



Endnotes for *How Darius the Mede Was Deleted from History and Who Did It*

Summer/Fall 2022 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Rodger C. Young, “How Belshazzar Was Deleted from History and Who Did It,” *Bible and Spade* 35, no. 2 (Spring 2022): 21–28.

² John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 30.

³ Carol A. Newsom, *Daniel: A Commentary*, with Brennan W. Breed, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2014), 191.

⁴ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 10 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 88; Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham, *Berosos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 15–24.

⁵ Or 1.20 in Whiston’s translation (William Whiston, trans., *Josephus: The Complete Works* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998], 936–37).

⁶ H. St. John Thackeray, trans., *The Life, Against Apion*, vol. 1 of *Josephus*, 8 vols., Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam, 1926), 223.

⁷ Josef Karst, *Die Chronik: Aus dem Armenischen übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar*, vol. 5 of *Eusebius Werke*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 20 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911), 246.

⁸ Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 231. Rowley also tentatively held this position (H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* [Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935], 46).

⁹ Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible*, with a forward by Donald J. Wiseman (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), 138, citing A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 107.

¹⁰ Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar: A Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, Yale Oriental Series, Researches 15 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1929), 32–33.

¹¹ Valerius Harpocration, *Harpocration: Lexeis of the Ten Orators*, ed. John J. Keaney (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1991), Δ 5, Δαρείος, as translated in Steven D. Anderson, “Darius the Mede: A Reappraisal” (PhD Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 2014), 157, https://www.academia.edu/9787699/Darius_the_Mede_A_Reappraisal.

¹² E. W. Hengstenberg, *Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah*, trans. B. P. Pratten, and *A Dissertation on the History and Prophecies of Balaam*, trans. J. E. Ryland (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1848), 42.

¹³ C. F. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, trans. M. G. Easton, from German, vol. 3 in *Ezekiel, Daniel: Three Volumes in One*, by C. F. Keil, vol. 9 of *Commentary on the Old Testament: In Ten Volumes*, by C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 199–200 n. 2.

¹⁴ Steven D. Anderson and Rodger C. Young, “The Remembrance of Daniel’s Darius the Mede in Berosus and Harpocration,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 173 (July–September 2016): 323, <http://www.rcyoung.org/articles/darius.html>.

¹⁵ All quotations of the *Cyropaedia* in this article are from Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, trans. Walter Miller, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library 51 and 52 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914). For online full texts, see <https://ryanfb.github.io/loebolus-data/L051.pdf> and <https://ryanfb.github.io/loebolus-data/L052.pdf>.

¹⁶ The Nabonidus Chronicle, from James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, third edition with supplement (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 306b. Hereafter *ANET*.

¹⁷ Both Babylonia and Persia used accession reckoning for the reigns of their kings, so that “year one,” or the first year of a king, did not begin until the Nisan 1 following the king’s taking office at some time in the preceding year.

¹⁸ John C. Whitcomb Jr., *Darius the Mede: A Study in Historical Identification* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 5ff.

¹⁹ Andrew E. Steinmann, *Daniel*, Concordia Commentary (Saint Louis: Concordia, 2008), 292 n. 5. Whitcomb (*Darius the Mede*, 15) cites the Nabonidus Chronicle, Column III, line 20 (ANET, 306b) as identifying this governor as active in the days immediately following the fall of Babylon, but the “Gubaru” at this place in the text is probably just an alternate spelling for the Ugbaru mentioned five lines earlier and two lines later, since the cuneiform signs for “ug” and “gu” are similar.

²⁰ Cyrus began to reign on the death of Darius in late 538 BC, so that his “year one,” according to the Persian custom of measuring years, began in Nisan of 537 and his fourth year began in Nisan of 535. See my explanatory box in the previous issue of *Bible and Spade*: “When Were Cyrus’s Years One and Three?,” *Bible and Spade* 35, no. 2 (Spring 2022): 20.

²¹ D. J. Wiseman, “Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel,” in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (London: Tyndale, 1965), 12–18.

²² For an examination of how the *Cyropaedia* supports Cyrus’s age as about 28 in 547 BC and 36 in 539 BC, see Rodger C. Young, “Xenophon’s Cyaxares: Uncle of Cyrus, Friend of Daniel,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 64, no. 2 (2021): 272–73, <http://www.rcyoung.org/articles/Cyaxares.html>.

²³ Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 108.

²⁴ *Antiquities* 10.248 (or 10.11.4 in Whiston’s translation): “Darius, who with his relative Cyrus put an end to the Babylonian sovereignty, was in his sixty-second year when he took Babylon; he was a son of Astyages but was called by another name among the Greeks” (Ralph Marcus, trans., *Jewish Antiquities, Books IX–XI*, vol. 6 of *Josephus*, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958], 295). The only Greek historian who is known to explicitly refer to a son of Astyages is Xenophon, so the “other name” that Josephus did not supply was very likely Cyaxares. Had Josephus filled in the name, it would have done much to lessen the assurance of those who confidently assert that both Darius the Mede and Cyaxares II are fictitious characters.

²⁵ Jerome, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera: Pars I: Opera Exegetica 5: Commentariorum in Danielem Libri III <IV>*, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina, vol. 75A (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1964), 820–21, 829.

²⁶ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*, trans. Thomas Meyers, 2 vols., vols. 24–25 of *Calvin’s Commentaries*, 45 vols. (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1852–53; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 1:347–48; James Ussher, *The Annals of the World*, revised and updated by Larry Pierce and Marion Pierce (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2003), 117a (originally published in 1658 in London); Charles Rollin, *Ancient History*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Applegate, 1858), 1.179b (originally published in French in 12 volumes, 1730–38); William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets*, 2 vols. (London, 1726), 1:52.

²⁷ Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments*, vol. 4, *Isaiah to Malachi* (New York, 1843), 588; Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 8th ed., 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1839; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970), 4:213; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, vol. 1 of 3, *α – υ*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1835), 349–50; Humphrey Prideaux, *An Historical Connection of the Old and New Testaments: Comprising the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations, from the Decline of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel to the Time of Christ*, 3rd ed., with notes, analyses, and introductory review by J. Talboys Wheeler, 2 vols. (London: Tegg, 1877), 1:106–12; Hengstenberg, *Dissertations*, 40–43; Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 192–200; Otto Zöckler, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel: Theologically and Homiletically Expounded*, trans. and ed. James Strong, in *Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets*, vol. 7 of John Peter Lange, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical*, ed. and trans. Philip Schaff, 12 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), 35–36.

²⁸ William H. Shea, “An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period,” pt. 3, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 10, no. 1 (1972): 112–13. Shea’s whole article is available online at <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/auss/vol10/iss1/4>.

²⁹ *Cyr.* 2.4.1–5, 5.5.6–10, 6.1.1, 6. Henry Dakyns’s translation of the *Cyropaedia* is available online at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2085/2085-h/2085-h.htm>.

³⁰ Young, “Xenophon’s Cyaxares,” 274–75.

³¹ Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 198. Keil references Ferdinand Hitzig, author of *Das Buch Daniel* (Leipzig, 1850).

³² A. D. Godley, trans., *Herodotus*, vol. 1 of 4, *Books I and II*, Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam, 1920), 169, <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=olbp71364>.

³³ *Persia and the Bible*, 80.

³⁴ Steven W. Hirsch, “1001 Iranian Nights: History and Fiction in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*” in *The Greek Historians: Literature and History; Papers Presented to A.E. Raubitschek*, ed. Michael Jameson (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1985), 65–85; Steven W. Hirsch, *The Friendship of the Barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian Empire* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985); R. J. van der Spek, “Cyrus the Great, Exiles, and Foreign Gods: A Comparison of Assyrian and Persian Policies on Subject Nations” in *Extraction & Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, ed. Michael Kozuh et al., *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 68 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014), 233–64.

³⁵ *Friendship of the Barbarians*, 177 n. 69. Hirsch is summarizing Max Mallowan, “Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.),” *Iran* (British Institute of Persian Studies) 10 (1972): 10–11.

³⁶ “Cyrus the Great,” 260.

³⁷ 254.

³⁸ “Darius the Mede: A Reappraisal.” The dissertation was expanded by Anderson into a self-published book, available at Amazon.com.

³⁹ ANET 315b.

⁴⁰ *Friendship of the Barbarians*, 81.

⁴¹ Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 32.

⁴² ANET, 526b.

⁴³ J. Paul Tanner, *Daniel*, Evangelical Exegetical Commentary (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2020), 57–58.

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