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ART. I.—THE THREE IDEAS.

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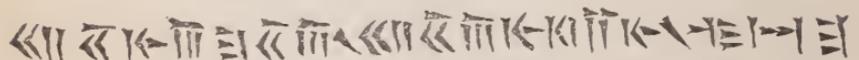
EVER since the time of Plato, at least, the three so-called ideas of the True, the Beautiful, the Good, have found free expression in the literature of the civilized world. The language of common life, as well as that of the schools, has recognized them, and has stamped them with its richest, best, most significant characters. No terms in any language speak more expressively to the intelligence and the feelings of men than those which denote these ideas.

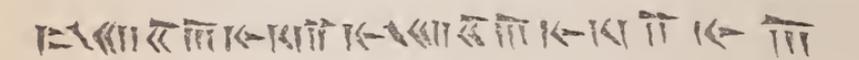
That these terms in universal language are not meaningless symbols, denoting mere zeros of thought or phantoms of fancy, that they are on the contrary signs of actual verities, not a doubt seems to have arisen. The recognition and acceptance of the ideas as such verities have been unhesitating as they have been universal.

That these ideas, further, stand in some vital relationship to one another has also been accepted with a kind of spontaneous, instinctive faith. Universally has it been believed that the perfectly good must be in beauty and according to truth; that pure beauty must be in like conformity to truth and goodness; and that the true must of its own native tendency go forth in beauty and also be a blessing. In some respects it has been supposed they must be one and the same, while yet in some other respects they must be diverse; although the precise character of this identity and diversity may have escaped recogni-

ART. V.—THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS THE
KEY TO THE ASSYRIAN.*

By Professor Wm. HENRY GREEN, D.D., Princeton, N. J.


 KH SHaY A R SH A . KH SH A Ya TH I Ya . Va Z Ra-
Xerxes rex magnus


 Ka . KH SH A Ya TH I Ya . KHS H A Ya TH I Y A-
rex regum


 N A M . D A Ra Ya Va H U SH . KHS HA Ya TH-
Darii regis


 I Ya H Y A . P U TRa . Ha KH A Ma N I SH I Ya .
filius Achæmenides.

Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenid.

IN a recent notice of the Assyrian Inscriptions (July, 1872) mention was made of the trilingual texts, by the aid of which they were deciphered. These were found on the ruins of Persepolis and on other monuments in Persia, and had early attracted the notice of travelers to the East. The Assyrian is here carved in parallel columns with the ancient Persian and with another language of which less is known than either of the others, but which is supposed to have been the dialect of the Medes. All these are written in different styles of what is now known as the Cuneiform character, a character entirely *sui*

* Die Altpersischen Keil-Inschriften, im Grundtexte mit Uebersetzung, Grammatik und Glossar von Fr. Spiegel, Leipzig, 1862, 8vo., p. 223.

Les Ecritures Cuneiformes. Exposé des Travaux qui ont préparé la lecture et l'interprétation des inscriptions de la Perse et de l'Assyrie, par M. Joachim Mènant. Seconde Edition, Paris, 1864, 8vo. pp. 310.

Commentaire Historique et Philologique du livre d'Esther d'après la lecture des inscriptions Perses, par Jules Oppert. 8vo. pp. 24. (Extrait des Annales de philosophie Chrétienne, Janvier, 1864.)

generis and which appears to stand in no sort of relation to any other species of writing, ancient or modern.

Chaudin, who was twice at Persepolis during his first journey to the East (1665-1670), thus speaks of the inscriptions: "There are only two elements employed in this writing of the ancient Persians. One resembles a carpenter's square; but I can hardly say what the other resembles, unless I liken it to a pyramidal figure. These are not always set in the same direction as our letters are. The first may stand in either of two positions with its angular point downward or crosswise. The second is put in six positions; when perpendicular its apex is directed either down or up; when horizontal it has its head to the left or to the right; when inclined it may point either to one side or to the other. There are simple letters, whose form resembles, as I have said, a triangle or a pyramidal figure. And there are great numbers of composite letters. The primary elements are joined or combined in so many different ways that more than fifty letters may be counted of this description. Some believe the writing to be pure hieroglyphics; but there is no appearance of its being so and I regard it as a veritable writing like our own. *And this is all that we can ever know of it.* We must ever remain ignorant of all besides, as whether it had vowels, whether it was easy to decipher, and all other particulars."

And the case really seemed as hopeless as Chaudin represents it. Long series of unknown characters were strung together, but without the slightest clue apparently to their meaning. Were they significant at all? and if so, were they phonetic or ideographic? if the former, were they alphabetic or syllabic? did they represent any form of human speech now existing or that ever did exist? and if so, which?

There were some who contended that it was not writing at all and was not intended to be significant. The learned Dr. Hyde, in his *Religio Veterum Persarum*, affirmed with great confidence that these supposed inscriptions were only a peculiar style of ornamentation in which some artist had exercised his ingenuity to produce the utmost variety of devices by every imaginable combination of the wedge and angle; and consequently any attempt to read them was simply misplaced and fruitless labor. The hypothesis even found an advocate that they were not of

human production at all, but were the erosions of insects burrowing in the stone.

Peter della Valle, who, though not the first to see and mention these inscriptions, was the first to give to Europeans any distinct account of them, had convinced himself by personal inspection on the spot that they contained real writing, and had further sought to determine the direction in which it was to be read. He gives his views on the subject in a letter from Shiraz, dated October 21st, 1621. As he found the angles invariably opening to the right, and the wedges unless placed vertically always pointing to the right, never to the left, he inferred that the direction of the writing was from left to right.

This conclusion, which we now know to be correct, seemed, however, to be set aside by the later statements of Chardin. The most various conjectures were accordingly offered respecting its direction; some assumed that it was read from right to left; others after the *βουστροφίδου* style of the ancient Greeks reversing its direction in each successive line; others supposed that it was written in columns from top to bottom; others still from bottom to top. Chardin had been misled by legends surrounding the windows, in which the lines were bent out of their usual direction to adapt themselves to this peculiar situation. They accordingly ran up one side, across the top and down the other side, thus placing the characters in unaccustomed positions.

In the attempt to find parallels and analogies some compared the Chinese, others the Hebrew, others still the old Runic letter, but this could lead to no satisfactory result, for no relationship existed in these cases and the comparisons instituted were wholly illusive.

Tradition lent no aid that was of any value in unravelling the mystery. The inhabitants of the region regarded these inscriptions with superstitious awe. In their eyes they were talismanic characters, magical formulas under whose potent spell the builder of these ruined palaces had placed vast treasures which were buried underneath them, and which were guarded furthermore by those grotesque and gigantic sculptures which stood at their charmed portals. Whoever could possess himself of the secret of these mysterious legends, would be able to break the enchantment, uncover the treasures and make them his own.

While honest scrutiny found it impracticable to unriddle the enigma, imposture pretended to have attained a solution. One Lichtenstein sought a brief notoriety by professing to be able to read what had baffled all the rest of the world. He published several specimens of translation without deigning to explain the process by which his results were obtained. The merit of his discoveries may be judged of from the fact that he read the inscription at the head of this article backwards, and alleged that it contained the name and titles of Genghis Khan; and on a brick brought from Babylon, he found a passage taken from the Koran. Where all were alike ignorant of the meaning of these strange characters, who was there to detect or to expose the fraud?

The first step toward a real investigation of these monuments was taken by Niebuhr, the celebrated Danish traveler. He visited Persepolis in 1765, and made accurate copies of several of the inscriptions. He was the first to point out the existence of three different species of Cuneiform writing, to each of which a separate column was assigned in the same inscription, and in the same invariable order. The elemental strokes of these different species were identical, viz.: the wedge and angle, but in different combinations, so that the individual characters belonging to each were quite distinct, and such as were proper to one column never reappeared in either of the others. Of these three species of writing one was much simpler than the other two, both in the number and the composition of its characters. In this column five was the highest number of strokes ever combined in a single character, and the total number of the characters was, as Niebuhr reckoned them, but forty-two; while in the other columns their number was counted by hundreds, and it was not unusual to find them to contain as many as nine or ten strokes. These three columns he supposed to record identical texts, and in the same language, but in a different style of writing. We now know that the language in each is different, though the text is the same. However, one important result of the discovery, which was an essential preliminary to the work of deciphering, was the ability clearly to distinguish these three several styles of writing, which are totally distinct in themselves, though they had been confused together in all the copies previously taken and forwarded to Europe. Another result of this discovery was

that the attention of scholars was thenceforth fastened upon the simplest species, as the one which they might attempt to decipher with the greatest hope of success. In order to the more precise presentation of the problem, which was to be resolved, Niebuhr made out a list of the forty-two characters, which were employed in the first or simplest column; it was necessary to ascertain and assign to each of these its proper signification.

He further reduced to positive certainty what had been conjectured by Peter della Valle nearly a century and a half before, regarding the direction of the writing. In comparing two inscriptions which were identical throughout, he found that in certain cases a line in one contained characters at its right extremity for which there was not room in the corresponding line of the other, but they reappeared at the left end of the succeeding line. It was thus apparent that it was written from left to right.

In 1798 Prof. Tychoesen, of Rostock, made an important observation respecting the diagonal wedge, which was a characteristic feature of the first or Persian column, but was not found in either of the others. Perceiving that it recurred at somewhat irregular intervals in every inscription from the beginning to the end, never being separated by more than ten characters in any instance, he ventured the suggestion, which has been since verified, that it was not a letter or phonetic symbol, but a sign of separation between words.

Prof. Munter, of Copenhagen, in 1800 adopted this observation and founded on it a presumption of the analogy between this writing and the Zend or that form of the ancient Persian in which the sacred books of Zoroaster have been preserved, words being in it similarly separated by a point; and on the basis of this analogy, which he further developed and confirmed, he sought by a most elaborate and ingenious process to fix the values of certain letters. He first endeavored to distinguish the vowels by the greater frequency and regularity of their occurrence conditioned by the fact that they are necessary to the pronunciation of consonants; as a result he indicated six characters which he believed to represent vowels, and six others which he took to be consonants. He further affixed particular values to them taking as his test the comparative frequency with which the same character was found in the Zend and in the in-

scriptions, and making use likewise of supposed resemblances between the characters in question and other known alphabets. Of the six characters which Munter judged to be vowels, three were really such, and these are the only vowels represented in this system of writing; he was here misled by the more complete vowel system of the Zend which he had taken as his standard of comparison. He was not mistaken in regarding the other six as consonants. In the determination of their absolute values he was less fortunate; yet even here he was right in one vowel *a* and in one consonant *b*. The method was too precarious, however, to be the basis of subsequent researches or discoveries.

Thus far there had been no deciphering in the strict and proper sense. Much preliminary work had been performed. Several points had been established in regard to the inscriptions. The characters of the first or simplest column were for convincing reasons believed to be alphabetic; their number was known and a list of them had been carefully prepared, the direction of the writing had been ascertained, the limits of words determined and the language was strongly suspected to be a form of the Persian. But not a line nor a word had yet been read. The mysterious writing resisted all the ingenuity and learned toil expended upon it.

The honor of reading the first inscription and laying a solid basis for further investigations belongs to a young German, George F. Grotefend. His fortunate discovery was first announced in a paper read before the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen, Sept. 4th, 1802, the same session it has been observed at which Heyne gave an account of the first researches made in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Grotefend approached the subject not from the side of philology, but of history and archæology. The Persepolitan palaces had been traced to the old Achæmenid princes of the throne of Persia, and the inscriptions were coeval with the palaces on whose walls they were found. The learned orientalist, De Sacy, had recently read some Pehlevi inscriptions of the Sassanid kings which were of one uniform tenor, and it seemed no very violent inference that like stereotype phrases might have been employed by Persian monarchs of an earlier date. He accordingly selected two of the shortest inscriptions, the one at the head of this article and another of about the same length, identical with the former in some of its groups,

though differing in others. The identical groups he assumed to represent royal titles; the discrepant groups, proper names. One word particularly which appeared four times in one inscription and three times in the other, with only some slight terminal variations suggestive of inflections, he supposed to mean "king" as had in fact been conjectured by Tychsen and Munter before. He therefore assumed that the first inscription was to be read "X, the . . . king, the king of kings, the son of Y the king, etc., etc." It so happened that the unknown group marked Y, which occurred in the body of the first inscription, was repeated at the beginning of the second, which accordingly he read "Y, the . . . king, the king of kings, the son of Z, etc." He hence concluded that here were three names in the direct line of descent, a father (Z), son (Y), and grandson (X), the two latter of whom bore the title "king," but the first was not so called in this or so far as he could discover in any other inscription.

The next step was to find three names in the Achæmenid family to which these groups could be applied. As Cyrus was the founder of a new dynasty, it was natural to think of him as the second of the series. But if this had been so, the second and third groups should have both begun with the same character, for the son and successor of Cyrus was Cambyses; then, too, the first group should have been identical with the third for Cyrus' father was also called Cambyses. Neither of these conditions, however, actually existed; and the name Cyrus was moreover, too short to yield characters enough for the corresponding group as on the other hand Artaxerxes would have been too long. The only names that appeared to satisfy the requisite conditions were Xerxes (X), Darius (Y), and Hystaspes (Z). The verification of the hypothesis depended upon the possibility of adapting these names to the corresponding groups, and then with the meanings of the characters thus ascertained spelling out other words in the inscription.

Grotefend was right. He had hit upon the clue to the solution of the enigma heretofore deemed hopeless. The tenor of the inscription was as he imagined, and the names which he selected were the true ones. The only mistake which he committed, was one that was unavoidable at the outset. He missed in some particulars the proper native spelling of these names, which there was then no way of ascertaining with precision,

and which only the monuments themselves correctly read could reveal. As it was, using the best helps within his reach, he gave correct equivalents to nine of the thirteen different characters contained in these three names. These enabled him to spell the word for "king," *khshehioh* (it should be *khshayathiya*); this was sufficiently near the Zend to admit of its recognition, comp. in modern Persian *Shah*. But beyond this he was unable to make out a single word correctly. For *vazarka* "great" he substituted *eghre* to which he gave the sense of "mighty;" for *putra* "son" he read *bun* "race;" for *Akhamanishiya* "Achæmenid" he read *akheochoshoh*, "ruler of the world." And in other words he found unpronounceable combinations, and impossible grammatical forms.

Grotefend continued to labor on these inscriptions for forty years, but he was never able to take another step in advance. He undertook to assign values to several additional characters, but not correctly in a single instance. He had opened the way for others, but could proceed no further himself. He had made the most ingenious and felicitous use of all the data which history and archæology could furnish toward the first attempt at an explication of these monumental legends. The combined efforts of all previous explorers had only resulted in doubtfully proposing what it now appears were correct values for two individual characters. He succeeded in reading an entire inscription; not accurately in all particulars it is true, yet with substantial correctness. Archæology, however, could do no more. Philology must do the rest; and Grotefend was not an Orientalist. In fact the linguistic knowledge needed to finish the work which he had so auspiciously begun, was not possessed at the time even by the most advanced scholars. The Zend was only known through the initiatory and imperfect labors of Duperron; its sister-language, the Sanscrit, had not been thoroughly studied; and the science of Comparative Philology, as it is now understood, did not exist.

The further unravelling of these monuments was necessarily delayed, therefore, until greater advances had been made in oriental studies generally. Meanwhile Grotefend's alleged discovery met but a limited and a hesitating recognition. The learned De Sacy accepted and defended it, but many remained incredulous, and these doubts could only be removed by push-

ing investigation farther than it had yet been carried. Saint Martin, of Paris, read a paper in 1822 before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, in which he endeavored to improve upon the results of Grotefend, without, however, making any real advance. The first step forward was taken by Prof. Rask, of Copenhagen, in 1826; by a comparison of the Zend and Sanscrit he fixed the form of the genitive plural in the language of the inscriptions, thus settling the meaning of two additional characters *m* and *n*, which enabled him to give its true meaning to the word "Achæmenid."

The travels of Ouseley, Ker Porter, Rich, and others added to the scanty materials hitherto possessed, copies of new inscriptions. But no more progress was made in the work of deciphering until the year 1836, when the two eminent linguists, Burnouf of Paris, and Lassen of Bonn, simultaneously published the results of their researches. They made out several additional characters, by the help of which long inscriptions were read, a number of other proper names were recognized, and the character of the language was definitely determined. The rigorous accuracy of their methods, and the fulness of the evidence on which they based their conclusions, dissipated all remaining doubts as to the reality of the solution, and the general correctness of the readings proposed. It was henceforth conceded that the true key had been unquestionably found, and the study of the monuments was now placed on a firm philological basis.

Colonel Rawlinson, who was at this time in Persia, was attracted to the examination of these inscriptions, and with extraordinary ingenuity made out an independent alphabet of his own, agreeing substantially with the results already reached in Europe. He gives the following account of the matter: "It was in the year 1835 that I first undertook the investigation of the Cuneiform character. I was at that time only aware that Professor Grotefend had deciphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes, but in my isolated position at Kermanshah, on the western frontier of Persia, I could neither obtain a copy of his alphabet, nor could I discover what particular inscriptions he had examined. The first materials which I submitted to analysis were the scriptural tablets of Hamadan, carefully and accurately copied by myself upon the spot, and I

afterwards found that I had thus by a singular accident selected the most favorable inscriptions of the class which existed in all Persia for solving the difficulties of an unknown character.

“These tablets consist of two trilingual inscriptions engraved by Darius Hystaspes and by his son Xerxes ; they commence with the same invocation to Ormuzd, they contain the same enumeration of the royal titles, and the same statement of paternity and family ; and in fact they are identical, except in the names of the kings and in those of their respective fathers. When I proceeded therefore to compare and interline the two inscriptions, I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groups ; and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groups which were thus brought out and individualized, must represent proper names. I further remarked that there were but three of these distinct groups in the two inscriptions ; for the group which occupied the second place in one inscription corresponded with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription. The natural inference was, that in these three groups of characters I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy ; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groups, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily, and were in fact the true identifications.

“It would be fatiguing to detail the gradual progress which I made in the inquiry during the ensuing year. The collation of the first two paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription with the tablets of Elwend, supplied me, in addition to the names of Hystaspes, Darius and Xerxes, with the native forms of Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia, and with a few old words regarding which, however, I was not very confident, and thus enabled me to construct an alphabet which assigned the same determinate values to eighteen characters that I still retain after three years of further investigation.”

Rawlinson's results had already been anticipated in Europe. But although he can lay no claim to priority in these early discoveries, he is at least entitled to the credit of having wrought out singly and with few helps, all that the combined efforts of scholars more favorably situated had effected from the time that the existence of Cuneiform writing had first been made known

in Europe. The substantial contribution made by Rawlinson at this time, was in the publication of an accurate and complete copy of the famous Behistun inscription of over 400 lines, which was not only a great enlargement of the materials previously possessed for the study of the character and the language, but was likewise of great historical interest.

It was not long before the alphabet was completely disentangled. Prof. Beer, of Leipsic, gave improved explanations of a couple of characters; Jacquet, of Paris, of a couple more; others still made additions or corrections, until the meaning of all the letters was ascertained with a precision and accuracy that leaves scarcely the shadow of a doubt remaining in any case.

But one more discovery was needed to clear up the whole orthographic system. Several sounds are doubly or trebly represented. There are three characters for *d*, as many for *m*, and two each for *g*, *j*, *k*, *n*, etc. How did these multiple signs of the same sound originate, and how are they related to each other? It was at first suspected that these apparently superfluous characters had been adopted from some other graphic system, and were either used interchangeably with the native equivalent or had some specialty of employment or of signification. The first step towards a solution of this embarrassing question was taken by Burnouf, and more distinctly by Lassen, who showed that the vowel notation of the Cuneiform writing was much more scanty than that of the Zend, and that previous explorers had been led into error by assuming their substantial identity. It records but three vowels, *a*, *i* and *u*. And short *a* is only written at the beginning or end of words; when occurring in the middle of a word it is not written but inheres in the preceding consonant, as in Sanscrit. Thus, in the inscription at the head of this article, *vazraka* is written with four characters only. The other vowels are always written. But the same consonant is differently represented before different vowels, and herein lies the mystery of the multiple characters, as was first distinctly announced by Dr. Hincks, of Dublin, though suspected and even independently discovered by others. Thus *m* has one form before *a*, another before *i*, and another still before *u*; *n* has one form before *a* and *i* and another before *u*. This may be

illustrated by a somewhat analogous case in English orthography, shown in such words as *call*, *kill*, *quill*. The initial sound is the same in each ; but it is in one case represented by *q*, a letter used only before *u*, while before *i*, *k* is always used, and before *a* commonly *c*.

The explanation of this phenomenon seems to be that the Persian Cuneiform characters originally had like the Assyrian a syllabic rather than an alphabetic value ; so that the three several characters containing the sound of *m* respectively represented in the first instance, not that letter simply but the syllables *ma*, *mi*, *mu*, and in like manner in the case of other letters. Subsequently as the result of a further analysis the syllable was resolved into its two constituent parts, the vowels *i* and *u* were separately written wherever they occur, and the character previously used to express the syllable was restricted in value to its initial consonant. That form of the letter, however, in which *a*, *i* or *u* had previously inhered, continued still to be used exclusively before its own particular vowel. As already remarked, medial *a* when short is not written by a separate character, but is considered as embraced in the preceding consonant, which still to this extent retains its primary syllabic power. Only a small proportion of the letters, however, retain this full complement of three distinct forms ; some have but two, and others only one ; this seems to show that the alphabet was undergoing a process of simplification, by the gradually dropping or laying aside of those multiple forms which had become practically superfluous, and that it was tending to the condition of the Sanscrit alphabet in which each consonant is represented by but a single character and *a* is regarded as inhering in it.

Having traced the history of the process by which the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions have been unraveled, it will be proper for us next to state some of the more immediate results which have hence accrued to philological science, to history and to biblical interpretation. One result of the highest consequence, as already stated, is that their interpretation led the way to the understanding of the Assyrian monuments, which are in themselves of vastly greater extent and importance. These latter, however, we must for the present leave out of sight and confine our survey strictly to the Persian inscriptions themselves. But first

let us glance for a moment at the claim which these discoveries have upon our confidence. Are these readings conjectural or have we positive assurance of their correctness? As Prof Menant puts the case, Grotefend started with the hypothesis that certain groups of characters contained the names of Hystaspes, Darius and Xerxes, and from that he deduced their meanings; others have continued to build on his foundation until meanings have been assigned to the entire series of characters, but all their conclusions involve the same original assumption; is not the entire structure, therefore, hypothetical at least? By no means. The starting point of the investigation was indeed supplied by a conjecture, but this has since been most abundantly verified. In the hands of Grotefend his discovery never was more than an ingenious hypothesis. But as corrected and expanded by Lassen and Burnouf it passed into the region of established fact. By the alphabet which they made out they could read not only a single sentence but continuous paragraphs, and it served equally to explain inscriptions subsequently discovered and which they had never seen. The finished results now attained have not been reached hastily, but by the most laborious and searching processes, and by the combined efforts of the most eminent Orientalists of various lands, no one of whom accepted anything upon trust, but each subjected the discoveries of others as well as his own to the most rigid scrutiny. By the alphabet, as it has now been recovered, all the Persian inscriptions have been read; and when so read they yield a language with regular grammatical forms and composed of intelligible words; a language, which though not precisely identical with any form of human speech previously known, is very closely related to the other dialects of that region, the Zend, Sanscrit, Pehlevi and Modern Persian. Proper names are spelled out in abundance, which are familiar from ancient historians, and facts yielded by the translation, which accord with their statements. There can be no doubt that correct values have been assigned to the letters which give as the name of the predecessor of Darius Kambuziya (Cambyses), the son of Kurus (Cyrus); as the names of Darius' ancestors Vistaspa, Arsama, Ariyaramna, Chispis, Hakhamanis, which Herodotus writes Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes; and as provinces of his em-

pire, Parsa (Persia), Arabaya (Arabia), Mada (Media), Armina (Armenia), Parthava (Parthia), Bakhtris (Bactria), etc. Such results, it is plain, cannot be accidental, and cannot have sprung from error.

A further proof of a convincing nature is afforded by a few quadrilingual inscriptions found on ancient vases. These contain in addition to the three styles of Cuneiform writing, their equivalent in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The latter have been independently read and the result is identical with that yielded by the former. The names of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes found in the one answer to the very same names in the other.

The language thus restored is that of the ancient Persians of the days of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. It has most affinity with the Zend, or as it is also called, the Old Bactrian, the language of the books of Zoroaster. It has, however, a less fully developed system of sounds in its vowels, nasals and aspirates. Their alphabets agree in one remarkable peculiarity,—the absence of *l*, for which *r* is regularly substituted, *e. g.*, Babiru for Babylon, Arbira for Arbela. The roots of words are mostly identical with those of the Zend; and the formative and inflective syllables are clearly analogous to those of other Indo-European tongues. Nouns have three genders and probably but two numbers; some peculiar forms have been thought to indicate a dual, but they are capable of a different explanation. Instead of the eight cases in use in Sanscrit and Zend, there are but seven; the dative has been lost and the genitive has usurped its place. The numerals are mostly expressed not by words but by signs. The units are represented by a corresponding number of upright wedges, and the tens by angles. Verbs have active, passive and middle forms; indicative, subjunctive, potential and imperative moods; and present, imperfect and reduplicated perfect tenses, together with an additional perfect, which is properly a participle. The future is expressed by the subjunctive present. The present tense of the substantive verb may serve as an example of personal inflection; the second person plural is omitted, because it does not chance to occur in the inscriptions. For the sake of comparison the equivalents are given in a few other languages:

<i>Sing.</i>	OLD PERS.	ZEND.	SANSC.	GREEK.
1	amiy	ahmi	asmi	εἰμί (ἐμμί')
2	ahy	ahi	asi	εἶς (ἐσσί)
3	astiy	asti	asti	ἑστί
<i>Plur.</i>				
1	amaly	hmali	smas	ἑσμέν (ἐσμές)
3	hantiy	henti	santi	εἰσί (ἐντί)

There are monuments from seven Persian kings, Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus. The inscriptions amount in all to about 850 lines; 660 of which are from the first Darius and 145 from Xerxes. The rest are comparatively brief and unimportant. The most interesting and valuable of all is the great Behistun inscription, in which Darius records his ancestry, the extent and divisions of his empire, the circumstances attending his ascent to the throne, and some of the leading events of his reign, and withal makes an exhibit of his religious faith. As a specimen of its style and contents we here transcribe the account given of the usurpation and overthrow of the Pseudo-Smerdis.

"The son of Cyrus, Cambyses by name, of our family was king here before. This Cambyses had a brother, Bardiya (Smerdis) by name, of the same father and mother with Cambyses. Thereupon Cambyses killed this Bardiya. When Cambyses had killed Bardiya, the army had no knowledge that Bardiya had been killed. Then Cambyses went to Egypt. When Cambyses had marched to Egypt, the army became mutinous and falsehood increased in the provinces, both in Persia and in Media as well as in the other provinces. Thus says Darius the king: There was a man, a Magian, Gaumata by name, who made an insurrection in Pisiyanvada, where there is a mountain, Arakadris by name. In the month Viyakhna, on the 14th day, he made insurrection. He lied thus to the people: I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses. Thereupon the whole kingdom rebelled against Cambyses, and went over to him, both Persia and Media as well as the other provinces. He seized upon the sovereignty. It was in the month Garmapada, on the ninth day, when he seized upon the sovereignty. Then Cambyses died by suicide.

Thus says Darius the king: This dominion which Gaumata, the Magian, took from Cambyses, this dominion was of old in our family. So Gaumata, the Magian, took from Cambyses both Persia and Media as well as the other provinces; he appropriated them all to himself; he became king. Thus says Darius the king: There was no one, either Persian or Mede or any one of our family, who had wrested the kingdom from Gaumata, the Magian. The people feared him because of his cruelty; he would kill many persons who had known the former Bardiya; for this reason would he kill them 'that no one may know me that I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.' No one ventured to say anything about Gaumata the Magian until I came. Then I called upon Auramazda (Ormuzd) for help. Auramazda granted me assistance. In the month Bagazadis, on the tenth day, with devoted men I slew this Gaumata, the Magian, and those who were his chief adherents. There is a fortress, Sikathauvatis by name, a district, Nisaya by name, in Media, there I killed him, I took away his dominion. By the grace of Auramazda I became king. Auramazda gave me the kingdom."

Darius records the names of his six fellow conspirators; they are given correctly by Herodotus, with but a single exception. The historian also relates that Darius slew the usurper with his own hand, but he was mistaken in locating this event at the palace. The story of his having risen to the throne by a successful trick of his groom, is also set aside by his own claim of rightful heirship to the crown, in virtue of his royal descent. The greater portion of this long inscription is occupied with the various insurrections, which broke out in different parts of the empire and their successful suppression. No reference is made to his expedition against Greece, and it is supposed that this record was engraved prior to that event. The remaining inscriptions of the same monarch report in detail the provinces of the empire or certain invocations of Auramazda. Those of Xerxes relate chiefly to buildings, which he erected or beautified. The following may serve as a specimen:

"A great God is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created men, who created delights for men, who made Xerxes king, sole king of many, sole lord of many. I am Xerxes the great king, the king of kings, king of

the provinces which consist of many tribes, king of this great earth, even to remote parts, son of king Darius, the Achæmenid. Thus says Xerxes the great king : Through the grace of Auramazda, I have erected this edifice. May Auramazda with the gods protect me and my kingdom, and what I have made."

One of the earliest and perhaps one of the most important results to biblical interpretation of the deciphering of the Persian inscriptions was the identification of the king Ahasuerus of the book of Esther. The old Greek translators and Josephus are both at fault in confounding him with Artaxerxes. Grotefend pointed out the identity of the name with Xerxes as that is spelled upon the monuments, and the correctness of his conclusion is now generally conceded. The native form of Xerxes is KHSHaYaRSHa ; this was differently vocalized by the Jews but with only a slight modification of a single consonant, aKHaSHVeRoSH. If Xerxes is the name of the monarch, it cannot be the son of Artaxerxes, who is intended in the book of Esther, for he was murdered after a brief reign of two months ; it must be the son of Darius Hystaspes. And then the statements of the book find a ready explanation. Thus the grand assembly of all the princes and nobles of the realm in the third year of his reign, is at once accounted for.

Herodotus informs us that Xerxes having subjugated Egypt in the second year of his reign, subsequently gathered his nobles to deliberate and decide upon his project of invading Greece. This is the convocation described in the first chapter of the book of Esther ; and it is observable that the word used for nobles, ver. 3, (פרתמים) is the native Persian term, which is found in this same sense in the Behistun inscription. This gathering of dignitaries from all parts, and their remaining together at the capitol for six months, points to something more than a mere banquet for carousal and luxurious display. It was in preparation for what Xerxes was resolved to make the grand event of his reign.

And the interval between the first and second chapters is then naturally accounted for. This assembly was held and Vashti was disgraced in the third year of Xerxes. But Esther was not taken into the palace of the king as her successor, ii. 16, until the tenth month of his seventh year. As twelve months had been spent in preparation ii., 8-12, it appears that the first steps toward supplying Vashti's place were taken in the sixth year of

his reign, three years and more after her banishment from court. The monarch was meanwhile absorbed with the expedition into Greece, the extensive preparations made for it in advance and the actual conduct of the campaign. It was only when he returned to Persia after his inglorious defeat, that domestic matters again engaged his thoughts.

India is mentioned, Esth. i. 1, as one of the provinces of Xerxes' empire and it is spoken of in a manner implying that its possession marked the most flourishing period and the utmost extent of Persian sway. Corresponding with this are the data afforded by the monuments. The Behistun inscription enumerates the countries then subject to Darius Hystaspes, the father of Xerxes, and the name of India is not among them. But in two subsequent inscriptions, one at Persepolis and one at Nakshi Rostam belonging to the later years of his reign, India is expressly named as one of the lands over which he ruled by the grace of Auramazda, and which feared before him and brought him tribute.

Possibly also, as suggested by Prof. Oppert, the term "Agagite" applied to Haman, Esth. iii., 1, and which the Septuagint converts into "Macedonian," may find its solution in the "Agag" of the monuments, a district of Media.

These inscriptions further silence an objection which has been brought against the truthfulness of the book of Esther, that the facts which it records are not mentioned by any profane author. The monuments erected by the Persian monarchs themselves likewise record facts, no mention of which has been preserved by any ancient author whose writings have come down to us. Herodotus speaks of Babylon having been once captured by Darius; but he gives no intimation of the fact assured to us by the Behistun inscription that he took this city at two successive times, nor that this was in consequence of two different impostors having given themselves out as the true Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonned. Nor does he tell us that several years after the accession of Darius a fresh impostor, under the name of Smerdis the son of Cyrus, excited a rebellion against Darius which was with difficulty suppressed. Several other revolts of greater or less magnitude also broke out in different provinces, which are vouched by the same monumental authority, but which histo-

rians have passed over in silence. If facts like these, evidenced by the royal monuments, must be accepted though they have been passed over without mention by ancient historians, why should it be esteemed any disparagement to the credit of the book of Esther, that the abortive decree against the Jews and the fall of the king's favorite are not mentioned by Herodotus for whom they were of no particular interest and who had no occasion to record them; especially since they are confirmed by the regular observance of the feast of Purim among the Jews, which was established to commemorate these very events and has been perpetuated ever since?

ART. VI.—AN OBITUARY OF DR. LIEBNER BY DR.
DORNER.*

THE printing of the present number had hardly begun when the Editors received the intelligence, as surprising as it was painful, of the departure of our dear and honored friend, our associate in founding and publishing the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, Dr. Karl Theodor Albert Liebner, Chief Court-Preacher, Ecclesiastical Privy-Counsellor, and Vice-President of the Royal Consistory of Saxony at Dresden, who died June 24, John the Baptist's day, at Meran, in the Tyrol.

The Editors regard it as a precious duty to give expression to the feeling of gratitude which German theology, but especially this Review, owes to the departed. The writer of these lines has for many years enjoyed the intimate friendship and confidence of the deceased, and had the happiness two years since, on the shore of the lake of Lucerne, in familiar intercourse with him, with Dr. Martensen, Bishop of Seeland, and other friends, to hold a reunion which had been previously arranged, and to pass with him hours of higher spiritual refreshment. The sad though honorable duty of devoting to the deceased a memorial Article has therefore been laid upon him. It does not claim to

* The above obituary Sketch of the life and works of Dr. Liebner is translated from the "*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*," No. 2, 1871, at the request of the editor of this Review, by Prof. W. A. Packard, Princeton, N. J.