JOURNAL OF

THE TRANSACTIONS

OF

The Victoria Institute

OR

Philosophical Society of Great Britain

VOL. LXXIV

1942

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE, 1, CENTRAL BUILDINGS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

845TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN LIVINGSTONE HALL, LIVINGSTONE HOUSE, BROADWAY, S.W.1, ON MONDAY, MARCH 9TH, 1942, AT 4.30 P.M.

SIR FREDERIC KENYON, K.C.B., D.LITT., LL.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Herbert Owen, Esq., to read his paper entitled " The Enigma of Darius the Mede."

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the Meeting was not thrown open to discussion, but those present who wished to take part in the discussion were asked to send in their remarks in writing.

Written communications were received from Sir Frederic Kenyon, Mr. E. B. W. Chappelow, Rev. Principal H. S. Curr, Mr. C. C. Ogilvy van Lennep and Major H. B. Clarke.

The following elections have been made :—Lt.-Col. A. N. Skinner, M.V.O., a Fellow ; E. W. J. Battersby, Esq., a Member ; B. M. Wheatley, Esq., an Associate ; Rev. L. L. Morris, B.Sc., Th.L., a Member ; A. Hanton, Esq., M.B., Ch.B., a Fellow ; B. C. C. Holmes, Esq., a Member ; N. B. Nellis, Esq., B.S., a Member ; R. H. P. Clark, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., a Member ; Prof. E. McCrady, Jr., B.A., M.S., Ph.D., a Member ; J. S. Phillips, Esq., B.A., an Associate ; Rev. M. J. Fuller, A.B., an Associate ; G. W. Thomas, Esq., B.A., an Associate ; F. H. Barber, Esq., an Associate ; Conway A. Ross, Esq., a Fellow ; Rev. Ralph G. Turnbull, M.A., B.D., F.R.G.S., a Fellow ; Constructor-Lieut. W. G. Spanner, Esq., R.C.N.C., a Fellow ; James McGavin, Esq., a Fellow ; Henry Martin Cundy, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., a Life Member ; Ewart A. Mobberley, Esq., B.Sc., A.M.Inst.C.E., a Member ; Captain H. W. Uffelin, B.A., M.Th., a Fellow ; Rev. E. W. Hadwen, B.D., a Fellow ; W. A. Hill, Esq., F.S.I., L.R.I.B.A., a Member ; G. K. Lowther, Esq., an Associate.

THE ENIGMA OF DARIUS THE MEDE: A WAY TO ITS FINAL SOLUTION.

By HERBERT OWEN, ESQ.

THE time-honoured enigma of the identity of the " Darius the Mede " of the Book of Daniel has more than once been discussed by contributors of papers to the Victoria Institute, as well as by many commentators upon and critics

of the Book of Daniel, both in ancient and modern times. There has, however, been a lack of conclusiveness about all the various solutions which have, up to the present, been proposed. The ensuing paper is a re-statement of the problem, and embodies suggestions as to the manner in which it may be hoped that a finality of results may be secured.

The importance of the subject scarcely needs emphasis. Inasmuch as the great "Seventy Weeks" prophecy of Daniel ix as to the First Coming of Christ is dated by the first year of this king, it may be said that the problem is, apart from purely spiritual convictions, one of the main criteria by which the truth of the Christian religion is to be proved and established. The prophet Micah (v, 2) foretold that it was out of Bethlehem Ephratah that the ruler of Israel "whose goings forth *have been* from of old, from everlasting," should come forth. Various events and phases of our Lord's life and ministry were foreshadowed by other prophets and Biblical writers in strikingly verifiable terms. But it is in the Book of Daniel alone that we find a categorical statement that after a certain period of time "Messiah the Prince" would appear, and it is no doubt this passage in Daniel ix, 25, which gave rise to the belief referred to by Suetonius (*Vespasian*, IV) and Tacitus (*History*, V, 13, 3) as having long "prevailed through all the East, that it was fated for the empire of the world, *at that time*, to devolve upon some who should go forth from Judæa," etc. The striking correspondence between the statement in *Daniel* and the actual period in "weeks of years" which elapsed between the going forth of a "commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem" in the reign of Artaxerxes I,* and the crucifixion of Christ in A.D. 29 or 30, shows that these anticipations were in all probability based upon that book. This subject cannot, of course, be gone into fully at this time and place; suffice it to say that modern adjustments of chronology, facilitated by the discovery of numerous cuneiform tablets which make it possible to ascertain accurately the lengths of the reigns of the Persian kings, combined with the mention of eclipses by classical authors in connection with historical events whose dates are otherwise satisfactorily established, have confirmed to a remarkable degree the synchronisation of the predicted and the historical periods.

The Seventy Weeks prophecy is, then, dated by the reign of this mysterious king, "Darius the Mede." Chapter ix of the

* *Cf.* Ezra vii.

Book of Daniel opens with these words: "In the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans. In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood," etc. It is a point particularly to be borne in mind that we read of no other year of his reign. According to the Jewish method of dating events, the "1st year" of a king ran from the date of his actual accession until the next New Year's Day,* which was in March or April by our reckoning. When did "Darius" accede? Chapter v, verses 30 and 31, tells us that "In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, *being* about threescore and two years old." Chapter vi immediately goes on to tell of what happened immediately upon the change of rulers. That is to say, that Darius set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty princes, satraps or governors, and over these three presidents, of whom Daniel was first. Then comes the "den of lions" incident, led to by jealousy of Daniel among the other rulers caused by this preference. After this we are merely told (v. 28): "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." "Darius," then, was a ruler who reigned between the rulership of Belshazzar and that of Cyrus the Persian, or possibly the reigns of "Darius" and Cyrus might have been concurrent. The only other mention of "Darius" is in the first verse of chapter xi, where the angel, or "man" (as he is designated in chapter ix, 21), Gabriel, says: "Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and strengthen him." It is to be noted, however, that in the Greek version of *Daniel* which has, since about the second century A.D., been included in the Greek translation of the Bible known as the Septuagint (LXX), the version of Theodotion, the name of Cyrus appears in this place (chapter xi) instead of that of "Darius." In the older Greek version, however, which was considered too different from the Hebrew-Aramaic version to be satisfactory for general reading, having been much enlarged and corrupted by additions and alternative readings in copying from MS. to MS., we also find "Cyrus," not "Darius."

We have little space to discuss the meaning of this appearance in some versions in chapter xi, 1, of "Cyrus" in place of

* *See* the Talmud Tractate entitled *Rosh Hashanah*—"the Head," or beginning," of the Year."

"Darius." We may suggest, however, that a certain amount of similarity of the names as written in certain scripts may have originated the change, after which the fact that the date might be the same whichever of the names were used could have prevented its alteration or possibly confirmed it. For if, as seems certain, the period during which "Darius" reigned was afterwards regarded as part of the reign of Cyrus (for the reign of Cyrus was later reckoned as beginning with the Fall of Babylon), the first year of "Darius the Mede" and the first year of Cyrus would mean the same thing.

There is also a feature in the Old Septuagint Version of Daniel ix, 1, which perhaps ought to be mentioned. Instead of simply "In the first year of Darius" as in the Hebrew and in Theodotion's Greek version, we have here the additional word ἐπὶ, which gives the sense: "In the first year, *in the time of* Darius," which might mean: "In the first year (that is to say, of Cyrus, understood), while Darius was in power." Or, as it was translated into Syriac from the Old Greek Septuagint Version,* "In the first year in the days of Darius." This would, of course, go to show that "Darius" did rule in the early part of the first year usually attributed to Cyrus. If some such intention of explaining the mention of Darius was not in the mind of the translator, then why should this extra word have been added? We shall see the importance of this when we are endeavouring to make the actual identification.

A still more important variation, however, in the Old Septuagint Version is the appearance in it of the name "Artaxerxes" in place of "Darius," in chapter v, 31. The Greek here gives the reading: "And Artaxerxes of the Medes received the kingdom, and Darius, full of days and glorious in old age." These words correspond with the "And Darius the Median took the kingdom, *being* about threescore and two years old," of the Hebrew-Aramaic and Theodotion's "Septuagint" version.

Now what can be the meaning of this extraordinary difference? A careless reader, unimpressed by the remembrance that, as Christians believe, the Holy Spirit has always watched over the integrity of the Scriptures, might at once adopt the conclusion

* *See* Bugati's edition of *Daniel* according to the Septuagint version, as translated into Syriac, usually called the Syro-Hexaplar version: *Daniel secundum editionem LXX Interpretum ex tetraplis desumptum. Ex codice Syro-Estrangelo Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ Syriace edidit*, etc. Mediolani, 1788.

that the translator, being puzzled by the name "Darius" appearing in the Hebrew-Aramaic original, arbitrarily inserted "Artaxerxes" as a more probable (in his opinion) name. For those, however, who are prepared to consider the matter seriously, there are many considerations which militate against so hasty an assumption. For instance, "Artaxerxes" is an even less probable name for a ruler between Belshazzar and Cyrus than is "Darius." The first Artaxerxes of Persia did not reign until Xerxes had succeeded for twenty-one years the thirty-sixth year of Darius I, who, of course, followed Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. If it be supposed that the name was suggested by the mention in the later chapter (ix) of Ahasuerus as the father of "Darius," it may be said that while "Xerxes" is the same name as "Ahasuerus," the proposal of Artaxerxes I, son of Xerxes, as successor of Belshazzar does not meet the difficulty at all; in fact, it increases it, he being a much later king. The most that might be hazarded is, that the appearance of the name as written in the MS. being translated gave some colour to the reading "Artaxerxes" suggested by the name "Ahasuerus," or Xerxes, following it in another place.

This supposition that the name is a misreading is, indeed, supported by the fact that the remainder of the verse also differs. "Full of days and glorious in old age" appears where we read "*being* about threescore and two years old" in the Hebrew-Aramaic Version and Theodotion. As to this, Dr. Charles, in his *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (p. 148), marks the words "*being* about threescore and two years old" as "corrupt." He says: "As far back as the eleventh century of our era these words have been a serious difficulty to Jewish scholars (Rashi, etc.), since they imply that the father of Darius must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar when he plundered the temple. Besides, the mention of the exact age of Darius is without a parallel in the rest of the book. Further, these words do not appear in the LXX, which in their stead reads" (as before stated). Other commentators, also, have pointed out that the age of "Darius" is mentioned without any apparent reason, which is somewhat remarkable in so succinct a narrative where no other words appear to be wasted.

The state of the earliest MSS. in respect to this verse may, then, be briefly put as follows: There is a corruption in the Old Septuagint Version of *Daniel* in that the name "Artaxerxes" appears instead of "Darius." After the words "And Artaxerxes

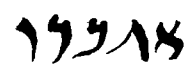
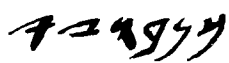
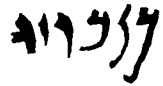
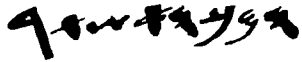
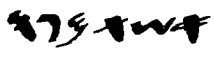
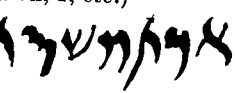
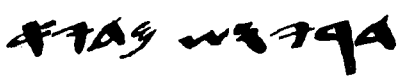
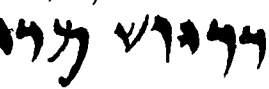
"Old Hebrew" Lettering. (About 590 B.C.)		"Aramaean" Lettering. (Elephantine Papyri, 459 B.C.)
	UGBARU. אגברו	
	CAMBYSES. כנבוזי	
	CYAXARES. ("UMAKUISHTAR.") ומכואשתר	
	ASTYAGES. ("ISTUMEGU.") אשתמגו	
	ARTAXERXES. ("ARTAKHSHASASH.") ארתחשסש	(Elephantine Papyri.) 
	(*or* "ARTAKHSHASTA.") ארתחשסתא	(Ezra vii, 1, etc.) 
	DARIUS THE MEDIAN. דריוש מדיא	(Daniel v, 31.) 

PLATE II.

PLATE I.

(PART OF PAPYRUS NO. P.62 DISCOVERED AT ELEPHANTINE (ASSOUAN), EGYPT. FROM SACHAU'S PLATE 55, LINE 12 AND ADJACENT. THE PAPYRUS IS A FRAGMENT OF AN ARAMAIC VERSION OF DARIUS I.'S INSCRIPTION ON THE ROCK AT BEHISTUN, PERSIA. ON THE RIGHT-HAND SIDE OF THE ABOVE, NOT QUITE HALF-WAY DOWN, IS BELIEVED TO BE THE NAME "GUBARUA SON OF MARDUNIYA," WHO HELPED DARIUS I. TO THE THRONE OF PERSIA.)

of the Medes received the kingdom," we read " and Darius full of days and glorious in old age " instead of the clause giving the age.

The fact that the name " Darius " also appears in the Old Septuagint, preceded by the conjunction " and," does not necessarily mean that there were two rulers who " received the kingdom " at this time ; but this device of using the conjunction is commonly met with in the MSS. to indicate an " alternative reading " or " doublet." Before the invention of printing, brevity was much more necessary in the reproduction of literary matter. Instead of a footnote, or marginal note, this method was frequently used and generally understood by the readers of ancient and more modern times. A number of examples are given in the Introduction to Dr. S. R. Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew of the Books of Samuel.** These double renderings (" doublets "), he says, in the Greek " are frequently connected by *καὶ* " (" and "). To apply this teaching to our own particular case, the doubly-rendered passage itself begins with " And," so it may be that the two alternative readings are merely placed one after the other. Thus " And Darius full of days " may be the doublet of " And Artaxerxes of the Medes," while " glorious in old age " may be a further alternative reading for " full of days." Dr. Driver gives one instance where a second translation is inserted, without marginal or other comment, " correcting the strange mistranslation of LXX " in the text out of its proper place. Thus we need not be surprised if " And Darius full of days " is inserted in the Old Greek translation, not immediately after " And Artaxerxes of the Medes," which it apparently represents, but after the words " received the kingdom," thus completing the full sense of the passage before the alternative reading of the first part is appended. Dr. Driver further remarks that these " doublets " are peculiarly characteristic of Lucian's recension of the Septuagint. " When Lucian found in his MSS. two divergent renderings of a passage, he systematically *combined* them, producing thereby what would be called in the terminology of New Testament criticism, ' conflate ' readings." This, then, is what may have happened in this particular section of Greek translation.

To illustrate the difficulties translators and copyists had to contend with in the reproduction of ancient MSS., we may here

* § 4, 1, The Septuagint. a, (a), " Examples of Double Renderings." (Eighteen instances are given.)

consult Plate I, which is a photograph of part of one of the Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine, on the extreme southern boundary of Egypt. Flimsy papyrus was, of course, the ordinary writing material in the pre-Christian centuries. It will be realised from the photograph how easily MSS. became discoloured, partly obliterated, or even perforated or broken, thus giving rise to the necessity of guessing at the original wording of certain passages, and the giving of alternative readings. According to Nestlé,* it was not until after its introduction by King Eumenes II at Pergamum in the second century B.C. that parchment came into any considerable use as a writing material.

One further variation in the Old Greek Version should be mentioned before we pass on to the next part of our subject. In Daniel vi, 28, where the ordinary versions have: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," the Old Septuagint has: "And king Darius was added to his race, and Daniel was set over the kingdom of Darius, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom."

Here, again, it is a matter for lively speculation as to how this wording was arrived at in the Old Septuagint. Here we must, for the sake of brevity, satisfy ourselves with the remark that here Daniel, already appointed as the "third" in the kingdom (v, 29, and vi, 3), is actually made to take over the kingdom at Darius' death, Cyrus also being said to receive his kingdom. Possibly it may merely indicate the hopeless condition of various MSS. that were copied from time to time, attempts at rational renderings leading to this reading; but the fact that such a rendering was possible goes to show that the "kingdom" which Darius had was regarded by these early translators as a temporary or subsidiary one, being capable, in fact, of being handed over to a high official such as Daniel, as a preliminary, perhaps, to being taken over formally by Cyrus himself. This being the case, it is easier for us to imagine an individual like "Ugbaru, the Governor of Gutium," mentioned in the Nabonidus Chronicle tablet† as

* See his *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, p. 36, and Note *a*. Its manufacture was owing to the prohibition by Ptolemy Epiphanes, King of Egypt, of the export of papyrus to Asia Minor. The word "parchment" is derived from the name of the city, Pergamum (Pergamos), where its use was first encouraged.

† See Vol. XLVI of this *Journal* (1914), pp. 186ff., "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," by Dr. T. G. Pinches. The most up-to-date translation of the tablet is that by Mr. Sidney Smith, M.A., in his *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924).

entering Babylon with the troops of Cyrus seventeen days before the entry of Cyrus himself, being temporarily regarded and named as a king by a Hebrew prophet in high office, such as Daniel is described as being in the book of Daniel.

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, who first translated the Nabonidus Chronicle tablet, always regarded this "Ugbaru" and the "Gubaru" of line 20 of column III as one and the same person, identifying him, as the transliteration into Hebrew of the latter name certainly permits, with the Gobryas mentioned in the historical romance of Xenophon known as the *Cyropædia*, as well as with the "Darius the Mede" of *Daniel*.* As to whether the "Ugbaru" and the "Gubaru" of the Nabonidus Chronicle actually are one and the same person has had doubt thrown upon it more recently by Mr. Sidney Smith, M.A., of the British Museum, who, in agreement with some other Assyriologists, reads line 22 of the Chronicle "Ugbaru died." This line had been taken by Dr. Pinches to mean that "Ugbaru," or Gobryas, "made an attack on some portion (? the citadel)" of Babylon which still stood out, as a result of which "the son of the king died."

"The son of the king" (line 23) had been originally read by Dr. Pinches as "the king," the sign preceding the word "king" being doubtful. Mr. Sidney Smith† says that the traces upon the tablet favour the translation: "the wife of the king died;" "the son of the king," which had been accepted by Dr. Pinches after it had been thus interpreted by Hagen, a German Assyriologist, being impossible. "The son of the king" was, of course, Belshazzar, and if the reading "wife" in line 23 is to be accepted as correct there is, of course, no reason why Belshazzar should not have been killed on the night when "Ugbaru, the Governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus" first "entered Babylon without a battle" (line 15), that is to say, about twenty-five days earlier than the death of "Ugbaru," on the night of Marcheswan 11. The words previously translated, or rather "restored," as to the attack on Babylon, Mr. Smith reads as: "In the month of," *i.e.*, as the first part of a date of

* See Dr. Pinches' paper in Vol. XLIX (1917) of this *Journal*, "From World Dominion to Subjection: the Story of the Fall of Nineveh and Babylon," p. 122.

† See Vol. XLVI of this *Journal* (1914), pp. 186ff., "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," by Dr. T. G. Pinches. The most up-to-date translation of the tablet is that by Mr. Sidney Smith, M.A., in his *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924).

the king's wife's death. Also, there was no reason why Belshazzar's death should necessarily be mentioned in this extremely brief Chronicle, more especially as he is not described in that document as the king. On the other hand, the very fact that he is not there so regarded, but is described as the Chaldean king in the book of Daniel, helps us to understand why, in the latter book, an individual is referred to as " king Darius " who, like Belshazzar, may never have been looked upon generally as the official king. In the Nabonidus Chronicle, of course, although Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, is stated to have been secluded for several years in a palace built by him in the oasis of Tema, many miles out in the Arabian desert, he is constantly referred to as the king, as is the consistent custom in dating the many hundreds of cuneiform tablets of Nabonidus' reign. With the capture of Babylon on Cyrus' behalf the rulership of both Nabonidus and Belshazzar came to an end. For a high official, such as Daniel is represented as being in the book of Daniel, the question would immediately arise : " Who is now king ? " and for one who had evidently regarded Belshazzar as such it would surely not seem unreasonable to date a rapid note of a remarkable psychological experience, a predictive prophecy revealed through the agency of a spirit or angel named Gabriel (Daniel ix, 21) during this critical interlude, by " the first year " of the ruler who was now, even if only for two or three weeks, actually exercising all the functions of a despotic eastern king. The term " military dictator " had not yet, of course, been invented. As to whether the exact wording of verse 1 of chapter ix of *Daniel* has come down to us uncorrupted as apart from the name " Darius " is too lengthy a subject to be entered upon here and now. We must satisfy ourselves with as near an approximation as possible to the probabilities, and say that if Daniel received the prophecy at this time, and did not date it by the reign of Cyrus, then he would do so by the name of the ruler who was undoubtedly exercising all the functions of government. The " Gubaru " of line 20, column III, of the Nabonidus Chronicle is there said to have " appointed governors in Babylon," which seems at the same time to identify him with the new ruler who, in Daniel vi, 1, is said to have " set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes," and to point to the possibility of his being the same person as the " Ugbaru " of lines 15 and 22.

Besides the identification of " Darius the Mede " with

"Ugbaru," "Gubaru," or Gobryas, so stoutly advocated by the late Dr. T. G. Pinches, strong cases have been made out in favour of Cyaxares, son of Astyages, a king of Media whom we meet with nowhere but in the pages of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. The first of these identifications will be familiar to readers of the *Journal of the Victoria Institute* through the able papers of the Rev. Andrew Craig Robinson, M.A.* As apart from a decisive test such as I propose, the only strong objection to Cyaxares is that nowhere else, throughout the whole range of ancient literature and of archæological discovery, is such an individual alluded to. It was Istumegu, or "Astyages," who was king of Media at the time of Cyrus' rise to power in Medo-Persia according to the Nabonidus Chronicle, and also Herodotus, who says that Cyaxares was the name of Astyages' father, who was the ally of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, in the destruction of Nineveh (612 B.C.). Another point which throws discredit upon the *Cyropædia* as being absolutely truthful to history is that Xenophon says that Gobryas gave his daughter in marriage to "Hystaspas," whereas according to Herodotus,† the daughter of Gobryas was the wife of Darius the son of Hystaspes, and had borne him three sons before Darius came to the throne of Medo-Persia after the death of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. Perhaps the most striking variation from known history in the *Cyropædia*, however, is that Xenophon makes the father of Cyrus, Cambyses, to be alive at the taking of Babylon: in fact, Cyrus is said to obtain his father's consent to his marriage with the daughter of Cyaxares after the settlement at Babylon: whereas in the Nabonidus Chronicle we read of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, already grown, taking a leading part in the New Year's Day ceremonial next after that event.‡ In spite of the fact, therefore, that Xenophon truly represents the father of Cyrus as a king,§ a fact which is confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions, whereas Herodotus and Ctesias describe him as a noble only, or even as of common rank, we must regard the *Cyropædia* as a real romance, and not to be trusted as exactly true in every particular.

---

* See *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XLVI (1914), p. 9f., and Vol. LIV (1922), p. 1f.

† VII, 2.

‡ Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII, c. iv; v, 19 and 28. Nabonidus Chronicle (Smith), Col. III, lines 24–28.

§ Xenophon, as above, I. c. ii, 1; VIII, v, 22, etc

The identification with Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is advocated by the Rev. Chas. Boutflower, M.A., in his book, *In and Around the Book of Daniel.* It seems perfectly true from the cuneiform tablets that Cambyses was king of Babylon concurrently with his father, Cyrus, some tablets being dated in the first year, Cambyses king of Babylon, Cyrus king of Countries, for about nine months from the New Year's Day following Cyrus' conquest of Babylon. Cambyses, however, could not have been sixty-two years old at that time, as Darius the Mede is stated to have been in Daniel, v, 31. Mr. Boutflower shows that a very possible corruption in the MSS. would have been to read " 62 " for " 12 " in Hebrew notation. On the other hand, the Old Greek Version says that " Darius " was " full of days and glorious in old age," though it omits his exact age.

Dr. C. H. H. Wright, in his *Daniel and His Prophecies,* published in 1906, discusses the matter in some detail. He adjudges " considerable probability " to Dr. Pinches' conjecture that Gobryas was Darius. Professor H. H. Rowley, in his *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel,* published in 1935, gives a very complete account of the views of previous writers, but takes up the ultra-critical standpoint, and thinks that the most insuperable difficulty of the Gobryas theory consists in there being " no evidence that Gobryas bore the title of king." The distinguished archæologist Ernst Herzfeld seems to be of the opinion that " the satrap of a province " (which is what Gobryas, as Governor of Gutium, actually was in the Persian language) was, among the Medes and Persians, " a simple king," the supreme Median ruler having been entitled " great king, king of kings."* This view would appear to render such an objection somewhat less forcible.

Professor R. P. Dougherty, of Yale, dealt exhaustively with the now extensive cuneiform and other material relating to Belshazzar in his comprehensive work, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (1929).

Dr. R. D. Wilson, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, in his *Studies in the Book of Daniel* (1917), gives many reasons why Gobryas, or " Ugbaru," appears to have been the original of " Darius the Mede."

Professor James A. Montgomery, in his volume on *Daniel* in the International Critical Commentary, sums up the work of

* See *The Archæological History of Iran,* by Ernst E. Herzfeld, D.Phil. (1935), pp. 24 and 76.

these last writers by saying that they exhibit "the reaction toward recognition of a far greater amount of historical tradition in the book than the older criticism had allowed—a position maintained in this commentary."

Which, now, of these three individuals—"Ugbaru" (or "Gobryas"), Cambyses, or Cyaxares—can be the original of "Darius the Mede," or "Median"? In seeking the answer to our question we should not leave entirely out of account the "Astyages" of the Apocryphal book, *Bel and the Dragon*. Verse 1: "And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom." Here we seem to have confirmation of the mis-reading or "corruption" theory. For Astyages was the name of a Median king, in Xenophon's *Cyropædia* father of the mysterious Cyaxares, and in Herodotus* the son of the Cyaxares who, with Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, destroyed Nineveh in 612 B.C.† *Bel and the Dragon* says that Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom from him. Obviously, then, according to this Apocryphal book, this "Astyages" is the same person as "Darius the Mede" and the "Artaxerxes" of the Old Septuagint Version.

It will be noticed that both "Astyages" and "Artaxerxes" begin with the letter "A." In Hebrew or Aramaic they would also begin with "A," or "Aleph." Now, curiously enough, "Ugbaru," if written in Hebrew or Aramaic letters, would begin with the "Aleph," or "A." The tyro will say, "But 'Ugbaru' begins, not with 'A,' but with 'U.'" This is true, so far as English, or Latin, letters are concerned; but in Hebrew-Aramaic short "U" could only be written by the use of the "Aleph," or "closed," or "silent" aspirate (א). After the "Massoretic" period, say by about A.D. 600, the "short U" sound would be more fully expressed by the insertion of three dots in a small oblique line under the Aleph, thus, אְ, U. If "long U" could be inserted here, then another letter, Vav, ו, which answers for either "long U" or "long O" would be used; but here there is no question of this, as the syllable to be reproduced is "Ug–," and this, occurring at the *beginning* of a word written in Babylonian, Hebrew or Aramaic, would undoubtedly be pronounced with the "short U."

---

* I, 46, 73, 107.

† See C. J. Gadd, M.A., *The Newly-Discovered Babylonian Chronicle* (British Museum Publication, 1923); and *The Fall of Nineveh*, reprinted from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XI, 1923.

"Ugbaru," then, would be written אֻגְבָּרוּ with "short U" at the beginning, and "long U" at the end, Hebrew being read from *right to left*, not from left to right.

"Cambyses" does not appear in the Bible, but in the Elephantine Papyri* it is written כנבזי which is, of course, "Canbuzi," not "Cambuzi" as we should expect.

"Cyaxares" is a Greek form. The name is represented in the Persian cuneiform section of the Behistun Inscription† by "Uvakhshatra," which is rendered "Umakuishtar" in the Babylonian section. This would most probably be rendered in Hebrew or Aramaic letters ומכואשתר.

"Astyages" would probably be written אשתוגו or אשתמגו, "Istumegu," as it is spelt in Babylonian cuneiform in the "Nabonidus Chronicle" tablet.

"Artaxerxes" would, we presume, usually be written as we find it in the Book of Ezra (vii, 1): ארתחשסתא, "Artakhshasta," or ארתחשסש, "Artakhshasash," as we find it in the Elephantine Papyri.‡

"Darius the Median," which represents the "Artaxerxes" of the Old Greek, is, on the other hand, written in the Hebrew Bible with the lettering דריוש מדיא.

Now it is absolutely impossible, in a very short time, or with inadequate space, to enter in detail into all the possibilities in regard to the writing of these names in the various types of lettering which existed from the time when we believe the prophet Daniel lived and the time when the completed Book of Daniel was first translated into Greek. It is, however, possible to glance over the most likely course of events, and to indicate the lines upon which some kind of result may be arrived at.

If we refer to the ninth chapter of Daniel, we see that this purports to be an account, related in the first person, of how the Seventy Weeks prediction was received. This prophecy, as we said at the outset, is actually dated in the First Year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes. We may therefore assume that the account was written down originally at that time, and can consequently date it at October (since it was after the 16th of Tisri, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle

* See Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus* (1911), pp. 15, 29 and 219. Plates I, 13; IV, 3, 5; LIX, 1, 6.

† See King and Thompson, *The Behistun Inscription of Darius I.*

‡ See A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (1906).

tablet), 539 B.C.* Here, then, we have a point of actual origin for the mention of Darius, or whatever name was first written there. The corruption to Artaxerxes in the Old Septuagint, however, occurs in chapter v, 31, where the account, written in the third person, of the death of Belshazzar and the taking over of the kingdom by " Darius the Median " first appears in the order of the book.

Now whether both chapters were originally written by Daniel himself or not, the natural course of events would be for the " literary remains " of the prophet to be gathered together soon after his death, and for what seemed the most important of them to be retained at each time of copying. We can then suppose that someone like Ezra the scribe, who by Jewish tradition re-wrote, or re-edited, the Scriptures about the middle of the fifth century B.C., or say about eighty years after the fall of Babylon, would put the book containing the work of the prophet into order for copying together with the whole collection of Hebrew Scriptures, which then began to take the appearance of the modern Hebrew Bible. One or two books, such as Malachi and Ezra and Nehemiah, would have to be added later. But if *Daniel* actually did represent the life and writings of a Hebrew prophet of the Captivity period, it must have been in existence by that time. We have no time at present to discuss the detailed remarks of the critics, or as to how part of *Daniel* came to be written in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. We have before us the undeniable facts of our Lord's advent at the time indicated by the Seventy Weeks prophecy, and that both chapters ix and v of *Daniel*, one of which dated the prophecy by, and the other actually first introduces, the name Darius, were undoubtedly in existence before His time. Also that the corruption to " Artaxerxes " occurs in the oldest Greek translation of chapter v, and must be accounted for in some adequate fashion.

The writer has devoted much time to researches into the possibilities, and likelihoods, of this question for the last fifteen years or more. In the course of this time he has made a careful comparison of the names involved, written in all the various styles of handwriting which prevailed from the period of Daniel's early life down to the time of our Lord, by which time the Book of Daniel had long been recognised as one of the Jewish Scriptures. In Plate II a comparison is provided of these names as written

* Now definitely fixed, by astronomy and the tablets, as the year of the fall of Babylon to Cyrus.

in the characters of the Lachish Letters, the script used by the Jews just before the Captivity, and in the later "Aramæan" letters which the Jews adopted during the Captivity and afterwards developed into the Square Hebrew Alphabet. Those who examine this Plate carefully may be able to form some slight idea of the possibilities of mis-reading and corruption by later scribes, who can be supposed to have had no knowledge of the name "Ugbaru." When it is considered that there would be little evidence of the predictions in *Daniel* beginning to be fulfilled until the conquest of Persia by Alexander in 333–332 B.C—two hundred years after the fall of Babylon to Persia—when public interest in the book might be expected to be aroused, it will be realised that there would be considerable scope for the perishing and decay of early MSS. and the partial obliteration of original documents, however carefully preserved.

But we cannot assume that the original of Daniel v–vi, or ix, was written exactly in either of these two scripts. There was as much difference between the handwriting of different scribes in those days as there is to-day in the handwriting of various individuals. Besides this, it is conceivable that the first note of the vision may have been written in cuneiform, in which we are told that Daniel was trained. Again, the material of the original may have been a clay tablet, an "ostrakon," or potsherd, or even a wooden tablet, as it is doubtful as to how far papyrus would be accessible in Babylon in those days. The writing materials much influenced the character of the handwriting. All this has had to be carefully examined and weighed. These researches have been placed into the form of a book, which it is hoped will be published shortly. Perhaps it may be permissible for me to add now that I have formed the opinion that the original corruption occurred soon after the conquest of Persia by Alexander of Macedon, when it would first appear that some of the predictions of the Book of Daniel were coming true* and it would therefore be likely that copies of the then ancient MSS. would tend to be multiplied. "Artaxerxes" was first mis-read, with "Darius, 62 and a Median" as an alternative reading. These corruptions could only occur in copying from an early script, one perhaps intermediate between the two illustrated in Plate II. The other readings of the Old Septuagint—"full of days," and "glorious in old age"—could only have happened with a later script.

* *Cf.* Daniel vii, 6; viii, 20–22; xi, 2–4.

The general condition of the Old Septuagint Version, loaded as it is with additions to and slight divergences from the text of the Hebrew-Aramaic Version, helps us to understand how these corruptions have occurred and that they are indeed progressive, as well as to realise that even in the Hebrew-Aramaic the exact wording of the original may not always stand. It is a striking possibility that the very plurality of corruptions may point, by their comparison, in their original scripts, to the true wording of a lost scripture.

With approval of the Chairman two additional slides (not here reproduced) were then shown and explained, viz., a slide showing the author's identification of the name " Ugbaru " in the Aramæan lettering for the Old Greek Septuagint Version of Daniel v, 31 (vi, 1 in the Greek), with the general course of the corruption which resulted in the present reading of that Version, and another illustrating the late Professor Pinches' comparisons between " Ugbaru " in Aramæan lettering and " Dareios " in the Old Greek lettering, with some further comparisons between " Ugbaru " and " Gubaru " with " Darius " in cuneiform, 5th century B.C. Aramaic, and 2nd century B.C. " Maccabæan coin " characters.

These further explanations having exhausted the time, the meeting was closed with request for the comments of those present to be sent in writing and the following responded :—

Written Discussions.

Sir Frederic Kenyon (Chairman) wrote : The real gist of this paper lay, I think, in the two supplementary slides and the lecturer's explanation of them. I should like to congratulate him on his exceedingly ingenious palæographical argument, showing how the name Ugbaru could give rise to the various corruptions which eventually led to the names Artaxerxes and (through the medium of Greek written boustrophedon) Darius, and to the phrases " full of days and glorious in old age." At the same time I could not but feel that this does not go far towards solving the real problem of " Darius the Mede," which is to account for the interpolation of a ruler between Belshazzar and Cyrus with sufficient power and duration of rule to appoint new satraps over the whole empire and to disgrace and put

to death some at least of them after the failure of their plot against Daniel.

To refer to a few points of detail: I do not think the reference in the second paragraph of the paper to the "Seventy Weeks" prophecy is really relevant to the lecturer's argument, and it contains some inaccuracies. The Seventy Weeks are not dated from the first year of Darius the Mede, but from the prophecy of Jeremiah, which in that year was explained to Daniel as meaning seventy weeks of years (*i.e.*, 490 years) instead of seventy years. Further, the words "Messiah the Prince" are an interpretation of the Authorised Version; the original has only "the (or "an") anointed one, the (or "a") prince." The prophecies referred to by Suetonius and Tacitus do not speak of a single ruler or person as coming forth from Judaea, but of persons or people, in the plural; and it should be observed that the time of which they speak is not that of the Nativity or of the Crucifixion, but of the period about A.D. 60-70. Altogether the calculation of the seventy weeks is too uncertain and too variously interpreted by scholars to be of any service; and it is outside the main purpose of the paper.

In the last sentence of the next paragraph, is not the word "however" misused? The original Greek version has the same reading, Cyrus, as Theodotion, so that one would expect "also" or "moreover." It might be added, however, that the versions of Aquila and Symmachus give the reading "Darius." It looks as if the Hebrew text from which the Septuagint translation was made in the 2nd century B.C. had "Cyrus," but that by the 2nd century A.D., when the version of Aquila was made, the reading "Darius" had crept in.

Mr. W. E. LESLIE wrote: At the opening of the paper the author links the problem of the identity of Darius with the evidential value of the great prophecy of Daniel ix. How is the genuineness of a prediction determined? It must be clear, and it must be recorded before the event could humanly be foreseen. One possible punctuation of the Daniel ix, passage gives a clear prediction. No one doubts that it was recorded before the Crucifixion could be foreseen by man. If the reference to Darius could be proved to be a blunder, and if the prophecy was therefore written after the time of Daniel,

that would not alter the fact that it was recorded long before the event.

While therefore the identification of Darius has interest for the archæologist, it should be made quite plain that it does not affect the evidential value of the great prophecy.

From others who were not present at the meeting communications were received as follow :—

Mr. E. B. W. CHAPPELOW wrote : Mr. Owen's comprehensive and scholarly paper leaves little room for further comment, but the following points may possibly be of interest.

The problem seems to me to depend upon the degree of historicity with which the Book of Daniel may be credited.

Mr. Owen does not appear to hold the view, adopted by many, that it dates from the Seleucid period (not later than 164 B.C.) and that it was written to stimulate Jewish national resistance to the Hellenizing policy and active persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, but if this is so, its strict historicity in the modern sense may well be doubted.

In such case it is questionable whether the author would have had access to native Babylonian sources except perhaps through the Greek of Berosus, who, nevertheless, as Dr. Pinches points out in *The Old Testament in the Light, etc.*, was not always strictly impartial. That cuneiform was studied by the Greeks we know from existing tablets containing transcriptions of Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian words into Greek characters, and we know too that cuneiform, although naturally with a continually dwindling currency, was in use until the beginning of the Christian Era (see Pinches : *Greek Transcriptions of Babylonian Tablets*, and Sayce : *The Greeks in Babylonia*, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, March 12th, 1912.)

But would the intense opposition of the Jewish nationalist to things Hellenic have inclined him to use Greek texts ?

If the author were a Mesopotamian Jew he might have used the native cuneiform sources ; but again, if the purpose of the book was to stimulate Jewish resistance to Antiochus, we should rather have expected him to be in Palestine at the very heart of the struggle. Hence the possibility of confusion in historical detail cannot be dismissed.

Personally, I think that no historical personage fits Darius the Mede so well as Gobryas, and that Dr. Pinches's case still holds good. As Mr. Owen has pointed out, Dr. Pinches in the paper, which he quotes (*From World-Dominion to Subjection*), draws attention to the coincidence between the statement that Darius the Mede was pleased to set over the kingdom 120 satraps and that in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, as translated by himself, that "Gubaru, his (Cyrus's) govenor, appointed governors in Babylon."

In PSBA, Jan., 1916, Dr. Pinches published a contract or rather "sworn obligation," in which Gobryas is again mentioned as governor of Babylon (*Gubarru piḫât Babili*^{ki}) as late as the fourth year of Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus.

The name is here written with  (gu) and not  (ug). As Cambyses is here designated "King of Babylon, king of countries," the text refers to his sole reign and not to any joint reign with Cyrus; it refers to Erech and not Babylon, and as the word used for governor is *pihâtu*, which means the function or territory of a viceroy as against *šaknu*, the usual term for a mere city prefect or governor, it would seem that Gobryas was viceroy of Babylonia, and not merely governor of Babylon the city, for a period of at least fourteen years. When he entered Babylon at the head of the troops of Cyrus he could accurately be described as having "received the kingdom" (on behalf of Cyrus), and, exercising the functions of viceroyalty for so many years, he might well in the popular mind have been regarded as a *de facto* king just as perhaps Belshazzar was. The probability that he was a Mede is sufficiently strong, as Gutium, of which he had been governor, was in Western Media, and it would have been natural for Cyrus to entrust the government of a province so important as the new province of Babylonia to a Persian or a Mede rather than to a Babylonian, an experiment which the kings of Assyria had tried and failed in.

If we accept the Book of Daniel as being of the Seleucid period and that, therefore, through the long period of time which had elapsed since the events narrated therein, its historicity must not be pressed too far, the suggestion put forward by Prof. H. H. Rowley (article on Daniel in the *Story of the Bible*, Vol. 1, 1938/9) that its author confused the capture of Babylon in 539 for Cyrus with that

in 520 by Darius the Great, who in this case would be Darius the Mede, is worthy of serious consideration.

Prof. Rowley makes another interesting suggestion, *i.e.*, that the prototype of the hero of the stories in the book was the Daniel referred to by Ezekiel as renowned for wisdom and righteousness, and that the latter belonged to the remote past and is identifiable with the Danel of the Ras Shamra tablets (14th century B.C.), adding that perhaps the author of the Book of Daniel used very ancient floating stories of the wisdom of Daniel and combined them with material from traditional stories about Nebuchadrezzar and his successors.

The only book I have been able to consult on the Ras Shamra tablets is Schaeffer's Schweich Lectures for 1936. Schaeffer does not refer to the legend of Danel in the body of his text, but in note 198 on p. 96 he states that " In the Danel legend, the hero of the Ras Shamra poem, a Phœnician king who dispenses justice and protects the widow and the orphan (Ch. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Danel*, p. 93) may be compared with the famous Daniel the Judge whom Ezekiel xxviii, 3, sets before us in contrast to the vainglorious king of Tyre."

The Rev. Principal H. S. CURR wrote : Mr. Owen's paper has interested me very much. The identification of Darius the Mede is, as he says, one of the standing problems in the exegesis of Daniel, and it is impossible to have too much discussion regarding it, since only by such minute investigations can a satisfactory solution be reached. The quest is all the more worth while, since modern critical scholarship fastens on these references to Darius in Daniel as glaring examples of inaccuracy which go far to discredit the historical trustworthiness of the book and to lend support to the theory that it is a collection of edifying tales, and stirring predictions prepared during the persecutions of the Jews in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes about the middle of the second century B.C. with the aim of sustaining the faith and constancy of the pious in a time of trial. On that hypothesis the references to Darius are of no consequence, since the stories are only parables.

To the student who believes with Mr. Owen that " the Holy Spirit has always watched over the integrity of the Scriptures," the question assumes a very different complexion. It becomes

associated with the historical truth of the Bible. The paper clearly indicates the three lines along which it has been attempted to identify Darius with contemporary figures whose existence is certified by secular writers. None of these seem to command a preponderating degree of confidence and consent.

May we not repose more confidence in the author? The book abounds in archæological detail, such as the list of musical instruments in 3 : 5, 7, 10. As far as I am aware these have been tested and found to be accurate. It seems, then, feasible to suppose that such a gross mistake as giving a wrong or misleading designation to an important figure like Darius is most unlikely, especially in view of the fact that he is mentioned fairly often, and that his name is connected with that famous incident in which Daniel was Divinely delivered from the lions. It may seem rather extravagant to suggest that Daniel is quite as worthy of credence as the other sources of information on these remote days usually cited. It is true that it is hard to reconcile the evidence, but that is not unusual in dealing with historical narratives. The harmonising of the Four Gospels is far from easy. Again the reference to Cyrenius or Quirinus as Govenor of Syria in Luke ii, 2, presents difficulties as grave as those connected with the mention of Darius the Mede in Daniel. To my thinking, the Bible is always entitled to be treated as a first-class authority on historical matters. In short, our aim should be to reconcile secular history with Holy Scripture and not the reverse.

Mr. C. C. O. VAN LENNEP wrote: Surely the enigma of Darius the Mede could be more simply solved if the logical inferences from the facts as given in the Bible, and the Apocrypha, were followed to their fairly obvious conclusions, What are those facts? 1. Darius was a *Mede*; 2. He was the *son* of *Ahasuerus*; 3. He was 62 years old when Babylon fell, that is, when he was made *king* over the realm of the *Chaldeans*, or, as Daniel v, 31, has it, when he took the kingdom. 4. When Astyages died he was succeeded by Cyrus. The logical consequences of these facts are, amongst others, that Darius was a contemporary of the latter years of Nebuchadnezzar: that his father Ahasuerus must have been a full contemporary of that king of Babylon. The best known Mede who was Nebuchadnezzar's

contemporary was the man whom history and the Apocrypha call Astyages, Nebuchadnezzar's brother-in-law. Astyages was king of the Medes. Thus the general position of Darius the Mede (" of the seed of the Medes ") makes it seem fairly obvious that he was the son of Astyages. But if so, Astyages was " Ahasuerus." If Astyages was Ahasuerus, then, according to " Bel and the Dragon," Ahasuerus-Astyages was succeeded by Cyrus. Kings are succeeded by a son unless history explains otherwise ; so Cyrus also was probably a son of Astyages-Ahasuerus. This would explain many enigmas ; also it would involve that Darius the Mede was the brother, or half-brother, of Cyrus. Darius was no doubt the elder ; he seems to have taken the kingdom of the Chaldeans either before, or jointly with Cyrus, probably the latter. I have gone into this matter very fully in my " Measured Times of the Bible," but shortly stated the foregoing facts and their inferences seem fairly conclusive as to who actually was Darius the Mede.

Major H. B. CLARKE wrote : There are one or two points which I think the lecturer has not taken account of.

First, it is perfectly clear Scripturally that the Medo-Persian Kingdom was double in its origin and that the Persian side came later, *vide* Daniel vii, verse 5, and viii verse 3.

Second. Also that there was a separate reign of Darius the Mede (chapter 11 v. 1) which is noticed by the lecturer, but he has omitted the fact that this could not be contemporaneous with that of Cyrus, for in that year no decree on behalf of Israel had gone out, *vide* ch. 9 v. 2 and also Ezra 1 v. 1. That the reign of this Median king was a real one is shown in chapter 6. It is also to be noticed that during this reign, and indeed through the whole book of Daniel, it is " the law of the Medes and the Persians," whereas in Esther i, v. 19, this order is reversed.

I suggest, therefore, that a distinct Median kingdom is indicated and as an explanation would suggest that Darius is the same as Cyaxares who was 49 at his accession to the throne of Media and reigned 15 years. His reign would, therefore, be short—only two years in all—and I believe some copies of Ptolemy's Canon give Cyrus 9 year's reign, whereas others only give 7. The difference is thus accounted for.

The Author's Reply.

To refer first to the Chairman's remarks, I should like to say that the apparent "inaccuracies" in my second paragraph are due to the exigencies of space.

The Seventy Years prophecy of Jeremiah, for the fulfilment of which Daniel asks in his prayer, Jeremiah xxv, 11 and 12, and xxix, 10, was received by Jeremiah in the first year of Jehoiakim (605-4 B.C.), and relates to the period during which the Jews "and the nations round about" (xxv, 9) should "serve the king of Babylon" until the punishment of that king and God's permission to return to Jerusalem (xxix, 10). To the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., almost immediately after which Daniel must have made his prayer, it was about seventy years from the early part (see Daniel i, 1, and II Kings xxiv, 1, 2) of the reign of Jehoiakim (acceded 608 B.C.) when the Jews first began to fall under the power of the Babylonians. In the "first year of Darius the Median," then, the seventy years of Babylonian oppression of the Jews were almost over. From the destruction of the Temple in 587 B.C. it was just forty-nine years, or "seven weeks" of years. By analogy, apparently, a similar period of "seven weeks" figures as the first part of the new period of Seventy "Weeks" (Daniel ix, 25). The point of departure of the whole period is clearly stated—"from the going forth of *a* commandment (there is no restriction of the meaning of this word in the Hebrew, to the Divine word or commandment) to restore and to build Jerusalem." Such a commandment—*dabhar*—"word, matter or thing"—undoubtedly went forth, according to Ezra vii, 7, in, or just before, the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, 458 B.C. Artaxerxes' decree included a command to appoint magistrates and judges: whereas the previous decrees of Cyrus and Darius I (Ezra i and vi). relate to the rebuilding of the Temple rather than to the restoration of the city and polity of Jerusalem. The Authorised Version, following the Older LXX and Vulgate, places the "seven weeks" and "sixty-two weeks" consecutively, whereas the English Revised Version follows the Jewish punctuation, which did not exist until about A.D. 200-600 and which makes an "Anointed" appear at the end of the first *seven* weeks of the new period. 7 plus 62, *i.e.*, 69 weeks of years, or 483 years, from 458 B.C. ended in A.D. 25-26. "In the midst" of the next, or "70th week," in A.D. 29 or 30,

Christ was crucified, " an Anointed One " was " cut off," through which supreme sacrifice the old ideas of sacrifice and oblation were abolished. The remaining particulars of Daniel ix, 26 and 27, could continue after the close of the 70th week without violence to the wording of the prophecy.

(2). The fact that " the Messiah the Prince " is without the definite articles " the " in the Hebrew surely does not preclude the possibility of " Messiah Prince " (" Anointed leader or captain ") of Daniel ix, 25, being the origin of the Jewish expectation of the Messiah in our Lord's time.

(3). What Tacitus says is, " there was in most [of the Jews] a firm persuasion that in the ancient records of their priests was contained a prediction of how at this very time . . . rulers coming from Judaea were to acquire universal empire." Surely this, combined with Suetonius' statement that this " firm persuasion " " *had long prevailed* through all the East," justifies the inference that, through their long associations with the Jews (see Josephus), the Romans of the first century A.D. had acquired vague notions of the promises of the Hebrew prophets that the kingdom of God would one day extend throughout the world which, combined with what they heard of the actual expectation of the Messiah, and perhaps about the Christians, led these writers to speak in this way of world rulers coming out of Judaea ? *Daniel* was apparently the only basis for any calculation of likely *dates*.

(4). The word " however " was inserted in the last sentence of paragraph 3, to suggest briefly that it is remarkable that Theodotion and the Old Septuagint should agree in Daniel xi, 1, whereas, as is about to be shown, they disagree in important respects in the other two " Darius " datings (v. 31 (in the Hebrew vi, 1), and ix., 1).

In regard to Sir Frederic's main point, I should like to say that, quite apart from the palæographical argument, which appears to me decisive, I have endeavoured to judge of the matter with a proper use of controlled imagination. Here was Ugbaru, the " Assyrian "-Perso-Mede Governor of the old Assyrian territory of Gutium, invested like a kind of " military dictator " for this short and highly dangerous period of the change of governments—seventeen days—with power the very object of which was to establish the authority of the fresh rulers. Gobryas—if we may trust Xenophon's picture

to this extent—had an intimate knowledge of the *personnel* of the New Babylonian kingdom. His new appointments—the " reorganisation "—would naturally be started upon quickly. Passion would run high among those who were disappointed and had hoped for higher preferment. There is no necessity for the whole operation of the appointments to have been carried out in detail within the seventeen days. We are merely told : " It pleased Darius " to make them. The " historical " events of this chapter vi are really only the appointments, actual and intended (verse 3), the jealous plot and cunning scheme sprung by the most influential of the " satraps " upon an inexperienced autocrat : for the rest, Eastern ruthlessness and swiftness of execution—which has parallels even among Westerners in our own days. After the deliverance, we only read that the king issued the decree favouring the God of Daniel, and the statement " this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." That is all.

With regard to Mr. Leslie's point, according to the Bible the genuineness of a predictive prophecy is proved by its fulfilment. Punctual fulfilment shows a more than human prescience and thus demonstrates the existence of God. (See Isaiah xlviii, 3 and 5, *et passim.*) A satisfactory identification of Darius the Mede will surely enhance the value of Daniel ix as a genuine prediction of Christ, and not a fictitious one relating to Antiochus IV only.

With most of the interesting phases touched upon by Mr. Chappelow and Principal Curr I am dealing, I hope adequately, in my book. The acceptation of the theory of the absolute origin of *Daniel* in Maccabæan times always strikes me as a confession of failure to solve the main historical problems of that book. Belshazzar, whose existence was denied for many years, is now a commonplace personality of Babylonian history. *Daniel* dubs him " the king." Archæology has brought much knowledge to light that has not yet been assessed at its true values. The canonical Biblical books still aid much in the interpretation of cuneiform texts, and their historical integrity still proves of higher worth than many non-Biblical sources.

" Ugbaru " and " Gubaru " of the Nabonidus Chronicle tablet, and the " Gobryas " of Xenophon seem to mean the same person. The Gobryas of Herodotus cannot be the same if Mr. Sidney Smith,

M.A., and a few other Assyriologists are right in reading line 22 of Column III of the tablet as "Ugbaru died." If, however, that reading may be considered an open question, we may profitably note that Darius I describes Gobryas in the Behistun Inscription as "a Persian." On the tomb of Darius, Gobryas is described as "a Pateischorian." Pateischoria, however, was not in the distinctively Persian territories of the times (Parsua, Parsumash, and Parsa), but rather in the Median.* Xenophon calls his Gobryas "an Assyrian"—his term for "Babylonian," but could there not be an Assyrian "*of the seed of* the Medes"? The mixing of their seed was one cause of the fall of the Assyrians proper. To the Jew the earliest Persians were all of the race of Madai of Genesis x, 2, that is to say, "Medes." Herodotus frequently, when speaking of the Persian army, refers to them as "the Medes." As "Assyrian" Governor of Gutium Gobryas might well have adopted the more Semitic form "Ugbaru" for his name.

In regard to Mr. Van Lennep's remarks on Astyages, there seems to be no authority but Xenophon's romance for any son of his. Herodotus says that Cyrus was son of Mandane, daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses, whose fatherhood is attested to by the cuneiform sources also. Ctesias' account seems hopelessly confused.

I agree with Major Clarke that the Persian kingdom came into conspicuous prominence later than the Median. On all the facts, however, I do not think that "Darius," whoever he was, could have been absolute ruler of Chaldæa for longer than the seventeen days, even if he was Governor of Babylonia until much later. It seems obvious that Cyrus would issue his decree of tolerance and peace immediately upon his entry, otherwise he would lose every advantage of it. And the Nabonidus Chronicle tablet tells us that Cyrus entered Babylon on the 3rd Marcheswan—seventeen days after Ugbaru's entry on the 16th Tisri (Smith). "Ugbaru" was thus in position as an absolute despot in Babylon for exactly that period, and to me it appears, on mature consideration, that that short time was just sufficient for the brief and rapidly-happening events of Daniel vi. Perhaps I might end with the suggestion that the puzzling clause interpreted by some Assyriologists as "Ugbaru died" may mean: "Ugbaru ended, or relinquished, his power."—

* See *The History of Early Iran*, by G. G. Cameron, 1935, pp. 171–173.

that is, to Cyrus, on the 11th Marcheswan. This would give another possible eight days for Ugbaru's rule.

Subsequently Received.

Dr. J. Barcroft Anderson wrote: This paper of Mr. Owen's is of exceptional interest, because he has given us reproductions of what he describes as "later Avamæan letters which the Jews adopted during the Captivity." If these letters are compared with the facsimile letters (הֹתֵב Deut. xxvii, 8) which Joshua used in making his duplicate (משנה Joshua viii, 32) of that book of which Moses was amanuensis (Ezra vii, 6), and whose permanent place was beside the Ark (Deut. xxvii, 8), it will be seen that these two scripts are substantially the same, while Joshua's script and that of Ginsburg's Massoretic edition of the Hebrew Bible are exactly the same. I need hardly add that Joshua's script can now be studied by anyone, on page 680 of Volume II of Ginsburg's Massorah, together with an account of how it comes to be there. During the Captivity, the autograph of Moses seems to have been in the custody of Ezra, its lawful official custodian, who, as stated by King Artaxerxes in his letter (Ezra vii, 14), was bringing it back to Jerusalem. The only other times it is recorded as having been away from the side of the Ark, were in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii, 9), and when on loan in Alexandria to be translated into Greek. I note that in the Elephantine Papyri exhibits, attached to this paper of Mr. Owen's, are two instances where, what appears to be the Greek form of the letter X, is substituted for the corresponding letter of the script of Joshua.