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1920.

619TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,  
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,  
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, APRIL 26TH, 1920,

AT 4.30 P.M.

THE DEAN OF DURHAM IN THE CHAIR.

At the opening of the proceedings the DEAN explained that he was unexpectedly summoned to a funeral of a friend in Manchester, and was therefore obliged to leave in a few minutes, but before doing so he warmly commended the paper about to be read by Dr. Pinches to the attention of those present. He believed that as the truth of Holy Scripture had in the past been borne out by the work of exploration in Eastern fields, so the cause of Truth had nothing to fear, but everything to hope for, in this domain of research in the future. The Dean then relinquished the chair to Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following: The Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D., as a Member, Bertram Seymour Whidborne, Esq., B.A., M.C., as a Life Associate, and Arthur Rendle Short, Esq., M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.S., and the Hon. Mrs. Carr-Gregg as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S., to read his paper.

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*BABYLON IN THE DAYS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR.* By  
THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

OF all the many and renowned rulers that Babylonia, in the centuries of her long history, possessed, there is probably none who attained a greater reputation than he who captured Jerusalem, and led the Jews into captivity at Babylon. This, of course, made his name one of the most prominent in Jewish history. But in addition to this, he was regarded by them as the great builder, or one of the great builders, of the Babylon of later days—that great capital of the ancient Eastern world, described for us, among others, by Herodotus, and specially referred to in the Book of Daniel as Nebuchadrezzar's work. This king, in fact, is represented as congratulating himself upon this great achievement, when, walking about in his palace, he said, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the royal dwelling-place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?" That he should have imagined himself the builder of a city founded at least 2000 years before his time, might well be regarded as the beginning of his madness, but there is no doubt that not a few of its glories, such as they were, were due to him, as many of his inscriptions show.

Notwithstanding its reputation, Babylon cannot have been a beautiful city, and many of its most celebrated monuments were more massive than grand. Nevertheless, the Babylonians thought much of it, and looked upon its holy places with poetical reverence. Doubtless much has to be done in the way of exploration before we shall get a really good idea of its extent outside the walls. The portion to which most attention has been paid formed the inner city, and is undoubtedly the oldest part. Here stood the royal palaces, including that in which Nebuchadrezzar is said, in the Book of Daniel, to have been walking when he made the memorable utterance referred to above; and in this section, also, were the temple of Belus (Merodach) and the great temple-tower whose erection is described in the 11th chapter of Genesis. In this portion Herodotus's statement that the streets of the city crossed each other at right angles, and were interrupted by the walls bordering the Euphrates, does not seem to be confirmed. It is therefore probable that the old city, called Šu-anna, has to be excepted, and this would only be natural, for it may be regarded as a general rule, that the arrangement of primitive settlements, which developed later into cities, was not done in accordance with architectural plans—generally, they had no architects in those early ages—but were dictated by the contour of the ground. Outside the walls of Šu-anna, however, some attempt at the arrangement described by Herodotus may have been carried out, but extensive excavations can alone settle that point.

As I have already treated of the "City" of Babylon—the oldest portion of the great metropolis—"Discoveries in Babylonia and the Neighbouring Lands," in the *Journal* of this Institute for February 15th, 1909, and "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," April 20th, 1914), I need say nothing further upon this point, but it may be of interest to quote, in Nebuchadrezzar's own words, something about his work upon the great architectural monuments of his land.

As is well known, the great god of the city was Merodach, who is almost certainly the Nimrod of Genesis x, 10, and, as stated there, its earliest king—or, at least, one of its earliest rulers. Just exactly how the Babylonians looked upon him in this respect, however, is not known—wherever we meet with his name, it is as a divinity—anthropomorphic, it is true, but, from their point of view, with no human traits about him. It was to this god—"the lord of lords"—that the great temple

of Belus in the centre of the "city" was dedicated. Being on the banks of the Euphrates, it was handy for those ceremonies which needed the use of the waters of the sacred river, as when the *uru-gala*-priest, on the 2nd of Nisan, during the first double hour of the night (we should probably call this the evening of the first day of the month) approached, sprinkled the waters of the river about, entered into "the presence of Bêl," and drawing aside the curtain, uttered before Bêl this invocation:—

Lord, glorious one, announcer of oracles;  
 Bêl, who in his power hath no rival.  
 Lord, propitious king, lord of the world;  
 Bêl, propitious king, lord of the lands.  
 Brilliant is the power of his princeliness, (though) the place  
 of his father he knew not;  
 Restorer of the wellbeing of the great gods.  
 Exalted is he—to his lord the lord giveth rest;  
 The lord in his anger hath overthrown the mighty.  
 Divine king of men, divine king, possessor;  
 Lord of kings, light of mankind, bestower of gifts.  
 Lord, the seat of thy (?) name is the firmament, (thy) leafy  
 crown is the greensward (?);  
 Bêl, thy seat is Babylon, Borsippa is thy crown.  
 My god—the god whose heart is wide;  
 The wide heavens are the extent of thy spirit.

Thus far, the text is apparently arranged in lines alternately dialectic Sumerian and Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian). All the Sumerian lines (the 1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.), are difficult, and the rendering here offered is therefore given with all reserve. The translation of the Akkadian lines (the 2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.), on the other hand, is practically certain. Short as the above extract is, it will suffice to give an idea of the ritual which accompanied the worship of Merodach during the last days of Babylon's existence as the capital of the land.

As Babylon was the seat of Merodach's worship, Ê-sagila, the chief temple dedicated to him, was located there. Why Borsippa is described in the above lines as his "crown," is therefore difficult to explain. Perhaps it is due to the fact that Borsippa was called—rarely enough, seemingly—"the second Babylon." The great temple at Borsippa, named Ê-zida, was dedicated to Nebo, but there may have been a celebrated shrine to Merodach in that city as well.

It was this great patron-god of Babylon whom the Babylonian king worshipped, and of whom he said, that he, Nebuchadrezzar,

was the favourite, and also the beloved of Nebo, and who constantly sought the path of their divinity.\* From the time when Merodach had fashioned him in the womb of his mother, Nebuchadrezzar claims to have constantly sought the places of his god, and followed his path. As he magnified in the highest the cunning works of Merodach, so, also, did he constantly praise the supreme way of Nebo, the beloved of his realm, the son of Merodach. And, indeed, notwithstanding that Merodach was the great god of Babylon, it was apparently Nebo, the teacher, and, as such, the god of wisdom, whom most of the people venerated, as is shown by the large number of the names compounded with that of the patron-god of Borsippa.†

These details occur in the great India House inscription, wherein also Nebuchadrezzar recounts what Merodach had done for him. Among the god's favours was the help which he had given him in his expeditions. He had traversed, by his supreme aid, distant lands, remote mountains, from the upper sea to the lower sea (the Persian Gulf), difficult paths, blocked ways, places where the tracks were interrupted, and the feet enter not, the fatiguing road, and the journey of difficulty. And he had done all this in order to slay the disobedient and fetter those who hated him. He likewise claims to have set the (conquered) land in order, and made the people thrive, separating the bad and the good among them. He then brought "to his city Babylon" silver, gold, the brilliance of precious stones, bronze, palm wood, cedar, whatever could be called precious, in bountiful plenty—the produce of the mountains, the luxuriance of the seas—a rich gift, a splendid present, to the presence of the god in his temple Ê-sagila, where he placed them as his endowment. There he made the shrine of Merodach, Ê-kua, to shine "like suns." Details of the decorations of this chamber follow.

And at this point we have a description of the work done on the "Chamber of Fate"—a passage which shows how the Babylonians (at least the Babylonian priesthood) liked to use mystic words borrowed from old Sumerian. But it is needless to say that our hero, the great Nebuchadrezzar, was as much attracted by these strange, foreign, sonorous phrases as any of

\* Compare also Nebuchadrezzar's statement concerning Merodach and Borsippa on pp. 183 and 184, below.

† See the *Journal* of this Institute, 1894-5, pp. 7 and 13.

them, even as are the Britons of the present day attracted by words from the Greek and the Latin languages, in which they form compounds to keep the plain man in ignorance, and of which the man of Board-School education can never gather the sense unless he seek the meaning in a dictionary—and lucky must he count himself if he find there what he wants. It must be conceded, however, that the case of the plain Babylonian of ordinary education was much worse, for there were no really good dictionaries which he could consult—he had to go to a word-list, and hunt it up there. It was good in those days to have a really learned scribe as one's friend.

And so Nebuchadrezzar the king, or his scribe, inserted here, to give character and a kind of local colour to the passage, a dozen Sumerian words with which to describe the wonders of the "Place of Fate"—the *Ki-namtartarraene*—and the "August" or "Holy Abode," *Du-azaga*, and the "Place of Assembly," *Ub-šu-ukkina* wherein "the Divine King, the god of heaven and earth, the lord of heaven," *dimmer Lugal dimmer ana kia, mul-ana*, entered, and the gods of heaven and earth with reverence obeyed him. This took place at the *Zagmuku*, which the king's text explains as "the beginning of the year"—*rîš šatti*, the Heb. *Rôsh hashshanah*, "head of the year." The ceremony performed on these occasions symbolized the release, by Merodach, of the rebellious gods, who, at the Creation, fought against the gods in the heavens—the holy ones whom the Babylonians worshipped.\*

But it was always the great temple of Merodach and the "Tower of Babel" connected with it which attracted Nebuchadrezzar's attention, for he says that he overlaid the shrine of the god with shining gold, a splendid decoration, and made bright the vessels of *È-sagila* with massive gold, and *Ma-kua*, the "bark of Merodach," with enamel and stones. "As the stars of heaven the shrines of Babylon I caused to be made, I maintained"

And then he turns his attention to *È-temen-ana-ki*, the Tower of Babylon, whose head he raised with burnt brick and shining lapis-stone. As this is a very rare and valuable substance, difficult to obtain in any great quantity, it is to be conjectured

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\* See the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute for 1909, pp. 115-6, and the reprint of this paper in the *American Records of the Past*, March-April, 1910, p. 100.

that what the king caused to be made was an imitation of lapis, such as the Assyrians also either manufactured or procured. Cedars of Lebanon were sought out for the roofing of Ê-kua, Merodach's chief shrine on the top of this great structure. "For the building of Ê-sagila daily have I besought the king of the gods, the lord of lords." But his enthusiasm here turns his mind away from the far-famed temple-tower of Babylon, and directs it to the great structure, of a similar nature, at Borsippa, which, as all Assyriologists know, was called "the second Babylon." But it was rather the great temple of Nebo there than the tower of the seven spheres, as it has been called, to which he refers. "Borsippa, the city of his abode," he says, "I beautified, and Ê-zida, the everlasting house, I caused to be built in its midst. With silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood, I completed its construction. The cedar of the roofing of Nebo's chambers I overlaid with gold; I overlaid the cedar of the roofing of the gate of Nanaa with bright silver."

And thus the description goes on, with details which, though hardly minute, are nevertheless too long to be reproduced at full length here. Suffice it to say, that he states that he made the temple of Nebo at Borsippa magnificent with decoration, so much so, that it became the object of admiring glances from those who had the privilege of seeing it in all its glory. And to say the truth, the plan drawn up by the German architects who excavated the ruins, imperfect though they are, show no less than 70 chambers or more—the "*papahâti*" of Nebo—which were all decorated with gold, silver, and bronze, had enamelled walls, and were roofed with cedars brought, in all probability, from Lebanon, Amanus, and other districts where these trees were known to grow.

But besides the temple, Ê-zida, Nebuchadrezzar also paid attention to the temple-tower of "the second Babylon" in connection with it. This was called Ê-urme-imina-ana-ki, "the house of the seven spheres of heaven and earth"—the sun, the moon, and the five planets known to the Babylonians. In this its burnt brick construction seems to have been covered with *uknî elli*—probably an imitation of mottled lapis—a stone with flakes of bright blue on an almost perfect white. And at this point we find out why Nebuchadrezzar really introduces a description of his work at Borsippa here—it was because of the new year procession to which reference has already

been made—and, naturally, of other similar ceremonies at other periods of the year. At this time the bark of Nebo, *giš ma-id-še-ul*, which the Rev. Prof. C. J. Ball translates, “the ship of the river of overflowing delight,” which is explained as “the ship of Nabiu<sup>m</sup>,” was used in the festival-procession to Šu-anna, the “City” of Babylon. He states that he decorated the sides of this bark with rows of suns and stones. After this digression he goes on to describe what he did at the house of the victims which were offered to Merodach in Babylon—high like the mountains he erected it, constructed with cement and burnt brick.

Some distance to the north of Ê-sagila and the Tower of Babel lay the palace which Nebuchadrezzar inhabited—a structure built or rebuilt by Nabopolassar, his father, and afterwards enlarged and the older portions greatly improved by the new king. It is not of this, however, that Nebuchadrezzar speaks in this place—his subject is the temples which he restored, so he next deals with Ê-maḥ, the temple of the goddess Nin-ḫursagga, “the lady of the mountain,” also called Nin-maḥ, “the supreme lady,” the spouse of Merodach. But, it may be said, the spouse of Merodach was Zēr-panītu<sup>m</sup>. That is true, but this goddess had many names, and these are merely a few of them. Ê-maḥ, “the supreme temple,” was therefore as the temple of Juno to the Romans, and it lay, at Babylon, on the east side of the king’s palace. This Nebuchadrezzar claims to have built or rebuilt, for she was *ummu banīti-ya*, “the mother my creatress.”

This, too, we gaze upon in photograph and well-sketched plan. It was a structure with massive walls, its entrance on the north-west, and before it the altar whereon, in the sight of the people, sacrifices were made. Originally white, “giving the impression that it was built of marble,” its brickwork is now earth grey. Its recessed architectural decoration is everywhere rectangular, and not, as in other fanes, rounded. To all appearance the walls of this edifice were regarded as being not quite strong enough, so the great king surrounded it, close up, with a “mighty *kisu*,” or wall of unbaked brick. This was a substantial structure, for it measured more than six feet thick.

The next temples that Nebuchadrezzar refers to as having been built (or rebuilt) by him are that of Nebo, called Ê-nig-ḫad-kalama-šumma; for Sin, the moon-god, Ê kiš-nu-gal, “the white limestone temple,” the name generally given to fanes



dedicated to this god. But the Babylonians had "brick for stone," and "bitumen (or asphalt) for mortar," and we may therefore be sure that the temple was whitewashed, like that dedicated to Nin-mah, with the symbolical colour which the deity loved.

Next in Nebuchadrezzar's list comes the temple of the sun, called Ê-dikud-kalama, "the house of the judge of the land," which he raised on high with asphalt and brick. This is followed by the temple of Hadad-Rimmon (Addu or Rammānu), called Ê-namḡe, "the temple of abundance." The above, from their shortness, read like mere passing references, for the sake of completeness, and this is also the case with the holy places whose names follow—Ê-sa-bad the temple of Gula, goddess of healing—"she who spareth my life," and for the goddess called "the Lady of the Temple of Heaven" or "of Anu" (possibly Istar of Erech). Several of the fanes of Borsippa are likewise referred to.

Another text gives the temples at Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar restored as being (besides Ê-sagila and the "Tower of Babylon") (1) the great House, the house of the lady of the mountain (*Nin-hursag*); (2) the house of the Giver of the Sceptre of the World (*Ê-gis-nig-had-kalama-šumma*); (3) the house of Nebo of excavations (?) (*ša harê*); (4) the Temple of Hadad or Rimmon (Addu or Rammānu), and (5) the Temple of Judgment, which was dedicated to Šamaš. He also refers to Ê-kidurgarza, which Prof. C. J. Ball translates "the House of the Judgment-seat"; and the House of the Lady of Ê-anna, which is in the district of the fortification within Babylon, both of which he built anew. As these are also referred to in the India House inscription, it seems clear that they were among his first works in the city. But he goes on to speak of other shrines, among them being the temple of Nin-Karrak, "the Lady of (the city called) Karrak," otherwise Isin, who was generally known as the goddess Gula. Her temple had fallen into decay, and had also to be restored. Interesting are the phrases with which he refers to the goddess—she was "my lady who loveth me, who protecteth my life, who keepeth my offspring in health." The temple of the Lady of Hursaga was called Ê-hursag-ella, "the House of the holy mountain," owing, seemingly, to the sanctity of the goddess.

Concerning the palaces and the fortifications of Babylon, Nebuchadrezzar has naturally much to say, as they were his

special pride, and their successful construction, needful for the defence of his capital and its people, was a matter upon which he believed he could congratulate himself. And with regard to this, it is noteworthy that we seem to have something of the real Nebuchadrezzar—the intelligent reflective man freed from the burden of State affairs and the business which claimed his attention every day. In this portion, as an introduction to the section of which he was about to treat, he speaks of Nabopolassar, his father, and the many kings preceding him, whom God (or the god) had summoned by name to the sovereignty. These rulers had built themselves palaces in the places upon which they had decided, and there they had founded their seats—there they had heaped up goods (or wealth) and piled up their substance. At Zagmuku, the festival of the lord of the gods, Merodach, he says, they entered within Šu-anna, the inner city with the high defences, to take (as we learn from other records, both Babylonian and Assyrian) the hand of Bêl. In other words, they neglected the city except when it was needful to visit it and take part in this important religious ceremony, when Merodach's triumph over Tiawath, the Dragon, was celebrated, and glory given to the god for his great and sacrificing victory, as well as for the creation of mankind. But in the case of Nebuchadrezzar, from the time when Merodach created him for sovereignty, and Nebo, his veritable son, committed (to him) his subjects, like dear life he loved to build their cities, so, besides Babylon and Borsippa, Nebuchadrezzar did not beautify a city of the land. In Babylon, therefore, the cynosure of his eyes, the city which he loved, there was situated the palace, the house which was the admiration of men, the bond of the land, the brilliant mansion, the abode of his royalty in the territory of Babylon. This was the palace which, within Babylon, extended from Imgur-Bêl, the great wall surrounding Šu-anna, as far as Libil-hengala, the eastern brook ("the water-channel of the sun rising"), and from the bank of the Euphrates to Aya-ibûr-šabû. This palace the father his begetter, Nabopolassar, had built with brick and dwelt therein, but owing to the flooding of the place by water, its foundation had become weak, and by the filling-up of the causeway of Babylon, its gates had become too low. Nebuchadrezzar therefore demolished its wall of brick, and laid bare its substructure; and then, having reached the lowest depth of its waters, he there firmly relaid its foundation, and with asphalt and burnt brick built it up like

the cliffs. Then comes his description of the completion of the building, which was roofed with cedar, and provided with doors of cedar plated with bronze, probably after the manner of the gates of Balawat (Imgur-Bêl, as it was called) in Assyria, which have such interesting representations of the campaigns of Shalmaneser II. Within this new building Nebuchadrezzar gathered gold, silver, precious stones, and everything regarded as precious and grand—property and wealth which were tokens of magnificence—the honour, the glory, the treasure of royalty. In no other city did he the same as in Babylon.

Had he, by chance, among all these treasures the golden vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem ?

But the king has more to say, and his details become a trifle wearisome, until he reaches the part where he states that he added another building to that erected by his father. And here he explains the reason of this addition—it was that no shaft of battle (*gan tabazi*) might reach the wall of Tin-dir, “the Seat of Life,” as the city was called in Sumerian, that he built it. Great and mountainlike (*šadâniš*) were the walls which he made. There were two of them, and between them he states that he built a structure and on the top thereof a great house (*kummu rabâ*) as the seat of his royalty, joining it with his father’s palace—its foundation was laid in the bosom of the earth, and its top reared cliff-like (*hursaniš*). It was a great and solid structure, but great as it was, this erection took only fifteen days to erect, as Herodotus also states. It is doubtful whether a builder of our present age could equal such an energetic piece of work as that.

But it is time to leave this imperfect outline of the great king’s building operations, and I will end by quoting Nebuchadrezzar’s concluding prayer :—

“Merodach, all-knowing lord of the gods, glorious prince, thou hast created me and conferred upon me the sovereignty of multitudes of men. Like dear life, I love the exaltation of thy cities. Besides thy city Babylon, I have not beautified a city of the land among all the settlements (of men). Just as I love the fear of thy divinity, I constantly seek unto thy lordship. Accept the lifting-up of my hands, hear my prayers. I am verily the king who maintaineth, who gladdeneth thy heart—verily (am I also) the active city-warden, who maintaineth all thy strongholds. By thy command, most merciful Merodach, may the house I have

built endure unto eternity. Let me be satisfied with its splendour, let me attain old age therein. Let me be satisfied with children. Let me receive in the midst of it the abundant tribute of the kings of the regions of all mankind. From the horizon to the zenith, like the rising sun, may no enemy exist—may I not have a foeman. May my posterity within it for ever rule the (people) dark of head.”

From the wording of this, the concluding column of the India House inscription, it would seem certain that Nebuchadrezzar was at the time the text was written still a youngish man, and one who had not yet had time to realize the vanity of human existence. It is noteworthy, however, that the deity whom he worshipped by preference was Merodach, who, as we know from other sources, was likened unto Yahwah. It would therefore not be surprising if he looked, in the end, with favour on the national God of the Israelites. Whether he became a convert to their faith or not, we do not know, but the adoption of Mordecai, “the Merodachite,” “the worshipper” or “follower of Merodach,” suggests an identification, with the Hebrews, of those two divine personages, Yahwah or Jehovah and Merodach, though the Israelites must have ignored the fact that the latter stood for *Amar-uduk*, and meant “the steer of day,” a description of the sun when on his upward course to that power and might which our great luminary exercises when high in the heavens.

#### NEBUCHADREZZAR'S GIFTS.

In all his building inscriptions, and probably also others, Nebuchadrezzar refers to himself as “the nourisher of Ê-sagila and Ê-zida” (*zamin Ê-sagila û Ê-zida*), and it would appear that he was extremely generous in this respect, though whether the other temples of Babylon and the country in general benefited by his largess to the same extent is doubtful. In the case of Ê-sagila, however, he states that he increased Merodach's rich allowances, and his splendid offerings, over their former amount. “On the 1st day an unblemished bull, a fatling, a full-grown ox, a satisfaction of offerings of delights, the portion of the gods of Ê-sagila and the gods of Babylon. Fish, fowl, sprouting garlic, the glory of the water-centres, honey, curd, milk, the choicest of oil, wines, syrup, mountain-beer bright wine, wine of Izalla Tu'immu, Simminu, Helbon, of Aranabanu,

Suha (the land of the Shuhites), Bît-kubati, and Bitati, like the untold waters of a river, I then made to abound on the votive-table of Merodach and Zēr-panitum, my lords. As for the chamber, the seat of his lordship, with shining gold its panels did I make. I overlaid the Hili-su gate with gold, and the house for Zēr-panitum, my lady, richly did I decorate. Ê-zida, the seat of Lugal, the king of the gods of heaven and earth (*lugal-dimmer-ana-ki*), the chamber of Nabiu<sup>m</sup> (Nebo), which is within Ê-sagila, its threshold, its bolt, and its bar, I caused to be overlaid with gold—I caused the house to shine like the day. I built Ê-temen-ana-ki, the Tower of Babylon, with gladness and rejoicing.”

Here the king introduces details of the construction of the walls of Babylon.

As far as one can see, Nebuchadrezzar was liberal in his gifts to the temples of Babylon, and it seems probable that the neighbouring city of Borsippa, the “second Babylon,” was equally favoured, for the same inscription records his offerings to Ê-zida at Borsippa in much the same words as we find in the case of Ê-sagila. “An unblemished bull, a fatling, a full-grown ox, 16 fat sucklings, the portion of the gods of Borsippa, the choicest of fish, fowl, garlic, herb the glory of the water-centres, syrup, wines, mountain-beer, bright wine, honey, cream, milk, the best of oil, on the table (or dish) of Nabiu<sup>m</sup> (Nebo), and Nanaa, my lords, more than formerly I made to abound. For the 8th day the plenteousness of the offerings of Nergal and Laz, the gods of Ê-mešlam and Gudua (Cuthah) I instituted. I set aside the periodical offering of the great gods, and besides the old offering, an offering I added.”

Here follows a list of the temples which Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt—Ê-parra of Sippar for Šamaš and Aya, Ê-parra of Larsa for Šamaš and Aya, Ê-kiš-nu-gal of Ur (of the Chaldees) for Sin, “the brilliant lord, my lord, the beloved of my majesty,” Ê-Ine-Anum of Dailem for the god Uraš, Ê-dur-gina of Baz for Bêl-šarbi, etc.

These latter have nothing to do with Babylon, but they give names which are known to us, and some of which are mentioned, like Ur of the Chaldees, in the Old Testament, and farther on the king’s work in Erech is spoken of. It is not by any means improbable that business documents may be found in one or more of these cities referring to the supplies in question. In this connection it is noteworthy that one of the items referred

to is garlic, and tablets recording dealings in large supplies of this vegetable have actually come to light. These texts, which belong to the collections acquired by G. Smith for the British Museum in 1876, read as follows :—

“ 5500 ropes of garlic (*giddil šumi*), provision of the king, for Gimillu, son of Šamaš-zēr-ibnī, descendant of Sinšadû-nu, head of the king's provision-house, from Nabû-mušêtiq-ūrri, son of Tabnêa. He shall give the ropes (of garlic) in Tammuz, in Babylon.”

Here come the names of two witnesses and the scribe. The date is—

“ Bît-Tâbi-bêl, Sivan, day 25th, 42nd year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Bît-Tâbi-bêl was either a small city near, or a suburb of Babylon.

Another reads as follows :—

“ 2500 ropes of [garlic], of the provision of the king, [for Gimillu], etc., from Nergal-ušallim, son of Zêrûtu, descendant of Dabibu.”

Here follow the names of two witnesses and the scribe—

“ Šubat-Meme (or Šubat-Gula), month Ab, day 20th less 1, 42nd year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Meme is one of the names of Gula, goddess of healing, and the place must have been so called because of a temple there dedicated to her. It is not impossible that, though an ancient foundation, it had become incorporated into the great capital.

A still larger consignment of garlic—no less than 75,000 ropes—is recorded on another tablet, but the text has no reference to the king. This is dated at Šahrînu, which was possibly another suburb of Babylon. The Babylonians in general were seemingly great lovers of garlic, and the renowned Nebuchadrezzar evidently looked upon it with much favour. The large quantity which he dedicated to the gods was in all probability consumed by the priests of the temples of Merodach and Nebo, as well as by other religious orders in Babylonia.

Herodotus speaks of the fruitfulness of Babylonia, as does also Berossus. The latter describes the chief products of the land as being “ wheat, barley, ocrus, sesame, and the root called Gongae,” the last-named coming from the lakes, and equal

to barley as nourishment. This is naturally a very meagre description, for the inscriptions give a much larger list of the products of the land. We are not, therefore, surprised to read, in a contract dated in the 1st year of Neriglissar, of 21,200 ropes of *šumu* or garlic due from Marduk-šum-ibnî. Most of the other tablets refer to wheat, dates (of which large quantities are still produced), barley, and a material called *kasia*. The contracts also refer, from time to time, to other products of the land, as well as to manufactured things. The most interesting texts, however, are those which bear upon the manners and customs—and, incidentally, upon the way of life, the laws, and the religion—of the people. A few of these points will come forward in the section which follows.

#### THE CITIZENS OF BABYLON, AND SOME PRIVATE REFERENCES TO THE KING.

Were all the periods of Babylonian history treated of, a volume might be written—and probably more than one—upon their manners, customs, religion, worship, and ways in general; and when I say this, I mean that the details might be taken from the contract-tablets and private documents alone. As is well known, these are exceedingly numerous, and amount to several thousands. In the present case, I have read through about 450 documents, which, though mostly short, represent a considerable amount of material.

Though far from being equal in quantity to the private documents of the shorter reign of Nabonidus, the third king in succession from Nebuchadnezzar, the reign of the latter was nevertheless a period of fairly satisfactory prosperity. In all probability Nebuchadnezzar's warlike expeditions took from the land a certain number of its male population, and this, as we know, would limit production, restrict commerce, and keep prices high. His warlike expeditions, however, must have prepared the way for the great volume of commerce during his successors' reigns—a prosperity which was hardly checked by the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, that wonderfully acute administrator, who took over the rule of Babylonia in 538 B.C.

In all probability there are but few who have not at least some knowledge of the nature of the documents which go to form the group known as "contract-tablets." They are oblong, not unlike a cake of toilet soap after it has been used a few days.

As a rule, the obverse and part of the reverse is inscribed with the contract properly so called, whilst the remainder of the surface is occupied by the names of the witnesses, that of the scribe, and the date. In every case, or almost every case, the persons are distinguished by giving the names of their fathers and the ancestor from whom they traced their descent. Chief among these families, in the matter of numbers, was the house of Êgibi, once described as Êgibi & Sons, and with the suggested addition of "Bankers." In connection with this it may be stated that the late Jules Oppert, with his usual caustic humour, used to say, that it was because Mr. Bosanquet, G. Smith's patron, was a banker—"if it had been Fox Talbot who had occupied this position with regard to that pioneer Assyriologist, they would have been photographers."

But there were a great many other families prominent at Babylon in Nebuchadrezzar's time, the chief of them being Ê-sagilaya ("the Ê-sagilite"—that is, the (well-known) official of the great temple of Belus so called); Babutu, Sin-imitti; Isinnaya, "he of (the city) Isin"; Sag-didi (Sumerian), "the handsome," or the like; Arad-Nergal, "the servant of Nergal"; Aššur "the Assyrian" (apparently), and many others. But the most interesting from an historical point of view is Bêl-šum-iškun, the ancestor of Neriglissar, to whom reference will be made in the course of this sketch.

In addition to the names, many of the Babylonians were distinguished by ancestors bearing the names of professions and trades, such as *rê'i sisî*, "the horse-keeper"; *paḥḥāru*, "the potter"; *nappāḥu*, "the smith"; *namgāru*, "the carpenter"; *malāḥu*, "the sailor" or "pilot"; *išparu*, "the weaver"; *lamad adanni-šu*, "the learner of its season"—possibly "monthly prognosticator," or the like—*gallābu*, "the tonsure-cutter," etc. Official personages are likewise named as ancestors, examples being *naš patri*, "the knife-bearer"; *mašsar abulli*, "the watchman of the gate"; *tuṣsar bêl pîḫati*, "the provincial governor's secretary," etc. In addition to these, the priests of various gods also appear as ancestors—priests (*šangê*) of Êa, the god of the sea; Sin, the moon; Nergal; Gula, the goddess of healing; *bêlît Bâbilî*, "the Lady of Babylon," probably Merodach's spouse; *En-urta*, the god of war, etc. Their names naturally suggest family positions in Babylonian society of varying degree, and it is probable that family pride was by no means absent from the various grades, just as with us.



Very few could, like Neriglissar (see p. 17), boast of aristocratic descent, but there were certain citizens who are stated to have been descendants of Aku-ba-tila, who was also, in all probability, the ancient king whose name occurs in the bilingual list of kings, and is explained as meaning *Sin-takî'sa-liblut*, "Sin, thou hast presented (him), let him survive" (*W. Asia Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Pl. 44, l. 53).

Babylon is now, as foretold by the Prophet Jeremiah, a ruin and a desolation, but it was once the scene of all the activity of a great commercial centre. Along its probably narrow streets passed, every day, a multitude of its citizens, engaged in buying and selling and getting gain. On one of the earliest tablets in Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor* (probably later, however, than the date at which he fixed it, for reasons to be stated later on) we have a record of the sale of some slaves, returnable, in certain events, in which Pani-Nabû-lûmur and Iddia, servants of Neriglissar, are mentioned as witnesses. This inscription is dated at Opis, where, in all probability, Neriglissar had a residence. It belongs, however, to the great collection regarded as having come from Babylon.

As in all the great capitals—the modern Babylons, so to say—the residents of foreign birth or origin were numerous. At Babylon, it is noteworthy that they had long memories in the matter of ancestry, and some traced, seemingly, their origin back to the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, when not a few settlers in Babylonia bear the descriptive title of Amorites (*Amurrû* or *Awurrû*). These, naturally, worshipped their national god (later their family god), *Amurrû*, "the Amorite (deity)." In illustration of this, it is to be noted that, in the 5th year of Nebuchadrezzar, Babylon saw the offer of security for money owing by *Amurrû-sama'*, who may have been a descendant of those ancient Amorites of 2000 B.C., or a more recent immigrant from Palestine, though the former seems to be the more probable theory, as we have no record that "the Amorite was in the land" of Palestine for many centuries previous to the 5th year of Nebuchadrezzar, when Jehoiakim was king of Judea. The security for the money was the house of *Amurrû-sama'* at *Paḫirtu*, "the city of the Assemblage" or "Gathering"—possibly a suburb of Babylon. For this name, compare the French "*Villa de da Réunion*," an assemblage of houses in rustic surroundings in the direction of Passy. The "Foregathering" at Babylon, however, was an assemblage of

commercial men, and of some extent. Other suburbs were named after personages, perhaps those who first built houses there.

Of special interest are the duplicate tablets mentioning a certain Nabonidus as "king of the city." This records the sale of a slave named Marduka (or Mardukaya, Mordecai), by Adi-ili and Ḫulīti, his wife (the divine Ḫulītu!), for a price, to a man named Šulaya. Idi'-īlu and Akkadu, his son, took all responsibility for the possible non-fulfilment of the contract.

But who, it may be asked, was this Marduka or Mordecai? Generally the person sold is a slave, purchased for money, and therefore capable of being parted with for the same consideration. In this case, however, the person sold was not the slave of the sellers, but their son. Let us hope that Marduka was not a real son, but an adopted one, otherwise "the divine Ḫulītu" certainly had many moments of grief.

Another tablet of historical interest refers to Neriglissar, and deserves mention here. In this text Akkiya son of Šumaya responds for Nabû-ušur son of Nabû-šabit-qâtê, (servant of) Neriglissar son of Bêl-šum-iškun. "If he goes to another place, he shall pay six *manê* of silver." The list of witnesses is exceedingly illegible, but one of them seems to have been Iddia, who is mentioned in the tablet referring to Neriglissar already described. The present text is dated in Nebuchadrezzar's 9th year (month and day lost).

As we know from his cylinder inscription published in the first volume of the *W. Asia Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Pl. 67, Neriglissar's parentage was as here stated—he was of the family of Bêl-šum-iškun, an ancestor whose name we may expect to find in earlier documents.

A tablet has already been described in which are names compounded with that of the Amorite god Amurrū. Here is another, seemingly a contract transferring a responsibility from Šulaya to Šama'-īlu (? Samuel), the person responded for being Nabû-našer son of Mušêzib. "The Amorite god" occurs in the name of the fourth witness, Amurrū-zêr-iddina son of Amurrū-ibni, and also in the name of the town or district—"city of the god Amurrū"—where the contract was made. The date is the 1st of Ab in the 10th year of Nebuchadrezzar.

In these inscriptions there is but little bearing upon the topography of the city, about which we should much like to have details. The 90th text in Strassmaier's *Inschriften von N.*,

however, is an exception to this rule—if we can call an exception a tablet which does not deal with the matter at all. In Nineveh, as many will recollect, there were extensive cultivated tracts, and Babylon, judging from the inscriptions, had similar advantages of open spaces. These included not only cornfields and tracts where all kinds of grain were grown, but also datepalm plantations and orchards in general. It is not, therefore, surprising that No. 90 records the existence of a field large enough to take 144 *qa* of grain, which, however, was seemingly not the only thing cultivated there—it was a datepalm-plantation, which had been taken for four years by Nabû-šum-lišir and Nabû-šar-ilāni for cultivation. Everything which grew on that tract was to be theirs during that period, but in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd year a third, and in the 4th year a fourth was taken, seemingly, by Nabû-šum-lišir. After that Nabû-šar-ilāni took all that grew there. To him fell also the duty of digging water-courses, protecting the orchards, replacing the decayed datepalms, and the raising of water for irrigation. The contract has some interesting names of witnesses and date. One of them was the son of a sailor or pilot, a second the son of a Shuhite, and the name of the place where it was drawn up was Suqain, “the two markets,” or the like. Date: the 26th day of Elul, 11th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

Suqain was in all probability a suburb of Babylon, and clearly this part, at least, had extensive open spaces. The datepalms of the plantation are specially mentioned, but the wording leads one to suppose that other crops were produced there. Though there may not have been an excess of water, it was not wanting, and had to be distributed among the plantations and fields, probably by means of the shadouf. Here we have a picture of one of the sights of “greater Babylon” when the city teemed with life, for we may be sure that this was not the only oasis which the city contained, when all went well, and there was no “drought upon her waters.”

Many were the sales of slaves within the great city at all times—ordinary slaves, high-placed slaves, both male and female (*galla* and *gallat*), and slave-women with their children. One of these unfortunates was Saḥnaya, who, with her daughter Ša-Nanaa-banî, 3 years old, was sold for 30 shekels of silver. Date: the 2nd of Tisri in the 13th year of Nebuchadrezzar.

In the case of another slave-sale the sons of the king had apparently something to do, but as the text is defective here,

that is doubtful. This was again a female slave, but without any child, and the price paid for her was 25 shekels of silver. From the list of witnesses we learn that the deputy-governor of "the land of the sea" (*Tâmti<sup>m</sup>*) was Nabû-šuzziz-anni. This personage is mentioned in other documents. The slave was seemingly handed to him for the real purchaser, "at the sitting of Bau-ilat, daughter of Bibêa, sister-in-law of Nabû-mušêtiq-urri, the seller." (Babylon, the 11th of Elul, 26th year.)

And among the other slave-sales which Babylon saw was that of Ubartum and Nabû-nadin-âhi (probably her son), the unespoused slaves of Kabtaya son of Nabû-na'id descendant of Mandidi, and Guzumma, his mother. The price for the two was 55 shekels of silver. The sellers guarantee against rebellion on the part of the slaves and claims on the part of third parties, and are joined in this by two others, possibly relatives. (11th of Sebat, 29th year.)

Unfortunately all the tablets are not perfect, and now and again we come across even important ones which we should like to have in a more complete state. One of these refers to the responsibility taken for someone—in this case not a slave, but a private person and a freeman. The words needed are probably *but šêpê*, "right of foot"—that is, liability of the person answered for to leave a place in order to avoid some responsibility, such as the payment of a debt. In this case Bêl-êtir and Manna-kî-ili, sons of Nûrêa, seem to answer for Nabû-na'id (Nabonidus), their brother. This responsibility is assumed by them on behalf of Warad-Sin, head-slave of Nergal-šar-ušur (Neriglissar), probably the royal personage already referred to, who ascended the Babylonian throne after Awel-Maruduk (Evil-Merodach), Nebuchadrezzar's successor. This identification is strengthened by the fact that the document is dated at Opis, where, as we have seen, Neriglissar resided. (10th of Marcheswan, 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar.)

But besides these, there were many other scenes to be witnessed in Babylon—the joyful occasion of the wedding-contract and the pledge with regard to the dower, the rare occasions of the freeing of a slave, the open-air courts to which merchants brought their witnesses to prove or disprove some disputed point—all these and many another possibly unrecorded transaction were to be met with. One of these documents concerning the citing of principals who produced their witnesses, translated by me at the beginning of my Assyriological career—and translated

very badly, as may be well imagined—I venture to repeat here :—

### THE DEAD “GALLA.”

On the 5th of Chisleu, Šarru-kīnu, son of Ammānu, will bring his witnesses, and will prove in the city of Pekod, to Idiḫi-īli, son of Dinaya, that Idiḫi-īli said thus to Šarru-kīnu :

“Thou hast not claimed judgment against me concerning thy *galla*-slave who was killed—I will make up to thee the life of thy *galla*-slave.

“If they prove it, he will pay 1 mana of silver, the price of his *galla*, to Šarru-kīnu ; if they prove it not he (Idiḫi-īli) is free.

“Witnesses : Nazia, the king’s captain ;

“Amurrū-iddina, son of Rêmut-īli ;

“Segusu, son of Tala’u, the chief of the grain-store of Opis ;

“and the scribe, Nabû-âḫē-iddina, son of Šulaya, descendant of Êgibi. Opis, month Marcheswan, day 7th, year 40th, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Among the witnesses it is noteworthy that we have here some high-placed personages, domiciled, most likely, at Opis, Neri-glissar’s residence, and it is not at all unlikely that this circumstance furnishes a clue to the position of Babylon’s future king. In all probability he was the chief army officer during Nebuchadrezzar’s reign, and we can regard this as being confirmed by Nazia, the first witness’s title of “king’s captain.” This, too, is confirmed by Jeremiah xxxix, 3, 13, where he appears as Nergal-sharezer, and bears the title of *rab-mag*, which is possibly the Babylonian *rab-mugi* (the latter element is also found nasalized into *mungī*), “chief of the commanders,” or the like. We shall probably meet with other “king’s captains” under him in the texts referring to the royal family. Another *Amurrū*-name (*Amurrū-iddina*) occurs in line 13.

So far, I have not found the name of Nebuchadrezzar’s eldest son, Evil-Merodach (*Awel-Maruduk*), who succeeded him on the throne, in these texts. In all probability he had some official occupation which kept him from trading centres, and also prevented his servants from coming forward and revealing their identity in these records. The other sons of Nebuchadrezzar, however, appear, and we get certain details concerning them.

Sometimes, also, the king himself is mentioned, though seldom by name.

Probably the most interesting tablet referring to the king himself is one of the numerous documents purchased by Mr. G. Smith for the British Museum in 1878 (S. + 635). As far as it can be made out from Strassmaier's copy, it reads as follows:—

“[To] Anu<sup>m</sup>-iddina, my lord, and Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, his lord, speak. When thou goest to the country, then I shall have decided with regard to the road for the feet of Kabtaya, who taketh a contract for  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a mana and 4 shekels (that is, 54 shekels) of silver for Ablaya.”

Here follow the names of two witnesses, after which we have the words “On the 20th day of Sivan is their time.” The name of the scribe, and the date: “Babylon, Iyyar, 2nd day, 20th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon,” close the document.

The text unfortunately leaves something to be desired, and may need revision, but I shall probably not be able to do this in the near future. The communication seems to be a direction to consult either a minister or the great king himself, and as no place is specified, it may refer to some secret mission. The mention of the 20th of Sivan points to the date of a possible audience.

Another inscription in which the name of the king occurs is No. 127 of the same publication. The document records the loan, by Ina-êši-êtir, agent of Nebuchadrezzar, of 10 shekels of silver in the form of *gírû*, which had been purchased for gold, and was, at the time the document was drawn up, with a certain Nabû-êtir. They were to be given back in three months' time, and Nabû-êtir's property, of every description, was the security. After the names of two witnesses and the scribe is the date: “Babylon, month Tammuz, day 28th, 21st year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

This silver, which had been given to Ina-êši-êtir “for gold,” naturally suggests that it was some manufactured object, and perhaps highly artistic. Apparently it had been sold by “the king” to the person named, and seemingly he set great store by it.

Another tablet refers to the guardianship of the great palace of Nebuchadrezzar. This gives the names of the witnesses before whom Nabû-nib-ana-ili and Mušibši-Marduk took up the duty of “turning the gate” (*târu bâbi*) at the palace. These witnesses were nine in number, and said to those upon whom

the duty fell, "May my lord go to turn the gate" (*bābu tūru bēlā lillik*). One of the witnesses was "the king's captain," and this suggests that "king's captain" means, really, "captain of the guard." No payment is mentioned, so that Nabû-nib-ana-îli and Mušibši-Marduk either undertook this service as an honour, or else because it was their duty as military officers. It is to be noted, however, that they have no title.

At an outlying district called Takrêtain, we again meet with the name of Neriglissar, and it is a declaration and a promise concerning 100 sheep, said to have been delivered to Âbi-nadib (Abinadab) on behalf of Kiligug, one of Neriglissar's chief slaves (*galla*). If the delivery was proved, Âbi-nadib was free—if otherwise, he had to deliver 100 sheep to Neriglissar with their wool and young. (2nd of Elul, 34th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.)

We may just refer, by the way, to the contract for a hat ordered by Nabû-âḫē-iddina from Silim-Bêl, the *galla*-slave of Bêl-uballit, for three shekels of silver. It was to be delivered in Nisan, and the maker swore by Sin, his god, that this promise should be fulfilled. (One witness and the scribe. Babylon, 8th day of Chisleu, 36th year of Nebuchadrezzar.)

Another reference to garlic occurs in the text dated in the 39th year of Nebuchadrezzar (month lost). This amounted to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  shekels, due to Gimillu, the chief of the king's storehouse, by Širiktu, descendant of Dannêa. From this it would seem as though Nebuchadrezzar sold, through his officials, the produce which he had in store. On the 10th of Sivan in his 40th year, 9 shekels of silver were due to Gimillu from Bêl-âḫē-êriba and Marduk-našer, probably for the same class of produce. These are dated at Bît-Ṭâbi-Bêl and Šubat-Meme respectively, probably suburbs of the great city, as already suggested.

A longish inscription is that referring to the agreement of Kinaya concerning 62 *gur* of dates, received instead of half a mana of silver by Sin-mâr-šarri-ušur ("Sin, protect the son of the king"), the *galla*-servant of Marduk-nadin-âḫi, one of Nebuchadrezzar's sons. No lawsuit was to be instituted against Wardia and Nabû-ḫiṭu-mêšu with regard to this sum. (Dated at Babylon, 2nd month of Elul, day 8th, 41st year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.)

Another son of Nebuchadrezzar was Marduk-šum-ušur, who paid, through Šamaš-kain-âḫi, tithe to the temple of the sun at Sippar on the 14th of Iyyar in his father's 42nd year.

Towards the end of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar the name of his general, Neriglissar, becomes more frequent. It occurs in a record of barley due from Bêl-êtiranni, Neriglissar's major-domo (Babylon, the 11th of Nisan in the now aged king's 43rd year); in a dispute about an iron *raqundu*, in which Šarru-îlua, chief slave of Neriglissar, brings his witnesses to prove that he has not to give a *raqundu* to his fellow-galla Ḥatanu (Opis, 29th of Nisan, year of Nebuchadrezzar wanting); and certain other documents which refer to Nebuchadrezzar's commander-in-chief, or (if not Neriglissar) a namesake. One of the contract-tablets mentions not only a Neriglissar, but also a Belshazzar, but this Neriglissar seems to be described as the son of Nergal-ušêzib, and not of Bêl-šum-iškun, whilst the Belshazzar, who was a witness to the contract, was the son of Anu<sup>m</sup>-iddina, and not of Nabonidus son of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iqbî, as indicated in the cylinder inscriptions and on the bricks of Nabonidus.

Nevertheless, as the Book of Daniel makes Belshazzar to have been the son or descendant of Nebuchadrezzar, it is needful to take notice of the name of Belshazzar, whatever the ancestry indicated may be. The numerous Belshazzars, with varying parentage, however, show that it was, to a certain extent, a favourite though not a common name, and one of the extensive series compounded with that of the god of Babylon, whom Nebuchadrezzar held in so great reverence.

Though the contract-tablets of the time of Nebuchadrezzar do not furnish much historical material, they are not by any means to be despised, and that must be my excuse for treating of the subject here. Evidence of Nebuchadrezzar's expedition to the west I have already dealt with in my paper "From World-Dominion to Subjection" in the *Journal* of this Institute for 1917. To this I have only to add, that the latest official date for the reign of Nebuchadrezzar is the 11th of Nisan (c. 25th of March) of the 43rd year of his reign, and within five months of this date the great king of Babylon passed away.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. Schofield) thanked Dr. Pinches for his able paper and said :—Was not the Tower of Babel one of those many astronomical towers then built? Is not the true translation of Gen. xi, 4, a tower, whose top with the heavens, *i.e.*, with the Zodiac depicted on it, as elsewhere? Are not the bricks of the Tower of



Babel in seven courses of different colours: black for Saturn, orange for Jupiter, red for Mars, etc. ?—the seven planets consisting at that day of the five then known and the sun and moon, which thus gave us the names for the seven days of the week. And cannot the colours of some of these bricks even now be traced, showing clearly the astronomical character of the tower? Those then scattered would carry with them the knowledge of this pictorial word of God (as described in Ps. xix) all over the world, as stated by St. Paul in Rom. x, 18.

Mr. ROUSE said :—We have heard to-day a good deal of the reason why, to my mind, Nebuchadrezzar's kingdom is described as the golden head of the Gentile powers to which God's people Israel were to be subject—the lining of Nebo's chamber with gold, the beautifying of his whole temple with gold, silver, precious stones, and bronze, the overlaying of Marduk's shrine with shining gold, and the gathering into his own palace of abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones, and so on. Herodotus tells us, too, that the last stage but one of the great tower of the supreme god had a golden image of him, while at the top was a golden table with a golden chair before it ready for the god to descend and sit down at table. And, in keeping with all this, Æschylus in his drama called *The Persians*, when describing Xerxes' vast army, says :—

“ And Babylon the golden  
Sent up her tale of men.”

Nebuchadrezzar did not claim to have been the first builder of the Tower of Babel. He said that he rebuilt it after it had “ stood in ruins for many generations.” Yet anyone will deem him worthy of the name of builder of Babylon who considers his imposing list of temples restored or built, his enlargement of his father's palace, and his enormous quays of bitumen and brick, the deep moat with its bitumen foundation, and the walls towering and inaccessible with which he surrounded a citadel 4000 cubits square. (Indian House Inscription.)

With reference to the “ borrowing of old Sumerian words ” by Nebuchadrezzar and his priests, I should like to say this. In the first chapter of Daniel we read that Nebuchadrezzar commanded his chamberlain to choose out healthy and clever young nobles of Israel and “ teach them the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans,”

so as to fit them to "stand in the King's palace." The language is put second, as though it were harder than the other learning to acquire; and, whereas the writing of the Babylonians was most complex, the scribes had to know both the Semitic Babylonian language and the more ancient Sumerian tongue\* of Turanian class.

Again, when alarmed by his first great dream, though he had forgotten its features, Nebuchadrezzar, as we read in Daniel ii, summoned "the magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans"; and in answer to his first request we read simply that "the Chaldeans spake to the King," then that "the King answered and said to the Chaldeans," and then that the Chaldeans answered before the King, ". . . No King, lord, nor ruler hath asked such a thing of any magician, or enchanter, or Chaldean."

It is clear from all this that the Chaldeans formed a learned caste, taking the chief place among the professional religious advisers of the King. How could they take it unless they were a caste of conquerors?

Now, down to the time of the Babylonian conquest of Palestine (except in prophecies that refer to the downfall of Babylon thereafter) neither the inhabitants of Babylon nor its controllers are ever called Chaldeans in the Bible, or, so far as I know, on the monuments. On the other hand, Jeremiah and the sacred historian in 2 Kings xxv call the soldiers who captured and wrecked Jerusalem "the army of the Chaldeans"; and the historian in 2 Chronicles xxxvi calls Nebuchadrezzar "the King of the Chaldeans." I conclude, therefore, with Urquhart, our first prizeman (Inspiration of the Scriptures, *Daniel*) that after many ages a fresh wave of the old Turanian race swept over Babylonia and made the old classic language live again. [In keeping with this is Jeremiah's early prophecy that, in punishment for their sins, God would bring upon the Jews "a nation whose language they knew not"—a description that could hardly apply to the Semitic Babylonians, who spoke Aramaic, seeing that Hezekiah's officers of State had long before requested an Assyrian envoy for privacy to address them not in Hebrew but in Aramaic, which they understood (2 Kings xviii, 26 *et sqq.*.)]

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\* Formerly called by English writers Accadian.

These Chaldeans Urquhart held to have been the ancient Kurds, and so do I. Surely Ur of the Chaldees must have stood in the north of Mesopotamia,\* not in the south of Babylonia, as it is now the custom to place it. If Urfah or Orfah (the Greek Edessa or Orrhoë) was Ur of the Chaldees (as its inhabitants from of old have said and the Jews in the Talmud have written), then we can understand how Terah, having, at his son Abram's desire, removed thence in the direction of Canaan, stopped short after forty miles or so at Haran, not liking to cross the Euphrates into an unknown region.† But if Mugheir or Hur in southern Babylonia was Terah's native city, then, having already travelled about 800 miles thence to Haran, he would not have been staggered by a journey of 400 more from Haran to Canaan. [Indeed, he would not have gone to Haran at all, but would have stopped just half-way at Jebbah, near Hit, or Ahava, since it is there that the proper road turns off to Damascus and Canaan.]

Now Orfah is close to the southern borders of Kurdistan: and the southern dialect of the Kurds, though now mainly Persian, is mingled with Turanian words; while across Kurdistan from west to east stretches a line of rock sculptures made by a dynasty that flourished in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and wrote

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\* Stephen distinctly says (Acts vii) that it was "in Mesopotamia before he dwelt in Haran," that God commanded Abraham to change his dwelling-place; and the ancient geographers made the southern boundary of Mesopotamia the first canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris about 100 miles north of Babylon (Eng. Encyclo., *Mesopotamia*).

† The inference from Eupolemus's statement is quite uncertain; and he may after all have referred to Orfah, or Orrhoë, not to Mugheir, or Hur. His words are found in a quotation made by Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* ii, 17) that Abraham was born *en polei tēs Babyloniās kamarinē hēn tines legousin polin Ouriēn* in a kamarine city of Babylonia, which some call the city Ouriē. From this, because *kamar* in Arabic means *moon*, and the moon was worshipped in the one remaining temple of Hur, it is inferred that by *polis kamarinē* Eupolemus meant a city devoted to the worship of the moon. But it is much more likely to have meant a city with many vaults or vaulted roofs, seeing that *kamara* in Greek meant a vaulted chamber; and, if I mistake not, Orfah has such vaults for the passage of the springs of water for which it is famous. The natural objection that Orfah is a city in Mesopotamia, not in Babylonia proper, would be met by the fact that after the complete subjugation of Mesopotamia by Nabopolassar an early Greek writer might regard it as absorbed into Babylonia.

in a Turanian language and nomenclature. The Kurds were called Kardukhoi by Greeks, and are described by them as a powerful and warlike people ; and the Romans called their country Gordyene and Kordyene ; while Josephus appears to have called the people Kardoï ; and, seeing that *r* and *l* are often interchanged by different languages, Kardoï or Karduoi would have easily passed in another country into Kaldaioi.

The name Kardunias given to the country of Kallimazin, King of Babylon, by Amenophis III, King of Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., seems to be allied to Kordyene, and may refer to an earlier ascendancy of the Kordukhi or Kurds over Babylonia. (*See Conder, Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 185.)

The Rev. J. AGAR BEET, D.D., said :—What impresses me most about the Empire of Nebuchadrezzar and the great city which he boasted (Dan. iv, 30) that he had built, is the short duration of the former, followed by the consequent decay of the latter. Doubtless there was an earlier Chaldean monarchy. But the fame of Babylon is due to the greatness of Nebuchadrezzar, who completed the work which his father had begun. But, some twenty-three years after his death, the city which he built as the capital of a great empire was captured by Cyrus the Persian, and never regained its influence, except for a moment under Alexander the Great.

This recalls to us the German Empire, which suddenly sprang into existence in A.D. 1870, and, after nourishing a world-wide ambition, collapsed in A.D. 1918.

The Right Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE, D.D., in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, remarked on the fact that while the Babylonians were said to have been great astronomers, and to have had the Sun-god as one of their chief deities, there seemed to be no evidence of the orientation of their temple with an alignment to the sunrise at any of the special times of the year. The temple shown on the screen was stated to have its opening at the north-west, which was not what might have been expected from advanced astronomers if they built with an eye to astronomy.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, in asking for a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Dr. Schofield, pointed out that the paper that had been

read indicated a certain atmosphere in the days of Nebuchadrezzar in Babylon which exactly agreed with that depicted in the Book of Daniel.

He considered that this was much more reliable evidence that the book was written when it professed to be than the critics' contention that certain words in it were of a later date, as these might easily have been modernized in transcription.

#### THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I rather doubt whether, in the wording of Gen. xi, 4, we can infer an allusion to the Zodiac. A tower, whose top "is in the heavens," is probably rightly regarded simply as "a very high tower." The stages of the Tower of Babel were most likely coloured, as the President has said, with emblematic colours typifying the seven heavenly bodies which have paths among the stars. I do not think the colours can still be recognized, though the temple-tower of Sargon's great foundation, now known as Khorsabad, is said to have shown the tints in question.

To all appearance Nebuchadrezzar, like many another king of his race, was a boaster. Nevertheless, we must regard the Babylonian words for "to build" as including also the idea of rebuilding.

According to the list of gods in part xxiv of *Cuneiform Texts from Bab. Tablets*, pl. 49, the god of silver was Anu, the god of gold Enlilla (the older Bel), the god of copper Êa, and the god of lead Nin-â-ni- . . . As Enlilla was "Merodach of lordship and dominion," it may be supposed that Nebuchadrezzar was regarded as "king of lordship and dominion," and on that account called "the head of gold." It may here be noted that these divinities indicate the "ages" of the Babylonians, the silver preceding the gold because silver was known to them at an earlier date.

Dr. Schofield has also called your attention to the contract for the hat on p. 199. The article in question was of the kind designated *kubšu*, and was of a shape similar to those of certain of the gods. From the British Museum tablet K. 1249, these seem to have been an indication of rank. The tablet in question speaks of a *kubšu* which had belonged to a certain Rêmanni-îlu, who had been killed, and his clothes, together with his head-dress, taken away by a

certain Zagaga-êriba. The tablet K. 1249, which is a letter, belongs to the time of Aššur-bani-apli (Aššurbanipal), King of Assyria (665-626 B.C.).

Mr. Martin L. Rouse's suggestion that Nebuchadrezzar was called, in the Book of Daniel, "the head of gold" because he was so lavish with that precious metal in his decorations of the temples and palaces of his land is good, but we must couple it with Enlilla as the god of gold, referred to above.

The inscriptions seem not to refer to any "fresh wave of Turanian" (Sumerian) sweeping over the land, and that this should have occurred seems to me to be unlikely, though the arguments adduced by Mr. Rouse are in excellent agreement.

The language referred to by Hezekiah's officers is rightly described by Mr. Rouse as having been Aramaic, which the Assyrians, like the Babylonians, evidently knew perfectly, but the language unknown to the Hebrews at large was not Aramaic, but Assyro-Babylonian—the language of the tablets, not of the docketts. Sumerian was always, more or less, well known to the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes, but it seems never to have been re-adopted as the language of the country after the time of the Dynasty of Babylon.

It would take too long to go thoroughly into the question of the Kurds, and the derivation of their name from Kar-Duniaš, which was apparently a Kassite designation of Babylonia and the land farther west—"the domain (or the like) of the god Duniaš," *i.e.*, of the Lord of the World, otherwise Hadad or Rimmon. As to Ur (Mugheir), there is no proof that this name began with an aspirate, making the form Hur. The god of the city was Nannar or Sin, the Moon.

Canon Parfit, who has been in Mesopotamia, spoke of the modern speech of the Babylonians, their turn of mind, and their language. He regards the Christians of the country as closely related to the Kurds. There is no doubt that the "Chaldean" Christians of Mosul are descended from the ancient Assyrians. This was very noticeable in the case of the late Hormuzd Rassam and his family, though he had in his veins a strain of Spanish blood. As to the "Syrian" Christians of Bagdad, they seem to be descended from the ancient Babylonians. Two of the three whom I have known were somewhat short, whilst the third was tall.

Canon Parfit also spoke of the blue colour of the upper brickwork of the temple-tower of the seven spheres at Birs (Borsippa). This he described as being blue, but the fragment said to have come from this structure, and sent to the British Museum by Mr. Rassam, though it shows (if I retain a right impression of its appearance) the traces of the vitrified brick-courses, has not a colour which can be described as a genuine blue. Moreover, this seems to have formed part of the second stage, whereas the blue stage was (according to one scheme) the fourth or fifth. The order of the heavenly bodies seems to have been as follows; sun, moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter.

It is true that, for us, and also, perhaps, for the Israelites, the most important period of Babylon's history was the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, but it must not be forgotten that the States of Babylonia had a past reaching back 3000 years or more, and that the foundation of Babylon, the first beginning (apparently) of Nimrod's kingdom, went back 2500 years or earlier. The fame of the Tower of the confusion of tongues must have been known at a very early date, and the renown of Hammu-rabi's glorious reign seems to be reflected in the account of the conflict of the four kings against five in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. It was apparently the power of the Assyrian empire which turned the attention of the Israelites from the glories of Babylon, but when Assyria fell, Babylon, under its new Chaldean rulers, at once took its place. In my opinion, the Babylonians were a people of much greater capacity than the Assyrians—that cruel and ruthless nation which strove—and with much success—to impose its yoke on the ancient oriental world. It was not Babylonia's cruelties and ambitions, but rather the weakness of her rulers after Nebuchadrezzar's death, which brought about her downfall.

I am much obliged to you for the kind way in which you have received my paper, and especially indebted to the scholars who have taken part in the discussion. I should also like to express my thanks to the proposer, the seconder, and the audience which has so kindly responded to and passed the vote of thanks. I am sorry that I could not read all my paper, but as you have it in print, that disadvantage is greatly minimized.

## APPENDIX.

The inscriptions mentioning Nebuchadrezzar's sons (see p. 199):

1. Strassmaier, No. 372, with restorations.

(1) [Išt-en immeru eš]-ru-u (2) [ša <sup>m.d.</sup>] Marduk-šum-u-šur  
 (𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠) (3) [mâr šarr]i <sup>m.</sup> Zu-bu-du-ru (4)  
<sup>awziu</sup> mâr si-par-ri ša (5) <sup>m.d.</sup> Maruduk-šum-u-šur (6) mâr šarri  
 a-na Ê-babba-ra (7) it-ta-din. Immeru (8) ina bit u-ri-i ina pan  
 (9) <sup>m.d.</sup> Šamaš-êreš Waraḥ Adari (10) [ûmu sib]a-êšrû šattu irbaya  
 (11) [Nabû-kud]urru-ušur (12) [šar Bâbili]<sup>ki</sup>.

## TRANSLATION.

[One sheep, the ti]the of Maruduk-šum-ušur, the son of the king, Zubuduru, the secretary of Maruduk-šum-ušur, the son of the king, has given to Ê-babbara. The sheep is in the cattle-house with Šamaš-êreš. Month Adar, day 17th, 40th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

The text is somewhat roughly written. Strassmaier has "1 sheep" in line 7. His restoration of *ina bit ûri* in line 8 is correct, but in line 9 I saw Šamaš-êreš, not Šamaš-iddina, as Strassmaier read it. Traces of a centred wedge in line 10 have caused me to read "day 17th," and not "day 7th."

The tablet referring to another son, 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠, Maruduk-nadin-âḫi, is too long to give in full, but it is, as may be gathered by the summary of its contents on p. 199, an interesting document.

It is noteworthy that, as the three inscriptions testify, Nebuchadrezzar gave each of his three sons names compounded with that of Merodach, the patron-god of Babylon, and, in a sense, the equivalent of the Heb. Yahwah. The question of the great king's religious views, however, needs more evidence than is now available—all that can be said is, that in common with every other Babylonian, he regarded Nebo as a manifestation of Merodach, in the same way as were also all the other gods of the Babylonian pantheon.