whole creation of Him who is True, the heavenly,
With the terrestrial, all that supports the good creation,
All that favors the spread of the good Mazd-Yasna † religion.

We praise whatever is good in thought, in word, or in action,
Past or future; we also keep clean whatever is excellent.

O Ahura-mazda, thou true and happy being!

* Hang, "*Essays*," pp. 162, 163.

† "*Mazd-yasna*" means "*Ahura-mazda worshipping*." *Mazdisn* was used commonly to designate the orthodox, under the Sassanians.

We strive both to think, and to speak, and to do whatever is fittest
Both our lives * to preserve, and bring them both to perfection.

Holy Spirit of *Earth*, for our best works'† sake, we entreat thee,
Grant us beautiful fertile fields—aye, grant them to all men,
Believers and unbelievers, the wealthy and those that have
nothing."

The religion of the early Iranians became corrupted after a time by an admixture of foreign superstitions. The followers of Zoroaster, as they spread themselves from their original seat upon the Oxus over the regions lying south



FIRE ALTARS.

and south-west of the Caspian Sea, were brought into **con-**
tact with a form of faith considerably different from that
to which they had previously been attacked, yet well
adapted for blending with it. This was Magism, or the
worship of the elements. The early inhabitants of Armenia,
Cappadocia, and the Zagros mountain-range, had, under
circumstances that are unknown to us, developed this form

* The two lives are "the life of the soul" and "the life of the
body" (*Hang, "Essays,"* i. s. c.).

† i. e. "our agricultural labors" (*ibid.*).

of religion, and had associated with its tenets, a priest-caste claiming prophetic powers, and a highly sacerdotal character. The essentials of the religion were these: the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, were recognized as the only proper objects of human reverence. Personal gods, and together with them temples, shrines, and images, were rejected. The devotion of the worshippers was paid, not to any powers presiding over the constituent parts of nature, but to those constituent parts themselves. Fire, as the most subtle and ethereal principle, and again as the most powerful agent, attracted especial regard; and on the fire-altars of the Magians the sacred flame, generally regarded as kindled from heaven, was kept uninterruptedly burning from year to year, and from age to age, by bands of priests, whose special duty it was to see that the sacred spark was never extinguished. To defile the altar by blowing the flame with one's breath was a capital offence, and to burn a corpse was regarded as equally odious. When victims were offered, nothing but a small portion of the fat was consumed in the flames. Next to fire, water was revered. Sacrifice was offered to rivers, lakes, and fountains, the victim being brought near to them and then slain, while the utmost care was taken that no drop of their blood should touch the water and pollute it. No refuse was allowed to be cast into a river, nor was it even lawful to wash one's hands in one. Reverence for earth was shown by sacrifice and by abstention from the usual mode of burying the dead.*

The Magian priest-caste held an exalted position. No worshipper could perform any rite of the religion unless by the intervention of a priest, who stood between him and the Deity as a mediator.† The Magus prepared the victim and slew it, chanted the mystic strain which gave the sacrifice all its force, poured on the ground the propitiatory libation of oil, milk, and honey, and held the bundle of thin tamarisk twigs, the barsom (*baresma*) of the later Zend books, the employment of which was essential to every sacrificial ceremony.‡ Claiming supernatural powers, they explained omens, expounded dreams, and by means of a certain mysterious manipulation of the barsom, or bundle

* The chief authorities for this description are Herodotus (i. 132), Strabo (xv. 3, § § 13, 14), and Agathias (ii. 24).

† Herod. l. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6.

‡ Strabo, l. s. c.

of tamarisk-twigs, † arrived at a knowledge of future events, which they would sometimes condescend to communicate to the pious inquirer.

With such pretensions it was natural that the caste



MAGIAN PRIEST.

should assume a lofty air, a stately dress, and an environment of ceremonial magnificence. Clad in white robes, and bearing upon their heads tall felt caps, with long lappets at the sides, which (we are told §) concealed the jaw and even the lips, each with his barsom in his hand, they marched in procession to the fire-altars, and standing round them performed for an hour at a time their magical incantations. The credulous multitude, impressed by sights of this kind, and imposed on by the claims to supernatural

* *Dino*, Fr. 8; *Schol. ad. Nic. Ther.* 613.

† *Strabo*, xv. 3, § 15; *Diog. Laert.* "Proem."

powers which the Magi put forward, paid them a willing homage; the kings and chiefs consulted them; and when the Iranians, pressing westward, came into contact with the races professing the Magian religion, they found the Magian priest-caste all-powerful in most of the western nations.

Originally Zoroastrianism had been intolerant and exclusive. Its first professors had looked with aversion and contempt on the creed of their Indian brethren; they had been fierce opponents of idolatry, and absolutely hostile to every form of religion except that which they had themselves worked out. But with the lapse of time these feelings had grown weaker. The old religious fervor had abated. An impressible and imitative spirit had developed itself. When the Zoroastrians came into contact with Magism, it impressed them favorably. There was no contradiction between its main tenets and those of their old religion; they were compatible, and might readily be held together; and the result was, that, without giving up any part of their previous creed, the Iranians adopted and added on to it all the principal points of the Magian belief, and all the more remarkable of the Magian religious usages. This religious fusion seems first to have taken place in Media. The Magi became a Median tribe,* and were adopted as the priest-caste of the Median nation. Elemental worship, divination by means of the barsom, dream-expounding, incantations at the fire-altars, sacrifices whereat a Magus officiated, were added on to the old dualism and qualified worship of the Amesha-Spentas, of Mithra, and of the other ahuras; and a mixed or mongrel religion was thus formed, which long struggled with, and ultimately prevailed over, pure Zoroastrianism.† The Persians after a time came into this belief, accepted the Magi for their priests, and attended the ceremonies at the fire-altars.

The adoption of elemental worship into the Iranian system produced a curious practice with regard to dead bodies. It became unlawful to burn them, since that would be a pollution of fire; or to bury them, thereby polluting earth; or to throw them into a river, thereby polluting

* *Herod.* i. 101.

† See Westergaard's "*Introduction to the Zendavesta*," p. 17; and compare the Author's "*Essay on the Religion of the Ancient Persians*" in his "*Herodotus*," vol. i. pp. 414-419, 3rd edition.



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low incantations—the supposed prophetic powers of the priest-caste—all this together constituted an imposing whole at once to the eye and to the mind, and was calculated to give additional grandeur to the civil system that should be allied with it. Pure Zoroastrianism was too spiritual to coalesce readily with Oriental luxury and magnificence, or to lend strength to a government based on the principles of Asiatic despotism. Magism furnished a hierarchy to support the throne and add splendor and dignity to the court while it overawed the subject class by its supposed possession of supernatural powers and of the right of mediating between man and God. It supplied a picturesque worship, which at once gratified the senses and excited the fancy. It gave scope to man's passion for the marvellous by its incantations, its divining-rods, its omen-reading, and its dream-expounding. It gratified the religious scrupulosity which finds a pleasure in making to itself difficulties, by the disallowance of a thousand natural acts, and the imposition of numberless rules for external purity. At the same time it gave no offence to the anti-idolatrous spirit in which the Iranians had always gloried, but upheld and encouraged the iconoclasm which they had previously practiced. It thus blended easily with the previous creed of the Iranian people, and produced an amalgam that has shown a surprising vitality, having lasted above two thousand years—from the time of Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 485—465) to the present day.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLY SANSKRITIC INDIANS.

“Le panthéisme naturaliste et le polythéisme, sa conséquence inévitable, s'étaient graduellement introduits dans les croyances des Aryas.”—LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 309.

THE religion of the early Indians, like that of the Egyptians, and like that of Assyrians and Babylonians, was an extensive polytheism, but a polytheism of a very peculiar character. There lay behind it, at its first formation, no conscious monotheism, no conception of a single supreme power, from whom man and nature, and all the forces in nature, have their origin. If we hold, as I believe we do right to hold, that God revealed Himself to the first parents of the human race as a single personal being, and so that all races of men had at the first this idea as an inheritance handed down to them traditionally from their ancestors, yet it would seem certain that in India, before the religion which we find in the Vedas arose, this belief had completely faded away and disappeared; the notion of “God” had passed into the notion of “gods;” a real polytheism universally prevailed, even with the highest class of intellects;* and when, in the course of time, monotheistic ideas showed themselves, they sprang up in individual minds as the results of individual speculation,† and were uttered tentatively, not as doctrines, but as hypotheses, as timid “guesses at truth,” on the part of those who confessed that they knew little or nothing.

If it be asked how this forgetfulness came about, how the idea of one God, once possessed, could ever be lost,

* See Max Müller, “Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” pp. 528, 529.

† *Ibid.* p. 559.

perhaps we may find an answer in that fact to which the traditions of the race and some of their peculiar expressions* point back, that for many centuries they had been located in one of the cruelest regions of the earth, a region with “ten months of winter and two months of summer,” † where the struggle for existence must have been terrible indeed, and all their energies, all their time, all their thought, must have been spent on the satisfaction of those physical needs for which provision must be made before man can occupy himself with the riddle of the universe. At any rate, however we may account for it, or whether we can account for it or no, the fact remains; somehow or other the Sanskritic Indians had ceased to “retain God in their knowledge;” ‡ they were for a time “without God in the world,” they had lost the senses of His “eternal power and Godhead;” § they were in the condition that men would be in who should be veritable “children of the soil,” springing into life without inheritance of ancestral notions.

But there was one thing which they could not be without. God has implanted in all men a religious faculty, a religious instinct, which is an essential portion of their nature and among the faculties which most distinguish man from the brutes. No sooner was the tension produced by the severe character of their surroundings relaxed—no sooner did the plains of the Punjab receive the previous dwellers in the Hindu Kush—than this instinct asserted itself, perceived that there was something divine in the world, and proceeded to the manufacture of deities. Nature seemed to the Hindoo not to be one, but many; and all nature seemed to be wonderful and, so, divine. The sky, the air, the dawn, the sun, the earth, the moon, the wind, the storms, fire, the waters, the rivers, attracted his attention, charmed him, sometimes terrified him, seemed to him instinct with power and life, became to him objects of admiration and then of worship. At first, it would appear,

* As the expression, “a hundred winters,” used for a hundred years. (See H. H. Wilson’s “Introduction to the Rig-Veda,” vol. i. p. xlii.)

† See the description of “Aryanem vaejo”—the old home of the Aryans—in the First Fargard of the “Vendidad” (“Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii. p. 119).

‡ Romans i. 28.

§ *Ibid.*, i. 20.

the objects themselves were adored ; but the objects received names ; the names were, by the laws of Indian grammar, masculine or feminine ; and the named objects thus passed into persons,* the *nomina* became *numina*, beings quite distinct from the objects themselves, presiding over them, directing them, ruling them, but having a separate and another kind of existence.

And now the polytheism, already sufficiently extensive through the multiplicity of things natural, took a fresh start. The names, having become persons, tended to float away from the objects ; and the objects received fresh names, which in their turn were exalted into gods, and so swelled the pantheon. When first the idea of counting the gods presented itself to the mind of a Vedic poet, and he subjected them to a formal census, he found them to amount to no more than thirty-three.† But in course of time this small band swelled into a multitude, and Visvamisra, a somewhat late poet, states the number at 3,339.‡

One of the features most clearly pronounced in the Vedic polytheism is that which has been already noticed as obtaining to a considerable extent both in the Egyptian and Assyrian religions,§ the feature which has been called “Kathenotheism” or “Henotheism.” § A Vedic worshipper, for the most part, when he turned his regards towards any individual deity, forgot for the time being that there was any other, and addressed the immediate object of his adoration in terms of as absolute devotion as if he were the sole God whom he recognized, the one and only Divine Being in the entire universe. “In the first hymn of the second Mandala, the god Agni is called ‘the ruler of the universe,’ ‘the lord of men,’ ‘the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, the friend of man ;’ nay, all the powers and names of the other gods are distinctly assigned to Agni.” || Similarly, in another hymn, Varuna is “‘the wise god,’ the ‘lord of all,’ ‘the lord of heaven and earth,’ ‘the

* Max Müller, “Lectures on the Science of Religion,” pp. 54-56.

† Rig-Veda, viii. 30. (See Max Müller's “Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” p. 531.)

‡ “Rig-Veda Sanhita” (translation of H. H. Wilson), vol.iii. p. 7.

§ See above pp. 40 and 56.

|| Max Müller, “Chips from a German Workshop,” vol. i. p. 28; “Science of Religion,” p. 141.

¶ “Chips,” l. s. c.

upholder of order,' 'he who gives to men glory.'* It is the same with Indra—he is 'the ruler of all that moves,' the 'mighty one,' 'he to whom there is none like in heaven or earth:'† "the gods," it is said, "do not reach thee, Indra, nor men; thou overcomest all creatures in strength." The best authority tells us that "it would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every important deity is represented as supreme and absolute."‡ At the same time there is no rivalry, no comparison of one god with another, no conflict of opinion between the votaries of different deities; each is supreme and absolute in his turn, simply because "all the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers." §

Among the various deities thus, in a certain sense, equalized, there are three who may be said to occupy, if not the chief, at any rate the oldest place, since their names have passed out of the sphere of mere appellative, and have become proper names, the designations of distinct persons. These are Varuna, Mitra, and Indra—originally, the Sky, the Sun, and the Storm (or, perhaps, the Day)—but, in the Vedic hymns, only slightly connected with any particular aspects of nature, and not marked off by any strong differences the one from the other. Indra, indeed, is the main object of adoration; more than one-third of the hymns in the earlier part of the Rig-Veda are addressed to him.¶ He is "the sovereign of the world," "the all-wise," "the abode of truth," "the lord of the good," "the animator of all," "the showerer of benefits," "the fulfiller of the desire of him who offers praise;" ¶ and, with more or less of reference to his original character, "the sender of rain," "the giver of food," "the lord of opulence," and "the wielder of the thunderbolt."** Varuna is more sparingly

* "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 536, 537.

† *Ibid.* p. 546.

‡ "Chips from a German Workshop," p. 28.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ Forty-five in the first Astaka, out of 121; 39 in the second, out of 118; 48 in the third, out of 121; and 46 in fourth, out of 140—altogether 178 out of 502. (See the "Introduction" of Prof. H. H. Wilson to his "Translation of the Rig-Veda Sanhita.")

¶ Rig-Veda, vol. ii. pp. 36, 145, 283; vol. iii. pp. 157, 159, and 166

** *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 283; vol. iii. pp. 157 and 160.

addressed; but, when addressed, is put quite upon a par with Indra, joined with him in such phrases as “sovereign Indra and Varuna,” “Indra and Varuna, sovereign rulers,” “divine Indra and Varuna,” “mighty Indra and Varuna,”* etc., and entreated to afford the worshipper, equally with Indra, protection, long life, riches, sons and grandsons, happiness. Mitra is the usual companion of Varuna, sharing with him in the fifth Mandala eleven consecutive hymns,† and elsewhere joined with him frequently;‡ they are “observers of truth,” “imperial rulers of the world,” “lords of heaven and truth,” “protectors of the universe,” “mighty deities,” “far-seeing,” “excelling in radiance;”§ they “uphold the three realms of light,” “scatter foes,” “guide men in the right way,” “send rain from heaven,” “grant men their desires,”|| “procure for them exceeding and perfect felicity.”¶ They ride together in one chariot, which “shines in the firmament like lightning;”** they sustain the sun in his course, and conjointly cause the rain to fall; they are “possessed of irresistible strength,”†† and uphold the celestial and terrestrial worlds.‡‡ It can scarcely be doubted that Mitra was once the sun, as Mithra always was in Persia; §§ but in the hymns of the Rig-Veda he has passed out of that subordinate position, and has become a god who sustains the sun, and who has a general power over the elements. His place as the actual sun-god has been taken by another and distinct deity, of whom more will be said presently.

Next to these three gods, whose character is rather general than special, must be placed Agni—the Latin *ignis*—who was distinctly the god of fire. Fire presented itself to the early Indians under a twofold aspect; ||| first, as it exists on earth, on the hearth, on the altar, and in the con-

* “Rig Veda,” vol. i. p. 40; vol. iii. pp. 63, 201, 203, etc.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 347-357.

‡ As in vol. i. pp. 7, 117, and 230; vol. ii. pp. 3-6, 53-55, 59, etc.

§ Wilson’s “Introduction,” vol. iii. pp. 349-354.

|| Wilson’s “Introduction,” vol. iii. pp. 354-356.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 349.

** *Ibid.* p. 348.

†† *Ibid.* pp. 353, 354.

‡‡ *Ibid.* p. 356.

§§ See the Author’s “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii. p. 49; vol. ii. pp. 421 and 423.

||| Wilson says “a three-fold aspect” (“Introduction to Rig-Veda,” vol. i. p. xxvii.), distinguishing between the region of the air and that of the sky; but the Vedic poets scarcely make this distinction.

flagration ; secondly, as it exists in the sky, in the shape of lightning, meteors, stars, comets, and light generally, so far as that is independent of the sun. The earthly aspect of fire is most dwelt upon. The Vedic poet sees it leaping forth from darkness on the rapid friction of two sticks in the hands of a strong man. It is greedy for food as it steps forth out of its prison, it snorts like a horse as with loud crackle it seizes and spreads among the fuel. Then for a moment its path is darkened by great folds of smoke ; but it overcomes, it triumphs, and mounts up in a brilliant column of pure clear flames into the sky.* As culinary fire, Agni is the supporter of life, the giver of strength and vigor, the imparter of a pleasant flavor to food, † the diffuser of happiness in a dwelling. As sacrificial fire, he is the messenger between the other gods and man ; the interpreter to the other gods of human wants ; the all-wise, who knows every thought of the worshipper ; the bestower of all blessings on men, since it is by his intervention alone that their offerings are conveyed, and their wishes made known to any deity. As conflagration, Agni is “the consumer of forests, the dark-pathed, the bright-shining.” ‡ “White-hued, vociferous, abiding in the firmament with the imperishable resounding winds, the youngest of the gods, Agni, purifying and most vast, proceeds, feeding upon numerous and substantial forests. His bright flames, fanned by the wind, spread wide in every direction, consuming abundant fuel ; divine, fresh-rising, they play upon the woods, enveloping them in lustre.” § Occasionally, instead of consuming forests, he devours cities with their inhabitants. When the Aryan Indians prevail over their enemies and give their dwellings to the flames, it is Agni who “destroys the ancient towns of the dispersed,” || and “consumes victorious all the cities of the foe and their precious things.” ¶ Hence, he is constantly invoked against enemies, and exhorted to overthrow them, to give their cities to destruction, to “burn them down like pieces of dry timber,” || to chastise them and “consume them entirely.” In his celestial character, Agni, on the

* See Max Müller, “Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” p. 547, note.

† Rig-Veda. vol. iii. pp. 184, 247, etc.

‡ Rig-Veda, p. 391.

§ *Ibid.* vol. iii. Compare pp. 136, 254, 385, etc.

|| *Ibid.* p. 388.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 16.

** *Ibid.* p. 126.



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she dissipates the accumulated glooms, anoints her beauty as the priests anoint the sacrificial food in sacrifices, bright-shining she smiles, like a flatterer, to obtain favor, then lights up the world, spreads, expanding westward with her radiance, awakes men to consciousness, calls forth the pleasant sounds of bird and beast, arouses all things that have life to their several labors.* Sometimes a mere natural appearance, more often a manifest goddess, she comes before men day after day with ever young and fresh beauty, challenging their admiration, almost forcing them to worship her. The lazy inhabitants of so-called civilized lands, who rarely leave their beds till the sun has been up for hours, can scarcely understand the sentiments with which a simple race, that went to rest with the evening twilight, awaited each morning the coming of the rosy-fingered dawn, or the ecstatic joy with which they saw the darkness in the eastern sky fade and lift before the soft approach of something tenderer and lovelier than day.

Surya, "the sun," does not play a prominent part in the Vedic poems.† Out of the five hundred hymns in Wilson's collection, only six are devoted to him exclusively.‡ His presentation is nearly that of Heëlios in the Greek, and Phœbus Apollo in the Roman mythology. Brilliant, many-rayed, adorable, he yokes each morning his two, § or seven, || swift coursers to his car, and mounts up the steep incline of heaven, following Ushas, as a youth pursues a maiden, and destroying her.¶ Journeying onward at incredible speed ** between the two regions of heaven and earth, he

* Rig-Veda, vol. i. pp. 236-238 and 298, 299.

† Wilson, "Introduction to Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. xxxii.

‡ Mandala i. Suktas 59 and 115; Mandala ii. Sukta 38; and Mandala v. Suktas 81 and 82. Surya has also a part in Mandala i. Sukta 35; Mandala v. Suktas 40 and 45; and Mandala vi. Sukta 50.

§ Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 98.

|| *Ibid.* p. 133.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 304. Compare Max Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 529, 530, where the following comment of an Indian critic is quoted:—"It is fabled that Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean? Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun; and he is called so because he protects all creatures. His daughter, Ushas, is the Dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that, at sunrise, the sun runs after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun, because she rises when he approaches."

** *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 132.

pours down his quickening, life-bestowing, purifying rays on all, dispels diseases,* gives fertility, and multiplies wealth.† Having attained the summit of the sky, he commences his descent, and traveling on a downward path, conducts his car with safety to the far limits of the west, carrying off with him all the diffused rays of light,‡ and disappearing, no one knows whither.§

Vayu, the “wind,” generally coupled with Indra, as a god of heaven, has only two whole hymns,|| and parts of five others, devoted to him in Wilson’s collection. What is chiefly celebrated is his swiftness; and in this connection he has sometimes ninety-nine, sometimes a hundred, ¶ sometimes a thousand steeds,** or even a thousand chariots,†† assigned to him. The color of his horses is red or purple.‡‡ He is “swift as thought,” he has “a thousand eyes,” and is “the protector of pious acts.”§§ As one of the gods who “sends rain,”||| he is invoked frequently by the inhabitants of a country where want of rain is equivalent to a famine.

Dyaus and Prithivi, “heaven” and “earth,” are mostly coupled together, and addressed in the same hymns; but, besides the joint addresses, Prithivi is sometimes the sole subject of a sacred poem.¶¶ Dyaus has occasionally the epithet of *pitar*, or “father,”*** and thus, so far as the name goes, undoubtedly corresponds with the Jupiter or Diespiter of the Romans. But he is certainly not in the same way the “father,” or creator, of the other gods. Rather, some individual poets, in their craving after divine sympathy and communion, have ventured to bestow on him the name of “father” exceptionally, not with any intention of making him the head of the Pantheon, but as claiming to themselves a share in the Divine nature, and expressing the same feeling as the Greek poet when he said, “For we are also his offspring.” †††

* Rig-Veda, vol. i. pp. 99 and 134.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 307, 309, etc.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 305.

§ *Ibid.* p. 99.

|| Mandala ii. Sukta 134; and Mandala vi. Sukta 48.

¶ Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 211.

** *Ibid.* pp. 210 and 212. Compare vol. ii. p. 49.

†† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 313.

‡‡ *Ibid.* p. 46.

§§ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 55.

||| *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 487.

¶¶ Mandala v. Sukta 83

*** Max Müller. “Science of Religion.” p. 172.

††† Acts xvii. 28. St. Paul, as is well known, quoted Aratus.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader with a complete account of the rest of the thirty-three gods. Some, as Aditi, Pushan, Brahmāspati, Brihaspati, Panjāniya, seem to be mere duplicate or triplicate names of deities already mentioned. Others, as the Aswins, Aryaman, Rudra, Vishnu, Yama, belong to a lower grade, being rather demi-gods or heroes than actual deities. Others, again, are indistinct, and of little importance, as Saraswati, Bhaga, Twashtri, Parvata, Hotra, Bharati, Sadi, Varutri, and Dhishana.

Special attention must, however, be called to Soma. By a principle of combination which is quite inscrutable, Soma represents at once the moon or moon-god, and the genius presiding over a certain plant. The assignment of a sacred character to the Soma, or Homa plant (*Sarcostema viminalis*),* was common to India with the Iranian religion, though the use made of it in the two worships was different. According to the ordinary spirit of the Indian religion, a deity was required to preside over, or personify, this important part of the nature, and the god chosen was the same that had the moon under his protection. Hence arises, in the hymns to Soma, a curious complication; and it is often difficult to determine which view of the god is present to the mind of the poet. The notion of the plant is the predominant one; but intermixed with it in the strangest way come touches which can only be explained by referring them to Soma's lunar character.†

The worship of their gods by the Indians was of a very simple kind, consisting of prayer, praise, and offerings. It was wholly domestic, that is to say, there were no temples or general places of assembly; but each man in his dwelling-house, in a chamber devoted to religious uses, performed, or rather had performed for him, the sacred rites which he preferred, and on which he placed his dependence for material and perhaps for spiritual blessings. An order of priests existed, by whom alone could religious services be conducted; and of these a goodly array officiated on all occasions, the number being sometimes seven, at other times as many as sixteen.‡ It was not necessary for the worshipper to appear personally, or to take any part in the

* H. H. Wilson, in notes to the Rig-Veda. vol. i. p. 6, note a.

† *Ibid.* p. 235, note a.

‡ See Wilson's "Introduction" to vol. i. p. xxiv.

ceremony, enough was done if he provided the chamber, the altar, and the offerings. The chamber had to be spread with the *Kusa*, or sacred rushes ; the fire had to be lighted upon the altar ;* and then the worship commenced. Priests chanted in turn the verses of the *Mantras* or sacred hymns, which combined prayer with praise, and invited the presence of the deities. At the proper moment, when by certain mystic signs the priests knew the god or gods invoked to have arrived,† the offerings were presented, the divine favor secured, the prayers recited, and the ceremony brought to a close by some participation of the ministering priests in the offerings.

The praises, with which the hymns generally commence, describe the power, the wisdom, the grandeur, the marvellousness, the generosity, the goodness of the deity addressed, adding in some instances encomiums on his personal beauty‡ and the splendor of his dress and decorations.§ Occasionally, his great actions are described, either in general terms, or with special reference to certain exploits ascribed to him in the mythology.|| When he has been thus rendered favorable, and the offerings have been made in the customary way, the character of the hymn changes from praise to prayer, and the god is implored to bestow blessings on the person who has instituted the ceremony, and sometimes, but not so commonly, on the author or reciter of the prayer. It is noticeable that the blessings prayed for are, predominantly, of a temporal description.¶ The worshipper asks for food, life, strength, health, posterity ; for wealth, especially in cattle, horses, and cows ; for happiness ; for protection against enemies, for victory over them, and sometimes for their destruction, particularly where they are

* It has been questioned whether the fire was not kept burning continually, as in the Persian Fire Temples (Wilson, "Introduction" to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxiii.); but the constant allusions to the production of fire by friction make it clear that, ordinarily, a fresh fire was kindled.

† Hang, "Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees," p. 248.

‡ Wilson, "Introduction," vol. i. p. xxiv. See also Mandala i. Sukta 9, § 3; Sukta 42 § 10; etc.

§ Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 223.

|| This is especially the case in hymns addressed to Indra. (Rig Veda, vol. i. pp. 85-93, 136-139, etc.).

¶ Wilson, "Introduction" to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxv.; Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 27.

represented as heretics. Protection against evil spirits is also occasionally requested. There is, comparatively speaking, little demand for moral benefits, for discernment, or improvement of character, or forgiveness of sin, or repentance, or peace of mind, or strength, to resist temptation. The sense of guilt is slight.* It is only "in some few instances that hatred of untruth and abhorrence of sin are expressed, and a hope uttered that the latter may be repented of or expiated." † Still such expressions do occur. They are not wholly wanting, as they are in the utterances of the ancient Egyptians. "Deliver us this day, O gods, from heinous sin," is the concluding petition of one Sukta. ‡ "May our sin be repented of," is the burthen of another. § "Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies," is the prayer of a third. || "Varuna is merciful, even to him who hast committed sin," is the declaration of a fourth. ¶ Now and then we even seem to have before us a broken-hearted penitent, one who truly feels, like David or the Publican, the depth to which he has fallen, and who, "out of the depths," ** cries to God for forgiveness. "Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay," i. e. the grave, says a Vedic worshipper; †† "have mercy, almighty, have mercy. If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind, have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone wrong; have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Thirst came upon the worshipper though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Whenever we men, Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever, we break the law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, almighty, have mercy."

The offerings wherewith the gods were propitiated were either victims or libations. Victims in the early

* Wilson, l. s. c. Max Müller says, on the other hand, that "the consciousness of sin is a prominent feature in the religion of the Veda" ("Chips," vol. i. p. 41). He means, probably, a noticeable feature, not prominent in the sense of its occurring frequently.

† These are Prof. Wilson's words; and they are quite borne out by the text of the Rig-Veda.

‡ Mandala i. Sukta 115, § 6.

§ Mandala i. Sukta 97.

|| Mandala vii. Sukta 86, § 5.

¶ Mandala vii. Sukta 87, § 7.

** Psa. cxxx. 1.

†† Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 540,

times appear to have been but rarely sacrificed; and the only animals employed seem to have been the horse and the goat.* Libations were of three kinds: *ghee*, or clarified butter, honey,† and the expressed and fermented juice of the soma plant. The *ghee* and honey were poured upon the sacrificial fire; the soma juice was presented in ladles ‡ to the deities invoked, part sprinkled on the fire, part on the *Kusa*, or sacred grass strewed upon the floor, and the rest in all cases drunk by those who had conducted the ceremony.§ It is thought by some modern critics that the liquor offered to the gods was believed to intoxicate them, and that the priests took care to intoxicate themselves with the remainder; || but there is scarcely sufficient evidence for these charges. No doubt, the origin of the Soma ceremony must be referred to the exhilarating properties of the fermented juice, and to the delight and astonishment which the discovery of them excited in simple minds.¶ But exhilaration is a very different thing from drunkenness; and, though Orientals do not often draw the distinction, we are scarcely justified in concluding, without better evidence than any which has been adduced as yet, that the Soma ceremony of the Hindoos was in the early ages a mere Bacchanalian orgy, in which the worshippers intoxicated themselves in honor of approving deities. Exhilaration will sufficiently explain all that is said of the Soma in the Rig-Veda; and it is charitable to suppose that nothing more was aimed at in the Soma ceremony.

The offerings of praise and sacrifice, and especially the offering of the soma juice, were considered not merely to please the god, who was the object of them, but to lay him under a binding obligation, and almost to compel him to grant the requests of the worshipper. “The mortal who is strenuous in worship,” it is said,** “acquires an authority” over the object of his religious regards—an authority which is so complete that he may even sell the god’s favor to an-

* On the sacrifice of these, see Rig-Veda, vol. ii. pp. 112–125.

† Honey is not common. On its use, see Max Müller, “Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” pp. 535 and 537.

‡ Rig-Veda, Mandala i. Sukta 116, § 24.

§ Wilson, “Introduction” to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxiii.

|| *Hang?* “Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees,” pp. 247, 248.

¶ Wilson, “Introduction,” p. xxxvii.

** Mandala iv. Sukta 15, § 5.

other person, in order to enable him to attain the object of his desires, “Who buys this—*my* Indra,” says Vamadeva, a Vedic poet,* “with ten milch kine? When he shall have slain his foes, then let the purchaser give him back to me again;” which the commentator explains as follows:† “Vamadeva having by much praise got Indra into his possession or subjugation, proposes to make a bargain when about to dispose of him;” and so he offers for ten milch kine to hand him over temporarily, apparently to any person who will pay the price, with the proviso that when Indra has subdued the person’s foes, he is to be returned to the vendor!

The subject of a future life seems scarcely to have presented itself with any distinctness to the thoughts of the early Indians. There is not the slightest appearance in the Rig-Veda of a belief in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of human souls after death into the bodies of animals.‡ The phenomena of the present world, what they see and hear and feel in it, in the rushing of the wind, the howling of the storm, the flashing of the lighting from cloud to cloud, the splash of the rain, the roar of the swollen rivers, the quick changes from day to night, and from night to day, from storm to calm and from calm to storm, from lurid gloom to sunshine and from sunshine to lurid gloom again; the interesting business of life, the kindling of fire, the lighting up of the hearth; the performance of sacrifice; the work, agricultural, pastoral, or other, to be done during the day, the storing up of food, the acquirement of riches, the training of children; war, the attack of foes, the crash of arms, the flight, the pursuit, the burning of towns, the carrying off of booty—these things, and such things as these, so occupy and fill the minds of this primitive race, that they have in general no room for other speculations, no time or thought to devote to them. It is only occasionally, in rare instances, that to this or that poet the idea seems to have occurred, “Is this world the whole, or is there a hereafter? Are there such things as happiness and misery beyond the grave? Still, the Rig-Veda is not altogether without expressions which seem to indicate a hope of immortality and of future happiness to be enjoyed by the good, nor entirely devoid of phrases which may allude to a place of

* Mandala, iv. Sukta 24, § 10.

† Wilson, Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 170, note 2.

‡ Max Müller, “Chips from a German Workshop,” vol. i. p. 45.



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seen," says one,* "the primeval being at the time of his being born, when that which had no essence bore that which had an essence? Where was the life, the blood, the soul of the world? Who sent to ask this from the sage that knew it? Immature in understanding, undiscerning in mind," he goes on to say, "I inquire after those things which are hidden even from the gods. . . . Ignorant, I inquire of the sages who know, who is the Only One who upheld the spheres ere they were created?" After a multitude of speculations, he concludes—"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni,—then he is the beautiful-winged heavenly Garutmat: that which is one, the wise give it many names—they called it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan." † Another is still bolder, and plunges headlong in to the deepest vortex of metaphysics. The following is a metrical version of his poem: ‡

“A time there was, when nothing that now is
 Existed—no, nor that which now is not;
 There was no sky, there was no firmament.
 What was it that then covered up and hid
 Existence? In what refuge did it lie?
 Was water then the deep and vast abyss,
 The chaos in which all was swallowed up?
 There was no *Death*—and therefore nought immortal.
 There was no difference between night and day.
 The one alone breathed breathless by itself:
 Nor has aught else existed ever since.
 Darkness was spread around; all things were veiled
 In thickest gloom, like ocean without light.
 The germ that in a husky shell lay hid,
 Burst into life by its own innate heat.
 Then first came Love upon it, born of mind,
 Which the wise men of old have called the bond
 'Twixt uncreated and created things.
 Came this bright ray from heaven, or from below?
 Female and male appeared, and Nature wrought
 Below, above wrought Will. Who truly knows,
 Who has proclaimed it to us, whence this world
 Came into being? The great gods themselves
 Were later born. Who knows then whence it came?”

* Wilson's "Rig-Veda," vol. ii. pp. 127, 128. Compare Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Religion," p. 46.

† Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i p. 29.

‡ I have followed as closely as possible the prose translation of Max Müller, given with an intermixed comment in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 550-563.

The Overseer, that dwells in highest heaven,
 He surely knows it, whether He himself
 Was, or was not, the maker of the whole,
 Or shall we say, that even He knows not ? ”

This poem, and the other prayers above quoted, are sufficient to show that among the Vedic poets there were at any rate some who, by God's grace, had raised themselves above the murky atmosphere in which they were born, had “sought the Lord, and felt after Him,” * had struggled out of polytheism into a conscious monotheism, and although they could not without revelation solve the problem of existence, had gone far to realize the main points of true religion; the existence of one eternal and perfect Being, the dependence of man on Him, the necessity of men leading holy lives if they would please Him, and the need, which even the best man has, of His mercy and forgiveness.

* Acts xvii. 27.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGION OF THE PHŒNICIANS AND CARTHAGINIANS.

“Le dieu des Phéniciens, comme de tous les panthéismes asiatiques, était à la fois un et plusieurs.”—LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 127.

IN discussing the religion of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, we have to deal with a problem far more difficult than any which has yet occupied us. No “sacred book,” like the Rig-Veda the Zendavesta or the “Ritual of the Dead,” here spreads before us its stores of knowledge, requiring little more than patient study to yield up to us the secret which it is the object of our inquiry to discover. No extensive range of sculptures or paintings exhibits to our eyes, as in Assyria, Greece, and Egypt, the outward aspect of the worship, the forms of the gods, the modes of approaching them, the general character of the ceremonial. Nor has even any ancient author, excepting one, treated expressly of the subject in question, or left us anything that can be called in any sense an account of the religion. It is true that we do possess, in the “Evangelical Preparation” of Eusebius, a number of extracts from a Greek writer of the first or second century after Christ bearing on the matter, and regarded by some moderns * as containing an authentic exposition of the Phœnician teaching on a number of points, which, if not exactly religion, are at any rate connected with religion. But the work of Philo Byblius, from which Eusebius quotes, is so wild, so confused, so unintelligible, that it is scarcely possible to gather from it, unless by a purely arbitrary method of interpretation, † any distinct views whatsoever. Moreover, the work is confined entirely to cosmogony and mythology, two subjects which

* Especially Baron Bunsen. (See “*Egypt's Place in Universal History*,” vol. iii. pp. 162-287.)

† Bunsen assumes that Philo's work contains three cosmogonies, quite distinct, of which the second and third contradict the first.



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pantheon of Assyria; compared with that of Egypt, it is very remarkably scanty.

It may be added that there are grounds for doubting whether even the eighteen names above given were regarded by the Phœnicians themselves as designating really so many deities. We shall find, as we proceed, reason to believe, or to suspect, that in more than one case it is the very same deity who is designated by two or more of the sacred names.

The general character of the names themselves is remarkable. A large proportion of them are honorific titles, only applicable to real persons, and indicative of the fact that from the first the Phœnician people, like most other Semitic races, distinctly apprehended the personality of the Supreme Being, and intended to worship, not nature, but God in nature, not planets, or elements, or storm, or cloud, or dawn, or lightning, but a being or beings above and beyond all these, presiding over them, perhaps, and working through them, but quite distinct from them, possessing a real personal character. El signified "the strong," or "the powerful,"* and in the cognate Hebrew took the article, and became *ha-El*, "the Strong One," He who alone has true strength and power, and who therefore alone deserves to be called "strong" or "mighty." Eliun is the "Exalted," "the Most High," and is so translated in our authorized version of Genesis (xiv. 18), where Melchizedek, King of Salem, the well-known type of our blessed Lord,† is said to have been "the priest of the *most High* God," which is in the original, "priest of El-Eliun." Again, Sadyk is "the Just," "the Righteous," and is identical with the *Zedek* occurring as the second element in Melchizedek, which St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 2), translates by "King of righteousness." Baal is "Lord," or "Master," an equivalent of the Latin *dominus*, and hence a term which naturally requires another after it, since a lord must be lord of something. Hence in Phœnician inscriptions‡ we find *Baal-Tsur*, "Lord of Tyre," *Baal-Tsidor*, "Lord of Zidon," *Baal-Tars*, "Lord of Tarsus," and the like. Hence also we meet with such words§ as *Baal-berith*, "Lord of

* Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 177.

† See Psa. cx. 4: Heb. vii. 1-24.

‡ Gesenius, "Scripturæ Linguæque Phœnicicæ Monumenta," pp. 96, 277, etc.

§ Num. xxv. 3, 5; Judg. viii. 33; ix. 4; 2 Kings i. 3, 6.

treaties," *Baal-peor*, "Lord of Peor" (a mountain), *Baal-zebul*, "Lord of flies," and *Beel-samin*,* "Lord of Heaven." Adonis, or more properly Adoni, for the the S is merely the Greek nominative ending, has nearly the same meaning as Baal, being the Phœnician equivalent of the Hebrew *Adonai*, the word ordinarily rendered "Lord" in our version of the Old Testament. Adoni, however, takes no adjunct, since it is most properly translated "my lord," "lord of me,"† and thus contains in itself the object of the lordship. Moloch is *melek*, "king," the initial element in Melchizedek; and it is this same word which appears a second time, with an adjunct, in Melkarth, which is a contraction of *melek-kereth* or rather *melek-gereth*,‡ which means "king of the city." Baaltis or Baalti, is the feminine form of Baal, with the suffix found also in Adoni, and has the meaning of "my lady." The Greeks expressed the word most commonly by Beltis, but occasionally by Bêltres,§ and, though a confusion of the kindred labials *m* and *b*, by Mylitta.|| The Kabiri are "the Great Ones," from *kabbir*, "great," which makes *kabbirim* in the plural.

It may be suspected, though it cannot be proved, that these various names, excepting the last, were originally mere epithets of the One Eternal and Divine Being who was felt to rule the world, and that, whatever may have been the case elsewhere, the Phœnicians at any rate began with the monotheistic idea, whether that idea originated in the recesses of their own hearts or was impressed upon them from without by revelation. If El, Eliun, Sadyk, Baal, Adoni, Moloch, Melkarth, were all one, may not the same have been true of Dagon, Hadad, Eshmun, Shamas, etc.? nay, may not even the foreign gods, Hammon and Osir, have been understood to be simply additional epithets of the Most High, expressive of his attributes of inscrutability and omniscience?

A primary objection may seem to lie against this view in the fact that the Phœnicians recognized not only gods, but goddesses, the name Ashtoreth ¶ belonging to the religion

* Philo Byblius in the "Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum," vol. iii. p. 565.

† Gesenius, p. 400.

‡ Gesenius p. 96. § Hesych. ad voc. βήλθης. || Herod. i. 131, 199.

¶ Baal and Ashtoreth appear first *distinctly* as Phœnician gods in 1 Kings xi. 5; but we may suspect that they bear the same character

from the very earliest time to which we can trace it back, and Baaltis being placed by the side of Baal, apparently as a distinct and separate personage. But it has been argued that "the original conception of female deities differs among Semitic and Aryan nations," and that the feminine forms among the Semites "were at first intended only to express the energy or the collective powers of the deity, not a separate being, least of all a wife."* And this view is confirmed by passages in ancient inscriptions which seem to identify Phœnician gods and goddesses, as one in the inscription of Mesa, which speaks of Chemosh-Ashtar as a single deity, another in an inscription from Carthage in which Tanith is called Pen-Baal, or "the face of Baal,"† and a third, on the tomb of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, where Ashtoreth herself is termed *Shem-Baal* "the name of Baal."‡ If Ashtoreth and Tanith were merely aspects of Baal, if the Phœnician Supreme God was "androgynous,"§ the fact that the religious system of the people admitted goddesses as well as gods, will not militate against its original monotheism.

A more vital objection may be taken from the two names, Eshmun and Kabiri. The Kabiri were the sons of Sadyk; they were seven in number; || they were actual deities, the special gods of sailors; images of them adorned the prows of vessels. And Eshmun, the name of their brother, is a word signifying "eight," or the "eighth." It seems clear from this that the Phœnicians ultimately recognized at least eight gods; and if so, we must pronounce them polytheists.

At any rate, whether or no they were polytheists from the first, it cannot be doubted that they became such. When the Carthaginian introduced by Plautus into his "Pœnulus" commences his speech ¶ with the words "Yth alonim v'alonuth siccarthi," which Plautus rightly renders

where they are mentioned in Judges ii. 12: x. 6. They appear as Syrian gods in the hieroglyphical inscriptions as early as Rameses II. (about B. C. 1350).

* Max Müller. "Science of Religion," p. 183.

† De Vogué, in the "Journal Asiatique" for 1867, p. 138.

‡ Max Müller. "Science of Religion," p. 184.

§ "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i. p. 732.

|| "Philo Byblius," c. 5, § 8; Damascius ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 573.

¶ Plaut. "Pœnul." Act v. § 1.



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almost a majority of cases compounded with Baal or Bal.* Dedicatory inscriptions are in general addressed to him, either singly,† or in conjunction with a goddess, who is most usually Tanith.‡ Not unfrequently he is addressed as Baal-Hammon, or Baal in the character of the Egyptian god Ammon,§ with whom he is thus identified, not unnaturally, since Ammon too was recognized as the Supreme God, and addressed as Zeus or Jupiter.||

Ashtoreth, or Astarte, is a word whereof no satisfactory account has as yet been given. It seems to have no Semitic derivation, and may perhaps have been adopted by the Semites from an earlier Hamitic population. Originally a mere name for the energy or activity of God, Ashtoreth came to be regarded by the Phœnicians as a real female personage, a supreme goddess, on a par with Baal,¶ though scarcely worshipped so generally. In the native mythology she was the daughter of Uranos (heaven), and the wife of El, or Saturn.**

The especial place of her worship in Phœnicia was Sidon.† In one of her aspects she represented the moon, and bore the head of a heifer with horns curving in a crescent form,‡‡ whence she seems to have been sometimes called Ashtoreth Karnaim,§§ or, "Astarte of the two horns." But, more commonly, she was a nature god-



ASTARTE.

* Eth-haal (1 Kings xvi. 31), Merbal (*Herod.* vii. 98), Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Adherbal, Maharbal, are well-known instances.

† Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon.," Nos. 3, 4, 49, 51, etc.

‡ *Ibid.* Nos. 46, 47, 48, and 50.

§ *Ibid.* p. 172.

|| *Herod.* ii. 42; *Diod. Sic.* i. 13; *Plut.* "De Isid. et Osir," s. 9.

¶ See the inscription in Gesenius' collection, numbered 81 (pl. 47), where Baal and Ashtoreth are joined together. Compare *Judg.* ii. 13; x. 6.

** *Philo Bybl.* c. iv. § 12.

†† See 1 Kings xi. 5, 33, and compare the inscription of Eshmunazar.

‡‡ *Philo Byblius*, c. v. § 1. §§ *Gen.* xiv. 5.

dess, "the great mother, the representation of the female principle in nature, and hence presiding over the sexual relation, and connected more or less with love and with voluptuousness. The Greeks regarded their Aphrodité, and the Romans their Venus, as her equivalent. One of her titles was "Queen of Heaven;" and under this title she was often worshipped by the Israelites.*

Melkarth has been regarded by some writers as "only another form of Baal."† But he seems to have as good a claim to a distinct personality as any Phœnician deity after Ashtoreth and Baal. The Greeks and Romans, who make Baal equivalent to their Zeus or Jupiter, always identify Melkarth with Hercules; ‡ and in a bilingual inscription, § set up by two natives of Tyre, this identification is endorsed and accepted. When Melkarth is qualified as *baal-Tsur*, "baal of Tyre," it is not meant that he was the Tyrian form of the god Baal, but that he was the special tutelary "lord" of the great Phœnician city. The word Melkarth, as already explained, means "king of the city," and the city intended was originally Tyre, though Melkarth would seem to have been in course of time regarded as a god of cities generally; and thus he was worshipped at Carthage, at Heraclea in Sicily, at Amathus in Cyprus, at Gades in Spain, and elsewhere. || In Numidia ¶ he had the title of "great lord;" but otherwise there is little in the Phœnician monuments to define his attributes or fix his character. We must suppose that the Greeks traced in them certain resemblances to their own conception of Hercules; but it may be doubtful whither the resemblances were not rather fanciful than real.

That Dagon was a Phœnician god appears from many passages in the fragments of Philo Byblius,** though the Israelites would seem to have regarded him as a special Philistine deity. †† There are indications, ‡‡ however, of his

* Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 25.

† Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 322.

‡ Herod. ii. 44; Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 19, etc.

§ This inscription is given by Gesenius (pl. 6).

|| See the inscriptions in Gesenius (pls. 14, 16, 17): and the coins of Heraclea (pl. 38), of Gades (pl. 40), and of Sextus (*Ibid.*) in the same. On Amathus, see Hesychius and voc. Malicha.

¶ Gesenius, pl. 27, No. 65.

** Especially c. iv. §§ 2, 6, 15.

†† Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Sam. v. 2-5; 1 Chron. x. 10.

‡‡ Borosus speaks of an early Babylonian god as bearing the name

worship having been spread widely through Western Asia in very early times; and its primitive source is scarcely within the range of conjecture. According to the general idea, the Phœnician Dagon was a Fish-god,* having the form described by Berossus, and represented so often in the Assyrian sculptures—"a form resembling that of a fish, but with a human head growing below the fish's, and with human feet growing alongside of the fish's tail and coming out from it." † Fish are common emblems upon the Phœnician coins; ‡ and the word Dagon is possibly derived from *dag*, "a fish," so that the temptation to identify the deity with the striking form revealed to us by the Ninevite sculptures is no doubt considerable. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that there is nothing in the Scriptural description of the Philistine Dagon to suggest the idea that the image which fell on its face before the ark of the covenant had in any respect the form of a fish.§ Nor do the Assyrian monuments connect the name of Dagon, which they certainly contain,|| with the Fish-deity whose image they present. That deity is Nin or Ninus.¶ Altogether, therefore, it must be pronounced exceedingly doubtful whether the popular idea has any truth at all in it; or whether we ought not to revert to the view put forward by Philo,** that the Phœnician Dagon was a "corn-god," and presided over agriculture.

of O-dacon, which is, perhaps, Dagon with a prefix. Dagon is an element in the name of a primitive Chaldæan monarch, which is read as Ismi-Dagon. Asshur-izir-pal couples Dagon with Anu in his inscriptions, and represents himself as equally the votary of both. Da-gan is also found in the Assyrian remains as an epithet of Belus. (See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 614; 2nd edition.).

* See Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 323; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 343; "Speaker's Commentary," vol. ii. p. 201, etc.

† Beross. Fr. i. § 3.

‡ Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Monumenta," pls. 40 and 41.

§ There is nothing in the original corresponding to "the fishy part," which is given in the margin of the Authorized Version. The actual words are, "only Dagon was left to him." The meaning is obscure.

|| Sir Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 614. 3rd edition.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 642.

** Philo Bybl. c. iv § 2:—*Δάγων, ὁρῆστί Σιτων.* Compare § 13. where Dagon is said to have discovered corn and invented the plough, whence he was regarded by the Greeks as equivalent to their Zeus Arotrios.



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That Shamas; or Shemesh, "the sun," was worshipped separately from Baal has been already mentioned. In Assyria and Babylonia he was one of the foremost deities;* and his cult among the Phœnicians is witnessed by such a name as Abed-Shemesh, which is found in two of the native inscriptions.† Abed-Shemesh means "servant of Shemesh," as Obadiah means "servant of Jehovah," and Abdallah "servant of Allah"; and is an unmistakable evidence of the worship of Shemesh by the people who employed it as the parallel names are of the worship, respectively, of Jehovah and Allah, by Jews and Mohammedans. The sun-worship of the Phœnicians seems to have been accompanied by a use of "sun-images," ‡ of which we have perhaps a specimen in the accompanying figure, which occurs on a votive tablet found in Numidia,§ although the tablet itself is dedicated to Baal. There was also connected with it a dedication to the sun-god of chariots and horses, to which a quasi-divine character attached,|| so that certain persons were from their birth consecrated to the sacred horses, and given by their parents the name of Abed-Susim, "servant of the horses," as we find by an inscription from Cyprus.¶ It may be suspected that the Hadad or Hadar of the Syrians** was a variant name of Shamas, perhaps connected with *adir*, "glorious," and if so, with the Sepharvite-god, Adrammelech.†† Adodus according to Philo Byblius, was in a certain sense "king (*melek*) of the gods."



THE SUN.

These latter considerations make it doubtful whether the Moloch or Molech, who was the chief divinity of the

The Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 631-634.

* Gesenius, *Script. Phœn. Mon.* pl. 9.

† This is given in the margin of 2 Chron. xiv. 5 and xxxiv. 4, as the proper translation of *khammanim*, which seem certainly to have been images of some kind or other.

§ Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pl. 21.

|| See 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

¶ Gesenius, p. 130, and pl. 11, No. 9.

** Found under the form of Adodus in Philo Byblius (c. v. § 1).

†† 2 Kings xvii. 31.

Ammonites,* and of whose worship by the Phœnicians there are certain indications,† is to be viewed as a separate and substantive god, or as a form of some other, as of Shamas, or of Baal, or of Melkarth, or even of El. Molech meaning simply “king” is a term that can naturally be applied to any “great god,” and which may equally well designate each of the four deities just mentioned. Rites like those of Molech belonged certainly to El and to Baal;‡ and the name may be an abbreviation of Melkarth,§ or a title—the proper title—of Shamas. The fact that Philo has a Melich, whom he makes a distinct deity,|| is of no great importance, since it is clear that he multiplies the Phœnician gods unnecessarily; and moreover, by explaining Melich as equivalent to Zeus Meilichios, he tends to identify him with Baal.¶ Upon the whole, Moloch seems scarcely entitled to be viewed as a distinct Phœnician deity. The word was perhaps not a proper name *in Phœnicia*, but retained its appellative force, and may have applied to more than one deity.

A similarly indefinite character attaches to the Phœnician Baaltis. Beltis was in Babylonian mythology a real substantive goddess, quite distinct and separate from Ishtar, Gula, and Zirbanit; ** but Baaltis in Phœnicia had no such marked character. We hear of no temples of Baaltis; of no city where she was specially worshipped.†† The word does not even occur as an element in Phœnician proper names, and if in use at all as a sacred name among the Phœnicians, must almost certainly have been a mere epithet of Ashtoreth,‡‡ who was in reality the *sole* native goddess. Lydus expressly states §§ that Blatta, which is (like Mylitta)

* See 1 Kings xi. 7.

† The names Bar-melek, Abed-melek, and Melek-itten, which occur in Phœnician inscriptions (Gesenius, pp. 105, 130, 135), imply a god who has either the proper name of Moloch, or is worshipped as “the king.”

‡ Diod. Sic. xx. 14; Porphyry. “De Abstinencia,” ii. 56; Gesen. “Script. Phœn. Mon.” p. 153.

§ Melkarth is frequently abbreviated in the Phœnician inscriptions, and becomes Melkar, Mokarth, and even Mokar. Hesychius says that at Amathus Hercules was called Malika.

|| Philo Bybl. c. iii. § 9.

¶ Since he calls Baal Zeus Belus (c. iv. § 17). ** See above, p. 61.

†† Philo makes her a “queen of Byblus” (c. v, § 5) but says nothing of her worship there.

‡‡ See Kenrick’s “Phœnicia,” p. 301. §§ “De Mensibus,” i. 10.

a corruption of Baalti, was “a name given to Venus of the Phœnicians.”

Sadyk again, whom we have mentioned as a distinct deity on the strength of statements in Philo Byblius and Damascius,* scarcely appears as a separate object of worship, either in Phœnicia or elsewhere. The nearest approach to such an appearance is furnished by the names Melchi-zedek, and Adoni-zedek,† which may admit of the renderings, “Sadyk is my king,” “Sadyk is my lord.” Sadyk has not been found as an element in any purely Phœnician name; much less is there any distinct recognition of him as a god upon any Phœnician monument. We are told that he was the father of Eshmun and the Kabiri;‡ and as they were certainly Phœnician gods we must perhaps accept Sadyk as also included among their deities. From his name we may conclude that he was a personification of the Divine Justice.

Eshmun is, next to Baal, Ashtoreth, and Melkarth, the most clearly marked and distinct presentation of a separate deity that the Phœnician remains set before us. He was the especial god of Berytus (*Beirut*),§ and had characteristics which attached to no other deity. Why the Greeks should have identified him with their Asclepias or Æsculapius,|| is not clear. He was the youngest son of Sadyk, and was a youth of great beauty, with whom Ashtoreth fell in love, as she hunted in the Phœnician forests. The fable relates how, being frustrated in her designs, she afterwards changed him into a god, and transported him from earth to heaven.¶ Thenceforth he was worshipped by the Phœnicians almost as much as Baal and Ashtoreth themselves. His name became a frequent element in the Phœnician proper names; ** and his cult was taken to Cyprus, to Carthage, and to other distant colonies.

* Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 13; c. iv. § 16; etc. Damasc. ap. Phot. “Bibliothec,” p. 573.

† See Gen. xiv. 18, and Josh. x. 1.

‡ Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 14; c. iv. § 16.

§ See Damascius ap. Phot. “Bibliothec.” p. 573.

|| This is done by Philo of Byblus (c. v. § 8), by Damascius (l. s. c.), by Strabo (xvii. 14), and others.

¶ Damascius, l. s. c.

** Eshmun-azar, whose tomb has been found at Sidon, is the best known instance; but the Phœnician inscriptions give also Bar-Eshmun, Han-Eshmun, Netsib-Eshmun, Abed-Eshmun, Eshmun-ien, and others. (See Gesenius, “Script. Phœn. Mon.” p. 136.)



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Besides their original and native deities, the Phœnicians acknowledged some whom they had certainly introduced into their system from an external source, as Osiris, Ammon, and Tanith. The worship of Osiris is represented on the coins of Gaulos,* which was an early Phœnician settlement; and “Osir” (=Osiris) occurs not unfrequently as an element in Phœnician names,† where it occupies the exact place elsewhere assigned to Baal, Melkarth, and Ashtoreth. Ammon is found under the form Hammon in votive tablets, but does not occur independently; it is always attached as an epithet to Baal.‡ Whether it determines the aspect of Baal to that of a “sun-god” may be questioned,§ since the original idea of Ammon was as far as possible remote from that of a solar deity.|| But, at any rate, the constant connection shows that the two gods were not really viewed as distinct, but that in the opinion of the Phœnicians their own Baal corresponded to the Ammon of the Egyptians, both alike representing the Supreme Being. Tanith has an important place in a number of the inscriptions, being given precedence over Baal himself.¶ She was worshipped at Carthage, in Cyprus,** by the Phœnician settlers at Athens †† and elsewhere; but we have no proof of her being acknowledged in Phœnicia itself. The name is connected by Gesenius with that of the Egyptian goddess Neith,‡‡ or Net; but it seems rather to represent the Persian Tanata, who was known as Tanaitis or Tanaïs, and also as Anaitis or Aneitis to the Greeks. Whether there was, or was not, a remote and original cou-



COIN OF GAULOS.

* Gesenius, pl. 40, A.

† *Ibid.* pp. 96, 100, 130 etc.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 108, 168, 174, 175, 177, and Davis “Carthage and her Remains,” pl. opp. p. 256.

§ This was the opinion of Gesenius (“*Script. Phœn. Mon.*” p. 170); but his arguments upon the point are not convincing.

|| See above, p. 19.

¶ See Gesenius, pp. 168, 174, 175, 177; Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*,” l. s. c.

** Gesenius, p. 151. Compare p. 146, where the true reading is possibly Abed-Tanith.

†† *Ibid.* p. 113.

‡‡ *Ibid.* pp. 117, 118.

nection between the goddesses Neith and Tanata is perhaps open to question; but the form of the name Tanith, or Tanath,* shows that the Phœnicians adopted their goddess, not from Egypt, but from Persia. With regard to the character and attributes of Tanath, it can only be said that, while in most respects she corresponded closely with Ashtoreth, whom she seems to have replaced at Carthage, she had to a certain extent a more elevated and a severer aspect. The Greeks compared her not only to their Aphrodité but also to their Artemis,† the huntress-deity whose noble form is known to us from many pure and exquisite statues. It may be suspected that the Carthaginians, dwelling in the rough and warlike Africa, revolted against the softness and effeminacy of the old Phœnician cult, and substituted Tanath for Ashtoreth, to accentuate their protest against religious sensualism.‡

It seems to be certain that in Phœnicia itself, and in the adjacent parts of Syria, the worship of Ashtoreth was from the first accompanied with licentious rites. As at Babylon,§ so in Phœnicia and Syria—at Byblus, at Ascalon, at Aphaca, at Hierapolis ||—the cult of the great Nature-goddess “tended to encourage dissoluteness in the relations between the sexes, and even to sanctify impurities of the most abominable description.” ¶ Even in Africa, where an original severity of morals had prevailed, and Tanith had been worshipped “as a virgin with martial attributes,” and with “severe, not licentious, rites,” ** corruption gradually crept in; and by the time of Augustine †† the Carthaginian

* “Tanath” is the natural rendering of the Phœnician word, rather than “Tanith,” and is preferred by some writers. (See Davis, “Carthage and her Remains,” pp. 274–276.)

† In a bilingual inscription given by Gesenius, the Phœnician *Abed-Tanath* becomes in the Greek “*Artemidorous*.” *Anaitis* or *Tanata* is often called “the Persian *Artemis*.” (See Plutarch, “*Vit. Lucull.*” p. 24; Bochart, “*Geographia Sacra*,” iv. 19; Pausan. iii. 16, § 6, etc.)

‡ See Davis’s “*Carthage*,” p. 264; Münter, “*Religion des Kartager*,” c. 6.

§ Herod. i. 199.

|| Herod. i. 105; Lucian, *De Dea Syra*,” c. ix; Euseb. “*Vit. Constantin. Magni*,” iii. 55.

¶ Twistleton, in Smith’s “*Dictionary of the Bible*,” vol. ii. p. 866.

** Kenrick, “*Phœnicia*,” p. 305.

†† Augustine, “*De Civitate Dei*,” ii. 4.

worship of the "celestial goddess" was characterized by the same impurity as that of Ashtoreth in Phœnicia and Syria.

Another fearful blot on the religion of the Phœnicians, and one which belongs to Carthage quite as much as to the mother-country,* is the systematic offering of human victims, as expiatory sacrifices, to El and other gods. The ground of this horrible superstition is to be found in the words addressed by Balak to Balaam†—"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? *Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?*" As Philo Byblius expresses it,‡ "It was customary among the ancients, in times of great calamity and danger, that the rulers of the city or nation should offer up the best beloved of their children, as an expiatory sacrifice to the avenging deities: and these victims were slaughtered mystically." The Phœnicians were taught that, once upon a time, the god El himself, under the pressure of extraordinary peril, had taken his only son, adorned him with royal attire, placed him as a victim upon an altar, and slain him with his own hand. Thenceforth, it could not but be the duty of rulers to follow the divine example set them; and even private individuals, when beset by difficulties, might naturally apply the lesson to themselves, and offer up their children to appease the divine anger. We have only too copious evidence that both procedures were in vogue among the Phœnicians. Porphyry declares § that "the Phœnician history was full of instances, in which that people, when suffering under great calamity from war, or pestilence, or drought, chose by public vote one of those most dear to them, and sacrificed him to Saturn." Two hundred noble youths were offered on a single occasion at Carthago, after the victory of Agathocles.|| Hamilcar, it is

* See Diod. Sic. xx. 14, 65; Justin, xviii. 6; Sil. Ital. iv. 765-768; Dionys. Hal. i. 38; etc. Compare Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pp. 448, 449, 453; and Davis, "Carthage," pp. 298, 297.

† Micah vi. 6, 7.

‡ Philo Bybl. c. vi. § 3.

§ "De Abstinentia," ii. 56.

|| Lactant. "Inst." i. 21, quoting Pescennius Festus.



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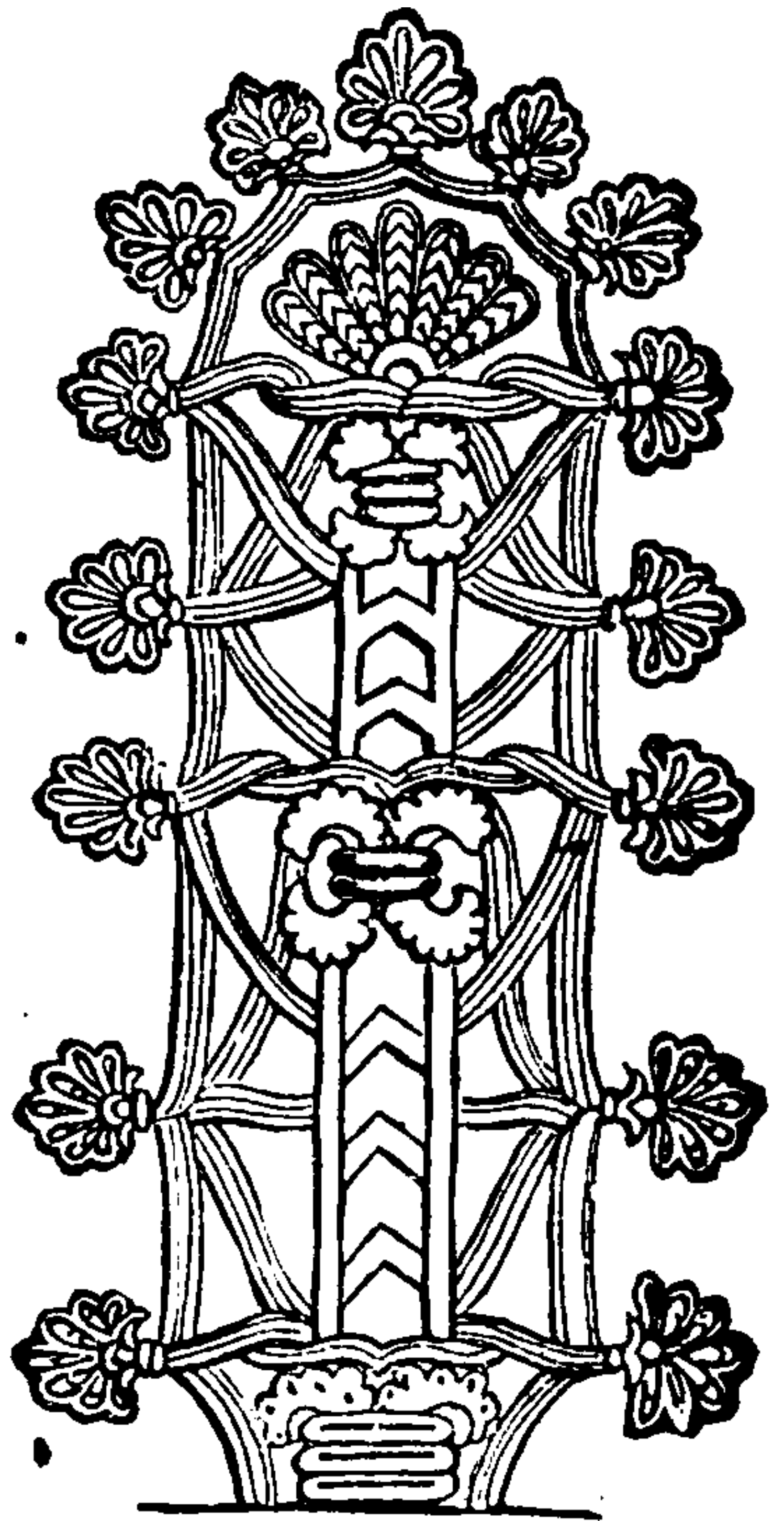
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a certain qualified worship, being regarded as possessed of a certain mystic virtue.* These stones seem occasionally to have been replaced by pillars, which were set up in front of the temples, and had sacrifices offered to them.† The pillars might be of metal, of stone, or of wood, but were most commonly of the last named material, and were called by the Jews *asherahs*, “uprights.”‡ At festive seasons they seem to have been adorned with boughs of trees, flowers, and ribbons, and to have formed the central object of a worship which was of a sensual and debasing character. An emblem common in the Assyrian sculptures is thought to give a good idea of the ordinary appearance on such occasion of these *asherahs*.

Worship was conducted publicly in the mode usual in ancient times, and comprised praise, prayer and sacrifice. The victims offered were ordinarily animals,§ though, as already shown, human sacrifices were not infrequent. It



SACRED TREE—\SHERAH.

was usual to consume the victims entirely upon the altars.|| Libations of wine were copiously poured forth in honor of the chief deities,¶ and incense was burnt in lavish profusion.** Occasionally an attempt was made to influence the deity in-

* The original *baetuli* were perhaps aeroliths, which were regarded as divine, since they had fallen from the sky.

† Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 7. On the pillar-worship of the Phœnicians, see Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Univ. History*, vol. iv. pp. 208-212.

‡ *Asherah* is commonly translated by “grove” in the Authorized Version; but its true character has been pointed out by many critics. (See “Speaker's Commentary,” vol. i. pp. 416, 417; “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii p. 8; 2nd edition.)

§ Lucian. “De Dea Syra,” § 49.

|| Gesenius, “*Script. Phœn. Mon.*” pp. 446, 447; Movers, “*Das Opferwesen der Karthager*,” p. 71, etc.

¶ Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 1.

** Virg. “*Æn.*” l. 415.

voked by loud and prolonged cries, and even by self-inflicted wounds and mutilation.* Frequent festivals were held, especially one at the vernal equinox, when sacrifices were made on the largest scale, and a vast concourse of persons was gathered together at the chief temples.† Altogether the religion of the Phœnicians, while possessing some redeeming points, as the absence of images and deep sense of sin which led them to sacrifice what was nearest and dearest to them to appease the divine anger, must be regarded as one of the lowest and most debasing of the forms of belief and worship prevalent in the ancient world, combining as it did impurity with cruelty, the sanction of licentiousness with the requirement of bloody rites, revolting to the conscience, and destructive of any right apprehension of the true idea of God.

* 1 Kings xviii. 26, 28; Lucian, "De Dea Syra," § 50; Plutarch, "De Superstitione," p. 170, c.
† Lucian, "De Dea Syra," § 49.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

“*Hetrusci, religione imbuti.*”—*Cic. De Div. i. 42.*

THE religion of the Etruscans, or Tuscans, like that of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is known to us chiefly from the notices of it which have come down to us in the works of the classical writers, Greek and Latin. It has, however, the advantage of being illustrated more copiously than the Phœnician by monuments and other works of art found in the country, the productions of native artists—works which in some respects give us a considerable insight into its inner character. On the other hand, but little light is thrown upon it by the Etruscan inscriptions, partly because these inscriptions are almost all of a single type, being short legends upon tombs, partly from the fact that the Etruscan language has defied all the efforts made to interpret it, and still remains, for the most part, an insoluble, or at any rate an unsolved, problem. We are thus without any genuine Etruscan statements of their own views upon religious subjects, and are forced to rely mainly upon the reports of foreigners, who looked upon the system only from without, and are not likely to have fully understood it. It is a further disadvantage that our informants write at a time when the Etruscans had long ceased to be a nation, and when the people, having been subjected for centuries to foreign influences, had in all probability modified their religious views in many important points.

There seems to be no doubt that their religion, whatever it was, occupied a leading position in the thoughts and feelings of the Etruscan nation. “With Etruria,” says a modern writer, “religion was an all-pervading principle—the very atmosphere of her existence—a leaven operating on the entire mass of society, a constant pressure ever felt



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special temple dedicated to his honor in every Etruscan city, and in every such city one of the gates bore his name.* He appears to have been sometimes worshipped under the appellation of Summanus, which perhaps meant "the supreme god." † We must not, however, take this term as indicative of a latent monotheism, whereof there is no trace in the Etruscan religion, but only as a title of honor, or at most as a recognition of a superiority in rank and dignity on the part of this god, who was *primus inter pares*, the presiding spirit in a conclave of equals.

Next to Tina came Cupra, a goddess, who appears to have also borne the name of Thalna or Thana. ‡ The Greeks compared her to their Hêra, and the Romans to their Juno, or sometimes to their Diana, who was originally the same deity. Like Tina, Cupra had a temple in every Etruscan city, and a gate named after her. § It is thought by some that she was a personification of light, or day; || but this is uncertain. Her name, Thana, looks like a mere variant of Tina, and would seem to make her a mere feminine form of the sky-god, his complement and counterpart, standing to him as Amente to Ammon in the Egyptian, or as Luna to Lunus in the Roman mythology. A similar relation is found to have subsisted between the two chief deities of the Etruscan nether world.

The third among the celestial deities was Menrva, or Menrfa, out of whom the Romans made their Minerva. She enjoyed the same privileges in the Etruscan cities as Tina and Cupra, having her own temple and her own gate in each of them. ¶ Mr. Isaac Taylor believes that originally she represented the half light of the morning and evening, and even ventures to suggest that her name signified "the red heaven," and referred to the flush of the sky at dawn and sunset.** A slight confirmation is afforded to this view by the fact that we sometimes find *two* Menrvas represented in a single Etruscan work of art. †† But we scarcely possess

* Servius, "Comment in Virg. Æn." i. 422.

† Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 376.

‡ The name Cupra is known to us only from Strabo ("Geograph." c. p. 241). Thalna is found on Etruscan monuments.

§ Servius, l. s. c.

|| Gerhard, "Gottheiten der Etrusker," p. 40; Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 142.

¶ Servius, l. s. c.

** "Etruscan Researches," p. 137.

†† *Ibid.* p. 138.

sufficient materials for determining the real original character of this deity. It was probably foreign influence that brought her ultimately into that close resemblance which she bears to Minerva and Athéné on the mirrors and vases, where she is represented as armed and bearing the ægis.*

Usil and Losna, whom we have ventured to join with Tina, Cupra, and Menrva as celestial deities, appear to have been simply the Sun and the Moon, objects of worship to so many ancient nations. Usil was identified with the Greek Apollo (called Aplu by the Etruscans), and was represented as a youth with bow and arrows.† Losna had the crescent for her emblem,‡ and was figured nearly as Diana by the Romans.§

Next to Usil and Losna may be placed in a group the three elemental gods, Sethlans, the god of fire, identified by the Etruscans themselves with the Greek Hephaistos and the Latin Vulcan; Nethuns, the water-god, probably the same as Neptunus; and Phuphlans, the god of earth and all earth's products, who is well compared with Dionysus and Bacchus.|| Phuphlans was the special deity of Pupluna, or (as the Romans called it) Populonia.¶ He seems to have been called also Vortumnus or Voltumnus; ** and in this aspect he had a female counterpart, Voltumna, whose temple was the place of meeting where the princes of Etruria discussed the affairs of the Confederation.††

Another group of three consists of Turan, Thesan, and Turms, native Etruscan deities, as it would seem, corresponding more or less closely to the Aphrodité, Eôs, and Hermes of the Greeks, and the Venus, Aurora, and Mercurius of the Romans. Of these Turan is the most frequently found, but chiefly in subjects taken from the Greek mythology, while Thesau occurs the least often. According to one view, the name Turms is the mere Etruscan mode of writing the Greek word Hermes,‡‡ the true native

* Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. li.

† Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 143.

‡ Lanzi, "Saggio della Lingua Etrusca," vol. ii. p. 76.

§ Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. liv.

|| Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 141; Smith, "Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiquities," vol. i. p. 865.

¶ Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. p. 242.

** *Ibid.* vol. i. Introduction, p. liii.

†† Liv. iv. 23, 61; v. 17. etc.

‡‡ Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 149.

name having been Camillus or Kamil.* It does not appear that any of these three gods was much worshipped by the Etruscans. They figured in the mythology, but lay almost outside the religion.

The main character in which the gods of heaven and earth were recognized by the Etruscans was that of rulers, signifying, and sometimes executing, their will by means of thunder and lightning. Nine great gods, known as the *Novensiles*, were believed to have the power of hurling thunderbolts, and were therefore held in special honor.† Of these nine, *Tinia*, *Cupra*, *Menrva*, and *Sethlans*, were undoubtedly four. *Summanus* and *Vejovis*, who are sometimes spoken of as thundering gods, ‡ seem to be mere names or aspects of *Tinia*. The Etruscans recognized twelve sorts of thunderbolts, and ascribed, we are told, to *Tinia* three of them.§

But it was to the unseen world beneath the earth, the place to which men went after death, and where the souls of their ancestors resided, that the Etruscans devoted the chief portion of their religious thought; and with this were connected the bulk of their religious observances. Over the dark realms of the dead ruled *Mantus* and *Mania*, king and queen of Hades, the former represented as an old man, wearing a crown, and with wings on his shoulders, and bearing in his hands sometimes a torch, sometimes two or three large nails, which are thought to indicate "the inevitable character of his decrees." || Intimately connected with these deities, their prime minister and most active agent, cruel, hideous, half human, half animal, the chief figure in almost all the representations of the lower world, is the demon, *Charun*, in name no doubt identical with the Stygian ferryman of the Greeks, but in character so different that it has even been maintained that there is no analogy between them.¶ *Charun* is "generally represented as a squalid and hideous old man with flaming eyes and savage aspect; but he has, moreover, the ears, and often

* So Callimachus ap. Serv. in Virg. *Æn.* xi. 1. 543.

† Varro, "De Ling. Lat." v. 74; Plin. "H.N." ii. 53; Manilius ap. Arnob. "Adv. Gentes," iii. 38.

‡ Plin. 1. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xvii. 10, § 2.

§ Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 41.

|| Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. lvi.

¶ Ambrosch, "De Charonte Etrusco," quoted by Dennis, vol. ii p. 206.



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parted spirits exists are not clearly set forth, and it is analogy rather than strict evidence which leads us to the conclusion that desert is the ground on which the happiness and misery are distributed.

Besides Charun and his nameless attendant demons and furies, the Etruscan remains give evidence of a belief in a certain small number of genii, or spirits, having definite names, and a more or less distinct and peculiar character. One of the most clearly marked of these is Vanth, or Death, who appears in several of the sepulchral scenes, either standing by the door of an open tomb; or prompting the slaughter of a prisoner, or otherwise encouraging carnage and destruction.* Another is Kulmu, "god of the tomb," who bears the fatal shears in one hand and a funeral torch in the other, and opens the door of the sepulchre that it may receive into it a fresh inmate.† A third being of the same class is Nathuns, a sort of male fury, represented with tusk-likefangs and hair standing on end, while in either hand he grasps a serpent by the middle, which he shakes over avengers, in order to excite them to the highest pitch of frenzy.‡

In their worship the Etruscan sought, first of all and especially, to know the will of the gods, which they believed to be signified to man in three principal ways. These were thunder and lightning, which they ascribed to the direct action of the heavenly powers; the flight of birds, which they supposed to be subject to divine guidance; and certain appearances in the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice, which they also regarded as supernaturally induced or influenced. To interpret these indications of the divine will, it was necessary to have a class of persons trained in the traditional knowledge of the signs in question, and skilled to give a right explanation of them to all inquirers. Hence the position of the priesthood in Etruria, which was "an all-dominant hierarchy, maintaining its sway by an arrogant exclusive claim to intimate acquaintance with the will of heaven, and the decrees of fate."§ The Etruscan priests

* Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," pp. 100-102. (For the scenes referred to, see Micali, "Monumenti Inediti," pl. lx.; and Des Vergers, "L'Etrurie et les Etrusques," pl. xxi.).

† *Ibid.* p. 94.

‡ Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 112.

§ Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. xxxix.

were not, like the Egyptian, the teachers of the people, the inculcators of a high morality, or the expounders of esoteric doctrines on the subjects of man's relation to God, his true aim in life, and his ultimate destiny; they were soothsayers,* who sought to expound the future, immediate or remote, to warn men against coming dangers, to suggest modes of averting the divine anger, and thus to save men from evil which would otherwise have come upon them unawares and ruined or, at any rate, greatly injured them. Men were taught to observe the signs in the sky; and the appearance and flight of birds, the sounds which they uttered, their position at the time, and various other particulars; they were hidden to note whatever came in their way that seemed to them unusual or abnormal, and to report all to the priests, who thereupon pronounced what the signs observed portended, and either announced an inevitable doom, † or prescribed a mode whereby the doom might be postponed or averted. Sometimes the signs reported were declared to affect merely individuals; but frequently the word went forth that danger was portended to the state; and then it was for the priesthood to determine at once the nature and extent of the danger, and also the measures to be adopted under the circumstances. Sacrifices on a vast scale or of an unusual character were commonly commanded in such cases, even human victims being occasionally offered to the infernal deities, Mantus and Mania, ‡ whose wrath it was impossible to appease in any less fearful way. Certain books in the possession of the hierarchy ascribed to a half divine, half human personage, named Tages, § and handed down from a remote antiquity, contained the system of divination which the priests followed, and guided them in their expositions and requirements.

* Cic. "De Divinatione," i. p. 41, 42; Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 82; Diod. Sic. v. p. 316; Dionys. Hal. ix. p. 563; Aulus Gell. iv. 5; Lucan, "Phars." i. 1. 587, etc.

† The Etruscans recognized a power of Fate, superior to the great gods themselves, Tinia and the others, residing in certain "Di Involuti," or "Di Superiores," who were the rulers of both gods and men (Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 41).

‡ Especially to Mania (Macrob. "Saturnalia," i. 7). Human sacrifices are thought to be represented in the Etruscan remains (Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. pp. 190, 191).

§ Lydus, "De Ostentis," § 27; Cic. "De Div." ii. 23; Ovid. "Metamorph." xv. 553-559, etc.

Among sacrificial animals were included the bull, the ass, and perhaps the wolf,* though this is disputed. The victim, brought by an individual citizen, was always offered by a priest, and libations usually accompanied the sacrifice. Unbloody offerings were also not unfrequently presented, and were burnt upon the altar, like the victims. †

A general survey of the Etruscan remains has convinced the most recent inquirers, that the public worship of the gods in the temples, which were to be found in all Etruscan cities, by sacrifice, libation, and adoration, played but a very small part in the religious life of the nation. "The true temples of the Etruscans," it has been observed, "were their tombs." ‡ Practically, the real objects of their worship were the Lares, or spirits of their ancestors. Each house probably had its *lararium*, § where the master of the household offered prayer and worship every morning, and sacrifice occasionally. || And each family certainly had its family tomb, constructed on the model of a house, in which the spirits of its ancestors were regarded as residing. "The tombs themselves," we are told, "are exact imitations of the house. There is usually an outer vestibule, apparently appropriated to the annual funeral feast: from this a passage leads to a large central chamber, which is lighted by windows cut through the rock. The central hall is surrounded by smaller chambers, in which the dead repose. On the roof we see carved in stone the broad beam, or roof-tree, with rafters imitated in relief on either side, and even imitations of the tiles. These chambers contain the corpses, and are furnished with all the implements, ornaments, and utensils used in life. The tombs are, in fact, places for the dead to live in. The position and surroundings of the deceased are made to approximate as closely as possible to the conditions of life. The couches on which the corpses repose have a triclinial arrangement,

* Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

† *Ibid* vol. ii. p. 191.

‡ Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 49.

§ On the Roman *lararium*, which is believed to have been adopted from the Etruscans, see an article in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," pp. 667, 668, 2nd edition.

|| In the Theodosian Code it was provided that no one should any longer worship his *lar* with fire ("nullus Larem igne veneretur"), or, in other words, continue to sacrifice to him. (See Keightley's "Mythology," p. 470.)



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foolish alarms, and distracted men from the performance of the duties of every-day life. It fostered the pride and vanity of the priestly class by attributing to them superhuman wisdom, and something like infallibility, while it demoralized the people by forcing them to cringe before a selfish and arrogant hierarchy. If it diminished the natural tendency of men to overvalue the affairs of this transitory life, by placing prominently before them the certainty and importance of the life beyond the grave, yet its influence was debasing rather than elevating, from the coarseness of the representations which it gave alike of the happiness and misery of the future state. Where the idea entertained of the good man's final bliss makes it consist in feasting and carousing,* and the suffering of the lost arises from the blows and wounds inflicted by demons, the doctrine of future rewards and punishment loses much of its natural force, and is more likely to vitiate than to improve the moral character. The accounts which we have of the morality of the Etruscans are far from favorable; † and it may be questioned whether the vices whereto they were prone did not receive a stimulus, rather than a check, from their religion.

* See Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. p. 294: "They (the Etruscans) believed in the materiality of the soul; and their Elysium was but a glorification of the present state of existence; the same pursuits, amusements, and pleasures, they had relished in this life they expected in the next, but divested of their sting, and enhanced by increased capacities of enjoyment. To celebrate the great event, to us so solemn (i. e., death), by feasting and joviality, was not with them unbecoming. They knew not how to conceive or represent a glorified existence otherwise than by means of the highest sensual enjoyment." (Compare pp. 443-448.)

† See the Author's "Origin of Nations," pp. 129, 130.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

“The Greek religion was the result of the peculiar development and history of the Grecian people.”—DÖLLINGER, *Jew and Gentile*, vol. i. p. 68.

THAT “in general the Greek religion may be correctly described as a worship of Nature ; and that most of its deities corresponded either to certain parts of the sensible world, or to certain classes of objects comprehended under abstract notions,” is a remark of Bishop Thirlwall* in which most critics at the present day will acquiesce with readiness. Placed in a region of marked beauty and variety, and sympathizing strongly with the material world around him, the lively Greek saw in the object with which he was brought into contact, no inert mass of dull and lifeless matter, but a crowd of mighty agencies, full of a wonderful energy. The teeming earth, the quickening sun, the restless sea, the irresistible storm, every display of superhuman might which he beheld, nay, all motion and growth, impressed him with the sense of something living and working. He did not, however, like his Indian brother, deify (as a general rule) the objects themselves ; or, at any rate, if he had ever done so, it was in a remote past, of which language alone retained the trace ; † he did not, in the times in which he is really known to us, worship the storm, or the sun, or the earth, or the ocean, or the winds, or the rivers, but, by the power of his imagination, he invested all these things with personality. Everywhere around him, in all the different localities, and departments, and divisions, and subdivisions of the physical world, he recognized agencies of unseen beings endued with

* “History of Greece,” vol. i. p. 217.

† Zeus may have been once *Dyaus*, “the sky” (Max Müller, “Chips from a German Workshop,” vol. ii. p. 72); but the word very early “became a proper name” and designated a person.

life, volition, and design. Nature was peopled for him with a countless multitude of such invisible powers, some inhabiting the earth, some the heaven, some the sea, some the dark and dreadful region beneath the earth, into which the sun's rays could not penetrate. "Of such beings," as Mr. Grote observes,* "there were numerous varieties, and many gradations both in power and attributes; there were differences of age, sex, and local residence, relations, both conjugal and filial, between them, and tendencies sympathetic as well as repugnant. The gods formed a sort of political community of their own, which had its hierarchy, its distributions of ranks and duties, its contentions for power, and occasional revolutions, its public meetings in the agora of Olympus, and its multitudinous banquets or festivals. The great Olympic gods were, in fact, only the most exalted amongst an aggregate of quasi-human or ultra-human personages—dæmons, heroes, nymphs, eponymous genii, identified with each river, mountain, cape, town, village, or known circumscription of territory, besides horses, bulls, and dogs, of immortal breed and peculiar attributes, monsters of strange lineaments and combinations—'Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire'—and besides 'gentile and ancestral deities,' and 'peculiar beings whose business it was to co-operate or impede in the various stages of each trade or business.'

Numerous additions might be made to this list. Not only had each mountain chain and mountain-top a separate presiding god or goddess, but troops of Oreads inhabited the mountain regions, and disported themselves among them; not only was there a river-god to each river, a Simois and a Scamander, an Enipeus and an Achelous, but every nameless stream and brooklet had its water nymph, every spring and fountain its naiad; wood-nymphs peopled the glades and dells of the forest regions; air-gods moved in the zephyrs and the breezes; each individual oak had its dryad. To the gods proper were added the heroes, gods of a lower grade, and these are spoken of as "thirty thousand in number, guardian dæmons, spirits of departed heroes, who are continually walking over earth, veiled in darkness, watching the deeds of men, and dispensing weal or woe." †

It is this multiplicity of the objects of worship, together

* "History of Greece," vol. i. pp. 463-465.

† Thirlwall, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 235. Compare Hesiod, "Works and Days," l. 250



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Hephæstus,* Boreas, Nortus, etc., subordinates of Æolus, the Hours, handmaids of Aphrodité, etc. Fourthly, we may name the more shadowy gods and goddesses, Night, Day, Ether, Dawn, Darkness, Death, Sleep, Strife, Memory, Fame, Retribution, Recklessness, etc., who do not often appear as deities except in poetry, and are perhaps rather personifications consciously made than real substantive divinities. Finally must be mentioned the monstrous births ascribed to certain divine unions or marriages, *e. g.*, the Cyclopes, and Centimani, the offspring of Earth and Heaven (Gæa and Uranus); the Harpies, daughters of Thaumas and Electra, one of the Oceanidæ; the Gorgons and Græa, children of Phorcys and Ceto; Chrysaor and Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, when she was slain by Perseus; Geryon and Echidna, sprung from Chrysaor and Callirrhoë; Orthros, the two-headed dog of Geryon, born of Typhaon and Echidna; Cerberus, the dog of Hades, with fifty heads; Scylla and Charybdis; the Lernæan Hydra, the Sphinx of Thebes, the Nemean Lion, the Dragon of the Hesperides, the Centaurs, the Chimæra, etc., etc.

The chief interest naturally attaches to the gods of the First Order, those commonly denominated "Olympic;" and, in a work like the present, some account must necessarily be given of the twelve deities who constituted the Olympian council.

ZEUS.

At the head of all, occupying a position quite unique and unlike that of any other, stood the great Zeus. Zeus is "*the* God, or, as he is called in later times, the Father of the gods, and the God of gods. When we ascend to the most distant heights of Greek history, the idea of God, as the Supreme Being, stands before us as a simple fact."† "Zeus," said an ancient poet, "is the beginning; Zeus the middle; out of Zeus have all things been made." Zeus was "the lord of the upper regions, who dwelt on the summits of the highest mountains, gathered the clouds about him, shook the air with his thunder, and wielded the lightning as the instrument of his wrath. From elements drawn from these different sources his character, a strange com-

* See Æschyl. "Prom. Vincit." *sub init.*

† Max Müller, "Chips," vol. ii. p. 158.

pond of strength and weakness, seems to have been formed by successive poets, who, if they in some degree deserved the censure of the philosophers, seem at least not to have been guilty of any arbitrary fictions ; while, on the other hand, by establishing his supremacy they introduced (?) a principle of unity into the Greek polytheism, which was not perhaps without influence on the speculations of the philosophers themselves, though it exerted little on the superstitions of the vulgar. The Olympian deities are assembled round Zeus as his family, in which he maintains the mild dignity of a patriarchal king. He assigns their several provinces, and controls their authority. Their combined efforts cannot give the slightest shock to his power, nor retard the execution of his will ; and hence their waywardness, even when it incurs his rebuke, cannot ruffle the inward serenity of his soul. The tremendous nod, wherewith he confirms his decrees, can neither be revoked nor frustrated. As his might is irresistible, so is his wisdom unsearchable. He holds the golden balance in which are poised the destinies of nations and of men ; from the two vessels that stand at his threshold he draws the good and evil gifts that alternately sweeten and embitter mortal existence. The eternal order of things, the ground of the immutable succession of events, is his, and therefore he himself submits to it. Human laws derive their sanction from his ordinance ; earthly kings receive their sceptre from his hand ; he is the guardian of social right ; he watches over the fulfilment of contracts, the observance of oaths ; he punishes treachery, arrogance, and cruelty. The stranger and the suppliant are under his peculiar protection ; the fence that encloses the family dwelling is in his keeping ; he avenges the denial and the abuse of hospitality. Yet even this greatest and most glorious of beings, as he is called, is subject, like the other gods, to passion and frailty. For, though secure from dissolution, though surpassingly beautiful and strong, and warmed with a purer blood than fills the veins of men, their heavenly frames are not insensible to pleasure and pain ; they need the refreshment of ambrosial food, and inhale a grateful savor from the sacrifices of their worshippers. Their other affections correspond to the grossness of these animal appetites. Capricious love and hatred, anger and jealousy, often disturb the calm of their bosoms ; the peace of the Olympian state might be broken by factions, and even

by conspiracies formed against its chief. He himself cannot keep perfectly aloof from their quarrels; he occasionally wavers in his purpose, is overruled by artifice, blinded by desires, and hurried by resentment into unseemly violence. The relation in which he stands to Fate is not uniformly represented in the Homeric poems, and probably the poet had not formed a distinct notion of it. Fate is generally described as emanating from his will, but sometimes he appears to be no more than the minister of a stern necessity, which he wishes in vain to elude." *

And Zeus bears to man the relation of "father." Each mortal who has a supplication to make to him, may address him as *Zeū πάτερ*, "God (our) Father." He bears, as one of his most usual titles, the designation of "Father of gods and men." As St. Paul says, † quoting a Greek poet, "we are his offspring." The entire passage where these words occur is remarkable, and very instructive on the Grecian idea of Zeus.

"With Zeus begin we—let no mortal voice
 Leave Zeus unpraised. Zens fills the haunts of men,
 The streets, the marts—Zeus fills the sea, the shores,
 The harbors—everywhere we live in Zeus.
 We are his offspring too; friendly to man,
 He gives prognostics; sets men to their toil
 By need of daily bread: tells when the land
 Must be upturned by ploughshare or by spade—
 What time to plant the olive or the vine—
 What time to fling on earth the golden grain.
 For He it was who scattered o'er the sky
 The shining stars, and fixed them where they are—
 Provided constellations through the year,
 To mark the seasons in their changeless course.
 Wherefore men worship Him—the First—the Last—
 Their Father—Wonderful—their Help and Shield." ‡

A pantheistic tinge pervades this description; but still in parts it approaches to some of the most beautiful and sublime expressions of Holy Writ.§ It presents Zeus to us

* Thirlwall, "History of Greece," vol. i. pp. 217-219.

† Acts xvii 28.

‡ Aratus, "Phænomena," ll. 1-15.

§ Compare "everywhere we live in Zens" with "in Him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii. 28)—the provision of constellations with Gen. i 14—the term "Wonderful" with Isa. ix.6—"the First, the Last" with Rev. i. 8, 11, etc.—"their Help and Shield" with Psa. xviii. 2; xlvi. 1, etc.



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the seas and ocean. His worship is ancient, and in many places has given way to an introduction of later and more fashionable deities. It has traces of a rudeness and roughness that are archaic, and stands connected with the more grotesque and barbarous element in the religion. "Among his companions are wild Titans and spiteful dæmons," * human sacrifices are offered to him ; horses are buried alive in his honor. Polyphemus the Cyclops, whom Ulysses punishes, is his son ; and his offspring generally are noted for huge size and great corporeal strength.† It has been maintained that his cult was of foreign origin, having been introduced among the Greeks by the Carians,‡ or by the Libyans ; § but there are no sufficient grounds for these refinements, or for separating off Poseidon from the bulk of Olympic deities, admittedly of native growth, and having a general family resemblance. If Poseidon is cast in a ruder and rougher mould than most of the others, we may account for it by the character of his element, and the boisterousness of sailors, who were at all times his principal worshippers. Poseidon's roughness is compensated for by a solidity and strength of character, not too common among the Grecian deities ; he is not readily turned from his purpose ; blandishments have little effect upon him ; failure does not discourage him ; he is persistent, and generally, though not always, successful. His hostility to Troy, arising from his treatment by Laomedon, conduced greatly toward that city's destruction ; and the offence which he took at the decision of Erechtheus led to the final overthrow of that hero's family. On the other hand, his persecution of Ulysses, on account of the chastisement which he had inflicted on Polyphemus, does not prevent the final return of that much-enduring wanderer to Ithaca, nor does his opposition succeed in hindering the settlement of Æneas, with his Trojan companions, in Latium. For grandeur and sublimity of character and position Poseidon cannot compare with Zeus, whom however, he sometimes ventures to beard ; || in respect of moral conduct he is in no

* Curtius, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 56.

† Hom. "Odyssey," xi. 505-520.

‡ Curtius, vol. i. p. 298: "The Carians introduced [into Greece] the worship of the Carian Zeus, and of Poseidon."

§ Herod. ii. 50; iv. 188.

Hom. "Iliad," xv. 175.

way Zeus's superior ; in respect of intellectual elevation he falls decidedly below him.

APOLLO.

The conception of Apollo as the sun is a late form of Hellenic belief, and must be wholly put aside when we are considering the religion of the *ancient* Greeks. Apollo seems to have been originally, like Zeus, a representation of the one God, originating probably in some part of Greece where Zeus was unknown,* and subsequently adopted into the system prevalent in Homeric times, and in this system subordinated to Zeus as his son and interpreter. Compared with Zeus, he is a spiritualized conception. Zeus is the embodiment of creative energy and almighty power : Apollo of divine prescience, of healing skill, and of musical and poetic production. "In Apollo Hellenic polytheism received its harmonious completion, and the loftiest glorification of which it was capable."†

Apollo rises on the vision of one familiar with Greek antiquity as almost a pure conception, almost an angelic divinity. To a form of ideal beauty, combining youthful grace and vigour with the fullest perfection of manly strength, he added unerring wisdom, complete insight into futurity, an unstained life,‡ the magic power of song, ability and will to save and heal, together with the dread prerogative of dealing out at his pleasure destruction and death. Compassionate on occasions as Mercy herself, he shows at times the keen and awful severity of a destroying archangel. *Ekebolos*, "striking from afar," he speeds his fatal shafts from his unfailing bow, and smites whomsoever he will with a deathstroke which there is no escaping. Never offended without cause, never moved by caprice, he works the will of Zeus in all that he does, dispenses retributive justice, and purifies with wholesome fear the souls of men. Partaker of all the counsels of his father, and permitted to use his discretion in communicating them to the denizens on earth, he delivers his oracular responses from the various spots

* Curtius suggests Lycia or Crete ("History of Greece," vol. i. p. 59).

† *Ibid.*

‡ See this point discussed in Mr. Gladstone's "Homer and the Homeric Age," (vol. ii. pp. 106-111).

which he has chosen as his special abodes, and, though sometimes his replies may be of doubtful import, seldom sends away a votary unsatisfied. The answers which he gives, or at any rate is supposed to give, determine the decisions of statesmen,* and shape the course of history. War and peace, treaties and alliances, are made and unmade, as the Delphic and other oracles inspired by him advise; and the course of Hellenic colonization is almost entirely determined by his decrees.†

Poet, prophet, physician, harper, god of victory and angel of death in one, Apollo is always on the side of right, always true to Zeus, and not much inferior to him in power. It is, perhaps, a fanciful analogy which has been traced between him and the Second Person of the Christian Trinity; ‡ but the very fact that such an analogy can be suggested is indicative of the pure and lofty character of the god, which equals at any rate, if it does not transcend, the highest idea of divinity that has hitherto been elaborated by unassisted human wisdom.

ARES.

It has been well said that Ares is “the impersonation of a passion.” That combative propensity, which man possesses in common with a large number of animals, was regarded by the Greeks, not only as a divine thing, but as a thing of such lofty divinity that its representative must

* Herod. vii. 140–143.

† *Ibid.* iv. 150–159; v. 42, etc.

‡ Friedriech says: “This triad of Zeus, Athené and Apollo bears an unmistakable analogy to the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: Zeus answering to God the Father, Athené to the Holy Ghost, and Apollo to the Son of God, the Declarer of the will of his Heavenly Father” (“Die Realien in der Iliade und Odyssee.” part iii. pp. 635 and 689). Mr. Gladstone came independently to the same conclusion, and says:—“In Apollo are represented the legendary anticipations of a person to come, in whom should be combined all the great offices in which God the Son is now made known to man, as the Light of our paths, the Physician of our diseases, the Judge of our misdeeds, and the Conqueror and Disarmer, but not yet Abolisher, of Death,” (“Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii. p. 132). Professor Max Müller, on the other hand, thinks that “it seems blasphemy to consider the fables of the heathen world as corrupted and misinterpreted fragments of a divine revelation once granted to the whole of mankind” (“Chips from a German Workshop,” vol. ii. p. 13).



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beauty. It has been accounted for on the supposition that he is a Grecized Phthah,* introduced from Egypt, directly or indirectly,† and that his deformity is a modification of Phthah's presentment as a pigmy with the lower limbs misshapen. But the features common to Hephæstus with Phthah are few; the name of Hephæstus is probably of pure Greek etymology, connected with *φαῖος* and *φαίω*; and, on the whole, there would seem to be no evidence that Hephæstus is a foreign god more than any other. Rather, it is characteristic of the many sidedness of the Greeks, and consequent upon the anthropomorphism which makes the Olympic community a reflection of earthly things, that there should be even in this august conclave something provocative of laughter, a discord to break the monotony of the harmony, an element of grotesqueness and monstrosity. Hephæstus in the Olympic halls is like the jester at the court of a mediæval monarch, a something to lighten the seriousness of existence, to provoke occasionally a burst of that "inextinguishable laughter," without which life in so sublime an atmosphere would be intolerable. The marriage of Hephæstus to Aphrodité is conceived in the same spirit. There was a keen sense of humor in the countrymen of Aristophanes; and the combination of the clumsy, lame, and begrimed smith with the Queen of Beauty and Love pleased their sense of the ludicrous, and was the fertile source of many an amusing legend. "The Lay of the Net," where-with Demodocus entertains both gods and men,* is a sufficient specimen of this class of lively myth, and shows that the comic features of ill-assorted marriage, on which modern playwrights have traded so freely, were fully appreciated by the Greeks, and were supposed well-suited to provoke the gods to merriment. The modern moralist will regret this unworthy representation of divine beings; † but it is quite in accord with the general character of the Greek religion, which reflected back upon deity all that was weak, as well as all that was strong, in man.

* Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 139, note (3rd edition).

† Mr. Gladstone regards him as introduced from Phœnicia ("Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 255).

‡ Hom. "Odys." v. iii. 266-366.

§ "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 461-463.

HERMES.

Hermes is the impersonation of commercial dealings, and hence a god who gives wealth and increase, a god of inventive power, and a god of tricks and thievery. He is "the Olympian man of business,"* and therefore employed in embassies and commissions, and even sometimes in the simple carrying of messages. As *δώτωρ εάων*, † "the giver of comforts," he secures his votaries all manner of worldly prosperity. He is industrious and inventive, constructs the seven-stringed lyre before he is a day old, ‡ afterward invents the pan's-pipes, and ultimately becomes a god of wisdom and learning generally. His thievishness must be taken to show that commercial fraud is pretty well as ancient as commerce itself, and that "the good old times" were not, as sometimes represented, an age of innocence. It has been said that he is more human than any other Olympian god; and that "he represents, so to speak, the utilitarian side of the human mind," § being active, energetic, fruitful in resource, a keen bargainer, a bold storyteller, and a clever thief. His admission into the number of the Olympians is the strongest possible indication of the inferiority of the moral standard among the Greeks. The special regard paid to him by the Athenians is, however, perhaps the mere consequence of their addiction to the pursuits of commerce.

Hermes is commonly represented as a youth just attaining to manhood. The wings which adorn his head and ankles indicate the celerity of his movements. His caduceus is perhaps the golden rod of wealth given to him by Apollo in exchange for the lyre. It represents also the staff commonly borne by heralds, and in this point of view had white ribbons attached to it, which in later times became serpents. Sometimes he holds a purse in his hand, to mark his power of bestowing riches.

The six female Olympic deities—Hera, Athené, Artemis,

* Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 74.

† Hom. "Odyss. viii. 335. Compare "Iliad," xiv. 490.

‡ Hom. "Hym. Merc." l. 16.

§ "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 242.

Aphrodité, Hestia, and Demeter—have now to be considered.

HERA.

The anthropomorphism which was so main an element in the Greek religion made it requisite that motherhood, as well as fatherhood, should be enthroned in the Olympic sphere, that Zeus should have his consort, heaven its queen, and women their representative in the highest celestial position. Hera was, perhaps, originally Era, “the Earth;” * but this idea was soon lost sight of, and in Greek mythology, from first to last, she is quite other than the principle of mundane fecundity, quite a different being from the oriental earth-goddess, called indifferently Cybelê, Dindymené, Magna Mater, Rhea, Beltis, Mylitta, etc. Hera is, primarily, the wife of Zeus, the queen of the Olympic court, the mistress of heaven. She is “a reflected image of Zeus” † and exercises all her husband’s prerogatives, thunders, shakes Olympus, makes Iris her messenger, gives her orders to the Winds and the Sun, confers valor, and the like. As the personification of maternity, she presides over child-birth; and the Eileithyiaë, her daughters, act as her ministers. She does not present to us an elevated idea of female perfection, since, despite her exalted rank, she is subject to numerous feminine infirmities. Mr. Grote notes that she is “proud, jealous, and bitter.” ‡ Mr. Gladstone observes that she is passionate, wanting in moral elevation, cruel, vindictive, and unscrupulous.§ Her mythological presentation was certainly not of a nature to improve the character of those women who might take her for their model; since, although she was possessed of certain great qualities, passion, fervor, strong affection, self-command, courage, acuteness, yet she was, on the whole, wanting in the main elements of female excellence, gentleness, softness, tenderness, patience, submission to wrong, self-renunciation, reticence. She was a proud,

* See Mr. Gladstone’s “Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii. p. 190. Others suggest a connection with *heros*, *herus*, *hera*, and so with the German *herr*, and our *sir*

† “Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii p. 194.

‡ “History of Greece,” vol. i. p. 50.

§ “Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii. pp. 190–196.



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The universally-received myth of Mentor and Telemachus acted as a strong reinforcement to the power of conscience, which the young Greek felt might be the voice of Athené speaking within him, advising him for his true good, and pointing out to him the path of honor and duty. Athené's special connection with Athens and Attica added much to her importance in the Greek religious system, since it brought the best minds and most generous natures of Hellas peculiarly under the influence of a thoroughly high and noble religious conception.

ARTEMIS.

Artemis is altogether a shadowy divinity. She is a "pale reflection of her brother," * Phœbus Apollo, whose attributes she reproduces in a subdued form, being, like him, majestic, pure, chaste, a minister of death, and a dexterous archer. Nothing is peculiar to her except her presidency over hunting, which determined her general presentation to the eye by the Greek artists. She embodied and personified that passion for the chase which was common to the Hellenes with most energetic races. It was supposed that she dwelt mainly upon earth, haunting the forests and the mountains, dressed as a huntress, and accompanied by her favorite hounds. Her connection with the moon was an after-thought in the Greek mythology, as was that of Apollo with the sun. It arose mainly from the fact that hunters, to be successful, had to commence their operations by night, and needed the light of the moon in order to make their arrangements.

The Artemis of Ephesus was the embodiment of a different idea.† She took the place of the great Asiatic Nature-goddess—Cybelé, Rhea, Magna Mater, Beltis, Mylitta—and had nothing in common with the Artemis of Hellas proper but the name. "Her image, shaped like a mummy, was of black wood; the upper part of the body was ornamented with the breasts of animals, the lower with figures of them."‡ She was a mere impersonation of the principle of fecundity in nature—"a Pantheistic deity, with more of an Asiatic than Hellenic character."§

* "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 143.

† Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 48.

‡ Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i p. 86.

§ *Idid.*

APHRODITE.

Aphrodité is the antithesis, and in some sort complement, of Athené. She is the impersonation of all that is soft and weak and erring in female nature, as Athené is of all that is high and pure and strong. Goddess of beauty and love, not, however, of love in its more elevated form, but rather of sensual desire, she was received by the Greeks probably from an Asiatic source, but so transmuted and Hellenized as to have become, when we first meet with her, a completely national divinity.* Hellenic in the whole character of her beauty, she is well described by a living English poet† in a passage which is eminently classical:—

“Idalian Aphrodité beautiful,
 Fresh as the foam, new bathed in Paphian wells,
 With rosy slender fingers backward drew
 From her warm brow and bosom her deep hair
 Ambrosial, golden round her lucid throat
 And shoulder : from the violets her light foot
 Shone rosy white, and o’er her rounded form,
 Between the shadows of the vine-branches,
 Floated the golden sunlight as she moved.”

Nothing so lovely in form and color and texture and combination of rare charms, graced the splendid chambers of the Olympian court—nothing so ravishing had ever presented itself to the vision of painter or poet. But the beauty was altogether physical, sensuous, divorced alike from moral goodness and mental power. Silly and childish, easily tricked and imposed upon Aphrodité is mentally contemptible, while morally she is odious. Tyrannical over the weak, cowardly before the strong, frail herself, and the persistent stirrer up of frailty in others, lazy, deceitful, treacherous, selfish, shrinking from the least touch of pain, she repels the moral sentiment with a force almost equal to that wherewith she attracts the lower animal nature. Hence the Greek cannot speak of her without the most violent conflict of feeling. He is drawn to her, but he detests her; he is fascinated, yet revolted; he admires, yet he despises

* Mr. Gladstone takes a different view. He regards the Aphrodité of Homer as scarcely a Greek divinity, (“Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii. pp. 244, 245). But to me it seems that, even in Homer, her character is as thoroughly Greek as her name.

† See Tennyson’s “Ænone,” ll. 170–178.

and condemns; and his condemnation, on the whole, outweighs his admiration. He calls her.

“ A goddess verily of many names—
Not Cypris only, but dark Hades, too,
And Force resistless, and mad, frantic Rage,
And sheer untempered Craving, and shrill Grief.” *

He allows, but he rebels against her power over him; he protests even when he surrenders himself; and hence, on the whole, Aphrodité exercises a less corrupting influence in Greece than might have been anticipated. That the pantheon should contain a goddess of the kind was of course to some extent debasing. Bad men could justify themselves by the divine example, and plead powerlessness to resist a divine impulse. But their conscience was not satisfied; they felt they sinned against their higher nature; and thus, after all, the moral standard was not very seriously affected by the existence of the Cyprian goddess among the Olympic deities.

HESTIA.

Hestia is still more shadowy than Artemis. She is, in part, the feminine counterpart of Hephæstus, the goddess of fire; but she is principally the impersonation of the sacred character of each hearth and home, whether domestic, tribal, or national. Hestia presided over the private hearths and homesteads of all Greeks, over the Prytaneia of cities, and over the altars kept ablaze in the temples which were centres of confederacies. She invested them with a sacred character, watched over them, protected them. Her personality was but slightly developed. Still she seems to have been regarded as possessing, to a remarkable extent, the qualities of holiness and purity; and thus to have practically maintained in Greek domestic life a high and pure standard, such as has scarcely been much exceeded among Christians. She was fabled to have vowed perpetual virginity; and it is clear that, together with Athené and Artemis, she upheld among the Greeks the idea of virginal purity as a transcendental phase of life, a moral perfection whereto the best and purest might not only aspire, but attain, as the result of earnest endeavor.

* Sophocl. *Fragm.* xxiii. (ed. Brunck.)



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Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
 Got them new names; till wand'ring o'er the earth,
 Through God's high suff'rance for the trial of man,
 By falsities and lies the greatest part
 Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
 God their Creator, and th' invisible
 Glory of Him that made them to transform
 Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
 With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
 And devils to adore for deities :
 Then they were known to men by various names,
 And various idols through the heathen world."—

Among the deities external to the Olympie circle, the most important were Dionysus, Leto, Persephoné, and Hades or Aidoneus. Dionysus is generally admitted to have been derived from an Oriental source. The word probably meant originally "the judge of men,"* and referred to a special function of the god, who was thought to pass sentence on the departed when they reached the other world.

Essentially, however, Dionysus was the god of inebriety, the deification of drunkenness, as Ares was of violence, and Aphrodité of sensual desire. He was viewed as the creator of the vine, or at any rate as its introducer into Greece; the teacher of its culture, and the discoverer of the exhilarating properties of its fruit. The worship of Dionysus was effected by taking part in his orgies, and these were of a furious and ecstatic character, accompanied with exciting music, with wild dances, with shrieks and cries, and sometimes with bloodshed. Both men and women joined in the Dionysiac rites, the women outdoing the men in the violence of their frenzy. "Crowds of females, clothed with fawn-skins, and bearing the sacred thyrsus, flocked to the solitudes of Parnassus or Cithæron or Taygetus, during the consecrated triennial period, passed the night there with torches, and abandoned themselves to demonstrations of frantic excitement, with dancing and clamorous invocation of the god. The men yielded to a similar impulse by noisy revels in the streets, sounding the cymbals and tambourine, and carrying the image of the god in procession." † Every sort of license and excess was regarded as lawful on these

* See the "Transactions, of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. pp. 33. 34.

† Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 26.

occasions, and the worship of the deity was incomplete unless the votary reached an advanced stage of intoxication. Dionysiac festivals were fortunately not of frequent recurrence, and were not everywhere celebrated in the same way. At Athens women took no part in the Dionysia; and with men intellectual contests, and the witnessing of them, held the place of the rude revels elsewhere too common. Still the influence of Dionysiac worship on Greece generally must be regarded as excessively corrupting, and Dionysus must be viewed as, next to Aphrodité, the most objectionable of the Greek divinities.

Leto, or Latona, as the Romans called her, when they adopted her into their pantheon, was, on the contrary, one of the purer and more elevating influences. She is wife of Zeus by a title quite as good as that of Hera,* and is a model of motherly love and wifely purity. Separate and peculiar function she has none, and it is difficult to account for her introduction among the Olympians. Perhaps she is to be regarded as ideal womanhood. Silent, unobtrusive, always subordinating herself to her children, majestic, chaste, kindly, ready to help and tend, she is in Olympus what the Greek wished his wife to be in his own home, her very shadowiness according with the Greek notion of womanly perfection.† Mr. Gladstone suggests that she is a traditional deity, representing the woman through whom man's redemption was to come;‡ but there scarcely seems sufficient foundation for this view, which is not supported by any analogies in the mythologies of other nations.

Persephoné, the Roman Proserpine, was the queen of the dead; far more than her shadowy husband, Hades, the real ruler of the infernal realm. She was represented as severely pure and chaste, even having become a wife against her will, and as awful and terrible, but not cruel. She occupied no very important post in the religion, since her sphere was wholly the nether world, which only very slightly engaged the attention of the Hellenes. Hades, or Aidoneus, had a high rank, as the brother of Zeus, and in

* Hesiod says that she became the wife of Zeus before Hera ("Theogony," ll. 918-221).

† Compare the line of Sophocles—

“O woman, silence is the woman's crown.”

(*Ajax*, l. 293.)

‡ “Homer and the Homeric Age,” vol. ii. p. 153.

some sort his co-equal; but he was as shadowy as the realm over which he presided, and to most Greeks was simply *magni nominis umbra*—"the shadow of a great name," which they must reverence when they heard it, but not a deity, who to any extent occupied their thoughts, or received their worship.*

It would be easy to occupy many more pages with the Greek minor deities, but our limits compel us to refrain, and to turn at this point from the objects to the character of the worship, and to the real practical influence of their religion upon the Greek race.

In the main, the Greek worship was of a joyous, pleasant, and lightsome kind. The typical Greek was devoid of any deep sense of sin—thought well of himself—did not think very highly of the gods, and considered that, so long as he kept free from grave and heinous offences, either the moral law or against the *amour-propre* of the deities, he had little to fear, while he had much to hope, from them. He prayed and offered sacrifice, not so much in the way of expiation; or to deprecate God's wrath, as in the way of natural piety, to ask for blessings and to acknowledge them. He made vows to the gods in sickness, danger, or difficulty, and was careful to perform his vow on escape or recovery. His house was full of shrines, on which he continually laid small offerings, to secure the favor and protection of his special patron deities. Plato says that he prayed every morning and evening, and also concluded every set meal with a prayer or hymn. But these devotions seem not to have been very earnest or deep, and were commonly hurried through in a perfunctory mannery.

Practically, the religious worship of the Greeks consisted mainly in attendance on festivals which might be Pan-Hellenic, political, tribal, or peculiar to a guild or *phratría*. Each year brought round either one or two of the great panegyrics—the festivals of the entire Greek race at Olympia and Delphi, at Nemea and the Isthmus of Corinth. There were two great Ionic festivals annually, one at Delos, and the other at the Panionium near Mycalé. Each state and city throughout Greece had its own special festivals,

* Compare Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 93: "The people did not trouble themselves much about Hades, and they saw no altars dedicated to him. There was one image of him at Athens, but he had hardly anywhere a regular worship."



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attributed to an offended god or a cruel fury. * A sense of guilt occasionally visited those who had committed great and flagrant crimes, as perjury, blasphemy, robbery of temples, incest, violation of the right of asylum, treachery toward a guest-friend, and the like. A load under these circumstances lay upon the conscience; all the horrors of remorse were felt; avenging fiends were believed to haunt and torture the guilty one, who sometimes earnestly sought relief for a term of years, and sought in vain. There were, indeed, rites of expiation appropriate to different occasions; most sins could be atoned for in some manner or other; but the process was generally long and painful; * and there were cases where the persistent anger of the fierce Erinyes could not in any way be appeased. When a nation had sinned, human sacrifices were not unfrequently prescribed as the only possible propitiation; † if the case were that of an individual, various modes of purification were adopted, ablutions, fastings, sacrifices, and the like. According to Plato, however, the number of those who had any deep sense of their guilt was few: most men, whatever crimes they committed, found among the gods examples of similar acts, ‡ and thought no great blame would attach to them for their misconduct. At the worst, if the gods were angered by their behavior, a few offerings would satisfy them, and set things straight, § leaving the offenders free to repeat their crimes, and so to grow more and more hardened in iniquity.

At the position which the "mysteries" occupied in the Greek religion it is impossible for us, in this slight sketch, to do more than glance. The mysteries were certain secret rites practiced by voluntary associations of individuals, who pledged themselves not to reveal to the uninitiated anything which they saw or heard at the secret meetings. They were usually connected with the worship of some particular god, and consisted mainly in symbolical representations of the adventures and circumstances connected with the god in the mythology. They contained nothing that was contradictory to the popular religion, and little that was explanatory of it. The various mysteries had each its own apparatus of

* See the "Eumenides" of Æschylus, where Orestes, however, is at last purged of his guilt.

† Even as late as the time of Solon, Epimenides prescribed a human sacrifice at Athens.

‡ Plato, "Republic," ii. § 17.

§ *Ibid.* § 7.

symbols and formularies, by which the *mystæ* knew each other, as freemason's do; but they only vaguely hinted at any theological dogmas or opinions. The Greek greatly affected these secret rites; and it is said that but few Greeks were not initiated in some mystery or other.* "Their attraction lay in their veil of secrecy, transparent though it was, in the variety of feelings brought into play by lively dramatic representations, in the rapid transition from anxiety and suspense to serenity and joy, and combination of all arts and artistic enjoyments, of music and song, the mimic dance, the brilliant lighting-up, and effective decoration."† It can scarcely, however, be said that the mysteries exercised any salutary or elevating influence on the Greek generally. The moral conduct of the initiated was no better than that of others; and Plato thought that participation in the Eleusinia served only to strengthen and make a man secure in unrighteousness.‡

* Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 193.

† *Ibid.* p. 196.

‡ "Republic," ii. § 6 (quoted by Döllinger, p. 200).

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS.

“Sua cuique religio civitati, nostra nobis.”

CICERO, *Pro Flacc.* 23.

TIME was, and not a very distant time, when it was regularly inculcated on the youthful mind in our public schools and other great educational establishments, that one and the same religious system prevailed alike in Italy and Greece, among the Romans and the Hellenes; two branches, as it was thought, of a single original people. Such phrases as “classical mythology,” “the religion of the Greeks and Romans,” “the deities of the classical nations,” were frequent alike on the lips of teachers, and in the language of authorized text-books; the Grecian divinities were spoken of almost universally by their (supposed) equivalent Latin names; and the youth would have been considered offensively pedantic who should have hesitated to render Ἥρα by “Juno,” or Δημήτηρ by “Ceres.” But within the last twenty or thirty years a more just appreciation of the facts of the case has sprung up; the careful investigation which has been made of the “origines” both of Greece and Rome has shown, first, that the two nations were but remotely connected in race, and secondly, that their religious systems were markedly and strikingly different. Any review of the religions of the ancient world that is attempted at the present day, necessarily and as a matter of course, treats separately the religion of the Hellenes and that of the Romans; and we are thus bound, before our task can be regarded as complete, to append to the account which we have already given of the Hellenic religious system a chapter on the “Religion of the Ancient Romans.”

Following the method which we have hitherto for the most part pursued, we propose to consider, first, the objects



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Ve-Jovis) impregnated the atmosphere with fevers and pestilence. He was the acknowledged head of the Roman pantheon, only preceded sometimes in solemn invocations* by Janus, “the spirit of opening,” who necessarily presided over beginnings of all kinds. A sort of general superintendence over human affairs was assigned to him; he was viewed as punishing impiety in general, and perjury in particular; he knew the future, and could reveal it; he guarded the rights of property, and was viewed as a sort of guardian deity of the Roman people and state. He has been called, “the genius of the Roman people;” † but this conception of him is too narrow. He was certainly much more than that. If not the “universal lord,” which some have considered him, he was at any rate a great god—the highest conception of deity which was ever reached by the Romans.

JUNO.

Juno is a mere female Jupiter, possessing no substantive or separate character, unless it be that of a special protectress of women, and more particularly of matrons. She stands to Jupiter as Fauna to Faunus, Luna to Lunus, Amente to Ammon. She presided especially over marriages and births, being invoked as “Lucina,” or “she that brings to light,” when the birth drew nigh, and as “Pronuba” when marriage approached. Identical with Diana originally (for Diana is to *Διός* as Juno to *Ζεús*), she came gradually to be considered a distinct and separate deity—the distinction becoming a contrast in the later times, when Diana was identified with the Grecian Artemis. As Jupiter was the “king,” so Juno was the “queen of heaven” (*regina cæli cædi* or *cælorum*). She was invoked under many names beside those already mentioned. She was “Virginalis,” as protecting maidens; “Matrona,” as the patroness of married women; “Opigena,” “help-giving;” and “Sospita,” “preserving,” as general aider of the female sex. A great festival was held in her honor every year on the 1st of March, which was called *Matronalia*, and was attended by all Roman matrons, who regarded her as at her pleasure

* Liv. viii. 9.

† Mommsen, “History of Rome,” vol. i. p. 176, E. T.

either giving or withholding offspring. It was perhaps an accident which gave Juno the presidency over many, the Romans having found it convenient to establish their first mint in the vicinity of her temple on the Capitoline hill, where she was worshipped as Juno Moneta, or “Juno the admonitress.”

MINERVA.

Minerva, though worshipped in common by the Etruscans and the Romans, appears by the etymology of her name to have been essentially a Latin deity. She is the goddess of mind (*mens*) and memory (*memini, reminiscor*)—“the thinking, calculating, inventive power personified.”* Her worship was closely connected with that of Jupiter and Juno, the three together forming the Capitoline Triad, who alone had temples on that hill in the early times. In the great *lectisternium* called *epulum Jovis*, the images of the three were brought out and feasted together. Minerva was the patroness both of the fine arts and of the various handicrafts—the goddess of sculptors, painters, musicians, poets, physicians, weavers, dyers, carpenters, smiths, etc., etc. Each man regarded his talents as coming especially from her; and as success in war is the fruit of prudence, perseverance, contrivance, stratagem, as much as of courage and sheer brute force, Minerva was in one respect † a war-goddess, and represented with a helmet, shield, and coat of mail. The chief festival celebrated in honor of Minerva was the Quinquatrus or Quinquatria, which lasted five days—from the 19th of March to the 23rd.

MARS.

In Mavors or Mars we have “the central object, not only of Roman, but Italian, worship in general”‡ —the real main object of public religious regard throughout the greater portion of the peninsula. Originally, perhaps, Maurs (Mors), “the killing god,” and therefore, like Siva the Destroyer, attached to no special department of human life, he came by degrees to have the most destructive of human

* Schmidt, in Dr. Smith’s “Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities,” vol. ii. p. 1090.

† So Mommsen, “History of Rome,” vol. i. p. 175, E. T.

occupations, war, assigned to him as his especial field, and to be regarded as the god who went out to battle at the head of each army — invisible but really present—who hurled his spear at the foe, struck terror into them, disordered their ranks, and gave to his worshippers the victory. Practically ousting Jupiter from the regards of men, he became Marspiter * (Maspiter, “Father Mars,” *the* god to whom alone they looked for protection. The first month of the year was dedicated to him, and thence took the name which it bears in most modern European languages. The great muster-ground of the people before they went out to war became the “Campus Martins ;” and war itself was sometimes designated by his name, as intellectual ability was by that of Minerva. As marching at the head of Roman troops, he was called *Gradivus*, as avenging them upon their enemies, *Ultor*. Like Jupiter, he had his High Priest—the “Flamen Martialis”—whose business it was to present to him burnt offerings. He had also attached to his worship from very ancient times a college of priests known as *Salii* (“dancers”), who performed war-dances in his honor, clad in armor, and carrying the sacred shields supposed to have fallen from heaven, and called *ancilia*. The wolf, the horse, and the woodpecker were sacred to him. A great festival was held in his honor at the beginning of each year, commencing on the 1st March.

BELLONA.

Bellona, or Duellona, † stood to Mars as Juno to Jupiter, except that there was no etymological connection between the names. She was the goddess of war (*bellum* or *duellum*), was spoken of as the wife or sister of Mars, and had a temple in the Campus Martins, where the ceremony of proclaiming war was performed. A college of priests, called *Bellonarii*, conducted her worship, and were bound, when they offered sacrifice in her honor, to wound their own arms or legs, and either to offer up upon her altar the blood which flowed from their wounds, or else to swallow it themselves. The 24th to March was especially appointed for these ceremonies, and for this reason was known in the Roman calendar as the “day of blood” (*dies sanguinis*). Bellona was rep-

* Liv. viii. 9.

† Fabretti, “Corpus Inscr. Italicarum,” p. 323.



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sonable conjecture that these names are connected with the Latin "Ceres." The Latin writers derived that word either from *gero* or *creo*,† and considered that it was given to mark that the deity in question was the "bringer," or "creator" of those fruits of the earth on which the life of man mainly depends. Accordingly to some, Ceres was the same as Tellus; but this does not seem to have been the case anciently. Ceres was the goddess of agriculture, and was connected from a very early date with Liber, the Latin Bacchus, the god of the vineyard. That Ceres should have been one of the "great divinities," marks strongly the agricultural character of the early Roman state, which did not give to Liber, or to Pomona, any such position. The worship of Ceres merged after a time in that of Demeter, whose peculiar rites were imported either from Velia or from Sicily.

SATURNUS.

Saturnus was properly the god of sowing, but was regarded, like Ceres, as a general deity of agriculture, and was represented with a pruning-hook in his hand, and with wool about his feet. His statue was made hollow, and was filled with olive oil, significant of the "fatness" and fertility which he spread over the land. His festival, the Saturnalia held in December, from the 17th to the 24th, was a sort of harvest-home, commemorative of the conclusion of all the labors of the year, and was therefore celebrated with jocund rites, mirth, and festivity, an intermixture of all ranks upon equal terms, and an interchange of presents. The Temple of Saturn at Rome stood at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and was assigned to a remote antiquity, though with variations as to the exact date. It was used as a record office, and also as the public treasury, which was regarded as mainly filled by the produce of agricultural industry. The identification of Saturnus with the Grecian Cronus was a foolish fancy of the Hellenizing period, the truth being that "there is no resemblance whatever between the attributes of the two deities."†

* Varro ("De Ling. Lat." v. 64), and Cicero ("De Nat. Deor." ii. 26), derive it from *gero*; Servius ("Comm. ad. Virg. Georg." i. 6), and Macrobius ("Saturn." i. 18) from *creo*.

† Schmidt, in Smith's "Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog." vol. iii. p. 726.

OPS.

With Saturn must be placed Ops, who was sometimes called his wife, and whose worship certainly stood in a very close connection with his. Ops was properly the divinity of field-labor (*opus, opera*); but as such labor is productive of wealth, Ops came to be also the goddess of plenty and of riches, and her name is the root-element in such words as *opimus, opulentus, inops*, and the like. She was generally worshipped together with Saturn, and had temples in common with him; but still she had her own separate sanctuary on the Capitoline hill,* where honors were paid to her apart from any other deity. Her festival, the Opalia, fell on December 19th, or the third day of the Saturnalia, and was thus practically merged in that of the god of agriculture. Ops, like Ceres is sometimes confounded with Tellus, but the three goddesses were to the Latin mind distinct, Tellus being a personification of the earth itself, Ceres of the productive power in nature, which brings forth fruits out of the earth, and Ops of the human labor without which the productive power runs to waste, and is insufficient for the sustenance of human life.

HERCULES.

The near resemblance of Hercules to Heracles led, almost necessarily, to the idea, everywhere prevalent until recently, that the two gods were identical, and that therefore either Hercules was an ancient deity common to the Latins with the Hellenes before the former migrated into Italy, or else that he was an importation from Greece, introduced at a comparatively late period. Recently, however, the etymological connection of the two names has been questioned, and it has been suggested † that Hercules is, like Ceres, and Saturn, and Ops, and Mars, and Minerva, a genuine Italic god, quite unconnected with Heracles, who is a genuine Hellenic divinity. The root of the name Hercules has been found in *hercus* (*ἔρχος*) "a fence" or "enclosure," whence

* Liv. xxxix. 22.

† Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 174.

hercere or *arcere*, “to ward off,” “keep back,” “shield.” Hercules, whose worship was certainly as ancient at Rome as that of any other deity, would thus be “the god of property and gain.”* He was regarded as presiding over faith, the basis of the social contract, and of all dealings between man and man, and hence was known as *Deus fidius*, “the god of good faith,” who avenged infractions of it. In the early times he seems to have had no temple at Rome; but his Great Altar in the cattle-market was one of the most sacred sites in the city; † oaths were sworn there and contracts concluded; nor was it unusual for Roman citizens to devote to it a tenth part of their property, for the purpose of obtaining the god’s favor, or for the fulfilment of a vow. The worship of Hercules was not exclusively Roman, not even Latin, but Italic. He was “reverenced in every spot of Italy, and had altars erected to him everywhere, in the streets of the towns as well as by the roadsides.” ‡

MERCURIUS.

Mercurius was the god of commerce and traffic generally. As trade was not looked upon with much respect at Rome, his position among the “great gods” was a low one. He had no very ancient temple or priesthood, and, when allowed the honor of a temple in the second decade of the Republic, § his worship seems to have been regarded as plebeian and of an inferior character. Connected with it was a “guild of merchants” || (*collegium mercatorum*), called afterwards, “Mercuriales,” who met at the temple on certain fixed days for a religious purpose. The cult of Mercury was, like that of Hercules, very widely diffused; but it was affected chiefly by the lower orders, and had not much hold upon the nation.

NEPTUNIS.

The Latin Neptune is reasonably identified with the

* Mommsen, “History of Rome,” vol. i., p. 74.

† See Liv. i. 7; ix. 29.

‡ Mommsen, l. s. o.

§ Liv. ii. 27.

|| Niebuhr, “History of Rome,” vol. i. p. 589, note, E. T.



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Apollo, Bacchus, Latona, Pluto, Plutus, Proserpine, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Priapus, Æolus, the Fates, the Furies, etc.

To this brief sketch of the chief objects of worship among the ancient Romans, it follows to add some account of the character of the worship itself.

The worship of most of the gods was specially provided for by the State, which established paid priesthoods, to secure the continual rendering of the honors due to each. The highest order of priests bore the name of Flamines, which is thought to mean “kindlers of fire,” * *i.e.*, offerers of burnt sacrifice. The Flamines were of two classes, *Majores* and *Minores*, the former of whom were always taken from the patrician order. These were the *Flamen Dialis*, or “priest of Jove,” the *Flamen Martialis*, or “priest of Mars,” and the *Flamen Quirinalis*, or “priest of Quirinus.” Among the *Flamen Minores*, many of whom were of late institution, we find those of *Vertumnus*, *Flora*, *Pomona*, and *Vulcan*.† The *Flamen* was in each case the principal sacrificing priest in the chief temple of the god or goddess, and was bound to be in continual attendance upon the shrine, and to superintend the entire worship offered at it. In addition to the *Flamen*, or in his place, there was attached to all temples a *collegium*, or body of priests, which might consist of all the male members of a particular family, as the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*,‡ but was more commonly a close corporation, limited in number, and elected by co-optation, *i.e.*, by the votes of the existing members.

Amongst the most important of these corporations were the two *collegia* of *Salii*, or “dancing priests,” which were attached to the temple of Mars upon the Palatine hill, and to that of Quirinus upon the Quirinal. The former—*Salii Palatini*—had the charge of the *ancilia*, or sacred shields, one of which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and to be fatally connected with the safety of the Roman State. In the great festival of Mars, with which the year opened, they marched in procession through the city, bearing the *ancilia* on their shoulders, and striking them from time to time, as they danced and sang, with a rod. The *Salii* of Quirinus—*Salii Collini* or *Agonales*—were a less important college. Their duties connected them with the worship of

* Mommsen, “History of Rome,” vol. i. p. 175.

† Ennius ap. Varronem, “De Ling. Lat.,” vii 44,

‡ Liv. i. 7

Quirinus, who is believed by some to have been the Sabine Mars,* and with the festival of the Quirinalia. Like the other Salii, they no doubt performed war-dances in honor of their patron deity. A third collegium, or priestly corporation of high rank, was that of the six Vestal Virgins, attached, as their names implies, to the worship of Vesta, and regarded with peculiar veneration, as having vowed themselves to chastity in the service of the nation. Other collegia of some importance, but of a lower rank, were that of the Fratres Arvales, a college of twelve priests attached to the cult of Ceres, who celebrated a festival to her as the Dea dia (divine goddess) in the early summer time; and that of the Luperci, or “wolf-expellers,” a shifting body of persons, whose chief business it was to conduct the Lupercalia, a festival held annually on the 15th of February, in honor of Lupercus, or Faunus. The Sodales Titii had duties similar to those of the Fratres Arvales; and the Flamines Curiales, thirty in number, offered sacrifices for the preservation of the thirty curies of the original Roman people.

From these collegia of priests, we must carefully distinguish the learned corporations, “colleges of sacred lore,” as they have been called,* who had no priestly duties, and no special connection with any particular deity. There were four principal colleges of this kind—those of the Pontifices, the Augurs, the Fetials, and the Duumviri sacrorum.

The Pontifices, originally four (or five, if we include the pontifex maximus), but afterwards raised to nine, and ultimately to sixteen, had the general superintendence of religion. They exercised a control over all the priests, even the Flamens. They were supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with all the traditions with regard to the appropriate worship of each divinity; to understand the mysteries of numbers, and to be deeply versed in astronomy—whence they settled the calendar, determining when each festival was to be held, and what days were *fasti* or *nefasti*, *i.e.*, days suitable for the transaction of business, or the contrary. All prodigies and omens had to be reported to them; and with them it lay to determine what steps should be taken to appease the gods in connection with each. They had to furnish the proper formula on all great religious occasions,

* Mommsen, vol. i. pp. 87 and 175.

as the dedication of a temple,* the self-devotion of a general,† and the like. There was no appeal from their decisions, unless in some cases to the people; and they could enforce obedience by the infliction of fines, and, under certain circumstances, of death.

The Augurs, originally four, like the Pontiffs, and raised, like them, first to nine and later to sixteen, were regarded as possessed especially of the sacred lore connected with birds. Augural birds were limited in number, and were believed to give omens in three ways, by flight, by note, or by manner of feeding. The Augurs knew exactly what constituted a good, and what a bad, omen in all these ways. They were consulted whenever the State commenced any important business. No assembly could be held, no election could take place, no war could be begun, no consul could quit Rome, no site for a new temple could be fixed on, unless the Augurs were present, and pronounced that the birds gave favorable omens. In war, they watched the feeding of the sacred chickens, and allowed or forbade engagements, according as the birds ate greedily or the contrary. Divination from celestial phenomena, especially thunder and lightning, was, at a comparatively late date, added to their earlier functions. As their duties enabled them to exercise a veto upon laws, and very seriously to influence elections, the office was much sought after by candidates for political power, and was regarded as one of the highest dignities in the State.‡

The Fetials, a college of (probably) twenty persons, were the living depository of international law and right. All the treaty obligations of Rome and her neighbors were supposed to be known to them, and it was for them to determine when a war could be justly undertaken, and what reparation should be demanded for injuries. Not only did they furnish the forms for demanding satisfaction,§ declaring war,|| and making peace,¶ but their own personal intervention was requisite in every case. Invested with a sacred character, they were the intermediaries employed by the State in making complaints, proclaiming war, and seeing that treaties were concluded with the proper formalities. In the conclusion of such engagements they even acted as

* Liv. i. 46.

† *Ibid.* v. iii. 9; x. 28.

§ Liv. i. 32.

|| *Ibid.*

‡ Cic. De Leg. ii. 12.

¶ *Ibid.* i. 24.



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“taking the auspices” on all important civil occasions. In declaring war, religious formulæ were used; in conducting it, the augurs, or their subordinates, were frequently consulted; in bringing it to an end and establishing peace, the fetials had to be called in, and the sanction of religion thus secured to each pacific arrangement. The great officers of the State were inducted into their posts with religious solemnities, and were bound to attend and take their part in certain processions and sacrifices. In times of danger and difficulty the State gave orders for special religious ceremonies, to secure the favor of the gods, or avert their wrath.

The religion of the mass of the people consisted principally in four things: 1. Daily offerings by each head of a household (*paterfamilias*) to the Lares of his own house. The Lares were viewed as household gods, who watched over each man's hearth and home, each house having its own special Lares. In theory they were the spirits of ancestors, and their chief, the Lar familiaris, was the spirit of the first ancestor, the originator of the family; but practically the ancestral idea was not prominent. In respectable houses there was always a lararium,* or “lar-chapel,” containing the images of the Lares; and each religious Roman commenced the day with prayer in this place, accompanying his prayer, upon most occasions, with offerings, which were placed before the images in little dishes (*patellæ*). The offerings were continually renewed at meal-times; and on birthdays and other days of rejoicing the images were adorned with wreaths, and the lararia were thrown open. 2. Occasional thank-offerings to particular gods from persons who thought they had been favored by them. These were carried to the temples by the donors, and made over to the priests, who formally offered them, with an accompaniment of hymns and prayers. 3. Vows and their performance. To obtain a particular favor from a god supposed to be capable of granting it, a Roman was accustomed to utter a vow, by which he bound himself to make the god a certain present, in case he obtained his desire. The present might be a tem-

* The Emperor Alexander Severus had two lararia, and included amongst the Lares of the one, Abraham, Orpheus, Alexander the Great, and Christ; amongst those of the other, Achilles, Cicero, and Virgil.

ple, or an altar, or a statue, or a vase, or any other work of art, but was almost always something of a permanent character. The Roman, having made his vow, and got his wish, was excessively scrupulous in the discharge of his obligation, which he viewed as of the most binding character. 4. Attendance at religious festivals—the *Carmenalia*, *Cerealia*, *Compitalia*, *Consualia*, *Floralia*, *Lemuralia*, *Lupercalia*, etc. This attendance was in no sense obligatory, and was viewed rather as pleasure than duty—the festivals being usually celebrated with games (*ludi*) and other amusements.

Upon the whole, the Roman religion, as compared with others, and especially with that of the Greeks, strikes us as dull, tame, and matter-of-fact. There is no beauty in it, no play of the imagination, and very little mystery. It is “of earth, earthly.” Its gods are not great enough, or powerful enough, to impress the mind of the worshipper with a permanent sense of religious awe—they do not force the soul to bow down before them in humility and self-abasement. The Roman believes in gods, admits that he receives benefits from them, allows the duty of gratitude, and, as a just man, punctually discharges the obligations of his religion.* But his creed is not elevating—it does not draw him on to another world—it does not raise in him any hopes of the future. Like the Sadducee, he thinks that God rewards and punishes men, as He does nations, in this life; his thoughts rarely turn to another; and if they do, it is with a sort of shiver at the prospect of becoming a pale shade, haunting the neighborhood of the tomb, or dwelling in the cold world beneath, shut out from the light of day.

If the Roman religion may be said to have had anywhere a deeper character than this—to have been mysterious, soul-stirring, awful—it was in connection with the doctrine of expiation. In the bright clime of Italy, and in the strong and flourishing Roman community, intensely conscious of its own life and vigor, the gods could not but be regarded predominantly as beneficent beings, who showered blessings upon mankind. But occasionally, under special circumstances, a different feeling arose. Earthquakes shook the city, and left great yawning gaps in its

* Note the idea of obligation as predominant in the word “religion,” from *re* and *lego* or *ligo*, “to bind” or “tie.”

streets or squares; the Tiber overflowed its banks, and inundated all the low regions that lay about the Seven Hills; pestilence broke out, destroying thousands, and threatening to carry off the entire people; or the fortune of war hung in suspense, nay, even turned against the warrior nation. At such times a sense of guilt arose, and pressed heavily on the consciences of the Romans; they could not doubt that Heaven was angry with them; they did not dare to dispute that the Divine wrath was provoked by their sins. Then sacrifice, which in Rome was generally mere thank-offering, took the character of atonement or expiation. The gods were felt to require a victim, or victims; and something must be found to content them—something of the best and dearest that the State possessed. What could this be but a human sacrifice? Such a sacrifice might be either voluntary or involuntary. Enhanced by the noble quality of patriotic self-abnegation, a single victim sufficed—more especially if he were of the best and noblest—a young patrician of high promise, like Marcus Curtius,* or an actual consul, like the Decii.† Without this quality there must be several victims—either a sacred and complete number, like the thirty, once offered annually at the Lemuralia, whereof the thirty rush dolls thrown yearly into the Tiber were a reminiscence, or else an indefinite number, such as the gods themselves might determine on, as when a “*ver sacrum*” was proclaimed, and all offspring, both of men and of sacrificial cattle, produced within the first month of opening spring (Aprilis, were devoted to death and sacrificed to avert God’s wrath from the nation.‡

The mythological fables in which the Greeks indulged from a very early date were foreign to the spirit of the Romans, who had no turn for allegory, and regarded the gods with too much respect and fear to invent tales about them. No traditional accounts of the dealings of the gods one with another gave a divine sanction to immorality, or prevented the Romans from looking up to their divinities as at once greater and better than themselves. The moral law was recognized as an accepted standard with them, and its vindication whenever it was transgressed rested

* Liv. vii. 6.

† *Ibid.* vii. 9; x. 28.

‡ See Festus, *sub voc.* “*Ver sacrum*,” and compare Liv. xxiii. 8, 10; xxxiv. 44; Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* vii. 796, etc.



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CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It has been maintained in the "Introduction" to this work, that the time is not yet come for the construction of a "Science of Religion," and that the present need is rather to accumulate materials, out of which ultimately such a science may perhaps be evolved. Still, the accumulation of materials naturally suggests certain thoughts of a more general character; and the spirit of the Baconian philosophy does not forbid the drawing of inferences from groups of phenomena, even while the greater portion of the phenomena are unknown or uninvestigated. While, therefore, we abstain from basing any positive theory upon a survey of religions which is confessedly incomplete, we think that certain negative conclusions of no little interest may be drawn even from the data now before us; and these negative conclusions it seems to be our duty to lay before the reader, at any rate for his consideration.

In the first place, it seems impossible to trace back to any one fundamental conception, to any innate idea, or to any common experience or observation, the various religions which we have been considering. The veiled monotheism of Egypt, the dualism of Persia, the shamanism of Etruria, the pronounced polytheism of India, are too contrariant, too absolutely unlike, to admit of any one explanation, or to be derivatives from a single source. The human mind craves unity; but Nature is wonderfully complex. The phenomena of ancient religions, so far as they have been investigated, favor the view that religions had not one origin, but several distinct origins.

Secondly, it is clear that from none of the religions here treated of could the religion of the ancient Hebrews have originated. The Israelite people at different periods of its history came, and remained for a considerable time, under Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian influence; and there have not been wanting persons of ability who have regarded

“Judaism” as a mere offshoot from the religion of one or other of these three peoples. But, with the knowledge that we have now obtained of the religions in question, such views have been rendered untenable, if not henceforth impossible. Judaism stands out from all other ancient religions, as a thing *sui generis*, offering the sharpest contrast to the systems prevalent in the rest of the East, and so entirely different from them in its essence that its origin could not but have been distinct and separate.

Thirdly, the sacred Books of the Hebrews cannot possibly have been derived from the sacred writings of any of these nations. No contrast can be greater than that between the Pentateuch and the “Ritual of the Dead,” unless it be that between the Pentateuch and the Zendavesta, or between the same work and the Vedas. A superficial resemblance may perhaps be traced between portions of the Pentateuch and certain of the myths of ancient Babylon; but the tone and spirit of the two are so markedly different, that neither can be regarded as the original of the other. When they approach most nearly, as in the accounts given of the Deluge, while the facts recorded are the same, or nearly the same, the religious stand-point is utterly unlike.*

Fourthly, the historic review which has been here made lends no support to the theory, that there is a uniform growth and progress of religions from the fetishism to polytheism, from polytheism to monotheism, and from monotheism to positivism, as maintained by the followers of Comte. None of the religions here described shows any signs of having been developed out of fetishism, unless it be the shamanism of the Etruscans. In most of them the monotheistic idea is most prominent *at the first*, and gradually becomes obscured, and gives way before a polytheistic corruption. In all there is one element, a least, which appears to be traditional, viz., sacrifice, for it can scarcely have been by the exercise of his reason that man came so generally to believe that the superior powers, whatever they were, would be pleased by the violent death of one or more of their creatures.

Altogether, the theory to which the facts appear on the whole to point, is the existence of a primitive religion, communicated to man from without, whereof monotheism and

* Compare above, pp. 68-72; and see the Author's Essay in “Aids to Faith.” Essay vi., pp. 275, 276.

expiatory sacrifice were parts, and the gradual clouding over of this primitive revelation everywhere, unless it were among the Hebrews. Even among them a worship of Teraphim crept in (Gen. xxxi. 19–35), together with other corruptions (Josh. xxiv. 14); and the terrors of Sinai were needed to clear away polytheistic accretions. Elsewhere degeneration had free play. “A dark cloud stole over man’s original consciousness of the Divinity; and, in consequence of his own guilt, and estrangement of the creature from the one living God took place; man, as under the overpowering sway of sense and sensual lust, proportionally weakened, therefore, in his moral freedom, was unable any longer to conceive of the Divinity as a pure, spiritual, supernatural, and infinite Being, distinct from the world, and exalted above it. And thus it followed, inevitably, that, with his intellectual horizon bounded and confined within the limits of nature, he should seek to satisfy the in-born necessity of an acknowledgment and reverence of the Divinity by the deification of material nature; for even in its obscuration, the idea of the Deity, no longer recognized, indeed, but still felt and perceived, continued powerful; and, in conjunction, with it, the truth struck home, that the Divinity manifested itself in nature as ever present and in operation.”* The cloud was darker and thicker in some places than in others. There were, perhaps, races with whom the whole of the past became a *tabula rasa*, and all traditional knowledge being lost, religion was evolved afresh out of the inner consciousness. There were others which lost a portion, without losing the whole of their inherited knowledge. There were others again who lost scarcely anything; but hid up the truth in mystic language and strange symbolism. The only theory which accounts for all the facts—for the unity as well as the diversity of Ancient Religions, is that of a primeval revelation, variously corrupted through the manifold and multiform deterioration of human nature in different races and places.

* Döllinger, “Jew and Gentile,” vol. i. p. 65.



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EGYPT AND BABYLON.

CHAPTER I.

NOTICES OF BABYLON IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

“Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.—GEN. x. 8-10.

THAT this passage refers to Babylon will scarcely be disputed. The words “Babel” and “Shinar” are sufficient proof. “Babel,” elsewhere generally translated “Babylon” (2 Kings xx. 12; xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; xxxiii. 11; Ps. cxxxvii. 1, etc.), is the exact Hebrew equivalent of the native *Babil*, which appears as the capital of Babylonia in the cuneiform records from the time of Agu-kak-rimi (about B. C. 2000) to the conquest of the country by Cyrus (B. C. 538). “Shinar” is probably an equivalent of “Mesopotamia,” “the country of the two rivers,” and in Scripture always designates the lower part of the Tigris and Euphrates valley, the alluvial plain through which the great rivers flow before reaching the Persian Gulf.

Four facts are recorded of Babylonia in the passage:—
1. That it became at a very early date a settled government under a king; 2. That it contained, besides Babylon, at least three other great cities—Erech, Accad, Calneh; 3. That among its earliest rulers was a great conquering monarch named Nimrod; and 4. That this monarch, and therefore probably his people, descended from Cush—*i.e.*, was a Cushite, or Ethiopian.

The first of these facts is confirmed by Berosus, by Diodorus Siculus, and by the monuments. Berosus declared that a monarchy had been set up in Babylon soon after the flood, which he regarded as a real occurrence, and counted 208 kings from Euechoüs, the first monarch, to Pul, the predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser. Diodorus believed that Babylon had been built by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, at a date which, according to his chronology, would be about B. C. 2200. The monuments furnish above ninety names of kings anterior to Tiglath-Pileser, and carry back the monarchy by actual numerical statements to B. C. 2286, while the superposition of the remains is considered by the explorers to indicate an even greater antiquity. An early Babylonian kingdom, once denied on the authority of Ctesias, is now generally allowed by historians; the researches of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. George Smith, Professor Sayce, Mr. Finches, and others, having sufficiently established the fact previously questioned.

The second fact—the early existence of several large cities in Babylonia, cities ranking almost upon a par—is also strongly supported by the native records. In the most ancient times to which the monuments go back, the chief cities, according to Mr. George Smith,* were Ur, Nipur, Karrak, and Larsa, all of them metropolitan, and all of them places giving their titles to kings. Somewhat later, Babylon and Erech rose to greatness, together with a city called Agadé, or Accad, according to the same authority.† If this last identification be allowed, then three out of the four cities mentioned in Genesis as metropolitan at this early date will have the same rank in the native records, and one only of the four names will lack such direct confirmation. Certainly, no name at all resembling Calneh occurs in the primitive geography of Babylonia. There are, however, grounds for regarding Calneh as another name of Nipur,‡ and one which superseded it for a time in the nomenclature of the inhabitants. In this case we may say that all the four cities of Genesis x. 10 are identified, and shown to have had (about B. C. 2000) the eminence ascribed to them in that passage. Mr. George Smith's reading of "Agadé" is, however, questioned by some, who read the

* "History of Babylonia" (edited by Rev. A. H. Sayce), ch. iii., pp. 63-74.

† Ibid., p. 61.

‡ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," *ad voc.* Calneh.



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The fourth fact—that Nimrod, and therefore probably his people, was of Cushite origin, has been strenuously denied by some, even among modern critics.* But ancient classical tradition and recent linguistic research agree in establishing a close connection between the early inhabitants of the lower Mesopotamian plain and the people, which, under the various names of Cushites, Ethiopians, and Abyssinians, has long been settled upon the middle Nile. Memnon, king of Ethiopia, according to Hesiod and Pindar, led an army of combined Ethiopians and Susianians to the assistance of Priam, king of Troy. Belus, according to the genealogists, was the son of Libya (or Africa); he married Anchinoë, daughter of Nilus, and had issue Ægyptus. Names which are modifications of Cush have always hung about the lower Mesopotamian region, indicating its primitive connection with the Cush upon the Nile. The Greeks called the Susianians “Kissii,” and a neighboring race “Kossæi.” The early Babylonians had a city, “Kissi,” and a leading tribe in their country was called that of the “Kassu.” Even now the ancient Susiania is known as “Khuzistan,” the land of Khuz, or of the Cushites. Standing alone, these would be weak arguments; but weight is lent them by the support which they obtain from the facts of language. Sir Henry Rawlinson, the first translator of primitive Babylonian documents, declares the vocabulary employed to be “decidedly Cushite or Ethiopian,” and states that he was able to interpret the inscriptions chiefly by the aid which was furnished to him from published works on the Galla (Abyssinian) and the Mahra (South Arabian) dialects.†

“The whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east [eastward, *marg.*], that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another’s speech. So the Lord scattered them

* See Bunsen’s “Philosophy of History,” vol. iii., pp. 190, 191.

† See the author’s “Herodotus,” vol. i., p. 441.

abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.”—GEN. xi. 1-9.

We have here the scriptural account of the meaning of the name “Babel,” the primitive term which the Greeks converted into “Babylon,” but which remains even now attached to a portion of the ruins that mark the site of the great city, almost in its original form.* The etymology was not accepted by the Babylonians themselves, who wrote the word in a way which shows that they considered it to mean “the Gate of God.” This has been regarded by some as a contradiction of the scriptural account; but we may reconcile the two by supposing either that the name was first given in scorn, and that afterwards a better meaning was found for it, or (more probably) that the word, having been intended by the Babylonians themselves in the sense of “the Gate of God,” was from the first understood in a different sense by others, who connected it with the “confusion” of tongues. The word is capable of both etymologies, and may from the first have been taken in both senses by different persons.

The account of the origin of the name is connected with an historical narrative, of which the following are the chief incidents:—1. A body of men, who had occupied the plain of Shinar, disliking the idea of that dispersion which was continually taking place, and scattering men more and more widely over the earth, determined to build a city, and to adorn it with a lofty tower, in order that they might get themselves a name, and become a centre of attraction in the world. 2. The materials which they found to their hand, and which they employed in building, were burnt brick and “slime,” or bitumen. 3. They had built their city, and raised their tower to a certain height, when God interfered with their work. By confounding the language of the workmen, He made it impossible for them to understand each other’s speech, and the result was that the design, for the time at least, fell through. The people “left off to build the city,” and the mass of them dispersed, and “were scattered abroad upon the face of the earth.”

* The northernmost of the three great mounds which mark the ruins of Babylon is called by the Arabs *Babil*.

It would not have been surprising if profane history had contained no notice of this matter. It belongs clearly to a very remote antiquity, a time anterior—as it might have been supposed—to records, and lost in the dark night of ages. But the fact seems to be that the Babylonians either recorded at the time, or at any rate bore in memory, the transaction. Two Greek writers, who drew their Babylonian histories from native sources, noticed the occurrence, and gave an account of it, which is in most respects very close to the biblical narrative. Alexander Polyhistor said, that “Once upon a time, when the whole race of mankind were of one language, a certain number of them set to work to build a great tower, thinking to climb up to heaven; but God caused a wind to blow, and cast the tower down, at the same time giving to every man his own peculiar speech. On which account the city was called Babylon.” Abydenus, a somewhat later historian, treated the subject at greater length. “At this time,” he said, “the ancient race of men were so puffed up with their strength and tallness of stature, that they began to despise and contemn the gods, and labored to erect that very lofty tower, which is now called Babylon, intending thereby to scale heaven. But when the building approached the sky, behold, the gods called in the aid of the winds, and by their help overthrew the tower, and cast it to the ground. The name of the ruins is still called Babel; because until this time all men had used the same speech, but now there was sent upon them a confusion of many and diverse tongues.”

These passages have long been known, and have been adduced as probable evidence that the native Babylonian records contained a notice respecting the tower of Babel and the confusion of human speech. But it is only recently that such a record has been unearthed. Among the clay tablets brought from Babylonia by Mr. George Smith, and deposited in the British Museum, is one unfortunately much mutilated, which seems clearly to have contained the Babylonian account of the matter. The main portions of this document are as follows:—

“Babylon corruptly to sin went, and
 Small and great were mingled on the mound;
 Babylon corruptly to sin went, and
 Small and great were mingled on the mound.

*

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Esar-haddon, relates that in his eighteenth year (B. C. 651) he restored to the Babylonian city of Erech certain images of gods, which had been carried off from them as trophies of victory 1635 years previously by Kudur-Nakhunta, king of Elam, to adorn his capital city of Susa. The primitive Babylonian monuments also show a second conquest of Babylon from the same quarter, and the establishment of a dynasty there, which is known as "Elamite," * about B. C. 1600, or a little later. This dynasty consisted of two kings, Kudur-Mabuk and Rim-agu (a name which has been compared with "Arioch").

It is thus evident that Elam was, in the early period of Babylonian history, a country of about equal power with Babylon, and one which was able from time to time to exercise dominion over her neighbor. It appears also that its kings affected, as one of the elements in their names, the word "Chedor" or "Kudur," which is believed to have meant "servant,"—Chedorlaomer (or Chedor-Lagamer, as the word might be transliterated) being "the servant of Lagamer," a Susianian god, Kudur-Nakhunta, "the servant of Nakhunta," another god; and Kudur-Mabuk, "the servant of Mabuk," a goddess. We may add, that "Amar" (Amra in "Amraphel") appears also as a root in the early Babylonian titles, † while Arioch is perhaps identical with the name of Rim-agu (or Eriaku), Kudur-Mabuk's son and successor. Thus the notice in Gen. xiv. 1—4, without being directly confirmed by the monuments, is in close harmony with them, both linguistic and historical.

* George Smith's "History of Babylonia," pp. 11, 74.

† Ibid., p. 10.

CHAPTER II.

NOTICES OF BABYLON IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES.

SCRIPTURE is silent on the subject of Babylon through the whole period from Genesis to Kings.* Israel, during the sojourn in Egypt, the wanderings in the wilderness, the time of the Judges, and the greater part of the time of the Kings, was never brought in contact with Babylonia or Babylonians; and Scripture, which traces the religious history of the people of God, has therefore no occasion to mention the southern Mesopotamian power. Another power has interposed itself between Israel and Babylon—the great empire of Assyria—and has barred the path by which alone they could readily communicate. It is not till Assyria, under the Sargonidæ, is seriously threatening the independence of both countries, that a common danger brings them together, and Babylon once more claims the attention of the sacred historians. The first notice of Babylon in the Books of Kings is the following:—

“At that time” [the time of Hezekiah’s illness] “Berodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah: for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick. And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and showed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armor, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not.”—2 Kings xx., 12, 13.

The same circumstance is related, almost in the same words, by the prophet Isaiah, in one of his historical chapters. Isaiah says—

“At that time Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah; for he had heard that he had been sick, *and was recovered*. And Hezekiah *was glad of them*, and showed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold,” etc.—ISA. xxxix. 1, 2.

* The “Babylonish garment” coveted by Achan (Josh. vii. 21) scarcely constitutes an exception.

The author of Chronicles, without relating the circumstance, makes a short comment upon it. After describing the riches, honor, and prosperity of Hezekiah, he adds—

“Howbeit in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God left him, to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart.”—2 CHRON. xxxii. 31.

The reign of a Babylonian monarch, called Merodach-Baladan, at about the period indicated—the latter part of the eighth century B. C.—is recorded in the famous “Canon of Ptolemy,” which assigns him the years between B. C. 722 and B. C. 710. That the same monarch, after being deprived of his throne, was restored to it, and had a second reign of six months’ duration, is related by Alexander Polyhistor, the friend of Sulla.* This latter reign appears to have belonged to the year B. C. 703. So much is known to us from the classical writers. From the Assyrian monuments we learn that the relations between Babylonia and Assyria, during the reign of Merodach-Baladan, were hostile. Sargon relates that he attacked this king, whom he viewed as a rebel, in his first year, † defeated his ally, the king of Elam, and ravaged his territory, but without coming into contact with the Babylonian monarch himself. After this, troubles elsewhere forced him to leave Merodach-Baladan in peace for eleven years; but in his twelfth year he again invaded Babylonia, took Babylon, and made Merodach-Baladan a prisoner.‡ Five years after this, as we learn from Sennacherib’s annals,§ on the death of Sargon, Babylonia revolted. Merodach-Baladan, escaping from the custody in which he was held, hastened to Babylon, and re-established his authority over the whole southern kingdom. But Sennacherib at once marched against him, defeated his forces, recovered Babylon, and drove him to take refuge in the marshes of southern Chaldæa; whence, after a short time, he fled across the Persian Gulf to southern Elam, where he died in exile.

The embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah falls, by Archbishop Usher’s chronology, which is here founded upon Ptolemy’s Canon, into the year B. C. 713. It would thus

* Ap. Euseb. “Chron. Can.” pars. i., c. 5. Both reigns are noticed in a recently deciphered Babylonian tablet. (“Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archæology” for 1884, pp. 169–8.)

† George Smith, “History of Babylonia, p. 116.

‡ Ibid., p. 123.

§ Ibid., p. 125.



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greatly before the God of his fathers ; and he prayed unto Him, and He was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom."—2 CHRON. xxxiii. 10-13.

It appears by this passage, 1. That Manasseh, after having provoked God by a long course of wicked conduct, was attacked and made prisoner by the generals of a king of Assyria, who "took him among the thorns," or rather "took him with hooks," and bound him with fetters and so carried him with them to Babylon ; 2. That after having suffered captivity for a time, and repented of his wickedness, he was allowed by the king of Assyria to quit Babylon, and return to Jerusalem, where he was once more established in his kingdom. Three things are especially remarkable in this narrative : (a) the generals of the Assyrian monarch conduct Manasseh to their master, not at Nineveh, but at *Babylon* ; (b) they bring him into the royal presence "with hooks," and fettered ; (c) by an act of clemency, very unusual in the East, the Assyrian king pardons him after a time, and goes so far as to reinstate him in his government. We have to consider what light profane history throws upon these facts.

And, first, how comes a king of *Assyria* to hold his court at *Babylon*? Nineveh is the Assyrian capital, and ordinarily the court is held there. If not there, it is held at Dur-sargina, where Sargon built himself a palace, or at Calah (Nimrud), where were the palaces of Asshur-izir-pal, Shalmaneser II., and Tiglath-Pileser II. What has caused the anomaly of a transfer of the court to the capital of another country? The Assyrian records fully explain this circumstance. Sennacherib, Hezekiah's contemporary, was succeeded by his son, Esar-haddon, who would thus be Manasseh's contemporary. The Assyrian monuments tell us that this monarch inaugurated a new policy with respect to Babylonia. Most Assyrian kings who found themselves strong enough to reduce that country to subjection, governed it by means of a native or Assyrian viceroy ; and this was the plan adopted by Sennacherib, Esar-haddon's father. But Esar-haddon, when he came to the throne, acted differently. He assumed the double title of "King of Assyria and Babylonia," appointed no viceroy, but, having built himself a palace in Babylon, reigned there in person, holding his court sometimes at the northern, sometimes at the southern capital. Towards the end of his life, he relinquished Nineveh alto-

gether to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, and contented himself with ruling the southern kingdom from his palace in Babylon.* The anomaly is thus fully explained, and what once appeared a difficulty turns out a confirmation.

What our translators intended to be understood by the expression, "which took Manasseh among the thorns," is perhaps doubtful. But they convey to most minds the idea of a caitiff monarch endeavoring to hide himself from his pursuers in a thorny brake, but detected, and dragged from his concealment. The words in the original have no such meaning. **כְּחֹכְחִים** (*khôkhim*), the term translated "thorns," is indeed capable of that rendering; but it has also another sense, much more suitable to the present context. Gesenius † explains it as "instrumentum ferreum, circulus vel hamus, in modum spinæ, aucleatæ quo olim captivi figebantur, et quo Turææ suos captivos detinent vinctos." In the singular number the word is translated "hook" in Job xli. 2; and a term nearly identical, *khâkh* has the same rendering in 2 Kings xix. 28; Isa. xxxvii. 29; Ezek. xxix. 4; xxxviii. 4, etc. These passages sufficiently fix the meaning of the phrase used in Chronicles. The captains of the king of Assyria "took Manasseh away with hooks" (comp. Amos iv. 2), and having also "bound him with fetters," brought him into the presence of Esar-haddon.

The practice of bringing prisoners of importance into the presence of a conquering monarch by means of a thong attached to a book or ring passed through their upper or their under lip, or both, is illustrated by the sculptures both of Babylonia and Assyria. Sargon is seen in his palaces at Khorsabad receiving prisoners whose lips are thus perforated; ‡ and one of the few Babylonian sculptures still extant shows us a vizier conducting into the presence of a monarch two captives held in durance in the same way.§ Cruel and barbarous as such treatment of a captured king seems to us, there is no doubt that it was an Assyrian usage. To put a hook in a man's mouth, and a bridle in his jaws (2 Kings xix. 28), was no metaphor expressive of mere defeat and capture, but a literal description of a practice that was common in the age and country—a practice from which their royal rank did not exempt even captured monarchs.

* G. Smith, "History of Babylon," pp. 141, 142.

† "Hebrew Lexicon," *ad voc.* **כְּחֹכְחִים**

‡ See "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i., pp. 155, 157, note 30.

§ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 7.

The pardon extended by Esar-haddon to Manasseh, little consonant as it is with general Oriental practice, agrees well with the character of this particular monarch, whose rule was remarkably mild, and who is proved by his inscriptions to have been equally merciful on other occasions. When a son of Merodach-Baladan, who had been in revolt against his authority, quitted his refuge in Susiana, and presented himself before Esar-haddon's footstool at Nineveh, that monarch received him favorably, accepted his homage, and appointed him to the government of a large tract upon the Persian Gulf, previously ruled by his father, and afterwards by his elder brother.* Again, when the chief of the Gambalu, an Aramæan tribe upon the Euphrates, after revolt, submitted himself, and brought the arrears of his tribute, together with a present of buffaloes, Esar-haddon states that he forgave him, strengthened his city with fresh works, and continued him in the government of it.†

“Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; and he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.”—2 CHRON. xxxvi. 5-7.

With this notice may be compared the following, which relates to the same series of occurrences:—

“In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim, king of Judah, into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God; which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god.”—DAN. i. 1, 2.

In these passages we have brought before us, 1. The independence of Babylon; which, when last mentioned (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11), was subject to the king of Assyria; 2. Its government by a prince named “Nebuchadnezzar,” or, as Ezekiel transliterates the word from the Babylonian, “Nebuchadnezzar” (Ezek. xxvi. 7); 3. The fact that this prince made a great expedition into Palestine in the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, besieged Jerusalem, and took it, and made Jehoiakim a prisoner; 4. The further fact, that he

* “Ancient Monarchies,” vol i., p. 469.

† Ibid., p. 471.



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his imprisonment was over.* Or, it may have been assumed by the Jews that the leader of the great expedition was the king of the people whom he led against them, and the sacred writers may have received no directions to correct the popular misapprehension.

The expedition itself, and its synchronism with Jehoiakim's third year, is generally allowed. Berosus related, that in the last year of Nabopolassar's reign, which by the Canon of Ptolemy was B. C. 605, he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar to crush a revolt of the western provinces. Nebuchadnezzar was successful, conquered Syria and Phœnicia, and had invaded Egypt, when news of his father's death reached him, and forced him to return to his own capital.

The fourth point—one of comparative detail—receives very curious illustration from the Babylonian monuments. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have placed the holy vessels which he carried off from Jerusalem in *his temple* at Babylon," "*the house of his god,*" and to have brought them into *the treasure house of his god.*" These expressions are at first sight surprising, considering that the Babylonian religion was polytheistic, that Babylon had many temples, and that the kings, as a general rule, distributed their favors impartially among the various personages of the pantheon. It is, however, an undoubted fact that Nebuchadnezzar formed an exception to the general rule. He was a devotee of Merodach. He calls Merodach "his lord," "his gracious lord," "his maker," "the god who deposited his germs in his mother's womb," "the god who created him, and assigned him the empire over multitudes of men." One of the foremost of his own titles is "Worshiper of Merodach." He regards Merodach as "the great lord," "the lord of lords," "the chief of the gods," "the king of heaven and earth," "the god of gods." Even on the cylinders which record his dedication of temples to other deities it is Merodach whom he principally glorifies.* Sir II. Rawlinson says: "The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar are for the most part occupied with the praises of Merodach, and with prayers for the continuance of his favor. The king ascribes to him his elevation to the throne: 'Merodach, the great lord, has appointed me to the empire of the world, and has confided to my care the far-spread people of the earth;' 'Merodach, the great lord, the senior of the

* See Dr. Pusey's "Daniel," p. 400.

† See "Records of the Past," vol. vii., pp. 71-78.

gods, the most ancient, has given all nations and people to my care,' etc. The prayer also to Merodach, with which the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar always terminate, invokes the favor of the god for the protection of the king's throne and empire, and for its continuance through all ages to the end of time." *

The temple of Merodach at Babylon is properly called "Nebuchadnezzar's temple," because he completely rebuilt and restored it. It was the *great* temple of Babylon, and known to the Greeks as the "temple (or tower) of Belus." To its ruins the name of "Babil" still attaches. Nebuchadnezzar describes his restoration of it at great length in his "Standard Inscription;" † and his statement is confirmed by the fact that all the inscribed bricks which have ever been found in it bear his name. Special mention of the "treasure-house" attached to the temple has not been found in the Babylonian remains; but it was probably the building at the base of the great tower, which is described by Herodotus as a "second temple," and said to have contained furniture and figures in solid gold, together with many other offerings. ‡

* Rawlinson, "Herodotus," vol. i., p. 652 (3d edition).

† See "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 116-120.

‡ Herod., i., 183.

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER NOTICES OF BABYLON IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES.

THE numerous expeditions of the Babylonians against Jerusalem, subsequently to the first attack in B. C. 605, receive no direct confirmation from the cuneiform monuments, probably owing to the fact that no general historical inscription descriptive of the events of Nebuchadnezzar's reign has been as yet discovered. The records of his time which modern research has unearthed, consist almost entirely either of invocations addressed to the gods, or of descriptions and measurements connected with his great works.* Alexander Polyhistor, however, noticed an expedition of Nebuchadnezzar's into these parts, which appears to have been that conducted in the year B. C. 597, against Jchoiakim, whereof we have the following notice in the Second Book of Kings:—

“The Lord sent against him” (*i. e.* Jchoiakim) “bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, and hands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by His servants the prophets.”—2. KINGS XXIV. 2.

Polyhistor tells us † that the expedition was one in which Nebuchadnezzar called in the aid of his allies, among others, of the Median king called by him Astibaras, who seems to represent Cyaxares. The number of troops employed was unusually great, amounting, according to the same authority, to ten thousand chariots, one hundred and twenty thousand

* Until the year 1878, no historical inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's had come to light. In that year a small and mutilated cylinder, giving an account of some events belonging to his thirty-seventh year, was purchased by the British Museum. Further reference will be made to this cylinder in a future chapter.

† *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, vol. iii., p. 229, Fr. 24.



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challenge Necho to a trial of strength, and the hosts of Africa and Asia met in battle array at the great frontier fortress of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2.) the issue raised was of no small importance, being nothing less than the question whether African power and influence should not maintain itself in Syria and the adjoining regions, should or should not establish its superiority over the power of Asia, should or should not step into a position which would have brought it shortly into direct contact with the civilization of the Greeks. The battle of Carchemish, as it is called, decided these questions. The armies of Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh-Necho met in the vicinity of Carchemish (now Jerablus), in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, which was the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar, and contended in a great battle, wherein ultimately the Babylonians were victorious. The battle is prophetically, but very graphically, described by the prophet Jeremiah:—

“Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle,” he says; “harness the horses, and get up, ye horsemen” (or rather, “mount, ye chariotmen”), “and stand forth with your helmets; furnish the spears; put on the brigandines. Wherefore have I seen them dismayed and turned away back? Their mighty men are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back; for fear was round about, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape, they shall stumble and fall toward the north by the river Euphrates. Who is this that cometh up as a flood, whose waters toss to and fro as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are tossed to and fro like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. Come up, ye horses; and rage ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth, Cush and Phut that handle the shield, and Lud that handle and bend the bow. For this is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance, that He may avenge Him of His adversaries; and the sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood; for the Lord God of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates. Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured. The nations have heard of thy shame, and thy cry hath filled the land: for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, and they are fallen both together.”—JER. xlvi. 3-12.

A fierce struggle is here indicated, a hardly contested battle, terminating in a complete defeat. Egypt is not surprised—not taken at disadvantage. She has ample time to call together her armed force of natives and auxiliaries, Cush and Phut and Lud. Her chariots are marshaled in their gallant array, together with her horsemen: she “rises

up like a flood," bent on conquest rather than on mere resistance. But all is in vain. "It is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance." By the river Euphrates the mighty men stumble and fall—they are dismayed and beaten down; in a short time they are compelled to fly—they "flee apace, and look not back." The mighty man hath met a mightier; the forces of Asia have proved too strong for those of Africa; the Nile flood is swept back on its own land.

Profane history, while touching the struggle itself only in a single sentence,* amply signalizes the result. With the battle of Carchemish, Babylon, for long ages oppressed and held in subjection, springs up to notice as an empire. Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, hitherto threatened alternately by Egypt and Assyria, now find a new foe in the great city on the lower Euphrates, and become fiefs of the Babylonian crown. Egypt's attempt to recover, under the Psamatiks, the Asiatic dominion which had been hers under the Thothmeses and Amenhoteps, is rudely checked. Her own territory is invaded, and she becomes for a time a "base kingdom," the subject-ally and tributary of another. Babylon is recognized as one of the "great powers" of Asia, sends her armies within the Cilician gates, wastes Tyre, destroys Jerusalem, makes alliances with Media and Lydia. The general position of affairs in Western Asia for the next sixty years was determined by the events of that campaign, wherein "the king of Babylon took from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained unto the king of Egypt."

"They burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof: and them that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon, where they were servants to him and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia."—2 CHRON. xxxvi. 19, 20.

The complete destruction of Jerusalem, and transfer of its inhabitants from Palestine to Babylonia, momentous events as they were in the history of the Jewish nation, and in that discipline of severity which was to purge out its dross from the people of God, and fit them to hold up the torch of truth to the nations for another half millennium, did not greatly attract the attention of the world at large, or even obtain record generally at the hands of the historiographers who were engaged in chronicling the events of the

* Beros. ap. Joseph., *Contr. Ap.* i. 19, § 2.

time. In Babylon, indeed, it must have been otherwise. There, if nowhere else, the final capture and ruin of so great, so renowned, so ancient a city, after a siege which lasted eighteen months, must beyond a doubt have been entered upon the records, with the view of its being handed down to posterity. But, unfortunately, it happens that at present, as already observed, Nebuchadnezzar's historical inscriptions remain undiscovered; and consequently we are still deprived of such light as a Babylonian account of the capture of Jerusalem would naturally have thrown on the whole subject. The fragments of Berossus might have been expected to supply the deficiency; but, at the best, they are scanty, and for the time of Nebuchadnezzar they furnish nothing but a bare outline. They do just state that Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition into Palestine and Egypt, carried all before him, and, after burning the temple at Jerusalem, bore away into captivity the whole Jewish people, and settled them in different places in Babylonia; but they give no further particulars. Not even is the name of the Jewish king mentioned, nor that of the general to whom Nebuchadnezzar entrusted the execution of his orders for the destruction of the city.

Direct illustration of the destruction of Jerusalem, and captivity of the Jewish people, is therefore at present impossible. Still history may be said to illustrate *indirectly* this portion of the sacred records by the examples which it sets forth of parallel instances. The complete destruction of a great city by the powers which conquer it is a rare event, requiring as it does a dogged determination on the part of the conqueror, and a postponement of immediate gain to prospective advantage. But the complete destruction of Nineveh, which is abundantly attested, had taken place not very long before, and must have been fresh in the minds of men at the time, furnishing a precedent for such extreme severity, while a sufficient motive may be discerned in the important position of Jerusalem, and the persistency of the rebellious spirit in its inhabitants.

Transplantations of conquered nations are unknown in modern warfare, and scarcely belong to the history of the West. But in the East they were common anciently, and are still not wholly unknown. The Kurds, who protect the north-eastern frontier of Persia against the raids of the Turkomans, were transported thither by Nadir Shah, after a



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his subjects, on the charge of ruling in a *lawless* and intemperate fashion. As Jehoiachin “did eat bread continually before Evil-Merodach all the days of his (*i. e.* Jehoiachin’s) life,” we must suppose that he died within less than two years from his release. He would have been at the time between fifty and sixty years of age.

“Those that had escaped from the sword carried he” (*i. e.* Nebuchadnezzar) “away to Babylon, where they were servants to him *and his sons* until the reign of the kingdom of Persia; to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil *threescore and ten years.*”—2 CHRON. xxxvi. 20, 21.

The statement that the Israelites, “were servants to Nebuchadnezzar *and his sons*” is at first sight contradictory to the Babylonian history, as delivered to us by profane authors. According to them, Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by one son only, viz., Evil-Merodach, after whom the crown fell to a certain Neriglissar, or Nergal-sar-uzur, who was not a blood relation. Neriglissar, however, had married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and having thus become a son-in-law, may conceivably be termed a “son.” He was succeeded by his own son, Laborosoarchod, probably a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, who would come under the term “son” by the ordinary Hebrew usage. The successor of Laborosoarchod was, we are told, “in no way related” to the family of Nebuchadnezzar. There are some reasons, however, for believing that he, too, married a daughter of the great monarch; so that he, too, may have been regarded as “a son” in the same sense with Neriglissar.

The seventy years of the captivity, during which the land lay waste, and “enjoyed its sabbaths,” may be counted from different dates. In this place the year of the final destruction of Jerusalem seems to be taken as the *terminus a quo*. This was B. C. 586, the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 3–8; Jer. lii. 6–12), and the passage would therefore seem to point to B. C. 516 as the termination of the captivity period. Now B. C. 516, the sixth of Darius Hystaspis, was, in fact, the close of the period of depression and desolation, so far as the temple was concerned (Ezra vi. 15). But the personal captivity, the desolation of the *land* through loss of inhabitants, both began and ended earlier. Jeremiah evidently intended his “seventy years” to count from the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebu-

chadnezzar (Jer. xxv. 1-12), which was in B. C. 605; and Daniel must have counted from the same date when he felt, in B. C. 538, that the time of release was approaching (Dan. ix. 2). It is questionable, however, whether the full term of the prophetic announcement, thus understood, was actually reached. If Nebuchadnezzar carried away his first captives from Jerusalem in B. C. 605, and Cyrus issued his edict for the return in his first year (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra, i. 1), which was B. C. 538, the seventeenth year had certainly not then commenced. Even if the captives did not take immediate advantage of the edict, but made the journey from Babylonia to Palestine in the year following the proclamation, B. C. 537, which is not improbable, still the captivity had not endured seventy years, but only sixty-eight. It is usual to meet the difficulty by the supposition that the first year of Cyrus *in Scripture* is really the third year from his conquest of Babylon, Darius the Mede having been made viceroy of Babylon under Cyrus during the first two years after the conquest. This is, no doubt, a possible explanation. But it is perhaps as probable that the *round* number "seventy," in the prophecy of Jeremiah, was not intended to be exact, but approximate, and that the actual duration of the captivity fell short by a year or two of the threatened period.

That "the reign of the kingdom of Persia" immediately succeeded to that of Babylon, which was swallowed up by the great Aryan power within seventy years of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, is declared with one voice by the classical historians, and has been recently confirmed by more than one native document. Two inscriptions, brought from Babylonia within the last decade, describe the circumstances under which the great empire of Babylon collapsed before the arms of Cyrus the Great, and was absorbed into his dominions. The details of the subjection will have to be considered hereafter, when we comment on those passages of Scripture which treat directly of the fall of the city. At present we desire simply to note the confirmation by the monuments of the Persian conquest, effected by Cyrus the Great, in the seventeenth year of Nabonidus, which was the sixty-eighth year after the accession of Nebuchadnezzar and his first capture of Jerusalem. *

* See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vi., pp. 47-61.

CHAPTER IV.

NOTICES OF BABYLON IN DANIEL.

THE history of the chosen people during the period of the Babylonian captivity is carried on in a book which we are accustomed to regard as prophetic, but in which the historical element decidedly preponderates. The first six chapters of Daniel contain a continuous and most important narrative. The scene of the history has been transferred from Jerusalem to Babylon. We are introduced into the court of the great King Nebuchadnezzar, and shown his grandeur, his pride, his cruelty, his relentings, his self-glorification, his punishment. We find the Jews his captives, scattered in various parts of his territories (ch. ix. 7), without organization or national life, a mere herd of slaves, down-trodden and oppressed for the most part. At the court, however, it is different. There four Jews, of royal, or at any rate noble blood, occupy a position of some importance, take rank among the courtiers, hold communication with the monarch, and are called upon to advise him in circumstances of difficulty (ch. i. 17-20). After a time they rise still higher in the king's favor, and are promoted to some of the chief governmental offices in the kingdom (ch. ii. 48, 49). One, the writer of great part of the book, if not even of the whole, becomes the very first person in the kingdom next to the king, and lives and prospers under four monarchs, called respectively, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Cyrus, and Darius. We have thus a considerable body of Babylonian history in this (so-called) prophetic book; and numerous points present themselves on which some illustration of the history from profane sources is possible.

Let us take, first, the character of Nebuchadnezzar's court. It is vast and complicated, elaborate in its organization, careful in its etiquette, magnificent in its ceremonial. Among the most important personages in it are a class who profess to have the power of expounding dreams, and generally foretelling future events by means of magic sorcery, and



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“An eclipse happens on the 21st day. The enemy’s throne does not endure. A self-appointed king rules in the land. After a year the Air god causes an inundation. After a year the king does not remain. His country is made small.” *

The application of the ethnic term “Chaldæan” (Kasdim) to the learned caste, or class, which occupied itself with the subjects of magic and astrology, so frequent in Daniel (ch. ii. 2, 4, 5, 10; v. 11), is found also in profane writers, as Strabo, Diodorus, Cicero, and others,† who distinguish between Chaldæans and Babylonians, making the latter term the ethnic appellative of the nation at large, while they reserve the former for a small section of the nation, distinguished by the possession of abstruse and recondite learning. The distinction seems to have originated in the later period of the empire, and to have been grounded on an identification of the Chaldæans with the Akkad, and on the fact that the old Akkadian language and learning was in the later times the special possession of a literary class, who furnished to the nation its priests, astrologers, magicians, and men of science. What the real connection was between the Chaldæans and the Akkad is still uncertain; but some ethnic affinity may be regarded as probable.

The division of the learned class into three distinct bodies, devoted to different branches of the mystic lore in which all participated, receives illustration from the native remains, where the literature of magic comes under three principal heads: (1). Written charms or talismans, which were to be placed on the bodies of sick persons, or on the door-posts of afflicted houses; ‡ (2). Formulæ of incantation, which had to be recited by the learned man in order to produce their proper effect; § and (3). Records of observations, intended to serve as grounds for the prediction of particular events, together with collections of prognostics from eclipses or other celestial phenomena, regarded as having a general applicability.¶ The preparation of the written charms or talismans was probably the special task of the “magicians,” or *khertummim*, whose name is formed from the root *kheret*,

* “Records of the Past,” vol. i., p. 160.

† Diod. Sic. ii. 29; Strab. xvi. 1, § 6; Cic. *De Div.* i. 1, § 2; 42, § 93; Plin. *H.N.* vi. 30, § 123, etc.

‡ See “Records of the Past,” vol. iii., p. 142.

§ Ibid., vol. iii., pp. 147–152, and xi., 128–138.

¶ Ibid., vol. i., pp. 153–163.

which signifies “an engraving tool,” or “stylus.” The composition and recitation of the formulæ of incantation belonged to the *ashshaphim* or *mecashaphim*, the “astrologers” and “sorcerers” of our version, whose names are derived from the root *ashaph*, or *cashaph*, which means “to mutter.”* The taking of observations and framing of tables of prognostics is probably to be assigned to the *gazerim* or “dividers,” in our version “soothsayers” who *divided* the heavens into constellations or “houses” for astronomical and astrological purposes.†

The attention paid to dreams (ch. ii. 1–46; iv. 5–27) by the Babylonian monarch is quite in accordance with what we know of the state of opinion, both in Babylonia and Assyria, about the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The Assyrians had a “dream deity,” whom they called Makhir, and regarded as “the daughter of the Sun,” and to whom they were in the habit of praying, either beforehand, to send them favorable dreams, or after they had dreamed, to “confirm” their dream, or make it turn out favorably to them.‡ A late Assyrian monarch records that, in the course of a war which he carried on with Elam or Susiana, one of his “wise men” dreamed a remarkable dream, and forthwith communicated to him the particulars. “Ishtar,” he said, “the goddess of war had appeared to him in the dead of night, begirt with flames on the right hand and on the left; she held a bow in her hand, and was riding in a chariot, as if going forth to war. Before her stood the king, whom she addressed as a mother would her child. . . . ‘Take this bow,’ she said, ‘and go with it to the battle. Wherever thou shalt pitch thy camp, I will come to thee.’ Then the king replied, ‘O queen of all the goddesses, wherever thou goest, let me accompany thee.’ She made answer, ‘I will protect thee, and march with thee at the time of the feast of Nebo. Meanwhile, eat meat, drink wine, make music, and glorify my divinity, until I come to thee and this vision shall be fulfilled.’” Rendered confident by this dream, the Assyrian monarch marched forth to war, attacked the Elamites in their own country, defeated them, and received their submission.§

Not very long after the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabo-

* Furst, “Concordant,” p. 133.

† “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii., p. 207.

‡ “Records of the Past,” vol. ix., p. 152. § Ibid., vol. vii., p. 68.

nidus, one of his successors, places on record the following incident: "In the beginning of my long reign," he says, "Merodach, the great lord, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, the strengthener of all, showed me a dream. Merodach spake thus with me: 'Nabonidus, king of Babylon, come up with the horses of thy chariot; build the walls of Ehulhul; and have the seat of Sin, the great lord, set within it.' Reverently I made answer to the lord of the gods, Merodach, 'I will build this house of which thou speakest. The Sabmanda destroyed it, and strong was their might.' Merodach replied to me, 'The Sabmanda of whom thou speakest, they and their country, and the king who rules over them, shall cease to exist. In the third year he (*i.e.*, Merodach) caused Cyrus, king of Ansan, his young servant, to go with his little army: he overthrew the wide-spreading Sabmanda; he captured Istumegu (*i.e.*, Astyages), king of Sabmanda, and took his treasures to his own land."†

The civil organization of the Babylonian kingdom is very imperfectly known to us. Neither sacred nor profane authorities furnish more than scattered and incomplete notices of it. We gather from Daniel merely that it was elaborate and complicated, involving the employment by the crown of numerous officers, discharging distinct functions, and possessing different degrees of dignity. The names given to the various officers by Daniel can scarcely be those which were in actual use under the Babylonian monarch, since they are in many cases of Aryan etymology. Most likely they are the equivalents under the Medo-Persic system, which was established before Daniel wrote his book, of the Babylonian terms previously in vogue. Still in some instances the names sufficiently indicate the offices intended. The "princes" (literally "satraps") of Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27, can only be governors of provinces (compare ch. vi. 1), chief rulers under the monarch of the main territorial divisions of his empire. Such persons had been generally employed by the Assyrian kings in the government of the more settled part of their dominions, and were no doubt continued by the Babylonians when the territories of Assyria were divided between them and the Medes. Gedaliah held the office in Judæa immediately after its conquest by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 22-25; Jer. xl. 5). Another such Babylonian governor is

* "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," November, 1882, p. 7.



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large a crowd, but we see in a bas-relief of a date a little anterior to Nebuchadnezzar a band of twenty-six performers.* At least eight or nine different instruments were known to the Assyrians,† and we can therefore feel no surprise that six were in use among the Babylonians of Nebuchadnezzar's time.

Considerable difficulty has been felt with respect to the names of several of the Babylonian instruments. These names have a Greek appearance; and it has been asked by critics of reputation, "How could Greek musical instruments have been used at Babylon late in the seventh, or early in the sixth century before our era?" A searching analysis of the words themselves has thrown a good deal of doubt on several of the supposed Greek etymologies. *Karna* and *χέρας*, *kitheros* and *χιθάρις*, *sabkah* and *σαμβύχη* are no doubt connected; but one of them is a root common to Semitic with Aryan, while the other two passed probably from the Orientals to the Greeks. The Chaldee *karna* is Hebrew *keren*, and is at least as old in Hebrew as the Pentateuch; *kitheros* in Persian *sitareh*, Greek *χιθάρις*, German *zither*, modern Arabic *koothir*; *sabkah* is from *sabak*, a well-known Semitic root, and is an appropriate name for a "harp" in Hebrew; ‡ whereas *σαμβύχη* is an unmeaning name in Greek. To derive *mashrokitha* from *σβριγξ* requires a very hardy etymologist. The two words may conceivably be derivatives from one root; but neither can possibly have been the direct parent of the other. Even *pesanterin* and *sumphonyah* though so near to *ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία*, are not allowed by all critics to be of Greek origin.§ Supposing, however, that they are, and that they imply the use by the Babylonians of Greek instruments, which brought their names with them from their native country, as "pianoforte" and "concertina" have done with us, there is nothing extraordinary in the circumstance. The Assyrians and the Greeks came into contact in Cyprus as early as the reign of Sargon,|| whose effigy has been found at Idalium. Esar-haddon obtained building materials from several Cyprian kings with Greek names.¶ As the inheritress of Assyrian luxury and

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol i., p. 311.

† Ibid., pp. 305-310.

‡ Pusey's "Daniel," p. 24, note 9.

§ Ibid., pp.27-30.

|| "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii., p. 150.

¶ "Records of the Past," vol. iii., p. 108.

magnificence, Babylon would necessarily have some connection with Greeks. We hear of a Greek having served in Nebuchadnezzar's army, and won glory and reward under his banners.* Direct intercourse with Hellenes may thus have brought Hellenic instruments to Babylon. Or the intercourse may have been indirect. The Phœnicians were engaged in a carrying trade between Europe and Asia from a time anterior to Solomon; and their caravans were continually passing from Tyre and Sidon, by way of Tadmor and Thapsacus, to the Chaldæan capital. Nothing would be more natural than the importation into that city, at any time between B. C. 605 and B. C. 538, of articles manufactured in Greece, which the Babylonians were likely to appreciate.

The position of the king in the Babylonian court, as absolute lord and master of the lives and liberties even of the greatest of his subjects, able to condemn to death, not only individuals (ch. iii. 19), but a whole class, and that class the highest in the state (ch. ii. 12–14), is thoroughly in accordance with all that profane history tells us of the Babylonian governmental system. In Oriental monarchies it was not always so. The writer of the Book of Daniel shows a just appreciation of the difference between the Babylonian and the Medo-Persian systems, when he makes Darius the Mede influenced by his nobles, and compelled to do things against his will by a “law of the Medes and Persians, which altered not” (ch. vi. 14–17); while Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian is wholly untrammelled, and does not seem even to consult his lords on matters where the highest interests of the state are concerned. Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs were absolute in the fullest sense of the word. No traditional “law” restrained them. Their nobility was an official nobility, like that of Turkey at the present day. They themselves raised it to power; and it lay with them to degrade its members at their pleasure. Officers such as the tartan, or “commander-in-chief,” the rabshakeh, or “chief cup-bearer,” and the rab-saris, or “chief eunuch,” held the highest positions (2 Kings xviii. 17)—mere creatures of the king, whom a “breath had made,” and a breath could as easily “unmake.” The kings, moreover, claimed to be of Divine origin, and received Divine honors. “Merodach,” says Nebu-

* Strab. xiii. 3, § 2.

chadnezzar, "deposited my germ in my mother's womb." * Khammurabi claims to be the son of Merodach and Ri. † He was joined in inscriptions with the great gods, Sin, Shamas, and Merodach, during his lifetime, and people swore by his name. ‡ Amaragu and Naram-sin are also said to have been deified while still living. § It was natural that those who claimed, and were thought to hold so exalted a position, should exercise a despotic authority, and be unre-sisted, even when they were most tyrannical.

* "Records of the Past," vol. v., p. 113. •

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 8.

‡ Ibid., vol. v., p. 109.

§ See note on Dan. vi. 7, in the Speakers' Commentary."



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them off into a miserable and hopeless captivity, massacring the chief men by scores (2 Kings xxv. 18--21), blinding rebel kings (ver. 7), or else condemning them to perpetual imprisonment (ver. 27), and even slaying their sons before their eyes (ver. 7); but at home among his subjects he can condemn to death a whole class of persons for no fault but inability to do what no one had ever been asked to do before (Dan. ii. 10--13), and can actually cast into a furnace of fire three of his best officers, because they decline to worship an image (iii. 20--23).

2. His pride and boastfulness. The pride of Nebuchadnezzar first shows itself in Scripture in the contemptuous inquiry addressed to the "three children" (Dan iii. 15), "Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?" Evidently he believes that this is beyond the power of any god. He speaks, as Sennacherib spoke by the mouth of Rab-shakeh: "Hearken not to Hezekiah, when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? Have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? Who are they among the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?" (2 Kings xviii. 32--35.) The event shows him that he is mistaken, and that there is a God who can deliver his servants, and "change the king's word" (Dan. iii. 38), and then for a time he humbles himself; but, later on, the besetting sin breaks out afresh; "his heart is lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride" (ch. v. 20), and he makes the boast which brings upon him so signal a punishment: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of my kingdom, *by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty*?" The punishment inflicted once more humbled him, and he confessed finally that there was one, "the King of heaven, all whose works were truth, and His ways judgment;" and that "those who walk in pride he was able to abase" (ch. iv. 37).

3. His religiousness. The spoils which Nebuchadnezzar carried off from the Temple at Jerusalem he did not convert to his own use, nor even bring into the national treasury; but "put them in his temple at Babylon" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7), and "brought them into the treasure-house of his god" (Dan. i. 2). When Daniel revealed to

him his dream and its interpretation (ch. ii. 27–45), he at once confessed, “Of a truth your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret.” The image which he made, and set up on the plains of Dura, was not his own image, but an image of a Babylonian god (ch. iii. 12, 14, 18), to whom he was anxious that all his subjects should do honor. His anger against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego was not so much because they resisted his will, as because they would not “serve his god.” When the fiery furnace had no power on them, he accepted the fact as proving that there was another God, whom he had not known of previously, and at once commanded that this new God should be respected throughout his dominions (ch. iii. 29). But his religiousness culminates in the last scene of his life that is presented to us in Scripture. After his recovery from the severe affliction whereby his pride was punished, he at once “lifted up his eyes to heaven,” and “blessed the Most High, and praised and honored Him that liveth forever” (ch. iv. 34), and made a proclamation, which he caused to be published throughout the length and breadth of his vast dominions (ver. 1), acknowledging his sin, and declaring that he “honored and extolled the King of heaven” (ver. 37), and “thought it good to show the signs and wonders that the high God had wrought toward him” (ver. 2), since His signs were great, and His wonders mighty, and His kingdom an everlasting kingdom, and His dominion from generation to generation” (ver. 3).

A fourth and special characteristic of Nebuchadnezzar, peculiar to him among the heathen monarchs brought under our notice in Scripture, is the mixed character of his religion, the curious combination which it presents of monotheism with polytheism, the worship of one God with that of many. Nebuchadnezzar’s polytheism is apparent when he addresses Daniel as “one in whom is the spirit of the holy *gods*” (ch. iv. 8, 9, 18), and again when he calls the figure which he sees walking with the “three children” in the furnace “a son of the *gods*” פַּר-אֱלֹהִים *bar-elāhîn* (ch. iii. 25), and still more plainly when he recognizes the God who has delivered the “children” as *a* God, “their God” (ver. 28), and declares his belief that “no *other god* can deliver *after this sort*” (ver. 29). His monotheism shows itself—though not made apparent in our version—when he sets up a single image,

and calls on the people to worship "his god" (ch. iii. 14), when he recognizes Daniel's God as "a Lord of kings and *God of gods*" (ch. ii. 47), and most conspicuously when in his last proclamation he acknowledges "the high God" אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם *éláhá 'illáyá*, ch. iv. 2), "the Most High" (ver. 34), "the King of heaven" (ver. 37), Him that "liveth for ever" (ver. 34), and "*doeth according to His will in the army of heaven* and among the inhabitants of the earth," and "whose hand none can stay, nor can any say unto Him, What doest thou?" (ver. 35.) Either he fluctuates between two beliefs, or else his polytheism is of that modified kind which has been called "Kathenotheism,"* where the worshiper, on turning his regards to any particular deity, "forgets for the time being that there is any other, and addresses the object of his adoration in terms of as absolute devotion as if he were the sole god whom he recognized, the one and only divine being in the entire universe."†

Limiting ourselves, for the present, to these four characteristics of the great Babylonian monarch—his cruelty, his boastful pride, his religiousness, and the curious mixture of two elements in his religion—let us inquire how far they are confirmed or illustrated by his own inscriptions, or by the accounts which profane writers have given of him.

And first, with respect to his cruelty. Here, it must be confessed, there is little, if any, confirmation. The one brief historical inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's time which we possess contains no notice of any severities, nor is the point touched in the few fragments concerning him which are all that classical literature furnishes. Berosus mentions the numerous captives whom he carried off to Babylonia in his first campaign,‡ but does not seem to regard their fate as exceptionally wretched. Josephus gives us in some detail the various cruelties recorded of him in Scripture, and adds others, as that he put to death a king of Egypt whom he conquered;§ but Josephus is scarcely an unprejudiced witness. Abydenus, who tells us more about him than any other classical writer except Berosus, is bent on glorifying him, and would not be likely to mention what was to his discredit. If, however, we have no confirmation, we have abundant illustrations of Nebuchadnezzar's cruelties in the

* Max Muller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i., p. 28.

† See the author's "Religions of the Ancient World," *American Ed.*, p. 108.

‡ Ap. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, x. 11, § 1.

§ Ap. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, x. 9, § 7.



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spicuous in his inscriptions than his pride. Not only was he, as a modern writer expresses it, “faithful to the orthodoxy of his day,” * but a real devotion to his gods seems to have animated him. His own name for himself is “the heaven-adoring king.” † he places some god, generally Merodach, in the forefront of every inscription; acknowledges that his life and success were the fruit of the divine favor; labors to show his gratitude by praises and invocations, by the presentation of offerings, the building and repair of temples, the adornment of shrines, the institution of processions and the proclamation of each god by his proper titles. ‡ He speaks of Merodach “accepting the devotion of his heart;” § and there is no reason to doubt that he speaks sincerely. He looks to his deities for blessings, beseeches them to sustain his life, to keep reverence for them in his heart, to give him a long reign, a firm throne, abundant and vigorous offspring, success in war, and a record of his good deeds in their book. || He hopes that these good deeds are acceptable to them, and are regarded with satisfaction: whether he expects them to be rewarded in another life is not apparent.

The peculiar character of Nebuchadnezzar’s religion—at one time polytheistic, at another monotheistic—is also evidenced by his inscriptions. The polytheism is seen in the distinct and separate acknowledgment of at least thirteen deities, to most of whom he builds temples, as well as in his mention of “the great gods,” ¶ and the expressions “chief of *the gods*,” king of *gods*,” and “god of *gods*,” which are of frequent occurrence. The monotheism, or at least the “kathenotheism,” discloses itself in the attitude assumed toward Merodach, who is “the great Lord,” “the God his maker,” “the Lord of all beings,” “the Prince of the lofty house,” “the chief, the honorable, the Prince of the gods, the great Merodach,” “the Divine Prince, the Deity of heaven and earth, the Lord God,” “the King of gods and Lord of lords,” “the chief of the gods,” “the Lord of the gods,” “the God of gods,” and “the King of heaven and earth.” Nebuchadnezzar assigns to Merodach a pre-eminence which places him on a pedestal apart from and

* G. Smith, “History of Babylonia, p. 167.

† “Records of the Past,” vol. vii., p. 78.

‡ “Ibid., v., pp. 113, 114, etc.

§ Ibid., p. 114.

|| Ibid., vol. vii., pp. 72-77.

¶ “Records of the Past,” vol. v, p. 129; “Trans. of Bibl. Arch Soc., vol. vii., p. 219.

above all the other deities of his pantheon. He does not worship him exclusively, but he worships him mainly; and when engaged in the contemplation of his greatness, scarcely takes into account the existence of any other deity. No other Babylonian king is so markedly the votary of one god as Nebuchadnezzar; though, no doubt, something of a similar spirit may be traced in the inscriptions of Khammurabi, of Neriglissar, and of Nabonidus.

Besides the main traits of character, of which we have hitherto spoken, there are certain minor features in the biblical portraiture which seem entitled to mention. Nebuchadnezzar is brave and energetic. He leads his armies in person (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 10; xxv. 1; Jer. xxi. 2; xxiv. 1; xxxiv. 1, etc.), presses his enterprises vigorously, is not easily discouraged or rebuffed, has the qualities of a good general, is brave, "bold in design, and resolute in action."* His own inscriptions so far agree, that they represent him as making war upon Egypt,† as desiring "the conquest of his enemies' land," ‡ and as looking forward to the accumulation at his great Babylonian temple of "the abundant tribute of the kings of nations and of all people."§ Profane historians go far beyond this; they represent him as one of the greatest of conquerors. Berosus ascribes to him the conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Arabia! || Abydenus says that he was "more valiant than Hercules," and not only reduced Egypt, but subdued all Libya, as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and thence passing over into Spain, conquered the Iberians, whom he took with him to Asia, and settled in the country between Armenia and the Caucasus! ¶ Menander and Philostratus spoke of his thirteen-years-long siege of Tyre; ** and Megasthenes put him on a par with Sesostris and Tirhakah.††

The religion of Nebuchadnezzar was, as might have been expected, tinged with superstition. We are told in Scripture that on one occasion a "king of Babylon," who can be no other than he, in one of his military expeditions, "stood

* G. Smith, "History of Babylonia," p. 166.

† "Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archaeology," vol. vii., p. 220.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. vii., p. 77.

§ Ibid., vol. v., p. 135.

|| "See the fragments of Berosus in the "Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. ii., fr. 14.

¶ Ibid., vol. iv., p. 283, Fr. 9.

** Ap. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, x. 11, § 1, *sub fn.*

†† Ap. Strab., xv. 1, § 6.

at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination. He made his arrows bright (or rather, 'he shook his arrows'); he consulted with images; he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem" (Ezek. xxi, 21, 22). That is to say, having come to a certain point on his march, where the road parted, leading on the right hand towards Jerusalem, and on the left towards Rabbath of Ammon, instead of deciding on his course by military considerations, he employed divination, and allowed his campaign to be determined by a use of lots and a consultation of the entrails of victims. He showed an equal superstitiousness when, as we read on the Borsippa cylinder,* he could not allow himself to commence the work of restoration, which the great temple of the Seven Spheres so imperatively needed, until he had first waited for "a fortunate month," and in that fortunate month found an "auspicious day." Then, at length, "the bricks of its wall, and the slabs that covered it, the finest of them, he collected, and rebuilt the ruins firmly. Inscriptions written in his own name he placed within it, in the finest apartments (?), and of completing the upper part he made an end." † It has been said that all Babylonian kings were equally superstitious, and even that "the Babylonians never started on an expedition, or commenced any work, without consulting the omens," ‡ but no proof has been given of this assertion, and certainly neither Neriglissar nor Nabonidus relate that they waited for "fortunate days" to commence their works of restoration.

No doubt there are points in the character of Nebuchadnezzar with respect to which neither his own inscriptions nor the remains of classical antiquity furnish any illustration. His hasty and violent temper, quick to take offence, and rushing at once to the most extreme measures (Dan. ii. 9, 12; iii. 13, 19), is known to us only from the Book of Daniel, and the writers who follow that book in their account of him; *e.g.*, Josephus. His readiness to relent, and his kindly impulse to make amends (ch. ii. 46, 49; iii. 26-30), are also traits unnoticed by profane authors, and unapparent in his inscriptions. But no surprise ought to be felt at this. We could only expect to find evidence of such qualities in inscriptions of a different character from those which have

* "Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 586.

† "Records of the Past," vol. vii., p. 77. ‡ *Ibid.*," vol. v, p. 58.



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CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER NOTICES OF BABYLON IN DANIEL.

“The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty ?”—Dan. iv. 30.

WHEN we think of the enormous size of Babylon, according to the most trustworthy accounts, it seems a most audacious boast on the part of any one man, that he had built the whole of it. According to Herodotus,* who represents himself as having visited the city about B. C. 450, the walls formed a circuit of 480 stades, or fifty-five miles, enclosing a square space, which was 120 stades, or nearly fourteen miles each way. Strabo reduced the circuit to 385 stades, † Quintus Curtius to 368, ‡ Clitarchus to 365, § and Ctesias to 360. || If we accept the smallest of these estimates, it will give us a square of above ten miles each way, and consequently an area of above a hundred square miles. This is a space four times as great as that of Paris within the *enceinte*, and fully double that of London within the bills of mortality.

No doubt it is true that only a portion of this immense area was covered by buildings. The district within the walls represented a vast entrenched camp, more than what we now mean by a city. ¶ Aristotle remarks with respect to it: “It is not walls by themselves that make a town. Otherwise one would only have to surround the Peloponnese with a wall [in order to constitute it a city]. The case is the same with Babylon and all other towns, the walls of which enclose rather a nation than a body of citizens.” ** Large portions of the space enclosed were occupied by gardens, orchards, and palm groves; some part of it was even devoted to the cultivation of corn. It was calculated that, in case of a siege,

* Herod., i. 178.

† Strab., xvi. 1, § 5.

‡ Vit. Alex. Magn., v. 1. § Ap. Diod. Sic., ii. 7, § 3. || Ibid

¶ Lenormant, “Manuel d’Histoire Ancienne,” vol. ii., p. 226.

** Aristot. *Pol.*, iii., 1, *sub. fin.*

the inhabitants might, by making the best use of all the unoccupied ground, raise grain sufficient for their own consumption.* Still, the area devoted to buildings was very large. The royal quarter, or palatial inclosure, as arranged by Nebuchadnezzar, seems to have extended some miles, both in length and breadth. Outside this was the city proper, laid out on a regular plan, in streets cutting each other at right angles,† like Manheim and most American cities. The extent of this can only be guessed, for “the ninety stades” of Curtius is excessive as a diameter, insufficient as a circumference.

The height and massive character of the buildings was as remarkable as the area that they covered. Even the ordinary houses of the inhabitants were, in many instances, three or four stories high.‡ The solidity and strength of the walls was most extraordinary. Herodotus estimates their width at fifty, their height at two hundred cubits.§ He adds that the cubit of which he speaks is one of unusual length. Diodorus Siculus, who follows Ctesias, agrees almost exactly as to the height, which he makes fifty fathoms,|| or three hundred ordinary feet. Pliny,¶ and Solinus** reduce the three hundred feet of Diodorus to two hundred and thirty-five; while Strabo, who may be supposed to follow the historians of Alexander, makes a further and still greater reduction, estimating the height at no more than seventy-five feet.†† Even this low figure implies a mass of brickwork amounting to thirteen hundred and ninety millions (1,390,000,000) of square feet, and would have required for its construction at least three times that number of the largest bricks known to the Babylonians. If we accept the estimate of height given by Pliny and Solinus, we must multiply these amounts by three; if we prefer that of Diodorus, by four; if that of Herodotus, by four and a half. On the supposition that Herodotus has correctly reported the dimensions of the wall in his day, to build it would have required eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-five millions (18,765,000,000) of the largest Babylonian bricks known to us.

The royal quarter, or palatial enclosure, of Nebuchadnezzar's time, comprised three, or according to some,‡‡ four

* Q. Curt., l. s. c.

† Herod., i. 180.

‡ Herod., i. 180.

§ Ibid., i. 178.

|| Diod. Sic. ii. 7, § 3.

¶ *H. N.*, vi. 26.

** “Polyhist.,” § 60.

†† Strab., xvi. 1, § 5.

‡‡ Oppert, “Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie,” vol. i., Plan of Babylon.

principal buildings. These were the old palace, the new palace, the hanging gardens, and (if we allow it to have been a sort of adjunct to the palace) the great temple of Bel-Merodach. It was also guarded by a wall, which Herodotus declares to have been "very little inferior in strength" to the outer wall of the city; * and it contained further a vast artificial reservoir. † Some account must be given of these various buildings and constructions before we can appreciate fully Nebuchadnezzar's greatness as a builder.

The "old palace" seems to be represented by the modern "mound of Amram." This is a huge mass of ruins, almost triangular in its present shape, occupying the more southern portion of the ancient "royal city." It is about a thousand yards along its south-western or principal side, which faced the river, and has perhaps been washed into its present receding line by water action. The northern face of the mound measures about seven hundred yards, and the eastern about eight hundred, the triangle being thus scalene, with its shortest side, facing northward. ‡ The mound is deeply furrowed with ravines, worn by the rains in the friable soil; its elevation above the level of the plain is nowhere very considerable, but amounts in places to about fifty or sixty feet. § Excavators have driven galleries into it in various directions, but have found little to reward their labors; no walls or distinct traces of buildings of any kind have presented themselves. A few bricks, belonging to early kings of Babylon, are all that it has yielded,—enough, perhaps, to confirm the conjecture that it represents the site of the "old palace," but otherwise uninteresting. The huge mass seems to be, in reality, less a palace than a mound—the basis or substratum on which once stood a royal edifice, which has now wholly disappeared. It was no doubt purely artificial; but whether originally constructed of unbaked bricks, or merely of the natural soil of the country, may be doubted. At present it consists wholly of a soft and friable mould, interspersed with a few fragments of bricks. The mound covers a space of about thirty-seven acres. ||

If the "mound of Amram" represent the "old palace"

* Herod., i. 181.

† See the "Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 587.

‡ See the author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii., p. 179, 180.

§ Rich, "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," p. 61.

|| Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. i, p. 157.



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to bear out the statement of Diodorus,* that the palace walls were artistically adorned with colored representations of war scenes and hunting scenes, wherein the kings, and sometimes the queens, were depicted on horseback or on foot, contending with leopards or with lions, and with spear or javelin dealing them their death stroke. Such were the "men portrayed upon the wall," which the Jewish captives saw at Babylon, and on which they doted; "the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermillion, 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 Chaldea, the land of their nativity" (Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15). The palace is said to have been further ornamented with statues;† and the figure of a colossal lion, which stands upon the mound, north-east of the Kasr building, may lend a certain support to this statement.

The "hanging gardens" were regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world.‡ They were said to have been constructed for the delectation of a Median princess, who disliked the flat monotony of the Babylonian plain, and longed for something that might remind her of the irregularities of nature in her own country.§ The construction is described in terms which are somewhat difficult to understand; but, by comparing the several accounts, || we gather that the structure was a square, 400 feet each way, elevated to the height of at least 150 feet, and consisting of several tiers of arches, superimposed one upon another, after the manner employed by the Romans in the construction of their amphitheatres. The building was divided into as many stories as there were tiers of arches, the number of these being uncertain, and was supported by internal walls of great thickness. In these stories were many palatial apartments, where visitors rested on their way to the upper terrace; and in the uppermost story was a room containing hydraulic machinery; whereby water was raised from the Euphrates to the level of the garden itself. This was superimposed on the uppermost tier of arches, and was a flat surface composed of four layers; first, one of reeds mixed with bitumen; next, one of brickwork, then one of lead, and finally a thick layer of earth,

* Diod. Sic., ii. 8.

† Ibid.

‡ Abydenus, Fr. 9, *ad fin.*; Strab., xvi. 1, § 5.

§ Berosus, Fr. 14.

|| Those of Diod. Sic. (ii. 10), Strabo (xvi. 1, § 5), and Q. Curtius (v. 1).

affording ample depth for the roots of the largest trees. The garden was planted with trees and shrubs of various kinds, and possibly with flowers, though they are not mentioned. A spacious pleasure-ground was thus provided as an adjunct to the palace, where royalty was secure from observation, and where the delights of umbrageous foliage, flashing fountains, gay flower-beds, and secluded walks could be obtained at the cost of mounting a staircase somewhat longer than those of our great London and Paris hotels.

The great temple of Bel-Merodach is probably identified with the massive ruin which lies due north of the Kasr mound, at the distance of about a mile. This is a vast pile of brickwork, of an irregular quadrilateral shape, with precipitous sides furrowed by ravines, and with a nearly flat top.* Of the four faces of the ruin, the southern seems to be the most perfect. It extends a distance of two hundred yards, or almost exactly a stade, and runs nearly in a straight line from east to west. At its eastern extremity it forms a right angle with the east face, which runs nearly due north for about one hundred and eighty yards, also almost in a straight line. The other two faces are very much worn away, but probably in their original condition corresponded to those already described. The building was thus not an exact square, but a parallelogram, with the shorter sides proportioned to the longer as nine to ten. The ruin rises towards its centre, where it attains an elevation of nearly one hundred and forty feet. It shows signs of having been enclosed within a precinct. Beyond a doubt, it is the edifice which Herodotus describes as follows:—"In the other division of the town was the sacred precinct of Jupiter Belus, a square enclosure two stades each way, with gates of solid brass; which was also remaining in my time. In the middle of the precinct there was a tower of solid masonry, a stade both in length and in breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and upon that a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about half-way up, one finds a resting-place and seats, where persons are wont to sit some time on their way to the summit. On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side

* See "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii., pp. 177, 178.

The temple contains no image." * Herodotus adds: "Below, in the same precinct, there is a second temple, in which is a sitting figure of Jupiter, all of gold. Before the figure stands a large golden table; and the throne whereon it sits, and the base on which the throne is placed, are likewise of gold. The Chaldeans told me that all the gold together was eight hundred talents in weight. Outside this temple are two altars, one of solid gold, on which it is only lawful to offer sucklings; the other a common altar, but of great size, on which the full-grown animals are sacrificed." † The lower temple has disappeared, as have the altars and the upper stages of the Great Temple tower; but the massive basis remains a solid piece of brickwork containing about four millions of square feet, and requiring for its construction at least twelve millions of the largest bricks made by the Babylonians. If the upper stages at all resembled those of the Great Temple of Borsippa, the bricks needed for the entire building must have been three times as many.

The artificial reservoir attached to the new palace is often mentioned in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar.‡ It was called the *Yapur-Shapu*, and was probably of an oblong square shape, with sides protected by a massive facing of burnt brick. If we accept the identification of its site suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson, § we must assign it a width of about a hundred yards, and a length of nearly a mile.

Among the other marvels of Babylon, according to the ancient writers, were a tunnel and a bridge. The tunnel was carried under the bed of the Euphrates, and was an arched passage, lined throughout with baked brick laid in bitumen, the lining having a thickness of twenty bricks. The width of the tunnel was fifteen feet, and its height, to the spring of the arch, twelve feet.|| The length was about a thousand yards, or considerably more than half a mile.

The bridge was a structure composed of wood, metal, and stone. In the bed of the Euphrates were built a number of strong stone piers, at the distance of twelve feet apart, which presented to the current a sharp angle that passed gradually into a gentle curve. The stones were massive, and fastened

* Herod., i. 181.

† Ibid., i. 183.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 125, 126, 130, etc.

§ See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iii., p. 580.

|| Diod. Sic., ii. 9.



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long embankments with cement and brick I made, and with the embankment which my father had made I joined them. I strengthened the city. Across the river, westward I built the wall of Babylon with brick." * And again, "The walls of the fortress of Babylon, its defence in war, I raised; and the circuit of the city of Babylon I have strengthened skilfully." †

Nebuchadnezzar, it may be further remarked, did not confine his constructive efforts to Babylon. Abydenus tells us, that, besides his great works at the capital, he excavated two large canals, the Nahr-Agane and the Nahr-Malcha; ‡ the latter of which is known from later writers to have been a broad and deep channel connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates. He also, according to Abydenus, dug a huge reservoir near Sippara which was one hundred and forty miles in circumference, and one hundred and eighty feet deep, furnishing it with flood-gates, through which the water could be drawn off for purposes of irrigation. Abydenus adds, that he built quays and break-waters along the shores of the Persian Gulf, and at the same time founded the city of Teredon, on the sea coast, as a defence against the incursion of the Arabs.

The inscribed bricks of this great monarch shows a still more inexhaustible activity. They indicate him as the complete restorer of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, § the mightiest of all the ruins in Mesopotamia, by some identified with the biblical "tower of Babel." They are widely spread over the entire country, occurring at Sippara, at Cutha, at Kal-wadha (Chilmad?) in the vicinity of Baghdad, and at scores of other sites. It is a calculation of Sir Henry Rawlinson's, that *nine-tenths* of the bricks brought from Mesopotamia are inscribed with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar. "At least a hundred sites," says the same writer, "in the tract immediately about Babylon, give evidence, by bricks bearing his legend, of the marvelous activity and energy of this king." ||

His inscriptions add, that, besides the great temple of

* Ibid., p. 125. Compare the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 587.

† "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 133, 134.

‡ Abydenus, l. s. c.

§ Compare his inscription, "Records of the Past," vol. vii., pp. 75-78.

|| "Commentary on the Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 76.

Nebo, or of the Seven Spheres, at Borsippa, he built there at least five others,* together with a temple to the Moon-god at Beth-Ziba,† and one to the Sun-god at Larsa, or Senkareh.‡ Altogether there is reason to believe that he was one of the most indefatigable of all the builders that have left their mark upon the world in which we live. He covered Babylonia with great works. He was the Augustus of Babylon. He found it a perishing city of unbaked clay; he left it one of durable burnt brick, unless it had been for human violence, capable of continuing, as the fragment of the *Kasr* has continued, to the present day.

* "Records of the Past," vol. v., p. 123.

† Ibid., p. 124.

‡ Ibid., vol. vii., pp. 71, 72.

CHAPTER VII.

NOTICES OF BABYLON IN JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL.

THE Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel contain numerous allusions, some prophetic, others historic, to the wars in which Nebuchadrezzar was engaged, or was to be engaged. A certain number of these notices refer to wars, which are also mentioned in Chronicles or Kings, and which have consequently already engaged our attention.* But others touch upon campaigns which Kings and Chronicles ignore, either on account of their lying outside the geographic range of the writer's vision, or from their being subsequent in point of time to the event which they view as constituting the close of their narratives. The campaigns in question are especially those against Tyre and Egypt, which are touched by both writers, but most emphatically dwelt upon by Ezekiel.

I. The war against Tyre. Ezekiel's description of this war is as follows :—

“ Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north with horses and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee; thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets: he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches and make a prey of thy merchandise; and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasure houses; and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water. And I will cause the noise of thy songs to cease; and the sound of thy harp shall be no more heard. And I will make

* See above, ch. iii.



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the one involved the surrender of the other, and Nebuchadnezzar, master of the Old Tyre, experienced no resistance from the New.

The annalists of Tyre, though little disposed to dwell upon a passage of history so painful to patriotic men, were forced to admit the fact of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, and even to give some account of it. They stated that it took place in the reign of a certain Ithobalus (Eth-Baal), and that the Tyrians offered a resistance almost without a parallel. They were besieged continuously for thirteen years.* The brief extracts from their works, which are all that we possess of them, do not say whether the siege was successful or the contrary; but it is scarcely conceivable that the great monarch would have allowed his efforts to be baffled, and it is certain that he carried a large number of Phœnician captives to Babylonia, whom he settled in various parts of the country. †

The fact of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre having lasted thirteen years, throws considerable light on another passage of Ezekiel. In the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (B. C. 573), the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel, saying:—

“Son of man, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*; yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labor wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for Me, saith the Lord God.”—EZEK. XXIX. 18-20.

The extraordinary length of the siege, in which men grew old and wore themselves out, explains the phrase,—“Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled;” and at the same time accounts for the fact that Nebuchadnezzar was considered to have received no wages, *i.e.*, no sufficient wages, for his service, which had been very inadequately repaid by the plunder found in the exhausted city.

* Menand. Ephes. ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21; Philostrate. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.*, x. 11. § 1.

† Berosus. ap. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, l. s. c.

II. A great campaign in Egypt. In the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah prophesied as follows:—

“Then came the Word of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh’s house in Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah; and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid, and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them. And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death to death; and such as are for captivity to captivity; and such as are for the sword to the sword. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives: and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment; and he shall go forth from thence in peace. He shall break also the images of Beth-shemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire.”—JER. xliii. 8-13.

Some time afterwards he delivered another prophecy (xlii. 13-26) equally explicit, in which Migdol, Noph (Memphis), Tahpanhes (Daphnæ), and No-Ammon (Thebes) were threatened; and the delivery of the entire country and people into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants, was foretold.

Ezekiel delivered seven prophecies against Egypt, all of them having more or less reference to Babylon as the power which was to bring ruin upon the country, and two of them mentioning Nebuchadrezzar by name, as the monarch who was to inflict the chastisement (Ezek. xxix. 18, 19; xxx. 10). These prophecies are too long to quote in full. They are chiefly remarkable as declaring the complete desolation of Egypt, and as fixing a term of years during which her degradation should continue. In chap. xxx. we find among the places which are to suffer, Sin or Pelusium, Zoan or Tanis, On or Heliopolis, Noph or Memphis, Tahpanhes or Daphnæ, Pibeseth or Bubastis, and No-Ammon or Thebes. In chap. xxix. an even wider area is included. There we are told that the land of Egypt was to be “utterly waste and desolate from Migdol to Syene,* even unto the border of Ethiopia” (ver. 10). The time of Egypt’s affliction is fixed at “forty years” (vers. 11-13), after which it is to recover,

* There is no doubt that this is the proper rendering. “From the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia” would have no meaning, since Syene bordered on Ethiopia.

but to be a "base kingdom," "the basest of the kingdoms" (ver. 15), no more "exalted above the nations," no more a ruler over nations external to itself.

By the date of one of Ezekiel's prophecies (chap. xxix. 17-20), which is B. C. 573, it is evident that the great invasion prophesied had not then taken place, but was still impending. Nebuchadnezzar's attack must consequently be looked for towards the latter part of his long reign, which terminated in B. C. 562, according to the Canon of Ptolemy.

Until recently it would have been impossible to adduce any historical confirmation, or indeed illustration, of these prophecies. They were quoted by sceptical writers as prophecies that had been unfulfilled. Herodotus, it was remarked, knew nothing of any invasion of Egypt by the Asiatics during the reigns of either Apries or Amasis, with whom Nebuchadnezzar was contemporary, much less of any complete devastation of the entire territory by them. It was true that Josephus, anxious to save the reputation of his sacred books, spoke of an invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar later than the destruction of Jerusalem, and even made him kill one king and set up another.* But he placed these events in the fifth year after the fall of Jerusalem, that is in B. C. 581, whereas Ezekiel's date, in his twenty-ninth chapter, showed that they had not happened by B. C. 573. Moreover, he contradicted Egyptian history, which gave no change of sovereign till ten years after the time mentioned, or B. C. 571.

It was difficult to meet these objectors formerly. Within the last few years, however, light has been thrown on the subject from two inscriptions—one Egyptian, which had been long known, but not rightly understood; the other Babylonian, which was not discovered till 1878. The Egyptian inscription is on a statue in the Louvre, which was originally set up at Elephantiné by a certain Nes-Hor, an official of high rank whom Apries, the Egyptian monarch called in Scripture "Pharaoh-Hophra," had made "Governor off the south." This officer, according to the latest and best interpretation of his inscription, † writes as follows:—
 "I have caused to be made ready my statue; my name will be perpetuated by means of it; it will not perish in this temple, inasmuch as I took care of the house, when it was

* "Ant. Jud." x. 9, § 7.

† See Dr. Wiedemann's paper in the "Zeitschrift für Ägypt Sprache" for 1878, p. 4.



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king of Egypt, collected, and . . . [his soldiers] went, they spread abroad. As for me (?) . . . a remote district, which is in the middle of the sea . . . many . . . from the midst of the country of Egypt . . . soldiers, horses, and chariots (?) . . . for his help he assembled and . . . he looked before him . . . to his [army] he trusted and . . . fixed a command." *

Nebuchadnezzar, evidently, in this inscription, speaks of an expedition which he personally conducted into Egypt, as late as his thirty-seventh year, which was B. C. 568, five years later than the date of Ezekiel's dated prophecy. The king, however, against whom he made war, was not Apries, whose name in Egyptian was Ua-ap-ra, but apparently Amasis, his successor, since it ended in *-su*, probably in *-usu*.† This may seem to be an objection against referring the two inscriptions to the same events, since Apries was still king when that of Nes-Hor was set up. But a reference to Egyptian history removes this difficulty. Amasis, it appears, ascended the throne in B. C. 571; but Apries did not die until B. C. 565. For six years the two monarchs inhabited the same palace at Sais,‡ and both bore the royal title. An Egyptian monument distinctly recognizes the double reign;§ the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar, being in B. C. 568, exactly falls into this interval. It was natural that Nebuchadnezzar should mention the active young king, who had the real power, and was his actual antagonist; it was equally natural that Nes-Hor, an old *employé* under Apries, should ignore the upstart, and seek to do honor to his old master.

Other wars of Nebuchadnezzar are thought to be glanced at in Scripture, as one with Elam,|| to which there may be allusion in Jer. xlix. 35–38, and Ezek. xxxii. 24; one with the Moabites, perhaps in Ezek. xxv. 8–11; and one with Ammon, touched upon in Ezek. xxi. 20, 28–32, and xxv. 4–7. Josephus relates it as a historical fact, that he reduced both the Moabites and the Ammonites to subjection;¶ and there are some grounds for thinking that he also made himself master of Elam; but it cannot be said that these events are either confirmed or illustrated by profane writers, who make

* "Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Arch., vol. vii., pp. 218–222.

† See the inscription in the "Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Soc.," vol. vii., p. 220, reverse, line 1.

‡ Herod., ii. 169.

§ Champollion, "Monuments de l'Égypte," vol. iv., p. 443, No. 1.

|| G. Smith, "History of Babylonia," pp. 157, 158.

¶ Joseph., "Ant. Jud.," x. 9, § 7.

no distinct mention of any of his wars, except those with the Jews, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians.

It was, however, widely recognized in antiquity that Nebuchadnezzar was a great general. His exploits were enormously exaggerated, since he was believed by some * to have conquered all North Africa and Spain, as well as the country between Armenia and the Caspian. But there was a basis of truth underlying the exaggerations. Nebuchadnezzar, at a comparatively early age, defeated Pharaoh Necho at the great battle of Carchemish, conquered Coele-syria, and reduced Judæa to vassalage. Somewhat later he engaged in the difficult enterprise of capturing Tyre, and exhibited a rare spirit of persistence and perseverance in his long siege of that town. His capture of Jerusalem, after a siege of eighteen months (2 Kings xxv. 1-4), was creditable to him, since Samaria, a place of far less strength, was not taken by the Assyrians until it had been besieged for three years (2 Kings xvii. 5). The reduction of Elam, if we may ascribe it to him, redounds still more to his honor, since the Elamites were a numerous and powerful nation, which had contended on almost even terms with the Assyrians from the time of Sargon to the close of the empire. The judgment of a good general was shown in the subjugation of Moab and Ammon, for it is essential to the security of Syria and Palestine that the tribes occupying the skirt of the great eastern desert shall be controlled and their ravages prevented. In Egypt Nebuchadnezzar probably met his most powerful adversary, since under the rule of the Psammetichi Egypt had recovered almost her pristine vigor. Thus in this quarter the struggle for supremacy was severe and greatly prolonged. He contended with three successive Egyptian kings—Necho, Apries or Hophra, and Amasis. From Necho he took the whole tract between Carchemish and the Egyptian frontier. Apries feared to meet him, and, after a futile demonstration, gave up the interference which he had meditated (Jer. xxxvii. 7). Amasis, who had perhaps provoked him by his expedition against Cyprus,† which Nebuchadnezzar would naturally regard as his, he signally punished by ravaging his whole territory, injuring the temples, destroying or carrying off the images of the gods, and making prisoners of many of the inhabitants. It is possible that he did more than this.

* As Megasthenes and Abydenus.

† Herod, ii. 182.

Egypt's degradation was to last for a long term of years.* It is not unlikely that Amasis became the vassal of Nebuchadnezzar, and his peaceful reign, and the material prosperity of his country,† were the result of a compact by which he acknowledged the suzerainty of Babylon, and bowed his head to a foreign yoke.

* "Forty years" (Ezek. xxix. 11-13); but "forty years," in prophetic language, is not to be taken literally.

† Herod., ii., 177.



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Babylonia being entirely alluvial is wholly destitute of stone and the only trees of any size that it produces are the cypress and the palm.* We find the Babylonian monarchs employing in their temples and palaces abundant pine and cedar trees, together with many other kinds of wood, which it is impossible to identify. Mention is made of "*Babil-wood*," "*umritgana-wood*," "*ummakana-wood*," "*ri-wood*," "*ikiki-wood*," "*surman-wood*," "*asuhu-wood*," "*musritkanna-wood*," and "*mesukan-wood*." † Modern exploration has shown that among the building materials employed was teak, ‡ but whether any one of these obscure names designates that species of timber is uncertain. What seems plain is that all these woods must have been imported. The teak must have come either from India, or possibly from one of the islands in the Persian Gulf; § there is evidence that the cedars and pines, together with the *Babil-wood*, were imported from Syria, being furnished by the forests that clothed the sides of Mounts Libanus and Amanus; || there is no evidence with respect to the remainder, but they may have been derived from either Armenia, Assyria, or Susiana.

Among the kinds of stone commonly used in building which must necessarily have been imported, were "*alabaster blocks*," "*zamat stone*," "*durmina-turda* and *kamina-turda* stone, *zamat-hati* stone, and lapis lazuli." ¶ Xenophon speaks of the importation of "*millstones*" in his own day; ** and, as Babylonia could not furnish them, they must always have come in from without. Sandstone and basalt, which are found in some of the ruins, could have been obtained from the adjacent parts of Arabia; but the alabaster, which has been also found, and the lapis lazuli, which was especially affected for adornment, must have been brought from a greater distance.

Stones of the rarer and more precious kinds were also largely imported, to serve either as seals or as ornaments

* See the author's "*Ancient Monarchies*," vol. iii., pp. 220-221.

† "*Records of the Past*," vol. v., pp. 117-133; vol. vii., p. 75.

‡ "*Journal of the R. Asiat. Society*," vol. xv., p. 264.

§ As Heeren thinks, on the strength of a passage of Theophrastus ("*As. Nat.*," vol. ii., pp. 258, 259).

|| "*Records of the Past*," vol. v., p. 119; vol. ix., p. 16; "*Transactions of Bibi. Arch. Society*," vol. vii., p. 154.

¶ "*Records of the Past*," vol. v., pp. 121, 125-127; vol. vii., p. 76, etc.

** Xen., "*Anab.*," i. 5, § 5.

of the person. Herodotus tells us that "every Babylonian carried a seal;"* and the remains tend to confirm his testimony, since Babylonian seals, either in the shape of signet rings or of cylinders, exist by thousands in European museums, and are still found in large numbers by explorers. They are chiefly made of onyx, jasper, serpentine, meteoric stone, lapis lazuli, and chalcedony, all substances that must have been introduced from abroad, since no one of them is produced by Babylonia.

Babylonia must also have imported or else carried off from foreign countries, the whole of its metals. Neither gold, nor silver, nor copper, nor tin, nor lead, nor iron are among the gifts which Nature has vouchsafed to the southern Mesopotamian region. No doubt her military successes enabled her to obtain from foreign lands, not by exchange but by plunder, considerable supplies of these commodities; but besides this accidental and irregular mode of acquisition, there must have been some normal and unceasing source of supply, to prevent disastrous fluctuations, and secure a due provision for the constant needs of the country. Every implement used in agriculture or in the mechanical trades had to be made of bronze, † the materials of which came from afar; copper perhaps from Armenia, which still produces it largely, tin from Further India, or from Cornwall, through the medium of the Phœnicians.‡ Every weapon of war had to be supplied similarly; all the gold and silver lavished on the doors and walls of temples, § on images of the gods or the dresses in which the images were clothed, || on temple tables, altars, or couches, ¶ on palace walls and roofs, ** on thrones, sceptres, parasols, chariots, and the like, †† or on bracelets, armlets, and other articles of personal adornment, had to be procured from some foreign land and to be conveyed hundred or thousands of miles before the Babylonians could make use of them.

Another whole class of commodities which the Babylonians are believed to have obtained from foreign countries

* Herod., i. 195.

† Iron was not absolutely unknown in ancient Babylonia; but almost all the weapons and implements found are of bronze.

‡ Herod., iii. 115.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 117-120; vol. vii., p. 75.

¶ Ibid., vol. vii., pp. 5, 6. || Herod., i. 181, 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9.

** "Records of the Past," vol. v., pp. 131, 133.

†† Ibid., vol. ix., p. 15.

comprises the raw materials for their clothes, and for the greater part of their fabrics.* Babylonians was not a country suitable for the rearing of sheep, and, if it produced wool at all, produced it only in small quantities; yet the Babylonians wore ordinarily two woollen garments,† and some of their most famous fabrics were of the same material. Their other clothes were either linen or cotton; but, so far as is known, neither flax nor the cotton plant was cultivated by them.

Spices constituted another class of imports. In their religious ceremonies the Babylonians consumed frankincense‡ on an enormous scale; and they employed it likewise in purifications.§ They also used aromatic reeds in their sacrifices,|| as did the Jews who were brought into contact with them.¶ Whether they imported cinnamon from Ceylon or India,** may perhaps be doubted; but the spices of Arabia were certainly in request, and formed the material of a regular traffic.††

All the wine consumed in Babylonia was imported from abroad. Babylonia was too hot, and probably also too moist, for the vine, which was not cultivated in any part of the country.‡‡ A sort of spirit was distilled from dates, which the Greeks called "palm-wine,"§§ and this was drunk by the common people. But the wealthier classes could be content with nothing less than the juice of the grape; ||| and hence there was a continuous importation of real wine into the country,¶¶ where there prevailed a general luxuriousness of living. The trade must consequently have been considerable, and is not likely to have been confined to a single channel. There were several vine-growing countries not very remote from Babylon; and a brisk commerce was in all probability carried on with most of them.

Among other probable imports may be mentioned ivory and ebony, for the construction of rich furniture, pearls for personal adornment, rare woods for walking-sticks, dyes, Indian shawls, musical instruments, Phœnician asses, Indian dogs, and Persian greyhounds.

Ivory and ebony which were brought to Solomon as

* Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii., p. 199.

† Herod., i. 195.

‡ Herod., i. 183.

§ Ibid., i. 198.

|| "Records of the Past," vol. vii., p. 140.

¶ Jer. vi. 20,

** As Heeren supposes ("As. Nat.," vol. ii., p. 240).

†† Strabo, xvi. 1110.

‡‡ Herod., i. 193.

§§ Ibid.

||| Dan. i. 5; v. 1.

¶¶ Herod., i. 194.



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in various parts of the country;* and fabrics issued from the Babylonian looms which were highly esteemed by foreign nations. The texture was exquisite; the dyes were of remarkable brilliancy; and the workmanship was superior. The "Babylonish garment" found among the spoils of Jericho when the Israelites entered the Holy Land, and coveted by Achan,† is an evidence at once of the high esteem in which such fabrics were held, and of the distance to which, even thus early, they had been exported. Fringed and striped robes of seemingly delicate material appear on Babylonian cylinders ‡ as early as the Proto-Chaldæan period, or before B. C. 2000. We cannot fix their material; but perhaps they were of the class called "sindones," which appear to have been muslins of extreme fineness, and of brilliant hues, and which in later times were set apart for royal use.§

The carpets of Babylon acquired a peculiar reputation.|| Carpets are one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, where not only are the floors of the reception-rooms in all houses of a superior class covered with them, but they even form the coverlets of beds, couches, divans, and sofas, and are thus the main decoration of apartments. The carpets of Babylon were made of fine wool, skilfully woven, exquisite in their colors, and boasting patterns that gave them a character of piquancy and originality. They bore representations of griffins and other fabulous animals,¶ which excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners, who did not know whether they beheld mere freaks of fancy or portraits of the wonderful beasts of Lower Asia.

Besides their dresses, carpets, and other textile fabrics, it may be suspected that Babylonia exported rich furniture. Whom the Assyrian monarchs invaded a foreign territory, and obtained any considerable success, they almost universally carried off, on their return to their own land, great part of the furniture of any royal palace that fell into their hands, as the most valued portion of their booty. In their Babylonian expeditions alone, however, do they particularize the several objects. There we find mention of "the golden throne, the golden parasol, the golden sceptre, the silver chariot,"** and other articles that cannot be identified. There, too, we find

* Strab., xvi., p. 1074.

† Josh. vii. 21.

‡ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 62.

§ Theophrast., "Hist. Plant.," iv. 9.

|| Arrian, "Exp. Alex.," vi. 29.

¶ Athen. Deipn., v., p. 197.

** "Records of the Past," vol. ix., p. 15.

that when a foreign prince needed persuading in order to make him render assistance, and a "propitiatory offering" had to be sent to him, "a throne in silver, a parasol in silver, a *pasur* in silver, and a *nirmaktu* in silver" were the objects sent.* It would only have been going a short step further to offer articles so highly appreciated to foreign customers generally.

It is uncertain whether the Babylonians exported grain, or dates, or any of the other produce of the palm.† Enormous quantities of wheat, barley, millet, and sesame were raised in their country,‡ while the date palm grew so thickly in the lower parts of the territory as to form almost a continuous forest.§ The natural wealth of the country consisted mainly in the abundance of these products, and it is scarcely possible that use was not made of the overplus beyond the wants of the inhabitants to maintain the balance of trade, which in so luxurious an empire must always have tended to declare itself against such great consumers. But ancient writers are rarely interested in such matters as trade and commerce, while the problems of political economy are wholly unknown to them. Hence they unfortunately leave us in the dark on numerous points which to us seem of primary importance, and force us to attempt to grope our way by reasonable conjecture.

We shall pass now from the consideration of the probable objects of traffic between Babylonia and other countries to that of the nature of the traffic, and the probable or certain direction of its various lines. Now the traffic was, beyond all doubt, carried on in part by land and in part by sea, the Babylonians not only having dealings with their continental neighbors, but also carrying on a commerce with islands and countries which were reached in ships.

The land traffic itself was of two kinds. Caravans composed of large bodies of merchants, with their attendants and followers, proceeded from Babylon in various directions across the continent, carrying with them, on the backs of camels or asses, the native commodities which they desired to sell, and returning after a time with such foreign productions as were needed or desired by the Babylonians. Regular

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii., p. 45.

† The palm *Pas* was said to furnish the Babylonians with bread, wine, vinegar, honey, groats, string and ropes of all kinds, and a mash for cattle (Strab., xvi. 1, § 14).

‡ Herod., i. 193.

§ Amm. Marc., xxiv. 3.

routes were established which these traveling companies pursued; and it is not unlikely that stations, or caravansarais, were provided for their accommodation at intervals.* The mass of the persons composing the caravans would travel on foot: but the richer traders would be mounted on camels, or even sometimes on horses. It would be necessary to be well armed in order to resist the attacks of predatory tribes, or organized bands of robbers; † and the caravans would require to be numerous for the same reason. There would be no great difference between these ancient companies and the caravans of the present day, except to some extent in the commodities conveyed, and in the absence of any other than a commercial motive.‡

Other traders preferred to convey their goods along the courses of the great rivers, which, intercepting Mesopotamia either as main streams or tributaries, from natural channels of commercial intercourse with the neighboring countries, at any rate, for a considerable distance. Boats and rafts readily descended the Tigris, the Euphrates, and their affluents, § and transported almost without effort the produce of Comagene, Armenia, and Media to the lower Mesopotamian territory. It was possible by the use of sails and by tracking to mount the rivers in certain seasons; and this we know to have been done on the Euphrates as high as Thapsacus. || Water-carriage was especially convenient for the conveyance, of heavy goods, such as stone for building or for statuary, obelisks, and the like. Both the monuments and profane writers indicate that it was employed for these purposes. ¶

The principal lines of land traffic seem to have been five. One, which may be called the Western, was along the course of the Euphrates to about lat. $34^{\circ} 3'$, when it struck across due west to Tadmor, or Palmyra, and thence proceeded by way of Damascus to Tyre and Sidon. Traces of the employment of this route are found in Ezekiel (chap. xxvii. 18, 23, 24). Along it would be conveyed the whole of the Phœnician trade, including the important imports of tin, Tyrian purple, musical instruments, asses of superior quality, and

* See Herod., v. 52, who, however, speaks of Persian times.

† See Ezra, viii. 22.

‡ The religious motive of pilgrimage to certain shrines swells the size of modern caravans.

§ Herod., i. 194.

|| Strab., xvi. 8, § 18.

¶ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i., p. 209; Diod. Sic., ii. 11.



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flected, and continued on to the south-east, through Persepolis, to Kerman (Carmania). Wool was probably imported in large quantities by this route, together with onyxes from the Choaspes,* cotton, and the “greyhounds of the East.”†

The sea trade of the Babylonians was primarily with the Persian Gulf. Here they had an important settlement on the southern coast, called Gerrha, which had a large land traffic with the interior of Arabia, and carried its merchandise to Babylon in ships.‡ The “ships of Ur” are often mentioned in the early inscriptions,§ and the latter ones show that numerous vessels were always to be found in the ports at the head of the gulf, and that the Babylonians readily crossed the gulf when occasion required.|| It is uncertain whether they adventured themselves beyond its mouth into the Indian Ocean; but there is reason to believe that by some means or other they obtained Indian commodities which would have come most readily by this route. The teak found in their buildings, the ivory and ebony which they almost certainly used, the cinnamon and the cotton, in the large quantities in which they needed it, can only have come from the peninsula of Hindustan, and cannot be supposed to have traveled by the circuitous road of Cabul and Bactria. Arabian spices were conveyed by the Gerrhæans in their ships to Babylon itself, and the rest of the trade of the Gulf was probably chiefly in their hands. Perfumes of all kinds, pearls, wood for ship-building and walking-sticks, cotton, gems, gold, Indian fabrics, flowed into the Chaldæan capital from the sea, and were mostly brought to it in ships up the Euphrates, and deposited on the quays at the merchants’ doors. Æschylus calls the Babylonians who served in the army of Xerxes “navigators of ships.”¶ Commercial dealings among the dwellers in the city on a most extensive scale are disclosed by the Egibi tablets; ** “spice merchants” appear among the witnesses to deeds.†† Their own records and the accounts of the Greeks are thus in the completest agreement with the Prophets when he describes Babylon as “a land of traffick . . . a city of merchants.”

* Dionys. Perieg., ll. 1073–1077.

† See above, p. 100.

‡ Strab. xvi. 4, § 18; Agathemer, “De Mar. Erythr.,” § 87.

§ Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i., p. 12; note 51.

|| Records of the Past,” vol. i., pp. 40, 43, 73; vol. vii., p. 63; vol. ix., p. 60.

¶ “Æschyl Pers., ll. 52–55.

** Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,” vol. vii., pp. 1–78.

†† “Records of the Past,” vol. vi., p. 94.

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER NOTICES OF BABYLON IN DANIEL.

“Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the gold and silver vessels which his father, Nebuchadnezzar, had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God that was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.”—DAN. v. 1-4.

THE main difficulties connected with the Book of Daniel open upon us with the commencement of chapter v. A new king makes his appearance—a king unknown to profane historians, and declared by some critics to be a purely fictitious personage.* We have to consider at the outset who this Belshazzar can be. Does he represent any king known to us under any other name in profane history? Can we find a trace of him in the inscriptions? Or is he altogether an obscure and mysterious personage, of whose very existence we have no trace outside Daniel, and who must therefore always constitute an historical difficulty of no small magnitude?

Now, in the first place, he is represented as the son of Nebuchadnezzar (vers. 2, 11, 13, 18, 22). The only son of Nebuchadnezzar of whom we have any mention in profane history is Evil-Merodach,† who succeeded his father in B. C. 562, and reigned somewhat less than two years, ascending the throne in Tisri of B. C. 562, and ceasing to reign in Ab of B. C. 560.‡ It has been suggested that the Belshazzar of Daniel is this monarch.§

* See De Wette, “Einleitung in das Alt. Test.,” p. 255 a.

† Mentioned by Berosus, Fr. 14; Polyhistor (ap. Euseb., “Chron. Can.” i. 5), and Abydenus (ap. Euseb. i. 10). He appears in the Babylonian dated tablets as Avil-Marduk.

‡ “Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Soc.,” vol. vi., pp. 25-26.

§ So Hüpfeld and Hävernick.

The following are the chief objections to this theory:—
 (a) There is no reason to suppose that Evil-Merodach ever bore any other name, or was known to the Jews under one designation, to the Babylonians under another. He appears in the Book of Kings under his rightful name of Evil-Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27), and again in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer. lii. 31). Unless we have distinct evidence of a monarch having borne two names, it is to the last degree uncritical to presume it. (b) The third year of Belshazzar is mentioned in Daniel (ch. viii. 1). Evil-Merodach is assigned two years only by Ptolemy, Berossus, and Abydenus; § the latest date upon his tablets is his second year; he actually reigned no more than a year and ten months. (c) Evil-Merodach was put to death by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar, in B. C. 560. Babylon was at this time under no peril from the Medes and Persians, to whom the death of Belshazzar *appears* to be attributed (vers. 31). (d) The identification of Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach involves that of “Darius the Median” ver. 31) with Neriglissar, who was not a Mede, and had a name as remote as possible from that of Darius.

If Belshazzar be not Evil-Merodach, can he be Neriglissar? Here the name is not so great a difficulty. For, in the first place, the two words have two words have two elements in common. Neriglissar is in the Babylonian, Nergalsar-uzur, while Belshazzar is Bel-sar-uzur. Moreover, it was not an unknown thing in Babylonia and Assyria to substitute in a royal designation the name of one god for another.† But, *per contra* (a) Nergal was a god so distinct from Bel, that we can scarcely imagine such a substitution as Bel for Nergal having been allowable. (b) Neriglissar was the *son-in-law*, not the son, of Nebuchadnezzar. (c) He appears to have died peaceably, and to have been succeeded by his son, Labasi-Merodach (Labossoracus),‡ instead of being “slain” suddenly, and succeeded by a Darius. It seems therefore impossible that the Belshazzar of Daniel can be Neriglissar.

Is he, then, as Josephus supposed, Nabonidus? § Nabonidus, according to Ptolemy and Berossus, was the last native king. The Medes and Persians destroyed his kingdom, and made him prisoner; after which, in a little time, he

* Ptol., “Mag. Syntax.,” v. 14; Beros., l. s. c., Abyden., l. s. c.

† “Transactions of Bib. Arch. Soc.,” vol. vi., p. 28.

‡ Berossus, l. s. c.

§ Joseph., “Ant. Jud.,” x. 11, § 2



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ticular, were so jealous of possible rivals in their own family, that they did not name even their sons upon public documents unless they had associated them. Kudurmabuk mentions his son Rim-agu; * but he has made him King of Larsa. Sennacherib mentions Asshur-nadin-sum, † but on the occasion of his elevation to the throne of Babylon. Apart from these instances, and that of Bel-sar-uzur, there does not seem to be any mention made of their sons *by name* by the monarchs of either country.

The supposition that Bel-sar-uzur may have been “a mere child” when the inscription on which his name occurs was set up, is completely negatived by the newly-discovered tablet of Nabonidus, which shows him to have had a son—and Bel-sar-uzur was his “eldest son”—who held the command of his main army from his seventh year, B. C. 549, to his eleventh, B. C. 545. ‡ It is a reasonable supposition that the prince mentioned upon this tablet was Bel-sar-uzur. He is called emphatically “the king’s son,” and is mentioned five times. While Cyrus is threatening Babylon both on the north and on the south, Nabonidus is shown to have remained sluggish and inert within the walls of the capital, the true kingly power being exercised by “the king’s son,” who is with the army and the officers in Akkad, or northern Babylonia, watching Cyrus and protecting Babylon. When the advance of the army of Cyrus is finally made, what “the king’s son” did is not told us. Nabonidus must have roused himself from his lethargy and joined his troops; but as soon as he found himself in danger, he fled. Pursuit was made, and he was captured—possibly in Borsippa, as Berosus related. § The victorious Persians took him with them into Babylon. If at this time “the king’s son” was still alive, any further resistance that was made must, almost certainly, have been made by him. Now *such resistance was made*. A body of “rebels,” as they are called, threw themselves into Bit-Saggatu, or the fortified enclosure within which stood the Great Temple of Bel-Merodach and the Royal Palace, and shutting to the gates, defied the enemy. It is true our record says no preparations had been made previously for the defence of the place, and there was no store of weapons within it. But the soldiers would have their own

* “Records of the Past,” vol. iii., p. 20.

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 40.

‡ “Transactions,” vol. vii., pp. 156–161.

§ Berosus, Fr. 14.

weapons: the temple and the palace would probably be well supplied with wine and provisions; the defence would be strong; and the feeling of the defenders may well have been such as Herodotus ascribes to the mass of the Babylonians when they shut themselves within the walls of the town.* Bel-sar-uzur and his lords may have felt so secure that they could indulge in feasting and revelry. They may have maintained their position for months. It is at any rate most remarkable that the writer of the tablet, having launched his shafts of contempt against the foolish "rebels," interposes a break of *more than four months* between this and the next paragraph. It was at the end of Tammuz that the "rebels" closed the gates of Bit-Saggatu; it was not till the 3d day of Marchesvan that "Cyrus to Babylon descended," and established peace there. It may have been on the night of his arrival with strong reinforcements that the final attack was made, and that Belshazzar, having provoked God by a wanton act of impiety, "was slain" (ver. 31). Nearly five months later, on the 27th of Adar, "the king (Nabonidus) died."

It is objected to the view, that the Belshazzar of Daniel is Bel-sar-uzur, the eldest son of Nabonidus:—
 1. That Belshazzar is called repeatedly the son of Nebuchadnezzar,* while we have no evidence that Bel-sar-uzur was in any way related to that monarch. 2. That "the Book of Daniel gives not the least hint of Belshazzar as having a father still alive and on the throne."† The first of these objections has been often answered.§ In Scripture, it has been observed, "father" stands for any male ancestor, "son" for any male descendant. Jehoshaphat is called "the son of Nimshi," though really his grandson; Jesus of Nazareth is "the son of David," who is "the son of Abraham" (Matt. i. 1); Ezra is "the son of Seraiah" (Ezra vii. 1), the "chief priest" of the captivity (2 Kings xxv. 18), who died B. C. 586 (ver. 21), of whom Ezra therefore (B. C. 460–440) must have been really the grandson or great-grandson. Conversely, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are the "fathers" of the Israelites after they have been four hundred years in Egypt (Exod. iii. 15, 16); Jonadab the

* Herod., i. 190.

† Fox Talbot, in "Records of the past," vol. v., p. 144. † Ibid.

§ See the author's "Bampton Lectures," Lecture N., pp. 134, 135, and note.

son of Rechab, the friend of Jehu (2 Kings x. 15), is the "father" of the Rechabites, contemporary with Jeremiah (Jer. xxxv. 6); and Jehoram, king of Judah, is the father of Uzziah (Matt. i. 8), his fourth descendant. The *rationale* of the matter is as follows: Neither in Hebrew nor in Chaldee is there any word for "grandfather" or "grandson." To express the relationship it would be necessary to say, "father's father" and "son's son." But "father's father" and "son's son" are, by an idiom of the language, used with an idea of remoteness—to express distant ancestors or descendants. Consequently they are rendered by usage unapt to express the near relationship of grandfather and grandson; and the result is that they are very rarely so used. As Dr. Pusey has well observed,* "A single grandfather, or forefather, is never called 'father's father,' always 'father' only." This is so alike in early and in late Hebrew; and the Chaldee follows the idiom. Jacob says, "The God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac" (Gen. xxxi. 42). God says to Aaron, "The tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father" (Num. xviii. 2). The confession to be made at the offering of the first-fruits began, "a Syrian, ready to perish, was my father" (Dent. xxvi. 5); and in the same sense, probably, Moses says, "the God of my father" (Exod. xviii. 4). David said to Mephibosheth, "I will surely show the kindness for Jonathan thy father's sake, and will restore to thee all the land of Saul thy father" (2 Sam. ix. 7). And Asa is said to have "removed Maachah, his mother, from being queen," though it is said in the same chapter that she was the mother of Abijam, his father (1 Kings xv. 2, 13). Maachah herself, who is called "daughter of Absalom" (1 Kings xv. 2), was really his grand-daughter, he having left only one daughter, Tamar (2 Sam. xiv. 27), and her own father being Uriel (2 Chron. xiii. 2). Again it is said, "Asa did right in the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father" (1 Kings xv. 11), and in like way of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 3). Contrariwise, it is said that "Ahaz did not right like David his father" (xvi. 2); that "Amaziah did right, yet not like David his father; he did according to all things as Joash his father did" (xiv. 3). Here, in one verse, the actual father and the remote grandfather are alike called "his father;" as before the father and grandfather of Mephibosheth were called, in the same verse,

* See his "Lectures on Daniel." Lecture VII., pp. 405, 406.



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served, may have been the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar *on the mother's side*. His father, Nebonicus, may have married one of Nebuchadnezzar's daughters.

It must be granted that we have no *proof* that he did. We have, however, some indications from which we should naturally have drawn the conclusion independently of the Book of Daniel. Two pretenders to the throne of Babylon started up during the reign of Darius Hystaspis, both of whom called themselves "Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus." * It is certain from this that Nabonidus must have had a son so called, for no pretender would assume the name of a person who never existed. How, then, are we to account for Nabonidus having given this name to one of his sons? Usurpers, as a rule, desire not to recall the memory of the family which they have dispossessed. The Sargonidæ discarded all the names in use among their predecessors. So did the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. So, again, did those of the twenty-first, and the Psammetichi. Nabonidus must have intended to claim a family connection with the preceding Babylonian monarchs when he thus named a son. And if he was indeed "no way related to Nebuchadnezzar," the connection could only have been by marriage. The probability, therefore, is that the principal wife of Nabonidus, the queen (or queen-mother) of Dan. v. 10, was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and that through her Belshazzar was Nebuchadnezzar's grand-son.

But further: it is objected that "the Book of Daniel gives not the slightest hint of Belshazzar having a father alive, and still upon the throne." † In reply it may be said, in the first place, that, were it so, no surprise need be felt; since, if the circumstances were as above supposed, if Nabonidus after a shameful flight was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, and Belshazzar was conducting the defence alone, any distinct allusion to the captured king would be improbable. But, secondly, it is not true that there is "no hint." Belshazzar makes proclamation that, if any one can read and interpret the writing miraculously inscribed upon the wall, "he shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be *the third ruler* in the kingdom" (v. 7); and when Daniel has read and interpreted the words,

* See the "Behistun Inscription," in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii., pp. 596, 606.

† Fox Talbot, in "Records of the Past," l. s. c.

the acts promised are performed—"they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be *the third ruler* in the kingdom" (ver. 29). It has been suggested that to be the "third ruler" was to be one of the three presidents who were subsequently set over the satraps (vi. 2); but neither is this the plain force of the words, nor was the organization of chap. vi. 1, 2 as yet existing. To be "the third ruler in the kingdom" is to hold a position one degree lower than that of "second from the king," which was conferred upon Joseph (Gen. xli. 40-44), and upon Mordecai (Esth. x. 3); it is to hold a position in the kingdom inferior to two persons, and to two persons only. That the proclamation ran in this form is a "hint," and more than a hint, that the first and second places were occupied, that there were two kings upon the throne, and that therefore the highest position that could, under the circumstances, be granted to a subject was the third place, the place next to two sovereigns. If we compare the two nearly parallel cases of Joseph and Mordecai—subjects whom their despotic master "delighted to honor"—with that of Daniel at this time, we shall find it scarcely possible to assign any other reason for his being promoted to the *third* place in the kingdom than the fact that the first and second places were already occupied by the son and father, Belshazzar and Nabonidus.

CHAPTER X.

FURTHER NOTICES OF BABYLON IN DANIEL.

“Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old. It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom.”—DAN. v. 31 ; vi. 1.

THE reign of “Darius the Median” over Babylon is the second great historical difficulty which the Book of Daniel presents to the modern inquirer. According to Herodotus,* Berossus,† and the Canon of Ptolemy, the immediate successor of Nabonidus (Labynetus) was Cyrus—no king intervened between them. The Babylonian records are in accord. Two contemporary documents ‡ declare that Cyrus defeated Nabonidus, captured him, and took the direction of affairs into his own hands. One of them contains a proclamation, issued by Cyrus, as it would seem, immediately after his conquest, § in which he assumes the recognized titles of Babylonian sovereignty, calling himself “the great king, the powerful king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumir and Akkad, the king of the four regions.” Who, then, it has to be asked, is this “Darius the Median,” who “took the kingdom,” and made arrangements for its government, immediately after the fall of the native Babylonian power, and its suppression by that of the Medes and Persians?

All that Scripture tells us of “Darius the Median,” besides the points already mentioned, is that he was the son of Ahasuerus, that he was an actual Mede by descent (“of the seed of the Medes,” Dan. ix. 1), that he advanced Daniel to a high dignity (ch. vi. 2), and that afterwards he cast

* Herod., i. 188, 191.

† Berossus, Fr. 14.

‡ See the “Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus,” published in the “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” vol. xii., pp. 85-9; and “Transactions of Bibl. Archæol. Society,” vol. vii., pp. 153-169.

§ “As. Soc. Journ., vol. xii., p. 87.



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the son of Cambyses? Further, how are we to understand the expression "King Darius," which occurs in ch. vi. 6, 9, 25? Does it mean "king, king"? We will not insult our readers' intellects by continuing. We will only add one less obvious argument, an argument which may further our quest and give us perhaps some help in determining, not only who "Darius the Median" was not, but who he was.

It is said in ch. v. 31, that "Darius the Median *took* the kingdom," and in ch. ix. 1, that he "*was made king* over the realm of the Chaldeans." Neither of these two expressions is suitable to Cyrus. The word translated "took" means "received," "took from the hands of another;" and the other passage is yet more unmistakable. "Was made king" exactly expresses the original, which uses the Hophal of the verb, the Hiphel of which occurs when David makes Solomon king over Israel (1 Chron. xxix. 20). No one would say of Alexander the Great, when he conquered Darius Codomannus, that he "*was made king* over Persia." The expression implies the reception of a kingly position by one man from the hands of another. Now Babylon, while under the Assyrians, had been almost always governed by viceroys, who received their crowns from the Assyrian monarchs.* It was not unnatural that Cyrus should follow the same system. He had necessarily to appoint a governor, and the "Nabonidus Tablet" tells us that he did so almost immediately after taking possession of the city. The first governor appointed was a certain Gobryas, † whose nationality is doubtful; but he appears to have been shortly afterwards sent to some other locality.‡ A different arrangement must have been then made. That Cyrus should have appointed a Mede, and allowed him to take the title of "king," is in no way improbable. He was fond of appointing Medes to high office, as we learn from Herodotus.§ He was earnestly desirous of conciliating the Babylonians, as we find from his cylinder.|| It was not many years before he gave his son, Cambyses, the full royal power at Babylon, relinquishing it himself, as appears from a dated tablet.¶ The position of

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii., p. 42.

† So at least I understand the passage ("Transactions," etc., vol vii., p. 166, l. 20).

‡ Ibid., p. 167, l. 22. The reading is uncertain.

§ Herod., i. 156, 162.

|| "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xii., pp. 87-9.

¶ "Transactions, etc., vol. vi., p. 489.

“Darius the Median” in Daniel is compatible with all that we know with any certainty from other sources. We have only to suppose that Cyrus, in the interval between the brief governorship of Gobryas and the sovereignty of Cambyses, placed Babylon under a Median noble named Darius, and allowed him a position intermediate between that of a mere ordinary “governeur” and the full royal authority.

The position of Darius the Median, as a subject king set up by Cyrus, has been widely accepted, but critics have not been content to rest at this point. Attempts have been made to identify him further with some person celebrated in history; and it has been suggested that he was either Astyages, the last Median monarch,* or his supposed son Cyaxares.† Neither identification can be substantiated. The very existence of a second Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, is more than questionable.‡ The names are, in both cases, unsuitable. The age of Darius when he “took the kingdom” falls short of the probable age of Astyages. It seems best to acquiesce in the view of those who hold that “Darius the Mede is an historic character,” but one “whose name has not yet been found except in Scripture.”§

It is in no way surprising that, on being set over the realm of the Chaldees, Darius should have occupied himself in giving it a new organization. We are scarcely entitled to assume, from the expression used in Dan. vi. 1, that he called his new officers “satraps;” but still it is quite possible that he used the word, which had not yet received a technical sense, and only meant etymologically “supporters of the crown.” The number, one hundred and twenty, is more than we should have expected, and can receive no support from the hundred and twenty-seven provinces of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 1), who ruled from Ethiopia to India, whereas Darius reigned only over the realm of the Chaldees; we must view it either as resulting from Oriental ostentation, or as an anticipation of the maxim, *Divide et impera*. Each “satrap” must have ruled over a comparatively small district. They may have been the head men of tribes, and if so, it is pertinent to remark that the tribes of the Euphrates

* So Syncellus, Jackson, Marsham, and Winer.

† So Josephus, Prideaux, Hales, Hengstenberg, Von Lengerke, and others.

‡ Herodotus declares that Astyages had no male offspring (i., 190).

§ “Speaker’s Commentary” on Dan. v. 31.

valley were exceedingly numerous. Twenty-four tribes of Lower Babylonia collected on one occasion to assist Susub ;* in the middle region Tiglath-Pileser II. claims to have reduced thirty-four tribes ;† the upper regions had at least as many. An ancient geographical list seems to divide Babylonia proper into seventy-three districts.‡ If Cyrus intrusted to Darius the Euphrates valley up to Carchemish, and the regions of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, we can quite understand the number of the “princes” (*i.e.*, satraps) being a hundred and twenty.

“Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.”—DAN. vi. 8.

“Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, That no degree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.”—VER. 15.

The inviolability of Medo-Persian law, and the moral impossibility that the king, having signed a decree, or in any way pledged his word to a matter, could afterwards retract, or alter it, which are so strongly asserted in these passages, and again so markedly implied in the Book of Esther, receive illustration from two narratives which have come down to us on the authority of Herodotus. “Cambyses,” he tells us,* “the son of Cyrus, was anxious to marry one of his sisters; but, as he knew that it was an uncommon thing, and not the custom of the Persians previously he summoned a meeting of the royal judges, and put the question to them, whether there was any law which allowed a brother, if he wished it, to marry his sister? Now the royal judges,” he remarks, “are certain picked men among the Persians, who hold their office for life, or until they are found guilty of some misconduct. By them justice is administered in Persia, and they are the interpreters of the old laws, all disputed cases of law being referred to their decision. When Cambyses, therefore, put his question to these judges, they gave him an answer which was at once true and safe—‘they did not find any law,’ they said, ‘allowing a brother to take his sister to wife; but they found a law that the king of the Persians might do whatever he pleased.’ And so they

* “Records of the Past,” vol. i., p. 47

† Ibid., vol. v., p. 101.

‡ Ibid., vol. v., pp. 105-7.

§ Herod., iii. 31.



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“The king spake and said unto Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?”—DAN. vi. 20.

“Then King Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for He is the living God, and steadfast for ever, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and His dominion shall be even unto the end, He delivereth and rescueth, and He worketh signs and wonders in heaven, and earth. who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.”—DAN. vi. 25-27.

As the Medo-Persic kings introduced some novelty into the political situation when they became the rulers of Babylon, so they further introduced a more considerable religious change. The ordinary Babylonian system is sufficiently indicated in the account of Belshazzar's feast. It was grossly polytheistic and idolatrous. It recognized a hierarchy of gods as ruling in the heavenly sphere,* and it worshiped them under the form of images † in gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, and wood, and stone (ch. vi. 4, 23). The religion of the Medo-Persians was very different. It admitted of no use of images.‡ It did not absolutely reject the employment of the word god in the plural; § but it acknowledged one god as infinitely superior to all others, and viewed him as alone truly “living,” as alone the fount and origin of all life, whether earthly or spiritual. The Ahura-Mazda of the Medes and Persians was a god of a very spiritual and exalted character. He had made the celestial bodies, earth, water, and trees, all good creatures, and all good, true things. He was good, holy, pure, true, the holy god, the holiest, the essence of truth, the father of all truth, the best being of all, the master of purity. He was supremely happy, possessing every blessing—health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality. ||

These facts, which are known to us especially through the Zendavesta, the sacred book of the ancient Medes and Persians, throw considerable light on the picture drawn of the religion of the Babylonian court under Darius the Mede, compared with that of the same court almost immediately before, under Belshazzar. Belshazzar allowed that “the spirit of *the holy gods*” might be in Daniel, and that there,

* “Ancient Monarchies.” vol. i. pp. 70-92; vol. ii., pp. 224-230.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 226.

‡ Herod., i. 131.

§ See Pusey's “Lectures on Daniel,” pp. 529-539.

|| “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii., pp. 46-7.

fore his words might be deserving of attention. He praised "the gods," and recognized the duty of worshiping them as embodied in their images of wood and stone and metal. In the account given of Darius the Mede, idolatry has, on the other hand, no place. Polytheism *of a kind* just makes its appearance in the expression, "Whosoever shall ask a petition of *any god*" (ch. vi. 7. 12); but monotheism is predominant. Darius, before knowing if a miracle has been performed or no, recognizes Daniel as a "servant of *the living God*" (ver. 20); and afterwards, when assured of Daniel's deliverance, praises and exalts "the living God" as one "who is steadfast forever and ever," whose "kingdom shall not be destroyed," but shall continue "even unto the end;" "who delivereth and rescueth," and "worketh signs and wonders in heaven and earth" (vers. 26, 27). These words, which would seem strange in the mouth of most heathens, are natural enough in those of a Zoroastrian, who, while allowing a certain qualified worship of the sun, and of the gods presiding over his own family,* would recognize as infinitely above these, placed in a category apart and by himself, the great giver of life, Ahura-Mazda the true "living God," the Creator, the Preserver, the Deliverer from evil, the Supreme Spirit, to whom all others were subordinate, the one and only ruler of heaven and earth.

It does not interfere with this view that Cyrus, and as his vice-gerent, Darius, tolerated—nay, even patronized to some extent—the Babylonian religion.† This they did as politic rulers over subjects likely to be disaffected. But in their courts, among their privy-councilors, they would act differently. There they would show their true feelings. Even in a proclamation addressed to all their subjects, as that of Darius was (ver. 25), they would not scruple to show their own feelings—as Darius Hystaspis and his successors did in all their rock-inscriptions—so long as they abstained from any direct disparagement of their subjects' gods, and merely required the acknowledgment of an additional deity besides those of the popular Pantheons.

* "Behist. Inscript.," col. iv., par. 12, 13; Pusey's "Daniel," p. 531. note 8.

† "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xii., pp. 88-9.

CHAPTER XI.

NOTICES OF BABYLON IN DANIEL, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, AND
EZEKIEL.

It is proposed in the present chapter to bring together the scattered notices in Scripture bearing upon the general condition of Babylon, the character of its government, and the manners and customs of its people; and to inquire how far profane history confirms or illustrates what Scripture tells us on these matters. A certain number of the points have necessarily been touched in some of the earlier chapters of the present volume, and thus it will be impossible to avoid a certain amount of repetition; but the endeavor will be made to pass lightly over such topics as have been already put before the reader, and thus to reduce the repetition to a minimum.

We have noticed indirectly, in connection with its commerce, the great wealth of Babylon. Isaiah calls it emphatically “the *golden* city” (Isa. xiv. 4), or “the exactress of gold,” as the passage may be rendered literally. Jeremiah compares Babylon to “a *golden* cup in the hand of the Lord” (Jer. li. 7), and calls her “abundant in treasures” (ib. ver. 13), declaring moreover that, at her fall, all those who partook of her spoil should be “satisfied” (ib. l. 10). In Daniel the Babylonian kingdom is typified by the “head of gold” (Dan. ii. 38), and the opulence of the monarch is shown by the enormous size of the image, or rather pillar, of gold which he set up, a pillar ninety feet high by nine feet wide (ib. iii. 1). The inscriptions are in accordance. Nebuchadnezzar tells us that he brought into the treasury of Merodach at Babylon “wares, and ornaments for the women, silver, molten gold, precious stones, metal, *umritgana* and cedar wood, a splendid abundance, riches and sources of



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and collected within it; trophies, abundance, royal treasures, I accumulated and gathered together;” * and again, “*Gatherings from great lands I made*; and, like the hills, I upraised its head.” †

Among the spoil which was regarded as of especial value were scented woods, more particularly cedars, and perhaps pines, from Lebanon and Amanus. Isaiah, in describing the general rejoicing at the fall of the Babylonian Empire, remarks, “The whole earth is at rest and is quiet; they break forth into singing: yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us” (Isa. xiv. 7, 8). The cuneiform inscriptions show that the practice of cutting timber in the Syrian mountains and conveying it to Mesopotamia, which had been begun by the Assyrian monarchs (2 Kings xix. 23), was continued by the Babylonians. Nebuchadnezzar expressly states that “the best of his pine-trees *from Lebanon*, with tall babil-wood, he brought;” ‡ and Nabonidus tells us that, in his third year, he went to “Amananu, a mountainous country, where tall pines grew, and brought a part of them to the midst of Babylon.” §

The great size of Babylon, and the immense height and thickness of its walls, have been dwelt upon at some length in a former chapter. || Jeremiah is particularly clear upon these points, though, naturally, he enters into no details. “Though Babylon should *mount up to heaven*,” he says, “and though she should *fortify the height of her strength*, yet from me shall spoilers come unto her, saith the Lord” (Jer. li. 53); and again, “The *broad* walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her *high* gates shall be burned with fire” (ib. ver. 58); and, with respect to the size of the city, “One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end” (ib. ver. 31).

The government of Babylon by a despotic monarch, the sole source of all power and authority, and the absolute master of the lives and liberties of his subjects, which the Babylonian notices in Scripture set before us consistently, and which appears most markedly in Daniel (ch. ii. 12, 48,

* “Records of the Past.” vol. v., p. 131.

† Ibid., p. 133.

‡ Ibid., vol. v., p. 119.

§ “Transactions of the Bibl. Archæolog. Society,” vol. vii., p. 154.

|| See above, ch. vi.

49; iii. 6, 15, 29), is in complete accord with all that profane history teaches on the subject. Nebuchadnezzar claims in his inscriptions to rule by Divine right. The sceptre of righteousness is delivered into his hand that therewith he may sustain men.* From him alone commands issue; by him alone all works are accomplished. No subject obtains any mention as even helping him. The inscriptions of Neriglissar and Nabonidus are of nearly the same character. And the classical accounts agree. It is clear that in Semitic Babylon, prior to the Medo-Persic conquest, there was no noble class possessing independent power, or any right of controlling the king.

There was, however, a learned class, which possessed a certain distinction, which furnished priests to the chief temples, and claimed to interpret dreams and omens, and to foretell the future by means of astrology. Herodotus † and Diodorus † give this class the name of “Chaldæans,” a nomenclature with which the Book of Daniel may be said to agree, if we accept the identification of “Chaldæans” with *Casdim*. At any rate, the book testifies to the existence of the class, and to the functions which belonged to it, as also does Isaiah, when he says of Babylon, “Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from these things which shall come upon thee” (Isa. xlvii. 13). The title *Rab-Mag*, which may be suspected to have belonged to the chief of the Chaldæan order, is found both in Scripture (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13) and in the inscriptions. It has been translated “Chief of the Magi;” ‡ but there seems to be no reason to believe that Magianism was in any way recognized by the Babylonians of the independent empire.

There was also in Babylonia a numerous class of officials—a “bureaucracy,” as it has been called—whereby the government of the country was actually carried on. In some places, the native sovereigns were indeed allowed to retain their authority for a time (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 17), and the Babylonian monarch could thus be called with propriety a “king of kings” (Dan. ii. 37; Ezek. xxvi. 7); but the general system was to replace kings by “governors” (2 Kings xxv. 22, 23; Berosus, Fr. 14) or “princes” (Dan. ii. 2), and to

* “Records of the Past,” vol. v., p. 114.

† Herod., i. 181, 183.

‡ Diod., Sic., ii. 29.

§ Speaker’s Commentary on Jeremiah, xxxix. 3.

employ under these last a great variety of subordinates. The Babylonian contract tablets show at least eight or ten names of officers under government, of different ranks and gradations,* correspondent (in a general way) to the "princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counselors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces" of the Book of Daniel, and thus indicate sufficiently the bureaucratic character of the government.

The general character of the Babylonian court, as depicted in Daniel, and its agreement with what we know from other sources, has been already noticed. But the following illustrations may be added to those already given. The high position of the queen-mother at the court of Belshazzar receives illustration from the mention of "the mother of the king" in the tablet of Nabonidus, and from the fact that at her death there was a court mourning of three days' duration.† The polygamy of the monarchs (Dan. v. 2, 3) accords with what we hear of the "concubines" of Saul-Mugina.‡ The employment of eunuchs (2 Kings xx. 10; Dan. i. 3) agrees with Herod. iii. 92; that of music (Isa. xiv. 11; Dan. iii. 5, 7) with passages in the Assyrian inscriptions, which speak of musicians and musical instruments as in vogue at the courts of other neighboring kings;§ that of "sweet odors" in the way of religious service (Dan. ii. 46) with what Herodotus relates of the burning of frankincense on sacrificial occasions.|| The long detention in prison of offenders against the dignity of the crown, of which Isaiah speaks, when he says of the Babylonian monarch that he "opened not the door of his prisoners" (Isa. xiv. 17), and which is exemplified by the confinement of Jehoiachin by Nebuchadnezzar for the extraordinary term of thirty-seven years (2 Kings xxv. 27), receives illustration from the story of Parsondas, as told by Nicholas of Damascus. Parsondas was a Mede, who desired to become king of Babylon under Artæus, and obtained from him a promise of the kingdom. Nannarus, the actual monarch, hearing of it, got Parsondas into his power, and kept him a prisoner at his court for seven years, even then releasing him, not of his own free-will, but on the application of Artæus, and under the appre-

* "Records of the Past," vol. ix., pp. 91-108; vol. xi., pp. 91-8.

† "Transactions of the Bib. Archæolog. Society," vol. vii., pp. 158-9.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. i., p. 77.

|| 'Ibid., vol. ix., pp. 54, 55.

§ Herod., i. 183.



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in this way, that, when he has to notice the escape of a certain number of Saul-Mugina's adherents, who had betaken themselves to flight, he expresses himself thus—"The people, whom Saul-Mugina, my rebellious brother, had caused to join him, and who, for their evil deeds, deserved death . . . they *did not burn in the fire* with Saul-Mugina their lord" * —implying that, if they had been caught, this would have been the mode of their execution. Again, of other rebels, kept apparently in some stone-quarries from the time of Sennacherib, his grandfather, Asshur-bani-pal tells us, "I threw those men again into that pit; *I cut off their limbs*, and caused them to be eaten by dogs, bears, eagles, vultures, birds of heaven, and fishes of the deep." †

The liberty and publicity allowed to women in Babylonia, so contrary to usual Oriental custom, which appears in the Book of Daniel (ch. v. 2, 3, 10), is illustrated by the traditions concerning Semiramis and Nitocris, and also by the account, which Herodotus gives, of certain Babylonian customs of a very unusual character. "Once a year," Herodotus tells us, "the marriageable maidens of every village in the country were required to assemble together into one place, while all the men stood round them in a circle. Then a herald (cf. Dan. iii. 4) called up the damsels one by one and offered them for sale . . . All who liked might come even from distant villages and bid for the women." ‡ Again he says, "The Babylonians have one most shameful custom. Every woman born in the country must, once in her life, go and sit down in the precinct of Venus and there consort with a stranger. Many 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. Where they sit there is always a great crowd, some coming and others going. Lines of cord mark out paths in all directions; and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. . . . Some women have remained three or four years in the precinct." § The statements of Herodotus on these points are confirmed by other writers, and there is ample reason to believe that the seclusion of the sex, so general in other parts of the East, was abhorrent to Babylonian ideas. ||

* "Records of the Past, vol. i., l. s. c.

† Herod., i., 106.

‡ See the author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii., p. 223.

† Ibid., p. 78.

§ Ibid., i. 199

The free use of wine in Babylonia, not only at royal banquets (Dan. v. 1-4), but in the ordinary diet of the upper classes (ib. 1. 5-16), is what we should scarcely have expected in so hot a region, and one wholly unsuited for the cultivation of the vine. Yet it is quite certain from profane sources that the fact was as represented in Scripture. Herodotus tells us of a regular trade between Armenia and Babylon down the course of the Euphrates, in which the boats used were sometimes of as much as five thousand talents burden.* He declares that the staple of the trade was wine, which, not being produced in the country, was regularly imported from abroad year after year. In the story of Parsondas we find Nannarus abundantly supplied with wine, and liberal in its use.† The Chaldæan account of the Deluge represents Hasisadra as collecting it “in receptacles, like the waters of a river,” for the benefit of those who were about to enter the ark,‡ and as pouring “seven jugs” of it in libation, when, on the subsidence of the waters, he quitted his shelter.§ Quintus Curtius relates that the Babolonians of Alexander’s time were fond of drinking wine to excess; their banquets were magnificent, and generally ended in drunkenness.||

The employment of war-chariots by the Babylonians, which is asserted by Jeremiah (Jer. iv. 14; l. 37), in marked contrast with his descriptions of the Nedo-Persians, who are represented as “riders upon horses” (ib. ver. 42; compare ch. li. 27), receives confirmation from the Assyrian inscriptions, which repeatedly mention the chariot force as an important part of the Babylonian army,¶ and is also noticed by Polyhistor,** Their skill with the bow, also noted by the same prophet (ch. iv. 29; v. 16; vi. 23; li. 3), has the support of Æschylus,†† and is in accordance with the monuments, which show us the bow as the favorite weapon of the monarchs. ‡‡

The pronounced idolatry prevalent in Babylon under the later kings, which Scripture sets forth in such strong terms

* Herod., i. 194.

† See Nic. Dam., Fr. 11.

‡ “Records of the Past,” vol. vii., p. 137.

§ Ibid., p. 140.

|| Q. Curt., v. 1.

¶ “Records of the Past,” vol. i., p. 22; vol. vii., p. 59; vol. xi., p. 55.

** See the “Fragm, Hist. Græc.” of C. Muller, vol. ii.

†† Æschyl “Pers.,” l. 55.

‡‡ See “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. ii., p. 199; vol. ii., p. 214.

(Jer. l. 2, 38 ; li. 17, 47, 52 ; Dan. v. 4), scarcely requires the confirmation which is lent to it by the inscriptions and by profane writers. Idolatrous systems had possession of all Western Asia at the time, and the Babylonian idolatry was not of a much grosser type than the Assyrian, the Syrian, or the Phœnician. But it is perhaps worthy of remark that the particular phase of the religion, which the great Hebrew prophets set forth, is exactly that found by the remains to have characterized the later empire. In the works of these writers three Babylonian gods only are particularized by name—Bel, Nebo, Merodach—and in the monuments of the period these three deities are exactly those which obtain the most frequent mention and hold the most prominent place. The kings of the later empire, with a single exception, had names which placed them under the protection of one or other of these three ; and their inscriptions show that to these three they paid, at any rate, especial honor. Merodach holds the first place in the memorials of their reigns left by Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar ; Bel and Nebo bear off the palm in the inscriptions of Nabonidus. While “ the great gods ” obtain occasional but scanty notice, as “ the holy gods ” do in the Book of Daniel (Dan. iv. 8, 9), Bel, Nebo, and Merodach alone occur frequently, alone seem to be viewed, not as local, but as great national deities, alone engage the thoughts and receive the adoration of the nation.



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more inhabited forever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbor cities thereof, saith the Lord, *so shall no man abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.*—Vers. 38–40.

“Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I will plead thy cause, and take vengeance for thee; and *I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant.* They shall roar together like lions; they shall yell as lions’ whelps. In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord. I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter, like rams with he-goats. How is Sheshach taken! And how is the praise of the whole earth surprised! How is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations! *The sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.*”—JER. li. 36–43.

The general accuracy of these descriptions has been frequently noticed, scarcely a traveler from the time of Pietro della Valle to the present day having failed to be struck by it. But it seems worth while to consider, somewhat in detail, the principal points on which the prophetic writers insist, and to adduce upon each of them the testimony of modern observers.

First, then, the foundations of Babylon were to fall, her lofty and broad walls were to be thrown down (Jer. l. 15), and she was not to present the appearance of a ruined city at all, but simply to “become heaps” (ch. li. 37). It is the constant remark of travelers that what are called the ruins of Babylon are simply a succession of unsightly mounds, some smaller, some larger—“shapeless heaps of rubbish,”* “immense tumuli,”† elevations that might easily be mistaken for natural hills, and that only after careful examination convince the beholder that they are human constructions.‡ The complete disappearance of the walls is particularly noticed;§ and the visitor,|| who has alone attempted to conjecture the position which they occupied, can mark no

* Layard, “Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 491.

† Ker Porter, “Travels,” vol. ii., p. 294.

‡ Ker Porter speaks of the ruins as “ancient foundations, more resembling natural hills in appearance, than mounds covering the remains of former great and splendid edifices” (“Travels,” vol. ii., p. 297).

§ Layard, “Nineveh and Babylon,” pp. 493, 494.

|| Oppert, “Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie,” vol. i., pp. 220–234.

more than some half-dozen mounds along the line which he ventures to assign to them. One main portion of the ruins is known to the Arabs as the *Mujellibé*, or "the Overturned," from the utter confusion that reigns among the broken walls and blocked passages and deranged bricks of its interior. Only a single fragment of a building still erects itself above the mass of rubbish whereof the mounds are chiefly composed,* to show that human habitations really once stood where all is now ruin, decay, and desolation.

When Babylon was standing in all its glory, with its great rampart walls from two hundred to three hundred feet high, with its lofty palaces and temple-towers, with its "hanging gardens," reckoned one of the world's wonders, and even its ordinary houses from three to four stories high, † it was a bold prophecy that the whole would one day disappear—that the edifices would all crumble into ruin, and the decomposed material cover up and conceal the massive towers and walls, presenting nothing to the eye but rounded hillocks, huge unsightly "heaps." It may be that such a fate had already befallen the great cities of Assyria, which had been destroyed nearly a century earlier, and which, from the nature of their materials, must have gone rapidly to decay. But the lessons of the past do not readily impress themselves on men; and it must have required a deep conviction of God's absolute foreknowledge on the part of the Hebrew prophets to publish it abroad, on the strength of a spiritual communication, that such a fate would overtake the greatest city of their day—"the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency" (Isa. xiii. 19)—the city "given to pleasure" that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and none else besides me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children" (ch. xlvii. 8).

The second point specially to be noted in the prophecies concerning Babylon is the prediction of absolute loss of inhabitants. The positions of important cities are usually so well chosen, so rich in natural advantages, that population clings to them; dwindle and decay as they may, decline as they may from their high estate, some town, some village, some collection of human dwellings still occupies a portion of the original site; their ruins echo to the sound of the human voice; they are not absolute solitudes. Clusters of Arab

* Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 484; Rich, "First Memoir," p. 25.

† Herod., i. 180.

huts cling about the pillars of the great temples at Luxor and Karnak; the village of Nebbi Yunus crowns the hill formed by the ruins of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh; Memphis hears the hum of the great city of Cairo; Tanis, the capital of Rameses II. and his successor, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, lives on in the mud hovels of San; Damascus, Athens, Rome, Antioch, Byzantium, Alexandria, have remained continuously from the time of their foundation towns of consequence. But Babylon soon became, and has for ages been, an absolute desert. Strabo, writing in the reign of Augustus, could say of it that "the great city had become a great solitude."* Jerome tells us that the Persian kings had made it into one of their "paradises," or hunting parks.† Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, successively took its place, and were built out of its ruins. There was "no healing of its bruise." When European travelers began to make their way to the far East, the report which they brought home was as follows:—"Babylon is in the grete desertes of Arabye, upon the way as men gone towards the kyngdome of Caldee. But it is fulle longe sithe ony man neyhe to the towne; for *it is alle deserte*, and fulle of dragons and grete serpentes."‡ The accounts of modern explorers are similar. They tell us that "the site of Babylon is a naked and hideous waste."§ "All around," says one of the latest, "is a blank waste, recalling the words of Jeremiah—'Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.'"|| No village crowns any of the great mounds which mark the situations of the principal buildings; no huts nestle among the lower eminences. A single modern building shows itself on the summit of the largest tumulus; it is a tomb, empty and silent.

Isaiah intensifies his description of the solitude by the statement, "Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there" (ch. xiii. 20). If the entire space contained within the circuit of the ancient walls be viewed as "Babylon," the words of the prophet will not be literally true. The black tents of the Zobeide

* Strab., xvi. 1, § 5: — *Ἡ μεγάλη πόλις μεγάλη ἴστιν ἐρημία*

† "Comment, in Esaiam," vol. v., p. 25, C.

‡ Maundeville's Travels (1322), quoted by Ker Porter, vol. ii., p. 336.

§ Layard, l. s.c. || Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 20.



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their base, receives continual notice. "The whole surface of the mounds appears to the eye," says Ker Porter, "nothing but *vast irregular hills of earth*, mixed with fragments of brick, pottery vitrifications, mortar, bitumen, etc., while the foot at every step sinks into *the loose dust and rubbish*."* And again "*Every spot of ground in sight was totally barren*, and on several tracts appeared the common marks of former building. It is an old adage that 'where a curse has fallen grass will never grow.' In like manner *the decomposing materials of a Babylonian structure doom the earth on which they perish to an everlasting sterility*." † On all sides," says Sir Austen Layard, "fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick are mingled with *that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil* which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and *renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste*." ‡

On the other hand, the neglect of the embankments and canals which anciently controled the waters of the Euphrates, and made them a defence to the city and not a danger, has consigned great part of what was anciently Babylon to the continual invasion of floods, which, stagnating in the lower grounds, have converted large tracts once included within the walls of the city into lakes, pools, and marshes. "The country to the westward of Babylon," writes Ker Porter, "seemed very low and swampy. . . . On turning to the north, similar morasses and ponds tracked the land in various parts. Indeed, for a long time after the annual overflowing of the Euphrates, not only great part of the plain is little better than a swamp, but large deposits of the waters are left stagnant in the hollows between the ruins." § "From the summit of the Birs Nimroud," observes Layard, "I gazed over a vast marsh, for Babylon is made 'a possession for the bittern, and pools of water.'" || Of the space immediately about the chief ruins, Ker Porter notes, "This spot contains some cultivation, but *more water*, which sapping element may well account for the abrupt disappearance of the two parallel ridges at its *most swampy* point." ¶

Even some of the minor features of the picture, which

* Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii., p. 372. † Ibid., vol. ii., p. 391,

‡ Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 484.

§ Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii., p. 389.

|| "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 300.

¶ Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii., p. 351.

one might naturally have regarded as the mere artistic filling up of the scene of desolation, which he had to depict, by the imagination of the prophet, are found to be in strict and literal accord with the actual fact. "The daughters of the owl shall dwell there," says Isaiah (ch. xiii. 21), and Jeremiah, "The owls shall dwell therein" (ch. l. 39). "In most of the cavities of the Babil mound," remarks Mr. Rich, "there are numbers of bats and *owls*."* Sir Austen Layard goes further into particulars. "A large gray owl," he tells us, "is found in great numbers—frequently in flocks of nearly a hundred—in the low shrubs among the ruins of Babylon."† The "owl" of the prophets is thus not a mere flourish of rhetoric, but a historical reality—an actual feature of the scene, as it presents itself to the traveler at the present day.

"Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there" (Isa. xiii. 21); "the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, shall dwell there" (Jer. l. 39). So it was prophesied, and so it is. Speaking of the Babil mound, Mr. Rich observes, "There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts, in one of which I found the bones of sheep and other animals, and perceived a strong smell, like that of a lion."‡ "There are several deep excavations into the sides of the mound," remarks Ker Porter. "These souterrains are now the refuge of jackals and other savage animals. The mouths of their entrances are strewn with the bones of sheep and goats; and the loathsome smell that issues from most of them is sufficient warning not to proceed into the den."§ On a visit to the Birs Nimroud, the same traveler observed through his glass several lions on the summit of the great mound, and afterwards found their foot-prints in the soft soil of the desert at its base.|| This feature of the prophecies also is therefore literally fulfilled. The solitude deserted by men, is sought the more on that account by the wild beasts of the country; and the lion, the jackal, and probably the leopard, have their lairs in the substruction of the temple of Belus, and the palace of Nebuchadnezzar.

No doubt there are also features of the prophetic announcements which have not at present been authenticated. It is impossible to say what exactly was intended by the

* Rich, "First Memoir," p. 30.

† Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 484, note.

‡ Rich, "First Memoir," pp. 29, 30.

§ Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii, p. 342. || Ibid., pp. 387-8.

“doleful creatures” and the “satyrs” of Isaiah, which were to haunt the ruins and to have their habitation among them. Literally, the “satyrs” are “hairy ones,”*—a descriptive epithet, which is applicable to beasts of the field generally. The “dragons” of Isaiah (ch. xiii. 22) and Jeremiah (ch. li. 37) should be serpent, which have not been noted recently as lurking among the “heaps.” Sir J. Maundeville.† however, tells us that in his day—the early part of the fourteenth century—the site of Babylon was “fulle of dragons and grete serpentes,” as well as of “dyverse other veneymouse bestes alle abouten.” It is possible that the breed of serpents has died out in Lower Mesopotamia; it is equally possible that it exists, but has been hitherto overlooked by travelers. ‡

On the whole, it is submitted to the reader’s judgment whether the prophetic announcements of Holy Scripture, as to what was to befall Babylon, are not almost as important evidence of the truth of the Scripture record as the historical descriptions. The historical descriptions have to be compared with the statements of profane writers, which may or may not be true statements. The prophetic declarations can be placed side by side with actual tangible facts—facts which it is impossible to gainsay, facts whereto each fresh observer who penetrates into Lower Mesopotamia is an additional witness. Travelers to the site of Babylon, even when in no respect religious men, are, if they have the most moderate acquaintance with Scripture, penetrated with a deep feeling of astonishment at the exactness of the agreement between the announcements made two thousand five hundred years ago and the actual state of things which they see with their eyes. The fate denounced against Babylon has been accomplished, not only in all essential points, but even in various minute particulars. The facts cannot be disputed—there they are. While historical evidence loses force the further we are removed from the events recorded, the evidence of fulfilled prophecy continually gains in strength as the ages roll on in their unceasing course; and the modern searcher after truth possesses proofs of the trustworthiness of the Word of God which were denied to those who lived at an earlier period.

* שַׁעֲרִים from שַׁעַר, “hairy, rough.”

† Quoted by Ker Porter (“Travels,” vol. ii., p. 336).

‡ If the true interpretation of the word used be (as some think) “jackals,” the statement made would be one of those fulfilled most clearly.



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mus,* and a large body of classical tradition tends to unite them with the Ethiopians. The readiness with which Ethiopia received Egyptian civilization † lends support to the theory of a primitive identity of race; and linguistic research, so far as it has been pursued hitherto, is in harmony with the supposed close connection.

From the other passage (Gen. x. 13, 14) we learn that the Egyptians themselves were ethnically separated into a number of distinct tribes, or subordinate races, of whom the writer enumerates no fewer than seven. The names point to a geographic separation of the races, since they have their representatives in different portions of the Egyptian territory. Now this separation accords with, and explains, the strongly marked division of Egypt into “nomes,” having conflicting usages and competing religious systems. It suggests the idea that the “nome” was the original territory of a tribe, and that the Egyptian monarchy grew up by an aggregation of nomes, which were not originally divisions of a kingdom, like counties, but distinct states, like the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. This is a view taken by many of the historians of ancient Egypt, derived from the facts as they existed in later times. It receives confirmation and explanation from the enumeration of Egyptian races—not a complete one, probably—which is made in this passage.

“Abraham went down into Egypt, to sojourn there . . . And it came to pass that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman (Sarai) that she was very fair. The princess also of Pharaoh saw her and commended her before Pharaoh; and the woman was taken into Pharaoh’s house. And he entreated Abram well for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels. And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues, because of Sarai, Abram’s wife. And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? Why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? Why saidst thou, She is my sister? So I might have taken her to me to wife; now therefore beho’ld thy wife, take her, and go thy way. And Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him; and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had.”—GEN. xii. 10–20.

The early date of this notice makes it peculiarly interesting. Whether we take the date of Abraham’s visit as *circ.* B. C. 1920, with Usher, or, with others, ‡ as a hundred and

* See a fragment of Eupolemus quoted by Polyhistor in C. Müller’s “Fr. Hist. Græc.,” vol. iii., p. 212, Fr. 3. † Herod. ii. 30.

‡ As Mr. Stuart Poole (“Dict. of the Bible,” vol. 1., p. 508).

sixty years earlier, it seems almost certain that it must have fallen into the time of that "old Egyptian Empire" which preceded the great Hyksôs invasion, and developed at that remote date the original Egyptian civilization. Does then the portraiture of the Egypt of this period resemble that of the ancient empire, as revealed to us by the monuments? No doubt the portraiture is exceedingly slight, the main object of the writer, apparently, being to record an incident in the life of Abraham wherein he fell into sin. Still certain points are sufficiently marked, as the following:—1. Egypt is a settled monarchy under a Pharaoh, who has princes (*sarim*) under him, at a time when the neighboring countries are occupied mainly by nomadic tribes under petty chiefs. 2. Reports are brought to Pharaoh by his princes with respect to foreigners who enter his country. 3. Egypt is already known as a land of plenty, where there will be corn and forage when famine has fallen upon Syria. 4. Domesticated animals are abundant there, and include sheep, oxen, asses, and camels, but (apparently) no horses. What has profane history to say on these four points?

First, then, profane history lays it down that a settled government was established in Egypt, and monarchical institutions set up, at an earlier date than in any other country. On this point Herodotus, Diodorus, and the Greek writers generally, are agreed, while the existing remains, assisted by the interpretation of Eanetho, point to the same result. It is not now questioned by any historian of repute but that the Egyptian monarchy dates from a time anterior to B. C. 2000, while there are writers who carry it back to B. C. 5004.* The title of the monarch, from a very remote antiquity,† was "Per-ao," or "the Great House,"‡ which the Hebrews would naturally represent by Phar-aoḥ (פַּרְעֹה). He was, from the earliest times to which the monuments go back, supported by powerful nobles, or "princes," who were hereditary landed proprietors of great wealth. §

Secondly, a scene in a tomb at Beni Hassan clearly shows that, under the Old Empire, foreigners on their arrival in the country, especially if they came with a train of at-

* So Lenormant, following Mariette ("Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. i., p. 321).

† See Canon Cook in the "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i. p. 478.

‡ Compare the phrase "The Ottoman Porte."

§ Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," pp. 44, 64 etc.

tendants, as Abraham would (Gen. xiv. 14), were received at the frontier by the governor of the province, whose secretary took down in writing their number, and probably their description, doubtless for the purpose of forwarding a "report" to the court. Reports of this character, belonging to later times, have been found, and are among the most interesting of the ancient documents. It was regarded as especially important to apprise the monarch of all that happened upon his north-eastern frontier, where Egypt abutted upon tribes of some considerable strength, whose proceedings had to be watched with care.

Thirdly, there is abundant evidence that, under the Old Empire, Egypt was largely productive, and kept in its granaries a great store of corn, which was available either for home consumption, or for the relief of foreigners on occasions of scarcity. In the time of the twelfth dynasty state-granaries existed, which were under the control of overseers appointed by the crown, who were officials of a high dignity, and had many scribes, or clerks, employed in carrying out the details of their business.* Even private persons laid up large quantities of grain, and were able in bad seasons to prevent any severe distress, either by gratuitous distributions, or by selling their accumulations at a moderate price.†

Fourthly, the domesticated animals in the early times include all those mentioned as given to Abraham by the Pharaoh with whom he came into contact, except the camel, while they do not include the horse. It was once denied ‡ that the Egypt of Abraham's time possessed asses; but the tombs of Ghizeh have shown that they were the ordinary beast of burden during the pyramid period, and that sometimes an individual possessed as many as seven or eight hundred. No trace has been found of camels in the Egyptian monuments, and it is quite possible that they were only employed upon the north-eastern frontier; but the traffic between Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula, which was certainly carried on by the Pharaohs of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twelfth dynasties, can scarcely have been conducted in any other way.§ For Abraham, a temporary sojourner in the

* Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 63.

† "Records of the Past," vol. xii., pp. 63, 64.

‡ By Von Bohlen in his "Die Genesis erlautert."

§ Compare Gen. xxxvii. 25.



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reached Egypt by sea, which may seem at first sight to be an objection to the existence of a caravan spice trade. But a consideration of the dates deprives this objection of all force. The expedition to Punt, which is spoken of as the first that ever took place, was sent by Queen Hatasu, and belongs to the eighteenth dynasty—the first of the New Empire. Joseph was sold into Egypt under the Middle Empire, and according to tradition,* was prime minister of Apepi, the “shepherd” king. The sea-trade with Punt for spices not being at that time open, the spices of Arabia could only be obtained by land traffic.

The passage further implies the existence in Egypt at this time of a traffic in slaves, who were foreigners, and valued at no very high rate. The monuments prove slaves to have been exceedingly numerous under the Ancient Empire. The king had a vast number; the estates of the nobles were cultivated by them; and a large body of *hieroduli*, or “sacred slaves,” was attached to most of the temples. Foreign slaves seem to have been preferred to native ones, and wars were sometimes undertaken less with the object of conquest or subjugation than with that of obtaining a profit by selling those who were taken prisoners in the slave market.† We have no direct information as to the value of slaves at this period from Egyptian sources, but from their abundance they were likely to be low-priced, and “twenty shekels” is very much the rate at which, judging from analogy, we should have been inclined to estimate them.

“The Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master, the Egyptian. And his master saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand. And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he served him; and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand. And it came to pass from the time that he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the Lord blessed the Egyptian’s house for Joseph’s sake; and the blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had in the house, and in the field. And he left all that he had in Joseph’s hand, and he knew not aught he had, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph was a goodly person and well-favored. And it came to pass after these things that his master’s wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. But he refused, and said unto his master’s wife, Behold, my master wotteth not what is with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand; there is none greater in

* Syncellus, “Chronograph,” p. 62, B.

† Brugsch, “Hist. of Egypt,” vol. i. p. 161.

this house than I; neither hath he kept back anything from me but thee, because thou art his wife; how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not to her, to lie by her, or to be with her. And it came to pass about this time that Joseph went into the house to do his business, and there was none of the men of the house there within. And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me; and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out. And it came to pass when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, that she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them saying, See he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice; and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled, and got him out. And she laid up his garment by her until his lord came home. And she spoke unto him according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant which thou hast brought unto us came in unto me to mock me; and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me and fled out. And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me, that his wrath was kindled. And Joseph's master took him and put him into the prison."—GEN. xxxix. 2-20.

It has often been observed that this picture is in remarkable harmony with the general tone of Egyptian manners and customs. The licentiousness of the women provoked the strictures of the Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus.* The liberty which they enjoyed of intermixing and conversing with men, so contrary to the general Oriental practice, is fully borne out, by the tales of the Egyptian novelists, and by the scenes represented upon the monuments. The life of an Egyptian noble, at once a royal official and a landed proprietor, with much to manage "in the field" (ver. 5) as well as in his house, is graphically sketched. The *one* garment of the slave is casually indicated by the expression, so often repeated, "he left *his garment* in her hand." The extraordinary dependence placed upon "overseers," or stewards, who had the entire management of the household, the accounts, and the farm or estate—a very peculiar feature of Egyptian life—is set forth with great force. But, besides these isolated points, the whole narrative receives most curious illustrations from one of the tales most popular among the Egyptians, which has fortunately descended to our day. In the story of "The Two Brothers," written by the illustrious scribe Anna, or Enna, for the delectation of Seti II.,

* Herod. ii. 111; Diod. Sic. i. 59.

when heir-apparent to the throne, we have a narrative which contains a passage so nearly parallel to this portion of Joseph's history, that it seems worth while quoting it *in extenso*.

“There were two brothers,” said the writer, “children of one mother and one father—the name of the elder was Anepu, the name of the younger Bata. Anepu had a house and a wife; and his younger brother was like a son to him. He it was who provided Anepu with clothes, he it was who attended upon his cattle, he who managed the ploughing, he who did all the labors of the fields; indeed, his younger brother was so good a laborer, that there was not his equal in the whole land.

“And when the days had multiplied after this, it was the wont of the younger brother to be with the cattle day by day, and to take them home to the house every evening; he came laden with all the herbs of the field. The elder brother sat with his wife, and ate and drank, while the younger was in the stable with the cattle. The younger, when the day dawned, rose before his elder brother, took bread to the field and called the laborers together to eat bread in the field. Then he followed after his cattle, and they told him where all the best grasses grew, for he understood all that they said; and he took them to the place where was the goodly herbage which they desired. And the cattle which he followed after became exceedingly beautiful. And they multiplied exceedingly.

“Now when the time for ploughing came, his elder brother said to him, ‘Let us take our teams for ploughing, because the land has now made its appearance [*i.e.*, the inundation has subsided], and the time is excellent for ploughing it. Come thou then with the seed, and we shall accomplish the ploughing.’ Thus he spake. And the younger brother proceeded to do all that his elder brother told him; and when the day dawned they went to the field with their [teams?], and worked at their tillage, and enjoyed themselves exceedingly at their work.

“But when the days were multiplied after this, they were in the field together, and the elder brother sent the younger, saying, ‘Go and fetch seed for us from the village.’ And the younger brother found the wife of the elder one sitting at her toilet; and he said to her, ‘Arise, and give me seed, that I may go back with it to the field, because my elder



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for an instant.” That is what he said to me. But I did not listen to him. “Behold, am I not thy mother; and thy elder brother, is he not as a father to thee?”—that is what I said to him. Then he became alarmed, and did me violence, that I might not be able to report the matter to thee. But if thou lettest him live, I shall kill myself.’ . . . Then the elder brother became like a panther; he made his dagger sharp, and took it in his hand. And he put himself behind the door of his stable, in order to kill his younger brother, when he returned at even to bring the cattle to their stalls.” *

It is unnecessary to pursue the story further. Anepu is bent on killing his brother, but is prevented. Potiphar, with a moderation which seems to argue some distrust of his wife’s story, is content to imprison Joseph. Innocence in both cases suffers, and then triumph in the Egyptian tale is effected by repeated metempsychosis, and therefore diverges altogether from the Mosaic *history*. Still, it is conceivable that the Egyptian novel, written several centuries after Joseph’s death, was based upon some traditional knowledge of the ordeal through which he had passed unscathed, and the ultimate glory to which he had attained as ruler of Egypt. †

* See “Records of the Past,” vol. ii., pp. 139–142.

† Bata, after his many transmigrations, is finally reborn as the child of an Egyptian princess, and rules Egypt for thirty years (Ibid., p. 151).

CHAPTER XIV.

FURTHER NOTICES OF EGYPT IN GENESIS.

THE history of Joseph in Egypt after he was thrown into prison by Potiphar, which occupies the last eleven chapters of Genesis, is delivered to us at too great length to be conveniently made the subject of illustration by means of comment on a series of passages. We propose therefore to view it in the mass, as a picture of Egypt at a certain period of its history, to be determined by chronological considerations, and then to inquire how far the portraiture given corresponds to what is known to us of the Egypt of that time from profane sources.

The time of Joseph's visit to Egypt is variously given by chronologers. Archbishop Usher, whose dates are followed in the margin of the English Bible, as published by authority, regards him as having resided in the country from B. C. 1729 to B. C. 1635. Most other chronologers place his sojourn earlier: Stuart Poole* from B. C. 1867; Clinton † from B. C. 1862 to B. C. 1770; Hales ‡ from B. C. 1886 to B. C. 1792. Even the latest of these dates would make his arrival anterior to the commencement of the New Empire, which was certainly not earlier than B. C. 1700. If we add to this the statement of George the Syncellus,§ that all writers agreed in making him the prime minister of one of the shepherd kings, we seem to have sufficient grounds for the belief that the Egypt of his time was that of the Middle Empire or Hyksôs, an Asiatic people who held Egypt in subjection for some centuries before the great rising under Aahmes, which re-established a native dynasty upon the old throne of the Pharaohs.

* "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i., p. 508.

† "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i., pp. 300, 320.

‡ "Ancient Chronology," vol. i., p. 104, et seq.

§ "Chronographia," p. 62. B.

Does then the Egypt of the later chapters of Genesis correspond to this time? It has been argued that it does not, because, on the whole, it is so like the Egypt of other times. We have the king depicted in all his state, with his signet ring upon his finger (Gen. xli. 42), with chariots to ride in (ib. 43), and gold chains to give away, possessed of a "chief butler" and a "chief baker" (ch. xl. 9, 16), able to imprison and execute whom he will (ib. 3, 22), with "magicians" and "wise men" for counselors (ch. xli. 8), rich in flocks and herds (ch. xlvii. 6), despotic over the people (ch. xli. 34; xlvii. 21), with no fear or regard for any class of his subjects but the priests (ch. xlvii. 22, 26). We have the priests as a distinctly privileged class, supported by the monarch in a time of famine, possessed of lands, and not compelled to cede to the king any right over their lands. We have mention of the "priest of On," or Heliopolis, as a magnate of the first class, with whom Joseph did not disdain to ally himself after he had become grand vizier, and was the next person in the kingdom to the king (ch. xli. 45, 50). We have the Egyptian contempt for foreigners noted in the statement that "the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews" (ch. xliii. 32), and their special aversion to herdsmen touched on in the observation that "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians" (ch. xlvi. 34). We see agriculture the main occupation of the people, yet pasturing of cattle carried on upon a large scale in the Delta (ch. xlvii. 1-6). We find embalming practised, and a special class of embalmers (ch. l. 2); and it appears that embalmed bodies are placed within coffins (ib. 26). Chariots and horses are tolerably common, for when Joseph goes from Egypt to Canaan to bury his father, there goes up with him "a very great company, both chariots and horsemen" (ib. 9), while "horses," no less than cattle and asses, are among the domesticated animals exchanged by the Egyptians generally for corn (ch. xlvii. 17). But, though horses are in use among the people, especially the official classes and the rich, asses are still the main beasts of burden, and are alone employed in the conveyance of commodities between Egypt and Canaan (ch. xlv. 23). Wheeled vehicles are known, and are used for the conveyance of women and children (ib. 19-21). Such are the leading features of the Egypt depicted by the writer of Genesis in these chapters. The description is said to be too thoroughly Egyptian to be a true representation



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the Hyksôs rule from that of the old Pharaohs who built the Pyramids, set up the first obelisks, and accomplished the great works in the Fayoum? In the first place, their residence would be different. The pyramid kings lived at Memphis, above the apex of the Delta, in the (comparatively speaking) narrow valley of the Nile, before the river enters on the broad tract which it must have gradually formed by its own deposits. The great monarchs of the obelisk and Fayoum period—those assigned by Manetho to his eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties—lived at Thebes, more than three hundred miles further up the course of the Nile, in a region from which the Delta could only be reached by a lengthy and toilsome journey along the river bank, or by a voyage down its channel. The Hyksôs monarchs, on the other hand, fixed their residence in the Delta itself; they selected Tanis—an ancient Egyptian town of considerable importance—for the main seat of their court.* While maintaining a great fortified camp at Avaris, on their eastern frontier, where they lived sometimes, they still more favored the quiet Egyptian city on the Tanitic branch of the Nile, where they could pass their time away from the sound of arms, amid ancient temples and sanctuaries dedicated to various Egyptian gods, which they allowed to stand, if they did not even use them for their own worship. The Delta had never previously been the residence of Egyptian kings, and it did not again become their residence until the time of the nineteenth dynasty, shortly before the Exodus.

A second peculiarity of the Hyksôs period, belonging especially to its later portion, is to be found in the religious views professed, proclaimed, and enjoined upon subject princes. Apepi, according to the MS. known as “the first Sallier papyrus,” made a great movement in Lower Egypt in favor of monotheism. Whereas previously the shepherd kings had allowed among their subjects, if they had not even practised themselves, the worship of a multitude of gods, Apepi “took to himself” a single god “for lord, refusing to serve any other god in the whole land.” † According to the Egyptian writer of the MS., the name under which he worshiped his god was “Sutech”; and some critics have supposed that he chose this god out of the existing Egyptian

* Brugsch, “History of Egypt,” vol. i., pp. 236–7, 1st edition.

† See “Records of the Past,” vol. viii., p. 3.

Pantheon, because he was the god of the North, where his own dominion especially lay.* But Sutech, though undoubtedly he had a place in the Egyptian Pantheon from very ancient times,† seems to have been essentially an Asiatic god, the special deity of the Hittite nation,‡ with which there is reason to believe that the shepherd kings were closely connected. Apepi, moved by a monotheistic impulse, selected Sutech, we should suppose, rather out of his own gods than out of the Egyptian deities, and determined that, whatever had been the case previously, henceforth he would renounce polytheism, and worship one only lord and god, long known to his nation, and to his own ancestors,§ under the name above mentioned. There is reason to believe that he did not identify him with the Egyptian god, Set, or Sutech, but rather with some form or other of the Egyptian sun-god, or else with their sun-gods generally, since he appointed sacrifice to be made to Sutech, “with all the rites that are performed in the temple of Ra-Harmachis,” || who was one of these gods, and required the vassal king of Thebes, Ra-Sekenen, to neglect the worship of all the other gods honored in his part of Egypt, excepting Ammon-Ra, who was another of them. Sutech, among the Hittites, seems to have been equivalent to Baal, and was certainly a sun-god,¶ probably identified with the material sun itself, viewed as having also a spiritual nature, and as the creator and sustainer of the universe. Apepi’s great temple of Sutech at Tanis was the natural outcome of his exclusive worship of this god, and showed forth in a tangible and conspicuous form the earnestness of his piety.

Among the changes in manners and customs belonging to the Middle Empire, there is one which cannot be gainsaid—the introduction of the horse. The horse, which is wholly absent from the remains, written or sculptured, of the Old Empire, appears as well known and constantly employed in the very earliest records of the New, and must consequently have made its appearance in the interval. Hence it has been argued by those best acquainted with the ancient remains that the military successes of the Hyksôs, and especially

* Chabas, “Les Pasteurs en Egypte,” p. 35.

† Mariette, “Lettre à M. le vicomte de Rougé,” in the *Revue Archeologique*, vol. v., p. 303.

‡ “Records of the Past,” vol. iv., p. 31.

§ Ibid.; p. 36.

|| Ibid., vol. viii., p. 3.

¶ “Records of the Past,” vol. iv., p. 28, par. 8.

their conquest of Egypt, were probably the result to a considerable extent of their invading the country with a chariot force and with cavalry at a time when the Egyptians fought wholly on foot. Neither horses nor chariots, nor even carts, were known under the Pharaohs of the Old Empire; they were employed largely from the very beginning of the New Empire, the change having been effected by the empire which occupied the intervening space.

Before proceeding further, let us consider how these characteristics suit the Egypt of Joseph. First, then, the indications of Genesis, though not very precise, decidedly favor the view that the king is residing in the Delta. He receives in person the brethren of Joseph on their arrival in the land, even has an interview with the aged Jacob himself (Gen. xlvii. 7-10), whom his son would certainly not have presented to him if the court had not been near at hand. Goshen, the eastern portion of the Delta, is chosen for the residence of the family, especially because, dwelling there, they will be "near to Joseph" (ch. xlv. 10), who must have been in constant attendance on the monarch. "All the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt" (ch. 1. 7) would scarcely have accompanied the body of Jacob to the cave of Machpelah unless the court had been residing in Lower Egypt. Bishop Harold Browne, who writes as a common-sense critic, and not as an Egyptologist, well observes, "Joseph placed his brethren naturally on the confines of Egypt nearest to Palestine, and yet near himself. It is probable that Memphis or Tanis was then the metropolis of Egypt."* But both before and after the shepherd kings the capital for many hundred years was Thebes.

Secondly, there are indications in the later chapters of Genesis that the Pharaoh of the time was a monotheist. Not only does he make no protest against the pronounced monotheism of Joseph (ch. xli. 16, 25, 32), as Nebuchadnezzar does against that of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, when he draws the conclusion from their escape that "no other god can deliver after this sort," but he uses himself the most decidedly monotheistic language when he says to his nobles, "Can we find such a one as this is—a man in whom the Spirit of God is?" (ib. 38), and again when he addresses

* "Speaker's Commentary," vol. 1., p. 215.



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threatened, of their Egyptian subjects. Now the family and dependants of Jacob were a large body of settlers. Abraham had three hundred and eighteen adult male servants born in the house (Gen. xiv. 14). Jacob's attendants, when he returned from serving Laban, formed "two bands" (Gen. xxxii. 10), literally "two armies." The number of those who entered Egypt with Jacob has been reasonably calculated at "several thousands."* To place such a body of foreigners "in the best of the land" (ch. xlvii. 6, 11), on the eastern frontier, where they could readily give admission to others, is what no king of either the Old or the New Empire would have been likely to have done; but it is exactly what might have been expected of one of the Hyksôs.

Again, the sudden elevation of a foreigner from the slave condition to the second place in the kingdom, the putting him above all the Egyptians and making them bow down to him (ch. xli. 43), and the giving him in marriage the daughter of the high-priest of Heliopolis (ib. 45), though perhaps within the prerogative of any Egyptian king, who, as a god upon earth,—“son of the sun,”—could do no wrong, are yet exceedingly unlikely things, if Egypt were in its normal condition. It is far from paralleled by the “story of Saneba,” even if that story is a true one, and not a novelette; for Saneha's rise is very gradual; he is a courtier in his youth; he commits an offence, and flies to a foreign land, where he passes the greater part of his life; it is not until he is an old man that his pardon reaches him, and he returns, and is restored to favor; nor does he rise even then to a rank at all equal to that of Joseph.† Joseph's history would have been “incredible” if Egypt had never had foreign rulers.‡ But a Hyksôs monarch would be trammelled by none of the feelings or restraints natural to an Egyptian. A foreigner himself, he would be glad to advance a foreigner, would not be very careful of offending a high-priest, and would feel more confidence in committing important affairs to a stranger wholly dependent upon himself than to a native who might at any time turn traitor.

Our limits will not allow us to treat this point at greater length. It is necessary, however, before concluding this chapter, to notice briefly two objections which Genesis

* Kurtz, “History of the Old Covenant,” vol. ii., p. 149, E. T.

† “Records of the Past,” vol. vi., pp. 135–150.

‡ Stuart Poole in Smith's “Dict. of the Bible,” vol. i., p. 509.

is supposed to offer to the traditional view of Joseph's place in Egyptian history. The first is the designation of Goshen in one passage (ch. xlvii. 11) as "the land of Rameses." Now Rameses is a name which first appears in Egypt under the New Empire, and a land "of Rameses" is not likely to have existed until there had been a monarch of the name, which first happened under the nineteenth dynasty. But it is quite possible, as Bishop Harold Browne suggests, that the writer of Genesis may have used the phrase, "land of Rameses," by anticipation,* to designate the tract so called in his day. This would be merely as if a modern writer were to say that the Romans under Julius Cæsar invaded *England*, or that Pontius Pilate, when recalled from Judæa, was banished to *France*.

The other objection is drawn from the statement that in Joseph's time "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians" (ch. xlvi. 34). This is said to be "quite conclusive" against the view that the Pharaoh of Joseph was a shepherd king.† But it is admitted that the prejudice was anterior to the invasion of the Hyksôs, and appears on the monuments of the Old Empire. It would certainly not have been lessened by the Hyksôs conquest, nor can the shepherd kings be supposed to have been ignorant of it. If it was a caste prejudice, it would have been quite beyond their power to put down; and nothing would have been left for them but to bear with it, and make the best of it. This is what they seem to have done. When men of the nomadic races were feasted at the Hyksôs court, they were feasted separately from the Egyptians (ch. xliii. 32); and when a nomad tribe had to be located on Egyptian territory, it was placed in a position which brought it as little as possible into contact with the natives. Pharaoh had already put his own herdsmen in Goshen (ch. xlvii. 6), with the view of isolating them. In planting the Israelite settlers there, he did but follow the same principle. Like a wise ruler, he arranged to keep apart those diverse elements in the population of his country which were sure not to amalgamate.

* "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i., p. 221.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 449, note 33.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NOTICES OF EGYPT IN EXODUS.

“Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we; come ou, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses.”—EXOD. i. 8-19.

THE question of the period of Egyptian history into which the severe oppression of the Israelites, and their “exodus” from Egypt, are to be regarded as falling, is one of no little interest, and at the same time of no little difficulty. In the last chapter we saw reason for accepting the view that the Pharaoh whom Joseph served was Apepi, the last king of the seventeenth (shepherd) dynasty. In order, however, to obtain from this fact any guidance as to the dynasty, and still more as to the kings, under whom the events took place which are related in the first section of the Book of Exodus (chs i.—xiv.), we have to determine, first of all, what was the length of the Egyptian sojourn. But here we find ourselves in the jaws of a great controversy. Taking the Authorized Version as our sole guide, we should indeed think the matter plain enough, for there we are told (ch. xii. 40, 41), that “the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was *four hundred and thirty years*; and it came to pass *at the end of the four hundred and thirty years*, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt.” If we consult the Hebrew original, the plainness and certainty seem increased, for there we find that the words run thus:—“The sojourning of the children of Israel, *which they sojourned in Egypt*



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harmonize their chronology with the Egyptian system prevalent in their day. Further, the clause has the appearance of an insertion, being irrelevant to the narrative, which is naturally concerned at this point with Egypt only. The Samaritan version may appear at first sight to lend the Septuagint confirmation; but a little examination shows the contrary. The Samaritan translator has the Septuagint before him, but is dissatisfied with the way in which his Greek predecessor has amended the Hebrew text. His version is an amendment of the Greek text in two points. First, he sees that the name "children of *Israel*" could not properly be given to any but the descendants of Jacob, and therefore he inserts the clause "and of their fathers." Secondly, he observes that the LXX. have inverted the historical order of the sojourns in Egypt and in Canaan, placing that in Egypt first. This he corrects by a transposition. No one can suppose that he derived his emendations from the Hebrew. He evolved them from his inner consciousness. He gave his readers, not what Moses had said, but what, in his opinion, he ought to have said.

Secondly, with respect to St. Paul's statement to the Galatians, it is to be borne in mind that he wrote to Greek-speaking Jews, whose only Bible was the Septuagint Version, and that he could not but follow it unless he was prepared to intrude on them a chronological discussion, which would in no way have advanced his argument. His argument is that the law having been given long after the covenant made with Abraham, could not disannul it; *how long* after was of no consequence, whether four hundred and thirty or six hundred and forty-five years.

Thirdly, the genealogies of the period, as given in the Pentateuch, contain undoubtedly no more than six names—in fact, vary between four and six—which, taken by itself, is doubtless an argument for the shorter period. But (*a*) the Jews constantly abbreviated genealogies by the omission of a portion of the names (Ezra vii. 1–5; Matt. i. 2–16; comp. 1 Chron. ix. 4–19 with Neh. xi. 4–22); and (*b*) there is one genealogy belonging to the period, given in 1 Chron. vii. 22–27, that of Joshua, which contains ten names. The Hebrews, at this portion of their history, and indeed to a considerably later date, reckoned a generation at forty years, so that the ten generations from Jacob to Joshua, who was fully grown up at the time of the Exodus (Exod. xvii. 9–13),

would cover four hundred years, or not improbably a little more.

Another argument in favor of the longer date is derivable from the terms of the announcement made to Abraham with respect to the Egyptian servitude:—"Know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger in *a land* that is *not theirs*, and shall serve *them*, and *they* shall afflict them four hundred years; and also *that nation, whom they shall serve*, will I judge; and *afterward* shall they come out with great substance" (Gen. xv. 13, 14). In this prophecy but one land is spoken of, and but one people; this people is to afflict Israel for four hundred years; it is then to be judged; and, after the judgement, Israel is to "come out," to come out, moreover, with great substance. Nothing is said that can by any possibility allude to the Canaanites, or the land of Canaan. One continuous affliction in one country, and by one people, lasting in round numbers—four hundred years, is announced with the utmost plainness.

But the crowning argument of all, which ought to be regarded as completely settling the question, is that derivable from the numbers of the Israelites on entering and on quitting Egypt. Their numbers, indeed, on entering, cannot be definitely fixed, since they went down to Egypt "with their households" (Exod. i. 1), and these, to judge by that of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 14), were very numerous. Still no writer has supposed that altogether the settlers exceeded more than a few—say two or three—thousands.* On quitting Egypt, they were, at the lowest estimate, two millions. What time, then, is required, under favorable circumstances, for the expansion of a body (say) of two thousand persons into one a thousand times that number?

There are writers who have argued that population may double itself in the space of fifteen, nay, in that of thirteen years.† But I know of no proved instance of the kind where there has not been a large influx through immigration. No increase, or, at any rate, no important increase, of the Israelites in Egypt can be assigned to this cause. They multiplied, as is distinctly implied in the narrative, in the ordinary way, without foreign accretion. It is reasonable,

* Kurtz ("History of the Old Covenant," vol. ii., p. 149) uses the vague expression, "several thousands." Dean Payne Smith, in his "Brampton Lectures" (p. 89), suggests three thousand.

† Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i., p. 294.

therefore, to apply to them Mr. Malthus's law for the *natural* increase of population *by descent* under favorable circumstances. Now this is a doubling of the population, not every thirteen, or every fifteen, but every twenty-five years.* By this law two thousand persons would, in two hundred and fifteen years, have multiplied to the extent, not of two millions, but of less than one million. The law, moreover, only acts where population is scanty, where the sanitary circumstances are favorable, and where the means of subsistence are wholesome, and readily obtained. Long before the time that the Israelites reached a quarter of a million, most of the artificial checks which tend to keep down the natural increase of population would have begun to operate among them. The territory assigned them was not a very large one, and they were not its sole inhabitants (Gen. xlvii. 6 ; Exod. iii. 22, xii. 31-36). It would soon be pretty densely peopled. The tasks in which they were employed by their Egyptian lords, from the time that the severe oppression began (Exod. i. 13, 14), could not be favorable to health. They were no doubt sufficiently well fed, as slaves usually are, but not on a very wholesome dietary (Num. xi 5). The rate of increase would naturally fall under these circumstances, and it may ere long have taken them fifty years to double their numbers, which is about the rate now existing among ourselves. Supposing them to have been two thousand at the first, and to have doubled their numbers at the end of the first twenty-five years, but to have required five years longer for each successive duplication until the full term of fifty years was reached, it would have taken them four hundred and twenty-five years to reach the amount of two millions.

Altogether it is perfectly clear that an increase which is abnormal, and requires some explanation, if it be regarded as occupying the space of four hundred and thirty years, must be most unlikely, if not impossible, to have occurred in half that time.

If then we take four hundred and thirty years from the early part of Apepi's reign, and follow the line of the Egyptian kings, as we find it in Manetho, or in the monuments, we are carried on beyond the time of the eighteenth dynasty into that of the nineteenth, and have to look for the monarchs mentioned in Exodus among those who reigned

* "Essay on Population," vol. i., p. 8 ; "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xviii., p. 340.



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If Menepthah I., the son and successor of Rameses II., was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, it follows necessarily that his father, the *great* Rameses, was the king of Exod. ii., from whom Moses fled, and after whose death he was directed to quit Midian and return into Egypt for the purpose of delivering his brethren (ch. ii. 23 ; iv. 16). But as Moses was eighty years old at this time (ch. vii, 7), it is evident that the Pharaoh from whom he fled cannot be the same with the one who, more than eighty years previously, gave the order for the destruction of the Hebrew male children (ch. i. 22). The narrative of Exodus must speak of three Pharaohs, of the first in ch. i., of the second in ch. ii., and of the third in chs. v.–xiv. In the second of these is Rameses II., the father of Menepthah I., the first must be Seti I., the father of Rameses II.

Now, it happens that Seti I. and Rameses II. are among the most distinguished of all the Egyptian monarchs, great warriors, great builders, setters-up of numerous inscriptions. We know them almost better than any other Egyptian kings, are familiar with their very countenances, have ample means of forming an estimate of their characters from their own words. Seti I. may well be the “new king, which knew not Joseph.” He was the second king of a new dynasty, unconnected with either of the dynasties with which Joseph had been contemporary. He came to the throne at the time when a new danger to Egypt had sprung up on the north-eastern frontier, and when consequently it was natural that fear should be felt by the Egyptian ruler lest, “when any war fell out, the people of Israel should join unto Egypt’s enemies, and fight against the Egyptians, and so get them up out of the land” (ver. 10). The Hittites had become masters of Syria, and were dominant over the whole region from Mount Taurus to Philistia. “Scarcely was Seti settled upon the throne, when he found himself menaced on the north-east by a formidable combination of Semitic with Turanian races, which boded ill for the tranquility of his kingdom.”* He was occupied in a war with them for some years. At its close he engaged in the construction, or reparation, of a great wall for the defence of the eastern frontier. It would be natural that, in connection with this wall, and as a part of his general system for the protection

* Rawlinson, “History of Ancient Egypt,” vol. ii., p. 287.

of the frontier, he should build "treasure-cities" (ver. 11), or more properly "store-cities," *i.e.*, arsenals and magazines. That he should name one of these after a god whom he was in the habit of honoring,* and the other after his father, or after his son, whom he early associated, is not surprising. The ardor for building which characterized him would account for his employing the Israelites so largely "in mortar, and in brick" (ver. 14), and in the construction of edifices. The severity of his oppression is quite in accordance with the cruelty which he exhibited in his wars, and of which he boasts in his inscriptions.†

Rameses II. was associated on the throne by his father when he was ten or eleven years of age. The two kings then reigned conjointly for about twenty years. Rameses outlived his father forty-seven years, and probably had the real direction of the government for about sixty years. There is no other reign in the New Empire which reaches nearly to the length of his. He was less of a warrior than his father, and more of a builder. Among his principal works was the completion of the city of Rameses (Pi-Ramesu), began by his father, and made by Rameses the residence of the court, and one of the chief cities of the empire. He appears also to have completed Pithom (Pi-Tum), and to have entirely built many other important towns. All his works were raised by means of forced labor; and for the purpose of their construction he required an enormous mass of human material, which had to be constantly employed under taskmasters in the most severe and exhausting toil, under a burning sun, and with few sanitary precautions. M. Lenormant says of him and his "great works" ‡:—"Ce n'est qu'avec un véritable sentiment d'horreur que l'on peut songer aux milliers de captifs qui durent mourir sous le bâton des gardes-chiourmes, ou bien victimes des fatigues excessives et des privations de toute nature, en élevant en qualité de forçats les gigantesques constructions auxquelles se plaisait l'insatiable orgueil du monarque égyptien. Dans les monuments du règne de Ramsès il n'y a pas une pierre, pour ainsi dire, qui n'ait coûté une vie humaine." Such was the character of the monarch under whom the Israelites are said to have "sighed by reason of their bondage," and to

* Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 119.

† "History of Ancient Egypt," vol. ii., pp. 288-291.

‡ "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. i. 423.

have "cried" so that "their cry came up to God by reason of their bondage; and God heard their groaning, and God remembered His covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob; and God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them" (Exod. ii. 25-25).

Besides his suitability in character to be the Pharaoh who continued the severe oppression begun by Seti I., Rameses II., by the great length of his reign, exactly fits into the requirements of the Biblical narrative. The narrative requires for its second Pharaoh a king who reigned at least forty years, probably longer. The New Empire furnishes only three reigns of the necessary duration,—those of Thothmes III. (fifty-four years), Rameses II. (sixty-seven years), and Psammetichus I. (fifty-four years). Psammetichus, who reigned from B. C. 667 to 613, is greatly too late; Thothmes III is very much too early; Rameses II. alone verges upon the time at which the severe oppression must necessarily be placed. It can scarcely be a coincidence that Egyptian tradition should point out Menephtah I. as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and that, the Biblical narrative assigning to his predecessor an exceptionally long reign, the monuments and Manetho should agree in giving to that predecessor the exceptionally long reign of sixty-six or sixty-seven years.



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been disputed, and Ps. cxxxvi. 15 ; has been quoted as a positive proof to the contrary ;* but the expression of a poet who wrote some centuries after the event would be very weak evidence with respect to the fact, besides which his statement is, not that the Pharaoh was killed, but that he was "overthrown." Neither the narrative in Exod. xiv. nor the song of rejoicing in the following chapter contains the slightest allusion to the Pharaoh's death, an omission almost inconceivable if he really perished with his warriors.† Further, the Pharaoh of the Exodus seems to have been grossly and abnormally superstitious, one who put real trust in magicians and sorcerers, and turned to them in times of difficulty rather than to statesmen and persons of experience in affairs.

What, then, does profane history tell us of the Menephthah whom we have shown to be at once the traditional "Pharaoh of the Exodus" and the king pointed out by chronological considerations as the ruler of Egypt at the period? M. Lenormant begins his account of him by observing,‡ "Moreover, he was neither a soldier nor an administrator, but one whose mind was turned almost exclusively towards the chimeras of sorcery and magic, resembling in this respect his brother, Kha-m-uas." "The Book of Exodus," he adds, "is in the most exact agreement with historical truth when it depicts him as surrounded by priest-magicians, with whom Moses contends in working prodigies, in order to affect the mind of the Pharaoh."§

Later on in his history of Menephthah, M. Lenormant has the following passage.|| He is describing the great invasion of Libyans and others which Menephthah repulsed in his fifth year. "The barbarians advanced without meeting any serious resistance. The terrified population either fled before them, or made its submission, but attempted nothing like a struggle. Already had the invading army reached the neighborhood of Pa-ari-sheps, the Prosopis of

* Canon Cook in the "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i., p. 309.

† That the Pharaoh did not perish is maintained by Wilkinson ("Ancient Egyptians," vol. i., p. 54), Chabas ("Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte," pp. 152, 161), Lenormant ("Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., p. 292, edition of 1833), and others.

‡ "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., p. 281 (edition of 1883).

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid., p. 289. Compare "Records of the Past," vol. iv., pp. 41-44.

the Greeks; On (Heliopolis) and Man-nofri (Memphis) were seriously threatened. Menepthah assembled his army in front of these two towns, in order to cover them; he drew from Asia a number of mercenaries, to supply the lack of Egyptian soldiers of sufficient experience; at the same time he fortified the banks of the middle branch of the Nile, to prevent the enemy from crossing it, and to place in safety, at any rate, the eastern half of the Delta. Sending forward in advance, first of all, his chariot-force and his light-armed auxiliaries, the Pharaoh *promised to join the battle array with the bulk of his troops at the end of fourteen days. But he was not personally fond of actual fight, and disliked exposing himself to the chance of defeat.* An apparition of the god Phthah, which he saw in a dream, warned him that his lofty rank required him not to cross the river. He therefore sent his army to the combat under the command of some of his father's generals, who were still living." Two features of Menepthah's character, as represented in Scripture, are here illustrated: his want of personal courage and his habit of departing from his promises with or without a pretext. The apparition of the god Phthah in a dream is clearly a convenient fiction, by means of which he might at once conceal his cowardice and excuse the forfeiture of his word.

The Egyptian monuments thus confirm three leading features in the character of Menepthah,—his superstitiousness, his want of courage, and his weak, shifty, false temper. They do not, however, furnish much indication of his cruelty. This is, perhaps, sufficiently accounted for by their scantiness. Menepthah is a king of whom it has been said* that he "belongs to the number of those monarchs whose memory has been with difficulty preserved by a few monuments of inferior value, and a few inscriptions of but little importance." We have, in fact, but one inscription of any considerable length belonging to his reign.† It gives mainly an account of the Libyan war, in which he was not personally engaged. A tone of pride and arrogance common to the autobiographical memoirs of Egyptian kings pervades it, but it contains few notices of any severities for which the

* Brugsch. "Histoire d'Égypte," p. 175.

† This inscription will be found translated in "Records of the Past," vol. iv., pp. 39–48, and in M. Chabas' "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte," pp. 84–94.

monarch himself can be regarded as responsible. That he made slaves of the prisoners taken in the Libyan war * merely shows that he acted like other monarchs of the time. He speaks, however, of having in a Cushite war "slaughtered the people, and set fire to them, and netted, as men net birds, the entire country." † This last expression reminds one of a cruel Persian practice, whereby whole populations were exterminated, or reduced to slavery; ‡ the preceding one, if it is to be taken literally, implies a still more extreme and more unusual barbarity.

It was not to be expected that the general series of events related in the first fourteen chapters of Exodus should obtain any direct mention in the historical records of Egypt. As M. Chabas remarks, § "events of this kind were not entitled to be inscribed on the public monuments, where nothing was ever registered except successes and triumphs." The court historiographers would naturally refrain from all mention of the terrible plagues from which Egypt suffered during a whole year, as well as from any record of the disaster of the Red Sea; and the monarch would certainly not inscribe any account of them upon his edifices. Still there are points of the narrative which admit of comparison with the records of the time, and in which an agreement or disagreement with those records would almost of necessity show itself; and these it is proposed to consider in the remainder of this chapter. Such are (1) the employment of forced labor in Egypt at this period of its history, and the method of its employment; (2) the inclusion, or non-inclusion, of the Hebrews among the forced laborers; (3) the construction at the period of "store-cities," and the names of the cities; (4) the military organization of the time; (5) the untimely loss of a son by the king under whom the Exodus took place; and (6) the existence or non-existence of any indication in the records of such exhaustion and weakness as might be expected to follow the events related in Exodus.

The use of forced labor by the Egyptian monarchs of the time, especially by Seti I. and Rameses II., is abundantly witnessed to by the monuments. The kings speak of it as a matter of course; the poets deplore it; the artists represent it. "It was the custom of the Egyptians to subject

* "Records of the Past," vol. iv., p. 47, l. 63.

† Ibid., l. 67.

‡ Herod. iii. 149; vi. 31.

§ "Recherches," etc., p. 152.



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identity of the Hebrews with the Aperu, or we must suppose that the kings of this period had in their service at this time two sets of forced laborers quite unconnected, yet with names almost exactly alike. Against the identification, almost the sole point that can be urged, is the fact that Aperu are found still to be employed by the Egyptian kings after the Exodus is a thing of the past, as by Rameses III. and Rameses IV. But this objection seems to be sufficiently met by M. Chabas. "It is quite certain that, spread as the text of Scripture declares that they were over the whole of Egypt, the Hebrews could not by any possibility respond universally to the appeal of Moses; perhaps some of them did not even wish to do so. Such was doubtless the case with those [Aperu] whom we find enrolled in regiments in the reigns of Rameses III. and Rameses IV." *

The construction of "store-cities" at the required period has received recent illustration of the most remarkable kind. The explorers employed by the "Egypt Exploration Fund" have uncovered at Tel-el-Maskoutah, near Tel-el-Kebir, an ancient city, which the inscriptions found on the spot show to have been built, in part at any rate, by Rameses II., and which is of so peculiar a construction as to suggest at once to those engaged in the work the idea that it was built for a "store-city." † The town is altogether a square, enclosed by a brick wall twenty-two feet thick, and measuring six hundred and fifty feet along each side. The area contained within the wall is estimated at about ten acres. Nearly the whole of this space is occupied by solidly built square chambers, divided one from the other by brick walls from eight to ten feet thick, which are unpierced by window or door, or opening of any kind. About ten feet from the bottom the walls show a row of recesses for beams, in some of which decayed wood still remains, indicating that the buildings were two-storied, having a lower room, which could only be entered by means of a trap-door, used probably as a store-house or magazine, and an upper one, in which the keeper of the store may have had his abode. Thus far the discovery is simply that of a "store-city," built partly by Rameses II.,

* "Recherches," p. 163.

† See an article in the *British Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, pp. 110-115; and compare the letters on the same subject in the *Academy* for February 24th, March 3d and 17th, and April 7th of the same year.

but it further appears, from several short inscriptions, that the name of the city was Pa-Tum, or Pithom ; and there is no reasonable doubt that one of the two cities built by the Israelites has been laid bare, and answers completely to the description given of it. Of the twin city, Rameses, the remains have not yet been identified. We know, however, from the inscription, that it was in the immediate vicinity of Tanis, and that it was built perhaps in part by Seti I., but mainly by his son Rameses II.

It lends additional interest to the discovery of Pithom that the city is found to be built almost entirely of brick. It was in brick-making that the Israelites are said in the Book of Exodus (ch. i. 14 ; v. 7-19) to have been principally employed. They are also said to have been occupied to some extent "in mortar" (ch. i. 14) ; and the bricks of the store-chambers of Pithom are "laid with mortar in regular tiers."* They made their bricks "with straw" until no straw was given them, when they were reduced to straits (ch. v. 7-19). It is in accordance with this part of the narrative, and sheds some additional light upon it to find that the bricks of the Pithom chambers, while generally containing a certain amount of straw, are in some instances destitute of it. The king's cruelty forced the Israelites to produce in some cases an inferior article.

The military organization of the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus is represented as very complete. The king is able, almost at a moment's warning, to take the field with a force of six hundred *picked* chariots, and numerous others of a more ordinary description, together with a considerable body of footmen. It does not appear that he has any cavalry, for the word translated "horsemen" in our version probably designates the riders in the chariots. Each squadron of thirty chariots is apparently under the command of a "captain" (ch. xiv. 7). The entire force, large as it is, is ready to take the field in a few days, for otherwise the Israelites would have got beyond the Egyptian border before the Pharaoh could have overtaken them. It acts promptly and bravely, and only suffers disaster through circumstances of an abnormal and indeed miraculous character. Now it appears by the Egyptian monuments that the military system was brought to its highest perfection by Seti I.

* *British Quarterly Review*, July 1883, p. 110.

and Rameses II. It is certain that, in their time, the army was most carefully organized, divided into brigades,* and maintained in a state of constant preparation. The chariot force was regarded as of very much the highest importance, and amounted, according to the lowest computation, to several thousands. It is doubtful whether any cavalry was employed, none appearing on the monuments, and the word so translated by many writers† being regarded by others as the proper designation of the troops who fought in chariots.‡ Infantry, however, in large well-disciplined bodies, always attended and supported the chariot force. Under Menephthah the system of his father and grandfather was still maintained, though no longer in full vigor. He required a fortnight to collect sufficient troops to meet the Libyan invasion.§ He had then, however, to meet an army of trained soldiers, and had no need to hasten, since he occupied a strong position. Under the circumstances of the Exodus, it was necessary to be more prompt, and sufficient to collect a much smaller army. This he appears to have been able to do at the end of a few days.

It was scarcely to be expected that the Egyptian records would present any evidence on the subject of Menephthah's loss of a son by an untimely death. Curiously, however, it does happen that a monument, at present in the Berlin Museum, contains a proof of his having suffered such a loss.|| There is no description of the circumstances, but a mere indication of the bare fact. The confirmation thus lent to the Scriptural narrative is slight; but it has a value in a case where the entire force of the evidence consists in its being cumulative.

Three results would naturally follow on the occurrence of such circumstances as those recorded in Exodus. Egypt would be for a time weakened in a military point of view, and her glory, as a conquering power, would suffer tempo-

* "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 68.

† As generally in the "Records of the Past," and by M. Chabas in his "Recherches pour servir," etc., pp. 85, 88, 89, etc.

‡ M. Lenormant almost always replaces the "cavalry" of other translators by the expression "*des chars*" (Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., pp. 255, 256, etc.) He observes in one place, "The military education of the Egyptians did not include teaching men to ride, since they fought in chariots."

§ "Records of the Past," vol. iv., p. 43.

|| Brugsch, "Histoire d'Egypte," p. 175.



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CHAPTER XVII.

NOTICES OF EGYPT IN EXODUS AND NUMBERS.

“The children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth.”—
Exon. xii. 37.

“It came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not [through] the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near . . . But God led the people about [through] the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea . . . And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.”—EXOD. xiii 17-20.

“Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon; before it shall ye encamp by the sea.”—EXOD. xiv. 2.

“These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord: and these are their journeys according to their goings out. And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month . . . And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth. And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. And they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pi-hahiroth, which is before Baal-Zephon: and they pitched before Migdol. And they departed from before Pi-hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness, and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah. And they removed from Marah, and came unto Elim . . . And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea.”—
NUMB. xxxiii. 1-10.

ALTHOUGH the geographical problems connected with the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt cannot be said to be as yet completely solved, yet the course of modern research has shed considerable light upon the route followed by the flying people, and the position of their various resting-places. The results arrived at may be regarded as tolerably assured, since they have not been reached without very searching criticism and the suggestion of many rival hypotheses. The boldest of these, started in the year 1874 by one of the first

of modern Egyptologists, Dr. Brugsch,* for a time shook to its foundation the fabric of earlier belief. The authority of its propounder was great, his acquaintance with the ancient geography of Egypt unrivaled, and his argument conducted with extreme skill and ingenuity; it was not to be wondered at, therefore, that his views obtained for a time very general credence. But researches conducted subsequently to the enunciation of his views, partly with the object of testing them, partly without any such object, have shown his theory to be untenable†; and opinion has recently reverted to the old channel, having gained by the discussion some additional precision and definiteness. We propose in the present chapter to consider the Exodus geographically, and to trace, as distinctly as possible, the “journeys” of the Israelites from their start on the day following the destruction of the first-born to their entrance on the “wilderness of Etham” after their passage of the Red Sea.

The point of departure is clearly stated both in Exodus (ch. xii, 37), and in Numbers (ch. xxxiii. 3. 5) to have been “Rameses.” What does this mean? We hear in Scripture both of a “land of Rameses” (Gen. xlvii. 11), and of a city “Raamses,” or Rameses. It is not disputed that these two words are the same; nor does it seem to be seriously doubted that the land received its name from the town. From which, then, are we to understand that the Israelites made their start? It has been argued strongly that “the land” is intended; ‡ and with this contention we are so far agreed, that we should not suppose any general gathering of the people to the city of Rameses, but a movement from all parts of the land of Rameses or Goshen to the general muster at Succoth. Succoth seems to us to have been the first rendezvous. But a portion of the Israelites, and that the leading and guiding portion, started probably from the town. Menephtah resided at Pa-Ramesu, a suburb of Tanis. Moses and Aaron held communication with him

* The views of Dr. Brugsch were first propounded at the International Congress of Orientalists, held in 1874. They were afterwards published in the English translation of his “History of Egypt,” London, 1879.

† See Mr. Greville Chester’s papers in the “Quarterly Statements” of the Palestine Exploration Fund, July, 1880, and April, 1881; and Mr. Stanley Poole’s paper in the *British Quarterly Review* for July, 1883.

‡ See Dr. Trumbull’s “Kadesh-Barnea” (New York, 1884), p. 382.

during the night, after the first-born were slain. They must, therefore, have been in the town or in its immediate neighborhood. They received permission to depart (Exodus xii. 31), and, as soon as morning broke, they set off with the other Israelites of the neighborhood. It is this start from the town of Rameses which the historian has in his eye; he needs a definite *terminus a quo* from which to begin his account of the journeying (Numb. xxxiii. 5), and he finds it in this city, the seat of the court at the time. Rameses was in lat. 31° , long. 32° , nearly, towards the north-eastern corner of Egypt, about thirty miles almost due west of Pelusium, from which, however, it was separated by a great marshy tract, the modern Lake Menzaleh, which in long. $32^{\circ} 20'$ penetrates deep into the country, and renders a march to the south-east necessary in order to reach the eastern frontier of Egypt. The rendezvous must, consequently, have been appointed for some place in this direction; and it is in this direction that we must seek it.

This place is termed both in Exodus (ch. xii. 37; xiii. 20) and in Numbers (ch. xxxiii. 5. 6) "Succoth"—*i.e.*, "Tents" or "Booths"—an equivalent of the Greek *Συρναί*, which is often used as a geographical designation. It has been proposed to identify Succoth with an Egyptian district called "Thuku" or "Thukut,"* and more recently with the newly-discovered town of Pithom † (Tel-el-Maskouteh). There is no evidence, however, that Pithom was ever called Succoth, nor would Tel-el-Maskouteh have been a convenient rendezvous for two millions of persons, with their flocks and herds. The Wady Toumilat offers but a thin thread of verdure along the line of the fresh-water canal, and though a convenient route for those who came from the more southern part of the "land of Goshen," would have been very much out of the way for such as started from the more northern portion, as from Tanis, or from the town of Goshen (Qosem) itself. But the district of Thukut, if it lay where Dr. Trumbull places it,* north and north-west of Lake Timseh, would be a very convenient place for a general muster, affording a wide space and abundant pasture in the spring-time, and easily reached both from south-west and north-west—in the

* Brugsch, "History of Egypt," translated by Philip Smith, 2d edit., p. 370-4.

† Stanley Poole in the *British Quarterly Review*, July, 1883, p. 113.

‡ See "Kadesh-Barnea," pp. 392-5.



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together by a wall or rampart; and especially the routes out of Egypt were thus guarded and watched. It was probably to one of these "khetams"—that which guarded the way out of Egypt, known to the Hebrews as the "way of Shur" (Gen. xvi-7)—that the march of the Israelites was directed from Succoth. The khetam lay "in the edge of the wilderness," and may perhaps be identified with that of King Menephthah. It was probably not far from the Bir Makdal of the maps, situated about ten miles east of the Suez Canal, east by north of Ismailia.

The multitude must have supposed that they were now about to enter the wilderness. They were "in its edge." Their leaders had doubtless brought with them the king's permission to pass the frontier fortress. The expectation must have been that on the morrow they would quit Egypt forever. But here God interposed. Had the Israelites passed out of Egypt at this point, the march would naturally have been across the desert some way south of Lake Serbônis to the Wady El Arish, and thence along the coast of the Mediterranean to Gaza and the low tract of the Shefeleh. But the nation was not yet in a fit condition to meet and contend with the warlike people of that rich and valuable region—the Philistines. God accordingly, who guided the march by the pillar of the cloud and of fire (ch. xiii. 21, 22), "led them not the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt: but God led the people about, the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (ib. 17, 18). Moreover, a direction was given through Moses to the people, "that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon" (ch. xiv. 2). It is clear that at this point the direction of the march was changed; and so far all are agreed. But was the "turn" towards the left or towards the right? Was the "sea" by which they were commanded to encamp the Mediterranean or the Red Sea?

It is the main point of Dr. Brugsch's theory that he holds "the sea" to have been the Mediterranean. He professes to find in this direction a Migdol, a Pihahiroth, and a Baal-Zephon. The Migdol is twenty miles from the Pihahiroth, and the Pihahiroth twenty-five from the Baal-Zephon, which is thus forty-five from the Migdol, for the three are nearly in a straight line. The Pihahiroth and the

Baal-Zephon are not visible the one from the other.* Still, though these particulars of distance and position ill accord with the expressions used in Exod. xiv. 2 and Numb. xxxiii. 7, which imply proximity and the being within view, it would have been a most curious circumstance had there been on this side of the Isthmus of Suez, and also on the opposite one, three places similarly named within a moderate distance of each other. But on examination it appears that only one of the three names is attached to any locality on the north side of the Isthmus otherwise than by conjecture. Dr. Brugsch does not profess to have found in the remains of ancient Egypt any place called Pi-hahiroth or any called Baal-Zephon. He finds in Egyptian a word *khirot*, signifying "gulfs," and he finds in Diodorus a mention that there were *βάραθρα*, "pits," at the western end of Lake Serbônîs. Out of these two facts he constructs an Egyptian Pi-khirot,† which he thinks may have been the original of the Pi-hahiroth of the Hebrews. Baal-Zephon he finds only mentioned in Egyptian documents as a God,—he conjectures his identity with Zeus Kasios,—and upon this pure conjecture locates his temple where one stood, erected to Zeus Kasios, in post-Alexandrine times. If we put aside these two mere conjectures, there remains only a Migdol, which has a proved existence in these parts, though its exact emplacement is uncertain.

Migdol, however, is a generic term, meaning "a watch-tower." There are likely to have been many "Migdols" on the eastern frontier of Egypt, and it is maintained ‡ that there are traces of at least three. One of these, called by the Greeks Magdôlos, was certainly towards the north, not far from Pelusium; another, central, has left its name to Bir Makdal; a third, towards the south, is represented by the existing Muktala. This last may well be the Migdol of Exodus.

Dr. Brugsch's theory that Lake Serbônîs is the true "Yam Suph," or "Sea of Weeds," wrongly understood by the Septuagint translators as "the Red Sea," has been com-

* Mr. Greville Chester in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," July, 1880, p. 154. note.

† "History of Egypt," vol. ii., p. 393. The real Egyptian original of Pi-hahiroth seems to have been "Pi-keheret," which is mentioned on a tablet of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, found at Tel-el-Maskouteh.

‡ Trumbull, "Kadesh-Barnea," pp. 374-8.

pletely disposed of by Mr. Greville Chester, who shows, first, that Lake Serbônîs is almost wholly devoid of vegetation, either marine or lacustrine; * secondly, that the spit of land between it and the Mediterranean is not continuous, but interrupted at the eastern extremity of the lake by a deep sea-channel; † thirdly, that there is no isthmus opposite El Gelse dividing the lake into nearly equal portions, ‡ as Dr. Brugsch supposed; and, fourthly, that the spit of land is above fifty miles long, and takes a lightly-equipped traveler *three days* to traverse, § instead of being passable in the course of a night. It may be added that, as the term “Yam Suph” is allowed by all, including Dr. Brugsch, to designate the Red Sea in Exod. xiii. 17 and Numb. xxxiii. 10, 11, it is inconceivable that the same writer should in the same narrative use it also of another far-distant sheet of water (Exod. xv. 4, 22).

The propriety of the name “Yam Suph,” as applied to the Red Sea, has been well illustrated by Dr. Trumbull, || “Suph” in Hebrew means at once “seaweed” (Jonah ii. 5), and “rushes” or “sedge.” (Exod. ii. 3, etc.). The Red Sea is famous for the number and variety of its marine growths. “Weeds and corals are to be seen in such profusion and beauty at many places along the shores of Red Sea, and again below its surface, as disclosed at low water, as almost to have the appearance of groves and gardens.” ¶ Again, “the *juncus acutus arundo Ægyptiaca*, or *arundo Isaica*, grows commonly on the shore of the Red Sea, so that at this day a bay of the same is called *Ghubbet-el-bîs*, or ‘Reed Bay.’” ** The observing naturalist, Klunzinger, says that, “Where the soil of the desert along that coast is kept moist by lagoons of sea water, the eye is gladdened by spreading meadows of green verdure. The coast flora of the desert, which requires the saline vapor of the sea, is peculiar. A celebrated plant is the *shora* (*Avicennia officinalis*), which forms large dense groves in the sea, these being laid bare only at very low ebb. Ships are laden with its wood, which is used as fuel, and many camels live altogether

* “Quarterly Statement” of Palestine Exploration Fund for July, 1880, p. 155.

† Ibid., p. 157.

‡ Ibid., p. 154.

§ Ibid., pp. 152-157.

|| “Kadesh-Barna,” pp. 353-356.

¶ Laborde, “Voyage de l’Arabie Pétrée,” p. 5.

** Stickel, “Der Israeliten Auszug aus Ægypten” in “Studien und Kritiken” for 1850, p. 331.



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Jebel Atakah. Baal-Zephon is not necessarily a Phœnician name, for the Egyptians had adopted "Baal" as a god long before the time of Menepthah, and Zephon (Zapouna or Typhon) was altogether Egyptian. There is no proof beyond the notices in Exodus that he had a temple, or a town named after him, in this quarter; but neither is there any proof of his having had one in any part of Egypt. It has been argued that the position on Jebel Ataka would be one exactly adapted to such a god as Baal-Zephon; † but we scarcely know enough of the Egyptian religion to be sure of this. We can only say that here, on the western coast of the Gulf of Suez, would be ample room for the encampment of the entire Israelitish host; that in this position it might well seem that "the wilderness had shut them in" (ch. xiv. 3); and that the host would be "before a Migdol" (Numb. xxxiii. 7), and perhaps "beside a Pi-hahiroth" (Exod. xiv. 9). The sea in front was but two or three miles across, and might easily have been passed in a night; the bottom was such as would naturally clog the Egyptian chariot wheels (ver. 25), and the further shore was destitute of springs, a true "wilderness" (ch. xv. 22), where the Israelites may well have gone "three days without water."

† Trumbull, "Kadesh-Barnea," p. 421.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FURTHER NOTICES OF EGYPT IN EXODUS.

IN considering the Biblical notices of Egypt contained in the Book of Exodus, we have hitherto confined ourselves almost entirely to the main narrative, and indeed to such points of it as are capable of illustration from historical documents, monumental, or literary. But the full force of the illustration which profane sources are capable of lending to the scriptural accounts cannot be rightly estimated, unless we add to this some consideration of those various minor matters, incidentally touched upon, which constitutes the *entourage* of the main narrative, and render it altogether so graphic and life-like: These touches must be either the natural utterances of one familiar with the country at the time, as Moses, the traditional author of Exodus would have been, or the artful imitation of such utterances by a later writer, unfamiliar with the time, and probably with the scene, drawing upon his imagination or his stock of antiquarian knowledge. In the former case, a general agreement between the Biblical portraiture and the facts as otherwise known to us might be confidently looked for; in the latter, there would be sure to appear, on examination, repeated contradictions and discrepancies.

It will be the object of the present chapter to show that there is a close accord between the Scriptural notices and the facts as otherwise known to us in respect of almost all the minor matters of which we have spoken. These may be summed up under the following principal heads:—(a) the climate and productions of Egypt, (b) the dress and domestic habits of the people, (c) the ordinary food of the laboring classes, (d) customs connected with farming and cattle-keeping, and (e) miscellaneous customs.

The climate of Egypt is touched upon mainly in connection with the seventh plague, in ch. ix. We find there

heavy rain (ver. 33), hail, thunder and lightning mentioned as occurring in early spring, and doing great damage to the crops. The particular visitation is spoken of as miraculous in coming at the command of Moses (ver. 23), and as extraordinary in its intensity (ver. 24), but not as a thing previously unknown. On the contrary, it is implied that similar visitations of less severity were not unusual. Objection has been taken to the narrative on this account; and it has been represented as indicative of a great want of acquaintance with the climatic circumstances of the country, since rain and hail are, it has been said, unknown in Egypt. But the only ground for such a statement is the authority of the classical writers. Herodotus regarded rain in Upper Egypt as a prodigy, * and Mela goes so far as to call Egypt generally "a land devoid of showers." † But the observation of modern travelers runs counter to such views, ‡ and supports the credit of the author of Exodus. In Upper Egypt, indeed, "very heavy rain is unusual, and happens only about once in ten years. Four or five showers fall there every year, after long intervals." § But in Lower Egypt, rain is as common in winter as it is in the south of Europe. Storms of great severity occur occasionally, more especially in February and March, when snow, hail, thunder and lightning are not uncommon. The Rev. T. H. Tooke "describes a storm of extreme severity, which lasted twenty-four hours, in the middle of February," || as high up the valley as Beni-Hassan. Other travelers, as Seetzen and Willmann, speak of storms of thunder and hail in March. "The ravines in the valley of the kings' tomb near Thebes, and the precautions taken in the oldest temples at Thebes to guard the roofs against rain by lions' mouths, or gutters, for letting off the water from them," ¶ prove sufficiently that there was no great difference between ancient and modern times in respect of the rainfall of the Nile valley.

Among the cultivated products of Egypt mentioned in Exodus, the principal are, wheat, barley, flax, and rye, or spelt

* Herod. iii. 10.

† Pomp. Mel., "De Situ Orbis," i. 9; "Ægyptus terra expers imbrium."

‡ See the passages collected by Hengstenberg, "Egypt and the Books of Moses," pp. 117, 118.

§ Williamson in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 409, note 4.

|| "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i., p. 285.

¶ Wilkinson, l. s. c. Compare "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii., p. 426.



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worn by the men, and probably few women were without them. Among the articles obtained from the tombs are "rings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, earrings, and numerous trinkets belonging to the toilet." * Most of these articles were common to the two sexes; but ear-rings were affected especially, if not exclusively, by the women.

Egyptian men of the upper class carried, as a matter of course, "walking-sticks." † Hence the "rod" of Aaron was naturally brought into the presence of Pharaoh (ch. vii. 10); and the magicians had also "rods" in their hands (ib. ver. 12), which they "cast down" before Pharaoh, as Aaron had cast his. These "rods," or rather "sticks," are continually represented on the monuments: no Egyptian lord is without one; ‡ at an entertainment there was an attendant whose especial duty it was to receive the sticks of the male guests on their arrival, and restore them at their departure. §

The Egyptians employed "furnaces" (ch. ix. 8) for various purposes, " (ch. viii. 3) for the baking of their bread, "kneading-troughs" (ibid.) for the formation of the dough, and "hand-mills" (ch. xi. 5) for the grinding of the corn into flour. "Their mills," says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "were of simple and rude construction. They consisted of two circular stones, nearly flat, the lower one fixed, while the other turned on a pivot, or shaft, rising from the centre of that beneath it; and the grain, descending through an aperture in the upper stone, immediately above the pivot, gradually underwent the process of grinding as it passed. It was turned by a woman, seated and holding a handle fixed perpendicularly near the edge. . . . The stone of which the hand-mills were made was usually a hard grit." || Sir Gardner adds in a note that he draws these conclusions from the fragments of the old stones discovered among the ancient remains. The same writer witnesses to the use by the ancient Egyptians of furnaces, ovens, and kneading troughs. ¶

One curious custom of an Egyptian household obtains incidental mention in the account of the first plague, viz.,

* Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii., p. 236.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 28; vol. iii., p. 447.

‡ Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 45: "The Egyptian lord . . . carried a wand or walking-stick as a sign of dignity or authority."

§ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. i., pl. xi., fig. 10.

|| Ibid., vol. i., p. 359.

¶ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii., pp. 34, 192.

the storing of water in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone" (ch. vii. 19). Water being exceedingly abundant in Egypt by reason of the Nile, with its numerous branches, natural and artificial, which conveyed the indispensable fluid almost to every house, "storing" would have been quite unnecessary but for one circumstance. The Nile water during the period of the inundation is turbid, and requires to be kept for a considerable time before it becomes palatable and fit for use by the muddy particles sinking gradually to the bottom, and leaving pure water at the top. To produce this effect, it has always been, and still is, usual to keep the Nile water in jars, or stone-troughs, until the sediment is deposited, and the fluid rendered fit for drinking.*

Another still more remarkable custom is brought under notice by the narrative in ch. i. "When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women," says the Pharaoh to Shiphrah and Puah, "*and see them upon the stools*, if it be a son, then ye shall kill him," etc. The incident is one which its delicate nature unfits for representation, and the monuments thus fail to confirm it; but a modern practice, peculiar, as far as we know, to Egypt, is probably the direct descendant of the ancient one, and at any rate lends it illustration. "Two or three days before the expected time of delivery," says Mr. Lane, in his account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, "the *layah* (midwife) conveys to the house the *kursee elwiládeh*, a chair of a peculiar form, upon which the patient is to be seated during the birth." †

The ordinary food of the Israelites during the time of their sojourn in Egypt is stated in one place (Exod. xvi. 3) to have consisted of "bread" and "flesh." But from another we can learn that it embraced also "fish" in abundance, and likewise the following vegetables: "cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic" (Numb. xi. 5). That bread was its staple may be gathered from the institution of the feast of unleavened bread (ch. xii. 15-20), as well as from the mention of "dough" (ibid. vers. 34, 39) as the only provision that they took with them, besides their beasts, when they quitted the country. Now "bread" was certainly "the staff of life" to the Egyptian nation, and the food on which they

* Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii., p. 428. Compare Pococke, "Travels," vol. i., p. 312.

† Lane, "Modern Egyptians," vol. iii., p. 142.

would naturally nourish their slaves. We find a king stating that he offered in a single temple loaves of three distinct kinds, viz., "best bread," "great loaves of bread for eating," and "loaves of barley bread," to the amount of 6,272,431.* He also offered to the same temple 5,279,552 bushels of corn.† "Bread" is the ordinary representative of food in Egyptian speech. The good man gives *bread* to the hungry"; ‡ artisans labor for "bread"; § "bread" is taken out to the rustics who work in the fields, || and is brought for the repast of young maidens.¶ Flesh, on the other hand, though largely consumed by the rich, was generally beyond the means of the poor; and the Israelites longing after the "fleshpots" of Egypt can only be accounted for by supposing that the king nourished his laborers on a more generous diet that was obtainable by the working classes generally. It is not likely, however, that they received flesh often. We have probably in Num. xi. 5 the main constituents of their dietary in addition to bread. Fish, which they "did eat in Egypt freely," was undoubtedly one of the principal articles of food consumed by the lower orders. Herodotus says that a certain number of the poorer Egyptians "lived entirely on fish."** It was so abundant that it was necessarily cheap. The Nile produced several kinds, which were easily caught; and in Lake Mæris the abundance of the fish was such that the Pharaohs are said to have derived from the sale a revenue of above £94,000 a year.†† Lake Menzaleh also, and the other lakes near the coast, must have yielded a considerable supply. The fishermen of Egypt formed a numerous class,‡‡ and the salting and drying of fish furnished occupation to a large number of persons.§§ The quantity of vegetable food which the poorer Egyptians consumed is noted by Diodorus. ||| and Herodotus makes out that the laborers whom Khufu (Cheops) employed to build the great pyramid subsisted mainly, if not wholly, on radishes, onions, and garlic. ¶¶ Cucurbitaceous vegetables are at present among

* "Records of the Past," vol. viii., p. 44, line 5.

† Ibid., vol. viii., p. 45, line 12.

‡ Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 46.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. viii., p. 150.

|| Ibid., vol. ii., p. 139.

¶ Ibid., vol. vi., p. 154.

** Herod. ii. 92.

†† Ibid. ii. 149.

‡‡ Herod. ii. 92, 95; "Records of the Past," vol. viii., p. 153.

§§ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii., pp. 115-8.

||| Diod. Sic. i. 80.

¶¶ Herod. ii. 125.



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dotus witnesses to the prevalence of this method of cultivation,* and the monuments occasionally represent it.

The absolute necessity of irrigation, and the nature of the irrigation, implied in the expression, "where thou sowedst thy seeds, and wateredst it with thy foot" (Deut. xi. 10), receive illustration from the pictures in the tombs, which show us the fields surrounded by broad canals, and intersected everywhere by cuttings from them, continually diminishing in size, until at last they are no more than rills banked up with a little mud, which the hand or "foot" might readily remove and replace, so turning the water in any direction that might be required by the cultivator.

Fruit-trees are represented on the monuments as largely cultivated and much valued. Among them the vine holds the foremost place. A sceptical critic was once bold enough to assert that the statements in the Pentateuch which implied the existence of the vine in Egypt were distinct evidence of "the late origin of the narrative." † But the tombs of Beni-hassan, which are anterior to the Exodus, contain "representations of the culture of the vine, the vintage, the stripping off and carrying away of the grapes, of two kinds of wine-presses, the one moved by the strength of human arms, the other by mechanical power, the storing of wine in bottles or jars, and its transportation into the cellar." ‡ No one now doubts that the vine was cultivated in Egypt from a time long anterior to Moses. The fig and the date-bearing palm were likewise grown for the sake of the fruit, grapes, figs and dates constituting the Egyptian lord's usual dessert, § while the last-named fruit was also made into a conserve, || which diversified the diet at rich men's tables.

The breeding and rearing of cattle was a regular part of the farmer's business in Egypt, and the wealth of individuals in flocks and herds was considerable. Three distinct kinds of cattle were affected—the long-horned, the short-horned, and the hornless. ¶ "During the greater part of the year they were pastured in open fields, on the natural growth of the rich soil, or on artificial grasses, which were cultivated for the purpose; but at the time of the inundation it was

* Herod. ii. 14.

† Von Bohlen, "Die Genesis historisch-critisch erlautert," § 373.

‡ Champollion, quoted by Hengstenberg, "Egypt and the Books of Moses," p. 15.

§ Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 45.

|| Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii., p. 43.

¶ Ibid.

necessary to bring them in from the fields to the farmyards or the villages, where they were kept in sheds or pens on ground artificially raised, so as to be beyond the reach of the river."* Thus the cattle generally had "houses" (Exod. ix. 20), *i.e.*, sheds or stalls, into which it was possible to bring them at short notice.

Among "miscellaneous customs" the following seem most worthy of notice: (*a*) the practice of making boats out of bulrushes (ch. ii. 3; compare Isa. xviii. 2), and (*b*) the position occupied by magic at the court of the Pharaohs. On the former point Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks †: "There was a small kind of punt or canoe *made entirely of the papyrus*, bound together with bands of the same plant—the 'vessels of bulrushes' mentioned in Isa. xviii. 2." On the latter M. Maspero makes the following statement ‡: "Magic was in Egypt a science, and the magician one of the most esteemed of learned men. The nobles themselves, the prince Khamuas and his brother, were adepts in the supernatural arts, and decipherers of magic formularies, in which they had an entire belief. A prince who was a sorcerer would nowadays inspire a very moderate sentiment of esteem. In Egypt the profession of magic was not incompatible with royalty, and the sorcerers of a Pharaoh had not uncommonly the Pharaoh himself for their pupil." The magical texts form a considerable portion of the MSS. which have come down to us from ancient times, particularly from the nineteenth dynasty; and the composition of some of them was ascribed to a divine source.

* "Rawlinson, "History of Ancient Egypt," vol. i., pp. 171, 172.

† In Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii., p. 154, note.

‡ Quoted by M. Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne." vol. ii., pp. 126-7.

CHAPTER XIX.

NOTICES OF EGYPT IN THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS.

IT is, at first sight, surprising that there is no mention of Egypt in connection with the history of the Israelites between the Exodus and the reign of Solomon. The interval is one of, at least, three hundred—perhaps of four hundred—years. During its earlier portion, and again about a century before its close, the Egyptian monarchs conducted expeditions into Northern Syria, if not even into Mesopotamia, which might have been expected to have brought them into contact with the Hebrew people; but the Hebrew records of the time are entirely silent on the subject, and indeed only mention Egypt retrospectively, as the place where Israel had once suffered affliction.* Perhaps the earlier expeditions—those of Rameses III.†—may have taken place while Israel was still detained in the “Wilderness of the Wanderings,” in which case there would naturally have been no collision between the two peoples; while those of Rameses XII.‡ and of Herhor § (about B. C. 1130–1100), having Syria rather than Palestine for their object, may have been conducted along the coast route by way of Philistia and Phœnicia into Cœle-Syria, and so have left the Israelite territory untouched, or nearly untouched. The main explanation, however, of the disappearance of Egypt from the narrative, is to be found in her general depression and weakness during the period in question, which prevented any real conquests from being made, or any large armies sent into Western Asia, as in the earlier times of Thotmes III., Amenhotep II., Seti, and Rameses II., or in the later ones of Sheshonk and Neku. This depression is very marked in the Egyptian remains,

* Josh. i. 10 : xxiv. 4–7, 14, 17; 1 Sam. ii. 27: vi. 6; x. 18; xii. 6–8.

† Brugsch, “History of Egypt,” vol. ii, p. 152.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 184–7; Birch, “Egypt from the Earliest Times,” pp. 149–153.

§ Birch, p. 154.



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Mesopotamian; and even the great Rameses married a Hittite.* According to 1 Chron. iv. 18, there was one Pharaoh who allowed a daughter of his to marry a mere ordinary Israelite. To "make affinity" with a prince of Solomon's rank and position would have been beneath the dignity of few Egyptian monarchs; it was probably felt as a highly satisfactory connection by the weak Tanite prince whose daughter made so good a match.

With which of the Tanite monarchs it was that Solomon thus allied himself is uncertain. M. Lenormant fixes definitely on Hor-Pasebensha,† or Pasebensha II., the last king of the dynasty; but an earlier monarch is more probable. Solomon's marriage was early in his reign (1 Kings iii. 1), and he reigned forty years (ch. xi. 42), during the last five or ten of which he would seem to have been contemporary with Saisak (ch. xi. 40). When he ascended the throne, and the king who reigned in Egypt was probably either Pasebensha I. or Pinetem II. Unfortunately these monarchs have left such scanty remains, that we know next to nothing concerning them.

The conquest of Gezer by this Pharaoh, whoever he was, and its transference to Solomon *as his wife's dowry* (ch. ix. 16), though it cannot be confirmed from Egyptian history, may be illustrated from Assyrian. Sargon tells us in one of his inscriptions that, having conquered the country of Cilicia with some difficulty, on account of its great natural strength, he made it over to Ambris, King of Tubal, who had married one of his daughters, as the princess's dowry.‡

The establishment of commercial relations between Palestine and Syria on the one hand and Egypt on the other (ch. x. 28, 29) is exactly what might have been expected to follow on the matrimonial alliance concluded between Solomon and his Egyptian contemporary. When Rameses II. allied himself with the Hittite royal house, interchange of commodities between Egypt and Syria is the immediate consequence. Corn is sent by sea from the valley of the Nile to the Syrian mountain tract for the support of the "children of Heth," § who doubtless made a return in timber, or some other products of their own soil. In Solomon's

* Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., p. 264.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 329.

‡ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i., p. 442, note 383.

§ "Records of the Past," vol. iv., p. 42, l. 24.

time the Egyptian commodities imported by the Western Asiatics were different. Long practice had perfected in Egypt the manufacture of chariots, and these had become indispensable to the Hittite and Syrian kings for the maintenance of their independence against the encroachments of Assyria. Each king of these peoples—and there were several kings of each*—maintained a war force of several hundred chariots,† for each of which were needed two well-trained horses. These Egypt supplied, together (if our translators are right) with “linen yarn,” also a commodity known to have been produced largely in that country.‡

The story of Hadad’s flight to Egypt and hospitable reception by an Egyptian Pharaoh, whose queen’s name was Tahpenes, admits of no illustration from profane sources. We do not know the names borne by the queens of the later monarchs of the twenty-first dynasty, and we have thus no means of identifying the Pharaoh intended. No doubt Egypt was at all times open as a refuge to political exiles; but there must have been special reasons for the high favor shown to Hadad. Perhaps he was already connected by blood with the Tanite monarchs; perhaps Edom had been in alliance with Egypt before David conquered it.

Jeroboam’s flight to Shishak brings before us an Egyptian monarch who is fortunately unmistakable. Hitherto the sacred writers have been content, when mentioning Egyptian kings, to speak of them by their recognized official title of “Pharaoh.” § Now for the first time is this habit broken through, and the actual proper name of an Egyptian monarch presented to us. The Hebrew Shishak (שִׁשַׁק) represents almost exactly the Egyptian name ordinarily written “Sheshenk,” but sometimes “Sheshak,”|| and expressed in the fragments of Monetho by Sesonchis, (Σέσωχισ).¶ This is a name well known to Egyptologists. Wholly absent from all the earlier Egyptian monuments, it appears suddenly in those of the twenty-second (Bubastite) dynasty, where it is borne by no less than four monarchs, besides

* “See 2 Sam. viii. 3–12; x. 6–16; 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6; and the Assyrian inscriptions *passim*.”

† “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i., p. 409, note 209.

‡ Herod. ii. 37, 182; iii. 47; Plin., “H. N.” xix. 1.

§ See above, ch. xiii.

|| Lepsius, “Ueber die XXII. Ægyptische Königs dynasty,” pp 267, 289.

¶ Syncellus, “Chronographia,” pp. 73D, 74D.

occurring also among the names of private individuals. This abundance would be somewhat puzzling were it not for the fact that one only of the four monarchs is a warrior, or leads any expedition beyond the borders.* The records of the time leave no doubt that the prince who received Jeroboam was Sheshonk I., the founder of the Bubastite line, the son of Namrot and Tentepēh, the first king of the twenty-second dynasty.

“It came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam that Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem; and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king’s house; he even took away all; and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.”—1 KINGS xiv. 25, 26.

With this may be compared 2 Chron. xii. 1-9;—

“And it came to pass, when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him; and it came to pass, that in the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen; and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt—the Lubims, and the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem. Then came Shemaiah the prophet to Rehoboam, and to the princes of Judah that were gathered together to Jerusalem because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the Lord, Ye have forsaken Me, and therefore also have I left you in the hand of Shishak. Whereupon the princes of Israel and the king humbled themselves, and they said, the Lord is righteous. And when the Lord saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance; and My wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak. *Nevertheless they shall be his servants, that they may know My service and the service of the kingdoms of the countries.* So Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king’s house: he took all; he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made.”

The Palestinian expedition of Sheshonk I. forms the subject of a remarkable bas-relief,† which, on his return from it, he caused to be executed in commemoration of its complete success. Selecting the Great Temple of Karnak,

* Lenormant, “Manuel d’Histoire Ancienne,” vol. ii., p. 340.

† For a representation of this monument, see the “Denkmäler” of Lepsius, part iii. pls, 252 and 253 a.



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Azem (Aauzamaa), and Lebaoth (Libith). To the second class may be assigned Taanach (Ta'ankau), mentioned as a Levitical city in Josh. xxi. 25; Rehob (Rebaban), mentioned in Josh. xxi. 31 and 1 Chron. vi. 75; Mahanaim (Mahunema), mentioned Josh. xxi. 38, 1 Chron. vi. 80; Beth-horon (Beith-Huaron), mentioned Josh. xxi. 22, 1 Chron. vi. 68; Kedemoth (Kademoth), mentioned Josh. xxi. 37, 1 Chron. vi. 79; Bileam (Bilema), mentioned 1 Chron. vi. 70; Golan (Galena), mentioned Josh. xxi. 27, 1 Chron. vi. 71; and Anem (Anama), mentioned in 1 Chron. vi. 73. As belonging to the third class we can only fix positively on Beth-shan (Beith-shan-ra) and Megiddo (Maketu); but Rab-bith, Shunem, Hapharaim, and Edrei, which are also contained in Sheshonk's list of his conquests, may be suspected of having retained a Canaanite element in their population.

This list is remarkable both for what it contains and for what it omits. The omission of most of those strongholds towards the south, which Rehoboam fortified against Egypt, as Hebron, Lachish, Azekah, Mareshah, Gath, Adullam, Beth-zur, and Tekoa (2 Chron. xi. 6-10), is perhaps to be explained by the illegibility of twelve names at the beginning of the list, where these cities, as the first attacked, would most probably have been mentioned. The omission of Jerusalem might also be accounted for in the same way. Or the fact may have been that Jerusalem itself was not taken. Like Hezekiah, on the first invasion of Sennacherib (2 Kings xviii. 13-16), Rehoboam may have surrendered his treasures (1 Kings xiv. 26) to save his city from the horrors of capture. This was, perhaps, the fulfilment of God's promise by the mouth of Shemaiah—"I will grant them some deliverance, and My wrath shall not be poured upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak" (2 Chron. xii. 7). The Egyptian monarch, on receiving the treasures and the submission of Rehoboam (ibid. ver. 8), may have consented to respect the city.

But, as he could not mention Jerusalem among his actual conquests, he supplied the place where the name would naturally have occurred with an inscription of a peculiar kind. The cartouche borne by one of the earlier of the ideal figures contains the epigraph "YUTEH MALEK," in which Egyptologists generally recognize a boast either that the king or the "kingdom of Judah" made submission to the conqueror. "Yuteh Malek" is, we think, most properly read

as "Judah, a kingdom." By introducing the words, Sheshonk wished to mark that besides subduing cities and districts and tribes, he had in one case conquered a country which was under the government of a king.

The fact that a large proportion of the towns mentioned as taken are in the territories not of Rehoboam, against whom Sheshonk "went up" (1 Kings xiv. 25), but of Jeroboam, his *protégé* and friend, whom his expedition was doubtless intended to assist, and the further fact that these towns were chiefly Levitical or Canaanite, would seem to show that Jeroboam, in the earlier part of his reign, had considerable opposition to encounter within the limits of his own kingdom. The disaffection of those Levites whose possessions lay within his territories is sufficiently indicated in Chronicles by the account which is there given (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14) of a number of them leaving their possessions and "resorting to Rehoboam throughout all their coasts." It is probable that such as remained were equally hostile, and that Jeroboam used the arms of his ally to punish them. At the same time, he was enabled by Egyptian aid to reduce a few Canaanite cities which still maintained their independence, as Gezer had done until conquered by the Pharaoh who gave his daughter to Solomon (2 Kings ix. 16).

The army with which Sheshonk invaded Palestine is more numerous than we should have anticipated, and some corruption in the numbers may be suspected. It is composed, however, exactly as the monuments would have led us to expect, almost wholly of foreign mercenaries (2 Chron. xii. 3), Libyans, Ethiopians, and others. The Egyptian armies at this time consisted, for the most part, of Maxyes and other Berber tribes from the north-west, and of Ethiopians and negroes from the south.* Sheshonk, who was himself of foreign descent, placed far more dependence on these foreign troops than on the native Egyptian levies.

"Asa had an army of men that bare targets and spears. . . . And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand and three hundred chariots, and came unto Maresah. Then Asa went out against him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Maresah. And Asa cried unto the Lord, . . . and the Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa and before Judah, and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa and the people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar; and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves."—2 CHRON. xiv. 9-13.

* Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., pp. 340, 341.

The Egyptians do not record unsuccessful expeditions, and thus the monuments contain no mention of this attack on Asa. It appears to have been provoked by Asa's rebellion, which is glanced at in 2 Chron. xiv. 6. The Egyptian monarch who sent or led the expedition was probably Osorchon (Uasarkan) II., whose name the Hebrews contracted into Zerach . He was, perhaps, an Ethiopian on his mother's side. Asa's defeat of his vast army is the most glorious victory ever obtained by a Israelite monarch, and secured his country from any Egyptian attack for above three centuries.



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point to the first king rather than to the second ; and we consequently regard Hoshea as having turned in his distress to seek the aid of the monarch whom the Egyptians knew as Shabak, and the Greeks as Sabacôs of Sabaco.*

The application implies an entire change in the condition of political affairs in the East, and in the relations of state to state, from those which prevailed when Egyptian monarchs last figured in the sacred narrative, two hundred or two hundred and fifty years earlier. Then Egypt was an aggressive power, bent on establishing her influence over Palestine, and from time to time invading Asia with large armies in the hope of making extensive conquests.† She was the chief enemy feared by the petty kingdoms and loosely aggregated tribes of South-western Asia, the only power in their neighborhood that possessed large bodies of disciplined troops and an instinct of self-aggrandizement. But all this was now altered. Egypt, from the time of Osarkon II., had steadily declined in strength ; her monarchs had been inactive and unwarlike, her policy one of abstinence from all enterprise. The inveterate evil of distintegration with which her ill-shaped territory was naturally threatened, and which had from time to time shown itself in her history, once more made its appearance. There arose a practice of giving appanages to the princes of the royal house, which tended to become hereditary, and trenched on the sovereignty of the nominal monarch. “ Egypt found herself divided into a certain number of principalities, some of which contained only a few towns, while others extended over several adjacent cantons. Ere long the chiefs of these principalities were bold enough to reject the suzerainty of the Pharaoh ; relying upon their hands of Libyan mercenaries, they not only usurped the functions of royalty, but even the title of king, while the legitimate reigning house, relegated to a corner of the Delta, with difficulty preserved a remnant of its old authority.” ‡ By the close of the twenty-second dynasty, “ Egypt had arrived at such a point of distintegration as to find herself portioned out among nearly twenty princes, of whom four at least assumed the cartouche and the other emblems of royalty.” §

* Herod. ii. 139; Manetho ap. Syncell. “ Chronograph.,” p. 74, B.

† Chron xii. 3; xiv. 9.

‡ Lenormant, “ Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne,” vol. ii., p 341.

§ Ibid., p. 342.

Meanwhile, as if to counterbalance the paralysis and decrepitude of the Egyptian state, there had arisen on the other side of Syria and Palestine a great power, continually increasing in strength, with the same instinct of aggrandizement which had formerly possessed Egypt, and with even greater aptitudes for war and conquest. Assyria, from about B. C. 880, or a little earlier, began to press westward upon the nations dwelling between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and to threaten them with subjugation. Asshur-nazir-pal took Carchemish, conquered Northern Syria, and forced the Phœnician cities to make their submission to him.* His son, Shalmaneser II., engaged in wars with Hamath, Damascus, and Samaria; defeated Benhadad, Hazael, and Ahab; and made Jehu take up the position of a tributary.† The successors of these two warlike princes “fairly maintained the empire which they had received,” ‡ and even pushed their expeditions into Philistia and Edom. After a lull in the war-storm, which lasted from about B. C. 780 to 750, it recommenced with increased fury. Tiglath-Pileser II. crushed the Kingdom of Damascus, and greatly crippled that of Samaria, besides which he reduced the Philistines and several tribes of Arabs. He was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV., the monarch mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 3.

The situation was thus the following. The petty states of Palestine and Syria had been suffering from the attacks of the Assyrians for a century and a half. One after another, the greater part of them had succumbed. First they were made tributaries; then they were absorbed into the conquering state and became mere provinces. Hoshea found his kingdom threatened with the fate which had befallen so many others. He had the courage to make an effort to save it. Casting an anxious glance over the entire political position, he thought that he saw in the Egyptian monarch of the time a possible deliverer. For there had been quite recently a revolution in Egypt. The weak and indolent native monarchs had been thrust aside, and superseded by a stronger and fiercer foreign race from the neighboring Ethiopia. “So,” or Shabak, was one of these foreigners, and wielded the resources of two countries, his adopted and

* “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i., p. 400.

† Ibid., pp. 102-106.

‡ Sayce “Ancient Empires of the East.” p. 375.

his native one. It was reasonable to expect that he would see the danger which menaced Egypt from the new masters of Western Asia, and the desirability of maintaining the barrier between his own dominions and the Assyrian, which the still unconquered tribes and kingdoms of Syria and Palestine were capable of constituting. There were others besides Samaria ripe for revolt.* It would have been a wise policy on the part of the Egyptian monarch to have fomented the disaffection, and supported with his full force the movement in favor of independence which was in progress.

Hoshea's "messengers," under these circumstances, sought the court of Shabak, which appears to have been fixed at Memphis, in Lower Egypt.† It would seem that they were received with favor, and that material aid was promised, since Hoshea almost immediately broke into open revolt by withholding the tribute due to his Assyrian suzerain. With the utmost promptness Shalmaneser marched against him, seized his person, and carried him off to Nineveh. Shabak made no effort in his defence. The first attempt of the people of God to "call to Egypt" (Hos. vii. 11) thus proved a most disastrous failure: the king, who had "trusted upon the staff of the bruised reed" (2 Kings xviii. 21), was ruined by his misplaced confidence, and within a few years his capital was taken (ibid. ver. 6), and his people carried into captivity (ibid.).

"And Rabshakeh said. . . . Speak ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou trustest? Thou sayest—but they are but vain words—I have counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt unto all that trust on him" (ch. xviii. 19-21).

"When he" (*i. e.* Sennacherib) "heard say of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee, he sent messengers again to Hezekiah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria" (ibid., vers. 9, 10).

Another act in the drama has been opened. The king-

* As Tyre, which actually revolted a year or two later; and Hamath, Arpad, Simyra, and Damascus, which revolted from Sargon in B.C. 721.

† Rawlinson, "History of Ancient Egypt," vol. ii., p. 446.



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mained faithful to his ally, and put his army in motion to meet Sennacherib (ch. xix. 9).

This boldness is quite in accord with Tirhakah's character. He was an enterprising prince, engaged in many wars, and a determined opponent of the Assyrians. His name is read on the Egyptian monuments as Tahark or Tahrak; and his face, which appears on them, is expressive of strong determination. The Assyrian inscriptions tell us that, in the later part of his life, he carried on a war for many years with Esar-haddon and his son, Asshur-bani-pal.* If his star ultimately paled before that of the latter, it was not from any lack of courage, or resolution, or good faith on his part. He struggled gallantly against the Assyrian power for above thirty years, was never wanting to his confederates and, if he did not quite deserve the high eulogies of the Greeks, was at any rate, among the most distinguished monarchs of his race and period.

“In his” (Josiah's) “days of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates; and King Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him. . . . And the people of the land took Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead. . . . And Pharaoh-Necho put him in bands at Riblah, in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem, and put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold. And Pharaoh-Necho made Eliakim, the son of Josiah, king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim, and took Jehoahaz away; and he came to Egypt, and died there” (ch. xxiii. 29-34).

An interval of ninety years separates this notice from the one last considered. The position of affairs is one more completely changed. Although the present passage, taken by itself, does not give any indication of what had occurred, it is quite certain that, in the interval between Tirhakah's war with Sennacherib and “Pharaoh-Necho's” invasion of Palestine, the empire of Assyria had come to an end. Necho was on his way “to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates” (2 Chron. xxxv. 20) with “the house wherewith he had war” (ibid.); and that house was not the old one of the Sargonidæ, wherewith Tirhakah had contended, but a new “house” which had recently come into power, and which held its court, not at Nineveh, but at Babylon (Isa.

* G. Smith, “History of Asshur-bani-pal,” pp. 15-47.

xlvi. 2). The exact year of the fall of Assyria is indeed uncertain; * but all authorities agree that it had taken place before the date of Necho's expedition, which was in B. C. 608. By "king of Assyria," in ver. 29, we must therefore understand king of Babylon, just as in Ezra vi. 22 we must understand by "king of Assyria" king of Persia. The Babylonian monarch, Nabopolassar, had taken a share in the great war by which the empire of the Assyrians was brought to an end, † and had succeeded to Assyria's right in Western Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. He was probably regarded by Josiah as his suzerain, and therefore entitled to such help as he could render him.

While these changes had taken place in Asia, in Africa also the condition of affairs was very much altered. The Ethiopian dynasty, after its long struggle against Assyria, had been forced to yield, had given up the contest, and retired from Egypt altogether. ‡ Assyria had for a time held Egypt under her sway, and acting in the spirit of the maxim, "Divide et impera," had split up the country among no fewer than twenty princes. Of these some had been Assyrians, but the greater part natives. A Necho (Neku), the grandfather of the antagonist of Josiah, had held the first place among the twenty, being assigned the governments of Memphis and Sais, together with almost the whole of the Western Delta. He had been succeeded after a time by his son Psamatik, the Psammetichus of the Greeks, who had taken advantage of the growing weakness of Assyria during the later half of the seventh century to raise the standard of revolt, and had succeeded, by the assistance of Gyges, king of Lydia, and of numerous Greek and Carian mercenaries, in establishing his own independence and uniting all Egypt under his sway. A period of great prosperity had then set in. Psamatik I., a prudent, and at the same time a brave and warlike, prince, raised Egypt from a state of extreme depression to a height which she had only previously reached under the Osirtasens, the Thothmeses, and the Ramesides. During the rapid decline and decay of Assyrian power which followed upon the death of Asshur-bani-pal (B. C. 626), he extended his sway over Philistia and Phœnicia, thus resuming the policy of aggression upon Asia

* The opinion of scholars varies between B. C. 625 and B. C. 610.

† "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. pp. 499, 500.

‡ Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., pp. 377, 378.

which had been laid aside, at any rate from the time of Sheshonk. The opportunity seemed good for re-establishing Egyptian influence in this quarter, now that Assyria was approaching her end, and Babylon not yet established as her successor.

The "Pharaoh-Necho" of the present notice is undoubtedly Neku II., the son and successor of Psamatik I. and the grandson of the first Neku. He succeeded his father in B. C. 611 or 610, and held the throne till B. C. 595 or 594. He left behind him a high character for courage and enterprise. "We must see in him," says Dr. Wiedemann,* "according to the narratives of the Greek historians, one of the most enterprising and excellent sovereigns of all Egyptian antiquity." After two or three years of preparation for war, he led his forces into Palestine by the coast road commonly followed by his predecessors, through Philistia and Sharon to Megiddo, on the high ground separating the plain of Sharon from that of Esdraelon. Here, on a battle-field celebrated alike in ancient and in modern times, he was confronted by Josiah, the Jewish monarch, who had recently united under his sway the greater portion of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah.† Necho, according to the author of Chronicles, endeavored to avoid engaging his troops, first by assuring him that his quarrel was not with him, but with the royal house of Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 21), and then by urging that he had received a Divine commission to attack his enemy. Assertions of this kind were probably not unusual in the mouths of Egyptian princes, who regarded themselves as the favorites of Heaven, sons of the sun, and under constant Divine protection. We have an example in Piankhi, one of the Ethiopian monarchs of Egypt, who, when marching against the native princes that had revolted from him, declares,‡ "I am born of the loins, created from the egg, of the Deity. . . . I have not acted without His knowing: He ordained that I should [so] act." Neither argument had any effect on the resolution of the Jewish king; he probably deemed himself bound, as faithful vassal, to bar the way of his suzerain's enemy; and Necho, finding him thus resolved, was compelled to engage his forces. The battle,

* "Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen," p. 147.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 15-19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6-9.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 91, l. 69.



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CHAPTER XXI.

NOTICES OF EGYPT IN ISAIAH.

“The burden of Egypt. Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at His presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it. And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof: and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. And the Egyptians will I give over into the hands of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts. . . . Surely the princes of Zoan are fools; the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish; how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they? where are thy wise men? and let them tell thee now, and let them know what the Lord hath purposed upon Egypt. The princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of Noph are deceived; they have also seduced Egypt, even they that are the stay of the tribes thereof.”—ISA. xix. 1-13.

It was a principal part of the mission of Isaiah during the reign of Hezekiah to dissuade the Jews from placing their dependence on Egypt in the struggle wherein they were engaged, with the prophet's entire consent and approval, against the Assyrians. Egypt, it was revealed to him, was no sure stay, no trustworthy ally, no powerful protector; she would fail in time of need, either unwilling or unable to give effectual help. (See ch. xx. 6; xxx. 3, 7; xxxi. 1-3). Nor was this the worst. So long as king and people put their trust in an “arm of flesh,” and did not rely upon God, God's arm was straitened, and he could not work the miraculous deliverance, which he was prepared to work, ‘because of their unbelief.’” Isaiah's prophecies with respect to Egypt are thus, almost entirely, depreciatory and denunciatory. He is bent on showing that she is a power on whom no dependence can be wisely placed, in the hope that

he may thereby prevent Hezekiah and his princes from contracting any alliance with the Egyptian monarch.

In this first prophecy he announces two calamities as about to befall Egypt, either of which is sufficient to render her an utterly worthless ally. The first of these calamities is civil war. The Egyptians are about to "fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom." It is a remarkable illustration of this prophecy to find, as we do, from an inscription of Piankhi-Merammon,* that about B. C. 735 Egypt was divided up among no fewer than twenty-two princes, of whom four bore the title of "king," and that a civil war raged among them for some considerable time. Tafnekht, prince of Sais, began the disturbance by a series of skilfully arranged encroachments upon his neighbors. During several years he laid siege successively to the fortresses which were held by the independent military chiefs and the petty princes of the western portion of Lower Egypt. Once master of all the territory to the west of the middle branch of the Nile, Tafnekht, respecting the dominion of the dynasty of Tanis over the Eastern Delta, proceeded to mount the stream, in order to make himself master of Central Egypt, and even with the intention of essaying the conquest of Upper Egypt, which was in the possession of the Ethiopian kings of Napata at this period. The stronghold of Meri-tum, now Meydoun, the district of Lake Mœris, the city of Heracleopolis, with its king Pefaabast, and that of Hermopolis, with its king Osorkon, recognized his authority as sovereign. He also made himself master of Aphroditopolis, and, pursuing his career of success, was in course of conquering the canton of Ouab, with its capital, Pa-matsets, when the chiefs of the upper and lower country who had not yet bowed their heads to his yoke invoked the aid of the Ethiopian monarch.† Piankhi gladly responded to the call, and in the course of one or two campaigns succeeded in despoiling Tafnekht of all his conquests, and in restoring Egypt to tranquility. He then reigned for some years in peace; but at his death disturbances broke out afresh. Bocchoris, or Bok-en-ranf, who succeeded Tafnekht at Sais, had a reign as troubled as his predecessor's. It

* See "Records of the Past," vol. ii, pp. 81-104; and compare Brugsch, "Geschichte Ägyptens," pp. 682-707.

† Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii. p. 344.

was, says M. Lenormant,* “an incessant struggle against the petty princes, a continuous series of wars, first for the subjection of the Delta and Central Egypt, nay, even temporarily of the Thebaid, and then for the preservation of his conquests, and the maintenance with much difficulty of a precarious dominion.” In the end Bocchoris succumbed to Shabak, the successor of Piankhi, who punished his rebellion, as he considered it, by burning him alive.† A third occasion of civil war, belonging to a somewhat later date, is mentioned by Herodotus. Psammetichus, the founder of the twenty-sixth dynasty, had to contend, according to this author, ‡ with eleven of his brother princes before he succeeded in uniting all Egypt under his sceptre. Briefly, it may be said that Egypt from about B. c. 735 to B. c. 650, suffered from a continued series of civil wars, which rendered her exceptionally weak, and caused her to fall an easy prey alternately to the Ethiopians and the Assyrians.

The other calamity prophesied is that of conquest by a foreign king of a fierce and cruel temper. “The Egyptians will I give over into the hands of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord” (ver. 4). The Egyptian and Assyrian records show that, between the years B. c. 750 and B. c. 650, Egypt was conquered at least five times, and was ruled by at least eight foreign monarchs. The first conquest—that of Piankhi Merammon—was certainly not a subjection to a “fierce and cruel lord,” for Piankhi was a remarkably mild and clement prince, who did not even punish rebellion with any severity.§ Shabak, the next conqueror after Piankhi, was cruel; but he can scarcely be the monarch intended, since he was accepted as a legitimate Pharaoh; the “princes of Zoan and Noph” were his counselors; and, if the prophecy touches him at all it is as the deceived and misled Pharaoh of ver. 11, not as the “fierce king” of ver. 4. The same may be said of his successors, Shabatok and Tirhakah, who were closely connected with Noph (Napata), and were recognized as legitimate Pharaohs. It is to an Assyrian, not to an Ethiopian, conqueror that the prophecy must refer, and hence doubtless the introduction of Assyria by name into the later

* Lenormant, “Manuel d’Histoire Ancienne,” vol. ii., p. 349.

† Manetho ap. Syncell., “Chronograph,” p. 74, B.

‡ Herod., ii. 152.

§ Rawlinson, “History of Ancient Egypt,” vol. ii., p. 443.



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Hoshea, about B. C. 724, entered into alliance with Shabek (So), and thereby provoked the ruin which fell both on himself and his country. The lesson was lost on Hezekiah and his counselors, who, as the attitude of the Assyrians became more and more threatening, inclined more and more to follow Hoshea's example and place themselves under the protection of Egypt. Egypt was at this time, as already explained, closely connected with Ethiopia, which under Piankhi, Shabak, Shabatok, and Tirhakah, exercised the rights of a suzerain power, permitting, however, to certain native Egyptian princes a delegated sovereignty. Hence the close connection in which we find Ethiopia and Egypt placed in the present prophecy. In the year that the Assyrian Tartan, or commander-in-chief, took Ashdod, having been assigned the task by Sargon, king of Assyria, the successor of Shalmaneser IV., and father of Sennacherib—probably the year B. C. 714—Isaiah was directed to renew his warning against trust in these African powers. They had become the “glory” and the “expectation” of his countrymen, whither they were ready to “flee for help” (vers. 5, 6). In order to impress the Jews with the folly of their vain hopes, Isaiah was instructed to announce a coming victory of Assyria over combined Egypt and Ethiopia, the result of which would be a great removal of captives, belonging to both nations, from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tigris, to the great “shame” of the conquered and the great glory of the conquerors. To arrest the attention of his nation, he was to take the garb of a prisoner himself, and to go barefoot and “naked.” *i. e.*, clad in a single scant tunic, for three years, at the end of which time his prophecy would be accomplished. The prophecy seems to have had its first accomplishment when, in B. C. 711, Ashdod revolted from Assyria, under promise of support from the Ethiopian Pharaoh of the period, and was captured, with its garrison, which is likely to have consisted in part of Egyptians and Ethiopians. We are expressly told that the prisoners were on this occasion transported into Assyria, their place being supplied by captives taken in some of Sargon's eastern wars.*

Ten years later, in the reign of Sennacherib, there was another occasion of collision between Assyria and Egypt in

* “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i., p. 440.

a war provoked by the revolt of Ekron. In the battle of Eltekeh (B. C. 701) both Ethiopians and Egyptians are expressly declared to have been engaged, and many prisoners of both nations to have been taken.* These were, no doubt, carried off by the conqueror.

Later, in the wars of Esar-haddon and Asshur-bani-pal with Tirhakah, there must have been numerous occasions of a similar kind.† The entire course of the struggle between Assyria on the one hand and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other was adverse to the latter peoples until the strength of Assyria collapsed at home, and she (about B. C. 650) withdrew her forces from Egypt to the defence of her own territory.

“Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me; and that cover with a covering, but not of My Spirit, that they may add sin to sin, that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion. For his princes were at Zoan, and his ambassadors came to Hanes. They were all ashamed of a people that could not profit them, nor be a help nor profit, but a shame and also a reproach. The burden of the beasts of the south: into the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they will carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not profit them. For the Egyptians shall help in vain, and to no purpose; therefore have I cried concerning this, Their strength is to sit still.”—ISA. xxx. 1-7.

“Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horse-men, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord! . . . Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is helper shall fall down, and they all shall fall together. For thus bath the Lord spoken unto me, Like as the lion and the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice nor abase himself for the noise of them; so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight for Mount Zion and for the hill thereof. As birds flying, so will the Lord of hosts defend Jerusalem; . . . He will preserve it.”—ISA. xxxi. 1-5.

Matters have now progressed a stage. Isaiah's warnings are not only unheeded, but set at nought. Alarmed at the

* “Records of the Past,” vol. i., pp. 36, 37.

† See Mr. George Smith's “History of Asshur-bani pal,” pp. 16, 19, 23, 54, etc.

advances that Sennacherib has made and is making, convinced, not perhaps without reason, that the policy of Assyria is to leave him the mere shadow of independence, Hezekiah has taken the final plunge. Declining to ask counsel of God's prophet (ver. 1), he has sent ambassadors of high rank (ver. 4), accompanied by a train of camels and asses, laden with rich presents (ver. 6), to the court of the vassal Pharaoh to whom is committed the government of Lower Egypt. "His" (*i. e.*, Hezekiah's) "princes are at Zoan" (Tanis); "his ambassadors have come to Hanes." He has made application for a force of chariots and cavalry (ch. xxxvi. 9). He has probably sent a prayer to the Ethiopian suzerain of the country, requesting him to move to his relief. The thing is done, and cannot be undone; and it remains only for the prophet to make a declaration, first, that it has been done against God's will (vers. 1, 9, 12), and secondly, that it will be of no avail—nothing will come of it—the Egyptians will give no effectual help (vers. 5, 7). The historical chapters of Isaiah, especially chapters xxxvi. and xxxvii., are the sequel to this intimation. They show that Hezekiah received no help at all from the subordinate Pharaoh, who was probably Shabatok, and that though Tirhakah did move on his behalf (ch. xxxvii. 9), yet that he neither engaged the forces of Sennacherib, nor seriously troubled him. The relief of Hezekiah, and the relief of Egypt itself—whose subjection to Assyria was thereby deferred for a generation—came from another quarter. When Hezekiah gave up his trust in any arm of flesh, and made his appeal to God, spreading before Him the blasphemous letter of Sennacherib (*ibid.*, vers. 14–20), then Isaiah was commissioned to assure him of a miraculous deliverance. "Then" ("that night," 2 Kings xix. 35) "the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses" (Isa. xxxvii. 36). The deliverance itself, and its miraculous, or at any rate its marvelous character, was acknowledged by the Egyptians, no less than by the Israelites. When, two hundred and fifty years afterwards, Herodotus visited Egypt, he was informed that "Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having marched a great army into Egypt, was met at Pelusium by the Egyptian monarch. As the two hosts lay there opposite one another, there came in the night



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sanctuary out of a spot which, though inhabited by sacred animals, was yet in the Judæan sense polluted, for the animals were among those reckoned unclean by the Judæans. *In the sanctuary itself was placed an altar resembling that at Jerusalem.* Instead of the seven-lighted candle-stick, which seems to have been regarded as too holy to be imitated, a single golden lamp was suspended in it by a golden chain. The sacred house was built somewhat in the form of a tower"—the general style of the building being apparently not Jewish, but Egyptian*—"the fore-court was enclosed with a wall of brick and gates of stone, and the whole of the fortified little town, with the district which gathered round the temple, was probably called Oneiôn."†

This temple continued to exist from B. C. 170 to B. C. 73, when it was destroyed by the Romans. It was greatly venerated by the bulk of the Egyptian Jews, who brought thither their sacrifices and their offerings. Jews flocked to the towns in its neighborhood; and it may well be, though the actual fact cannot be proved, that then at least "five cities in the land of Egypt spoke" (Hebrew) "the language of Canaan," one of them being Ir-ha-kheres, "the city of the sun," the ancient Heliopolis.‡ At the same time the great synagogue of Alexandria, at the extreme "border" of the land, where it was most commonly approached by strangers, stood "as a pillar" (ch. xix. 19) "for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts," showing that Jehovah was worshiped in the land openly, and with the goodwill of the Government, and indicating that Egypt—so long Jehovah's enemy—had been at least partially, converted to His service.

* Stanley, "Lectures on the Jewish Church," *Am. Ed.*, vol. iii., p. 222.

† Ewald, "History of Israel," vol. v., p. 356, E. T. Compare Joseph, "Ant. Jud.," xiii. 3, § 2.

‡ See Mr. R. S. Poole's article on IR-HA-HERES in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 870.

CHAPTER XXII.

NOTICES OF EGYPT IN JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL.

THE prophecies of Jeremiah have suffered greatly by disarrangement; and the historical notices which they contain, more especially those that concern Egypt, are wholly out of their proper chronological order. We propose, therefore, to follow the actual order of time rather than that of Jeremiah's chapters according to our translators' arrangement,* and we consequently commence with one of the latest of his notices, namely, that contained in the earlier portion of his forty-sixth chapter:—

“The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Gentiles, against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah. Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses; and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, and put on the brigandines. Wherefore have I seen them dismayed and turned away back? and their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back: for fear was round about, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape; they shall stumble and fall towards the north, by the river Euphrates. Who is this that cometh up as a flood, whose waters are moved as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are moved like the rivers, and he saith, I will go up and cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. Come up, ye horses, and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians and the Libyans, that handle the shield; and the Lydians, that handle and bend the bow. For this is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his adversaries; and the sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood; for the Lord God of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates. Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt; in vain shalt thou use many medicines: for thou shalt not be cured. The nations have heard of thy shame, and thy cry hath filled the land; for the mighty man hath

* Our translators follow the Hebrew. The Septuagint arrangement is quite different.

stumbled against the mighty, and they are fallen both together."—
 JER. xlvi. 1-12.

In this passage we have the fullest account that has come down to us of one of the most important among the "decisive battles of the world." The contending powers are Egypt and Babylon, the contending princes Neko (Pharaoh Necho), the son of Psamatik I., and Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar—the founder of the second empire of the Chaldæans. We have already seen* how Neko, having (in B. C. 608) defeated Josiah, king of Judah, at Megiddo, on the border of the great plain of Esdraelon, pressed forward to meet the "house with which he had war at Carchemish by Euphrates" (2 Chron. xxxv. 20). Complete success for the time attended his expedition. He made himself master of the whole tract of territory intervening between the "river of Egypt" (Wady-el-Arish) on the one hand and the river Euphrates on the other (2 Kings xxiv. 7). Syria in its widest extent, Phœnicia, Philistia, and Judæa submitted to him. It seemed as if the days of the Thothmeses and Amenhoteps were about to return, and Egypt to be once more the predominant power in the Eastern world, the "lady of nations," the sovereign at one and the same time of Africa and of Asia. Had Babylon acquiesced in the loss of territory, her prestige would have been gone, and her empire would probably have soon crumbled into dust. Egypt and Media would have stood face to face as the two rivals for supremacy; and possibly the entire course of the world's later history might have been changed.

But Nabopolassar appreciated aright the importance of the crisis, and before Egypt had had time to consolidate her power in the newly conquered provinces, resolved on making a great effort to recover them. In the year B. C. 605—three years after Neko's great success—having collected his troops and made his preparations, he sent his son and heir, Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of a large army, to reconquer the lost territory. Nebuchadnezzar marched upon Carchemish, the strong frontier fortress near the Euphrates, which had originally been the capital of the early Hittite kingdom, and the site of which is now marked by the ruins called "Jerablus" or "Jerabus."* Here he found Neko encamped at the head

See p. 271.

† Sayce, "Ancient Empires of the East," *American Edition*, p. 214.



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Nebuchadnezzar shortly after heard of his father's decease, and, having arranged the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, and appointed certain of his friends to conduct to Babylon the captives which he had taken from the Jews, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and the parts about Egypt, together with the heavy-armed troops and the baggage, started himself with a very small escort, and, traveling by the way of the wilderness, reached Babylon.

“The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza. Thus saith the Lord, Behold, waters rise up out of the north, and shall be an overflowing flood, and shall overflow the land, and all that is therein; the city and them that dwell therein; then the men shall cry, and all the inhabitants of the land shall howl. At the noise of the stamping of the hoofs of his strong horses, at the rushing of his chariots, and at the rumbling of his wheels, the fathers shall not look back to their children for feebleness of hands; because of the day that cometh to spoil all the Philistines, and to cut off from Tyrus and Zidon every helper that remaineth; for the Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor. Baldness is come upon Gaza; Ashkelon is cut off with the remnant of their valley: how long wilt thou cut thyself? O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard; rest and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea-shore? There hath he appointed it.”
JER. XLVII. 1-7.

We are, first of all, informed here that a certain prophecy was delivered, “before that Pharaoh smote Gaza.” In this statement it is implied that, at some date in the ministry of Jeremiah, the strong Philistine town of Gaza (Jud. xvi. 1-3) was taken by a king of Egypt. Now the kings of Egypt, contemporary with Jeremiah's ministry would seem to have been Psamatik I., Neko, Pasmatic II., and Uaphra or “Pharaoh-Hophra.” Does it appear from profane sources that Gaza was besieged and taken by any one of these monarchs?

This question may be answered in the affirmative. Herodotus tells us that after the battle of Magdolum (Megiddo), Neko took “Kadytis,” a large city in Syria.* This Kadytis he afterwards describes as lying upon the coast between Phœnicia and Lake Serbonis.† It was at one time identified with Jerusalem, because the Arabs called that city “Al Kods” —“the Holy”; and more recently it has been conjectured

* Herod., ii. 159.

† Ibid., iii. 5.

to represent the Hittite city of "Cadesh" on the Orontes; * but its position on or near the sea militates against both these hypotheses. Gaza is called "Gazetu" in the hieroglyphical inscriptions of Egypt, † and "Khazitu" in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, of which forms "Kadytis" is a fair rendering. Hence recent editors of Herodotus regard it as "plain" that the Kadytis, which he says that Neko took, was Gaza. ‡

It is doubtful whether the remainder of the prophecy refers in any way to Egypt. The "waters that rise up out of the north" are usually taken by the commentators for the army of Nebuchadnezzar, either when he invaded Syria after the battle of Carchemish (B. C. 605), or subsequently when he advanced to the sieges of Jerusalem and Tyre (B. C. 598). The description in ver. 3 would suit a Babylonian army as well as an Egyptian, and the characteristic of "noise" seems to belong to Babylon *especially* (chs. iv. 29; viii. 16; Ezek. xxvi. 10). There is not, however, any distinct evidence that Nebuchadnezzar at any time led a hostile expedition into Philistia, while we know of Neko that he did so; and as his expedition seems to have been made on his return from Carchemish, his army would on this occasion have "risen up out of the north" (ver. 2). The note of time in ver. 1 is also more apposite if Neko's expedition is intended, since the prophet would then have inserted the date, in order to draw attention to the fact that his prophecy of a great invasion of Philistia was delivered before the event.

"And King Zedekiah, the son of Josiah, reigned instead of Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim. . . . Then Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt; and when the Chaldæans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the Lord unto the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Thus shall ye say unto the king of Judah, that sent you to inquire of me, Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land. And the Chaldæans shall come again, and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire."—JER. xxxvii. 1-10.

"He (Zedekiah) rebelled against him (Nebuchadnezzar) in sending him ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? Shall he escape that doeth such things? Or shall he break the covenant, and be delivered? As I

* Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii., p. 391.

† "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 115; Brugsch, "Geschichte Ægyptens," p. 295.

‡ Sayce, "Ancient Empires," *American Edition*, p. 55.

live, saith the Lord, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despised, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die. Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war, by casting mounts and building forts, to cut off many persons."—EZEK. xvii. 15-17.

The Pharaoh contemporary with the later years of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, who reigned from B. C. 595 to B. C. 586, was undoubtedly Ua-ap-ra,* whom the Greeks called "Apries," † and whom Jeremiah in one place speaks of as "Pharaoh-Hophra" (ch. xlv. 30). Apries ascended the throne in B. C. 591, and reigned alone nineteen years (to B. C. 572), after which he was for six years more joint-king with Amasis.‡ It would seem that very soon after his accession Zedekiah made overtures to him for an alliance (Ezek. xvii. 15), transferring to him the allegiance which he owed to Babylon, and making a request for a large body of troops, horse and foot (ibid). It is in accordance with the bold and aggressive character assigned to Apries by the Greeks§ to find that he at once accepted Zedekiah's offer, and prepared to bear his part in the war. "Pharaoh's army went forth out of Egypt" (Jer. xxxvii. 5) with the object of "helping" Zedekiah (ibid. ver. 7); and the movement was so far successful that the army of the Chaldæans, which had commenced the siege of Jerusalem, "broke up from before it for fear of Pharaoh's army" (ibid. ver. 11). Nebuchadnezzar, who was directing the siege, marched away to encounter the Egyptians, and either terrified them into a retreat, or actually engaged and defeated them.|| The foundation was thus laid of that enmity between the two kings which, later in Egyptian history, is found to have had very important consequences. Apries, for the time, submitted, and led his army back within his own frontier, leaving the unfortunate Jewish monarch to his fate.

"Then came the word of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Taphanhes,

* Brugsch ("Geschichte Ægyptens," p. 734) gives the name as "Uah-ab-ra," Birch ("Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 180) as "Uah-hap-ra."

† Herod., ii., 161; Diod. Sic., i. 68. Manetho, however, calls him "Uapbris."

‡ Wiedemann, "Geschichte Ægyptens," p. 121.

§ Herod. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic., l. s. c.

|| So Josephus, "Ant. Jud.," x. 7, § 3.



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quite into Nubia.”* His account of his careful restoration of the temple of Kneph at Elephantiné † indicates that it had suffered damage at the hands of the invaders, and is a comment on the expression “the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire” (Jer. xliii. 13). The representation of the army by which Egypt was defended as one of “hired” men (ibid. xlvi. 21), who said one to another, when they were defeated, “Arise, and let us go again to our own people and to the land of our nativity from the oppressing sword” (ibid. ver. 16), accords well with all that we know of the Egyptian military force of the time, which consisted, not of native soldiers, but of foreign mercenaries, Ethiopians, Libyans, Carians, and Greeks. ‡ The date of the expedition, Nebuchadnezzar’s thirty-seventh year, § or B: c. 568, falls exactly into the time when Apries and Amasis were joint-kings of Egypt, and explains the apparent discrepancy between the two documents, one of which speaks of Apries as king, while the other certainly did not name Apries, and probably named Amasis. || The conjoint reign would even seem to be indicated by the mention of “kings” in ch. xlvi. 25.

“I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life.”—JER. xl. 30.

There would seem to be no doubt that this prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, and that Pharaoh-Hophra (Ua-apra) fell into the power of his enemies and suffered a violent death. But it is not altogether clear who these enemies were, or how his death was brought about. Herodotus relates ¶ that the reverses which befell him arose out of an unsuccessful expedition against Cyréné, in which Apries was thought to have intentionally sacrificed the lives of some thousands of his soldiers. A mutiny followed, and Amasis, having been

* “Records of the Past,” vol. vi. p. 83.

† Ibid., p. 82, lines 25, 36, 40.

‡ Herod., ii. 163; Jer. xlvi. 9, etc.

§ “Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology,” vol. vii., p. 222.

|| The name is partially obliterated, but evidently ended in -su. The Egyptian name of Amasis, Ashmes, terminated in s. That of Apries, Ua-ap-ra, contained no s.

¶ Herod. ii., 161-163.

sent to put it down, was induced to place himself at its head. The result was a civil war, in which the rebel chief was successful. Apries fell into his hands, and was at first treated with kindness, allowed to inhabit the royal palace * and (we must suppose) to retain the title of king. But after six years, during which both monarchs reigned, but Amasis alone governed, dissatisfaction with this condition of things showed itself among the Egyptians, who persuaded Amasis to allow them to put Apries to death. The story is not intrinsically, very probable; and it is contradicted by Josephus, who ascribes the execution of Apries to Nebuchadnezzar.† That monarch may not improbably have borne Apries a grudge on account of the aid which he gave to Zedekiah, and also of his aggressions upon the Phœnician cities,‡ and, though the adversary with whom he contended in the field may have been Amasis, he may yet have let his main vengeance fall upon Apries, whom he no doubt looked on as a rebel, as he had looked upon Neko.§ Amasis may have obtained easier terms of peace by the surrender of his fellow-king, or may even have been allowed to retain the throne in consequence of his complaisance. Most probably he accepted the position of a vassal monarch, a position which he may have retained until Nabonidus was threatened by Cyrus (B. C. 547), or even until the fall of Babylon in B. C. 538. During this period Egypt was a “base kingdom” (Ezek. xxix. 14), “the basest of the kingdoms” (ibid. ver. 15), if its former exaltation was kept in view,

* Herod., ii., 169.

† Herod., ii. 161; Diod. Sic., i. 68.

‡ “Ant. Jud.” x. 9, § 7.

§ Berosus, Fr. 14.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NOTICES OF EGYPT IN DANIEL.

THE notices of Egypt in the Book of Daniel have the peculiarity that they are absolutely and entirely prophetic. Daniel is not individually brought into any contact with Egypt; nor does Egypt play any part in the stirring events of the time wherein he lives. Egypt has, in fact, fallen to the rank of a very second-rate power after the battle of Carchemish (B. C. 605), and counted for little in the political struggles of the time, which had for their locality the great Iranian plateau, together with the broad valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Daniel, who was contemporary, as he tells us (chs. i.—vi.), with Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus the Great, must have died about B. C. 534, or at any rate before B. C. 529—the year of Cyrus' decease. His notices of Egypt belong to a date more than two centuries later. It is given him to see in vision a sort of sketch of the history of the world from his own time to the coming of the Kingdom of the Messiah; and in this "Apocalyptic Vision," or rather series of visions, the future of Egypt is placed before him, in some detail, during a space of some century and a half, from about B. C. 323 to about B. C. 168.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the genuineness and authenticity of the entire Book of Daniel have been fiercely assailed, both in remote times and in our own day. But the arguments of the assailants have never been regarded as of any weight by the Church; and the Book has maintained its place in the Canon through all ecclesiastical ages and throughout Christendom. It is impossible in a volume like the present to enter into this great controversy, which has employed the pens of more than twenty critics of repute during the present century, and which cannot be said to



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ants. Now, profane history relates * that three kings ruled in Persia after Cyrns the Great, viz., Cambyses (from B. C. 529 to B. C. 522), Bardes or Smerdis during seven months of B. C. 522, and Darius, the son of Hystaspes (from B. C. 521 to B. C. 486) ; and that these were then followed by Xerxes, the son of Darius, † under whom Persia was at the height of its power and prosperity, until in his fifth year he “ stirred up all against the realm of Grecia,” and made that great expedition, which still remains one of the most marvelous events in the world’s entire history. This expedition fell into B. C. 480, and was followed by a gradual diminution of Persian power, and by wars of no great moment, until, in B. C. 335, a “ mighty king ” stood up, viz., Alexander the Great, who ruled a greater dominion than had been held by any previous monarch, since it reached from the Adriatic to the Sutlej, and from the Danube to Syene. The wide sovereignty and autocratic pride of Alexander are well expressed by the words “ that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will ” (ver. 3) ; for Alexander brooked no restraint, and was practically a more absolute despot than any Persian king had ever been. At his death, as is well known, his kingdom was “ broken up.” Though he left behind him an illegitimate son, Hercules, and had also a posthumous child by Roxana, called Alexander, yet neither of these ever succeeded to any portion of his dominions. These fell at first to the ten generals, Ptolemy, Pithon, Antigonus, Eumenes, Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Menander, Asander, Philotas, Laomedon, and ultimately to Ptolemy, Seleucus, Antipater, Antigonus, Eumenes, Clitus, and Cassander.

“ And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes [and he] shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king’s daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement; but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.” (DAN. xi. 5, 6.)

That the King of Egypt is meant by “ the King of the South ” might be presumed from the fact that Egypt formed

* See especially Herod., ii. 1; iii. 67, 88, confirmed by the Behistun inscription.

† Herod., vii. 4 et seqq.

the most southern portion of the dominions of Alexander ;* but it is placed beyond dispute or cavil by the mention of Egypt as the country to which the King of the South carried his captives, in verse 8. Profane history shows us that, after the death of Alexander (B. C. 323), Ptolemy Lagi, who had governed Egypt as Alexander's lieutenant, from its conquest (B. C. 332) assumed the regal authority, and after a little time the regal name, in that country, and ruled it from B. C. 323 to B. C. 283—a space of forty years.† He is justly characterized as “strong,” since he was able to enlarge his original territories by the addition of Phœnicia, Palestine, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica ; and, though he was sometimes defeated, he was upon the whole one of the most warlike and successful of the princes among whom Alexander's kingdom was partitioned. Another, however, of the princes is truly said to have been “strong above him.” The Syrian was undoubtedly the greatest of the kingdoms into which the Macedonian monarchy became broken up ; and Seleucus Nicator, its first ruler, was a more powerful sovereign than Ptolemy Lagi. Seleucus ruled from the Mediterranean to the Indus and from the Jaxartes to the Indian Ocean, having thus a territory five or six times as large as that of Ptolemy. His dominion was emphatically “a great dominion.” It was the representative in Western Asia of the Great Monarchy which had existed in that region from the time of Nimrod, and exceeded in dimensions every such monarchy except the Persian. Seleucus and Ptolemy Lagi maintained on the whole friendly relations ; and the struggle between the kings of the north and of the south was deferred to the reigns of their successors.

Daniel's statement that “in the end of years” the kings of the north and of the south “shall join themselves together” implies a previous rupture and struggle, which is found to have taken place in the reigns of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) and Antiochus Soter. A permanent jealousy, and many occasional causes of quarrel, set the two powers in hostility the one to the other ; and in B. C. 269 Antiochus made an ex-

* The mouths of the Indus are about parallel with the most southern portion of Egypt, but though visited by Alexander, they can hardly be regarded as within his permanent dominions.

† Grote, “History of Greece,” vol. viii., p. 533 ; Heeren, “Manuel of Ancient History,” p. 249.

pedition against Egypt, which resulted in complete failure.* leaving a stain on the Syrian arms which it was regarded as necessary to efface. Antiochus II. (Theus) consequently renewed the war in B. C. 260, and a long contest followed without any very decided advantage to either side, until, in B. C. 250, negotiations for peace were set on foot—the two kings “associated themselves” (marginal rendering), and in the following year (B. C. 269) it was arranged that Ptolemy II. should give his daughter, Berenicé, in marriage to Antiochus Theus, who repudiated his previous wife, Laodicé, in order to make way for her.† The wedding took place; and thus “the king’s daughter of the south came to the king of the north to make (*i. e.*, cement) an agreement” (verse 6). But the well-meant attempt at peace failed. In B. C. 247, on the death of Ptolemy II., Antiochus Theus repudiated his Egyptian wife, and recalled Laodicé, who shortly poisoned her husband, and caused Berenicé also to be put to death.‡ Thus the princess “did not retain the power of the arm” (*i. e.*, the secular authority); neither did her husband retain his power, or “stand.” The attempted arrangement entirely fell through. Berenicé herself and her son (“he whom *sæ* brought forth,” marginal rendering) suffered death; and the entire party concerned in the transaction were discredited and placed under a cloud.

“But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the south, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north.” (DAN. xi. 7, 8.)

There are some errors of translation in this passage which require to be removed before its statement can be properly compared with those of profane historians. Modern criticism thus renders the passage: § “But a branch of her roots shall rise up in his place, which shall come against the host, and enter into the strong places of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captive into Egypt their gods, with their images, and

* Heeren, p. 236; Smith, “Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography,” vol. iii., p. 586.

† Hieronym. ed. Dan. xi. 6; Polyb. v, 18, § 10; Athen. “Deipn.” ii., p. 45.

‡ Heeren. l. s. c.

§ See the “Speaker’s Commentary,” vol. vi., pp. 374, 375.



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the other—Seleucus III. (Ceraunus) from B. C. 226 to 223, and Antiochus III. (the Great) from B. C. 223 to 187. Of these the elder, Seleucus, is said by Jerome* to have invaded Egypt in combination with his brother, Antiochus, and to have waged a war with Euergetes; but the silence of profane historians throws some doubt on this statement. “One” of the sons, however, Antiochus the Great, most “certainly,” “came, and overflowed, and passed through” the territories of Egypt, attacking Ptolemy Philopator, the son of Euergetes with great vigor in B. C. 219, and in B. C. 218 repeatedly defeating his forces, and conquering the greater part of Palestine, including Samaria and Gilead.† From these conquests he “returned” for the winter to “his fortress” of Ptolemais,‡ whence he made great efforts to have everything in readiness for a further attack upon his adversary in the ensuing year. In the spring he set forth on his march southward, passed through Gaza, and encamped at Raphia (now *Refah*), a small town near the coast, on the road to Egypt.§ Meanwhile Philopator, “moved with choler,” had quitted Alexandria, at the head of an army of 75,000 men, supported by seventy-three elephants, and had marched to Pelusium, whence, after resting a few days, he proceeded along the coast to Rhinocolura, and thence toward Raphia, where he encamped over against the army of Antiochus. The Syrian forces were somewhat less numerous than his own, amounting to only 68,000, but they were stronger in cavalry and in elephants. After some unimportant skirmishing, the two hosts engaged each other; and though the Syrian right defeated the Egyptian left, and the Asiatic elephants of Antiochus proved greatly superior to the African ones of his adversary, yet the battle resulted in a decisive victory for the Egyptian, who slew ten thousand of the enemy, and took above four thousand prisoners.|| The Syrian “multitude” was thus “given into Ptolemy’s hand,” and a portion of it “taken away” into Egypt. His victory naturally “lifted up” Ptolemy’s “heart;” he was greatly elated, and is said after the battle to have “abandoned himself to a life of licentiousness.”¶ No real advantage resulted to him from his having “cast down many ten thousands;” the Syrian kingdom remained more powerful than his own, and was

* “Comment. in Dan.,” xi. 10.

† Polyh., v. 59–70.

‡ Ibid., v. 71, § 11.

§ Ibid., v. 80, § 4.

|| Polyh., v. 81–86.

¶ Speaker’s Commentary,” vol. vi., p. 376.

certain to revenge the defeat of Raphia when a favorable opportunity offered.

“The king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches. And in those times shall there many stand up against the king of the south; also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do; and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.” (DAN. xi. 13-17.)

In B. C. 204, thirteen years after the battle of Raphia, Antiochus the Great “returned” to the attack upon Egypt. Having made alliance with Philip III. of Macedon,* he invaded Cæle-Syria and Palestine with a great army,† and with the good will of the inhabitants, whom the cruelties and exactions of Philopator had disgusted, occupied the entire region to the borders of Egypt—“the robbers (rather “captains”) of the Jewish people joining with him to establish the vision.” A turn in the war subjected these rebels to the vengeance of Ptolemy, who recovered Jerusalem in B. C. 200, and took severe measures against the inhabitants.‡ Two years later Antiochus once more gathered his forces, and marched southward. One after another the strongholds of Syria and Palestine fell into his hands. “The arms of the south” were not able to “withstand” him.§ At Pnias, near the sources of the Jordan, he entirely defeated Scopas, the chief general of the Egyptian monarch; || after which he besieged him in Sidon, which he took, and a little later re-took Jerusalem. He then “completely established himself in Palestine,” occupying the glorious land,” which was no doubt “consumed” by having to furnish supplies for his army. But he did not press forward into Egypt. He “set his face” to establish

* Polyh. xv. 20; Liv. xxxi. 14.

† Smith, “Dict. of the Bible,” vol. i., p. 74.

‡ Joseph., “Ant. Jud.,” xii. 3, § 3.

§ Appian, “Syriaca,” § 1; Liv. xxxiii. 19.

|| Polyh., xvi. 18, § 2; 39, § 3; Joseph. l. s. c.

“equal conditions” (verse 17, marginal rendering). He arranged a marriage between his daughter, Cleopatra, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, who had succeeded his father, Philopator, pledging himself to give over Cæle-Syria and Palestine to Egypt as her dowry.* He had no intention, however, of fulfilling this part of the contract. The provinces were not made over; and Egypt was rather exasperated than ameliorated by the transaction. Cleopatra herself, instead of maintaining her father’s interests, opposed them. Declining to “stand on his side,” or “be for him,” she maintained her husband’s rights, and joined with him in looking to Rome for their vindication and establishment.

* Polyb., xxviii. 17, § 7; Appian, “Syriaca,” § 4.



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was forced to quit Greece in haste,* and “turned his face toward the fort” (*i. e.* the various strongholds) “of his own land,” whither he retreated in the autumn of B. C. 191. But Rome followed up her advantage. The Roman admiral, Æmilius, swept the fleet of Antiochus from the sea.† Her generals, the two Scipios, Asiaticus and Africanus, invaded Asia in force; and in B. C. 190 was fought the great battle of Magnesia,‡ which at once and forever established the predominance of the Roman arms over those of the Syrian kingdom, and made Rome arbiter of the destinies of the East. At Magnesia Antiochus “stumbled and fell” with a fall from which there was no recovery, either for himself or for his kingdom. It did not suit Rome at once to enter into possession; but from the date of the Magnesian defeat Syria lay at her mercy and was practically her vassal. Shortly afterwards (B. C. 187) Antiochus “was not found.” He made an expedition into the Eastern provinces,§ to collect money for the payment of the Roman war contribution, and never returned from it. Rumor said that his exactions provoked a tumult in the distant Elymais, and that he fell a victim to the fury of the plundered people.|| He was succeeded by his son, Seleucus IV. (Philopator), who seems to be called “a raiser of taxes” on account of the burdens which the weight of the Roman indemnity compelled him to lay on his subjects, and “the glory of the kingdom” in derision.¶ He was a weak and undistinguished monarch, whose short reign of eleven years was wholly uneventful. His treasurer, Heliodorus, murdered him treacherously in cold blood,** not having any grievance against him, but simply in the hope of succeeding to his dominions. Thus he was “destroyed, not in anger, nor in battle,” by an ambitious subject.

“And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honor of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries. And with the arms of a flood

* *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 21.

† *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 30.

‡ Polyb. xxi. 13; xxii. 8; Liv. xxxvii. 42; Appian, “*Syriaca*,” § 33-37.

§ Prophy. ap. Euseb. “*Chron. Can.*” I. 40, § 12.

|| Justin, xxxii. 2; Strab. xvi., p. 744.

¶ Our version gives “in the glory of the kingdom;” but the word “in” is wanting in the original.

** Appian. “*Syriaca*,” § 45.

shall they be overflown before him; yea, also the prince of the covenant. And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strongholds, even for a time," (DAN. xi. 21-24.)

Antiochus Epiphanes, who succeeded his brother, Seleucus IV., is almost certainly intended by the "vile person" of this passage. He was a man of an extraordinary character. Dean Stanley calls him one of those strange characters in whom an eccentricity touching insanity on the left and genius on the right combined with absolute power and lawless passion to produce a portentous result, thus bearing out the two names by which he was known—*Epiphanes*—"the Brilliant," and *Epimanes*—"the Madman."* He was "a fantastic creature, without dignity or self-control, who caricatured the manners and dress of the august Roman magistrates, startled young revelers by bursting in on them with pipe and horn, tumbled with the bathers on the slippery marble pavement, and in the procession which he organized at Daphné, appeared riding in and out on a hack pony, playing the part of chief waiter, mountebank, and jester."† He was not the legitimate heir to the throne; and "the honor of the kingdom" was in no way formally conferred on him. Nor did he establish himself by force of arms. On the contrary, he "came in peaceably," under the auspices of Eumenes of Pergamos,‡ and "obtained the kingdom" by bribes, cajolery, and "flatteries." He courted the favor of the Syrian lower classes, of Rome, and of the Hellenizing party among the Jews. At a later date "with the arms of a flood" he "overflowed," and carried all before him, sweeping through Cæle-Syria and Palestine into Egypt,§ and receiving the submission of Jason,|| the High-Priest of the Jews, or "prince of the covenant," who "made a league" with him, engaging to support his interests in Judæa, and to pay him an annual tribute of 440 silver talents. Antiochus, however, after this league, "worked deceitfully," transferring the High Priesthood from Jason to his brother

* Stanley, "Lectures on the Jewish Church," *Am. Ed.*, vol. iii., p. 254.

† Ibid.

§ 1 Mac. i. 17; Appian, "Syriaca," § 66.

‡ Appian, l. s. c.

|| 2 Mac. iv. 7-10.

Menelaus on receipt of a bribe, and forcing Jason to become a fugitive from his country.* After this he was able, through the support of Menelaus, to "become strong" in Palestine, without maintaining there more than a "small" army. He entered peaceably upon the "fattest places of the province," his authority being generally recognized throughout the fertile tract between Syria Proper and Egypt, though it belonged of right to Ptolemy. That he maintained his influence in the tract by means of a lavish expenditure of money, though not distinctly stated by profane historians, is probable enough, since it was certainly the method by which he soon afterwards maintained it in Egypt.†

"And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand; for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain. And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time appointed." (DAN. xi. 25-27.)

Epiphanes invaded Egypt several times during the earlier portion of his reign. The prophetic vision vouchsafed to Daniel did not very clearly distinguish between the several attacks. If the present passage is to be assigned to any particular year, it must be to B. C., 171, when Epiphanes "entered Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and with a great navy" (1 Mac. i. 17). Egypt was then under the sovereignty of Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who, however, was still a minor, under the tutelage of Eulæus and Lennæus, who received the royal authority as regents.‡ These chiefs collected as large a force as they could to resist the Assyrian monarch; but the result of the battle which took place near Pelusium,§ was the complete defeat of the Egyptians, and the temporary subjection of the larger part of Egypt to the authority of Antiochus. Ptolemy Philometor fell into his enemy's hands, but was honorably treated, the policy of Antiochus being to cajole Philometor into believing that he was his

* 2 Mac. iv. 23-26.

† Polyh. xxviii. 17.

‡ Polyh. xxviii. 17; Hieronym. ed. Dan. xi.

§ Liv. xliv. 19; Polyb. xxvii. 17.



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the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; therefore shall he go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacle of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain: yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." (DAN. xi. 40-45).

The closing scene of the war between the kings of the north and of the south—Epiphanes and the brothers Philometor and Physcon—came in B. C. 168. Epiphanes having withdrawn into Syria for the winter, leaving his supposed ally, Philometor, at Memphis, and his open enemy, Physcon, in Alexandria, was staggered by the information, that, during his absence, the hostile brothers had made up their differences, and that Physcon had agreed to receive Philometor into Alexandria,* at which place the reconciled enemies were now holding their courts conjointly. An embassy, which met Epiphanes, at Rhinocolura, politely suggested to him, that the end for which he had been waging war—the establishment of Philometor's authority—was accomplished, and that nothing remained for him but to sheath his sword and return home. This was felt by Antiochus as a deadly blow struck at his schemes—a "push" on the part of the "king of the south," which required to be met by the promptest and most energetic measures. He at once broke up his camp, and marched into Egypt as an open enemy. With the speed of a "whirlwind," he advanced upon Pelusium, "with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships" (verse 40); thence, in a more leisurely fashion, he proceeded to march upon Alexandria. Egypt generally submitted to him. The "treasures of gold and silver," and "all the precious things of Egypt" were placed at his disposal by the inhabitants—contingents of Egyptian troops were pressed into his service,† and "the Libyans and the Ethiopians," long employed as auxiliaries by the monarchs of Egypt, whether native or foreign, were (as a matter of course) "at his steps" (verse 43). He was drawing near Alexandria with the intention of renewing the siege, and with an almost certain prospect of reducing the place within a few months, when an unexpected obstacle was interposed. The prophetic vision speaks of "tidings out of the east and out of the north." The "tidings"

* Livy, xlv. 11.

† Ibid., xlv. 12.

told of the near approach of a small body of Romans. These proved to be ambassadors. At their head was a man; who has left an imperishable name in history, C. Popillius Lænas. This bold and haughty envoy, approaching with his small retinue, the master of countless legion held out to him a small tablet, containing a short senatorial decree. "Read this," he said, "at once." The cautious Greek cast his eye over the document, and perceived that it was a positive command to him to desist from hostilities against those who were "the friends of the Roman people." Unwilling to see the prize of victory snatched from his grasp at the moment of success, and hoping to temporize, Antiochus replied, that he would consult his friends on the senatorial proposals and let the envoys have an answer. Popillius had a wand in his hand, the emblem of the ambassadorial office. Hastily tracing with it a circle on the sand round Antiochus, "Consult," he said, "and give your answer before you overstep this line." The Syrian monarch was so astonished and so dismayed that he replied, with the utmost meekness, "I will do as the Senate decrees."* Thus were baffled and confounded the ambitious designs of the "great king," who regarded himself as the successor of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and the living representative of Alexander the Great. A brief sentence uttered by a Roman civilian brought a great war to an end and prohibited its renewal.

Epiphanes retired from Egypt in greater dudgeon than ever, "deeply grieved and groaning in spirit," as Polybius says,† and sought a species of consolation in increased severity towards the Jews. It was now that he accomplished his last acts of impiety and cruelty upon that unfortunate people, sending against them "Apollonius, that detestable ringleader, with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those who were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort" (2 Mac. v. 24), and soon afterwards polluting the temple in Jerusalem, and wholly forbidding the exercise of the Jewish religion. It was this issue to the wars between the "kings of the north and of the south" that gave to them their great importance in the theocratic history, and rendered them a fitting subject for so long a prophecy as that which we have been considering.

* Polyh. xxix. 11, § 1-6; Liv. xlv. 12.

† βαρυνόμενος μὲν καὶ σιένων xxix. 11, § 8.

Their entire result was, to bring out, more strongly than it had ever been brought out before, the Roman influence over the affairs of the East, to intensify the antagonism between Rome and Syria, to place Egypt under a permanent Roman protectorate, and make Rome the natural ally and defender of every petty nationality which had any inclination to assert itself against Syria, and could do so with the least hope of success. The close connection between the Roman and Jewish people, which, beginning with the embassy of Judas Maccabæus in B. C. 161 (1 Mac. viii. 17-32) terminated in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A. D. 70, was the consequence of the Syro-Egyptian struggle, and especially of the war between Epiphanes and Philometor, which therefore worthily occupies a very considerable space in the prophetic synopsis of Daniel.

The ultimate fates of Egypt and Babylon, as represented to us in Scripture, offer a remarkable contrast. Babylon is to "become heaps" (Jer. li. 37); to be "wholly desolate" (ib. l. 13); "not to be inhabited" (Isa. xiii. 20) Egypt is to be a "base kingdom" (Ezek. xxix. 14) "the basest of the kingdoms" (ib. verse 15); but still to remain a kingdom. It is not "to exalt itself any more above the nations;" it is to be "deminished" it is no more to have "any rule over the nations" (ib.), or to be "the confidence of the house of Israel." But it is to maintain a certain position among the powers of the earth, a certain separateness, a certain *low* consideration. Now this is exactly what has been the general position of Egypt from her conquest by Cambyses to the present day. Under the Persians she was a sort of outlying kingdom, rather than an ordinary satrapy. She frequently revolted and established a temporary independence, but was soon coerced into subjection. During the earlier portion of the Ptolemaic period, she rose to considerable influence and prosperity; but still she was never more than a second-rate power. Syria always, and Macedonia sometimes, was superior to her in extent of dominion, power and importance (Dan. xi. 5). Rome made her a province, but a province with a certain separateness, under regulations which were peculiar.* Under the Mohammedans, whether Arabs, Saracens or Turks, she has still for the most part been secondary, either an actual dependency on some greater state, or at any rate over-

* Tacit "Ann." ii. 59.



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