

LIGHT FROM
EGYPTIAN PAPYRI

C. H. H. WRIGHT

12401/X.08.

LIGHT FROM EGYPTIAN
PAPYRI



LIGHT FROM EGYPTIAN PAPYRI ON JEWISH HISTORY BEFORE CHRIST

BY THE

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LONDON

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN

1908





To

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and 1901, and Palestine, 1898; Author of numerous Theological Works,

WITH HIGHEST ESTEEM AND REGARD

FROM THE AUTHOR

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INTRODUCTION

86 It is curious to observe the keen manner in
which reviewers detect casual slips in books
103 which come under their notice, while in their
118 short reviews they themselves fall into similar
123 misadventures. It is even stranger when
reviewers make it manifest that they have
not even skimmed the volumes they profess
to have read. Several of our American re-
viewers took upon them to assert that the
work on *Daniel and his Prophecies* owed its
origin to a course of lectures delivered in
July 1905 at the Summer School of New
Milford, Conn., under the patronage of
Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church
of the United States. Following in the wake
of the American reviewers, a similar assertion
was made by respectable English critics, that



the book was an expansion of five lectures delivered by the writer in Exeter Hall, London, in November and December 1905. That was also wrong. See *Daniel and its Critics*, p. xxxvii. On the latter occasion some of the proof-sheets of the book were actually used by the writer; while in America the original MS. was similarly had resort to.

In our remarks in Chap. II. on the Egyptian papyri which have been lately discovered at Assuan, it must be borne in mind that the literature on the subject has been considerably increased since the present contribution was in type; which had been designed to show the importance of the facts in relation to their bearing on the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel and those other parts of the Old Testament writings which have come down to us in that language. New and important articles have since then appeared on the subject. Among these we may mention the article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1908, and further articles from Professors

D. H. Müller, Fraenkel, and Lidzbarski. The article on "Neue jüdische Papyri" by Professor Th. Nöldeke, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for January last, is of special interest; and we have added a few notes from it, although by no means touched upon all the many points of interest which it contains. Professor Nöldeke affirms the great importance of the discovery.

Most of our reviewers, even while setting forth opinions different from our own, have recognised our fairness to scholars of the opposite school. It is hard, however, to avoid using general terms, and to abstain entirely from dividing the commentators on the book, more or less, into two opposing camps. When the Editor of the *Expository Times* can write, as he does, in the closing words of his notice of our book in the number for last February, "Daniel is a psychological monstrosity, and the Book of Daniel historically impossible," what can one do, speaking in general terms, but term scholars who uphold the integrity of the book in the main as among the "believing

critics," and those who do not as more or less "rationalists"? We are, however, fully aware that the beloved Professor Franz Delitzsch of Leipzig, Professor Ed. König of Bonn, the late Dean Farrar, and other Christian scholars have, alas! lowered their flag to the advancing tide of modern criticism.

Professor Kautzsch, who is a scholar whom we much admire, has in his "Abriss der Geschichte des alt-testl. Schrifttums" (appended to his important work, *Die heilige Schriften des Alten Test. übersetzt*) made the following sweeping remark on the Book of Daniel as a whole:—"All difficulties vanish with one stroke, if one acknowledges the book, as it is in truth, to be a writing of encouragement and warning dating from the time of the severe persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes IV." We have already expressed our decided difference on that point in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. xxi., xxii. In the present work we have gone more fully into the matter in Chap. IV.

Professor Marcus Dods, in his signed review in the *British Weekly*, January 18, 1906, maintains with other critics that Daniel's "predictions of events subsequent to the Exile are so minutely exact as to betray an acquaintance with the history of the third and second centuries B.C." That statement we categorically deny. It has been sufficiently refuted not only in our detailed commentary on Daniel xi., xii., but also for popular purposes in Chap. IV. of this little work. When the learned Scotch Professor asserts that on our hypothesis (for such practical purposes as Professor Kautzsch has suggested) "there would be two books of Daniel, the one containing the previous chapters of the book and the original version of the prophecy, the other containing these same chapters," he seems to forget how unlikely it was that men who had to hide themselves in the holes of the rocks, and often to tarry long periods in the barren wilderness, could have carried about with them entire copies of such a work; while, on

our hypothesis, it would have been easy to take with them, and to read over in their camps, such a small portion of Daniel as ch. x., xi., xii., which would have been an encouragement to them in those days of peril. This is, no doubt, hypothesis, and not history, but, as elsewhere pointed out, we have no account extant of the details of much which took place in those trying days. Our hypothesis is as good as that accepted by Professor Kautzsch, and tends to afford a good reason why there should be then in existence a popular Targum of that portion of Daniel in which the Jews were most interested. The hypothesis also confirms the otherwise strange fact that the terrible attempt to overthrow the Jewish religion was not sketched in any "minutely exact" outline, but in such a general way that the Jews could easily "read into" the prophetic description the cruel sufferings they had to undergo in those dark and troublous times.

We cannot regard it as a matter of indiffer-

ence whether our Lord accepted the Divine inspiration of Daniel's prophecies or not. We cannot admit, unless under the strongest possible evidence, that any book, on the modern assumption that its narratives are fictitious, and its prophecies discreditable inventions, would have been so often cited by our Lord as the Book of Daniel has been. If the modern interpretation of "the Kenosis" (Phil. ii. 7) of our Lord be true, His teaching as to all matters of "the last things" must be regarded as unreliable and as containing no revelation on which we can depend. He could under such circumstances at the highest be viewed only as a teacher of "morals" and not of "heavenly things," which He claimed to be able to reveal.

We do not pretend to propound any definite theory of inspiration. But we maintain that the books of the Sacred Scriptures (although they may contain occasional interpolations) are books *sui generis*, and entitled to be regarded as Divine. The confusions of

interpretation which exist among the most eminent of the modern Biblical critics ought not to be forgotten, nor ought their bare assertions to be received as matters of fact.

In a book abounding with difficulties such as that of Daniel, occasional slips are certain to occur here and there. Hypotheses must be resorted to on various points, and all the details of such hypotheses may not be rigidly consistent. Such "slips" may be traced in the writings of the most eminent critics, and therefore we need not imagine that our work, partially composed under very difficult circumstances, will be found free from mistakes. We could have wished, when our critics had come across such errors, that they had always indicated the page where they occurred. The writer in the *Guardian* wrote as if we had really written *Hierapolis* for *Heliopolis*, but we have not found where that error is, for in the historical statement which is given in the volume no such slip does occur.

In conclusion, I must thank my friend, the

Introduction

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Rev. Professor Margoliouth, D.Litt., for his kindly reading through the proofs of the earlier portion of the work. His absence in Turkey has hindered his valuable revision from being continued till the end.

CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT.

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10th July 1908.

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Light from Egyptian Papyri

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIER ARAMAIC PAPYRI EDITED BY
THE REV. PROFESSOR SAYCE AND DR
A. E. COWLEY

ARAMAIC potsherds (now technically called by the Greek plural term *ὄστρακα*), with fragments of Aramaic papyri, have long been discovered in considerable quantities in the remains of the city which stood on the southern end of the small island of Elephantiné, in Upper Egypt. Elephantiné was one of the most southern of the Egyptian fortresses. The island was opposite to Syené, also a fortress of considerable strength. Syené was situated up the Nile, close to the first cataract, and about six or seven miles from the island

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of Philæ. Owing to the navigation of the Nile being commanded by the fortress, the island, first mentioned among European writers by Herodotus, ii. 36, was garrisoned in turn by Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. Jews seem to have become settled there shortly after their dispersion by the Babylonians.

Professor A. H. Sayce discovered in 1901 a more than usually perfect roll of Aramaic papyrus, with a number of *ostraca* covered with Aramaic writing. The papyri then found, together with the *ostraca*, are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. They were published by Dr A. E. Cowley in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for May, June, and November 1903. A little later, discoveries of a similar character were made, and these have been published in a thin folio, entitled *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, edited by A. H. Sayce, with the assistance of A. E. Cowley, and with appendices by W. Spiegelberg and Seymour de Riccia: London,

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Alexander Moring, Ltd., 32 George Street,
Hanover Square, W., 1906.

One of the remarkable facts brought to light by these papyri published by Professor Sayce and Dr Cowley is that, not many years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, a colony of Jews found their way to Assuan, at the southern frontiers of Egypt. There they acquired for themselves houses and fields. Some of them carried on traffic as money-lenders, and one might say even as bankers. This is proved from the papyrus marked L, in which a regular bargain for a loan of money is duly recorded. Careful stipulations were made for interest to be paid monthly for the money so lent. Five witnesses affixed their signatures to the document. In those papyri there is mention of the house of Yahu (Jehovah) and of an altar¹ upon which sacrifices were duly offered.

¹ The word used in the papyri for *altar* is אֲזִיזָה, which is commonly used in the Targums and also in the Aramaic

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These Jews in Elephantiné and Syené appear to have been unfavourable to contracting marriage with the heathen around them, although they did not altogether refuse to contract such marriages. They appear to have kept aloof from the worship of any but their own God, although they did not decline to transact business with those who were worshippers of other gods, and they accepted oaths made in the names of those gods whom the native population acknowledged as their peculiar deities. In the deeds the Jews are termed indifferently Jews and Aramæans.

Professor Sayce and Dr Cowley have in the introduction, written by the former scholar, given much attention to the code of laws

of the Talmud. Though often used in the sense of an "idol altar," the usage of the Talmud and Targums shows that the word might also be used of an altar of the true God. *Chapel* is the rendering adopted by Sayce and Cowley in their translation, because those editors were then uncertain whether it ought to be rendered *chapel*, *synagogue*, or *altar*. The second set of papyri have, however, shown that the word was used also in the more general sense,

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under which justice was administered. The new light cast upon the law of divorce is of special importance. Much information is afforded in the records upon the tenure of house property, while the names of the Jewish witnesses are peculiarly interesting, as being identical, or similar, to names met with in the earlier Biblical records. The names of persons belonging to other nationalities mentioned in the documents show a considerable blending together of non-Jewish elements. These papyri, moreover, contain important evidence that the Jews in Upper Egypt did not look upon themselves as bound by the Law of Deuteronomy, according to which no altar was to be erected to Jehovah except in Jerusalem. See further in next chapter.

Professor Sayce observes that "the Aramaean papyri of Assuan possess a unique importance owing to the duplicate dates which they contain. Not only can the exact year in which each was written be ascertained, but,

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thanks to the double dating in Egyptian and Syrian months, the exact date of the month ought also to be recoverable." One of these deeds was drawn up in the twentieth year of Xerxes I. "The documents, it will be seen, cover a large part of the fifth century B.C., extending from B.C. 471, nine years only after the battle of Salamis, to B.C. 411."

The edict of Cyrus permitted the return of the Jews. The capture of Babylon by Cyrus, which brought about the downfall of the Babylonian Empire, and the establishment of the Medo-Persian, took place in B.C. 538. "Darius the Mede" shortly afterwards received the kingdom of Babylonia from Cyrus. Cyrus, however, remained as lord of the whole empire, using as a general title the higher designation of "king of countries" (see *Daniel and its Critics*, pp. 225-227). Hence "the third year of Cyrus king of Persia" (Dan. x. 1) may in some way have been practically identical with "the first year of Darius the Mede" (Dan. xi. 1): "Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of

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the Medes, who was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans" (Dan. ix. 1). The death of Daniel occurred in all probability a few years after the accession of Cyrus. Cyrus died in B.C. 529, possibly in battle. The account given by Herodotus, i. 214, cannot be absolutely depended upon, for Xenophon and Ctesias give different accounts of the closing scene of his life. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Cambyses, in B.C. 529. Darius Hystaspes ascended the throne in 521, and Xerxes I. in B.C. 485.

Meanwhile the first caravan of Jews had returned to Jerusalem, led by Zerubbabel, and the rebuilding of the Temple there was begun in B.C. 535, though retarded by the Samaritans and other adversaries. Haggai and Zechariah the prophets urged the continuation of the work, and the Temple was dedicated in B.C. 515. Artaxerxes I. in B.C. 458 commissioned Ezra to proceed to Judæa to inquire into matters in that country; and Nehemiah received his first commission as governor over

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the province in B.C. 444, and his second commission in B.C. 433, when the prophet Malachi commenced his ministry.

These dates should be borne in mind in considering the age and importance of the Aramaic papyri lately discovered.

Dr A. E. Cowley has given in his portion of the work (pp. 14-23) an important sketch of the language of the Aramæan texts, as well as of the chronology discovered in them, and the names of money mentioned there.

The great importance of these papyri, together with those more recently discovered, to be mentioned in our next chapter, consists in the light which they have cast upon various historical incidents connected with the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, and upon the single verse of Jeremiah (ch. x. 11) in which Aramaic is employed. The Aramaic which has now been discovered is to all intents and purposes the same as that which is extant in the Biblical books just mentioned—so that the arguments which have been used to

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demonstrate the theory that Daniel could not have written such Aramaic as exists in the book that goes by his name have now been absolutely overthrown. Of course the same may be said with regard to the Aramaic documents contained in the Book of Ezra and the single verse in the Book of Jeremiah.

Professor Driver, in company with many other of the ablest Semitic scholars, affirmed in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (6th edit., pp. 503 ff.) that the Aramaic language found in the Book of Daniel could not have been Aramaic used in Babylon in the days of the Israelitish captivity, and that the resemblance of that dialect to the Aramaic of Ezra—which book is assigned by the modern school of critics to B.C. 400—does not prove the books of Daniel and Ezra to be contemporary writings. When Professor Driver published his latest edition of his *Introduction* (the 6th, in 1897), he, with the evidence then before him, fairly affirmed that “at present we possess no independent

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evidence showing actually how long afterwards such a dialect continued in use. The discovery of fresh inscriptions may enable us in the future to speak more positively."

Evidence, however, bearing distinctly on this point has now come to light, and we are in possession of two sets of papyri running from B.C. 471 to B.C. 411, which are quite sufficient to prove that the Aramaic spoken in B.C. 500 from Babylon in the north to Assuan in the south of Egypt was identical with what has been popularly styled the Biblical Aramaic. In Professor Driver's very interesting letter to the *Guardian* of November 6, 1907, due acknowledgment has been made of these facts.

CHAPTER II

THE THREE ADDITIONAL ARAMAIC PAPYRI NEWLY DISCOVERED —

A MORE important discovery of Aramaic papyri has lately been brought to light under the editorship of Professor Dr Eduard Sachau, of the University of Berlin. These papyri have been published in the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 1907. They have been also issued separately with the Aramaic text, accompanied by a German translation and short but important notes, under the title of "Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine" (Berlin, 1907, *Verlag der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften*). The work contains a large plate of the original documents, with a short memorandum of somewhat later date. These docu-

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ments have been already translated into English by Rev. Canon S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, with notes of his own, and published in the *Guardian* newspaper of November 6, 1907.

A more extensive article on "The New Papyri of Elephantiné" appeared in the *Expositor* of December 1907, from the pen of Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., of Oxford, which contains a fuller treatment of several points, especially on Bagoas and Sanballat. This article has also a critical translation, which will be found used in our notes. It is followed by a short note by F. Ll. Griffith, and by another article on "The Jewish Temple of Yahū, God of the Heavens," by S. A. Cook, M.A., Camb. See Introduction.

The three papyri in question were unearthed in the chamber of a house excavated under a mound which stands on the site of the ancient Elephantiné or Yeb. The first of these three contains a petition from the Jewish colony in Elephantiné addressed to Bagohi, the Bagoas

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of Josephus (*Antiq.*, xi. 7), then Persian governor of Judah. The petitioners asked for assistance to enable them to rebuild the temple of the God Yahū (*i.e.* Jahu, or Jehovah) in Elephantiné, which had been ruthlessly destroyed at the instigation of the heathen priests of the ram-headed Egyptian god Khnub, who possessed a temple of their own in the fortress of Yeb or Elephantiné.¹

The Jewish temple erected to Jehovah on that island in the Nile had been built about one hundred and twenty years before; that is, prior to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, in B.C. 525. Although Cambyses destroyed without compunction the temples erected to the strange gods of Egypt, he spared this temple erected by the Jews of

¹ Dr J. P. Mahaffy, of Trinity College, Dublin, in his *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 9, note 4, says:—"There is evidence that this was now a penal settlement, probably to utilise the labour of the prisoners in the granite quarries, for Alexander [the Great] sent there certain Chian political prisoners from Memphis (Arrian, iii., 2. 7). I shall produce some evidence in the sequel that it was not yet a town or πόλις, though Arrian calls it so."

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Elephantiné to Jehovah. The petition was sent to Bagohi, or Bagoas, about the year B.C. 408, three years after the events complained of had taken place, or some twenty-four years later than Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 6). Arsam (or Arxames) was then governor of Egypt. During a temporary absence from his government, in the reign of Darius II. (Darius Nothus), the priests of the god Khnub, for reasons not mentioned in the papyrus, bribed Waidrang¹ (who seems to have been a civil and military officer of authority) to demolish the temple of Jehovah. That officer summoned to his aid his son Nephāyān, who was in command of the troops in Syené, on the opposite bank of the Nile. Under his command a band of Egyptian soldiers landed on the island, and at once proceeded to destroy the temple of Jehovah. They took possession of all the gold and silver vessels belonging to

¹ The name Waidrang is not Semitic, but it is found in an Aramaic papyrus fragment edited by Euting, as well as in the Assuan papyri edited by Sayce and Cowley.



the temple, as well as other articles of value. They broke down the walls of the temple, defaced its ornaments, levelled its fine stone pillars, and destroyed its seven large gates, which were also made of stone. The edifice described in the petition was not modelled after the plan of an ordinary Jewish synagogue, but to some extent resembled the Temple at Jerusalem; although, in place of the seven-branched golden candlestick, in the holy place there was a candlestick suspended from the ceiling. The building was not constructed to be a simple place of prayer, or one specially adapted for the reading of the Holy Scripture. It contained an altar for burnt sacrifice, amply supplied with silver and golden bowls, in which the blood of the animal sacrifices was collected, which was required for sprinkling the altar. The roof of the building was formed of cedar-wood, and that roof was completely destroyed by fire by the heathen soldiery.

The petition does not state that the Egyptian troops, in performing the work



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assigned to them, were guilty of putting to death any of the Jewish worshippers; or committed the other atrocities by which such acts of violence were wont to be attended. The Jews were permitted without hindrance publicly to lament and bemoan their losses. Men, wives, and children all put on sackcloth.

Their adversaries also were not permitted long to remain unpunished. Waidrang (who, it seems, wore upon his feet a golden chain or anklet (?) significant of the office which was committed to him) was soon deprived of his authority and honour. All the goods which had been taken from the temple were destroyed, or perished in some way or other; and the adversaries of Israel were put to death. Thus the Jews appear to have had their desires accomplished upon their enemies. This change of affairs may have been brought about by the return of Arsam. But the Jews do not appear to have received any compensation for their losses; nor did they, as far as the papyri inform us, receive any official permission

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to rebuild the temple. Under such sad circumstances the petition was drawn up and despatched with a letter "to our lord Bagohi, and to Jehohanan the high priest at Jerusalem" (probably the Johanan of Neh. xii. 22) "and his companions, the priests at Jerusalem, and to Ostan his brother who is 'Anani."¹

The authorities at Jerusalem who are alluded to did not hurry themselves in the matter. They seem to have turned a deaf ear at that critical period to the petition of the Jews in Elephantiné. It may be possible that the punishment inflicted upon Waidrang and his confederates was, however, a result of the letter of complaint forwarded to Jerusalem. There may have been also among the rulers in Jerusalem some who were hostile to the Jews of Elephantiné on account of their violation of the Mosaic Law by erecting an altar for

¹ Ostan is the Persian name, and 'Anani the Jewish, of one and the same individual (see Driver). This is, however, disputed by Prof. Margoliouth, who maintains that the natural rendering is "Ostanes, brother of Anani." Nöldeke agrees with Margoliouth.

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sacrifice in another place than Jerusalem. Moreover, there may have been a mixture of Samaritans among the Jews of Elephantiné, and the desire not to befriend those sectaries may have worked in the same direction.

The destruction of the temple at Yeb occurred some time in the month of Tammuz, after Arsam had gone to meet King Darius in the fourteenth year of his reign over Persia, that is, in B.C. 411. In the thirtieth line of the first papyrus Arsam is distinctly stated to have had no knowledge of the assault on the Jewish colony. The document or petition sent to "Bagohi and his fellows" was despatched on the twentieth day of Marcheswan (November), the seventeenth year of Darius, *i.e.* B.C. 414. About the same time other letters were despatched to Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, who seems to have been at the time governor in Samaria.

Sanballat is frequently mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah as "the Horonite," and at least once as a Samaritan (Neh. iv. 1, 2).

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He is spoken of in that book as a confederate with Tobiah, "the servant, the Ammonite," in being among those who were grieved that there was come a man (namely, Nehemiah) to seek the welfare of the children of Israel (Neh. ii. 10, vi. 1-14, xiii. 28). The last of those passages speaks of Sanballat as closely connected by marriage with the family of the Jewish high priest at Jerusalem. That fact may possibly explain in some degree the unwillingness at first exhibited by the authorities at Jerusalem to take into consideration the sufferings of the Jews at Elephantiné, as well as account a little later for the help actually afforded to those same petitioners. For the Jewish colony at Elephantiné appears to have been of a mixed character; and Josephus (*Antiq.*, xi. 8, 9) states that Alexander the Great brought down at a later period to Egypt with him some of the Samaritans, who, however, on being interrogated concerning their origin, affirmed (as they were often wont to do) that they belonged to the nation of the Jews.

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The second set of Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine consists of three documents, of which the first, which contains the petition, is the longest and the most complete. The second is somewhat shorter, goes over the same ground, and is characterised by more frequent gaps, the lines in many cases being imperfect at the sides. It consists of an account given by Jedonijah of the same transaction, and, to a large extent, uses the same words. This account in some places helps to a better understanding of the first. The third document consists of a subsidiary fragment, which gives the closing up of the history.

The first document runs as follows:—

I.

1. To our Lord Bagohi,¹ governor² of Judah:

¹ *Bagohi*. Sachau, in explanation of this name, refers to Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, i., p. 412. Much information on the subject is given by Margoliouth in his article.

² Babylonian and Persian: see Ezra v. 14; Daniel iii. 23, 27, vi. 1.

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Thy servants Jedonijah¹ and his companions² the priests who are in Yeb³ [Elephantiné], in the fortress,⁴ Peace.

2. May our Lord, the God of heaven,⁵ grant [?] to thee [peace] abundantly at every time, and may you receive favour before Darius the king.⁶

3. And may the sons of the [royal] House be a thousand times more than they are now,

¹ *Jedonijah*. The proper name Jadon, ruler, occurs in Neh. iii. 7. The Hebrew verb is found in Gen. vi. 3. The Aramaic is found in other papyri; see Sachau, p. 18.

² *Companions*. See Dan. ii. 13, 17, 18. Frequent in Ezra.

³ Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'archéologie orient.*, t. vi., pp. 222, 234) has identified *Yeb* with Elephantiné. The word was first found in the fragment of a papyrus found in the same place, and dated at the same time, by Julius Euting in 1903.

⁴ *Fortress* or *castle*. This word has been incorrectly translated *palace* in Neh. i. 1; Esther i. 7. The Assyrian word is *birtu*. It is used in combination with *Shushan* in the Hebrew of Dan. viii. 2. See on this *Daniel and its Critics*.

⁵ A common title in post-exilic days. See Dan. ii. 18, 19, 34, 44; Neh. i. 4, 5; so also in Gen. xxiv. 7. See Driver's *Introd.*, 6th edit., p. 553. Often used in Ezra in royal edicts or letters to kings.

⁶ This, as has been proved by Euting, was King Darius II. Nothus, who reigned B.C. 424-405.

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and may He give them long life. Mayst thou be happy and in good health at all times.

4. Now thy servants, Jedonijah and his companions, speak thus:—In the month of Tammuz [July] in the fourteenth year of Darius the king, when Arsam¹—5—departed and went to the king, the priests² of the god Khnub which were in Yeb the fortress [made] a conspiracy in consort³ with Waidrang, who was *fratera-ka* [?]⁴ [governor] here.

6. Saying, “Let the temple⁵ which be-

¹ Or Arsames, probably identical with the governor of Egypt named Arxanes by Ctesias.

² *Kemarim*. In A.V. *chemarims* (Zeph. i. 4); *idolatrours priests*, 2 Kings xxiii. 5; *priests*, Hos. x. 5. Always used of idolatrours priests in opposition to the Levitical. In the papyri the word *koken* is used exclusively of Jewish priests.

³ “*In consort*. See Lzb., p. 213. Old Persian, akin to *āma*. A peculiar word only known besides from the passage in Euting’s papyrus.”—*Driver*. The verb “made” is missing. See on the form Sachau, p. 22.

⁴ So Lidzbarski, which Sachau prefers, p. 22. The Old Persian is cognate with *πρότερος*. Margoliouth considers the word to be identical with the Armenian *Hratarak*, herald, crier.

⁵ See p. 3, note.

longs to the God Yahū,¹ the God which is in Yeb the fortress, be taken away from thence." Then this Waidrang—7—[. . doubtful] sent letters to his son Nephāyān, who was commander of the force which was in Syené,² in the fortress, saying, "The temple which is in Yeb—8—the fortress shall be destroyed."³ Whereupon Nephāyān led out the Egyptians with the other forces; they came to the fortress of Yeb with their

¹ *Yahū*. This form for Jehovah is found in some Hebrew compound proper names, as Jehubel, Jer. xxxvii. 3. The Jews in Elephantiné used this form, which is frequent in the Old Testament in the end of proper names, as in Isaiah, Jeremiah, although the shortened form is more common.

² "*Syené*. Aram. *Sw̄n*, i.e. no doubt *Swēn*, Egypt. *Sw̄n*, Greek Σωήνη, Arab. *Aswān*. Mentioned in Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6 (R.V. *Seveeneh*) as a place in the south frontier of Egypt (in both passages render as R.V. *marg.* 'from Migdol [on the north-east border of the Delta] to Syené.' The garrison in Syené is mentioned also in a papyrus of 458 B.C. (Lzb., ii. 221). Nine years before, in 420, Waidrang himself was commander of it (*Ass. Pap. J.* 2, 4)." —*Driver*.

³ On the form יהערו, comp. יהרין, Dan. vii. 26. Forms of the impf. 3rd pers. plur. masc. are found both with י and ין. See Sachau, p. 25. So Dan. v. 10, יבהלו and ישתנו. ינש has not yet been found elsewhere. On its derivation, see Sachau, p. 27.

24 Light from Egyptian Papyri

quivers,¹—9—they went into this temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the doors which were there of stone they broke.—10—Also the seven stone doors built of hewn blocks of stone which were in this temple they destroyed, and their doors² they burned³ and their hinges—11—which were in marble sockets [and] of bronze; and the ceiling which was wholly of cedar, together with the stucco [?] of the wall [?]⁴ and the other things that were there—12—all these they burned with fire; and

¹ תליהם here might be explained from the ἀπαξ λεγ. in Gen. xxxvii. 3, seeing that the word is used in late Hebrew for *quiver*. No. 11 has וניהום. Margoliouth conjecturally renders *mattocks*, connecting it with the Arabic *thalla*. Nöldeke preferably renders *with their followers*. The word in No. 11, he thinks, is connected with the Pers. *zena* in the sense of *zantu*.

² *Doors*. N. Herz (*Expository Times*, April 1908) reads ורשיהם in place of ורשיהם, which latter Sachau and Driver translate "and their tops."

³ Reading with N. Herz קכו; but that is doubtful.

⁴ N. Herz reads אשירנא, *we have plastered*, from the demon. verb שור or סור. The latter is used in Targ. and Talm. אשירנא is identical with the same word in Ezra iv. 3. The meaning even there is uncertain.

Additional Aramaic Papyri 25

the bowls of gold and of silver and whatever else¹ was in this temple—all this they took—13—[and] appropriated unto themselves; and from the days of the king [kings] of Egypt our fathers built this temple in Yeb in the fortress, and when Cambyases [B.C. 529–522] went up to Egypt —14—he found this temple built; but the temples of Egypt were then all pulled down, and no one injured anything in this temple. —15—And since they have done this we with wives and children have put on sack-cloth, and fasted and prayed to Yahū, the Lord of the heavens,—16—who [afterwards?] gave us knowledge of this Waidrang.² They have taken away the chain [of office] from his feet, and all the riches which he

¹ מנדעם, plural מנדעמותא. The singular is well known as occurring in Egypt. Aram. documents. The plural is found here and in Euting, c. 13. See Sachau, p. 29.

² כלביא may be rendered by *dogs*, and might be taken as the subject of the following sentence to imply that he was eaten by dogs. Comp. 1 Kings xxi. 23. See Margoliouth. Nöldeke renders, "the dogs tear the chains from his feet."

26 Light from Egyptian Papyri

possessed they destroyed, and all the men—17—and every man who prayed for evil against this temple are slain,¹ and we have seen our desire upon them.

Also before this,² when this evil—18—was done to us, we sent a letter to our lord, and to Jochanan the high priest and his fellows the priests who were in Jerusalem, and to Ostan his brother,—19—who is 'Anani,³ and the nobles of the Jews, but no letter did they send to us.

Also since the Tammuz-day of the fourteenth year of King Darius—20—to this day have we put on sackcloth and fasted, our wives are become like widows, we have not anointed ourselves with oil⁴—21—or drunk wine from that day⁵ to this day of

¹ קטלו, *were slain*, a passive form like גל, *was revealed*, Dan. ii. 19; קרעו, *were plucked off*, Dan. vii. 4; וספרין פתיו, *and books were opened*, Dan. vii. 10. Also רמיו, Dan. iii. 21. Some similar forms occur in the Palmyrene tariff.

² מן-קדמת דנה, Comp. Dan. vi. 11, קדמת זנה.

³ See note on p. 17.

⁴ Compare Amos vi. 6.

⁵ See Sachau, p. 34. Margoliouth thinks that "from then unto his day" implies that this document is only

Additional Aramaic Papyri 27

the seventeenth year of King Darius [B.C. 408] nor have meal-offerings, frankincense, or burnt-offerings — 22 — been offered in this temple. Now, therefore, thy servants, Yedoniah and his companions, and the Jews, all the citizens of¹ Yeb say thus:—23—If it seem good to our lord, think² upon this temple that it may be built again, because we are not permitted³ to rebuild it again: look upon the recipients of—24—thy goodness and of thy mercy towards who are here in Egypt. May a letter be sent from thee to them concerning the temple of the God Yahū—25—that it may be rebuilt in the fortress Yeb, as it was built in former times. And they [the duplicate reads: “and we”] meal-offerings, and frankincense, and burnt-

^a rough draft in which details were afterwards to be filled up.

¹ The same expression occurs in Ezra v. 17.

² אֶתְעִשָּׂה. Compare עֲשִׂיתָ, Dan. vi. 4, Heb. עָשִׂיתָ, Targ. אֶתְעִשָּׂה, and בְּעִשְׂתָּה, Sayce-Cowley, C. 5, D. 5; also Sachau, p. 34; also compare the Aramaism in Jonah i. 6.

³ Compare Ezra vi. 7; Dan. iv. 12, 20, 23. *Ithpe.* Dan. ii. 44.

28 Light from Egyptian Papyri

offerings—26—will offer¹ upon the altar [אֲבֹרָה] of the God Yahū in thy name, and we will pray for thee at all times, we and our wives, and our children, and the Jews—27—altogether who are here, if this be done,² and this temple is rebuilt; and a portion³ shall come to thee before Yahū the God—28—of heaven from everyone who

¹ In the word מְרַבֵּחַ in this line, and in יִרְבֵּחַן in line 26, the ך takes the place of ך, after the more modern usage. See Sachau, p. 35.

² The duplicate reads עַי עַר. But the frequent use of עַר in Dan. ii. 9, 34, etc., shows the reading of No. 1 is the more correct.

³ וְצִדְקָה, lit. *and righteousness*. But the combination of חֶלֶק וְצִדְקָה in Neh. ii. 20 justifies the translation above. *Righteousness* means here, as Driver notes, a portion legally fixed. Both Sachau and Driver note the curious counterpart in the impost which Bagoas afterwards exacted on the sacrifices in the Temple at Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiq.*, bk. vi., viii.) for the murder of Joshua, the brother of Jehohanan the high priest. Joshua was a friend of Bagoas, and was slain by his brother Johanan in the Temple. Bagoas laid the blame on the Jews, upon whom he laid a fine for seven years of 50 drachmæ for every lamb offered in the daily sacrifices, but he left at the same time Johanan in possession of the high priesthood. See also Margoliouth's article, pp. 487 ff.

Additional Aramaic Papyri 29

offers to Him burnt-offering and sacrifice in value equivalent to a thousand talents of silver.¹ And concerning the gold, concerning that—29—we have sent and made known.

We have also all sent [about] the matters in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelmiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor [Péchah] of Samaria.—30—Arsam also has no knowledge of all this that has been done to us.

The twentieth of Marchesvan [November] in the seventeenth year of King Darius.

II.

We have not (as it is unnecessary for our special purpose) pointed out all the mistakes in writing which occur in this first document. They have been duly noticed by Sachau, Driver, Margoliouth, and others.

The second document, which is shorter and more defective, was written at the same time

¹ A talent of silver must have fallen greatly in value to justify such a promise. But see Nöldeke, p. 201.

30 Light from Egyptian Papyri

by Jedoniah to some person whose name is not mentioned. It need not here be given at length. It is only necessary to call attention to some of its different readings. It was intended evidently to be merely a shorter transcript of the former.

The principal parts of it are as follows:—

“In the fourteenth year of King Darius, when Arsam had gone away and gone to the king . . . the fortress, they gave gold and treasure to Waidrang the governor who was here. . . . Whereupon that Waidrang sent letters to his son Nephāyān . . . that they should destroy [the temple] of the God Yahū in the fortress Yob. Thereupon Nephāyān led the Egyptians with their ונידום, they pressed into the temple and destroyed it to the ground. And the stone pillars . . . seven great doors of hewn stones which were in that temple . . . each of brass, and the ceiling of that temple consisting entirely of cedar beams with . . . have they burned with fire. And the sacrificial bowls of gold and silver, and

Additional Aramaic Papyri 31

the things have they taken for themselves.
 And already in the days of the kings of Egypt
 have our fathers built that temple in the for-
 tress of Yeb . . . that temple he [Cambyses]
 found built before. But the temples of
 the gods of Egypt all . . . On the contrary
 no one anything against . . . was done.
 We together with our wives and children
 fasted . . . of knowledge given to us of that
 Waidrang כלבא.¹ They have taken his feet-
 chains from his feet, and all . . . who has
 wished evil to that temple, all are slain, and
 we have seen it to our satisfaction. Also . . .
 what has happened to us, we have sent a letter
 about it to our lord and also to Jehohanan
 . . . and to Ostan his brother, *i.e.* 'Anāni,
 and the freemen of the Jews.² A letter . . .
 in the fourteenth year of King Darius, and up
 to this day have we worn mourning clothes
 . . . we have anointed ourselves no more with
 oil, nor drunken wine. Also since that day and

¹ See note 2, p. 25.

² See note on p. 17.



32 Light from Egyptian Papyri

to . . . meal-offering and frankincense-offering and burnt-offering have they not made in that temple. No more . . . and the Jews, all citizens of Yeb also speak:—If it had pleased our lord thou wouldst have thought . . . to us it is not allowed to rebuild. Turn thee to the recipients of thy goodness and grace which here . . . in respect of the temple of the God Yahū to rebuild it again in the fortress Yeb even as . . . and we will bring burnt-offering upon the altar of the God Jahū in thy name, and we will pray . . . and the Jews together which are here, and if thou also doest, until that temple be built again . . . God of heaven, from everyone who offers a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering, the value of a silver shekel for a thousand כנכר (?)¹. . . For news have we sent a letter in our name

¹ Mr F. Ll. Griffiths observes: "With regard to כנכר, in which Professor Margoliouth has recognised the name of the talent, it is well known in Coptic as *kingōr*; while in demotic of the Ptolemaic age it is written *krkr*, and is equivalent to 1500 staters, tetradrachms." See *Expositor*, Dec. 1907, p. 495.



Additional Aramaic Papyri 33

to Delāyāh and Shelemyāh, the sons of . . .
of all which has been done to us has Arsam
no knowledge.

"On twenty Marcheswan in year
10 + 3 + . . ."

III.

There is yet a third document, namely, the
following memorandum:—

"This record of what Bagothi and Delaiah
have said to me. Record:—Let it be to thee
in Egypt to say before Arsam concerning the
house of sacrifice which belongs to the God
of heaven which was built in Yēb the fortress,
it was from before Cambyses, which Waidrang,
that cursed one,¹ destroyed in the fourteenth
year of Darius the king, to build it again in
its place as it was formerly, and that they
should offer meal-offerings and frankincense
upon that altar as it was accustomed to be
done before."

¹ Probably Nöldeke is correct in thus translating.
D. H. Müller translates actively *the destroyer*.

34 Light from Egyptian Papyri

Sachau observes that in Ezra vi. 2 דְּכִרְוֹנָה, *a record*, is used exactly as זכרון here.

In the last word of the second line לממר is written with the omission of ה, למאמר as in Ezra v. 11.

The phrase ביה מדבחה, *house of sacrifice*, is used in place of אגורא, *temple*, which is used in the other documents.

Arsam had evidently returned to his office as governor of Egypt before this record was sent.

Sachau mentions several mistakes in the writing of the document, which it is not necessary to mention here.

The expression "in its place" indicated that the temple was to be erected on the same spot which it had formerly occupied. Compare Ezra v. 15, vi. 7.

CHAPTER III

THE THREE TEMPLES IN WHICH SACRIFICES
WERE OFFERED CONTRARY TO THE LAW
OF DEUTERONOMY CH. XII.

THE discovery of these Assuan papyri has added another temple, and that of a very early date, to the number of Jewish temples in which sacrifices were for a long period offered up to Jehovah, notwithstanding that the law, distinctly laid down in Deut. xii. 2-14, prohibited the offering up of any sacrifice except "in the place which Jehovah shall choose in one of thy tribes, where thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings" (v. 14 and vv. 5-7). Jerusalem was afterwards selected as that place. But the temples in which, in the course of time, such unlawful sacrifices were offered were, first, that in Yeb or Elephantiné, as set

36 Light from Egyptian Papyri

forth plainly in the newly discovered Aramaic papyri noticed in our preceding chapters, which was built in the closing period of Cyrus's reign. See pp. 25, 31.

The exact date of the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizzim is a matter of great uncertainty. According to Josephus (*Antiq.*, xi., viii. 4), it was erected by Sanballat, the enemy of Nehemiah, for his son-in-law Manasseh, who was brother-in-law to Jaddua, the Jewish high priest in the days of Alexander the Great. Sanballat, however, lived nearly a century earlier; and although it is possible that the first statement may be founded on fact, the second cannot have been true. Although the site has been minutely examined by means of the work of the Palestine Exploration Society, very little can be affirmed except that the temple, at whatever time it was erected, possessed an altar for sacrifice. The temple is not alluded to in the New Testament, although worship on the mountain by the Samaritans is spoken of in John iv. 20. A temple, how-

The three Temples of Sacrifice 37

ever, is mentioned as having been closed up by Hyrcanus in B.C. 129, and that temple may have been in ruins in the days of our Lord, although worship and sacrifice, as in later days, may have been made on the site of its ruins.

The Onias temple erected in Egypt about B.C. 154 was of much more importance. In the outset, attention may be called to the fact that the only "priests" who officiated in the several temples, the only persons who could properly claim to belong to the regular Levitical "succession," were those who sacrificed in the temple at Leontopolis. How long, however, the latter continued to possess that "succession" is a matter at present unknown. It is, however, a matter of some importance to observe in general that, if we may use in this case the ecclesiastical language of the larger portions of the professing Christian Church, the Jewish congregations in Egypt (whether Jewish or Samaritan) must be distinctly affirmed to have been of a schismatical type.

It is clear from the facts now disclosed by

38 Light from Egyptian Papyri

the Assuan Aramaic papyri that the temple erected in Elephantiné was a temple for sacrifice and not a mere synagogue. From a Levitical standpoint that temple was noted for certain special peculiarities of its own. Not only did the seven-branched candlestick disappear and a hanging lamp take its place, but the temple does not seem to have had a table of shewbread, or a special altar for the offering up of incense, or a "holy of holies." Its walls seem also to have been ornamented in a different way from that which was practised in the ancient temple at Jerusalem. The priests who officiated at its altar do not appear, after a little time, to have been chosen in strict accordance with Levitical precedents. The papyri also make no mention of a library which contained the Holy Scriptures, and the lamentations manifested by the Jewish citizens at its destruction bewailed more deeply the material stones and ornaments of the building than the probable loss of the holy writings of Israel.

The Onias temple at Leontopolis was erected



The three Temples of Sacrifice 39

between the years B.C. 167 and 157. A fairly consistent account of its erection is given by Josephus (*Antiq.*, xiii., cxx. 3; *Wars*, vii., x. 2). Josephus is the sole authority on the subject. The first Book of Maccabees, in which one might reasonably have expected an account of the remarkable religious secession which took place under the leadership of Onias, does not even allude to that remarkable episode in Jewish history, while that religious secession happened after the period treated of in Second Maccabees.

In his earlier work on the *History of the Jewish Wars* (book i. 1) Josephus records the struggle between "the sons of Tobias" and the high priest Onias IV. during the early part of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. In that struggle Onias was at first successful, and for a time expelled those evil men from Jerusalem. They, however, fled to Antiochus, and received help from that monarch, who marched an army against Jerusalem and took possession of the city. Onias fled from Jeru-

40 Light from Egyptian Papyri

salem, with a number of priests and Levites, to Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, and offered to aid that monarch in his enterprises against Antiochus. The offer was accepted by Ptolemy, and Onias was created a general of the Egyptians. As a military leader Onias seems to have performed considerable services. For such services a large gift of land was granted to him, and permission accorded to create a second Jerusalem with a temple similar in its arrangements and external appearance to the old Jerusalem in Judæa.

In Professor Flinders Petrie's important work on *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*—published at the office of the British School of Archæology in Egypt, University College, Gower Street, W.C., and Quaritch, 11 Piccadilly, W., 1906—an important article is given on the temple of Onias. Professor Flinders Petrie, by careful examination and excavation, has proved that the locality of this temple was, as formerly recognised, near the Tell el Yehudiyeh in Leontopolis, in the nome of Heliopolis. A

The three Temples of Sacrifice 41

large portion of the district around was called the Oneion, after Onias (Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiv., viii. 2). The main object of Onias was to make the locality resemble Jerusalem. In the neighbourhood of the temple were the ruins of an old temple which had stood in the ancient camp of the Hyksos, and the immense stone wall of that camp formed a most important quarry whence building material was obtained. "The plan of the whole hill is strikingly modelled on that of Jerusalem; the temple had inner and outer courts, like that of Zion, but it was smaller and poorer in size; and while the hill of Jerusalem was natural, and the temple there was built on the top of the rock, here the artificial hill had to be revetted with a great stone wall, which made the temple like a tower 60 cubits high, as seen in the model, plate xxiv. There is not any point of difficulty or discrepancy left in the account of Josephus, so soon as we find the true site" (Flinders Petrie, p. 31).

The date of occupation, says Petrie, is given

42 Light from Egyptian Papyri

by the coins found at the top, which were all copper coins of Ptolemy Soter II., beginning B.C. 117. The date of Onias was somewhat earlier, B.C. 154. The mound is unique in Egypt, for Egyptian builders followed a different construction. Of the temple which was built on its top, several portions of the basements of the walls still remain. There were two open courts, and at the end of these a mass of brick foundation which measures 201 inches wide and 658 inches long. This is nearly the proportion of Solomon's temple, 20 by 70 cubits. No trace exists of the divisions of the temple into porch, holy place, and the most holy.

In justification of his attempt to build a temple with an altar for sacrifice, Onias, as mentioned several times by Josephus (*Antiq.*, xiii., lii. 1) appealed to the prophecy of Isaiah xix. 16-23 as a solid justification. The "pillar," however, mentioned by Isaiah was only a sign or pillar of remembrance, and not one which marked a spot on which "a



The three Temples of Sacrifice 43

high place" was erected. The "altar" named in that passage was only an altar of "witness," like that of Ed spoken of in Josh. xxii. 9-34. The reference in Isaiah to Josh. xxii. can scarcely be mistaken. "Altar" and "pillar" in Isaiah's prophetic picture were "signs" that Egypt would in later days become a centre of pure worship. By the "pillar at the border thereof" Egypt was ecclesiastically annexed to Canaan, just as the territories across the Jordan were united by the children of Reuben and the children of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh were united by the altar of Ed. The prediction of five cities speaking the language of Canaan (comp. Zech. iii. 9) was an illustration of that spiritual annexation, and must not to be regarded as a literal prediction.¹

We have already called attention to the fact (*Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 263) that Jerome strangely maintained that the over-

¹ The LXX., like Josephus, refer the prophecy to the Onias temple, and accordingly altered the phrase in v. 18 from "city of destruction" into "city of righteousness."

44 Light from Egyptian Papyri

throw of the Onias temple, which took place a few years later than the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Titus, had been predicted by Daniel in ch. xi. 13, 14. The prophecy, however, of Daniel could not have referred to the Onias temple, because it occurs in a context in which the prophet Daniel speaks of the events connected with the wars between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy, which occurred some forty years earlier. In fact, there is no reference whatever made in that prophecy of Daniel to the Onias temple, or to its later destruction.

The history of the Onias temple was by no means peaceful. There are still traces of its having undergone several sieges. Its high priest had to give proof of his ability as a general, and part of the eastern portion of the temple suffered much from sieges. Professor Flinders Petrie found many of the missiles discharged from ballistæ still lying among its ruins. The appearance of the Egyptian temple and city had, however, been made to

The three Temples of Sacrifice 45

resemble many of the features of the Palestinian city. The temple was finally closed by Lupus, the Roman prefect of Egypt, in A.D. 71. His successor Paulinus stripped the temple completely, shut up its gates, and rendered it inaccessible.

It is curious that the Onias temple preserved in its high priesthood (though how long cannot be safely asserted) the correct succession of the Levitical priesthood, which was utterly lost by the Palestinian Jews throughout the Maccabean period. The illegal attempt made in Palestine by the Jews to establish a Jewish kingdom with a ruler who should be both priest and king led to the destruction in Palestine in a short time of true royalty, which appertained to the House of David, and to the utter ruin of any lawful Levitical high priesthood.



CHAPTER IV

EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN THE EARLY MACCABEAN PERIOD, NOT ALLUDED TO IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

It has long been assumed as an axiom of the modern criticism that the Book of Daniel was written in the age of the great Maccabean revolt against the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes. Following in the steps of the pagan commentator Porphyry, the Book of Daniel has been regarded as an attempt to fan the flames of insurrection among the patriotic Jews of that period, and to inspire them with a holy resolve to oppose the attempt of that king to destroy their nationality, and blot out their religion from under heaven. It was important to make them believe that the prophet Daniel in Babylon had predicted

Events passed over in Daniel 47

ages before the attempts of the heathen and their discomfiture. For if that prophet had been led to sketch the manner in which the unholy plan was to be taken in hand, the Jews might be aroused to go forth with the certainty of obtaining ultimately the victory in the holy war which had been set on foot for "faith and fatherland."

But in order to establish this theory, so skillfully concocted by Porphyry, and designed to put an end to the appeals made constantly in his day by Christian controversialists to the Book of Daniel, it was necessary to show that the Book of Daniel bore plainly and distinctly on its front proofs that it was written after the events had taken place which are described as predicted in its pages.

Porphyry had a strong argument to adduce in support of his theory, derived from the chronicle of Dan. xi. 1-30. He could well afford to pass over the discrepancy which exists in Dan. xi. 2 as to the number of the Persian monarchs. As the four mon-

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archies spoken of in Dan. ii. and vii. as existing to "the time of the end" give a prophetic picture of the world-powers that played a part in the history of Israel, it might well be argued that only those Persian monarchs who concerned themselves in the affairs of "the holy people" are mentioned in the prophecy, which from first to last is concerned only with the fortunes of Israel. But leaving that matter out of sight, and some minor difficulties connected therewith, Porphyry might well, from his standpoint, argue from the incidents recorded in ch. xi. 1-30 that that prophecy had strong marks of being a pretended prophecy written after the events related in it had actually taken place.¹

The theory of Porphyry was, however, completely demolished by the fact that the death of Antiochus Epiphanes is not mentioned

¹ See the detailed exposition in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 242-292, and the critical notes in *Daniel and its Critics*, pp. 174-198.

Events passed over in Daniel 49

at all in the "prophecy" or "chronicle," whatever it may be termed. The attempt to maintain that the closing verses of the eleventh chapter (*vv.* 40-43) describe a campaign of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt, undertaken at the close of his career, is utterly opposed to the historians who have written on the close of that monarch's reign, and the subsequent events of the Maccabee struggle. Regarded strictly from a literal standpoint, the events recorded in ch. xi. 40 to the end of ch. xii. never took place; and the modern critics are perfectly correct in that particular. The idea upheld by the Futurist school that Daniel xi. from about *v.* 31 onwards depicts events still future, and describes a personal Antichrist of the future days, is, we consider, a delusion and a snare.

But it is passing strange how little information concerning the Maccabean insurrection and the grievances of the Jewish people can be discovered from the Book of Daniel. So far from the events "prophesied" or "re-

50 Light from Egyptian Papyri

corded" being of the character which would naturally have been expected in a book designed to arouse a sleeping nation to indignation and fury, the account afforded, one might almost say, is tame to an extreme. There is nothing whatever on the sacred page which would, from a Jewish standpoint, justify the abuse hurled against that "contemptible" personage by Church fathers and Futuristic expositors. In the Books of the Maccabees and in the account given by Josephus we can easily discover a full justification of the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes, and a striking picture of how a weak man aspired to imitate the character of a strong one. But in the pages of Daniel there is no such picture.

Let us briefly survey the facts recorded by the "historians" and those set forth by the "prophet."

1. There is not a word spoken in the Book of Daniel concerning the founding of a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, in which Jewish youths and priests wearing the Greek cap con-

Events passed over in Daniel 51

tended together, often in a state of nudity, in the palæstra and in the game of the discus. That game the Jewish historian regarded as no light matter, but as a gross impiety against the God of Israel, and as the "advance of an alien religion." It was a terrible profanity, especially as it was favoured and supported by Jason, high priest of the Jews. See 2 Macc. iv. 9, 10, 12-16; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii., v. 1.

2. There is no special mention in Daniel of the Sabbath having been turned into a reproach, or of the Jewish feasts being turned into mourning. See 1 Macc. i. 30; 2 Macc. xv. 2-5.

3. Nor is there any reference made to the abolition of the rite of circumcision, although, if anything could have driven the Jews to madness, it would have been the acts recorded in the two Books of the Maccabees, of women being put to death for circumcising their children, and of circumcised babes having been hung in derision round their mothers' necks, their houses being at the same time

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destroyed, as well as all those persons who had dared to transgress the king's commandment by performing the act of circumcision. See 1 Macc. i. 60 ; and 2 Macc. x. 2-4.

4. There is no mention in the Book of Daniel of the Jews having been compelled to eat meats prohibited by the Law of Moses, meats offered to idols, and especially swine's flesh. But this was insisted on, as recorded in 1 Macc. i. 62, 63 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21, vii.

The martyrdom of the seven brethren for refusing to eat swine's flesh, which is recorded in 2 Macc. vi., may be left out of this list, because it may have taken place at a later era, or, as Grätz has maintained, may have occurred outside the limits of the Holy Land.

5. One profanation of the sanctuary is briefly mentioned in Dan. xi. 31. But in that chapter there is no reference whatever made to the *cleansing of the sanctuary*. The cleansing of the sanctuary spoken of in Dan. viii. cannot be identified with the "little help" referred to in Dan. xi. 30.

Events passed over in Daniel 53

6. We read nowhere in Daniel of the more awful profanation of the sanctuary recorded in 2 Macc. vi. 4, 5, when "the temple was filled with riot and revellings by the heathen, who dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the sacred precincts, and moreover brought inside things that were not befitting; and the place of sacrifice was filled with these abominable things, which had been prohibited by the laws." That profanation of the Temple seems to have taken place in B.C. 168, although the historical writers seem to have considerably mixed up the accounts of these two profanations with one another.

7. The Book of Daniel, in ch. xi. 28, gives merely a superficial glance at the first profanation. That event was specially remarkable for the entrance of Antiochus Epiphanes into the holy place (1 Macc. i. 21-24; 2 Macc. v. 15-18). But of that daring act no account is given in either Dan. viii. or Dan. xi. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 292.

8. There is no allusion made in Daniel to



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any "cleansing of the sanctuary" in Maccabean days. The cleansing of the sanctuary spoken of in Dan. viii. 13, 14 is not that which took place in the Maccabean time, but a cleansing which is spoken of as taking place at the close of the evening morning two thousand and three hundred (Dan. viii. 14, 26). See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 324, 325.

9. The second horrible profanation of the Temple (possibly referred to in 2 Macc. vi. 4-5, mentioned above under No. 6) is but slightly noticed in Dan. xi. 31; Josephus (*Antiq.*, xii., v. 4). It is described along with the setting up of that idolatry by which the altar of Jehovah was desecrated in 1 Macc. i. 54-62 and in 2 Macc. vi. 6 ff.

10. The Book of Daniel nowhere makes mention of the profanity of consecrating the Temple at Jerusalem to a heathen god, and calling it by the name of Jupiter Olympius, and of reconsecrating the temple on Mount Gerizzim (although the latter took place at the request of the Samaritans themselves) to



Events passed over in Daniel 55

Jupiter the Protector of Strangers (2 Macc. vi. 2; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii., v. 5).

11. Nor is there any notice taken in Daniel of the institution of the pagan festival of Bacchus which is recorded in 2 Macc. vi. 7.

12. The purification of the Temple and of the altar, including the peculiar care taken to remove the stones that had been defiled,—although noted with considerable length in 1 Macc. iv. 42–51, in 2 Macc. x. 1–8, and in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii., vii. 6, 7,—is passed over in silence in the Book of Daniel.

13. The wholesale destruction of the holy books of the Law and Prophets dwelt upon in 1 Macc. i. 56, 57 is not alluded to in the Book of Daniel, although the work of the teachers who gave instruction to the people, and its great importance, are alluded to in Dan. xi. 32–35.

14. The flight of the high priest (Onias IV.) into Egypt and the building of the schismatic temple in Leontopolis, though, as noticed before (p. 39), it was not an unimportant

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episode in the history of Israel, is nowhere referred to in the Book of Daniel.

The list here given is by no means complete. Other items could be easily added. The only passages which seem to show anything like a close connection with the Danielic "chronicle" are those relating to "the abomination of desolation" and the taking away of the daily sacrifice. And even Nestle, one of the most remarkable representatives of the new school of criticism, has done his best to remove even that assumed piece of evidence. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 293, 294.

It is marvellous that the early Fathers who sought to grapple with the sophisms of Porphyry did not notice these matters. In fact, the whole prophecy of ch. xi., from the 31st verse to the end of ch. xii., is characterised by that vagueness and indefiniteness as to particular facts and their exact order of occurrence, which is one of the most noteworthy points which distinguish real and inspired prophecy. Except as noted in detail in our

Events passed over in Daniel 57

volume already referred to, even Dan. xi. exhibits none of the features possessed by a minute historical chronicle.

The Book of Daniel does not exhibit marks of having been written in Maccabean times, save as regards a small portion of ch. xi. It is perfectly marvellous how Dr Pusey could venture to assert:—"In the eighth chapter when Daniel did portray Antiochus every trait corresponds; we are at a loss for nothing; not a word is without meaning. . . . The end of Antiochus was briefly and strikingly characterised in the eighth chapter, a sudden yet violent death amid a life of war and plunder" (Pusey's *Daniel*, p. 97).

This latter statement, as we have noticed before, is peculiarly unfortunate. The only parallel to the expression "without hand" (Dan. viii. 25) is the Aramaic phrase used of the stone cut out of the mountain "without hands" (Dan. ii. 34). But no necessarily sudden event is depicted in ch. ii. 24. In both passages the phrases made use

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of denote events brought about by Divine and not by human agency. The eighth chapter of Daniel does not depict any sudden death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The modern critic is in some respects easily satisfied, but a thorough examination of his argument shows how essentially weak is the position which he has taken up. Antiochus Epiphanes was not the greatest enemy of the people of Israel. It may be questioned whether Nebuchadnezzar was not a more insatiable tyrant. The struggle of the Maccabean era, too, did not close with Antiochus Epiphanes. It lasted through the reign of Antiochus Eupator, and through no inconsiderable portion of the reign of Demetrius. At the time of the death of Epiphanes the Jews were in the most favourable situation. But the military skill exhibited by Lysias, the general of Eupator, and after him by Bacchides, soon put matters into a different position. The chain of forts he, and after him Bacchides, built from north to south of the land

Events passed over in Daniel 59

of Palestine rendered it possible to prevent serious attacks from the guerrilla mode of warfare adopted by the Jews. Judas Maccabeus was killed on the battlefield almost at the end of Epiphanes' career, and the Jewish generals who remained were not equal to him in such a warfare. It was a belief in the Romans which in reality sustained the national struggle. The "three shepherds" who, according to Zechariah (ch. xi. 8), were successively cut off by Jehovah in that great thirty years' war were the three kings or kingdoms which have been just mentioned; but that "crowning mercy" of Jehovah was treated with scorn. The crown rights of Messiah were set at nought, and disaster after a short time of grace was the fate of Israel (see Chap. VI.). But this "war of sons of Zion against Greece" has been discussed in our Bampton Lectures on Zechariah, and we cannot here return to that subject.

CHAPTER V

THE WARS DEPICTED IN DAN. XI. AND XII.

It may be useful here to give a brief sketch of the history of the wars between Egypt and Syria as delineated in Dan. xi. 5 onwards.

Assuming, as is most likely, the Massoretic punctuation in that verse is incorrect, the meaning of verse 5 is: "And the king of the south (Ptolemy, king of Egypt) shall be strong; and one of (Ptolemy's) princes (Seleucus) shall be stronger than he, and rule; his dominion shall be a great dominion." Seleucus obtained at first an independent satrapy, namely, of Babylonia. Owing, however, to the ambition of Antigonus, Seleucus was compelled to flee to Egypt to Ptolemy in B.C. 316, and he served for four years as a general of Ptolemy. He re-entered



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 61

Babylon as conqueror in B.C. 312. The Syrian monarchy is dated from that year, although Seleucus did not assume the royal title till B.C. 306, when Ptolemy also assumed the same dignity.

No allusion is found in Daniel to the attack which Ptolemy Soter made on Jerusalem in B.C. 320, when, as Josephus relates (*Antiq.*, xii. 1), Jerusalem was captured on the Sabbath. On his return to Egypt, Ptolemy brought back a number of Jews and Samaritans, who settled there. Palestine for a time fell under the rule of Antigonus, from whom it was rescued by Seleucus as commander-in-chief of the army of Egypt.

The Book of Daniel passes over the sixteen years' reign of Seleucus' son, Antiochus I. Soter, because Antiochus I. did not come into serious contact with the Jews. No reference is made in Daniel to the important events which were then occurring in Greece. There is a huge gap in the "chronicle" of some sixty years. No allusion is made to the impious

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assumption of the name of *God* by Antiochus II. Theos.

Verse 6, however, rapidly hints at the barbarous story of the marriage between Antiochus II. and the rival queens Berenice and Laodice. See fuller sketch in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 250, 251, where the difficulties of the Hebrew text in verse 7, and the attempts made to reconcile that verse with the facts of history, are noticed. Ptolemy III. Euergetes was then on the throne of Egypt, and his victorious campaign against Seleucus II. Callinicus, son of Antiochus Theos and Laodice, is related in verse 8. After Ptolemy had returned to Egypt, Seleucus II. recovered the territories which had been wrested from him. The first successes of Seleucus II. are alluded to in a slab which mentions a treaty between Magnesia and Smyrna, and which is now in the Marble Room, Oxford. Peace was, however, concluded for about ten years between Syria and Egypt after the failure of the campaign against Egypt by Seleucus II.



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 63

Antiochus III., or the Great, ascended the throne of Syria in B.C. 223. Ptolemy Euergetes died about a year after, and was succeeded by Ptolemy IV. Philopator. In B.C. 218 Antiochus declared war against Egypt (Dan. xi. 10). Antiochus was, however, severely beaten at Raphia (B.C. 217) (*vv.* 11, 12), and Ptolemy entered Jerusalem in triumph. The Jews were able to hinder that monarch from entering the Temple. That fact, however, gave mortal offence to the monarch, which, if 3 Maccabees can be relied on, was afterwards cruelly avenged upon the Jews at Alexandria. Peace was soon concluded between Syria and Egypt, and lasted twelve years.

The efforts which were made by the Jews, who relied on the interpretations of the old prophecies (Dan. xi. 14), to establish their independence, proved in vain. The king of Egypt, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (*v.* 13), put a distinguished Etolian general (Scopas) in command of the Egyptian forces; but Scopas was

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defeated in a great battle at Mount Panion, and had to retreat to Sidon, which was besieged and taken by Antiochus, who prepared to carry the war into Egypt. The opposition of the Romans compelled Antiochus to patch up an alliance with Ptolemy, who had been specially taken under Roman protection. Antiochus gave Ptolemy his daughter Cleopatra I. to wife, and assigned to her as her dowry Coelo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, on the stipulation that the revenues of those provinces should be equally divided between Syria and Egypt. War, however, soon broke out with the Romans, and Cleopatra, instead of assisting her father, used her influence in support of the Roman alliance. In the decisive battle of Magnesia, in B.C. 190, the power of Antiochus the Great was finally crushed. Daniel's account of Antiochus the Great closes at v. 19, and his end is well, though briefly, sketched in E. R. Bevan's *House of Seleucus*, vol. ii. 119-120. One short verse in Daniel (v. 20) describes the

Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 65

reign of his successor, Seleucus IV. Philopator; but even the account given in that verse is far from clear.

Antiochus IV. Epiphanes is then brought upon the scene. He was the younger son of Antiochus the Great, and had been sent to Rome by his father as one of twenty hostages. Seleucus Philopator, for reasons which are not very clear, sent later his own son Demetrius as hostage in his room. That boy, however, was only twelve years of age when his father was murdered by Heliodorus. Antiochus Epiphanes, who was at the time on his road to Antioch, rapidly pressed forward, put Heliodorus to death, and himself ascended the throne. His sudden arrival (v. 21) and attack (v. 24) on the boy-king Ptolemy VI. Philometor, whose ministers had declared war against Syria, virtually gave Antiochus the full command of Egypt. There is no allusion made in the histories of that time to the story recorded in Dan. xi. 27. Jerome has honestly confessed so much in his commentary. Rome

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lost no time in warning Antiochus that he must retire from Egypt, and he did so (*v.* 28). He, however, afterwards recommenced his attempts on Egypt (*v.* 29), and was again compelled by the Romans to retire. On his way homeward he fell upon the Jewish people for their expulsion of Menelaus, to whom he had before sold the high priesthood. The atrocities then committed in Jerusalem, the sacrilegious entry of Antiochus into the holy of holies, the plundering of the Temple treasury, and the carrying off of the golden candlestick, the golden altar of incense, the table of the shewbread, are all facts passed over in the record of *Dan.* xi. 28.

The second profanation, as already noticed (*p.* 53), is more particularly recorded in *vv.* 31, 32. If the destruction of the Holy Books is passed over in *Daniel*, the work performed by those who taught the people their contents is spoken of with honour in *vv.* 33-35, and the terrible persecution which the teachers had to undergo is alluded to in *vv.* 34, 35.

Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 67

It is, indeed, strange that the exploits of the Maccabee chieftains on the field of battle should not have been alluded to in Daniel, unless it be in the phrase, "they shall be holpen with a little help" (*v.* 34). The "cleansing of the sanctuary" is not even referred to in that chapter; and it is more than questionable whether it is alluded to in Dan. viii.

Vv. 36-39 further describe Antiochus Epiphanes' conduct. It ought to be carefully noted that the phrase, "he shall do according to his will," is employed in reference to Alexander the Great in Dan. xi. 3, and in reference to Antiochus the Great in ch. xi. 16. The title "wilful king" is, therefore, not one which is specially and solely used of Antiochus Epiphanes; and in the clauses used in Dan. viii. 12, 24, which seem to be identical, the words "his pleasure" are not found in the original text.

The description in *vv.* 37-39 is a description which does not particularly harmonise with the



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character of Antiochus Epiphanes set forth in history, and several of the verses are more than obscure. It must be particularly noted that not a line with regard to his death is contained in Daniel's prophecy or chronicle. It is absurd to suppose that at v. 40 the narrative is carried over to "the time of the end," in the sense put upon the expression by the Futurist expositors, *i.e.* the last days of the world's history. The whole narrative is one consecutive history, whether that narrative be literal or ideal, and the device of "breaks" is most dishonouring to the description itself, whether it be regarded directly in all its parts as a divine revelation, or as a paraphrase of such a revelation.

We have already elsewhere (*Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 315, 318) called attention to the fact, that in almost every prediction of the Old Testament in which temporal deliverances are promised, reference is made to the grand closing deliverance of the world by the Messiah. Hence it does not surprise us to find

Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 69

that Daniel's predictions of the things written in the Scriptures ("a writing of truth," ch. x. 21) are no exception to that principle. The overthrow of the Syro-Greek power (not the individual Antiochus) on the mountains of Judæa, and the appearance of the great Michael (see our previous work, pp. 319-321), closes this grand but often much-misunderstood prophecy.

The historical character of the story of Mattathias, who, according to 1 Maccabees, was the father of the four Maccabean chieftains, and the prime originator of the Jewish revolt against the Syro-Greek tyranny, has been called in question by Niese (*Kritik der beiden Maccabäerbücher*, 1900). His objections have not, however, been supported by Schürer in the last edition of his great work. Niese has taken up the novel line in upholding the Second Book of the Maccabees and ranking it in historical value above the First Book. As E. R. Bevan has observed (*House of Seleucus*, vol. ii. p. 168, note 2), "The Second

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Book of Maccabees has, of course, recently experienced a great turn of fortune. After sinking to the very lowest opprobrium, so that even when one was obliged to draw from it, one did so with a contemptuous reference, it has lately found no less a champion than Niese, and will be given the place of honour in the next volume of his *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*. It is an edifying disturbance of 'accepted opinion.'"

Whatever arguments may be put forward in defence of the traditional story of Mattathias (which is passed over in 2 Macc.), his eldest son, Judas, was the real leader of the insurrection. His first important success (mentioned in 1 Macc. iii.) was gained over a large host which the generals of Antiochus Epiphanes had collected together from Samaria. In this battle, in which the army of Judas was considerably inferior in numbers to that which was marshalled on the side of Antiochus, Judas slew in a hand-to-hand struggle Apollonius, the general of Antiochus' army,



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 71

and, like David of old, took from the vanquished foe his sword, which he used in his subsequent battles. This battle took place in B.C. 167 (1 Macc. viii. 10-12).

It was rapidly succeeded by another more serious encounter with Seron (1 Macc. viii. 13-26).

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes occurred in B.C. 164. That he perished shortly after an attempt to take forcible possession of the treasures stored up in a heathen temple is tolerably certain, but the details of his death are somewhat conflicting. His young son, Antiochus Eupator, who was only nine years of age, succeeded him on the throne, which he occupied for a brief period of less than two years. He was ably supported by Lysias, who appears to have been a general of considerable ability. He was defeated by Judas Maccabeus in two battles (those of Emmaus and Bethsur) which are recorded in 1 Macc. iii. and iv., after which (B.C. 164) the Temple was cleansed and rededicated.

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The ban had to some extent been taken off the Jewish religion, as E. R. Bevan points out, and a certain amount of religious liberty had been granted by the new king on the advice of Lysias. The religious struggle seems to have been closed, although the struggle for national independence was only begun. The victory at Bethsur was not decisive.

Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus IV., was the proper heir to the Syrian throne, though put aside by his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes. He had grown up to manhood at Rome. He now (B.C. 162) escaped from Rome, proceeded rapidly to Babylon and Syria, assumed the government, put Antiochus Eupator and Lysias at once to death, and by a judicious use of treasure, as everything was venal in Rome, secured his recognition as king by the senate and people.

The Maccabean chiefs began to feel the inherent weakness of their own position in B.C. 160. They possessed no legal right to the high-priesthood, nor did they possess any



right to sit and rule upon the throne of David. But their tendency, for political reasons, was to ignore these disabilities. Demetrius, when settled on the throne, soon saw the mistake which they had made, and the religious liberty which had then been obtained weakened very considerably the nationalist movement. Alcimus, the Hebrew form of which name was Jakim, who appears to have been "a priest of the seed of Aaron" (1 Macc. vii. 14), was put forth as a rival to the Maccabeans. He was a man of no religious feeling, and is spoken of in both books of the Maccabees as "most wicked," and one who was ready to hand up the treasures of the Temple to Demetrius Soter. He was appointed high priest in B.C. 160. Judas Maccabeus defeated that year Nicanor at Capharsalama (1 Macc. viii. 31), and afterwards at Adasa, where Nicanor was killed (1 Macc. viii. 39-50).

Judas, despairing of help from other quarters, entered that year into correspondence with the Romans, with the view of making a treaty with

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them. But Bacchides, one of the generals of Demetrius, was soon despatched with a strong force to avenge the death of Nicanor, and Judas was at last defeated and slain at the battle of Eleasa (1 Macc. ix., B.C. 160). Alcimus, who, after the battle of Adasa, had fled to Antioch, returned to Jerusalem and took up again his post of high priest, and as strongly opposed to the Maccabean party. Jonathan was appointed as the successor of Judas; a strong chain of garrison-posts was built in Judæa. Alcimus died shortly after of a stroke of paralysis, after he had commenced the work of pulling down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary (1 Macc. ix. 54-57).

In B.C. 156 Bacchides made peace with Jonathan, who was recognised by Alexander Balas or Epiphanes, the pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, as high priest and king's friend; and Jonathan Maccabeus wore the golden crown and purple robe sent to him by that king at the Feast of Tabernacles. Demetrius too late attempted to adopt a



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 75

similar line of policy. War soon broke out between Alexander Balas and Demetrius, and the latter, who was defeated, was killed in flight from the battle. This was in B.C. 150.

It may be well, to show the gradual growth of independence in Judæa, to give a few dates up to the Christian era. This chronological chronicle will show also what an uncertain thing Jewish independence really was, and moreover show that the destruction of the national hopes was caused in very deed by the falling away from the real national religion. Had the Maccabee chieftains been content to simply act as the judges of Israel, and waited for the Messiah to restore all things, Jewish independence would have been placed upon a sure basis.

B.C. 147. Apollonius, governor of Cœlo-Syria and supporter of Demetrius II., son of Demetrius Soter, was defeated by Jonathan at Azotus (Ashdod). Jonathan burnt the temple of Dagon, which was at the time crowded with

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people. Demetrius recognised Jonathan as high priest and governor (1 Macc. x. 22-45). Ptolemy IX. Physcon, or Euergetes II., became king of Egypt.

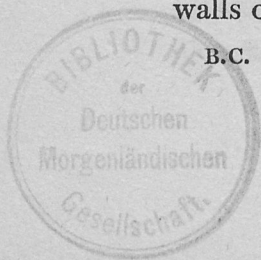
B.C. 146. Demetrius II. Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter, ascended the throne of Syria, having defeated the army of Alexander Balas, the pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes.

B.C. 146. Carthage taken and destroyed by the Romans under Scipio. The Romans, under Mummius, also destroyed Corinth, and reduced all Greece to a province of Rome.

In B.C. 145 Alexander Balas was defeated by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who was mortally wounded on the battlefield, but did not expire till after five days, after the head of Alexander Balas was shown to him, who had been murdered after the battle.

B.C. 144. Jonathan Maccabeus was confirmed in his position by Alexander VI. Simon Maccabeus captured Ascalon and Joppa. The walls of Jerusalem were heightened.

B.C. 144. Simon Maccabeus, the last of



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 77

Mattathias' five sons, became high priest and prince.

B.C. 143. Tryphon put Antiochus VI., son of Alexander Balas, to death, and usurped himself the Syrian throne. Jonathan was slain by Tryphon.

B.C. 142. Surrender of the town of Jerusalem to Simon Maccabeus. Its purification followed immediately after. A thanksgiving service was held, and Israel was for a short time at peace. (1 Macc. xiii. 43-53, xiv. 1-15.)

B.C. 142. Simon Maccabeus opened communication with Rome (1 Macc. xiv. 24).

B.C. 142. Solemn confirmation by the priests, people, and elders of Israel of Simon as "their governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 41).

B.C. 137. Antiochus VII. Sidetes (so called because brought up at Side, in Pamphylia), second son of Demetrius I., and brother of the captive Demetrius II., defeated the

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usurper Tryphon, and besieged him at Dora (1 Macc. xv. 10 ff.). Antiochus VII. recognised Simon as high priest and prince of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 1-9), but declined Simon's assistance in the siege of Dora, and required Simon to pay tribute and the surrender of certain cities. Hence war broke out between Simon and Antiochus. Victory of Simon. Tryphon was put to death.

B.C. 135. Simon and his sons, Judas and Mattathias, were assassinated by Ptolemy, son of Abubus, son-in-law of Simon.

B.C. 135. John Hyrcanus, second son of Simon, became high priest and prince.

B.C. 133. Antiochus VII., after a year's siege, took Jerusalem, and Judæa became tributary to Syria. His respect for the Temple and Jewish feelings caused him to receive from the Jews the surname of Eusebes, *the pious*.

B.C. 128. Antiochus VII. was slain in battle against the Parthians. The death of Antiochus Sidetes was the ruin of the Seleucid dynasty. See Bevan's *House of Seleucus*, vol. ii. p. 246.



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 79

Judæa recovered for a while its independence (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xiii. 8). Release of Demetrius II. (see p. 77). Anarchy prevailed throughout Syria for nearly forty years, ten rulers following one another in rapid succession.

B.C. 125. John Hyrcanus conquered Samaria and Idumæa. The Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizzim (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xiii. 9) was destroyed by Hyrcanus.

B.C. 125. Hyrcanus entered into a league with the Romans, and abandoned the sect of the Pharisees (who had protested against his being made high priest). Hyrcanus then joined the sect of the Sadducees (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xiii. 11).

B.C. 117. Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was banished for ten years from Egypt through the intrigues of his mother, Cleopatra, and became ruler of Cyprus.

B.C. 107. Ptolemy IX., or Alexander I., brother of Ptolemy VIII., co-ruler of Egypt with his mother, Cleopatra.

B.C. 106. Death of Hyrcanus. Aristobulus I.,

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son of Hyrcanus, seizes the high-priesthood, with the intention of becoming also king of the Jews, murders his brother Antigonus, and dies miserably (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xiii. 11).

B.C. 105. Alexander Jannæus, son of Hyrcanus, king of the Jews. War with Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who defeated him at Shaphoth, near the Jordan, and overran Judæa. Cleopatra assisted Alexander Jannæus. Rebellion of the Pharisees against Alexander Jannæus. Alexander expelled from Jerusalem, but after many battles returned, and became reconciled to the Pharisees.

B.C. 83. Tigranes, king of Armenia, became king of Syria.

B.C. 81. Ptolemy X., or Alexander II., was nominated king of Egypt by Sulla, dictator of Rome. He was murdered by the Egyptians in the public gymnasium, B.C. 80, on account of his base assassination of his wife, Cleopatra Bernice.

B.C. 80. Ptolemy XI. Auletes, illegitimate son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, became king of Egypt.

Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 81

B.C. 78. Alexander Jannæus, king of the Jews, dies at the siege of Ragaba. Alexandra, his wife, ascended the throne and made her son, Hyrcanus II., high priest, who obtains the support of the Pharisees.

B.C. 69. Death of Queen Alexandra. War between Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus I. Lucullus, the Roman general, conquers Tigranes (see p. 80) and sets up Antiochus XIII. as king of Syria.

B.C. 69. Aristobulus II. takes Jerusalem and becomes high priest and king. Hyrcanus fled to Aretas, king of the Nabathæans or Arabians.

B.C. 66. Pompey, the Roman general, defeated Mithradates, and became arbiter of Asia. B.C. 65. Aretas defeated Aristobulus and besieged him in the Temple. Scaurus, lieutenant of Pompey, deposed Antiochus XIII. and annexed Syria to the Roman Empire. Jewish disputes were referred to Pompey.

B.C. 64. Pompey decided in favour of Hyrcanus II. B.C. 63. Aristobulus resisted



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the decision of Pompey. Jerusalem taken by Pompey. The Temple was stormed after three months' siege; 12,000 Jews slain. Pompey entered the holy of holies. Hyrcanus II. restored to the high-priesthood. Judæa ruled by Rome through Antipater.

B.C. 54. Crassus receives Syria as his province. Pillaged the Temple of Jerusalem. Killed in his campaign against the Parthians.

B.C. 51. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, who had been expelled by the Alexandrians some years before, with her brother, Ptolemy XIII., joint rulers of Egypt. B.C. 50. The great civil war between Pompey and Julius Cæsar. Pompey defeated at the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 49. War in Egypt between Cleopatra and Ptolemy. Pompey fled to Egypt, and was assassinated on the sands of Alexandria. Cæsar took the side of Cleopatra, and Ptolemy was defeated and drowned B.C. 48. Ptolemy XIII. was declared titular king with Cleopatra, and was murdered by her in B.C. 43.

Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 83

B.C. 48. Antipater, the Idumæan, aids Julius Cæsar in the Egyptian war, and is appointed first procurator of Judæa, with Hyrcanus II. as ethnarch.

B.C. 44. Julius Cæsar assassinated by Brutus in Rome.

B.C. 42. Antipater appointed his sons Pharaoh and Herod governors of Jerusalem and Galilee. Herod married Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus II.

B.C. 42. Civil war at Rome. Battle of Philippi, and defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Mark Antony and Octavianus Cæsar. War between Herod and Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II. B.C. 40. Herod, through the favour of Octavianus Cæsar and Antony, appointed king of Judæa by the Senate of Rome.

B.C. 37. Jerusalem, besieged for six months by Herod, assisted by Sosius the Roman general, was taken by storm after terrible slaughter. Antigonus, the last of the Asmonæans, was put in chains and sent by Antony to Antioch, and there beheaded. B.C. 36. Herod,

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who had appointed Ananel as high priest in B.C. 40, deposed him and appointed Aristobulus, brother of Queen Mariamne, to the office. B.C. 35. Aristobulus was murdered by command of Herod, and Ananel reinstated in office. B.C. 32. Herod defeated by Malchus, king of Arabia. B.C. 31. Battle of Actium; Octavianus Cæsar defeated Antony.

B.C. 30. Herod established in his kingdom by Octavianus Cæsar. The latter advances into Egypt. Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. B.C. 29. Herod puts Queen Mariamne to death. The temple of Janus at Rome closed in sign of universal peace.

B.C. 27. Octavianus Cæsar adopts the title of Augustus. Egypt and Syria made imperial provinces of Rome.

B.C. 26. Herod builds a theatre at Jerusalem and an amphitheatre at Jericho, and appoints games in honour of Augustus Cæsar. B.C. 22. Simon was appointed high priest, and his daughter Mariamne married to Herod. B.C. 18. Herod rebuilt the Temple. Herod visited



Wars depicted in Dan. xi., xii. 85

Rome and took back his sons, whom he had sent there six years before. B.C. 6. Aristobulus and Alexander, sons of Herod, were condemned to death by a council at Berytus on their own father's accusation, and strangled by his command at Sebaste.

B.C. 5. Simon was deposed from the high-priesthood, and Matthias made high priest, who was deposed in favour of Joazar. Two chief rabbis burnt alive for resisting the erection of a golden eagle over the gate of the Temple.

B.C. 4. Herod ordered the execution of Antipater, his son, who had plotted against him and fled to Rome. Herod himself perished by a loathsome disease. Archelaus succeeded to the throne.

Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLL OF ANTIOCHUS, AND THE EARLIER APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS WHICH SPEAK OF THE MACCABEAN ERA

AMONG the Books of the Maccabees,¹ the writer of the First Book is the abler and more trustworthy historian, and is generally followed by Josephus. It was, as Jerome states, originally written in Hebrew, but the Hebrew text extant in his day has since been lost. The writer's sympathies were on the side of the Sadducean party, and his book must have been composed after the death of John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 24).

¹ The name Maccabee has in popular works been generally explained as "the *Hammerer*," but it is more probably explained with Dalman (*Lex.*) and Strack (*Einkl.*, p. 167) as an epithet derived from the cap worn by Judas Maccabeus, the point at the top of which was shaped like a hammer.



The Second Book of the Maccabees is in the main an epitome from the historical work of Jason of Cyrene, written in Greek, but of Jason's writing there is nothing further extant. The book begins with an account of the closing days of Seleucus IV., who died B.C. 175, and extends to the victory of Judas Maccabeus over Nicanor (B.C. 161). The epitomiser wrote in Egypt, and though not so unworthy of notice as it used to be supposed, is certainly inferior in the historical record of the times to the First Book. The sympathies of the writer were strongly on the side of the Pharisees. No traces of its employment have been discovered in the works of Josephus.

The book which goes under the name of *Third Maccabees* receives that name from the story of the attempt on the part of Ptolemy IV. Philopator (B.C. 221-204) to enter the holy of holies at Jerusalem after his victory at Raphia. Comp. a similar story of Heliodorus in 2 Macc. iii. 21 ff. It probably contains germs of historical truth; but it has no

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bearing upon the history of the Maccabean days.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is a semi-philosophical book, in which Judaism is combined with the Stoic philosophy. It is based in part on the martyrdom of the seven brethren, as recorded in 2 Macc. From a theological point of view it is important to observe that its doctrine of immortality is independent of the Pharisee teachings concerning the resurrection. Though its views are in some points akin to those of Josephus, he was certainly not its author. The date of its composition was the first century after Christ, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. Schürer in his great work¹ gives a remarkable sketch of the contents of this book. The sixth book of Josephus in the Syriac version is known as the *Fifth Book of the Maccabees*.

Besides these works—which the intelligent reader will note as being all independent of one another, and not to be regarded as in any way

¹ *Geschichte des jüdischer Volkes.*

consecutive books, as their title might suggest to an English reader—there is yet another which, though utterly worthless for historical purposes, is in many aspects worthy of consideration.

This work is variously designated *The Roll of Antiochus*, or *The Megillath of the Sons of Hashmunai*, or *The Book of the House of Hashmunai*.¹ The best account in English of the work is to be found in a paper read by Dr M. Gaster before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London from

¹ See Dalman, p. 6. Ewald considered the work to have been composed in the time of Hadrian, during the insurrection of Bar Kokba. The title given by Origen and Eusebius to some work of a kindred description, namely, Σαρβῆθ Σαβαναίελ, appears to be a corruption of Σφάρ βῆθ Ἀσαμωναίε, or ספר בית חשמונאי (see Dalman, *Gramm.*). The later Roll of the Hasmonæans was possibly a recension of the former, with modifications and interpolations. Hashmon itself, and its gentile derivative Hashmoni, is, according to Fürst, connected with Heshmon, a place in Judah; and Josephus considers (*Antiq.*, xii., vi. i.) Hashmoni to mean one coming from that locality. Hence the name, as applied to the Maccabees, had reference to the birthplace of the family, and might naturally be used to designate their adherents.

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September 5 to 12, 1892. The book appears to have been written in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era, and to have been a committal to writing of the roll read on the occasion of the *Feast of Lights*, which originated with the dedication of the Temple after its defilement in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. The language, as G. Dalman has pointed out in his *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic*, is an attempt to copy the Biblical Aramaic.

Dr Gaster's paper contains much interesting matter concerning the Roll. He points out that "no accurate, coherent description" of the events of the Maccabean time is found in Hebrew (save in translations). The Talmuds and Midrash are silent upon the great battles of the Maccabees, and upon the efforts made by Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy the Jewish people and its religion. The festival, however, of the rededication of the Temple has never been forgotten, and the "Feast of Lights" has been vividly kept alive in the Jewish literature of all centuries. The formula and

various liturgical ceremonies connected with it are still in use.¹ While the name of Judas, as well as that of Simon, is extolled by modern historians, those chieftains are not the heroes whose names have been held up to the Jews for admiration, but their father, Matathiah, or Mattathias (as the name is more commonly written in English works), and his son Johanan or John, which latter was erroneously viewed as "high priest," to which dignity he had no claim whatever.

The fact is too often forgotten that the Maccabean chieftains led the people of the Jews widely astray from the true doctrines and hopes of Judaism. As Dr Gaster observes, "the Makkabean princes, the descendants of Matithya, soon became unlike their great ancestor. They committed first the sin of assuming the title of kings, and daring to

¹ See the *Masechet Soferim*. *Der talmudische Tractat der Schreiber: eine Einleitung in das Studium der alt-hebr. Graphik, der Masora ander der altjüdischer Liturgie*. Nach handschriften herausgeg. und commentirt von Dr Joel Müller, Leipzig, 1878, cap. xx., Hal. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

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sit on the throne which tradition and religious feeling kept for the descendants of David alone. The Hasmonæans were priests, and had, as such, no right to the royal position. "It was a presumption which men like the zealous Assidæans of the time could certainly not tolerate, and still less acquiesce in.¹ It remained a blot upon the fair memory of the Makkabeans, of which practically only one kept free—Matithya, the Hasmonæan."

The Pharisees of that day, although for obvious motives ranged for the most part under the banner of the Maccabees, could not approve of much which the Maccabees did. The Pharisees throughout more or less directed

¹ The Assidæans, or the Chasidim, the *pious*, formed the real kernel of the religious and national upheaval of that day. They were the Puritans of that generation, and although, like the Puritans of later times, they ultimately degenerated in spirit and action, they were at the beginning of the struggle actuated by the purest motives, and by the most earnest devotion to the unadulterated religion of their forefathers. Their adherence to the Law led some of them to be imposed upon for a time by "the wicked Alcimus," for he happened to be "a priest of the seed of Aaron" (1 Macc. vii. 13-18).

the religious institutions of the nation, and though some songs of deliverance, the doctrine of which coincided with their peculiar trend of thought, may have found their way into the Psalter, the great hymn-book of the nation, we regard it impossible to conceive that Psalm cx., if it were really (as many modern critics imagine) a psalm of eulogy over Simon Maccabeus, could have found its way into the canonical Psalter, whatever might be possible in the case of such psalms as the seventy-fourth and seventy-ninth.

Dr Gaster considers it is likely that the result of this friction between the two great parties of the Jewish state was that, instead of having an exact historical record of what took place, "all that we have is, with but one exception (1 Makkabees), a mixture of truth and fiction." There is a curious passage quoted by Dr Gaster from the *Halachoth Gedoloth* of Simon Kiyara:—"The presbyters of the schools of Shammai and Hillel (first century B.C.) wrote the Scroll of the House of

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the Hasmonæans, but until now it has not become (canonical) for all times, till there will be again a priest who would wear the אורים ותרומים (Urim and Thummin)."¹—*Gaster*, p. 5.

There is a high probability that books that were completely written in the vernacular Aramaic were more or less under a suspicion of not being canonical. That the Aramaic was the original language of the Roll of the Hasmonæans is borne witness to by Saadja, who in his *Sefer hagalui*, quoted by Gaster (p. 6), states that "the sons of Hashmunai, Juda, Simeon, Johanan, Jonathan, and Eleazar, wrote all that happened to them in a book in the language of the Chaldeans, identical with that of the Book of Daniel." Dr Gaster remarks that elsewhere in the book a passage is quoted from this very Roll, which was the source from which the references to the

¹ The loss of "Urim and Thummin" by the Jewish priesthood, and the expectation of their recovery in future days, is expressed in Ezra ii. 63 and Neh. vii. 65. In 1 Macc. the loss of a faithful prophet is stated (1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, and xiv. 41).

Hasmonæans were made which are found in the Talmud, Midrash, and other rabbinical literature. A list of such references is given by Gaster in p. 7 of his paper.¹

It has already been stated that the Roll is worthless from a historical point of view. The father of the Maccabees is the person eulogised, and his son Johanan in a small way. Judas, Jonathan, Simeon, the great warriors,

¹ That list is most important; it verifies several of the statements of Dr Gaster. A list is also given by him of all the MS. versions and editions on pp. 14-17, followed by the Aramaic text of the work and an English translation. The writer of the present booklet intended at one time to publish a text with a translation and with the Hebrew and Arabic versions, and for this purpose collated at Oxford and London some six MSS. When he had proceeded but a short way in the work he ascertained that there were many more MSS. necessary to be examined, and translations into more languages than anticipated. The cost that would have to be incurred was considerable, and so he gave up the task. Dr Gaster in his edition has done the work better, and has economised space by not giving the text of the versions. Several of the six MSS. collated are duly furnished with the accents. One has the superlineal punctuation. In one of the fragments from Egypt in the Bodleian, the accents are also given, and all the MSS. have the text divided into verses.

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are left in the background. But from a liturgical and theological standpoint the Roll possesses great interest. It is the popular version of the great war, strangely strung together. Nicanor is represented as having fallen by the hand of Johanan, son of Mattathias and high priest of the Jews. The story of those thousand who died in the cave (1 Macc. i. 29-38) is not forgotten. There is a new blessing of Mattathias (*vv.* 53-7) akin to that of Jacob. Bacchides appears as Bagras, and with a different history. After gaining the day, the sons of Hashmunai are said to have kept the kingdom, they and their sons after them, for 206 years. The Roll is on the whole a strange mixture of truth and error.

But it is specially worth attention as showing that the Messianic hope was not extinguished; and those who, from political and national motives, dared to usurp the crown rights of Messiah, whatever their prowess may have been on the battlefield, had their names and exploits blotted out from sacred history.



The so-called *Book of Enoch*, which is a collection of fragments of literature which went under the name of Enoch, contains a considerable amount of information concerning Macabean times. For present purposes we may assume that the division of that book is correct which is given by Professor R. H. Charles in his translation of the book from Dillmann's Ethiopic text, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1893. Part I., the oldest portion, contains ch. i.-xxxvi., and from ch. lxx.-civ. This portion was written before B.C. 170, and contains no reference to the attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes. Part II., consisting of ch. lxxxiii.-xc., was written between B.C. 166 and 161. It therefore belongs to the same period to which the modern critics relegate the Book of Daniel. The view presented of the state beyond the grave is fuller than that in Daniel, and the Messiah is prominently spoken of. But the two books are very different in spirit. Men are pictured under the similitude of animals, and so the Biblical

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history is brought down to the Maccabean era in ch. xc., where in v. 10 and foll. Judas Maccabeus appears under the form of "a great horn" of one of the rams. The phrases "pleasant land" (ch. xc. 20) and "pleasant and glorious land" (ch. lxxxix. 40) are derived from Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. A throne is there erected for the Lord of the sheep to sit upon, and before Him the books are opened. The angels who ruled the nations are represented as judged, like the heathen nations in Zech. i. 15, because they carried the work of punishment further than was intended by the Most High. Except, however, for the honourable allusion to Judas and the Maccabees, as the head of the Chasidim (see p. 92), there is no detailed account of their work, and nothing but the baldest reference to the days of persecution.

Part III., composed of ch. xci.-civ., appears to belong to a later date. It seems to have been the work of a Pharisee who lived, as Charles conjectures, between B.C. 104 and 95. The Maccabeans as warlike leaders have disap-

peared, but the rulers in authority and the Sadducees were mightily oppressing the Pharisees. (See for sketch of times our Chap. V., pp. 79–80.) Part IV. *Similitudes*, consisting of ch. xxxvii.–lxx., written between B.C. 94–79 or B.C. 70–64, records the oppression of the righteous by Maccabean princes prior to the Herodian days. Part V., *The Book of Celestial Physics*, has nothing that bears upon our subject; and similarly Part VI., which gives the Noachian and other interpolations.

The *Psalms of Solomon* or the *Psalms of the Pharisees*, of which the best English edition is that by Dr H. E. Ryle, the present Bishop of Winchester, and Dr Montague R. James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge (Camb. Univ. Press, 1891) have been assigned sometimes to this period, and sometimes to the days of Herod. While those Psalms are in many points of importance, they do not cast much light, even if assigned to the earlier period, upon the details of the Maccabean era.

Josephus (*Antiq.*, xii., v. 1 to xiii., vii. 4) is



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from the historical point of view most important, and his history is to a large extent based upon 1 Maccabees, with considerable additions.

The *Book of Jubilees* or the *Little Genesis*, which is also known under other names, is of some importance. There is a large literature, mainly from German scholars, on that book. The most important version is in Ethiopic. Its original language may have been Hebrew. After Dillmann, Professor Charles has put forth the best edition, with an admirable introduction and commentary. Its date is probably to be assigned some little time before B.C. 105. The book is a kind of Targum on Genesis and Exodus. The writer was a strong Pharisee, but one so daring as to venture to assert that the Maccabeans justly held the positions of king and priest, and to suggest that they were priests after the order of Melchizedek. It was probable that it was in allusion to the great Psalm cx. that the Maccabees were even called "priests of the Most

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High God" (*Jubil.* xxxii. 1). Charles mentions in his note on the passage in *Jubilees* that Hyrcanus II. is designated by Josephus "priest of the Most High God," and that the same title is given in *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 18b, where it is stated that it used to be said: "in such a year of Johanan, priest of the Most High God." See our remarks on p. 102.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Levi, ch. viii. 14 (written in Hebrew between B.C. 109 and 106), the statement is made that "the third [office for Levi] shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood after the fashion of the Gentiles." And yet, further on in the book, in a passage not free from Christian interpolation, the later Maccabeans are denounced for their impiety. Dr R. H. Charles has published an excellent edition of the Greek text, and a volume of a translation into English and notes (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908).

It is interesting to note that the *Assump-*

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tion of Moses, which was written before our Lord began His ministry, has a passage not dissimilar from that in the *Jubilees* quoted above. It occurs in ch. vi. 1. The context speaks of the unholy acts which were to characterise that day. It then proceeds:—"Then there will be raised up unto them kings bearing rule [the Maccabean princes], and they will call themselves high priests of God; they will assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies." The text afterwards speaks of Herod the Great, so that the reference in ch. vi. 1 to the Maccabees is clear.

CHAPTER VII

CRITICS AND THEIR CRITICISMS

The Kenosis of Christ and the Book of Daniel—New Testament Allusions—Church of Rome

CRITICS are accustomed often to point to the Christian interpreters whom they criticise and to accuse them as guilty of contradictions. They seldom see how they fall themselves into the same mistakes of which they accuse others. It is certainly going too far to assert, as a reviewer in the *Westminster Gazette* has done, that if it be maintained that Christ made mistakes in His teaching, or was unacquainted with the facts of the history of men before He was born into the world, "it is scarcely too much to say Biblical criticism is at an end." It is curious, too, that such a

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remark should be made when, in the pages that preceded the observation commented on, it was admitted that "the thoughts of the man Christ Jesus, though at every stage Divine-human, were (inasmuch as they passed through an earthly brain) necessarily limited in their character." It is, however, distinctly asserted in the New Testament that even after the baptism by the Spirit in the Jordan Christ remained ignorant of some things, as, for instance, of the time of His second advent (Matt. xxiii. 36). At the same time He distinctly affirmed that He had descended from heaven, and could speak of "heavenly things" as different from "earthly," and as one who had Himself been conversant with "the heavenly." He had seen Abraham, and was in existence long before that patriarch (John viii. 58), who was one of the works of His own creative hand (John i. 5). He had seen David, and came from his royal line. He knew also well about Moses, whose prophecies concerning Himself He endorsed even after His resurrec-



tion from the dead, as well as those of the other prophets (Luke xxiv. 44-48). The reviewer has, indeed, reverently asserted that "He could, doubtless, call up any fact in the history of men, if He had needed it; but commonly He was content with the current knowledge of the time. The conscious omniscience which Dr Wright seems to suppose in Him does not consist with a real humanity. A notable example of the use of familiar phrases is to be found in Matt. xii. 40, 'As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly.' Doubtless that was a common belief of the time, and Christ utilised it for His immediate purpose; but was it 'a fact in the history of men'? Does Dr Wright believe that it actually happened?"

It is curious what a string of mistakes might be pointed out in those few sentences. (1) "Conscious omniscience" is an opposition in terms to St Paul's doctrine of the Kenosis (Phil. ii. 7), or to that great doctrine as expounded by the Church Fathers, like Hilary



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of Poitiers. The doctrine of the Kenosis affirms that, although Christ as the Second Person of the Eternal Trinity was essentially God, the Divinity was imparted¹ to the man Christ Jesus in such measure as the human nature was able to receive it. (2) It is wrong to speak of the story of Jonah in the whale's belly (Matt. xii. 40) as "a common belief of the time" of our Lord, when no Jewish book, except Tobit (xiv. 4), before the age of Christ can be cited which alludes to Jonah. In Tobit, too, the prophecy of Jonah is sadly disfigured, and no allusion is made to that prophet's personal history. The history of that grand inspired prophetic allegory of Israel, and of Christ, has been reviewed

¹ By "imparted" is meant the very same thing as is expressed in the Athanasian Creed: "unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum." It is no doubt difficult to express any such matters in human phraseology, but "imparted to the human nature" is equally correct with the "assumption [taking up] of the humanity into God." Dörner on *The Person of Christ* is the most satisfactory work on this profound doctrinal subject.

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at length in my *Biblical Essays*, No. II. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1886).

Christianity has, no doubt, to face all attacks, whether they come from within or without. It cannot expect to receive any quarter from those who oppose its peculiar doctrines. It would, however, be disastrous if the Sacred Books on which its doctrines are founded could be proved to be unreliable, and if our Lord, when speaking of "Daniel the prophet," merely re-echoed the erroneous teaching of the men of His generation; if the great Master fell into error when He quoted Daniel's prophecy of "the abomination of desolation which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place" (Matt. xxiv. 15); if, when on His trial for life before the Jewish Sanhedrin, He was mistaken in solemnly quoting that prophet's prediction concerning the glory which would be manifested when "the Son shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God" (Luke xxii. 69). Serious difficulties would

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arise if errors on such points could be proved, for they would necessarily discredit our Lord's authority as "a teacher come from God."

In our work on *Daniel and his Prophecies* (see pp. 97-100;—a further list is given in Index, p. 331) we have given a long list (not absolutely complete) of the passages in which the New Testament books refer to the Book of Daniel. About fifty-five of these references are to be found in the Book of the Revelation, and some thirty and more in the Gospels and other New Testament writings.

Apart from other reasons, the importance of those passages of Daniel, though not exclusively, lies in the fact that the prophecies of the Old Testament generally depict the times of Messiah as a period of continued victory. Two prophets, Zechariah and Daniel, speak generally of the days of Messiah as times of a "falling away" from truth and righteousness, though not into total darkness (Zech. xiv. 7). The days of Messiah, in all the discourses of our

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Lord and His Apostles, are almost uniformly spoken of as days of constant apostasy. Only a small number comparatively of the professed disciples of the Master, notwithstanding the spread of the Gospel throughout the world, do contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints (Jude 3). In other words, it is important to observe that the history of the Church of Christ was to be in many respects similar to that of the Church of Israel, and that there would be an apostasy which would darken the Church of Christ, just as it had the Church of Israel (2 Peter ii. 1). If that be true, it is useless to ask, with one of my critics, what benefits could be derived from the anticipation by a prophet who lived long before Christ of the persecutions which the true followers of Christ were to endure from a Church which professed, and still professes, to be the only true Church of Christ on earth. The Church of Rome is the only Church of Christ which professes to be the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and which, notwith-

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standing that profession, throughout the long period during which it has existed as a political power, has steadily maintained the Divine right and duty of persecuting to the death all those who dissent from her tenets. The persecution which took place in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (slightly alluded to in Dan. xi.), and those of pagan Rome, are not to be compared with the persecutions carried on by that Church (long the only representative of Christianity in the West), which is pictured in the Revelation as "drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (Rev. xvii. 6). It ought not to be left out of sight that Professor Marianus de Luca, S.J., of the Gregorian University of Rome, in his *Institutiones Juris Eccles. Publici*, published at Rome in two 8vo volumes in 1901 (containing over 800 pp.), has defended the Roman Catholic theory of persecution, and advocated its use when possible. Pope Leo XIII. warmly endorsed de Luca's teaching in a

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letter to its author set forth on the green paper covers of the work.¹

It is necessary here to say something in reply to the critical review of *Daniel and his Prophecies* by my respected friend, Professor Ed. König, which appeared in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* of 31st August 1906. His notice of the second part of my work, *Daniel and its Critics*, in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* of 1st February 1907, in the main is so commendatory as to require little notice.

As we have but a short space at our disposal, we must pass by several points of detail. It is of importance to note that, acute as Professor König has been in general, the discovery of the recent Aramaic papyri at Assuan has given the necessary reply to the arguments which, prior to that discovery,

¹ See Appendix III. of *Daniel and its Critics*. The Appendix has been also published separately in a two-penny pamphlet by the Protestant Reformation Society, 51 Berners Street, London.

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appeared conclusive as to the general character of the Aramaic exhibited in the writings of Daniel, Ezra, etc., preserved for us among the canonical books of the Old Testament.

We cannot coincide with the learned Professor's remarks as to the cause of Daniel and the other books referred to having been placed in the third part of the Hebrew Scriptures. The fact is, disguise it as eminent scholars may, there is little historical evidence in existence on the subject of the formation of the Jewish canon. The times in which that canon sprang into existence were times of great disquiet and confusion, and there are only a few scattered intimations on the subject to be gathered here and there from the books composed in times subsequent to the Exile. It may be, however, absolutely necessary for scholars to make conjectures on the subject, but in the last resort those theories must be based on more or less probable conjectures, and are likely to be upset by some



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later writer who may exhibit peculiar skill in spinning hypotheses. Certainty in such questions there never can be, unless some historical "find" may reveal facts as yet unknown. We are perfectly aware of the looseness of many of the supposed historical statements of the later Jewish scholars; but despite those transparent defects, we maintain that there is more probability in the sketch of "the men of the great Synagogue" defended in the excursus to our work on Koheleth, than in many of the opposing statements put forward by scholars of the new school. In those days the decisions arrived at by scholars were not recorded in "resolutions," by which we could decide with more or less certainty upon the real "evidence" that was placed before them.

The tendency of the new school of critics is more or less to lower the date, and with it the credibility, of the Book of Daniel. Hence scholars of this school seek to minimise all similarity of thought between it and the

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Book of Zechariah. It is sad to observe what we believe to be the perverse use made of the accepted fact that the Old Testament prophets, as was natural in their day, looked forward, perhaps within their own generation, to the final dissolution of all things. As presented to the eye in the dreams of the prophet Zechariah, the four chariots depicted in ch. vi. 1-8 no doubt seemed to rush forth *almost* at the same time from the pass between the mountains of brass. We emphasise, however, "almost." The details of the vision show that the chariots did not appear absolutely to rush forth at the same instant, but one after another; and in *exegetical* interpretation, if possible, small intervals ought to be noted. They were seen all together at the commencement of that vision. Each chariot has its special sphere assigned, and each chariot went forth to that special place, one after the other. If the feminine participle be employed (and the masculine in v. 8), it is because in the first view all the four chariots are beheld in motion;

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and the perfect is also employed in v. 6 and v. 7 (twice) rather to indicate the *successive* nature of the motion. No criticism on the Hebrew original can settle that question.

The attempt to derive decisive conclusions from the exact forms of proper names like Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar is based upon an assumption that the text of the original has come down to us absolutely unchanged, though necessarily copied and recopied in days of great confusion. It is also rather ungenerous to assert ignorance on the part of a writer because he has not minutely gone into every small detail. We are not accustomed to throw out such insinuations against those from whom we may theologically differ, and still less against personal friends.

Professor König seems to argue that our main argument for insisting, as we do still, that the little horn of Dan. viii. 9 is different from that in Dan. vii. 8 is because the original for "little horn" in the two places is not the same.

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We did call attention to that fact. But we have based our main argument on the point that "the little horn" of ch. viii., which itself in one aspect forms part of another horn, on which it actually depends for its root and basis (but which is so strange in its growth that it shoots up even to the heavens and makes stars fall from their courses), cannot be identified with "the little horn" of ch. vii. The little horn of ch. vii. sprang up from the head of the beast with ten horns. That horn growing up, however (like a tooth under analogous circumstances), uprooted three of the horns around it, although it was smaller than they were; but like them its roots were in the head of the animal described, and it was as independent of the other horns as they were of it. Neither in place, character, or history do the little horns of ch. vii. and viii. correspond, and it was therefore suitable to name each by a different expression.

Here we must close our counter-critique, although we would willingly have replied to



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the remarks of our friend on "the seventy weeks" of Daniel. We thank him for his kind and favourable review of our second volume. But we fear that we are unlikely ever to see "eye to eye" on the subjects upon which we differ.

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7. The Book of Isaiah, and other Historical Studies.

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