THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611).

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY CLERGY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

APOCRYPHA.

EDITED

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—Vol. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1888.

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§ I. IMPORTANCE OF THE BOOK; ITS AUTHOR.

Among the Jewish sacred writings outside the Old Testament perhaps the most interesting, in many respects, is that commonly known as 'The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach,' or Ecclesiasticus. It cannot indeed be ranked, like the books of the Maccabees, among the sources of history, though here also it contains indications too often overlooked. But its chief importance lies in this, that it exhibits Jewish thought and religion at a period otherwise almost unknown; that it connects the traditions of the past with questions of the future; and that, while embodying both, it marks the transition from the one to the other.

The permanent and almost universal interest of the book is to some extent indicated even by the circumstance that it has in a sense furnished the substratum as well as some of the verses for two of the best known hymns of the Church. The

1 On these designations, see more in the sequel.

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Jubilee-Rhythm of St. Bernard of Clairvaux 1 is, even in its wording, the Christian application to Personified Wisdom of part of Ecclus. xxiv. (see the notes). And the Te Deum of Rinckart 2 (about 1648), "Now thank we all our God," is taken from Ecclus. I. 22-24. But, far beyond this, the special claims of Ecclesiasticus may be thus briefly summed up: It is the oldest known Apocryphon; 3 it

1 Partially translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' Nos. 178 (also partly 177): "Jesus, the very thought of Thee;" and in its entirety by the present writer, in a small collection chiefly of Ancient Latin Hymns.

2 The well-known German hymn, "Nun danket alle Gott," translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.

3 On the contention that Ecclesiasticus is older than our canonical Daniel, so confidently made by many Jewish and Christian writers (down to Schurer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes,' vol. ii. p. 613), this is not the place to enter. Perhaps the note on Ecclus. xxi. 27 may here be helpful. Comp. (besides the foreign writers in defence of the canonicity of Daniel) Pusey, 'Lect. on Daniel,' pp. 292, &c.; and, for some aspects of the question, 'Prophecy and History' (the Warburton Lectures), pp. 291-296. But the date there assigned (p. 294) to the 'Book of Wisdom' is probably too early.
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unquestionably originated in Palestine, and was written in Hebrew;¹ and it presents a new phase of Judaism. Historically it may be regarded as a continuation and development of those parts of the Old Testament which are known as the "Wisdom-writings." And yet it represents a new stage. We miss the higher tone and the spiritual elements of the canonical "Wisdom-writings." On the other hand, we are in the presence of new questions originating from contact with a wider world; and we find them answered in a manner which in one direction would lead up to Jewish Alexandrian theology, while the book itself is still purely Palestinian. From one aspect therefore it may be described as Palestinian theosophy before Alexandrian Hellenism. From another aspect it represents an orthodox, but moderate and cold, Judaism—before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees; before these two directions assumed separate form under the combined influence of political circumstances and theological controversies. In short, it contains as yet undistinguished and mostly in germ all the elements developed in the later history of Jewish religious thinking. But beyond all this, the book throws welcome light on the period in which it was written. If we would know what a cultured, liberal, and yet genuine Jew had thought and felt in view of the great questions of the day; if we would gain insight into the state of public opinion, morals, society, and even of manners at that period—we find the materials for it in the book Ecclesiasticus. Lastly, the unique position among the Apocrypha which this book has always occupied, alike in the Synagogue and the Church, constitutes yet another of its distinguishing claims.

But for the critical student Ecclesiasticus must always possess a peculiar interest and importance. This, in the first place, because the Greek translation in which it has come down is both historically and in point of time connected with the LXX. Version of the Old Testament, and hence necessarily reflects light upon it. But, besides, the Greek is not the only direct translation of the work from its Hebrew original. As will be shewn in the sequel, the Syriac Version of Ecclesiasticus, as well as the Greek, was made directly from the Hebrew. Thus we possess two independent versions of the work, controlling each other, by comparison of which the real text of the Hebrew original can often be ascertained. For in many passages in which the two versions differ, we have only to retranslate into Hebrew to perceive how these differences arose by some simple and obvious misreading, or else misunderstanding of a Hebrew word by the one or the other translator. In such cases it is not difficult to judge which of them rightly apprehended the meaning of the original. In other cases the comparison suggests that there must have been intentional alterations: in the Greek probably chiefly due to the Hellenising spirit of the translator, and in the Syriac to later redactors. But the comparison also throws light on some points in regard to the letter of the text which are full of interest. Thus we conclude that a Greek variant represents the better, if indeed not the corrected, reading, when it accords not only with the other version, but with what we judge to have been the underlying Hebrew original. And this in turn reflects light on the various Codices. Lastly, as regards the wider general question of the variations which a Hebrew text may be supposed to have undergone, the student has in Ecclesiasticus the opportunity of comparing, so to speak, three different recensions of a Hebrew text, dating from widely different periods and coming from distant countries: in the Greek, the Syriac, and—including the Talmudic quotations from Sirach—the Aramaic versions of our book.

Concerning the Author of the work just described, we possess unfortunately only very scanty biographical details. In Ecclus. 1. 27, when subscribing his name according to ancient custom, he designates himself as "Jesus the son of Sirach"¹ [in the Vat., Seirach; in the Sin.,¹ So not only the Alex., but the important MS. 248 [Fritzsche]. The Syr. omits what in

¹ According to some (though erroneously), in Chaldee or Aramaic. We do not mean that this is the only apocryphal book which originated in Palestine or was written in Hebrew, but that in regard to Ecclesiasticus this has never been called in question.
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Seirak' [1], the Jerusalemite' [from Jerusalem]. The addition "Eleazar" [after "Sirach"] in the Alex., Vat., and Sin., and "of Eleazar" in some MSS, is spurious, and probably connected with the legend of his descent from the High-priest, to which reference will be immediately made.

The Hebrew name of our writer was יוחנן (Jeshua — abbreviated from Jehoshua) יוחנן, or יוחנן, "the son of Sira." It is by the latter designation (without the addition of "Jesus") that he is quoted in Talmudic writings. In Walton's edition of the Syriac Version, the (evidently spurious) superscription to Ecclus. indeed runs: "The book of Jesus the son of Simeon Asiro: that book is called the Wisdom of the Son of Asiro." But the word "Asiro"—which has been generally rendered "bound"—is probably only a corruption of Sira (the name of "Simeon" being introduced either as that of the High-priest of chapter I., or from the legend that our writer had been a High-priest). The Arabic Version, which commonly follows the Syr., has only the name: "Jesus the son of Sirach" (we take not any note of other additions in the Arab. superscription). And in Lagarde's 'Libri Vet. Test. Apocr. Syriace' (1861) the Syriac title as corrected from Cod. 12,142 in the Brit. Mus. (6th cent.) reads: 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.' The Hebrew Sira is represented by the Greek form Sirach or Seirach, which corresponds (as to the χ) with the reading ἀκολούθος for סֶרַךְ פִּים. The name itself (Sira) does not otherwise occur in Rabbinic literature. It is generally translated "a coat of mail" or "a cuirass." But it may have only a designative meaning, and in that case perhaps be best translated by "a thorn" or "hedge of thorns." [1]

Of the outward circumstances of Ben Sira little is known. Omitting entirely groundless speculations, he has been identified by some with Jesus, or (as he Grecianised his name) Jason, the son of the High-priest Simon II., who by bribery displaced his brother Onias III. from the pontifical office. But evidently one of such infamous memory in Jewish annals could not have been the writer of our book. The notion that he was by descent a priest (Linde, Zunz) finds already expression in Cod. Sin'. Ecclus. l. 27. Such passages in regard to the priesthood as in Ecclus. vii. 29-31, and the not unfrequent allusions to sacrificial worship throughout the book, do not indeed seem sufficient to warrant such an inference. On the other hand, the disproportionate length at which he dilates in ch. xlv. on the high-priesthood of Aaron (and his descendants), while only a few verses are devoted to Moses, the great hero of Jewish tradition, seems of more significance in this respect than critics, from Eichhorn's downwards, have assigned to it. Any definite conclusion on this point is, however, impossible. And the idea of the priestly descent of our author may have originated in the notions anciently entertained about the occupations and qualifications of the priesthood, and in ignorance of what

[1] Since the name does not otherwise occur, may it not be an allegorical designation rather than a proper name? From that point of view comp. Eccles. xii. 11 a.

[2] For some Jewish suggestions, see Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.' iii. p. 74. For the notion of the older writers (Cohn. à Lapide, Calmet, Goldhagen) that Ben Sira was one of the seventy-two translators (LXX.), see Welte, 'Sper. Einl. in d. deuterokan. B.' p. 225.


[4] It is surely a somewhat strong assertion by Schürer (u. t. p. 594) that this opinion is völlig grundlos.
constituted the learned and thinking class in Israel. In any case the assertion of Syncellus ('Chronogr.' ed. Dindorf, i. p. 525), that the Siracide succeeded Simon II. (as thirteenth High-priest) and held the pontificate for six years, is historically untenable. It may have arisen from a misunderstanding of a passage in the ‘Chronicon’ of Eusebius (Schiirer, u. b., p. 594). Not less groundless is the inference (by Grotius) from ch. xxxviii. 1–15, that Ben Sira was a physician (see special introd. to ch. xxxviii.). But whatever his occupation, it could not have been any handicraft nor yet agriculture (comp., for example, xxxviii. 25–30). On the other hand, it is certain that he was one of the Jewish sages of his time, and that his eminence and fame in this respect procured his advancement to the prominent public positions which he occupied (see, for example, xxxviii. 24, 33; xxxix. 1–5). Another and a very remarkable feature in his history is that he not only travelled much, but regarded this as part of the necessary education of a ‘sage,’ and that, while his views were enlarged, his religious convictions were only strengthened by what he learned and observed in foreign countries (xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 1–4). We mark in passing that foreign travel would scarcely have been the advice of a pious or even patriotic Jew in, or immediately before, the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (that is, during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.). In any case it would be in direct opposition to the later exclusive views of the Pharisaic sages. All this seems to imply that our writer belonged to an earlier period in Jewish history. Indeed, we might almost doubt whether the younger Siracide would have reproduced these views if his translation had been made during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.

It only remains to add that during these journeys Ben Sira appears to have incurred great personal danger (xxxiv. 12). It is probably to his deliverance from these perils that he refers in his hymn of praise (li. 1–12). In all likelihood his travels had extended both to Syria and to Egypt. In the latter country especially he would see and learn much that would leave its impress upon his mind. And the political relations of the two countries in regard to Palestine would account for the calamities, intrigues, and perils to which a prominent and influential Jerusalemite might be exposed in those days.1

§ II. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL WORK AND OF ITS TRANSLATION INTO GREEK.

Although the general spirit of Ecclesiasticus and some of the special views expressed in it form important elements in regard to the question of its date, it seems better to consider it in the first place on independent historical grounds. There are few subjects on which directly contrary opinions have been asserted with more confidence; few also on which (as it seems to us) absolute assurance on either side is less warranted.

The book itself furnishes two dates which might seem to fix the time both of its original composition and of its translation into Greek by the grandson of the author. The first of these is in Eccl. l. 1, where the writer describes—apparently from personal observation—"Simon the high priest, the son of Onias;" leaving, however, the impression (lines 6 and 7) that at the time of his writing Simon was no longer alive. The second date is in the Prologue to the translation by the younger Siracide, in which he states the time of his arrival in Egypt as "in the eight and thirtieth year under king Euergetes." But, as it happens, there were two High-priests, each of them "Simon, the son of Onias"—viz. Simon I., surnamed the Just, the son of Onias I., who according to the common reckoning flourished about 310–291 B.C.; and Simon II., son of Onias II., about 219–199 B.C.2 And as there were

1 See below, § II.
2 These are the generally accepted dates. But considerable uncertainty prevails (see Ewald, ‘Gesch. d. V. Isr.’ iv. p. 351). Ewald’s dates are: Onias I. died 310 B.C.; Simon I. died 291; Eleazar died 276; Manasseh died 250; Onias II. died 219; Simon II. died 199; Onias III. deposed in favour of his brother Jason, and he again in that of Menelaos. Herzfeld (u. s. p. 185–189) gives the following dates:—Onias I. died 300; Simon I. died 287; Eleazar died 267; Manasseh died 240; Onias II. died
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two High-priests of the name "Simon, son of Onias," so there were two Ptolemies who bore the epithet Euergetes, viz. Ptolemy III. or Euergetes I. (247–222 B.C.) and Ptolemy VII. Physkon, entitled Euergetes II.—but surnamed by his subjects Kakergates—who, after having been co-regent with his brother for twenty-five years (from 170 to 145 B.C.), occupied the throne alone from 145 to 116 B.C. The question therefore is, which of these two Simons was the High-priest of Eleusis I., and which of the two Euergetes is referred to in the Prologue of the Greek translator? 1

At the outset we have to dismiss a consideration which, either avowedly or perhaps unconsciously, has influenced critics. In the Prologue of the younger Siracide the usual arrangement of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa is supposed to be indicated in the expression "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers." It is argued that this implies the closing of the O. T. Canon and the completion of the LXX. Version, which again, according to certain critics, could not have been so early as in the reign of Euergetes I. Even if these premisses were correct, it would be vicious reasoning to determine an unknown quantity (who was the Euergetes of the Prologue?) by another equally unknown (the close of the Canon or the completion of the LXX.). But in our view the passage in the Prologue, above referred to, so far from presupposing an arrangement of the O. T. into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, really gave rise to this tripartition. Not only is there not any earlier indication of it, but it is not supported by the arrangement in the LXX. Besides, the Prologue gives not any indication what these "other books of the fathers" were, nor yet whether or not they included all our present Hagiographa. And Ecclesiasticus itself, while it makes reference to the Law and the Prophets (the historical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets), for reasons presumably good and valid (whatever they were) contains no mention of Mordecai or Daniel, nor even of Ezra. This, although there are unquestionable references not only to Nehemiah, but also in the text (see the notes, passim) to the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and probably Job. We dismiss therefore this preliminary à priori argument, and ask ourselves:

1. Was the Euergetes of the Prologue the first or second of that name? The arguments here turn on the meaning of the words used by the younger Siracide. Those who hold that Euergetes I. is referred to in the Prologue regard the Greek words ἐν τῷ ὀδύνῳ καὶ τραυμαστῷ ἐκ τοῦ Εὐσφέτου as meaning "in the eight and thirtieth year" of the writer, not of the reign of Euergetes. This necessarily, since Euergetes I. did not reign thirty-eight years. On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. maintain that the expression can only mean the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes; and although Euergetes II. was not sole occupant of the throne for such a period of time, yet his reign must (according to Porphyrius in Euseb. Chron.) be reckoned from the time of his co-regency with his brother. As regards the true meaning of the Greek words quoted, writers are hopelessly at issue. So great an authority as Professor Westcott maintains that the meaning of the words "can only be, that the translator 'in his thirty-eighth year' came to Egypt during the reign of Euergetes," and he stigmatises the other translation as "absolutely at variance with the grammatical structure of the sentence" (Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' i. p. 479, note). On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. equally strenuously maintain the

226—which makes the accession of Simon II. seven years earlier, or in 226. This is not the place to discuss these differences. Indeed, the exact chronology of the priestly succession offers no little difficulty. Happily it does not affect the present argument.

1 We only note in passing the statement of Mr. Stanton ('The Jewish and the Christian Messiah,' p. 111), that Ecclesiasticus "may have been written any time between the High-priesthood of Simon son of Onias and the Maccabean rising." Is this really so? and to which of the two High-priests of the name of Simon does Mr. Stanton refer in this brief dismissal of a question of such importance?

2 So, on the one side, Winer ('Bibl. Real-Wörterb.' i. p. 555) and others, even Fritzschel, p. xvi.; and, on the other side—we suspect—writers such as Böhl ('Forsch. n. e. Volksb.' pp. 35, &c.).
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other rendering. But it must be admitted (Winet, w. s.) that the words mean in the first place something different from "in the thirty-eighth year of Euegetes." Similarly, Böhl (u. s., p. 36) argues, adducing the testimony of Bernhardy (Grundriss d. griech. Lit. i. 502, 519) in favour of the structure of the sentences and generally of the style of the Prologue, that so able a writer would not have expressed such a meaning in so "ungreek" a manner. Winer holds that, according to common usage, he would have had to write: ἐν ... ἐκ τοῦ ἐκ τ. E. The defenders of the other translation point, indeed, to certain parallel or similar expressions—latter in the Apocr. (1 Macc. xiii. 22; xiv. 27); the former in the LXX. (Hagg. i. 1, ii. 1; Zech. i. 7, vii. 1). But unlike Winer and Böhl deny the conclusiveness even of the latter instances as at least admitting of exceptions. On the whole, therefore, the impartial student will probably judge that the argument in favour of either the one or the other translation cannot be considered conclusive. In any case the main question as to the date of the original work is left open.

2. Of much greater importance than the other is the inquiry whether the Simon son of Onias of Eclerus I. 1, and in the Syriac version also of I. 23, was Simon I. or Simon II. The Syriac presents in this chapter several important variants. Thus in v. 25—which, however, we regard as a later interpolation—instead of "mountain of Samaria"—the Syr. rightly has ἄφ, which, just as ᾿α in the Samarit. version of the Pent. is the rendering for Seir [Edom]. This the Vet. Lat. follows [against all the Greek MSS] by translating: in monte Seir. [For some other variants see the introd. to the ch. and the notes.] Again, while in v. 28 the Greek reminds us of the sentiment in Rev. i. 3, the Syr. translates: "Happy the man who meditates on these things, learns, knoweth, and doeth them." Lastly, v. 29 [30] is rendered in the Syr.: "Exaltedness is of the religion of God: it is exalted above all things. Behold it, my son, and do not forsake it." In all these instances we believe the Syriac to represent the Hebrew original more accurately than does the Greek text. This disposes us to receive favourably the Syriac version of v. 23: "And let there be peace among them, and let it be established with Simon the Just and his seed, as the days of heaven." If this rendering be correct, it follows that the Hebrew original had expressly designated this High-priest Simon as the same who was surnamed "the Just."

But apart from this, there cannot, we believe, be any reasonable doubt that the Simon whom both tradition and Josephus designate "the Just" was Simon I. Josephus indeed twice expressly tells us that Simon I. "was called ὁ ἴχθυς," and explains that this designation was given him "because both of his piety towards God and his kind disposition towards those of his own nation." And when Jewish tradition gives to a High-priest Simon exactly the same title—Josephus and is never weary of speaking of his piety, glory, and miraculous Divine attestation—it would seem a perversion of history not to identify the Simon I., the Just, of Josephus with the Simon, the Tsaddig, of the Mishnah.

1 Grätz (Gesch. des Juden, ii. p. 235, note) ingeniously, and as I believe rightly, argues that the right reading in the Syr. must be [Simon the Just, and not ἰχθῦς.]
2 In Abh. i. 3; Par. iii. 5.
3 Antiq. xii. 2, 5; xii. 4, 1.
4 The reader who is curious to know the Jewish traditions about Simon the Righteous is referred, among others, to Otto, 'Hist. of the Jewish Church,' iii. p. 247; M. Deringen's, 'Hist. de la Palest.' pp. 47, &c. and Grätz, u. s., ii. pp. 255, &c.
5 It was surely an ill-considered statement on the part of Dean Stanley (Hist. of the Jewish Church, ii. p. 247) that M. Deringen has conclusively established "that Simon the Just was Simon II." Deringen asserts it, but does not make any attempt to "establish" what it would be beyond the power of any man to prove. A late writer on the subject (Hamburger, 'Real-Encycl.' Abh. ii. p. 1116) cuts the knot.
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clusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the Mishnah describes this Simon as "of the remainders of the great synagogue," which had long passed away when Simon II. succeeded to the pontificate. In general, the terms in which tradition speaks of Simon the Just could not have been applied to Simon II., nor yet to the circumstances and relations of his time. They seem intended to convey that with Simon the Just one great period of Jewish history—that of spiritual glory, peace, and Divine attestation—had come to an end. All this could be said in regard to the pontificate of Simon I.; it would have no meaning in regard to that of Simon II.¹

In these circumstances it would seem inexplicable that the writer of Ecclus. I. should have omitted from his catalogue of worthies Simon I.—the last of the great synagogue, the great priest-hero of Jewish tradition, "the Just" one of Josephus—and introduced in his stead such a figure as Simon II. Of the latter Jewish tradition does not say anything,² nor yet have we any other record of him—at least of a favourable character. For as the account in 3 Macc. ii. is universally admitted to be fabulously, the only references to Simon II. which we possess are those in Jos. 'Antt.' xii. 4, 10 and 11. These, as we shall immediately see, reflect anything but favourably on his political administration. Such a man could not have been described as in Ecclus. I. But this is not all. In Ecclus. I. 2-4 we have mention of certain great undertakings by Simon, notably of his restoration of the fortifications of Jerusalem. But for this there was absolutely no occasion during the pontificate of Simon II., the circumstances of the time rather implying the contrary. On the other hand, there was urgent need for it under the pontificate of Simon I., after the taking and dismantling by Ptolemy I. of the fortified cities of Palestine, inclusive no doubt of Jerusalem.¹

It is indeed argued in favour of Simon II. that Ecclesiasticus contains not unfrequent allusions to sufferings and persecutions of Israel, and that it displays in this respect, rather than religiously, a feeling of great bitterness towards the Gentiles and their rulers (comp. chaps. xxxv., xxxvi.; see the special introductions to these chapters). And, since the time of Simon I. was one of peace to Israel—although in view of the wars of Ptolemy I. this is doubtful—while (which is also open to contention) the times were much more troubled during the administration of Simon II., it has been urged that these references point to the pontificate of the latter. But there is a twofold mistake here. The sufferings alluded to are apparently rather of the past and threatening the future, than in the present, which seems quiet and prosperous (comp. xlv. 26; I. 22-24). Further, it is apparently forgotten that although Ecclus. I. implies that the writer had himself seen Simon, it also conveys that he was no longer alive. Hence the references to the condition of Israel apply not to the time of Simon—be it the first, or the second—but to that of their successors. This opens a line of argument which has hitherto been overlooked. Before advertiting to it, we must make a final reference to two points in Ecclus. I. which seem strongly in favour of its application to Simon I. The first is the manner in which the Samaritans are spoken of (l. 25, 26). This can easily be accounted for by events in the time of Simon I., but not in that of Simon II. Secondly, in Ecclus. I. 5, the High-priest is described in his "outgoing from the house of the Veil" [marg. A. V.—ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καταπετάσματος],—unquestionably, the most Holy Place. But as the High-priest entered it only on the day of atonement, this part of the description must be of him on that most solemn festival. But it deserves special notice that the Jewish legends about

¹ See Grätz., tr. and p. 230.
² The expression does not occur anywhere else, either in the LXX. or the Apocrypha.
Simon I., the Just, are chiefly connected with the day of atonement. Thus we read that during the (forty) years of his pontificate the lot which designated the goat for Jehovah (Lev. xvi. 8, 9) always fell to his right hand; that during the same period the scarlet strip by which the goat for Azazel was designated always turned to white, indicating that Israel's sins were forgiven (Is. i. 18) [Jer. Yoma, 43c; Yom. 39a]; and lastly, that during his whole pontificate, as he entered and left the most Holy Place he was accompanied by a venerable figure arrayed in white, but that in the last year that figure had entered indeed with him but not accompanied him as he left the sanctuary (Jer. Yoma, 42c; Yom. 39b). Nor was that apparition ever seen before or afterwards.

Whatever value may be attached to this coincidence of Jewish legend concerning Simon I. with the description in Ecclus. of his appearance on the day of atonement, a historical line of argument, hitherto strangely overlooked, leads up to the same conclusion. As already stated, the exact date of the composition of Ecclesiasticus was not during the pontificate of Simon—whether I. or II.—but in that of one of his successors. But in Ecclus. xlv. 25 we find this curious notice, that the pontifical succession, like the royal, was to be from father to son. The notice is so abruptly introduced, and so uncalled for, that we regard it as an allusion to some historical occurrence in the near past. Now we know that while Simon II. was succeeded by his son Onias III., Simon I. was not followed by his son Onias II., but by his two brothers, Eleazar and Manasseh, and only after them by the already aged Onias II. We believe that the allusion in Ecclus. xlv. 22 is to this: that the older Siracide wrote at the accession of Onias II., and that he addressed to him the words of congratulation and hope that follow in Ecclus. xlv. 26. If this be so, and the older Siracide was a friend of Onias II. and supporter of his policy, it would also account for the great dangers to which, according to ch. li., he had been exposed from the calumnies of enemies. For at that time Palestine was divided between allegiance to the king of Egypt—the de facto suzerain—and intrigues with the ruler of Syria. We know that Onias II. refused to pay the yearly tribute to the king of Egypt. Josephus (‘Ant.’ xii. 4. 1) imputes this to avarice, but there can be little doubt that the High-priest was actuated by political motives. If the Siracide was an influential member of the same party, we can easily understand what dangers may have threatened him on his arrival in Egypt.

To these some subsidiary arguments may be added. As it seems to us, such language as in Ecclus. xlv. 26 might indeed be addressed to Onias II., the son of Simon I., who was the undisputed civil head of his people till the popular appointment of Joseph, the son of Tobias, in 230 B.C. (‘Ant.’ xii. 4. 2, 3). But it would not have been suitable in regard to Onias III., the son of Simon II. Nor could sentiments such as those in that verse have been expressed in the time of Onias III., while they might have deep significance in regard to the political position and aims of Onias II. Lastly, the whole tone of the book is quite different from what we should have expected, if it had been written in the days of Onias III. For then the Grecian counter-Reformation had already made terrible progress in the land, assumed a hostile attitude, and led to the formation of the party of the Chasidim. In those circumstances the writer of Ecclesiasticus, who displays a spirit of liberal tolerance which seems in sympathy with much in foreign thought, while yet remaining faithful to Judaism, must have taken a more decided part with the one side or the other. At any rate he could not have absolutely ignored their existence. Thus the spirit and tone of the book also point to the period preceding the great struggle between Grecianism and Judaism as that of the composition of Ecclesiasticus—that is, to the time of Onias II., not that of Onias III.

For these reasons the probability in favour of the identity of the Simon of Ecclus. I. with Simon I., the Just, seems...
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to us so strong as almost to amount to a demonstration. In that case—if, what is not by any means certain, the Greek translator was the grandson of the older Siracide—it would follow that the Euergetes of the Prologue was the first, not the second, of that name. From the extracts preserved by Eusebius ('Praep. Evang.' ix.) from the Jewish historian Demetrius, who flourished at that time, we infer that this period was one of considerable Jewish literary activity. Here we have to note what is at least a remarkable coincidence. If in the Prologue to his Greek translation the younger Siracide seems to refer to the interest in such studies which he found awakened in Hellenist, if not in wider circles, we have in the work of Demetrius evidence of its existence in the reign of Euergetes I. On the other hand, if in the same Prologue the Siracide speaks of the difficulties of reproducing in a translation what was originally written in Hebrew, Josephus in referring to this very work of Demetrius excuses the occurrence of "lesser mistakes" in it on the ground of want of knowledge of Hebrew ('c. Ap.' i. 23). This twofold coincidence seems to throw some fresh light on the Prologue to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, and so far to confirm the view which, on the whole, we regard as the most likely—that the original work was translated into Greek in the reign of Euergetes I.

At the same time it is quite open to argue that, while the elder Siracide referred in ch. i. to Simon I., his younger descendant may have translated the work into Greek in the reign of Euergetes II. He speaks of the older Siracide as his παρηγος; and although the term primarily means "grandfather," it is also used to denote a more remote ancestor (Arist. 'Pol.' iii. 2. 1; Dion. H. iv. 47—apud Liddell 1). About the same time it is quite open to argue that, while the elder Siracide referred in ch. i. to Simon I., his younger descendant may have translated the work into Greek in the reign of Euergetes II. He speaks of the older Siracide as his παρηγος; and although the term primarily means "grandfather," it is also used to denote a more remote ancestor (Arist. 'Pol.' iii. 2. 1; Dion. H. iv. 47—apud Liddell 1).

1 Eusebius has preserved five fragments of his work, extracted from a work 'On the Jews' by Alexander Polyhistor (a heathen). The longest of these excerpts is in 'Praep. Evang.' ix. 21, ed. Gaisford, ii. pp. 378, &c. Generally comp. Freundtli, 'Hellenist. Studien.'

2 The date of the work of Demetrius has, in our view, been conclusively established by Freundtli (σ. z., pp. 57-63), and it is surprising that his arguments should have been ignored by Schürer ('Gesch. d. Jud. V.' ii. p. 731).

and Scott). At any rate, some writers of authority have adopted this view.1

§ III. ECClesiasticus, the "Wisdom" Writings of the Old Testament, and Jewish Hellenistic Literature.

As previously stated, Ecclesiasticus affords glimpses of the intellectual history of a period over which otherwise profound darkness would rest. We might designate this as the formative stage in the history of a new period in Jewish religious thinking. The results of the past and the beginnings of a future development were still in juxtaposition—not amalgamated, but as yet not separated, nor were their further sequences in view. Alike the close of the old and the beginnings of the new are side by side in Ecclesiasticus. The former reaches back to the early times of Israel's glory; the latter points forward to that direction which was to find its home and centre, not in Palestine, but in Alexandria.

In the reign of king David, the Hebrew state had attained its definite and final stage. But with it also its exclusive national character may be said to have ceased. The outcome of the past period had been internal consolidation and external isolation. But under the rule of king Solomon, Israel for the first time came into close friendly contact with other nations, partly owing to the personal disposition of that monarch, partly from the new circumstances of the country, its growing wealth, and its commerce. But friendly intercourse between nations cannot be confined to the interchange of civilities or of wares; it means the interchange of ideas. There is not any barrier that can effectually arrest the progress of thinking, nor any quarantine that can prevent the spread of ideas. To encounter thought is to recognise it, and to recognise is at least partly to make it.

1 If we were asked to suggest a date for the composition of Ecclesiasticus, we might conjecture that the original work was written about 235 B.C., or earlier, but before the promotion of Joseph the son of Tobias in 230. If at that time the elder Siracide was nearly 70 years old, his grandson, who translated it into Greek, might certainly have been in his thirty-eighth year under Euergetes I.
our own. King Solomon completed indeed the work of David and the religious institutions of Israel by the building of the Temple. Yet by the side of this he had not only to tolerate, but to give facilities for foreign rites. This, not merely owing to external circumstances, but—from an inward necessity. With Solomon began a new phase in Jewish thinking. It was still deeply religious—but it was thinking, in this sense that men were no longer content, nor even able, to settle the great problems of thought by merely external authority, but felt that they must grapple with them individually—nay, even with that fundamental question of all: that of external authority. This was the commencement of the so-called (Chokmah) Wisdom-literature of Israel. The wisest of kings began it; he was himself the first Jewish Chakham, or sage. The Hebrew sage differs from the Gentile philosopher in that he does not search out for himself the highest problems of thinking, nor yet seek to attain their solution by means of metaphysical speculation. These problems are already there, set before him; and they are solved in Divine Revelation. His object, therefore, is to verify rather than to discover—to conciliate the teachings of Divine Revelation, which he implicitly accepts, with the difficulties suggested either by his experience of life (empirical difficulties) or by his own thinking (speculative difficulties). And the conciliation of these difficulties with Revelation constitutes Wisdom. Thus (subjective) Wisdom in man busies itself with (objective) Wisdom in, or rather with, God, which is the mode of God's manifestation of Himself—perhaps, more correctly, the mode in which His self-manifestation presents itself to our thinking. That manifestation is twofold. As regards man, it is exhibited in God's dealings with him; and as regards the higher (abstract) problems, antecedent to and irrespective of man, it is connected with the ways of God. Thus the problems which engage Wisdom in man—those of human life and the higher abstract questions—correspond to the twofold aspect of Wisdom in God. Hence the topics which occupy Hebrew Wisdom-

1 Compare also generally J. Fr. Bruch, 'Die Weisheits-Lehre der Hebräer.'
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—or, at any rate, it gathered around the name of the Wise King. Whatever portions of the Book of Proverbs may be of his personal authorship, even the fact that other or later sayings gathered around this nucleus and name is of deep significance. In this truest sense the whole book is Solomonic. The same may be said of Ecclesiastes—a work thoroughly one in plan and contents. Assuming at the outset the standpoint of seeming indifferentism and epicurean self-enjoyment, the writer proceeds to discuss the great theological problem how to conciliate what seems either chance or fate with the personal Rule of God, till he gradually rises to the consciousness of a personal moral responsibility as the practical, if not speculative, solution of all. Although the book is undoubtedly much later than Solomon, it is (for the reasons above stated) not only truly Solomonic, but perhaps it may even have been intended to present in a concrete form the problems presented by the life as well as in the thinking of the wise king. Nay, its opening text (v. 2), “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,” may even be directly Solomonic, or else set forth a summary of what after-ages regarded as the Solomonic problem.

It will readily be perceived how closely the book Ecclesiasticus is connected with this ancient Chokhmah-literature, not only in form but in substance. In truth, it is a continuation of it: for, that road once entered, standstill or abandonment would be no longer possible. By the side of the purely legal and even of the prophetic teaching of Scripture, this would now become a distinctive phase in Hebrew religious thinking. Nor should we forget that alike the predictions of the final ingathering of all nations and the commencement of Chokhmah-literature were historically connected with a closer contact with the empires of the world. Even the prophetic comments on sacrificial worship—their protest against the merely ex opere operato view of it—might here acquire a new significance and meaning. As an illustration of the manner in which the later Chakhhamim understood or developed such sayings, we would point to Ecclus. xxxiv. and xxxv., which gain in significance from their connexion with the reference in ch. xxxiv. 9–11 to what the writer had seen and learned in foreign countries. Similarly a special Chokhmah meaning might be attached not only to the numerous prophecies that foretold the conversion of the Gentiles, but even to the prophetic addresses to them and to the implied recognition that, despite the present state of rebellion, the earth and all nations were the Lord’s. This may explain how, in the description of a sage (Ecclus. xxxix. 1–3), an understanding of prophecy is conjoined with knowledge of the wisdom of the ancients, of parables, and of proverbs; while, on the other hand, in Ecclus. xxiv. Zion and Israel are indeed stated to be the special dwelling-place of “Wisdom,” where she has her fixed abode, but her presence is also recognised among all nations (v. 6).

It scarcely needs to be stated that the full and final development of this must be sought, not in Palestine, but among the Greek-thinking and Greek-speaking “dispersion” of the West, of which Alexandria was the intellectual capital. But in Ecclesiasticus we have, in a sense, a pre-hellenistic Grecianism. It is still strictly Palestinian, not Alexandrian, and it does not treat the simple language of Scripture as if it consisted of allegories, representing so many formulæ for abstract ideas. But for all this it is, if not Grecianised Judaism, yet a Judaism influenced by Grecian thought. Thus it appears that the first origin of what is called Jewish Hellenism has to be traced to Palestine, not to Alexandria, and was only fully developed there under favourable circumstances. And these circumstances were analogous to those which first called forth Hebrew Chokhmah-literature.

Considering the condition of the small, intellectually almost contemptible, remnant which returned from the Babylonian exile, and the state of those who remained behind, it seems a strange historical assumption to regard this age as one of the most fruitful thinking or of great literary activity. The awakening and new progress of thought are organically connected with the general life of a people: they are always in line with stirring events in the history of the world or of a nation. Such awakening came with the conquests
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of Alexander the Great and the founding of the Macedonian world-empire. It was not only that Israel was now brought into direct contact with Grecianism, nor yet that it felt the electric shock which passed through the ancient world, nor even that from its subjection to the Macedonian conqueror and his successors it constantly experienced Grecian influences. But there was a chain of purely Greek cities within the land of Palestine itself, as well as around its borders. The constant and close intercourse resulting from it, must have led to the gradual introduction of Grecian ideas. These would appear in the first instance, so to speak, in a friendly form—and only afterwards become a hostile power with which war for life or death must be waged. In each case outward events must have corresponded with this state of feeling. The period of outward peace and of the friendly influence of Grecianism terminated soon after Simon I.—who is accordingly designated as the last link in the "great synagogue." The period of open and bitter hostility to Judaism, alike politically and religiously, began immediately after, if not under, Simon II. This brings us back to our former conclusions about the date of Ecclesiasticus. As the last outrunner of Palestinian Chokhmah-literature, it belongs to the former, not to the latter, period. It marks a time of transition when by the side of the old, as then understood, we discover all the germs of a future development. In respect of the latter we might almost characterise it as alike Pharisaic before the Pharisees, Sadducean before the Sadducees, and Hellenic before Hellenism. And yet it is not eclectic—only preparatory. It could not have belonged to a period when Grecianism had become a hostile power in Church and State, and evoked a reaction that led to the formation of the nationalistic party and finally issued in the Maccabean rising. The nationalistic party was known by the title Chasidim, "the pious" (1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6). That name was undoubtedly derived from the description of the Chasidim, "the pious," in the Psalms (Ps. xxx. 4; xxxi. 23; xxxvii. 28). We conjecture that this movement included also a protest against and a separation from the whole Chokhmah-direction of the period immediately preceding, which might be regarded as having been fraught with terrible consequences to Israel. If the one party had spoken of Chokhmah and appealed to Solomon, the other party would now go a step further back and appeal to David and the Psalter, and to the Chasidim of which they wished and professed to be the representatives.

We cannot here follow the further development of their history. But we submit that what has been stated sufficiently answers the question, often and learnedly discussed, as to the relation between Ecclesiasticus and distinctively Alexandrian views. Gfrörer (' Philo u. d. Alex. Theos.' ii. pp. 21-52) calls our author an Eclectic, and supposes that certain parts of his book (notably ch. xxiv.) were derived from an Alexandrian work. That there is a close relationship between Ecclesiasticus and Alexandrianism cannot indeed be doubted—and this not only in ch. xxiv. but in some of the other instances adduced by Gfrörer (comp. the special introd. to ch. xlv.). But their relation is other than that scholar supposed. Ecclesiasticus is not dependent on Alexandrian teaching, but the latter had its roots in the direction represented by our book. On the other hand, Dähne ('Gesch. Darstell. d. jiid. Alex. Relig. Phil.' ii. pp. 144, &c.) rightly calls attention to the genuine Palestinian character of our book as a whole. But he is mistaken in attributing the Alexandrian elements in it entirely to alterations introduced in the Greek Version by the younger Siracide, and to interpolations. Such undoubtedly there are, and of a very marked character. But they are not of such wide sweep as is supposed by Dähne, and the hypothesis as a whole is forbidden by the Syriac Version, which was made directly from the Hebrew original.

§ IV. The Writer and his Book: its Philosophy, Theology, and Ethics; Comparison with the New Testament and with Philo.

Before making a closer survey of the book, it may be convenient to refer
to some of its general characteristics. We have already seen that the circumstances of the time and the religious standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus throw light on each other. The same may be said in regard to the social and moral relations reflected in Ecclesiasticus. If the allusions in it are sometimes coarse, if its tone is the reverse of high, and if the references to sexual and other excesses are both frequent and unpleasant, this is due to the state of matters at the time. Again, bearing in mind that the main subject of the book is Wisdom, the treatment may seem fitful, from the frequent and sudden transitions to apparently wholly different and even trivial topics connected with the rules of daily life. This has already been partly accounted for by the view which the writer took of "Wisdom." Besides, such transitions—often abrupt—from one subject to another are characteristic of Eastern writing. So to speak, they give emphasis to the discussion of the graver questions. Nor is the treatment of "Wisdom" so fitful as might seem at first sight. For "Wisdom" is the subject treated of in the beginning of the book (ch. i.), in the middle of it (ch. xxiv.), and especially at the close (chaps. xxxiii.—xlii.). Indeed, this latter portion reads almost like a separate treatise on the great problems of Wisdom (see the special introductions to these chapters). And even the abruptness of the transitions is more apparent than real. This also is characteristic of Eastern thinking, which moves in the succession of time, as one thing suggests another, rather than in that of logical order, where one topic is evolved from the other.

That the writer of Ecclesiasticus was a man of high culture, fully acquainted with the sacred literature of Israel, is not only stated in the Prologue, but appears from almost every part of the book. Moreover, we infer even from such allusions as in xxiv. 28, xxxii. 16, xxxix. 1, 2, that he was familiar with the thoughts—perhaps the writings—of others in Israel whose mental direction and studies were kindred to his own. And here we also recall that he had travelled abroad for the enlargement of his knowledge, and profited by what he had seen and learned (xxxiv. 10, 11; xxxix. 4). Again, although his dogmatic horizon was bounded, and his views defective, even erroneous, Ben Sira cannot be charged with scepticism. Thoroughly liberal in his conception of Judaism, he was yet an earnest believer in it. Deeply touching is the account which he gives (li. 15—22) of his inner experience. In early life he had in earnest prayer, both private and in the Temple, sought for that Wisdom which—like Solomon of old, or, to quote a lower instance, like Philo—he regarded as the highest aim of life. And he was resolved to pursue it to his last day. By the guidance of that Wisdom he had walked from his youth in the right way, ever following the good. In earnest moral observance of the Law he had stretched out his hands towards heaven, deeply mourning any aberrations due to ignorance, and ever aiming after purity. And even the success which had come to him in life he attributed to this pursuit, and thanked God not only for it, but still more for the gift of that Wisdom through which he had attained it, in a life not troubled by sorrow and beset by dangers. Best of all, he had inward peace and joy. Higher experience than this we cannot expect on the part of the writer of Ecclesiasticus. He was not an inspired man, and, personally, he stands as far below the prophets of old as his own ideal standard falls short of that of the New Testament. Still on every page of his book God is first and foremost: His fear, His Law, and the right and true. Sometimes his praise of the great Creator is almost sublime (as in ch. xxxix. 13—25), while his prayers are fervent and lofty in tone. In general, the one great aim which he sets before himself in his book is to vindicate the ways of God with man. As a believing Israelite, he throughout recognises the leadings of God with His people of old; and he has unshaken faith in the fulfilment of the promises to Israel. Lastly, the main practical object of his work is to warn and instruct others (comp. the Prologue; xxxix. 32; l. 27, 28; li., closing stanza).

From another point of view—that of mental difficulties—we have to emphasise that the speculations of Ben Sira never

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1 Yet although this is prevalently, it is not uniformly, the case in our book.
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issue in doubt. He seeks to answer questions, rather than to solve doubts (xxxix. 16–21). In truth, such do not exist for him. For in God is all Wisdom: and he sees it exhibited equally in creation, in Providence, in history, and in Revelation. Hence he severely condemns, as afterwards Philo, those Jews who, in their spurious enlightenment, would neglect the observance of the Mosaic Law or the ancestral rites. For in his view the Law is the highest exhibition of Wisdom (xxiv.); and its observance the first of duties (comp. i. 26; vi. 37; xiv. 11; xix. 20; xxxv. 1–11).

We proceed to give a brief summary of the philosophical and theological teaching in Ecclesiasticus.

1. The theme of the book is, as previously stated, Wisdom. For the fullest exposition of the writer's views, we here turn to chapters i., xxiv., and to the section beginning with chapter xxxiv. All wisdom comes from God, with Whom it ever is (see generally ch. i.). It transcends the comprehension of man. Wisdom is the firstborn of His creatures: rather, it is the mould and the archetype for all the works and ways of God. And yet in His goodness He has manifested His Wisdom—and that to all men. Understanding of Wisdom and the fear of the Lord coincide—the one is the speculative, the other the practical, aspect of Wisdom. Hence Wisdom is also true happiness. In ch. xxiv. Wisdom is represented as created "from the beginning," "before the world"—as coming forth "from the mouth of the Most High," and as the creative, or at least formative, agent. This seems to mean that Wisdom, immanent in God, became outwardly manifest when God created all things: that it was alike the creative word and the creative thought. It need scarcely be said that in all this there was not any idea of a hypostatization of Wisdom or presenting it as a Person. The writer did not even think of it as separate from God. Ecclesiasticus marks indeed an advance in this respect on the teaching of the Book of Proverbs; but it still falls far short of that of Philo. The latter proceeded on the idea that God was an abstraction, and that He could not be in direct contact with anything concrete—least of all with matter.¹

Again, manifestly there is absolutely a gulf between such speculations—whether in Ecclesiasticus or of Philo—and the teaching of the New Testament. On another and kindred point we mark the same difference. According to Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, as the active principle in creation, was poured out upon the earth, and in measure imparted to all nations (i. 9, 10, 15; xxiv. 3–7). But it was concentrated in the revealed Law of God, and became permanently resident in Israel. Here we have the second fundamental principle afterwards developed by Philo. In the New Testament all this is quite otherwise set forth. There the Logos is shewn to be a Person, Who became Incarnate; and in the Logos God is the Father of all men, who are to attain to Him not through abstract Wisdom but through the mediation of the Personal Logos—that is, by grace. Lastly, in the final section of Eccles., Wisdom, as previously presented, is vindicated against all speculative difficulties. Similarly, in the practical parts of the book, Wisdom is vindicated in its practical aspect, the object being to shew that the ordinances and directions of Wisdom are not only right, but good, and such as lead to prosperity.

2. We have seen that Wisdom is immanent in God. It is the sum of all His qualities, and hence of all His manifestations. It follows almost logically that in the strict sense God must be incomprehensible to man. In truth, this was a necessary position in the theology of Ecclesiasticus. Philo arrived at the same conclusion, though by a different process. In his system this was the outcome of philosophical ideas about the Being of God and His absolute separateness, as well as from his views concerning the material world. In Ecclesiasticus the incomprehensibleness of God is, more biblically, traced back to His supremeness.² The two ideas are presented

¹ See the article PHILE in Smith and Wace's Dict. of Chr. Biogr. 1 vol. iv.
² No doubt can attach to this that the Siracide firmly held the strict Personality of God. If in xlvi. 27 God is thus described, "He is the All" (καὶ συνάντηκαν οἱ βασιλείς τοῦ πάντων ἡμών αὐτός), we have no hesitation in regarding this as a bold later addition by the younger Siracide (see
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in Ecclus. in a whole series of passages, notably in xviii. 2–7, xlii. 17, &c.; but especially in xxxix. 16–21, and in the last stanza of ch. xliii. If God is incomprehensible and supreme, it also follows that He is omniscient, almighty, and irresistible. This brings us to the two great problems which our writer seeks to solve in the third section of his book. But the Son of Sirach only states the facts; he does little to explain them. How are we to account for the difference in the outward lot which, apparently without any cause, befalls men: nay, more, for the moral difference in their dispositions, the diverse shaping of their spiritual history, and their end? Ben Sira's answer is simply Predestinarianism. But in such case what may be distinguished as the natural and the moral qualities in the Deity are apparently in antagonism. The writer of Ecclesiastes had also faced this problem. But he turned from it, almost with a shrug of the shoulders, in view of the indifference and smallness of earthly things. But if he attempted not any solution of the difficulty from its objective aspect—rather admitted it—he sought to transfer the whole question into the region of personal moral responsibility. The writer of Ecclesiastes seems disposed to follow his predecessor, but he attempts a little philosophy of his own on the subject—although with small success. St. Paul also had to face this great problem. He knew the awful facts, and perceived their “antinomies” of reason and theology. But he viewed them in the surrounding and transforming light of the infinite love of God in Christ. And in this solution the Christian heart can thankfully acquiesce (comp. Rom. xi. 32–36).

But the older Siracide was simply a Predestinarian (comp. here such statements as xvi. 26; xxiii. 20; xxxiii. 10–13; xxxix. 20, 21). The same may be said of Philo. But Ben Sira laboriously tries to make a way through the maze to this as his final conclusion (in ch. xxxix., last stanza, xv. 32, &c.), that “all the works of the Lord are good.” The reasoning by which this result is reached commences in ch. xliii., and is carried on to the end of chapter xliii., although with interruptions or rather intercalations caused by things suggested by the way. We add that here we catch glimpses of Aristotelian philosophy, and, for that matter, of Zoroastrianism, in the idea, broached by our writer, of an essential Dualism of contraries: one thing being set against the other—good against evil, life against death, and so on (see ch. xxxii. 7–15). Yet with all this he escapes falling into fatalism by emphasising (as in Ecclesiastes) the absolute freedom of the will and personal responsibility (comp. here especially xv. 14–20; and such sentences as xvii. 6).

The Son of Sirach seems to feel more certain and satisfied when he shifts the ground of his argument to the moral properties of God: His justice and mercy. God is not only the Maker of all things: He is also the Ruler. Hence ultimately good will certainly follow upon right-doing. And although the righteous may suffer—since suffering is the common lot—yet their sorrows are not like those of the wicked, and they have also both immediate and final consolation under them. We cannot here enter into further details, but we mark that our author traces this quality of Justice in God’s dealings not only with individuals, but with nations, and especially in God’s ways with Israel. Alike the fulfilment of the promises to them and the destruction of the heathen ultimately resolve themselves into the exercise of Justice. By the side of this quality—as its complement and, in a sense, its other aspect—Ben Sira places that of Mercy. This mercy extends to

1 Comp. Bruch, u. s. pp. 301, 302.
2 Merguet (u. s. p. 11) notes the following terms for it: Δίκαιος (this mostly), δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοσύνην. But there is not any mention of the free outgoing of Divine Love. The latter is only evoked in return for our love of Wisdom; comp. iv. 14. The solitary reading χάρις in i. 13, quoted by Merguet, is extremely doubtful, and in any case could only mean “favour.” In xxiv. 16 it stands for “grace” or beauty.
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"all flesh," but is specially shewn to the poor, afflicted, and needy, and yet more particularly to the prayerful, the believing, the penitent, and the merciful.

3. Little need be said about the Cosmology, the Angelology, or even the Anthropology of our book. As regards the former, the world is not represented as an emanation from God, but as His creation. At the same time we find, as in ch. xvi. 26, 27, expressions about the order and rule in the Kosmos, which afterwards acquired a special meaning in the system of Philo, although it is very doubtful whether anything of the kind was in the mind of Ben Sira (see notes). Belief in Angels seems implied in Ecclesiasticus (xvii. 17—see the note about the Jewish tradition on the subject; xviii. 21; and possibly, though doubtfully, xlv. 2). But it seems to be a subject on which our author is reluctant to enlarge. Even this is indicative of Ben Sira's standpoint, since developed Angelology is characteristic of post-exilian theology. He is still more chary in his reference to Satan (xxi. 27). On the other hand, if in xxxix. 28, &c., he may seem to identify such "messengers of God" with punitive agencies in nature, we must bear in mind that, in later Jewish theology also, the Angels are sometimes represented (alike as regards their names and agency) as personifications of powers, or of Divine dispensations. There is not any ground for supposing that the Son of Sirach believed in the doctrine of the fall of man through the sin of our first parents—or rather, in original sin in the New Testament sense. He traces, indeed, the beginning (ἀρχή ἀμαρτίας), but not the origin of our sin to Eve (xxv. 24; see specially the note on that verse), and he attributes to her the universal prevalence of death. But this is very different from tracing to this source moral guilt or native depravity. On the "after death" the views of the Siracide are very unsatisfactory. As regards the body, so far from cherishing the hope of a Resurrection we have such dreary pictures as in

In this sense it occurs several times, as also in that of "favour," "thanks," "praise." In the sense of bountifulness, or the bestowal of gifts, it only occurs in xl. 17—and there as on the part of man, not of God.
tial distinction made throughout the book between the righteous and the sinner. As in the view of our author Wisdom in its objective aspect is fully presented in the revealed Law of God, so in its subjective aspect it coincides with the fear of the Lord. Hence also the pious is throughout represented as the wise, and the sinner as the fool (and *vice versa* also). On the other hand, if Ben Sira so frequently and emphatically insists that God will certainly requite the righteous and the sinner, we have to bear in mind that the requital which he expects is of and in this world. Similarly, if he enjoins observance of the rites and worship of Israel, it is too often rather because they are ancestral, than because of their absolute and intrinsic importance; because they are Israel's rather than because they are God's. Of any deeper understanding of the spiritual or the typical import of sacrifices or the other institutions of the Old Testament we cannot discern a trace. On the contrary, almsgiving and prayer—and that as an *opus operatum*—seem to constitute in the view of our author the substance of religion, although (as already explained) he insists on strict and even joyous observance of the ordinances of the sanctuary. Very characteristic and generally instructive in all these respects is the first stanza of ch. xxxv. Most curious and interesting are the extensive, evidently Christian, alterations introduced in this chapter in the Syriac Version.

Even a cursory perusal of the book shews that the general moral tone of the writer is not at any time lofty. Often

1 Characteristic are the designations of Wisdom and the Wise, marking the different aspects of his conception. They are: σοφία, ταπεία, ταυτωργία, σύνεσις (and διάσω συνέσις), ἐπιστήμη, and θεοτήτα. Corresponding to these are the terms in which he speaks of the σοφίς, or the ἐπιστήμονα, as: τιμιότερος, ἐπιστήμωσις, κοινός, φυλόκομος, πεπλαμβάνω, πολύνιορ, he is ὄνωρ βουλής, μακρόθυμος, θεοτής, εὐσκέτης, φωκώτως κόρον, ἔχων ἱρόν, σειστικόν, οἴκουμενος καθεῖ, even ἄγαθος (Merguet, n. s.). The designations of the fool and sinner Merguet groups under four classes: (a) μοῖρα, θαρρόν, ἄντονος, ἁντωνος, διωκόμος, διοικόμος, ἄνωτερος, ἀπάθητος, αἰσθητόρας; (b) ἀνυπόκτητος, ἀνάξωπος, ἀνατράπηθος; (c) ἀνωτάτης, πλειάδων, κακὸν ἐργα-ζόμενος, ποιητικός, ἀνεσφάσας, δέσιος, στατάλης, λοιπόνος, and ἡμιάθης.

*Apoc.—Vol. II.*
is not any allusion in Ecclesiasticus. Nor yet do we find any trace of expectancy of a personal Messiah. But apparently Ben Sira did look for what may be called a (Messianic) "kingdom"—although without a king. It is not easy, however, to form any clear conception of what he associated with that happy period. He certainly regarded it as the fulfilment of the prophetic promises to Israel. He frequently refers to judgments that were to come upon the Gentile nations; and he anticipates the gathering of all Israel, their liberation, and even their triumph—the latter being preceded by the advent of Elijah. Yet, after all, these statements only give rise to questions to which there is no answer in our book. The following are important passages in regard to the eschatology of Eccles.: xxxv. 18, 19; xxxvi. 1-17; xxxvii. 25 b; xliv. 21, 22; xlvii. 11; xlviii. 10, 11, 24. Generally comp. the introduction to ch. xlviii. But we cannot close without calling attention to xliv. 21, 22. The reference there is to the special (Messianic) blessing promised to Abraham (in Gen. xxi. 18) and afterwards continued to Isaac. It is the contention of most modern critics that the Hebrew of these verses should not be rendered (as in the LXX.): "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," but that the correct translation is: "with thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves." It is instructive to find that, in opposition to the confident assertions of these critics, the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) adopted the first translation, probably quoting from the LXX.

§ V. LANGUAGE, TITLE, AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE ORIGINAL WORK.

The work of the Son of Sirach was originally written in Hebrew, and not, as some critics have supposed, in the later Aramaic dialect. Jerome had still seen a copy of the Hebrew original (Hebraicum referent). The quotations from the work in Talmudic writings (see § X.) are, with three exceptions, in Hebrew, and they are chiefly made by Palestinian authorities. But the Hebrew is that of a later age. The work seems, however, at an early period to have been translated into Aramaean—probably in Babylon—and to have been elaborated with additions, not always worthy of the original composition, into a book from which quotations are made by Babylonian Rabbis. If any doubt could still be entertained that the work was originally written in Hebrew, it would be removed by a comparison with the Syriac translation (see § VIII.). And we know that Hebrew was at that time, and long afterwards, the language used by the learned and in the schools.

In Hebrew the book had borne the title הַלַיְם, Proverbs (in Aram. הַלַיְם). Jerome (u. s.) expressly states that it was entitled 'Parabolae' ("non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolae praenotatum"). Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the original Greek title in the MSS., Εὐφραι καὶ ισπευούμενος, 'The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach,' originated in the Church. Even the Solomonic books (Prov. and Eccles.) were designated by the Jews as הַלַיְם הַכָּל, the Books of Wisdom, and we know that the Book of Sirach and apocryphal 'Wisdom' were ranked with them. The account of Melito of Sardis (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iv. 26), which adds to the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' the words הַלַיְם הַכָּל, seems derived from a Jewish source. Similarly, in MS. 12,142 (Brit. Mus.), the Syriac title of the book—evidently taken from a Hebrew source—is 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.' Even the designation of our book as הַלַיְם הַכָּל (or more briefly: הַלַיְם הַכָּל) 9, which first appears in Eusebius,'

2 For the evidence see Zunz, u. s., pp. 104, 105.
3 Josepboth to Babh. B., 14 b.
4 Comp. Nowack, 'Sprüche Sal.' p. x.
6 Jerome (l. s. 1.): "Fertur et nāvāperos Jesu filii Sirach liber." Cassiodorus ('Div. Lect.' i. 5) explains: "propter excellantium virtutum suarum nāvāperos appellat, i.e. virtutum omnium capacem."
7 Chron. (ed. Schoene) ii. 122; 'Demonstr. Evang.' (ed. Gaisford), viii. 2, 71. The designa-
may have had a Hebrew equivalent, just as the same designation seems to have been given to the Solomonic Book of Proverbs. The common Latin designation (since Cyprian) ‘Ecclesiasticus’ (or ‘Ecclesiasticus Sirach’) could scarcely have been introduced to distinguish our book from Ecclesiastes, but probably meant “Church—(ecclesiastical) book.” It obtained that name from its frequent use by the early Church, especially in the instruction of catechumens.

It is the opinion of many critics that our book contains much which is not the writer’s own, and was derived from other “sages.” But this view cannot be accepted without important qualifications. Eichhorn, who calls Ecclesiasticus “a rhapsody,” supports the contention that Ben Sira had partly collected from previous writers, by referring to what he regards as repetitions in the book, or as contradictions in its different parts, and also to utterances which he considers unworthy of the Siracide and belonging to an earlier and ruder age. But, in his view, our author had mostly not literally reproduced such sayings of others, but recast them in his own language. Bretschneider generally repeats and further develops the views of Eichhorn, though scarcely in a manner to command assent. For our own part, we have failed to discover any repetitions in the strict sense of the term; and still more any contradictions. For it must be remembered that the recurrence of the same idea in different connexions is not necessarily a mere repetition. Lastly, even such a statement as that in xxxii. 16 does not necessarily imply that our author had incorporated the sayings of others. It might only have been intended to indicate (what we otherwise know) that there had been Chakhkamim before Ben Sira, whose sentences and sayings had passed into popular parlance. But, when considered in connexion with the general arrangement of the book, it acquires a more definite meaning than this. Attention does not yet occur in the quotations by Clement and Origen: comp. Schürer, u. s. p. 596.

2 Ewald thinks that the work had in its original form been much larger, but suffered from abbreviations and transpositions. He even attempts to restore it to its original form.
3 The objections of Bretschneider (u. s., pp. 20, &c.) are very superficial. Eichhorn arranges the work into three books: Book I., chaps. i.–xxii. (in two sections: chaps. i.–ix.; x.–xxii.); Book II., chaps. xxiv.–xliii. 14; Book III., chaps. xliii. 15–l. 24; the whole being concluded by the subscription and a grand eulogy. Eichhorn supposes that it was composed (collected?) at different periods of the author’s life.

The same time we must respectfully but entirely dissent from the ingenious hypothesis of Ewald, that the work embodies two previous collections of Proverbs: the first (chaps. i.–xvi. 21) dating from the 4th century B.C.; the second (xvi. 22–xxxvi. 22) dating from the 3rd cent. B.C.; and that only the third and last portion of Ecclesiasticus is the work of Ben Sira himself.

With his usual perspicacity Eichhorn inferred that as Wisdom formed the subject-matter of the book, its division into parts would be indicated by a fresh introduction of that theme. This canon is undoubtedly correct. But further than this we are not able to agree with that great critic. Although every attempt at arrangement can only be matter of suggestion, we venture to propose the following. The theme of the book is Wisdom, and its fresh introduction marks the beginning of every part. The work consists of five Parts—like the Law and the Psalter. Part I. comprises chaps. i.–xxiii.; Part II., chaps. xxiv.–xxxii.; Part III., chaps. xxxiii.–xliii.; Part IV., chaps. xliv.–l. 21; lastly, Part V., l. 22–li.

Part I., chaps. i.–xxiii. Wisdom is introduced, ch. i. 1–10. Throughout this Part Wisdom is presented in its practical aspect. The Part consists of four sections, of which three admit of further subdivision. Section A (chaps. i.–vi.). Subdivisions:—1st, chaps. i.–iii.: Wisdom as the fear and service of God (in the widest sense), or practical Wisdom in its relation to God. 2nd subdivision:—chaps. iv.–vi.: practical Wisdom in relation to ourselves—the section closing with a eulogy of Wisdom (vi. 18–end). Section B (chaps. vii.–xiv.). Subdivi-
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I.

1st practical Wisdom as regards our relations to others: chaps. vii.–ix.
2nd subdivision: practical Wisdom specially in relation to those in high places, in rule, and government—chap. x.
3rd subdivision: in relation to the more lowly—chap. xi.
4th subdivision: practical Wisdom in our mode of doing good—chap. xii.
5th subdivision: practical Wisdom in intercourse with the world—chap. xiii.
6th subdivision: with reference to property—chap. xiv.
7th subdivision: in regard to our moral bearing. Section C. The problems and difficulties of Wisdom in its practical aspect: chaps. xvi.–xviii.

Section D might be entitled “Rules of life,” viz.: 1st, Man towards man, chaps. xix., xx.; 2ndly, in regard to sin, chaps. xxi., xxii.—the whole Part closing with a grand prayer, chap. xxiii.

Part II. opens again with the praise of Wisdom (chap. xxiv.). The Part comprises chaps. xxiv.–xxxii., including, however, parts of chap. xxxiii. But those chapters cannot well be arranged into groups, like those in Part I., although we can trace a distinct connexion between them, as shewn in the special introductions. We regard this Part as embodying previous sayings of sages or popular Proverbs. But the whole has been put into orderly arrangement and connexion by the Son of Sirach. Its character, as chiefly if not wholly a compilation, appears from the somewhat loose manner in which various subjects are joined together; from the peculiar—often antithetic or else grouped—arrangement of the sayings; and, lastly, from chap. xxxiii. 16, which seems intended to indicate the nature of this Part as a whole.

Part III., chap. xxxiii.–xliii. Chap. xxxiii., however, partly belongs to the previous Part and generally forms a transition to what follows. It may be described as a discussion of the great speculative problems of Wisdom (see previous remarks and special introductions).

Part IV. historically illustrates Wisdom by the praise of the Wise (chaps. xliv.–l. 21), while Part V. contains the conclusion of the book (chap. l. 22–li.).

We need scarcely add that these five Parts, although distinct, are welded by the writer into a continuous and consecutive work. In form it is poetic and rhythmic; but its didactic portions are often extremely prosaic in tone. Here the writer generally speaks in the character of a “father” to his “son.” In regard to the use of rhetorical figures, illustrations and the like, the book may, however, favourably compare with similar productions. The arrangement of the chapters in stanzas, the progression of thought, and the parallelism not only in the members of each verse but sometimes between the stanzas, are generally indicated with sufficient clearness. We have also marked a numerical arrangement in the verses and stanzas which may have been a form of later Hebrew compositions of this kind.

§ VI. REFERENCES TO THE BOOK OF PROVERBS AND IN THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES.

1. The Proverbs of Solomon.—As might have been expected, the older Siracide had throughout taken the Proverbs of Solomon as the model for his work. And this, alike in respect of form and substance. As regards the former, whatever may be thought on the question whether or not Hebrew biblical poetry was metrical,1 it is universally admitted that it was marked by a parallelism of members. The latter has been arranged2 into antithetic parallelisms, in which the first and second members—lines a and b—are in antithesis; synthetic, or rather progressive, in which the second member marks a progression, though in the same direction; synonymic, or rather continual, when the second member only continues the first; parabolic, where one member illustrates the other; and lastly, consecutive, in which one member expresses the logical sequence of the other. These various kinds of parallelism

2 Comp. here generally C. Seligmann, ‘d. Buch d. Weis. J. Sir.’ But we have not adopted his precise designation of the various kinds of parallelism in Hebrew poetry.
may be illustrated by an example of each kind in Ecclesiasticus, to which is added in brackets a similar instance from the Book of Proverbs: (〈a〉) Antithetic Parallelisms: Ecclus. xiii. 3 [Prov. x. 5]; (〈b〉) progressive: Ecclus. vi. 13 [Prov. xxii. 1]; (〈c〉) continuative: Ecclus. vi. 33 [Prov. xxii. 24]; (〈d〉) illustrative: Ecclus. xviii. 10 [Prov. x. 26]; (〈e〉) consecutive: Ecclus. xxv. 3 [Prov. xxvi. 5]. The first of these five classes of parallelism occurs the most rarely; the last is the most frequent in Ecclesiasticus. To these remarks about the form of our book we have to add that, as regards the outward arrangement of the subject and the mostly well-marked structure of stanzas, we observe distinct progress in comparison with the Book of Proverbs.

Passing from the form to the contents, the book, similar correspondence exists between Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Proverbs. Thus Ecclus. i. 4 may be compared with Prov. viii. 22; i. 14 with Prov. i. 7, and ix. 10; Ecclus. iii. 13 with Prov. xxiii. 22; iii. 26 with Prov. xxviii. 14; iv. 5 with Prov. xxviii. 27; iv. 12, &c. with Prov. iv. 7, &c.; vii. 11 with Prov. xvii. 5; ix. 6 with Prov. xxix. 3; x. 25 with Prov. xvii. 2; x. 27 with Prov. xii. 9; xi. 8 with Prov. xviii. 13; xii. 9 with Prov. xix. 4; xii. 16 with Prov. xxvi. 24, &c.; xiii. 25 with Prov. xv. 13; xiv. 13 with Prov. iii. 27, &c.; xx. 1 with Prov. xvii. 5; xxi. 10 with Prov. xiv. 12; xxi. 17 with Prov. xxii. 12; xxii. 3 with Prov. xvii. 21; xxii. 7 with Prov. xxvii. 22; xxii. 15 with Prov. xxvii. 3; xxiv. 1 with Prov. vii. 1; xxiv. 3 with Prov. ii. 6; xxiv. 5 with Prov. vii. 27; xxv. 16 with Prov. xxi. 19; xxvii. 5 with Prov. xxvi. 21; xxvii. 22 with Prov. vi. 12, 13; xxvii. 25 with Prov. xxvi. 27; xxviii. 8 with Prov. xv. 18; xxviii. 10 with Prov. xxvi. 20, 21; xxx. 1 with Prov. xiii. 24; xxxi. 23 with Prov. xxii. 9; xxxiv. 21 with Prov. xxiii. 22; xxxvii. 18 with Prov. xvii. 22 and xviii. 21; xli. 11 with Prov. x. 7. Other instances might be added. For these, as well as for parallels in the Psalter, the Book of Job, and especially with Ecclesiastes, we must refer to the notes on the various chapters.

2. The Epistle of St. James. — In general, the critical student of the New Testament will find in Ecclesiasticus much to interest him as regards the usage of words. At least one illustrative instance may here be adduced. The word κατανόησις, which in classical Greek is not used for any painful affection, occurs in the New Testament only in Acts ii. 37 ("pricked in their heart"). It is used in the same sense in the LXX. Psalms, where it unquestionable meaning in Ps. cviii. (Heb. cix.) 16 must rule its use in Ps. iv. 5; xxix. (xxx.) 13; xxxiv. (xxxv.) 15. The word evidently bears the same meaning in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7 and in 3 (1) Kings xx. 27. Theodotion uses it in the same sense in Prov. xvii. 22, where the LXX. have λυπηρός. [In LXX. Is. lxvii. 5 and Dan. x. 9, 15 it may be used in a sense derived from its primary meaning. Perhaps LXX. Lev. x. 3 indicates the connexion between the two.] But the meaning of the word κατανόησις is fully established by its uniform use in Ecclus. (xii. 2; xiv. 1; xx. 21; xlvii. 20).

If the usage of the word κατανόησις seems to point to a special connexion between the LXX. Psalms and Ecclesiasticus, this is still more evident in regard to a word of such frequent use in the New Testament as εὐδοκία, but which only occurs in the LXX. Psalms, although frequently in Ecclesiasticus. Nor is this the only instance of correspondence between these two books; and the question may at least be suggested, whether it does not reflect on the date of the version of the Psalter (or part of it) relatively to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, since biblical terms of recent introduction would probably be in favour with a theological writer.

1 Many of these have been collected by Dr. H. H. Wright in his 'Comment on Eccles.'
2 The objection of Ségélmann that, in the passages quoted, Ecclus. agrees with Eccles. only in such cases in which Eccles. itself agrees with Prov. does not always hold good. Ségélmann himself admits that there is not any other parallel to Ecclus. xviii. 22 than in Eccles. v. 3. Frequent references to Eccles. will be pointed out in the course of this commentary.
3 As regards the LXX., see further on.
4 Never in this exact form, and not in any form in pre-Christian Greek writers.

1 Seligmann, u. s., p. 32; Bruch, u. s., p. 273; Delitzsch, art. Sprache in Herzog's Real-Enzykl.
2 Comp. Seligmann, u. s., pp. 21-29.
We have little doubt that there are passages in various parts of the New Testament in which either the sentiment or its mode of expression carries us back to Ecclesiasticus. The instances are more numerous than those mentioned by Eichhorn, nor can they be wholly explained either by unconscious identity of thinking or by popularly current sayings. Two facts should here be kept in view. The frequent references to Ben Sira in Talmudic writings show how popular (for one reason or another) the work had become in Jewish circles. On the other hand, we have seen that many of its views appear afterwards in a developed form in Philo. On these and other grounds we naturally infer that the book enjoyed if not equal yet similar popularity in Alexandria, the birthplace of its translation, and among the Hellenists generally. We here instinctively turn, on the one hand, to the Epistle to the Hebrews as the portion of the New Testament specially Hellenistic in its mode of expression and form of reasoning; and, on the other, to the Epistle of St. James, which is so Judaic in its language, allusions, and mould of thought that we can in many places find exact Rabbinic parallels to it. Both these books contain perhaps not exactly references to Ecclesiasticus, but they indicate familiarity with it. This holds specially true in regard to the Epistle of St. James. An illustrative instance from each of these writings may here be adduced. In Eccles. xxv. 23 the words “relaxed hands and palsied knees” (χειρές παρειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλειμένα) are taken from LXX. Is. xxxv. 3. But there the word is not παρειμένας but ανεμένας, while in Heb. xii. 12 the wording is exactly that of Eccles. Much more remarkable is the parallelism offered by St. James v. 3. There the word κατιόω is used, which does not occur in any other place in the N. T., nor yet in the LXX. But it does occur in Ecclus. xii. 11—and means not “to rust,” but “to tarnish” (see note on xii. 11). Nor is this all. The word used for “rust” in St. James v. 3 is ἅσ, which does not occur in that signification elsewhere in the N. T. But it does occur as a verb in Ecclus. xii. 10 (and again in xxi. 10—see the note there). Lastly, beyond any merely verbal correspondence, we have the remarkable fact that Ecclus. xii. 10 and xxix. 10, on the one hand, and, on the other, St. James v. 3, are the only biblical passages in which the figure of rust as affecting unused silver and gold occurs. In view of all this it cannot be doubted that both the simile and the expression of it in the Epistle of St. James were derived from Eccles.

We conclude by collating some from the many parallels between our book and the Epistle of St. James. Thus St. Jas. i. 2–4 may be compared with Ecclus. i. 23, and especially with Ecclus. ii. 1–5; St. Jas. i. 5 with Ecclus. li. 13; and with regard to the expectation of the direct bestowal of wisdom by God, comp. Ecclus. i. 26; iv. 11; vi. 37; xliii. 33 (also the expression ὁνεδωτοὺς in St. James with ὁνεδεῖ in Ecclus. xviii. 18; comp. also xx. 15; xxix. 28; xxxi. 31; xlii. 22). Again, St. Jas. i. 6–8 should be compared with Ecclus. i. 28; ii. 16; vii. 10; xxv. 16–21. [Mark here the correspondence between δύνατος in St. Jas. i. 8 and μὴ ὀλυγοφυνοῦτησιν in Ecclus. vii. 10—and still more the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 6 and Ecclus. xxxiii. 2 b.] Again, St. Jas. i. 9–11 should be compared (in the choice of the words also) with Ecclus. i. 30; iii. 18; xxxi. 5–9—noting specially the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 10, 11 and Ecclus. vi. 2, 3. Again, St. Jas. i. 12 may be compared with Ecclus. vi. 28–31; or St. Jas. i. 13, 14 with Ecclus. xv. 11, 8c. It would not be difficult, were this the place for it, to continue this comparison almost from chapter to chapter in the Epistle of St. James. But if the result is to prove beyond doubt the familiarity of St. James with a book which at the time was evi-

1 But the list given by Bretschneider (u. s., pp. 709–722) is altogether fanciful.
2 Eichhorn, u. s., pp. 77, 78.
4 For other instances as regards the Epistle to the Hebrews, we refer to the notes.
5 The passages are selected from Boon, u. s.
6 This has been done by Boon, u. s.
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N dently in wide circulation, it exhibits with even greater clearness the immense spiritual difference between the standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus and that in the Epistle of St. James.

§ VII. THE GREEK VERSION OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

As unquestionably the oldest, the most important, and on the whole by far the most trustworthy rendering of the Hebrew original, the Greek version of Ben Sira deservedly holds the first place. The translator was, as he informs us in the Prologue, the grandson (or further descendant) of the author, and he executed his literary task in Egypt—at a time, as we infer, propitious for such undertakings. Beyond these scanty particulars and an uncertain chronological notice, we possess not any information about the translator. He pleads that he had used all diligence in his work, but also modestly excuses himself for any shortcomings or mistakes on the ground of the difficulty of exact translation from the Hebrew (see Prologue, and the notes on it). It must be admitted that he has ably performed his task, despite not unfrequent mistakes, due either to misreading or to misunderstanding of the original Hebrew. But besides these involuntary mistakes of ignorance, as we may term them, it cannot be doubted that the younger Siracide also allowed himself to make alterations of the original text. Such changes might be introduced (a) for apologetic reasons—the translator wishing to meet or anticipate objections, or to conciliate prejudice; or (b) when he felt not in agreement with the views of his grandfather; (c) from a desire to express those views more clearly (as he thought), or else (d) more forcibly—whether more realistically or more euphemistically; (e) by way of glosses; but chiefly (f) when he wished to introduce, instead of his grandfather’s, his own Hellenistic views, thereby giving them the weight of the great Palestinian authority of the older Siracide. This charge may seem very serious, and in a sense it is so. But it must be remembered that the views of the ancients and their practice widely differed in this respect from ours, and we must extend to them a greatly enlarged measure of that literary licence which some seem to claim for themselves even in our own days. Indeed, while carefully guarding ourselves against the favourite but unwarranted general assumption of spuriousness, we may venture the opinion that probably few ancient religious writings have entirely escaped “revisions”—not to speak of interpolations. As regards Ecclesiasticus, the evidence of it comes to us from a comparison of the Greek with the Syriac text. Whenever we meet a distinctly Hellenistic sentiment in the Greek text, for which, on comparison, we find in the Syriac an ordinary Jewish sentiment, we suspect an alteration by the younger Siracide. Such modifications chiefly occur in passages specially treating of “Wisdom,” but we also find them in others. To enumerate all the instances would require more space than this paragraph, and we must refer the reader to the commentary itself. But one or two examples will, at least, illustrate our meaning. In Ecclus. i. 3, 4, the Greek text has: “Who can trace out . . . wisdom. Wisdom was created before all things, and intelligence of understanding from Aeon.” This sounds distinctly Hellenistic. The Syr. omits “and wisdom” at the close of v. 3, and renders v. 4: “More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith.” For our next illustration we naturally turn to Ecclus. xxiv. Here the alterations, as compared with the Syr., are so numerous and so important that we must refer to the notes on that chapter. A specially interesting instance of this occurs in v. 31 (see the note on it). For our last illustration we select Ecclus. xliii. It requires but slight knowledge to recognise the pronounced Hellenism of such a verse as Ecclus. xliii. 27. But the whole stanza which begins with that verse contains Hellenistic elements, nor would it be difficult to discern traces of them in the two preceding stanzas. We are not surprised that v. 27 is not found in the Syriac Version. But it is certainly remarkable that in the Syriac the whole text after v. 12 is wanting, and it raises the sus-
picion that it had somehow been tampered with, perhaps by a later hand.

Apart from these objections, we are bound to say that the Greek of the text (especially in the Prologue) is fairly good, although the translation is slavishly literal and contains many Hebraisms. These might mislead the reader, and if literally rendered would seriously mar a translation into English.1 The latter occasionally offers considerable difficulties—not only in the Prologue, but in other passages. What might be termed our Authorized English Version follows the text of the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–1517). It has been retained in the body of this work. But in the notes the needed alterations have been made, both in accordance with the better readings and to reproduce the text with the utmost literal compatibility with the proper exhibition of its meaning. Where the Syriac Version seemed more accurately to represent the Hebrew original, this has generally been indicated, although it must be borne in mind that the present is a commentary on the Greek Version of the work of Ben Sira. The corrupt state of our present Greek text has long been subject of complaint. It appears even from a comparison of the various Codices. Some at least of the alterations seem to point to later Christian emendation.

Of the various manuscripts the first and most important is the Codex Vaticanus, 1209 (apud Holmes, II.). It forms the basis of the Sixtine (or common) edition ('Vet. Test. juxta Sept. ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max.' ed. Romae, 1587). The professedly correct edition of the Vatican text by Mai (5 vols. Romae, 1857) is unsatisfactory. Far more trustworthy in this respect is the recent edition by Vercellone and Cozza (6 vols. Rome, 1868–1881). On the basis of it Nestle has added, as an appendix to the 6th edition of Tischendorf's edition of the LXX., a collation of the Vatican and the Sinaiitic Codds. [S1, S2], which has also been separately published. The Vat. Cod. is regarded by Tischendorf as dating from the 4th century. (2) Codex Sinaiaticus, discovered by Tischendorf in 1859, and dated by him as of the 4th century. The MS. is now in the St. Peters burg Library, and has been published in 4 vols., St. Peters burg, 1862. It is designated by X in Fritzsche's edition. (3) The Codex Alexandrinus (marked III. apud Holmes at Fritsche), now in the British Museum, and supposed to date from the 5th century. It was edited (in 4 vols. fol., Ox. 1707–1720) by J. E. Grabe,—vols. i. (1707) and iv. (1709) during his lifetime; vols. ii. (1719) and iii. (1720) after his death, by Fr. Lee. Where the Alex. text was defective it is supplemented from the Sixtine edition or from other MSS., indicating this by smaller type, and similarly any conjectural emendations, marking in the latter case the Alex. reading in the margin in ordinary type. Unfortunately this is not uniformly done. (Other edition in 8 vols. 8vo, Oxon.; and corrected by Fr. Field, Oxon. 1859.)

The beautiful edition by J. J. Breitinger (Tig. 1730–1732, 4 tom. 4to) follows the text of Grabe, and gives at the bottom the Sixt. and other readings, adding critical dissertations. Lastly, it has been reprinted in a facsimile edition of the original by H. H. Baber (London, 1816–1821, 3 tom. folio, with Proleg. and notes, 1828); and finally reproduced in autotype facsimile (vol. i., 1881; ii. and iii., 1883; iv., 1879).1

Next in order we have to mention the splendid edition by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827, 5 tom. folio), containing the Sixtine text, but adding what to the present time is the most complete collection of variants. (The Apocr. are in vol. v.) For these a number of Codd.—of which several are, however, defective—come into account for Ecclesiastics. They are: Codd. 23 of the 9th cent., in the Libr. Ven.; 55 of the 12th cent.—being Cod. Vat. 1, once belonging to Queen Christina of Sweden; 68 (often defective), from the library of St. Mark, Venice, of the age of other good Codd.; 70, Cod. 1

1 Comp. also the Introd. to the Cambridge edition of the Sept., by Dr. Swete, 1887.
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The Codices just enumerated were used by O. F. Friztsche in his Commentary on Ecclus. ('Kurzgez. exeg. Handb. zu d. Apokr. d. A. Test.' 5th Lief. 1860), and in his critical edition of the 'Libri Apocr. Vet. Test.' (Lips. 1871). The latter work—although very valuable—is open to objection, not only in regard to the text, as proposed to be restored, but also because Fritzsch gives only a selection of the variants, and especially because he omits all reference to the Syriac Version, the importance of which he unaccountably fails to recognise. Besides these Cod., Fritzsch also made use of the fragments of the Cod. Ephraem, which he marks by the letter C, and of the Cod. August., collated by D. Hoeschel, which he marks H. The palimpsest fragments of the books of Wisdom and Sirach, which Tischendorf brought from the East to St. Petersburg, and which he dates as from the 6th or 7th cent., have not yet been collated.

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But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, the most interesting and important of these Codices is that marked 248, which is followed in the Complutensian Polyglot (Co.). It—or, more accurately, its archetype—may be described as chief of a class, to which 23, 253, H, and partly 106 and 55, belong. It is apparently the work of one hand. A comparison with Clement of Alexandria shews that the text of 248 was known and used by him, and hence that it must date not later than the beginning of the 2nd century. Another interest of the text of 248 lies in its frequent agreement with the Vetus Latina (see next §), but especially with the Syriac Version—and therefore with the original Hebrew text, from which the latter was made. It deserves special notice that 248 does not contain the undoubtedly genuine Prologue by the younger Siracide, in place of which an evidently later redactor has added the spurious Prologue (also incorporated in Co. and thence in the English Version) found in the Synopsis, falsely ascribed to Athanasius (Op., ed. Bened., ii. p. 173). We further mark that of all MSS. only 248 (and after it Co.) preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. (see notes), which is inverted in all the other Codices. In this it agrees with the Syriac Version (which is followed by the Arab.) and with the Vet. Lat.—the latter a noteworthy fact as regards that version. When from these two important preliminary points we proceed to an examination of the text of 248, we are struck not only with the frequency but with the remarkable character of its correspondence with the Syriac Version. Nor is it perhaps less instructive to find that in many instances 248 does not agree with the Syriac. As a curious instance of this we would point, among many others, to Ecclus. xxx. 25 (see the notes). A detailed comparison of the readings in 248 (which are given in full by Friztsche) with the Syr. would be necessary fully to exhibit the state of the case. But some illustrative instances will be given when treating of the Syriac and the Latin versions. Three theories might here be suggested, of which at least 1 We have examined 56 quotations by Clement from Ecclus. In by far the largest number of them he quotes freely, i.e. not exactly according to any known text. But in five instances his quotations markedly correspond with the text of 248.

2 The real author of this spurious Prologue is not known, but it probably dates from the 4th or 5th cent.
two seem on examination wholly untenable. The first is that 248 may represent an independent Greek translation from the Hebrew. But in that case the differences from our other Greek MSS. would be much wider reaching and more complete; in fact, 248 would be essentially different from them. Nor yet would we expect to find in it any of the Hellenistic alterations of the younger Siracide. But as a matter of fact we find—to choose a notorious example—that in Ecclus. i. 4, 5, Cod. 248 (as well as the Latin Version) has a spurious addition, evidently from a later Christian redactor. And so in other characteristic instances. The second theory would be that the text underlying 248 had been corrected from the Hebrew original. But this also we have to reject, partly on the grounds above stated, and for this additional reason, that 248 leaves the impression of corrections, not from a first but from a second source. The third explanation which may be offered is that the text of 248 was corrected from the Syriac Version. In its present condition the MS. has undoubtedly been revised and re-dacted, apparently by a Christian hand. In evidence of this we find not only the spurious Preface, but also such spurious additions as that previously mentioned at the end of i. 4, which from its insertion in Co. appears as v. 5 in our Authorized English Version, where the Λόγος of God seems plainly to refer to Christ. [This addition in 248 (and Co.) occurs also in the dependent Cod. H, 23, 55, 70—slightly different and evidently corrupt in 106 and 253.] The inference (for further support of which we must refer to the commentary) would seem to be, that 248 represents an old text which had originally been emended from the Syriac, and was afterwards revised, expurgated, and added to by a later, probably Christian, hand, and in accordance with the then textus receptus. Or does the text of 248 stand in any connexion with those that underlie the recension of Lucian? According to Hug, that text was emended from the Peshitto; but according to modern, although not unchallenged, opinion, from the Hebrew.

Passing from the important question of the manuscripts, it only remains to add that the Greek text affords frequent evidence of the use of the LXX.; and that not only as regards the Pentateuch, but the historical and prophetical books, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. In truth, the meaning of many expressions in Ecclus. can best be ascertained by a reference to the LXX. For detailed evidence we must once more refer to the body of the commentary. Occasional deviations from the wording of the LXX. should not be always set down to ignorance of its text. They may have been due either to quotation from memory, or they may be another reading, or else attempted improvements, such as it has been (and probably still is) the fashion of making upon the A. V.

On the other hand, it is very curious to find in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11 an interpolation from Ecclus. iv. 21. Conversely, we have in the Syriac version of Ecclus. xxvii. 20 (21) an interpolation from Prov. vi. 5. Possibly these may have been originally marginal glosses which afterwards crept into the text. The same may be said of the inscriptions (or summaries of contents) which occasionally appear in the Greek text.

§ VIII. THE SYRIAC VERSION AND THE "VETUS LATINA."

We approach now one of the most important questions for the proper understanding of Ecclesiasticus. Till comparatively lately the almost unanimous opinion of critics has been that the Syriac translation had been made from the Greek Version. So far as we know, the learned Bendtsen ('Spec. exercit. crit. in Vet. T. libr. Apocr.' pp. 16, 29) stood alone in the opinion that the Syriac was derived directly from the Hebrew original. And, if we credit the statement of Jerome that he had seen the Hebrew original, there is not anything a priori incredible or even improbable in such a supposition.1 But the decision of the question must

1 The presumption in favour of a direct translation from the Hebrew seems to us greatly strengthened by the very able—although not on all points unassailable—dissertation of J. Perles on the age and authorship of the Peshitto ('Meletemata Peshitthoniana,' 1859).
necessarily depend on a detailed examination of the Syriac Version itself. Scholars in every way most competent for this task have of late pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of the view that the Syriac Version has been made from the Hebrew original. If the mere authority of names were here to prevail, we might appeal to such writers as Geiger (in an article in the 'Z. D. M. G.' vol. xii. pp. 536–543), Horowitz ('D. Buch Jesus Sirach', 1865), Nöldeke ('Altest. Lit.' p. 168, though he regards the Hebrew MS. used as very corrupt), Seligmann ('D. Buch d. Weish. Jes. Sir.' 1883), Professor Bickell ('Alphabet. Lied Jes. Sir.'), and especially Lagarde ('Symmicta,' p. 88; 'Mittheil.' 1884; and his edition of the Apocr. in Syr., in which for this reason he gives the first place to Sirach). But hitherto the authority, or rather the contradiction, of Fritzschew (u. z., xxiv., xxv.)—unsupported though it be by any detailed criticism—seems to have prevailed with those who treated the questions against the deliberately expressed views of Syriac scholars. The latest writer on the subject has even ventured on the brief but categorical sentence, that ‘the book [Ecclus.] has been preserved to us only in the Greek translation.’ 1 On the other hand, it must be admitted that while those Syriac scholars who hold the opposite view have adduced certain passages in confirmation of it, they have not submitted the whole book to a detailed examination with a view to the final settlement of the controversy. This has been attempted in the present commentary, with the result, it is hoped, of not only proving the derivation of the Syriac Version from the original Hebrew text, but also of obtaining through the Syriac in many passages a more correct view of what the original text had really contained.

As the argument here is not only direct—from certain passages—but cumulative, we must refer for the full evidence to the commentary itself, in which the comparison of the two versions is carried on.


Within the compass of this section it is only possible to give a statement of some of the results arrived at, accompanied by illustrative instances.

Reference has already been made to the absence of the Prologue from the Syriac Version. Possibly this might be accounted for on the supposition that the writer had wished to give himself the appearance of having translated directly from the Hebrew. Not so the preservation of the right order of the text after ch. xxx. But these are only preliminary points. The evidence that the Syriac was translated from the Hebrew lies in this, that in many passages in which the Syr. and the Greek versions strangely and otherwise unaccountably differ, these differences can be traced back, and are due to one or other of these three grounds: (1) that the two translators had attached a different meaning to a Hebrew word which was capable of being rendered both ways; or (2) that they had vocalised (pointed) differently; or (3) that by a not uncommon mistake of similar letters they had read a word differently. Each of these explanations of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac leads to the inevitable conclusion that both translations had been made directly from the Hebrew original. As a well-known instance of the first kind, we may mention Ecclus. xxiv. 27, where the Greek has "as the light," and the Syriac "as the Nile." The Hebrew had no doubt נון, which the Greek understood "as the light," while the Syr., after the analogy of Am. viii. 8, rendered it as נון, "as the Nile." As instances of the second kind (that of different vocalisation), the following two may serve. In Ecclus. iv. 15 the Greek renders: "he who shall give ear to her [wisdom] shall judge nations;" the Syr., "shall judge truth"—the Greek having pointed the Hebrew יונת: יונת (Gen. xxv. 16), the Syr. (no doubt rightly) יונת. Similarly in Ecclus. x. 15, 16, the Greek has: "The Lord hath plucked up the roots of nations," and again: "Lands of nations the Lord overthrew," where in both cases the Syr. has, instead of "nations," "the proud"—rightly (at least in v. 15), as the context shows. It
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has been suggested that the original had סל, while the Greek pointed סל. But we would suggest as more likely, that the original had סל, which the Greek by an easy mistake in the ancient mode of making letters read סל. It deserves attention that 248 corrects after the Syr. in v. 15, but not in v. 16—and the Vet. Lat. follows in both cases. [Was the Greek right in v. 16—or were 248 and Vet. Lat. influenced by a special (Christian?) motive?] As instances of the third kind (that of the confusion of similar letters or else the transposition of letters) we may quote Ecclus. xlviii. 23, where (as through a similar mistake in other places) the Greek translates: "In his days the sun went backward," while the Syr. has: "by his means (his hand) the sun went back"—the one having read סל, the other סל (a rendering which neither 248 nor the Vet. Lat. adopts). Again, in Ecclus. xlix. 9 the Greek has, "He remembered the enemies in storm" [see for this the note on the passage], while the Syriac read "Job" instead of "enemies"—no doubt wrongly—and accordingly altered the whole verse, which this misreading had rendered unintelligible. Here the Syriac translator had evidently transposed the letters, reading סל (Job) instead of סל (an enemy), as the Greek correctly read it. We mark that 248 has not the mistake of the Syriac, thus furnishing another evidence that when the two agree, the Syr. has not borrowed from 248.

These instances might suffice. But that they may not seem exceptional—perhaps even accidental—we select some others from among the large number indicated in the commentary, and adding the readings of 248 and the Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xiv. 9. The Greek has: "wicked injustice dieth up the soul;" the Syr., "he that usurps what is his neighbour's"—the latter having evidently wrongly vocalised סל instead of סל: 248 does not follow the reading of the Syr. The Vet. Lat. paraphrases.

Ecclus. xiv. 10. Greek, "An evil eye is envious over bread;" Syr., "multiplieth bread." There is here evidently some misreading of the Hebrew, although we do not venture on a definite sugges-

248 does not follow the Syr., but the Vet. Lat., although paraphrastic, may preserve some trace of the Syr. rendering in its et non satiabitur pane (or does it attempt to mediate between the Greek and the Syr.?).

Ecclus. xiv. 27. Greek, "and he dwelleth in her glory;" Syr., "in her chambers," misreading סל for סל: 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syriac.

Or to pass over some chapters:—

Ecclus. xix. 5 (see the corrected translation in the notes). Greek, "he that hateth babbling;" Syr., "he that repeateth a thing"—the Greek misread סל for סל.

Ecclus. xix. 7. Greek, "and thou shalt fare never the worse;" Syr., "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek took the root of the word to be סל, while the Syr. (as we believe, rightly) derived it from סל, in the Piel, "to revile" (as in Prov. xxv. 10): 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr. [For the suggested reading of the original, see the note on that verse.]

Ecclus. xxi. 8 (see the notes). The Greek seems to have read סל, "winter;" the Syr. rightly, סל, "desolation:" 248 (also 106) follows the Syr., but not Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xxi. 18 (see notes). The Greek, סל כל, "a house destroyed;" the Syr., רחת סל, "a prison:" 248 and the Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr.

It could not serve any purpose to continue this comparison of the two versions. In the commentary it has been carried on from chapter to chapter. And we feel that the force of the evidence in favour of the direct translation of the Syriac text from the Hebrew cannot be fully appreciated by any number of isolated instances, while it becomes irresistible when the two versions are continuously compared.

Our further remarks must be brief. Although on a comparison of the differences between the Greek and Syriac translations, where such differences depend on the different rendering of words, we are disposed so often to give the preference to the Syriac, this is not by any means uniformly the case. Instances have already been given in which the
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Greek translation seems correct and the Syriac wrong. Again, we notice in the latter occasionally a displacement of lines, as in Ecclus. xxiv. 25, 26. Sometimes it might almost appear, although this is very doubtful, as if there were indication of a later revision of the Syriac by the Greek [as in Ecclus. xiii. 27]. That the Syriac had undergone some later redaction seems suggested even by the circumstance that in the Arabic Version, which was evidently made from the Syriac, there are differences and notably omissions as compared with the Syriac (comp., for example, those in chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.). Sometimes we meet in the Syriac what may be regarded as apologetic (or emendatory) alterations, as in Ecclus. xxv. 7 (see the notes). To say that the Syriac Version is, as compared with the Greek, often and largely paraphrastic, is only to express what might otherwise have been expected. For the Syriac bears the character of a Targum and was certainly intended in great measure as an ecclesiasticus, or Church-book, for homiletical and catechetical purposes. One very important point still remains to be added. If Perles (u. s.) has arrived on critical grounds at the conclusion that the Peshitto Version of the New Testament was made by Jewish Christians, our investigations have led us to the same inference as regards Ecclesiasticus. We infer the Jewish origin of the translation from the occasional occurrence of expressions in Rabbinic usage. The evidence of the Christian character of the version—although necessarily inferential—is found throughout the whole book. But we may here specially refer to such passages as Ecclus. xxiv. 5, 9, xxvii. 17,

and also to chaps. xxxv., xlvi., xlvii., xlviii. (see on these the commentary). Very significant also in this respect seems to us such an alteration as the substitution in vii. 31 of panem oblationum et primitias manuum for lines e and d. [The additions in the Vet. Lat. are still more curious.] On the same ground we account for the omission in the Syriac of Ecclus. xiv. 9–14, containing descriptive details of the Aaronic priesthood. Besides these passages—which might be considerably increased—we would (here following Bretschneider) call attention to the remarkable substitution in the Syr. for the text in the Greek in Ecclus. i. 18 after v. 20 to the end; to xi. 12, xiv. 16; and to xxvii. 27, 28.

It only remains to add that our knowledge of the Syriac text has been rectified since we possess it not only in Walton's Polyglot, but in the critical edition of Lagarde (1861), which has the corrections from MSS. in the British Museum. Jeh. Löw Ben-Seebh has published a Syriac text in Hebrew letters, with a Hebrew and German translation and a brief Hebrew commentary (Breslau, 1798; in new and improved edition, Vienna, 1807; ib. 1818; ib. 1828— the Hebrew version metrically rendered into German by M. E. Stern, Vienna, 1844 1). But its usefulness is marred by the great liberties taken, not only in the Hebrew version, but with the Syriac text, in the way of omissions, transpositions, &c.

The Vetus Latina.—This is reproduced in our ordinary editions of the Vulgate [most handy as a critical edition, with different readings, is that by Heyse and Tischendorf, Lips. 1873]. All the variants from four MSS. are given by Sabatier ('Bibl. Sacr. Lat. versiones,' ii, Reims, 1743). Jerome tells us expressly that he had left the text of the Vetus Latina untouched (calamo temperavi) in the (apocryphal) Wisdom of Solomon and in Ecclesiasticus ('Præf. in edit. libr. Salom. juxta Sept. interpr.' [ed. Vallarsi, x. 436]).

If the Syriac Version may be described as a Targum or a paraphrastic "Church-book," this designation applies with even much greater force to the Latin translation

1 See Fürst, 'Biblioth. Jud.' i. p. 105.
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of Ecclesiasticus. Indeed, the student is bewildered amidst what seem redactions, interpolations, uncritical additions (some probably originally in the margin), alterations and paraphrases. In its present form the version leaves the impression that the main body of the text had been derived from the Greek. Yet this appearance may in some respects be deceptive. At any rate, we perceive a stratum which cannot be accounted for by any arbitrary alteration nor yet by derivation from any known Greek Codex. We have already observed that, like the Syriac and 248, the Latin preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. Likewise, it has been noticed that the Latin often has the same readings or emendations as 248. If these have been made from the Syriac [or else from the same sources], the suggestion would lie near that this stratum in the Vet. Lat. had been derived from the Syriac. It may indeed be suggested that it is traceable to other Codices or to sources which underlay the recension of Lucian. The latter view is supported by so great an authority as Ceriani (see the excellent Epilegomena to L. Van Ess's ed. of the LXX., 1887, p. 12). But here we may be said to be still partly on conjectural ground. And in any case the recension of Lucian brings us to Antioch. We can scarcely suppose that this stratum was taken from the text of 248 [nor from that group], since the Vet. Lat. so often leaves aside 248. If the translation had been made from that text, we would have expected more constant conformity to it. Not so, if emendations were here and there selected from the Syriac, nor even if the still remanent stratum represents an original use of the Syriac by the translator. There is, however, another supposition possible, viz. that this nucleus represents either a translation from the original Hebrew, or emendations from it. We confess that this does not seem likely to us—and among other reasons, for this, that we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe that a translator who had access to the original would have produced such a version. The case would be otherwise if the translator was indebted to a not unfrequently paraphrastic version from the original. There he might more readily make selections, or a later redactor might even have struck out some of these selections. But the whole question is one of peculiar difficulty, and complicated by our uncertainty about the country and circumstances in which the Vetus Latina originated, and its relation to one of the three recensions of the LXX. What therefore we offer must be considered in the form of modest suggestion.

The conjecture that the Latin Version was derived from a Hebrew original—although from a Codex different from that used by the Greek translator—was first broached by Cornelius à Lapide ('Comment. in Ecclus.' p. 26). It was next mooted by the learned Sabatier (u. s. t. ii. p. 390), although without any attempt at proof. This deficiency was sought to be supplied by E. G. Bengel in the 7th vol. of Eichhorn's 'Allgem. Biblioth. d. bibl. Litter.,' 1796, pp. 832–864. The essay, as even its dimensions shew, is extremely slight, and the attempted investigation extends only over small portions at the beginning and in the middle of the book Ecclesiasticus. Bengel regards the Vetus Latina as dating "from the first centuries of Christianity." He claims not certainty but probability for his theory that the Latin translation had been made with the aid of a Jew, or else by a Jewish Christian (as we have suggested in regard to the Syriac). The translator had rendered from the Hebrew, with aid from the Greek Version—the latter, either from special reasons, or this dependence was due to a glossator or to a later copyist. But, indeed, the use of the Greek in the rendering of the Vetus Latina seems beyond question. If detailed proof were required, even the passages adduced by Welte ('Einleit.' u. s., p. 215) would suffice for the purpose. As a Roman Catholic writer, he pleads for the great trustworthiness of the Vetus Lat.

1 According to Cornill ('d. Buch d. Proph. Ez.' p. 26) the Vet. Lat. was used by Tertullian, indeed was in general use in Northern Africa. But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, we cannot discover any trace of it in the seven passages in which, according to the Index in the ed. Oehler, Tertullian is supposed to refer to our book. Indeed, in only two of these passages ('de exhort. castitatis,' ii., and 'de monogram.' xiv.) is there any reference to Ecclus. (xv. 18)—and even there it seems to me doubtful, and certainly is not literally taken from the Vet. Lat.
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But even he is obliged to admit that the translator had corrected his work by the Greek text.

But to return, Bengel begins by criticising certain passages in the Latin Version which are supposed to afford evidence of having been derived from the Greek text, with the view of shewing that such is not always the case. But as in some of these the Vet. Lat. accords with the Syr. —and presumably the Hebrew—while in others it only displays a curious ignorance of Greek (and is this not also characteristic?), it seems needless here to discuss them. In direct proof of the connexion between the Vet. Lat. and the Hebrew Bengel adduces a number of passages from Ecclus. i. and xxxiv. Most of these are, however, beside the point, as will appear from the following examination of the first six:—

Ecclus. i. 1, "et cum illo fuit semper et est ante aevum."—The words italicised are neither in the Syr. nor in 248. But they are apparently only a Christian gloss.

Ecclus. i. 2, "profundum abyssi."—The word italicised is not in 248, but is found in the Syr.

Ecclus. i. 3 in Vet. Lat. This seems a Christian gloss—perhaps it is an adaptation from the Syr. of i. 4.

Ecclus. i. 6 a. Here also there seems a Christian gloss in the Vet. Lat. So also in 7 b.

Ecclus. i. 7 a, b; i. 8. To both these passages in the Vet. Lat. the previous stricture applies.

Welte (u. s., p. 216), who seems on the whole inclined to regard the Vet. Lat. as primarily derived from the Hebrew original, selects from the essay of Bengel the following four passages as presumably in his view the best instances adduced:—

Ecclus. i. 17: Greek οἰκείως μεταβαίνων, Vet. Lat. a thesauris—apparently a confusion between the words οἰκεύεται and οἰκεύεται [the latter word is actually used in the Talmud—Sanh. 109 b—in a quotation of Ecclus. xiii. 9, 10]. But the Vet. Lat. has here only the same rendering as the Syr. Ecclus. i. 26: Greek εὐρόδας, Vet. Lat. justitiam, Hebrew (possibly) דים. But this instance does not really prove anything, and the slight alteration in the Vet. Lat. might even be due to anti-Judaistic motives. The next passage quoted is Ecclus. i. 29 a, where the Greek, misreading ἐπὶ for ἐπι, translates εὐ σορά σιν ἀληθείᾳ, while the Vet. Lat. has in conspectu hominum. This, however, only once more sends us back to the Syr., where we find the right rendering. Besides, 253 actually corrects: ἐπώτων. The last instance adduced is Ecclus. i. 29 b, where the Greek has πρὸ σεὼν, "and in thy lips take heed," reading ἦν (as in Prov. xvi. 23), while the Vetus Lat. has "et non scandaliserris, reading ἦν ὑμῖν, taking the ἦν from the previous clause. But 248 has substantially the same emendation (μη πρὸ σεὼν).

These and similar instances are manifestly insufficient to establish the hypothesis of Bengel. We now proceed to select at least a few instances which in our view support the suggestion that the Vet. Lat. was somehow dependent on the Syr.

Ecclus. xxv. 9. Greek, “he that has found prudence;” the Syr.—by a wrong reading and then wrong Syr. punctuation: that has obtained “mercy.” Without that wrong punctuation the misreading would have been “a friend” (the original misreading being ἤτοι γὰρ ἔστιν). The Vet. Lat. follows this misreading, but not the mispunctuation (which may be of later date), and renders amisum verum. Neither 248 nor any other MS. follows the Syr. and Vet. Lat., which here also differ from the Hebrew.

Ecclus. xxv. 12 [A. V.] is a Christian interpolation. It was certainly not in the Hebrew original, and is only found in H, 248, and Co. But it occurs in the Syr. and in the Vetus Latina.

Ecclus. xxvi. 3. This is very curious, as shewing the dependence of the Vet. Lat. alike on the Greek and on the Syric. The Greek has: “it shall be given in the portion of them that fear the Lord.” The Syr. rightly renders: “to the man who feareth the Lord.” The Hebrew had פִּתָּח, “into the bosom” = “to the man,” as in the Syr., while the Greek misread פָּרַח, “in the portion.” Then the Syr. adds the gloss—evidently not from the Hebrew—“in return for good works.” The Vet. Lat. takes from the Greek
the first part, "in parte timentium Deum dabitur viro"—the latter word apparently from the Syr.; and it also adds from the Syriac, pro factis bonis. 248 has not this gloss, nor any other MS., nor was it in the Hebrew.

Mr. Margoliouth, although not agreeing with our views on this subject, points to the following passage as a most remarkable instance of accord between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. To exhibit its full force we give the passage in the three versions.

Ecclus. xx. 14, Greek: "The gift of one [who is] senseless shall not profit thee, for in his view [literally, his eye] instead of one many" [see notes].


Vet. Lat., v. 14: "Datus insipientis non erit utilis tibi oculi enim illius [so far the three versions agree] septem plices sunt;" v. 15: "Exigua dabit et multa improperabit et aperio oris illius inflammatio est;"

The agreement here between the Vet. Lat. and the Syriac [marked by italics] is not less striking than their difference from the Greek.

There are also what appear to us other, perhaps minor, indications of a connection between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Thus it seems to mark alike the Christian character of the Syriac Version and its relationship with the Vet. Lat., that in Ecclus. xxxvi. 2 both these versions omit the word "all" from the sentence: "Send thy fear upon all the nations." If that word had not been in the Hebrew original, it is scarcely likely that the Hellenising Greek translator would have inserted it. And the word occurs in 248 and in all other MSS.; although 248—like the Vet. Lat.—adds after "nations" the Christian gloss, "who do not seek Thee" (Vet. Lat., excisierunt), for which the Syr. has, "who have not known Thee." But, indeed, there are many traces of such Christian alterations in the Syr., but especially in the Vet. Lat., and their study is very interesting (compare, for example, the opening verses of chaps. xxiv. and xxxv., and the closing verses of the latter—such as xxxv. 25 in the Vet. Lat.). One of the most curious instances in which the Vet. Lat. follows the Syr. [against all the Greek MSS.], and in which both these versions have a marked Christian alteration, is xxv. 15 [see the note]. But the tracing of such indications is apt to become subjective, gaining force by their cumulation. It had therefore best be conjoined with a careful study of the text. This is not the place to continue the comparison of the two versions, but we may invite the consideration of such passages as, for example, Ecclus. xxv. 9; xxvi. 3, 18; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 24; 25; xxix. 7. We add as an instance of the corrupt state of the text of the Vetus Latina that in Ecclus. xxv. 17, where the Vet. reading has "like sackcloth" and the Alex. "like a bear," the Vet. Lat. (v. 24) inserts both: "tamquam ursus, et quasi sacrum ostendet"—evidently trying to make sense out of the two ("ursus" and then "quasi sacrum ostendet"). Possibly one of these renderings may have crept in from the margin (see note on the verse). Similarly in xxv. 18 (Vet. Lat. 25) the Vet. Lat. combines the Greek with the Syriac reading, slightly altering the latter (see note on the verse). Instances of doublets and possibly triplets will be found in other places, especially in the earlier chapters.

§ IX. Other Ancient Versions.1

The Armenian, Ethiopic, Syro-Hexaplar, Coptic, and Paleoslavonic versions are all derived from the Greek.

1. The Armenian Version is published

1 The notice of the versions enumerated in this paragraph is from the pen of Mr. D. S. Margoliouth, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. To the same scholar are also due the philological and critical parts of the notes from ch. xxxi. onwards; the introductions to these latter chapters, and the exegetical notes on them, being by Dr. Edersheim, who however holds himself also responsible for every part. Besides, the aid and co-operation of Mr. Margoliouth throughout this commentary—more particularly in the comparison of the Syriac text—are also here gratefully acknowledged. Some of his special suggestions are indicated in the places where they occur.
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in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Bible, but in a fragmentary condition, having a lacuna from xxxv. 19–xxxviii. 14 (inclusive), and breaking off at xlii. 24; besides omitting minor portions, such as the whole of ch. viii., and single verses, e.g. xx. 15, 24 b. Like the rest of the Armenian version of the Bible, it is minutely faithful and exhibits occasionally a very unusual knowledge of the Greek language. The text followed resembles that of the Alexandrian MS. The most important variants which it affords will be found quoted in xli. 6 and xli. 17.

2. The Æthiopic Version exists only in MSS., of which eleven are in the British Museum, and several in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. A short account of a copy at Tübingen was given by Ewald in the first volume of the 'Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.' The translation is ignorant and paraphrastic; in a few passages it shews signs of contamination with the Syriac (viii. 5, xxii. 15, xxxviii. 30, &c.).

3. The Syro-Hexaplaris is published in the magnificent seventh volume of Ceriani's 'Anecdota Sacra et Profana.' On this version generally, see the 'Bible Dictionary,' s. v. Versions. The text which it follows agrees minutely with that of MS. 253 in most places; but it also shews readings peculiar to 248. The translator would seem to have consulted the Peshitto in the interpretation of difficult words (e.g. iv. 30, φαραών, xxxiv. 21, xlv. 23).

4. The Coptic Version (in the Sahidic dialect) exists in a unique MS. of the 6th century at Turin, and has been published by Lagarde in his 'Aegyptiaca' (Göttingen, 1884). The MS. (which has suffered by age) was previously used by Peyron for his Lexicon. The text which it follows resembles that of the Sin., with several omissions and a few additions: in a very few cases it offers certain corrections of the Greek. A fragment of a Memphitic Version (chap. ii. 1–9) was published by Lagarde in 'Orientalia,' pt. i. (Göt., 1880).

5. The Paleoslovonic Version (published in the Slavonic Bibles) follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian edition, but with only a portion of the additions.

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A copy of the Arabic Version corrected from the Greek is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence. The reviser has added a translation of the Prologue, in which he curiously makes the grandson state that he has translated the book into Syriac. A compendium of the Arabic Version is preserved in the Bodleian Library, but in an imperfect state.

The Scholia of Barhebraeus, to which reference is occasionally made, are taken from the Bodleian MS.

§ X. AUTHORITY OF ECCLESIASTICUS IN THE SYNAGOGUE AND IN THE CHURCH.

The high authority in which our book was held in the ancient Jewish synagogue—whether on account of its age or its embodiment of universally received popular sayings—appears even from the frequency with which it is quoted in Talmudic writings. Zunz ('Gottesd. Vortr.,' pp. 101–103) enumerates no less than forty such citations—anonymous or expressly in the name of Sirach. Some of these cannot, however, be identified either in our present Greek or Syriac text, although some conjectural attempts have been made by Horowitz (u. s.).

What seems the earliest Mishnaic reference (to the words of the Siracide (Eccles. ix. 9) reaches up to early Maccabean days (Joseph, the son of Jochanan, Abh. i. 5).

1 For these quotations (mostly given in the present Commentary) see, besides Zunz (u. s.), Delitzsch ('Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie,' pp. 20, &c., 204, &c.); Dukes ('Rabbin. Blumenl.' pp. 67, &c.); Schuhl ('Sent. du Talmud,' passim); Fritsche (u. s., p. xxxvii., &c.); Joel ('Blicke in d. Relig. Gesch.' i. pp. 71, &c.); Strack in Herzog's 'Real-Encycl.' vii. pp. 430, 431; and others—latest, Hamburger in the Supplemental Part to his 'Real-Encycl.' pp. 77–86.

8 It is certainly rather a reference, although a very close one, than a quotation. It is added as a saying of the sages. On the other hand, the saying of José, the name of Jose, "Let thy house be the meeting-place for the sages," (Abb. i. 4), and this other saying of the son of Jochanan (Abb. i. 5), "Let the poor be the children of thy household," might be intended as a protest against the bacchanalian feasts alluded to in Eccles. (comp. also Eccles. ix. 16–16). On José b. Jochanan comp. Frankel in his 'Monatschr.' i. (1852), pp. 405–407; Grätz, 'Gesch.' ii. pp. 274, &c., iii. p. 7.

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Outward circumstances induced the Jewish teachers at different times to pronounce differently upon the book of Ben Sira. First, we have a series of quotations in which our book is adduced with the same formula as the hagiographa, and indeed is apparently classed with them. Next, we are warned that, unlike the books of Holy Scripture, "the writings of Ben Sira... do not defile the hands" ('Tos. Yad.' ii. 13, ed. Zuckermann, p. 683). This, however, only implies the emphatic exclusion of Eccles. from the Canon. But the Jewish Fathers went further. Rabbi Aqiba declared the book included in those "outside" writings the perusal of which involved the loss of eternal life (Jer. Sanh. 28a, near top); and the Midrash on Eccles. xii. r2, by a play on the words "and what is beyond (besides) these (viz. the words of the sages)," explains that "the rest," viz. the bringing into the house of uncanonical books such as Ben Sira, only brings confusion (reading instead of דא רכז—ificio, confusion). We would suggest that the change of feeling was connected with the Christian controversy—being due partly to apprehension of the danger of allowing the perusal of not strictly orthodox Rabbinical works, and partly to the wide use of Eccles. in the early Christian Church. Be this as it may, the mood was only partial and transient. In consequence of a discussion on the saying of Aqiba, Rabbi Joseph, the head of the Babylonian Academy of Pumbedita, ultimately gave forth a statement which not only allowed the judicious use of the book, but leads us to infer that, as in the Church so in the synagogue, it was regarded as an ecclesiasticus, suited for catechetical and homiletic purposes (Sanh. 100b). The passages specially recommended for this are the following, although from the modifications, additions or contractions, as compared with the Greek text, some of them are only hypothetically identified: Eccles. xxvi. 3; xcv. 25; xxvi. 15; ix. 3, 8, 9; xxvi. 29; xi. 30a, 32a, 33a; xi. 29a; vi. 6; xxx. 21 or else xl. 7; xxxi. 4 (?). (Sanh. 100b.) Indeed, we find references to our book not only in the Talmud, but in the Midrashim. And from the first half of the 14th century comes the explanation that the Talmud had only intended to prohibit such a study of Ben Sira as should be made of the Bible, but not occasional resort to it (Rita in the En-Iaqobb to Bab. B. 98b, apud Joël, u. s., p. 76).

We only add that, although the so-called Alphabet of Ben Sira contains in the first (or Aramean) Alphabet four quotations from our book, and in the second (or Hebrew) Alphabet two such citations, it must not be confounded with our Ecclesiasticus, and is of very much later date.

Use in the early Christian Church.—Leaving aside the general question of the use of the Apocrypha in the Church (on which the view of the Church of England is sufficiently expressed in Art. VI.), we briefly note some points of historical interest. Reference has already been made to the evident acquaintance with Eccles. implied in the Epistle of St. James. There can be little doubt that in the Ep. of Barnabas xix. we have a quotation from Eccles. iv. 31. Tertullian seems to refer to our book (Eccles. xv. 18) with the formula: sicut scriptum est ("de Exhort. Cast." c. 2, and 'de Monogam.' c. 14). Clement of Alexandria frequently quotes Eccles.: thirteen times with the formula ἦ γραμμένη λέγει,

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1 So often: see Zunz, u. s. Strack ('Proleg. Crit. in V. T.' pp. 64, 65) has certainly not succeeded in the attempt either to explain or disprove this. On the other hand, Joël's proposed emendations of the condemnatory terms used in the Talmud about Ben Sira are ingenious, but neither satisfactory nor convincing (Joël, u. s., pp. 72-75).
2 For the meaning of the expression "defileth the hands," see 'Life and Times of Jesus,' ch. xxxi. (vol. ii.).
3 For an English translation of the two Alphabets of Ben Sira, as well as for that of the Talmudic quotations from our book, I take leave to refer the reader to my 'History of the Jewish Nation,' pp. 559-555. Comp. also Dukes (u. s.), Delitersch (u. s.), and the literature of the subject in Fürst, 'Bibl. Jud.' iii. p. 341; a new ed. by Steinschneider ('Alphab. Siracl. utr.' Berlin, 1858).
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§ XI. LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT.

The references in the preceding paragraphs sufficiently indicate the works which have been chiefly consulted in preparing the present commentary. The literature of the subject is, however, very large. For its complete enumeration we must refer to the various Encyclopædias (German and English) and to the books of ‘Introduction’ to the Old Testament. The Greek text used has been that of Tischendorf (‘Vetus Test. Graece,’ &c., ed. viii, 1880), and generally referred to as the Vatican, though it scarcely deserves that designation (see § VIII.). The full Vat. and Sin. readings have been collated from Nestle’s supplement to the ed. (Lips. 1887). Besides, the variants in the magnificent ed. of Holmes and Parsons have been referred to. The critical edition of the Apocrypha by Fritzsche (Lips. 1871) has been already described. Of the various separate editions of the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus—with notes—that of Linde has no special value (‘Sententiae Jesu Siracidae,’ Gedani, 1795); that of Bretschneider has been constantly compared (‘Liber Jesu Sirac. Graece,’ Ratisb. 1806). The Syriac text used has been generally that in Walton’s Polyglot. For Hebrew translations we have had the rendering by Ben Seebh (previously noticed). The Hebrew is elegant, but the translation follows sometimes the Syriac, sometimes the Greek—sometimes scarcely either the one or the other. The Hebrew in the translation of the Apocrypha by S. J. Fraenkel (Lips. 1830) is not so elegant as that of Ben Seebh, nor yet much more faithful to the text. Translations into Hebrew of portions of the text—such as that of ch. xxiv. by Lowth, emended by Fritzsche, and of ch. li. by Professor Bickell—are noted in their places in the commentary. The German translation of Gutmann (‘Die Apokryphen d. A. Test.’ Altona, 1841) affords not any help. The English version by Dr. Bissell (in the vol. on the Apocr. supplemental to Dr. Schaff’s American ed. of the English translation of Lange’s Bible Comment.) resembles in character that of Fritzsche. The latter, which is not strictly literal, is appended to his Commentary on Ecclus. (‘Kurzg. Exeg. Handb.’ 5th Lief. 1860).

The general questions connected with the book (such as its authorship, date, arrangement, versions, &c.) are discussed in the corresponding articles in the various Encyclopædias—such as (in German) those of Winer, Schenkel (by Fritzsche), Herzog (by Schürer), Riemh, and Hamburger—although with little variety or progression. So far as the Apocrypha and especially Ecclesiastes are concerned, the like sameness characterises the account of our book in the various Introductions to the Old Testament:

1 Comp. Schürer in Herzog’s ‘Real-Encyk.,’ art. Apokr., 487; ‘Gesch.’ 597.
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De Wette-Schrader, Keil, Reuss (‘Gesch. d. h. Schr. A. T.’ 1882). To these must be added, as containing by far the fullest treatment of the subject, the account of Ecclus. by Schürer in the ‘Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes’ (1886), to which reference has already been made. A special place must, for various reasons, be assigned both to Welte’s (R. C.) ‘Einl. in d. deuterokan. B. d. A. T.’ (in Herbst u. Welte’s ‘Einl.’ Sect. II. part iii., Freiburg, 1844) and to Eichhorn’s ‘Einl. in d. Apokr. Schr. d. A. T.’ (Leipzig 1795—being vol. iv. of his ‘Krit. Schr.’). Besides these German works, the articles Ecclesiasticus and Jesus the Son of Sirach in Smith’s ‘Dict. of the Bible’ (vol. i.) have been consulted, as well as the able and learned summary by Dr. Davidson in vol. ii. of his ed. of Horne’s Introd. (1856, pp. 1024–1033).

On the relation of our book to Philo and Jewish Hellenism, the works of Größer and Dähne and the art. Philo by the present writer in Smith and Wace’s ‘Dict. of Chr. Biogr.’ have been referred to. For the relation of the Greek text to the Syriac and for other general questions the articles by Geiger in the ‘Z. D. M. G.’ xii. 1858, and by Horowitz in Frankel’s ‘Monatsschrift,’ vol. xiv. (since published as a separate brochure, 1865), have been perused. For the relation of Ecclus. to Proverbs we have referred to C. Seligmann (‘D. B. d. Weish. J. Sir.’ 1883); for the references in the Epistle of St. James, to A. Boon (‘Dissert. Exeg. Theol. de Jac. ep. cum Sir. libro convenientia’). As regards the relation of the Vetus Latina to the Hebrew original, special notice has been taken of Bengel’s art. in Eichhorn’s ‘Biblioth.’ vol. vii., which is repeated in summary in Berthold’s ‘Histor. Krit. Einleitung.’ pp. 2306–2309. On historical questions the works of Herzfeld, Ewald, and Grätz have been referred to. On the Wisdom-teaching and the Dognatics and Ethics of Ecclus., the book of Dr. J. F. Bruch (‘Weisheits-Lehre d. Hebr.’ Strassburg, 1851) and the ‘Schul-Programm’ by Dr. V. Merguet (Königsberg, 1874) have been perused.

Beyond the works just referred to, an exhaustive study of all the Commentaries on Ecclesiasticus has not been attempted —the more so that it was wished to make a fresh study of the book. The Annotations in vol. v. of the ‘Critici Sacri’ deserve constant attention, especially those by Drusius and Grotius. The latter are mostly the source of the classical parallels, not unfrequently noted by writers. For this reason, and because they are often rather coincidences than parallels, it has not been deemed necessary to repeat them. It needs scarcely be said that the Commentary of Fritzsche (in the ‘Exeg. Handb.’) has been constantly compared and used. It is by far the fullest work on Ecclesiasticus, and its learning and ability are beyond question. The (American) Commentary of Dr. Bissell in vol. xv. of Schaff’s ed. of Lange’s Comment. chiefly follows that of Fritzsche. Besides these, the Commentary of Bretschneider (‘Liber Jesu Siracidae’) deserves and requires careful perusal, although the book bears marks of youth and haste. The brief annotations of Joach. Camerarius (‘Sententiae Jesu Sirac.’ at the end of the Greek text, pp. 136–213) are chiefly interesting for the quotation of parallelisms from classical writers. The notes of J. G. Linde (‘Sent. J. S.’ Gedani, 1785) are very brief, but occasionally really valuable; the few Rabbinic annotations of M. Gutmann (‘D. Apokr. d. A. Test.’) are not only scanty, but also slight.

Lastly, we have now to add to the literature on Ecclus. the discussion of the book in Professor Cheyne’s ‘Job and Solomon,’ pp. 179–198, which came too late to be used in the preparation of the present commentary. It is characterised by the learning, clearness, and beauty of diction of that writer.
THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH, OR
ECCLESIASTICUS.

[A Prologue made by an uncertain Author.]

This Jesus was the son of Sirach, and grandson to Jesus of the same name with him: this man therefore lived in the latter times, after the people had been led away captive, and called home again, and almost after all the prophets. Now his grandfather Jesus, as he himself witnesseth, was a man of great diligence and wisdom among the Hebrews, who did not only gather the grave and short sentences of wise men, that had been before him, but himself also uttered some of his own, full of much understanding and wisdom. When as therefore the first Jesus died, leaving this book almost perfected, Sirach his son receiving it after him left it to his own son Jesus, who, having gotten it into his hands, compiled it all orderly into one volume, and called it Wisdom, intuiting it both by his own name, his father's name, and his grandfather's; alluring the hearer by the very name of Wisdom to have a greater love to the study of this book. It containeth therefore wise sayings, dark sentences, and parables, and certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God; also his prayer and song; moreover, what benefits God had vouchsafed his people, and what plagues he had heaped upon their enemies. This Jesus did imitate Solomon, and was no less famous for wisdom and learning, both being indeed a man of great learning, and so reputed also.]

The Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach.

Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by others that have followed their steps, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; and whereof not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that desire to learn be able to profit them which are without, both by speaking and writing: my grandfather Jesus, when he had much two other Hebrew words are represented by παρθένος in Prov. The Hellenistic tone of this commendation should be marked. It seems intended to strengthen the confidence of Israel in their position among the Greeks, and to conciliate the favour of the latter.

and since it behoves those who read (or, readers) not only to become skilful (scientes, "einsichtsvoll") themselves (X, C, H, συνώμων read ὕπειρον), but also that they who love learning (are eager after knowledge) should be able to be of use, both speaking and writing (by verbal instruction and written works), to them that are without. This is the common meaning of the expression. In that case the reference would seem to be to Grecian proselytes, or perhaps even to inquiring heathens, and only secondarily to the Jews in the dispersion. But in the usage of Polybius the expression only means "outsiders" or "others."

my grandfather Jesus.] Or, possibly: "my
given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom; to the intent that those which are desirous to learn, and are addicted to these things, might profit much more in living according to the law. Wherefore let me intreat you to read it with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words, which we have laboured to interpret. For the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them: and not only these things, but the law itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their own language.

For in the eight and thirtieth year ...
coming to Egypt, when Euergetes was king, and continuing there some time, I found a 'book of no small learning: therefore I thought it most necessary for me to bestow some diligence and travail to interpret it; using great watchfulness and skill in that space to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, which in a strange country are willing to learn, being prepared before in manners to live after the law.

CHAPTER I.

1 All wisdom is from God. 10 He giveth it to them that love him. 12 The fear of God is full of many blessings. 28 To fear God without hypocrisy.

ALL "wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever.

The word which we have rendered "difference" has been variously translated, and also means "made like unto." But our version suits the context best. Having during his residence in Egypt felt the difference of culture—in modern parlance: of standpoint and development—between the Palestinian and Grecian (whether Jew, proselyte, or Greek friend and inquirer), he was anxious to present the work of his ancestor in a Greek garb. It will be noticed that, strictly speaking, the text gives not any information on the controverted question, at what precise date the younger Siracre had begun his translation, still less when he finished and published it, but only states that he had arrived and settled in Egypt under the reign of Euergetes.

Fritzsche inserts after "most necessary" ὀδυ (from X, C, H, 55, 105, al., Old Latin); after "thought," καὶ, "therefore I also thought" (from III. and the previously-quoted readings). "Diligence:" rather, σαλ [speed, trouble] and laboriousness. "To interpret it," rather, "on the translating of this book." "Using," add "indeed." "In that space," rather, "in the interval of the time," i.e. while he carried on his work, he robbed himself of sleep and employed all his knowledge and skill "in having brought the book to an end" (for ἑγὼρα read ἑγώρα, C, H, Alex., 55, 106, 155, 253, 254, 296), to give it forth (publish it) also for those abroad (in foreign lands, i.e. in "the dispersion") who are," &c. The expression is used of sojourn in a strange land, as in Acts xiii. 17, 1 Peter i. 17; and in the same sense the verb (St. Luke xxiv. 18; Heb. xi. 9) and the subst. adjective (Acts vii. 6, 49; Eph. ii. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 11; and also frequently in the LXX., in the Apocrypha, and by Philo). "And are prepared," &c.: rather, "prepare themselves in manners (as to morals and customs) to live after the law."

CHAPTER I.

This chapter naturally forms the Introduction to the whole work. It consists of two equal parts, each of fourteen (2 x 7) verses, viz. Part I., vv. 1-15 (omitting the spurious vv. 5); Part II., vv. 16-30. The first part may be designated as the theoretical (or objective), the second as the practical (or subjective) aspect of the theme.

Each part is again subdivided into equal stanzas. [In general we notice that the numerical arrangement of stanzas, and even verses, throughout this book is marked, and indeed characteristic.] Part I. consists of two stanzas, each of seven verses (vv. 1-8, 9-15). The first stanza (vv. 1-8) opens with a statement of the general theme (v. 1)—the other six verses being an enlargement of v. 1 b, which sets forth that Wisdom is for ever with God. Similarly, the second stanza (vv. 9-15) takes up the first clause of the initial proposition (v. 1 a), that Wisdom cometh from the Lord. It is created, and bestowed by God as His gift to humanity (vv. 9, 10); it is moral and practical ("the fear of the Lord") as well as speculative, and bestows the best gifts in life and death (vv. 11-13); and it is a permanent gift alike to the individual and to humanity (vv. 14, 15). In the last two verses (14, 15) the author returns to the subject of the first two verses in the stanza (vv. 9, 10).

Part II. consists of three stanzas of five, four, and four verses—the last being, however, a double verse (v. 30). It may be described as the practical aspect of the subject. Stanza i. (vv. 16-20) sets forth what Wisdom is, and what Wisdom does for the wise. Stanza ii. (vv. 21-26) might be briefly thus inscribed: "The fool (= ungodly) and the wise (= righteous);" and stanza iii. (vv. 27-30) conversely: "The wise and the fool."

[On the relation of the Greek text of this chapter to the Syriac Version, see the notes.]

1. The manner in which Wisdom is set forth is extremely characteristic of the standpoint of Ecclesiasticus, as intermediate not only between the Old Testament and Jewish Hellenism, but between the latter and what afterwards was distinctively Palestinian teaching. Comp. here on the one hand such descriptions of Wisdom as in Wisd. vii. 21-27, and chap. viii.—or still further in the writings of Philo—and on the other hand the teachings of the Rabbis, which identified Wisdom with the Torah, or Law. Even the opening sentence...
of Ecclus. (v. 1) is both Grecian and Hebrew—the former element appearing in the word all, the latter in the derivation of "all wisdom" from God. And this "wisdom" is "for ever" with God (comp. Job xil. 13). The Old Lat. Version has: "et was with Him ever, and is before the Age" (et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante sævum).

3. The proposition in the second clause of v. 1 is further carried out, both negatively and positively, in the following verses. That Wisdom is really with the Lord for ever, appears from the inscrutable mysteries by which He is surrounded (vv. 2, 3). The whole passage reminds us of Prov. xxx. 4, "The days of eternity"—lit. "of Hon." The reasoning may be thus paraphrased: Who can compute either the numberless grains which make up the sand of the sea, or the drops in the rainfall, or the series of days which constitute Hon? To us it is all inscrutable. The term "Hon" occurs very frequently in the LXX.—almost exclusively for the Hebrew Olam. The expression "days of Hon," or of "the Hon," is found in the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 7; Is. lxiii. 9; Am. ix. 11; Mic. v. 2; vii. 14; Mal. iii. 4. Similarly, the expression "sand of the sea" is frequent in the LXX, and in the Bible is employed to denote an innumerable quantity. The reference to the rain-drops recalls Job xxxvi. 37, where the LXX. use the same words. It has, however, been also suggested that v. 2 may not be intended to mark the inscrutable character of what is there mentioned, but rather to indicate topics of comparison with the inscrutable character of Divine wisdom.

3. Find out.] Rather, trace out. The deep.] Rather, the abyss. The Armenian Version has: "the abyss of wisdom." The Syriac (as also Vet. Lat. and 70) omits "and wisdom." We regard the words as a Hellenising addition by the Greek translator. The language recalls the cosmogony of Philo ("De Mundi opif."); ed. Mangey, l. 6, 7; ed. Frct., p. 4), in which first the "unbodily" heaven and the "unseen" (invisible) earth and "the idea" of air and vacuity were made by God in the "intelligible" (ideal) world. It seems the more likely that the younger Siracide may have entertained views kindred to those afterwards developed by Philo, since the same ideas appear in the LXX.

4. Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

5. The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom; and her ways are everlasting commandments.

rendering of Gen. i. 2: "And the earth was unseen (invisible) and unwrought" (uniformed—the word occurs only here in biblical literature). Among the Rabbis we find similar speculations—although under ban of the authorities—about the pre-existence of matter and the formation, rather than the creation, of the world (comp. 'Life and Times of Jesus,' vol. i. pp. 50, 51). In these speculations water was mostly regarded as the original matter. One Rabbi (Ben Soma) thought that only two or three fingers' breadth intervened between the upper and the lower waters (Ber. R. 1); and that these issued from the Tsebom, or abyss. The Hellenistic character of the views of the younger Siracide accounts for the otherwise apparently incongruous juxtaposition of "abyss" with "wisdom"—here in the sense of creative, formative wisdom.

4. Understanding of prudence.] Rather, intelligence of understanding [purpose? thoughtfulness?]. The Armen. Vers. has the two words in apposition, as similarly Prov. i. 4; their conjunction in Prov. vii. 12, comp. l. 4. The verse seems another of the Hellenistic alterations by the Greek translator. The Syr. render v. 4: "More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith." The latter words suggest a Christian hand.

from everlasting.] Lit. from Hon.

On the negative statement concerning "Wisdom" (in vv. 2, 3) follows now the positive. Unlike the first and second clauses of v. 4 seem parallel to, and are explained by the first and second clauses of v. 6. Verse 5 is found only in H, 23, 55, 70, 106, 248, Co. and in the Old Lat., and has been rightly omitted by Fritzsche. It is evidently an interpolation, intended to avert heterodox teaching or application.

In regard to the term "create" in v. 4, it is true that in Ecclus. it is used in the sense of "forming" or preparing (so probably, though not certainly, in Ecclus. xxxix. 25, and in xl. 1, xlv. 2, and more doubtfully, xlv. 14). But in these passages the word is evidently employed in a wider, almost figurative sense. Bretschneider is therefore not justified in contending that the word in our verse does not mean "to create." It might represent the Hebrew ניב, which the LXX. render in Prov. viii. 22 by "create" (so also in Gen. xiv. 19, 22, while generally they translate ניב by פֶּרֶשׁ). Although this view of "Wisdom" as created before all things is here probably
6 To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? or who hath known her wise counsels?

7 [Unto whom hath the knowledge of wisdom been made manifest? and who hath understood her great experience?]

8 There is one wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne.

9 He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.

10 She is with all flesh according to his gift, and he hath given her to them that love him.

11 The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

12 The fear of the Lord maketh a

Grecian, it may also be referred to Prov. viii. 22. The Rabbis substituted for “Wisdom” the Torah (Law), which they represented as one of the six things created before the world (Ber. R. 1), or according to another passage, 3000 years before it (Midr. on Song v. 11). They commented on Prov. viii. 22 to this effect, that God had looked into the Torah, as an architect into his plans, and so created the world (Ber. R. 1). The second clause of v. 4 may probably refer to the details of creation. The personification of “Wisdom” in our verse is only figurative. It is interesting to mark that Philo also quotes Prov. viii. 22, interpreting it in a manner similar to the Siracide (‘de Temul.’ [ebriet.], ed. Mang. i. 362; Frce. p. 244).

6. Rather, was revealed, and who knew her subtle devices? “Subtle devices,” with the additional meaning of secrecy—Vet. Lat., astutias illius. The inscrutable character of “Wisdom” is farther shewn in regard to her root—as being in God, and to her working. The reference is not to Wisdom as in God, but to Wisdom as manifesting herself. The second half of the verse is omitted in the Armenian Version. The Syr. begins the verse with בְּרֵהַ נֵס—evidently the “from above” of the close of v. 4 in the Greek Version.

7. This is another interpolation, found in the same Codd. as vv. 5.

8. One is wise, and to be feared greatly, sitting upon His throne: the Lord. “To be feared greatly,” comp. Joel ii. 11, and Ecclus. xliii. 29. In Him Wisdom is joined to power, although the reference may also be to His moral properties: He is the Lord. The Syr. and Arab. Versions have: “ruleth over all her treasures.” The Syr. Vers. and the Old Lat. omit the words “wise and,” which probably were not in the Hebrew original.

9, 10. Beginning of stanza ii. (vv. 9–15). The writer proceeds to give an account of Wisdom as Divinely bestowed. “Numbered her”—so literally. Although the words of the Hebrew original were probably taken from Job xxviii. 27 (see marg.), it does not follow that the younger Sirachide mistranslated them because they differ from the rendering of the LXX. (ἐγγέγραμτο). Some have translated: “He divided her,” i.e. He bestowed on the things to be created, to each its part of wisdom. And this may be the meaning of the addition in the Syr. and Arab. Versions: “He numbered and gave it.” We hesitate connecting the expression with the Septuagint, or “enumerations” (emanations) of the Kabalists, although to “enumerate” might be equivalent to creatively determining and setting it forth, and in that sense revealing it.

There cannot be any doubt as to the meaning of the next clause, with which the first part of v. 10 must be logically connected (the words “she is” are not in the original): “He poured her upon all (the Arm. omits “all”) His works—v. 10a: [together] with all flesh, according to His good will (donation).” That this latter is here the correct meaning rather than “gift”—certainly not “appointed portion”—appears not only from the Syr. and Arab. Versions, but from the whole context, and seems supported by Ecclus. xi. 17, where the word ד’étv in the first clause is parallel to “good pleasure” in the second. The expression “all flesh” means here “all mankind,” as in Gen. vi. 12; Joel iii. 1. The word “with” seems at first sight to render the explanation difficult. But it may mean that wisdom has been bestowed on all God’s works in connection with man. It follows quite aptly (v. 10b) that “He supplied (bestowed) her abundantly to them that love Him.” Teaching similar to this, only in more developed form, occurs frequently in Philo. Notably, he tells us (‘de Profug.’ ed. Frce. p. 470) that God pours of His eternal wisdom upon all generous and inquiring minds. But while they rejoice in it, they know not the author and source of it. This is God, who has given His word as the bread from heaven. These Divine precepts bring to the Israelites, i.e. the receptive soul, light and sweetness. And then Philo proceeds to shew the superior happiness (as compared with that of the mere philosopher) of obedience to the commandments and the service of God.
11. From this account of Wisdom, as Divinely bestowed—to which vv. 14, 15 correspond (see the introduction)—the writer passes in v. 11 to Wisdom in its practical aspect, which is the fear of the Lord, telling us what it is, and what it bestows, alike in life and death. The “crown of rejoicing” is a figure easily understood, derived from the custom on festive occasions.

12. gladdens (cheers) the heart. The same expression occurs in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 9. The verbs, it should be noticed, are all in the future tense. For the last clause comp. Deut. vi. 25; Prov. iii. 12, 16, x. 27; Ecclus. i. 20. The Rabbis also regard length of life as the reward of righteousness (Prov. x. 2): it delivered even from natural death (Shabb. 156 b), and death at sixty was “by the hand of God” (Jer. Bikk. 64 c). Similar statements frequently occur in the Midrashim.

13. In the margin, “shall be blessed,” which marks the better meaning and reading of I I I, x. 23, 70, al., Co., and the Old Lat. So also the Syr. and Arab. Versions. We should be glad to believe that the expression “it shall be well at the last” (c’ tv’lw) was intended to bear reference to the after-death. But the term (in the plural), which occurs in at least five other passages of Ecclus. (four of them wrongly marked in Trommius, ‘Concord.’), refers in only one of these places (Ecclus. xlviii. 24) to what we would call “the last things,” “the end of time.” On the other hand, the dreary references to death by Ben Sira (as xviii. 12; xxxviii. 17–23; xii. 1–4) indicate a poor philosophy and an almost worse than Sadducean theology, which entitles not any real hope for after death. The single passage in Ecclus. xlviii. 11, quoted on the other side, requires special consideration (see the comment). On the subject generally see the Introduction). Bretschneider and Fritzsche understand the clause to refer to a gentle death (Ecclus. xi. 26). This seems somewhat jejune. But the Rabbis also speak of 903 different kinds of death (this by gemaatria, of which that by “the kiss” (of God) was the gentlest (Ber. 8 a), like drawing a hair out of the milk (Moed. Q. 28 a, b), while a painful death was to be the fate of the wicked. Inferences as to the condition of the soul were also derived from the look and even the posture of the dying (Ab. de R. Nath. 25). Perhaps the expression in Ecclus. may refer to death when children are left behind, especially sons. The Rabbis suppose that this is marked in Scripture by the expression “falling asleep,” in contradistinction to dying (the former in the case of David, the latter in that of Joab). The second half of the verse, however, seems to refer to public acknowledgment upon death: and this, even accepting the reading in the margin, which is that of A. C. and other Codd., as well as of the Syr. and Vet. Lat. We know what value the Rabbis attached to public lamentations of the dead and to encomium at funeral orations.

14. This and v. 15 are extremely interesting from their connexion with v. 9, 10, and the light which they cast upon them. The additions in the Vet. Lat. (Latin Version) are very curious and characteristic of their source. For the first half of v. 14 comp. Prov. i. 7; ix. 10. The second half is quite in accordance with the later teaching of Philo, who regarded as the highest class of virtue that from an innate good disposition. (‘Leg. Alleg.’ iii., ed. Frcf. p. 76; ‘de Congr.’ u. s. p. 429, and specially ‘de Prof.’ p. 474; comp. generally Siegfried, ‘Philo,’ p. 269, &c., and the art. “Philo” in Wace and Smith’s ‘Dict.’) The views of the Rabbis were similar (comp. St. John xix. 2; see ‘Life and Times of Jesus,’ ii. p. 178). The faithful are the ne’emanim (2 Macc. i. 2) of the Jews. The same expression occurs also in the LXX. and the N. T.

15. The rendering of this verse is very difficult. Literally translated, the first half of it could scarcely mean anything else than: And with men, as an eternal foundation (the same word for the Heb. word “place” in LXX. Job xviii. 4; Is. xiii. 13), she has built her nest—since the verb (soarit) is not a transitive. But as this would present a strange mixture of figures, we can only suggest that there is here a misreading and misrendering of the original, as in LXX. Prov. xvi. 16—perhaps in imitation of it—in which case the Hebrew original really meant: “And she has acquired an eternal foundation (place, habitation) with men.” And it is probable that the substantive (soaroa) is used with the same application in Ecclus. xxxvi. 26 c. The rendering of the second clause is scarcely less difficult. Fritzsche translates what he supposes the original (1023) by “she shall be continuous,” or “accredited, faithful (approved),” but the better rendering seems to
16 To fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom, and fillet men with her fruits.  
17 She fillet all their house with things desirable, and the garners with her increase.  
18 The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish; both which are the gifts of God: and it enlargeth their rejoicing that love him.  
19 Wisdom raineth down skill and knowledge of understanding, and exalteth them to honour that hold her fast.  
20 The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord, and the branches thereof are long life.  
21 The fear of the Lord driveth away sins: and where it is present, it turneth away wrath.  
22 A furious man cannot be justified; for the sway of his fury shall be his destruction.

be: she shall be credited (fide digna babebit, vel repertiur). As regards the meaning of the verse, Ecclesi. xxiv. 7, 8 seems to leave no doubt that the reference in the first clause is to the Mosaic Law, as wisdom that had obtained an eternal foundation in Israel, although it seems doubtful whether “their seed,” among which the Law is to sow itself worthy of credence, or to be approved, refers to mankind generally, or to the descendants of Israel.  
16. The verse is not merely a repetition, but opens the second part of the chapter, and begins a new stanza (see introduction). The connexion with v. 14 should be marked. As “to fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” (v. 14), so “the fulness” or “abundance” of wisdom—the determining substantive being here used in the sense of a superlative—is once more “to fear the Lord”—wisdom begins and ends there; “and makes them drunk,” i.e. fully satisfies them. See a similar use of the figure in Deut. xxxii. 42, and a similar expression in LXX. Ps. xxii. 5 (A. V. xxii. 5).  
17. Comp. Prov. viii. 18, 19. “All their house:” rather, all her house. The Syr. has: “she fillet her treasuries with wisdom and her treasures,” &c.—the Syr. reading מסכלות for מוסכלות, or perhaps מסכלות for מסכלות. “With her fruits:” more literally, her products. We have little doubt that here the Greek rendering preserves the Hebrew original of the older Siracide.  
18. The relation between fear of the Lord as the beginning and the fulness of wisdom in vvv. 14 and 16 is inverted in vvv. 18 and 20. This is not the case in the Syr., which has once more “the beginning of wisdom,” and also more correctly renders the second clause: “and increaseth peace, and life, and health.” “Perfect health;” literally, health of healing—health restored. The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom (perhaps in the sense of Wisdom being crowned when this fear shall universally prevail), making to flourish (here probably a Hebraism) paena (between man and man) and health of healing (the healing of all present breaches). The sentiment, which in its Greek form is one of the modifications of the original by the younger Siracide, reappears in Philo. There we find the same anticipations fully, and in exact correspondence, expressed in the descriptions of Messianic times, specially in “de Præm. et Pœn.” ed. Mangley, ii. 421, &c.; ed. Fræn. pp. 921–925. The clauses in the A. V. after “to flourish” must be struck out.  
19. The A. V. omits (with 253, 248, Co.) the opening words of the verse: And He saw and numbered (or revealed) her. The clause, which is precisely parallel to v. 9 (see the note), once more points forward to Philo. But it cannot be omitted, if only because it supplies the subject—God—for what follows. The word “Wisdom” with which v. 19 begins in the A. V. does not occur in the original, and the subject is God. The idea of presenting Him as “pouring down, like rain,” “skill and knowledge of understanding,” is thoroughly Hellenistic. Indeed, the first two clauses of this verse, which are quite different in the Syr., must be attributed to the younger Siracide. In the same manner Philo applied the expression “I will rain bread from heaven” (Ex. xvi. 4) to the showering down from above of Wisdom on all who are receptive (‘de Prof.,’ c. 25, ed. Fræn. p. 470). “And exaltest them to honour:” rather, heightens (increases) the honour of them, &c. On the whole comp. Prov. iv. 8.  
21. This verse in our A. V. is not found in the best Cod., and must be omitted. From v. 20–27 the Syr. contains an entirely different portion.  
22. The verse begins a new stanza.  
A furious man.] The better reading is unrighteous anger, although A. V. represents a correct gloss: comp. Prov. xv. 18. Shall not be justified—that is, before God; nor yet will it be vindicated or established before men. In general the expressions must
23 A patient man will bear for a time, and afterward joy shall spring up unto him.

24 He will hide his words for a time, and the lips of many shall declare his wisdom.

25 The parables of knowledge are in the treasures of wisdom: but godliness is an abomination to a sinner.

26 If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee.

27 For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction: and faith and meekness are his delight.

28 "Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor; and come not unto him with a double heart.

29 Be not an hypocrite in the sight of men, and take good heed what thou speakest.

30 Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall, and bring dishonour upon thy soul,

be taken in their widest and most manifold application. "The sway of his anger," in the sense of momentum, impetus, "shall be his destruction"—rather, to his fall—it shall be the cause or occasion of it. The second clause of the verse does not give the reason, but rather explains the meaning of the statement in the first clause, and carries it further. The transition here from v. 20 b is abrupt, although v. 22 may possibly be intended as a demonstration and continuation of vv. 19 e, 20 b.

23. In contrast to this "man of wrath" (Prov. xv. 18) is he who is patient, long suffering (μακροθυμιας, Δισικὴ πάθος), as in Prov. xiv. 29; xv. 18. See also the similar rendering by Aquila of θυμὸς τῆς Τουραα, Job vi. 11. Instead of "will bear," Fritzsche renders, after another reading (ἀνείστηρα): "will hold out." But the alteration does not seem to be sufficiently supported, and the ordinary reading and rendering best accord with the context. He will bear till the time—not "for a time"—ὑπὸ τοῦ τειματίου, of his vindication and deliverance by God.

24. He will hide his words till the time. Till the right time, that appointed of God for his vindication and deliverance, he will keep back, restrain, his speech. Comp. Ps. xxxix. 1; Prov. x. 19. The second part of the verse shews how ample his public vindication shall be. Grotius aptly: "Silentium illius in tempore compensabit multorum de ipso sermonibus." The Wisdom here spoken of is not abstract (ῥοπία), but practical (ὑπερευεία)—intelligence, prudence.

25. In [or among] the treasures of wisdom is a parable (or else in the collective sense, "are parables") of understanding—the latter indicating their quality or the kind of parable. But quite the opposite are the views of life and the conversation of the sinner, v. 25 b.

26. The theoretical and the practical are here combined: the way to acquire wisdom is obedience to the commandments. Yet this wisdom is not in any way the reward of obedience: and the Lord will abundantly furnish thee with it. This is not a distinctively Judaic (Rabbinic) sentiment, but the writer occupies Old Testament—we had almost said, New Testament—ground.

27. This verse, which opens the last stanza, continues the reasoning of v. 26. It also looks back on the beginning of the previous stanza in vv. 22, &c. Practical wisdom in the fear and service of the Lord is here represented as quiet, patient bearing in well-doing, in opposition to the wrathful self-assertion of the proud sinner. "Faith and meekness"—gentleness—are His delight: rather, good pleasure, that with which He is well pleased, which He approves and loves. The word εὐδοκία occurs in the LXX. only in the Psalms (there eight times) and in the Apocrypha only in Eccles.,—giving another indication of the connexion in time between the version of the Psalms and our book. [In Cant. vi. 3—LXX. 4—the name Tirzah is so rendered.]

28. The clause "when thou art poor" must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. It is evidently an explanatory gloss. The rendering "distrust not," "disbelieve not" (which sec: ms supported by LXX. Is. xxx. 12), appears to correspond better with the second part of the verse than the "be not disobedient" of the margin. "A double heart" (comp. Ps. xii. 2)—one that alternates between faith and unbelief: comp. St. Jas. i. 8; iv. 8.

29. To inward truth outward truthfulness must correspond. "What thou speakest," lat. "in thy lips." With the exception of 250 the Greek Codd. read, instead of "in the sight of men," "in the mouths (or mouth) of men." The Greek translator evidently mis-read αὐτός for οὗτος. The Syr. read it correctly, and the Vet. Lat. follows it. It seems needless to limit the verse to a spurious public profession of religion. The wider view is fully borne out by the next verse.
and so God discover thy secrets, and cast thee down in the midst of the congregation, because thou didst not in truth fear the Lord, but thine heart is full of deceit.

CHAPTER II.

1 God’s servants must look for trouble, and be patient, and trust in him. 12 For woe to them that do not so. 15 But they that fear the Lord will do so.

30. Comp. St. Matt. xxiii. 12; St. Luke xviii. 14. “Discover :” in the sense of reveal,—make publicly known that which had been hidden. On the first part comp. Prov. xxvi. 28; on the last clause, Acts xiii. 10. The Syr. has in the closing verses several other renderings, some of which probably depend on a different reading of the Hebrew. One very clear instance of this (pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth) is in v. 30; for “ thou camest not ” the Syr. has “thou bearest the name” (omitting “not”)—evidently the one reading וְגָם, the other וְנָפְלָה.

CHAPTER II.

The arrangement of this chapter into three unequal stanzas (1-6; 7-11; 12-18) is well marked. The first of them (vv. 1-6) connects itself with the penultimate stanza of the previous chapter (i. 22-26). Similarly, stanzas ii. and iii. of chapter ii. (especially stanza ii.) look back on the last stanza of chap. i., and further develop the idea “of the fear of the Lord,” referred to in the opening and closing verses of that stanza (i. 27 a, 30 e).

Thus viewed, the first stanza of chapter ii. continues and carries out what had been set forth in the previous chapter—especially as to faith, patience, and meekness. The second stanza (vv. 7-11) is well marked by a threefold “Ye that fear the Lord,” to which an admonition or a promise is in each case attached. The two concluding verses of the stanza—or perhaps three verses, since v. 10 is double—furnish the ground for each of the preceding admonitions. We mark that each of the three verses of admonitions has its corresponding couplet of lines in the two (or three) following verses (vv. 10, 11).

In stanza iii. (vv. 12-18) the three “Ye that fear the Lord” of the previous stanza have as their counterpart a threefold “Woe” (vv. 12-14)—in which we also mark correspondence with the first stanza of the chapter. The threefold “Woe” is followed by a threefold “They that fear the Lord” (vv. 15-17)—but here of a descriptive, not (as in stanza ii.) of a hortatory character. The concluding verse (v. 18) furnishes the ground of what had immediately preceded, and thus corresponds with vv. 10, 11 in stanza i.

1. if thou come.] “Come forward,” “set out.” Practical advice is now given to him who really wishes to serve the Lord, in opposition to those referred to in the closing verses of ch. i. The first thing to be remembered is that temptation will meet us by the way. Such temptation may, as Drusius rightly remarks, come by adversity or by prosperity. But the reference here is to adversity, as the following verses shew.

2. Guide thy heart straight, direct, govern it (so in LXX. Josh. xxiv. 23). This is the literal meaning of the word. “And be steadfast,” which probably gives the meaning more fully, as the verb signifies both “to be staunch” and “to endure patiently.” This in opposition to making haste in the time of trouble—of distress or misery (Bissell, “visitation”). The verb is often used in Philonic writings of afflictions sent. In such seasons we are to be staunch—not perturbed nor hasty in thought or deed. Comp. Ps. xxvii. 14. The verse is wanting in the Syr.

3. depart not.] Viz. from God—turn not aside (the Hebrew יִרָד). “Increased:” in the sense of compensating exaltation afterwards, at his end, or rather at a later time, when affliction and temptation well endured shall give place to happiness. But there is no reference here to the “after death.” Comp. St. Jas. v. 11. For “mayest be increased at thy last end” the Syr. has: “mayest be wise in thy paths”—(as has been noted) reading מָנוֹר בָּלָא, while the Greek read ὑπάρχον ὁμοιότατον. But the reading of 24, 8, ἀλλαγήματα (in the singular), is supported by the Syr. and better.

4. brought upon thee.] Viz. by God; “take,” viz. upon oneself—accept it, submit to it. The word “cheerfully” should be omitted, as not properly authenticated. “When thou art changed to a low estate” gives the meaning correctly—lit. “in the changes of thy humiliation,” i.e. when changes come by which thou art brought into a low estate. But the reading of 24, 8, ἀλλαγήματα (in the singular), is supported by the Syr. and better.
5. The higher reason of the direction of v. 4 and the comfort in it are indicated. Such changes are divinely ordered to try and to purify us. "Adversity:" lit. humiliation. The figures employed frequently recur in Holy Scripture (Prov. xvii. 5, xxvii. 21; Zech. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 3; 1 Pet. i. 7).

6. Help or "take part with thee." The idea of helping, as in St. Luke i. 54, "Order thy way aright," gives correctly the sense of the original—lit. guide (make) thy ways straight (set, direct them)—certainly not in the sense of "straightforwardness." "Trust:" rather, hope. For "hope in Him" the Syr. has: "and He will direct thy paths."

7. This verse, which begins the second stanza (see the introd.), farther indicates the duty of waiting for the merciful deliverance of God, and the danger of attempts at sinful self-deliverance. In this and the following two verses the progression of thought is always in the second clauses.

8. The promise that their "reward shall not fail," or be lost, must—at least by us—not be taken in a Judaic sense.

9. The admonition passes now from the individual to the general, and hence must be considered as applicable to the pious at all times and in all circumstances. This should be kept in view in the interpretation of the expression "everlasting joy and mercy." The term "everlasting" can scarcely be regarded as equivalent to "lasting" or "long enduring." Nor yet does it seem to refer to what we understand by "everlasting." Rather does it seem to mean that they who fear the Lord may always look for joy and mercy from God. That this is the right interpretation appears from the review in v. 10 of the experience of believers in the past.

5 & 6. For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.

7. Ye that fear the Lord, wait for his mercy; and go not aside, lest ye fall.

8. Ye that fear the Lord, believe him; and your reward shall not fail.

9. Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good, and for everlasting joy and mercy.

10. Look at the generations of old, and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded? or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken? or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?

11. For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction.

12. Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!

13. Woe unto him that is faint-hearted! for he believeth not; therefore shall he not be defended.

14. Woe unto you that have lost.

10. The last clause should be worded like the two which precede: "Or did any call upon Him, and He despised them?" rather, took not notice of them?

11. And this, although we cannot plead freedom from sin and its ill desert. The words "longsuffering and very pitiful" should be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities.

12. This verse opens the third stanza. The writer now turns to those who neglect his admonitions. The antithesis between vv. 12-14, and both that which had preceded and that which follows, should be marked. The threefold "Woe" is not to be regarded as a denunciation of judgments, but rather as equivalent to "Aim for those." Each of them bears reference to want of that steadfast faith and unswerving trust previously recommended. In the first "woe" failure in a staunch and straight course is denounced; in the second, failure of courage and assurance; in the third, that of patient endurance.

13. hands that hang down (Heb. xii. 12). The expression is parallel to that in Job iv. 5 and Is. xxxv. 3 (the latter being rendered in the LXX. in nearly the same manner). "Fearful hearts" is no doubt the equivalent of the Heb. in Deut. xx. 8 (in the A. V. "faint-hearted"), where the LXX. employ exactly the same words. Similarly also in 2 Chron. xiii. 7, both in the Heb. and the LXX. To "go upon two ways" refers not to uncertainty, but to want of decision and the attempt to keep in with both sides. The classical reader will remember the "duabus sellis sedere" (with our proverbial sequence of "falling between two stools"); while the biblical student will recall, both as to expression and
CHAPTER III.

2 Children must honour and help both their parents. 21 We may not desire to know all things. 26 The inconceivable must needs perish. 30 Alma are rewarded.

Hear me your father, O children, and do thereafter, that ye may be safe.

2 For the Lord hath given the father honour over the children, and hath confirmed the authority of the mother over the sons.

3 Whoso honouneth his father maketh an atonement for his sins:

4 And he that honouneth his mother is as one that layeth up treasure.

meaning, Prov. xxviii. 6, 18. (Comp. also 1 Kings xviii. 21.) The verse presents a climax: heart, hands, walk—moral defect in either always leading to that in the other.

14. "Patience:" in the sense of endurance rather than of hope (the latter, Fritschae). For "bare loss patience" the Syr. has "pelletis fiducia"—perhaps a confusion of יבראכ with יבראכ.

15. The opposite course is traced as that which characterises the "fear of the Lord." One of the most valuable parts of this chapter is the Old Testament view which it presents of the "fear of the Lord." "Will not disobey"—in the Syr. "will not hate"—a different rendering of the word מגד in the original. "His word:" rather, words. Mark that as in vv. 7–9 we have a threefold admonition to those who "fear the Lord," and in vv. 12–14 a threefold "woe" upon failure in this, so in vv. 15–17 a threefold description of what may be expected of them who "fear the Lord"—the expression "they that love Him" (v. 16 d) being almost parallel to it.

16. that which is well pleasing unto him.] This is misleading. The right rendering is, His good pleasure (εὐδοκια). "Filled with:" in the sense of satiating themselves with it, seeking, aiming, and living only after His Law.

17. For "bamble their souls" the Syr. has: "he that forsaketh him shall ruin his soul"—reading (as has been suggested) דוד for דוד.

18. majesty.] Rather, greatness. It is scarcely necessary to point out the reference to 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; only that in the present instance the reason of the choice is indicated in the preceding context, and also in the last clause of this verse, which is truly grand and Old Testament in its conception. It should be added that the Rabbis also noted that wherever God’s greatness was spoken of in Scripture, there His condescension was also immediately indicated. So in Deut. x. 17, 18; Is. lvii. 15; Ps. lxviii. 4, 5 (Meg. 31 a).

CHAPTER III.

This chapter seems to be arranged into four stanzas. After an introductory line, the first two stanzas consist each of fourteen lines, in commendation of filial duty (vvs. 16–9; 10–16). The third stanza (vvs. 17–24), also of fourteen lines, is in praise of humility; while the fourth, of twelve lines (vvs. 26–29; v. 25 must be omitted), seems chiefly directed against pride of heart and mind, and intended to inculcate an opposite frame.

1. your father.] Rather, the father. This expression, and that of "children," must not be pressed literally, although the writer immediately proceeds to describe what is the proper filial relation. The "safety" here spoken of—"ut saevi sitiit—does not refer to that in the next world, as appears from what immediately follows.

2. "Given honour"—extolled. Fritschae, however, renders "with, or in, the children," in the sense that according to Divine appointment the honour of a father consists in this, that the children honour him. "The authority of the mother over sons." omit the article. The word "authority" probably expresses here the meaning better than any other. The Greek, κληρον, no doubt corresponds to the Hebrew mishpat, for which it occurs in the LXX. not less than 132 times. But mishpat also means "a right" in the sense of that which is due (so in Deut. xviii. 3, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.)—and the "right" of the mother, that which is due to her, is equivalent to her authority.
5 Whoso honoureth his father shall have joy of his own children; and when he maketh his prayer, he shall be heard.

6 He that honoureth his father shall have a long life; and he that is obedient unto the Lord shall be a comfort to his mother.

7 He that feareth the Lord will honour his father, and will do service unto his parents, as to his masters.

8 Honour thy father and mother both in word and deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from them.

9 For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations.

10 Glory not in the dishonour of thy father; for thy father's dishonour is no glory unto thee.

11 For the glory of a man is from the honour of his father; and a mother in dishonour is a reproach to the children.

12 My son, help thy father in his age, and grieve him not as long as he liveth.

13 And if his understanding fail, have patience with him; and despise him not when thou art in thy full strength.

14 For the relieving of thy father to his father, and likewise to his teacher.

The construction with ἐν (δαυδεῖας ἐν) occurs only again in LXX. Jer. xxv. 11.

8. In deed and word (comp. St. Luke xxiv. 19) reverence thy father, that a blessing may come upon thee from him. Thus according to the better reading, and literally.

9. Better the indefinite article: a father, a mother. The expression "houses" refers not only to the prosperity but to the permanence of a family. This appears still further from the second clause. But Ex. i. 21, 2 Sam. vii. 11, are scarcely parallels.

10. The verse begins the second stanza, which presents the negative aspect of what had formerly been inculcated. "Dishonour"—as generally in reference to fathers, a derivative of τυμώ is used. The verse accurately represents ancient Hebrew feeling, and rebukes the spurious modern boasts of independence from ancestry.

12 b. For "grieve him not" the Syr. has "leave not his glory"—as has been suggested, a confusion of הֶבַע with הָבָע. The verb corresponds to the verb מָזַל, in its various forms: and 2 Sam. vii. 11; 1 Kings v. 4; 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18; Is. xiv. 3, but especially Prov. xxvii. 17, may here be mentioned as parallels.

6. A comfort, in the sense of giving restfulness and refreshment. In the LXX. it mostly corresponds to the verb παρέμοια, in its various forms: and 2 Sam. vii. 11; 1 Kings v. 4; 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18; Is. xiv. 3, but especially Prov. xxvii. 17, may here be mentioned as parallels.

7. According to the weight of authorities, the first half of the verse should be omitted, but alike the preceding verse and the clause which follows seem to require it—although, on the other hand, it may have owed its origin to a feeling of abruptness in the text without it. The "service" spoken of is like that of a slave. The Rabbis also held that a child was bound to do a slave's service.

14. relieving.] Better, probably, the more general term "pity" or "mercy." "Instead of sins," that is in place of the evil and destruction which thy sins would have brought, it shall be built up to thee again, viz.
shall not be forgotten: and instead of sins it shall be added to build thee up.

15 In the day of thine affliction it shall be remembered; thy sins also shall melt away, as the ice in the fair warm weather.

16 He that forsaketh his father is as a blasphemer; and he that angereth his mother is cursed of God.

17 My son, go on with thy business in meekness; so shalt thou be beloved of him that is approved.

18 "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord.

19 Many are in high place, and of renown: but 'mysteries are revealed unto the meek.

20 For the power of the Lord is great, and he is honoured of the lowly.

21 "Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength.

thy house (or, perhaps; "it shall be added to thee for building up"). The verb, without ἐποίησα, occurs repeatedly in the LXX., notably in Deut. xxiii. 16; Jer. xviii. 9; Zech. i. 16; Mal. iii. 15.

15. Ηε (Syr. "she") shall remember thee—the Syr. adds to thee—viz. for good, or for help and deliverance. The correctness of this rendering is attested by the Syr. Like fair weather upon ice, so thy sins shall be dissolved (melt away). The meaning is, that just as the warmth of fine weather dissolves the ice which is the result of cold, so would dutifulness towards parents remove the guilt and consequences of our sins. The moral and spiritual view here taken alike of sin and of duty towards parents is the opposite of elevated. In the Syriac, "as heat against ice, to the abolishing of thy sins;" in the Arabic we have, instead of the last clause, "shall drive away evils from thee, as cold is driven away by the fierceness of heat"—both explanatory rather than literal renderings.

16. In the Greek the order of the sentences in each of the two members of the verse is inverted (as compared with the A. V.), and this makes the meaning much more emphatic. "Forsaketh:" that is, leaves unhelped. "Angereth:" probably, by refusing aid. The tone of at least the first part of this verse rises to a greater moral height.

17. In the new stanza which here opens, the writer proceeds to admonish to modesty and humility; and this, first, as regards outward conduct and bearing (vv. 17-20); then as regards the mind (vv. 21-24), and, lastly, as regards the heart and feelings (vv. 25-28). The admonition to humility is supported by three arguments: 1st, it secures the good-will of pious men—of such as are "approved," viz. of God (comp. II. 5), v. 17; 2dly, it gains the favour of God, v. 18; which, jointly, is the source of all success, v. 20.

18. Humility should increase with outward success. It almost seems as if the writer had in his mind that otherwise an envious fate would dispense calamity. A similar admonition, but from a much higher point of view, is given in 1 Pet. v. 5.

19. This verse is an interpolation.

20. "The power of the Lord," Syr. "the mercy of the Lord"—perhaps a confusion between בְּרֵאשִׁית and בְּרֵאשׁ. "Honoured of;" rather, glorified by. Instead of the last clause the Syr. has; "and to the meek His secrets are revealed"—probably repeated from v. 19 b.

21. In the admonitions to humility which now follow, the reasoning is as follows: Abstain from useless speculations and attempts to comprehend that which is above human reason (v. 21). Practical obedience is required, not speculative knowledge, which is barren (v. 22). The latter employs our powers to no purpose, whereas all that is really necessary has been quite clearly told us (v. 23). Lastly, such speculations have led many fatally astray (v. 24). The argument is deeply interesting, not only as shewing that a spirit of inquiry and speculation was abroad, but as containing one of the passages quoted in Rabbinic writings as from 'The Book of Ben Sira.' The fullest recension of it is in Ber. R. 8 (ed. Warsh. 17 a), where v. 21 and the substance of v. 22 are quoted as follows: "Rabbi Elazar said in the name of Ben Sira (so also in Jer. Chag. 77 c). What is too great for thee, seek not out; into what is too strong (powerful) for thee, search not; what is too high for thee seek not to know; into what is hidden from thee, inquire not; what is within thy power (that which is within thy reach, that which is practically before thee), consider, and busy not thyself with secret things." The same saying is quoted with slightly different wording, in the Jer. Talmud (Chag. 77 c), and in the Bab. Talmud (Chag. 13 a—there, as from 'The Book of Sira'), but without the first two clauses given in Ber. R. 8. There can be little doubt that the recension in the Talmud,
22 But what is commanded thee, think thereupon with reverence; for it is not needful for thee to see with thine eyes the things that are in secret.

23 Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for more things are shewed unto thee than men understand.

24 For many are deceived by their own vain opinion; and an evil suspicion hath overthrown their judgment.

25 Without eyes thou shalt want light: profess not the knowledge therefore that thou hast not.

26 A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein.

27 An obstinate heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the wicked man shall heap sin upon sin.

28 In the punishment of the proud there is no remedy; for the plant of wickedness hath taken root in him.

29 The heart of the prudent will understand a parable; and an attentive ear is the desire of a wise man.

30 Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins.

with its four members in exact parallelism, is the correct one, nor yet that it—rather than the Greek—represents what had originally been written by the older Siracide.

22. The words "with reverence" and "to see with thine eyes" must be omitted. The last clause should read: for thou hast no use (or else, no necessity) for (non pertinent ad te) the things that are hidden—they are not required for any practical purpose.

23. Rather, in the things which go beyond (surpass, exceed)—both in quantity and quality—they work (the requirements of practice, referred to in the previous verse) be not a busybody—the same word as in 1 Thess. iii. 11: here probably in the sense of meddling with what does not concern one, wasting one's labour. For what exceeds (is beyond) the intelligence of man (i.e. is more than enough for his comprehension, his practical capacity) has been shown to thee (marked out before thee).

24. The admonition to humility in abstaining from searching into what is beyond our ken concludes with a warning: for many has their notion (a notion on their part, or else, an assumption) led astray (misled), and a wrong (noxious) supposition made their judgment to slip (slide, fall on a slippery place). Others, however, have applied the substantives "notion" and "supposition" to excessive opinion of oneself =conceit, which led to entering on dangerous and misleading speculations.

25. This verse must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. In the Syr. and Arab. Versions it follows after v. 27, and in the Arab. rather as a paraphrase.

26. Here begins with the last stanza the commendation of heart-humility. The reference seems to wilful and proud neglect of the warnings previously given, leading a person to rush into the fatal dangers above indicated. Practically the same expression for a "stubborn heart" occurs in the LXX. Deut. x. 16; Prov. xvii. 20, xxviii. 14; Ezek. iii. 7. In 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxv. 3 we have this about Nabul: ὁ ἀνθρωπος σκληρος καὶ συννεφος ἐν ἐπιτηδειασι. [The Syr. rendering of 16b, "he that loveth good things shall attain them," is contrary to the whole structure of this stanza, in which the clauses of each verse are not in antithesis.]

27. Sorrows, or labours, cares, troubles. "The wicked man:" rather, the sinner. We mark as parallel to the second clause this saying of Ben Azai in Ab. iv. 2: "One transgression draws another after it."

28. Probably best rendered: By (in) the calamity—Co. prefix is—that which is brought to him in trial or punishment of the proud there is not healing: it does not lead to his spiritual healing. The connexion of thought is as follows: Pride of heart will lead to danger and ruin (v. 26); sin will prove progressive (v. 27), and even trials will not act as corrective (v. 27).

29-31. The last three verses read like a practical application of the parabolic teaching of this whole chapter. In opposition to the stubbornness and conceit which had been condemned, we have here on the part of the prudent understanding of the parabolic or proverbial teaching just given—his earnest desire being to learn and obey (v. 29). The expression "heart" is used in its wider Hebraic sense for the mind, or what we might designate the inner man.

30. This practical lesson comes to us parabolically, that the moral effect of alma
31 And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth, he shall find a stay.

CHAPTER IV.

1 We may not despise the poor or fatherless, but seek for wisdom, and be ashamed of some things, nor gainsay the truth, nor be as lions in our houses.

My son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long.

upon sins is like that of water upon fire—it puts an end to their destructive effect. Low as is the spiritual tone of such a sentiment, it is even more painfully and realistically expressed in the Book of Tobit (comp. iv. 8-11; xii. 9; xiv. 11).

31. The word “and” must be omitted; and instead of “that which may come hereafter,” better: the things which are after these (rà meta tauta)—that is, after that which is now going on, our present condition, which may change to one of need. The Syr. has: “beneficus expeditus est in via sua”—reading ἀνάμικτος for ἄναμικτος. Difference of opinion prevails whether the subject of the first clause is God or man. The former view has probably led to the insertion of the words “the Lord” in 166, 248, Co., H, Vet. Lat. But the reading is not trustworthy; and as man is the subject in the second clause, it seems natural to supplement also the word in the first clause. Thus viewed, v. 31 forms the final link in the teaching of this chapter. The man who requiteth benefits—viz. those which he had received from his parents—is remembered in such changes and events as may come upon him hereafter, and in the time of his falling shall find support (stay, succour). Comp. iii. 1-16.

CHAPTER IV.

From the consideration of duty towards parents the writer proceeds to what is required of us in regard to our neighbour. As in the previous chapter, duty is here primarily viewed under the aspect of beneficence. Hence the relations indicated are mainly those towards the poor. Here also the writer shews that true religion, which in his mind consists in the practice of good works, is true wisdom. This explains the transition to the praise of wisdom (vv. 11-19). Wisdom is practical religion in well doing; on the other hand, sin is evil doing and the loss of wisdom. This appears also in the third stanza, which, like the concluding stanza of ch. iii., is chiefly of a warning character (vv. 20-28). As ch. iii., so ch. iv. closes with three verses of practical application. Thus the chapter consists of three stanzas—respectively of ten, of nine, and again of nine verses (vv. 1-10; 11-19; 20-28)—of which the three concluding verses form the application.

1. This verse may be only introductory and general, in which case each of the stanzas of which the chapter is composed would consist of nine verses. “Defraud,” or possibly in the more general sense specially applicable in regard to benevolence: “Withhold not from the poor.” The verb is used in reference to the wages of the poor in the LXX. Deut. xxiv. 16 (God. Alex.; the Vat. has ἄραδες ἀπορεῖς) and in Mal. iii. 5. Here it is probably used with wider application than to wages. For “deprive not,” &c., the Syr. has: “deride not the life of the poor”—according to Mr. Margoliouth, the one deriving the word from the root נָלָה, the other from נָלָה. “His living;” in the sense of all that is necessary to sustain life, or for one’s life. The same meaning attaches to the term in St. Luke xii. 15. Generally comp. Prov. iii. 28. Both Latin and Greek parallels might also be here adduced.

2. Few savings more wise, kind, and suitable than this. It is too often the manner of men to moralise to those who are in sorrow, and to provoke to anger those who are in difficulty, embarrassment, or distress. And even when words are not spoken, our bearing may effect this. The Syr. has here “forget not.”

3. The direction not to add further distress to a heart already vexed goes beyond the previous verse. It has for its counterpart the admonition not to defer giving (a gift) to one in need.

4-6. [The Syr. omits 4 b and 5 a.] From spontaneous compassion the writer next turns to that which should follow on the appeal of distress: Refuse not a suppliant who is
6. For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.
7. Get thyself the love of the congregation, and bow thy head to a great man.
8. Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness.
9. Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor; and be not fainthearted when thou sittest in judgment.
10. Be as a father unto the fatherless, and instead of an husband unto their mother: so shalt thou be as the son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.
11. Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them that seek her.
12. He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek to her early shall be filled with joy.
13. He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory; and wheresoever she entereth, the Lord will bless.
14. They that serve her shall minister to the Holy One: and them that love her the Lord doth love.

afflicted. In v. 4b and v. 5 this is farther carried out by shewing the consequences of embittering the soul of the distressed by a refusal of his entreaty. The admonition goes indeed further than what we read in Ex. xxii. 22, 23, and Deut. xv. 9, but scarcely beyond Prov. xxviii. 27. The closing words of Ecclus. iv. 6 indicate alike the ground on which our obligation to the poor rests and the reason why his curse shall not be in vain, viz. that the God to whom he appeals is his Maker, and also the Maker of us all. The teaching of Prov. xiv. 31 and xvii. 5, although parallel, is higher in character. It need scarcely be added that the Gospel has pointed far beyond this.

7. This verse has been regarded by some critics as inserted in the wrong place, being apparently uncoupled with the previous argument. The Latin Version has sought to remove this objection by inserting after "congregation" the words "of the poor." But the difficulty referred to is rather apparent than real. There is twofold progression in vv. 7-10 as compared with those which preceded: first, from the negative to the positive; and, secondly, from response to direct appeals—chiefly for charity—to spontaneous action under certain circumstances. At the same time the advice of v. 7 is rather Eastern in character than religious, and reflects unfavourably on what follows in the next verses.

8. According to the better reading: Incline to the poor thine ear. This and the next clause, and answer him peaceful things (peace) in meekness, are truly Hebraic. The expression "incline the ear" occurs in Ps. xvii. 6, Jer. xi. 8; and this, "to answer peace," in Gen. xii. 16 and in Deut. xx. 11. In fact the LXX. render the latter passage by exactly the same terms.

9. The first clause perhaps misses the antithetic force of the original: the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor. "Not fainthearted," that is, not afraid to decide in favour of the poor as against the proud oppressor.

10. The final admonitions recall Deut. xxiv. 17-21; Job xxix. 15-17, xxxi. 16, &c.; and Isa. i. 17. The expression "He shall love thee more than thy mother doth," seems to bear reference to Isa. xlix. 15.

11. With this verse commences, according to Fritzsche, a new section: on Wisdom (iv. 11-vi. 16)—consisting of five parts, the first containing 20 members (10 + 10); the second, 18 members (6 + 6 + 6); the third, 24 (12 + 12); the fourth, 28 (7 + 14 + 7); and the last, 26 members (6 + 6 + 6 + 8). Thus arranged, Part I. would embrace iv. 11-15 + iv. 16-19; Part II., iv. 20-28; Part III., iv. 29-39 + v. 3 + v. 4-7; Part IV., v. 8-10 + 11-15 + vi. 1-3; Part V., vi. 4-13 + 13-16.

"Wisdom exalteth," viz. to greatness and happiness, her sons: see St. Matt. xi. 19; "layeth hold of them that seek her," in the sense of bringing them help. The word, which otherwise often occurs in the LXX. and the New Testament, is used in this signification only in Heb. ii. 16.

12. that seek to her early—that rise early after her—to betake themselves to her: indicating zeal and earnestness in the search after Wisdom, as the main object engaging mind and heart.

13. whither he entereth.] Viz. Wisdom. This seems more congruous to the whole argument than to render (with Fritzsche) "whither he entereth," in the sense that whatsoever such a man undertaketh, God will bless him in it.

14. The cultivation of true wisdom is
15 Whoso giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations: and he that attendeth unto her shall dwell securely.

16 If a man commit himself unto her, he shall inherit her; and his generation shall hold her in possession.

17 For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws.

18 Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets.

19 But if he go wrong, she will forsake him, and give him over to his own ruin.

20 Observe the opportunity, and beware of evil; and be not ashamed when it concerneth thy soul.

21 For there is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame which is glory and grace.

22 Accept no person against thy soul, and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.

identical with true religion. Consequently the relation of God towards us will depend on our relation towards Wisdom.

15. The first clause in the Greek seems to have the great Messianic hope in view, in the sense that just as at the last that true wisdom which Israel had received would lead to their rule over the nations, so in measure would its acceptance on the part of individuals secure for them a similar moral supremacy. But a comparison with the Syr. shows that the Greek here depends on a misreading of the Hebrew original. Instead of "shall judge nations," the Syr. has: "shall judge truth"—יתבש, which the Greek misreads נבש, "nations" (see General Introduction, § VIII.). Instead of the correct reading προεύθυν (Alex., other MSS., Old Lat., Syr., Ar.) the Vatican has προέλθων. The promise of the second clause, which repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, also points to Messianic times for its final fulfilment. In this connexion the same expression occurs in LXX, Jer. xxiii. 6; and with more general application, in LXX, Deut. xxxii. 12, 28.

16. If a man commit himself unto her.

Probably better: If a man trust [rely], viz. in her, commit himself to be led and ruled by her, not only shall he inherit her, but his descendants also shall enjoy the benefits which her possession conveys. The Vat. has: "If thou trust... thou shalt inherit." But the other reading is the correct and best supported one.

17. The verse looks back upon the previous statement. A man must have "trust" in Wisdom, for at first her ways will seem to be neither straight nor happy, but crooked and trying—it will seem as if they did not lead to the promised goal, nor yet brought either security or happiness. This strange discipline—until she (Wisdom) have trust in his soul [the same word as in v. 16] and have proved him by her statutes [ordinances]. Similarly in Ab. vi. 4 the way of the Law is described as contentment with the meanest outward provision and every privation, combined nevertheless with unceasing occupation with the Law. If such be our bearing, we shall inherit the greatest blessing both in this and in the next world.

18, 19. Then—when Wisdom can put trust in a man, and he has approved himself by obeying her precepts through all difficulties—will she again turn to him according to the straight way, and there will not any longer be either sorrow nor yet misunderstanding about her ways. He that has faithfully walked in them amidst trials will be comforted, and also perceive the meaning of what to others are secrets. On the other hand, if a man cannot endure the ordeal, he will be given over to his own ruin (v. 19).

20, 21. The writer proceeds in the next stanza to set forth the practical aspect of true wisdom as true religion, and this, first, in a negative manner. Here he warns us to be on our guard lest we fall into sin. The second clause of v. 20 is somewhat difficult. Its literal rendering, and about [concerning, as regards] thy soul be not ashamed, leaves it open to regard it either as an admonition for the present or as pointing to the future. The former seems most accordant with v. 21, which sets forth the difference between false and true shame. [Verse 21 is inserted in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11, at the close of that verse.]

22. False shame is further described in its various manifestations; and first in regarding or accepting the face of a person—that is, taking part for or against him—against one's soul. To this applies the warning in the second clause, which should be rendered: and be not ashamed [for ashamed, as in 2 Thess. iii. 14; Tit. ii. 8] to thy fall. Such "shame" would lead to one's own fall.
23. The verse marks a progress on the preceding one. The marginal rendering of the first clause is the more exact and expressive. The last words of the second clause (eis kolλλwv) are extremely difficult, nor has any alteration proposed in the words of the Greek text or any reference to the Hebrew original as yet rendered their explanation more easy. The most likely rendering would seem: hide not thy wisdom for beauty (for embellishment, viz. of self); that is, in order thereby to acquire glory. The clause which is omitted in the Vat., Alex., and Sin. is found in H, 106, 248, 253, Syr., and Vet. Lat., and seems almost necessary.

24. This verse indicates the reason of the previous admonition.

25. If silence may be unseasonable, so may speech be in certain circumstances. To speak against the truth, whether purposely or in ignorance, must be wrong; to feel our want of knowledge, and to be abashed by, and thus to admit it, must be right. The words “In no wise speak,” which depend on a reading not so well supported, must be altered to speak not. For the same reason, the words “of the error” in the second clause must be omitted.

26. To the admonition not to be restrained by false shame from confessing our errors and sins, the advice is aptly added not to “strive against the stream”; that is, not only to give up seeking excuses for our wrong-doing, but also to realise that it is impossible to resist the consequences of our sins. To “strive” or “swim against the stream” (niti contra torrentem, dirigere brachia c. t.) is an expression, common among all nations, for attempting the impossible. For this latter clause the Syr. has: “and resist not a fool,” perhaps reading the later word "עומד" for שָׁפָרָה.

27. Make not thyself an underling. Lit. “spread not thyself under as a mat.” There is not, however, any other instance of this very forcible metaphorical use of the term.

28. the Lord.] According to the better reading, the Lord God.
CHAPTER V.

1 We must not presume of our wealth and strength, 6 nor of the mercy of God, to sin. 9 We must not be doubleminded, 12 nor answer without knowledge.

2 Set not thy heart upon thy goods; and say not, 9 I have enough for my life.

3 Follow not thine own mind and thy strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart:

4 And say not, Who shall confound me for my works? for the Lord will surely revenge thy pride.

5 Say not, I have sinned, and what harm hath happened unto me?

6 For the Lord is longsuffering, 9 he will in no wise let thee go.

The closing verse of the previous one. And yet there is manifestly progression in the argument. The chapter naturally divides itself into two parts: (1) as to feeling and conduct, and (2) as to speech. Verse 1 must be regarded as a general introduction: 1 a to the first part; while 1 b already indicates the subject of the second part of the chapter, which is speech. Part II. begins with v. 10, to which v. 9 a forms an introduction, while v. 9 b, c connect this new introduction with the previous part, thus forming a transition. The general arrangement of the chapter might be thus outlined:


. Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines each.

v. 8. Conclusion in two lines which precisely correspond to those of the introductory verse.

v. 9 a, b. Transition connecting what follows with Part I., and exactly corresponding in its two lines to the two lines of v. 2, which forms the opening verse of Part I.

Part II. v. 9 c. Transition from v. 9 a, b, and generally from Part I. to Part II.

Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines, including in ch. v. the opening verse of ch. vi. (See below.)

and here with εἰς and the dat. it is only met with in this verse, in v. 8, and in xxxviii. 11. In the latter passage the meaning seems to be "to depend," or "rely." But in Hebrew to "depend" or "rely" is often equivalent to setting one's heart upon a thing. So certainly in Ps. lxxi. 10 b, of which Ecclus. v. 1 seems an echo. Thus there would also be a progression of thought in the second line, which would on the other hand be only a repetition of the first clause, if we were to translate "rely." In the second line the words "for my life" (H, 248, 253, 308, Co., Vet. Lat. est mibi sufficientia vita) are a spurious and not very wise addition. The verse warns against satisfaction with and confidence in our possessions. Its parallels are Ps. lxxi. and St. Luke xii. 15, 19. In 'Yoma,' 86 b, we read that the abundance of their silver and gold had led the Israelites to make themselves gods of gold.

2. thy mind.] τοῦ ψυχῆς σου = inclinations: the words are omitted in the Syr. Verc.

strength.] Either physical strength or else power and ability — noli facere quicquid potes ac libet (Brutschin).

the ways.] 248, Co., ὀδοῖς; according to the correct reading, the desires, ἔνδοξαις.

3. for my works.] These words must be omitted, according to the better reading. In the second clause the words "thy pride" must equally be omitted. The reading generally accepted has ἔνε, in which case we should have to translate, will surely punish thee. But it seems more in accordance with the Hebraism in the text (ἐνδοξῶν ἐκδικήσει) to suppose that the original had διὸ καὶ διὸ, in which case ἔνε must be omitted (as by some authorities), and we should have to translate, "for the Lord will surely avenge."

4. According to the better reading, the word "harm" must be omitted from the first clause, and from the second line the words "he will in no wise let thee go." The meaning is: Make not wrongful inference from temporary impunity, nor yet from the mercy of God. On the contrary, the latter should lead to repentance and restitution. This seems indicated in v. 5.
Concerning propitiation, be not without fear to add sin unto sin:

And say not, His mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners.

Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord come forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed, and perish in the day of vengeance.

Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten; for they shall not profit thee in the day of calamity.

Winnow not with every wind, and go not into every way: for so doth the sinner that hath a double tongue.

Be stedfast in thy understanding; and let thy word be the same.

Be swift to hear; and let thy life be sincere; and with patience give answer.

If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth.

The Syr. transposes vv. 5 and 6. It need scarcely be said that the term "propitiation" must not be taken in the Christian, but in the Jewish sense. In illustration of this saying, we quote the following from the Mishnah, "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent—no fartherance is given to his repentance. (If he says) I will sin and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement (propitiate), the day of Atonement will not propitiate [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9).

The Mishnah adds that the Day of Atonement only brings pardon of sins against God; as regards those against our neighbours, reconciliation is first required. The Talmud, however, explains that pardon is extended three times on the Day of Atonement (after confession), but not a fourth time. Yet if a man had sinned and sinned again, he would come to look upon it as lawful ('Yom.' 86 b).

In another passage we are told that forgiveness is procured by "repen tance and good works" (u. s. 87 a). [But the Jerus. Talmud (in loc.) attributes pardon to the Day of Atonement, even without repentance.]—To be without fear as regards propitiation might lead to adding sin unto sin (v. 5 b).

6. pacified for.] The same expression as in the previous verse, "propitiation." In the original the words used were probably נבש (v. 5), and here רם. This would bring the statement into still closer agreement with what we read in the Mishnah about the Day of Atonement (Yom bakkippurim). The reason for the warning is that not only mercy but also wrath cometh from God. The expression "resteth" probably corresponds to the Hebrew מתי, which indicates permanence, continuance (so of the Spirit of God in Is. xi. 2).

On the other hand, repentance should not be delayed. In the Jerus. Talmud we have a discussion as to the precise moment on the Day of Atonement when pardon is obtained. There also the various sins are grouped into four classes. Those consisting of the breach of an affirmative precept are said to be pardoned immediately on repentance, irrespective of the Day of Atonement ('Jer. Yoma,' 45 b, c).—The expression for "from day to day" also occurs in a Pet. ii. 8; and in the LXX. Gen. xxxix. 10, Numb. xxx. 15. According to the better reading, the following italicised words must be omitted from the last clause: in thy security, and be destroyed, and.

Returns to v. 1 (see introd. remarks). The reading ὀδηγεῖν, which Fritzsche prefers, does not alter the sense. Comp. Prov. x. 2.

This verse forms a very apt transition to the next subject: the sins of the tongue. The meaning of the first clause seems to be: in order to get wealth—it may be unjustly (v. 8)—do not seize every possible opportunity that may offer: this would necessitate sinful tempering and duplicity.

On the contrary, inward and outward stedfast truthfulness is required of us. Εἰσώρεσις is not exactly "understanding," but the result of inward perception and conviction. The verse would therefore convey the admonition to adhere to that of which one was fully persuaded in one's own mind, and to be always truthful in the utterance of it.

In order that such may be the case, be swift in thy listening, and with deliberateness (or forbearance, μακροπλοχία) speak answer. Comp. St. Jas. 1. 19. The words "and let thy life be sincere" are spurious.

In strict accordance with v. 10, it is added: If thou hast knowledge [εἰσώρεα—if thou hast arrived at a state of clear inward perception], answer thy neighbour: but if not, thy hand be upon thy
13. Honour and shame is in talk: and the tongue of man is his fall.
14. "Be not called a whisperer, and lie not in wait with thy tongue: for a foul shame is upon the thief, and an evil condemnation upon the double tongue.
15. Be not ignorant of any thing in a great matter or a small.

CHAPTER VI.

2. Do not extol thine own conceit, but make choice of a friend. 18. Seek wisdom betimes.

mouth,—the latter expression exactly as in Prov. xxx. 32, יָכַּנְךָ; Job xxi. 5, יָכֲנָה יַע.
14. The word "foul" before "shame" is scarcely required; and the last words had better be rendered the double-tongued. The verse is intended to point out that to steal entailed only disgrace, but to detract from the good name of another would bring evil condemnation upon him that was guilty of it. This saying of the Siracide may have been in the mind of Shakespeare when he wrote: "Who steals my purse steals trash," &c. ('Othello,' Act iii. sc. 3).

15. Be not ignorant.] Neither this rendering nor yet "err not," seems to express the meaning of ἐρρέω. The verb properly signifies "to be ignorant," and hence "to err," owing to want of knowledge. Thus it may correspond to the Hebrew יָכַּנְךָ, although the latter term is rather used in contradistinction to sins "with a high hand," and may therefore apply to sins caused by weakness as well as to those that are due to want of knowledge (comp. Delitzsch, Comm. 2. Br. an d. Hebr. p. 175). In Heb. v. 2 the expression seems to refer exclusively to sins from want of knowledge. Similarly, in the passage before us (Ecclus. v. 15) we would confine the meaning of the word to a want of knowledge. In that case the verse would (in accordance with ver. 11, 12) convey the admonition to have definite, right, and well-grounded views on all subjects, whether great or small. The verb does not again occur in Ecclus., but the use of the substantive (xxiii. 3; xxviii. 7) seems to bear out the meaning which we have assigned to it. We could scarcely translate the verb by "err," viz. with the tongue, since the term cannot be used of purposeless sins, while on the other hand it would be impossible to characterise sins of the tongue as sins of ignorance.

With this (first) line chap. v. ends in the LXX, and in the Syrac. Version. But it seems highly probable, as Fritzsche suggests, that the first verse of chap. vi. should be added to the close of chap. v. Chap. vi. 1 begins in all MSS. with the word "and." Its reasoning evidently forms part of chap. v., while it is wholly unconnected with the subject of chap. vi. Accordingly we would join vi. 1 to v. 15, as follows: "and instead of a friend become not an enemy." To this we would add the rest of vi. 1, omitting with the Syr. the word öðροσ: For an evil name, shame, and reproach shall the sinner who is double-tongued inherit.

CHAPTER VI.

The chapter (omitting v. 1) consists of five parts. Part I., which comprises four verses (v. 2—5), connects itself with the previous chapter, and sets forth a twofold danger—that arising from want of power and knowledge and that due to intentional sin. The last verse in the stanza (v. 5) forms a transition to the admonition to make proper friendships. Part II., consisting of ten verses (v. 6—15), contains this admonition. Part III., of two verses (16, 17), forms another transition, and connects the previous with the following parts. True friendship is the gift of God, and must be based on His fear; for as the best friendship, so the truest counsel cometh from the Wisdom that is from above. In Parts IV. and V., each of ten verses (18—27; 28—37), this Divine instruction is further set forth. The last four verses form a twofold conclusion, corresponding to that of Part III. (v. 16, 17). The verses in this chapter are of two lines, except in the middle (v. 19) and at the close (v. 37), where the verses are of four lines.

2. Exalt not thyself in the counsel of thy soul—a common Hebraism (ךְָכַּנְךָ) for "immost mind." Considerable difficulty attaches to the next clause, as in our present Greek text, partly because the verb διαφωνεῖν does not admit the rendering "torn away," while it is difficult to attach any meaning to such a strange figure as "torn in pieces like a
ECCLESIASTICUS. VI.

3 Thou shalt eat up thy leaves, and lose thy fruit, and leave thyself as a dry tree.

4 A wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies.

5 *Sweet language will multiply friends: and a fairspeaking tongue will increase kind greetings.

6 Be in peace with many: nevertheless have but one counsellor of a thousand.

7 If thou wouldst get a friend, prove him first, and be not hasty to credit him.

8 For some man is a friend for his own occasion, and will not abide in the day of thy trouble.

9 And there is a friend, who being turned to enmity and strife will discover thy reproach.

10 Again, some friend is a companion at the table, and will not continue in the day of thy affliction.

bull;" but chiefly because there is not any connexion between v. 2 and v. 3, where, however, not only the argument but even the figure must be continued. The Syriac, even if emended, does not seem to us to clear up or remove the difficulty. In these circumstances we feel inclined to adopt the suggestion of Bottcher, that by one of the most frequent clerical errors in MSS.—that by which when a word ends with the same letter as that with which the next begins, one of these letters is dropped out—what had been ὁς σταυρὸς may have been miswritten ὁς ταῦρος. In that case the meaning would be: "Set not up thyself in thine own mind and conceit (like a pole or stake) lest thy soul be robbed [here = stripped] like (as is) a pole." Possibly there may even have been in the Hebrew a word-play between the נָפָל, the "counsel" of his soul, and נְפָל, or in later Hebrew נָפָל, "a pole."

3. If this suggestion in regard to v. 2 is correct, the figure would be beautifully continued in v. 3. And the hypothesis is further supported by this, that for ὁς σταυρὸς of v. 2 we have in v. 3 the parallel ὃς κῆκως, which is the word by which the LXX. render נָפָל in Gen. xl. 19; Deut. xxii. 22; and Josh. x. 26. Nor could any more apt description of self-conceit be given than that it eats up the leaves, destroys (this probably better than "loses") the fruits, and leaves a man as a dry tree—a pole—instead of a fresh tree, covered with leaves and fruit.

4. We suppose that the comparison with a tree stripped of its leaves recalled to the writer the use of the same figure in Ps. i. in regard to the wicked. The second line of v. 4 had best be rendered: And shall make him the derision of enemies—the word "derision" including the idea of the joy felt by his enemies, which is conveyed by ἐπιθηκόμα.

5. In contrast to this self-conceit—this folly and wickedness—which will only lead to destruction, and raise up enemies who will rejoice at our fall and laugh at us, is the suggested advice to make friends, who shall be our counsellors (instead of following the conceit of our own soul). Only let them be good, wise friends. And v. 5 indicates how to make such friends. The first clause literally rendered is: A sweet throat [larynx] will multiply his [one's] friends.

6. Let them that are at peace with thee be many; but thy counsellors one out of a thousand. The verse begins Part II.—concerning friendship. It is quoted in 'Yebam.' 61 b (towards the end): "Many they that seek [inquire for] thy peace: the secret reveal to one out of a thousand;" and again in Sanh. 100 b (lines 10, 9 from bottom) with very slight alterations, and the addition of the last clause of Mic. vii. 5.

7. If thou art getting [acquiring] a friend, get him in trial—that is, when his being a friend shall be tried.

and trust not in him hastily. Be not hasty in putting trust in a person. The last clause should logically stand first, but the positive is here advanced before the negative. The reference is to a real friend, whom one may trust at all times. If we are looking out for such, let us not be hasty in regarding acquaintances as friends, but let ours be a tried friend.

8. For there is a friend in his own time—i.e. as long as it suits him.

9. And there is a friend [who will be] changed to enmity, and he will reveal [disclose, make known] the conflict of thy shame—viz. that conflict through which thou wast to pass, with all thy difficulties and weaknesses and failures, and this will tend to bring shame upon thee in the opinion of others.

10. And there is a friend, &c.] Perhaps the words "companion at the table" do not fully express the meaning of the original, which is, that such an one is ready to accept our hospitality; but when we have not any longer an invitation to give, his friendship ceases. This kind of friendship is so frequent
11 But in thy prosperity he will be as thyself, and will be bold over thy servants.

12 If thou be brought low, he will be against thee, and will hide himself from thy face.

13 Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends.

14 A faithful friend is a strong defence: and he that hath found such an one hath found a treasure.

15 Nothing doth countervail a faithful friend, and his excellency is invaluable.

16 A faithful friend is the medicene of life; and they that fear the Lord shall find him.

17 Whoso feareth the Lord shall direct his friendship aright: for as he is, so shall his neighbour be also.

18 My son, gather instruction from thy youth up: so shalt thou find wisdom till thine old age.

19 Come unto her as one that ploweth and soweth, and wait for her good fruits: for thou shalt not toil much in labouring about her, but thou shalt eat of her fruits right soon.

20 She is very unpleasant to the

that the writer adds some further details.—
Verses 9 and 10 are omitted in the Syriac.

11. But.] Rather, And.

and speak freely against (or else, "to") thy servants.] So intimate is he, as if he were thine alter ego.

12. But when thy circumstances change, his bearing also changes. Instead of being "as thou," he is now "against thee;" instead of making himself at home in thy house, he hides himself from thee, so that if thou seestest him he cannot be found. It is needless to quote (as in most Commentaries) similar sayings from classical writers. The case described is only too common in all countries and in all ages.

13. These, then, are the three classes of friends: a threefold description of true friendship is now opposed. It affords protection, bestows a treasure, and brings healing in the troubles of life (vv. 14–16).

15. Of [for] a faithful friend there is not any equivalent (by way of exchange); and there is not any balance [by weight of his excellency.] ἀντάλλαγμα is the LXX. rendering for יָתֵק in 3 Kings xx. 2 (Cod. Alex.); Job xxviii. 15; and Jer. xv. 13. But only in the first of those passages does it mean an equivalent in money by way of purchase, in the other two an equivalent by way of exchange; and with this agrees the use of the word in St. Matt. xvi. 26, St. Mark viii. 37. Thus v. 16 would carry out the idea of friendship as a "treasure," broached at the close of v. 15.

17. so also is his neighbour.] The meaning is not that a man so influences his neighbour that the latter becomes like himself, but that a man chooses as his companion one who is of the same disposition with himself, so that we can judge of his character by that of his associate. A similar "common Proverb" is found in the Midrash Shochar Tobb on Ps. civ. 1.

18. The two previous verses formed the transition to the new subject opened in v. 18. The connexion between them is as follows: true friendship must be wisely directed by the fear of the Lord—and this fear is true wisdom. Son, from thy youth choose [= eligere ex albis] instruction [the verb no doubt represents the Hebrew יָתֵק], and unto grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom. This is one of the most thoughtful sentences in Eccles. Mark the twofold distinction between choosing instruction, and finding wisdom—the one being the early choice, the other the continual result to the end.

19. The idea of v. 18 is now presented under a beautiful figure. The verse would gain in force if we arranged the words as in the original: As one that ploweth and that soweth, come unto her, ... for in thy labour about her [the figure of the work of the husbandman being still continued] thou shalt [but] a little [time] have weariness [toil], and speedily shalt thou eat of her fruits. The substantive to be supplied in both clauses is Wisdom.

20. As one that is rough exceedingly [the figure is probably still that of the soil; or perhaps of the road] she is to the uninstructed (to theuntutored, ἀποφθέγματος, in opposition to those who from their youth choose παιδείας, v. 18.) But it has been suggested that ἀφθόνα, "exceedingly," is a clerical error for ἀφθόνι, "Wisdom," which both the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.
unlearned: he that is without understanding will not remain with her.

21 She will lie upon him as a mighty stone of trial; and he will cast her from him ere it be long.

22 For wisdom is according to her name, and she is not manifest unto many.

23 Give ear, my son, receive my advice, and refuse not my counsel.

24 And put thy feet into her fetters, and thy neck into her chain.

25 Bow down thy shoulder, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bands.

26 Come unto her with thy whole heart, and keep her ways with all thy power.

27 Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee: and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go.

28 For at the last thou shalt find her rest, and that shall be turned to thy joy.

29 Then shall her fetters be a strong defence for thee, and her chains a robe of glory.

30 For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are purple lace.

have. The expression "without understanding," ἀθέατος, is an exact rendering of the corresponding Hebrew terms in Prov. xvii. 16 and in Jer. v. 21; comp. also the similar expression in Prov. x. 13. But in the Hebrew parallels the "understanding" is that aspect of it which is directed to what is higher—the ∫.

21. The figure is now changed. Not only does wisdom seem rough soil, and the un instructed not persevere in his work; but as he approaches it, it proves a heavy weight which he speedily casts from him. "The stone of trial" seems to have been one for trying strength. St. Jerome notes on Zech. xii. 3 (A. V. and R. V. "a burdensome stone") that it had been an "ancient custom in Palestine, continued in his days, to have in towns and villages a round stone of very great weight, on which the young men made trial of their strength, how high they could lift, and hold it in their hands. For "lie upon him," rather be upon him,—and he will not delay to cast her from him." [Bissell.]

22. It seems impossible by any critical ingenuity to explain the first clause of this verse, since there is not any Hebrew or Greek word which would admit of a play upon the word "wisdom." [On the suggested explanation of Hitzig, see Nowack on Eccles. iii. 11 in the Kurzgeft. Exeg. Hdb. p. 229.] We must therefore suppose the Hebrew text to have been corrupted or misread. We may here quote, without adopting it, the suggestion of Dr. Horowitz (Frankel's "Montasschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.," vol. xiv. p. 197) that the Hebrew original had נִשְׂנָה, "by name," which was misread נִשְׁנָה, "according to her name." He supposes the original to have been: נִשְׂנָה בַּעֲמָדָה נְקֹדֶשֶׁה—"wisdom is his [he possesses it] only by name," or perhaps "it only exists nominally for him," = he only knows of it by name. (The correction into נִשְׂנָה, "by hearsay," need scarcely be discussed.) In that case the translator, unable from his misunderstanding to account for the ∫, would have dropped it as a clerical error. But there are serious linguistic objections to the suggestion of Horowitz. The Syr. has: "Her name is like her teaching [hidden?], and she is not approved by fools."

23. Having given such full warning, the writer resumes the subject of which he is treating.

advice.] Perhaps"judgment," or"opinion."

24. chain.] Rather, "collar," as in the margin. The words of our Lord (St. Matt. xi. 29) will here readily occur to the reader.

25. Bow down.] Rather, put under [Bissell.]

be not grieved.] Rather, be not weary, chafe not. The figure is here of an animal unaccustomed to the yoke.

26. heart.] Literally, "soul." The figure is now dropped. Verses 24, 25 form an antithesis to v. 20, and verses 26, 27 to v. 21.

28. that shall be turned.] From v. 29 we infer that the reference is to the previous trouble and labour (v. 25, 26), not to "wisdom." We would therefore translate: it (thy previous labour) shall be turned to thee into joy.

29. be to thee for a strong defence, and her collars [in the sense of "yoke"] for a robe of glory.] This marks the change indicated in v. 28.

30. The figure is now somewhat clumsily varied. The reference may be to the High-priest's mitre, which would explain the
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31 Thou shalt put her on as a robe of honour, and shalt put her about thee as a crown of joy.

32 My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be taught: and if thou wilt apply thy mind, thou shalt be prudent.

33 If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive understanding: and if thou bow thine ear, thou shalt be wise.

34 Stand in the multitude of the elders; and cleave unto him that is wise.

35 Be willing to hear every godly discourse; and let not the parables of understanding escape thee.

36 And if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his door.

37 Let thy mind be upon the ordinances of the Lord, and meditate continually in his commandments: he shall establish thine heart, and give thee wisdom at thine own desire.

CHAPTER VII.

1 We are exhorted from sin, a from ambition, b presumption, c and fainting in prayer: d from lying and backsliding, e and how to esteem a friend: f a good wife: g a servant: h 22 our cattle; i 23 our children and parents: k 31 the Lord and his priests: l 32 the poor, and those that mourn.

Do no evil, m so shall no harm n o Pet. 3. 13.

2 Depart from the unjust, and iniquity shall turn away from thee.

3 My son, p sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold.

4 Seek not of the Lord preeminence, neither of the king the seat of honour.

omission of vov b and 30 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, comp. the expressions in Jer. iv. 30.

31. a robe of glory . . . upon thee.] Not about thee.

32. thou shalt be instructed.] This, with reference to v. 18.

33. The word "understanding" (σέφερον), not found in the better MSS., is only a disturbing addition.

34. the multitude.] Probably הַל. Who is wise (= if any is wise) to him cleave.

35. Here also the order of the sentence had best be inverted. "Be willing" is probably not strong enough; and if the word corresponded (as Fritzsche supposes) to הַל or הַל, it would imply "desire after," and "pleasure in." And let not the proverbs of understanding (רֹאֶשׁ הַל) escape from thee. Although the common usage would suggest the rendering "escape thee," viz. from thy memory, yet the other translation seems better suited to the context.

36. get thee betimes.] Rather, at early morning.

37. Last line: And thy desire for wisdom shall be granted thee [Bissell].

CHAPTER VII.

This chapter might be generally inscribed: Rules for the Wise. It consists of two parts:

I. Rules regarding oneself (vv. 1-17);

II. Rules regarding others (vv. 18-36).

To be more detailed: Part I. has (a) a Proverb in three verses, warning the wise against sin; (b) then follow two stanzas of four, and two stanzas of three verses (= 2 x 7), giving warning in regard to mind (ambition, vov 4-7); to heart (presumption, vov 8-11); to speech (vov 12-14); and, lastly, in regard to life (vov 15-17). Part II., which gives Rules in reference to others, consists, like Part I., of four stanzas (respectively of four, seven, three, and four verses), with a conclusion (v. 36) which takes the place of the Proem of Part I. In Part II. the first stanza gives rules as regards friends and dependants (vov 18-21); the second, in regard to property and family (vov 22-28); the third, in regard to the Lord and His priests (vov 29-31); the fourth, in regard to our neighbour (the poor, mourners, the sick, vov 32-35). Lastly, vov 36 forms an apt conclusion to what had preceded.

1. Do not evil, and harm [evil] shall not befall thee. Drusius: κακίς, male culpae; κακίς, malum poenae.

2. This verse marks an advance in thought: depart from what is unjust, and it shall turn away from thee [Bissell]; i.e. thou shalt not experience its evil consequences.

The figure of v. 3 repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, as in Job iv. 8, Prov. xxii. 8, Hos. x. 12, and in Gal. vi. 8.

4. With this verse begins the enumeration of the various occasions to sin, against the consequences of which the previous verses had warned.

preeminence.] Rather, leadership (a place of command), "the seat,"—better, a seat.
ECCLESIASTICUS. VII.

5 'Justify not thyself before the Lord; and boast not of thy wisdom before the king.

6 Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time 'thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy uprightness.

7 Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

8 Bind not one sin upon another; for in one thou shalt not be unpunished.

9 'Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations, and when I offer to the most high God, he will accept it.

10 Be not fainthearted when thou makest thy prayer, and neglect not to give alms.

11 Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for 'there is one which humbleth and exalteth.

5, 6. The warning of v. 4 was against ambition, whether before God or man, but the arguments by which this advice is now supported are only of a prudential and worldly character. The connexion between verses 5 and 6 seems somewhat difficult. We would propose to arrange them as follows. The advice in 5 a, make not thyself just before the Lord (profess not to be righteous and perfect), is supported by 6 b, lest thou be not able to put away iniquities; the advice in 5 b, make not thyself wise before the king (profess not and pretend not to be a wise man), is supported by 6 c, lest haply thou shouldest fear (be timid) before the face of the ruler (lord); and, lastly, 6 a by 6 d, seek not to become a judge—and lest thou shouldest put [set up] a stumbling-block in [in reference to] thy righteousness. But commentators generally regard clauses b, c, d as connected with clause a of v. 6, and as indicating the dangers of becoming a judge. In that case the two clauses of v. 5 would correspond to the two clauses of v. 4. But such a parallelism of verses is not common. Further, v. 6 would begin a new subject, and clause a be supported by not less than three distinct arguments.

7. This verse opens another subject, and indicates those causes of evil which have their root in the heart, as the others (pride and ambition) had theirs in the mind.

8 in not.] The Hebrew הָנָן—the same construction with 'en in LXX. Gen. xx. 6, 9, xiii. 9, xiv. 32; 1 Kings ii. 27, xix. 4, 5, xxiv. 12; Prov. viii. 16, xx. 2. Here it is used in the sense of 'offend not.' On the other hand, the words: and cast not thyself down among the people, bear the same meaning as our English "throw not thyself away" (te ipse adjicies et proximeti, Cicero), or the German, sich auseinander.

8. The order is now inverted. In the previous stanza it was pride, first before God and then before man; here it is presumption first before man (v. 7), then before God—this being, in each case, the more natural order. Bind not twice sin; for in the one thou shalt not be unpunished. Repeat not sin; even its first commission shall not go unpunished. Bretschneider explains the words, "bind not up (as a wound) sin;" De Wette, "palliate not;" Fritzsche, "atone not twice." But these renderings seem forced. In reference to this and the following verse, we once more recall the saying in the Mishnah: "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent, no furtherance is given to his repentance; I will sin, and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement—the Day of Atonement will [does] not propitiate [make atonement] [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9). And although the Talmud rather weakens this saying of the Mishnah, yet we mark in connexion with the warning of the Son of Sirach that the Rabbis also insist that, if a man commits a sin and repeats it, it appears to him as if it were lawful ('Yoma,' 86 b, 87 a).

10. Fritzsche supposes that this verse is intended to indicate "the right means for pleasing God." But in that case it would scarcely fit in with the previous verse. We regard the words as meant to correct any possible misunderstanding. If the presumptuous sinner may not hope for acceptance by sacrifices or the like, others need not, and must not be faint-hearted in their prayers, and our best sacrifices are alms. In the Talmud ('Erukh.' 65 a) the first half of the verse is added, without mentioning its source, but in the same manner in which ordinarily Scripture is quoted (דוערי ה' נו ל רמא יברע). Comp. St. Jas. i. 6.

11. This verse seems naturally to connect itself with the last clause of v. 10. Comp. Prov. xvii. 5.

12. The verse begins another stanza, referring to sins of the tongue. Characteris-
12 "Devise not a lie against thy brother; neither do the like to thy friend.

13 Use not to make any manner of lie: for the custom thereof is not good.

14 Use not many words in a multitude of elders, and make not much babbling when thou prayest.

15 Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the most High hath ordained.

16 Number not thyself among the multitude of sinners, but remember that wrath will not tarry long.

17 Humble thy soul greatly: for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms.

18 Change not a friend for any good by no means; neither a faithful brother for the gold of Ophir.

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15. This verse begins the enumeration of that which in our life may lead to evil consequences. The following are here specially mentioned: (1) idleness, or unwillingness to do hard work, especially to engage in husbandry, which was appointed of God, v. 15; (2) evil companions, v. 16; (3) proud self-seeking and self-sufficiency, v. 17. In the latter verse the writer rises from the negative to the positive. The expression used ("to humble one's soul") is in the LXX. indeed applied to fasting (LXX. Lev. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 29, 32; Is. lviii. 3, 5). But here it obviously refers to submission to God in a sense parallel to Mic. vi. 8. At first sight it seems difficult to refer "the fire and the worm" (sing., not plural), which are to be "the punishment [this rather than "vengeance"] of the ungodly," to other than the punishment after death. But in Judith xvi. 17 the same expressions are used in regard to the presumably temporal judgments on the heathen in the Messianic day. With this the descriptions in the Book of Hencr xlvi. and xlviii. also accord. (Comp. Fritzsche on Jud. xvi. 17 in the 'Kurzgez. Exeg. Handb.,' 2 Lieb, p. 208.) These parallelisms and the general absence in Eccles. of any reference to the rewards or punishments of another life, lead to the inference that such are not alluded to in our verse. The admonition to humility (17 a) may have called up by way of contrast the typical "proud"—the foes of Israel—and their doom in the Messianic day (v. 17 b).

18. With this begins Part II., which details the rules to be observed towards others; and, first, in regard to friends and dependants (vv. 18-21). 'There cannot be any doubt that the right reading and rendering of v. 18 a is: Exchange not a friend for [what is] indifferent, ἄδιάφρον. The latter is the technical term of Stoic philosophy for the medía, the indifferentia, such as "riches, strength, appearance, honours, rule," &c. (Seneca, 'Epist.' lxxiii. 12). The meaning is, for the
19 Forego not a wise and good woman: for her grace is above gold.

20 Whereas thy servant worketh truly, entreat him not evil, nor the hireling that bestoweth himself wholly for thee.

21 Let thy soul love a good servant, and defraud him not of liberty.

22 'Hast thou cattle? have an eye to them: and if they be for thy profit, keep them with thee.

23 Hast thou children? instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth.

24 Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and shew not thyself cheerfull toward them.

25 Marry thy daughter, and so shalt thou have performed a weighty matter: but give her to a man of understanding.

26 Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a light woman.

27 Honour thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother.

28 Remember that thou wast before of what is ἐνθαρρυνθείς, do not part with a friend—neither with a true [συμφωνεῖν here certainly in that sense; comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 8; 3 Macc. iii. 23] brother for the gold of ὕψις [μερίσμα, as in the LXX.].

19. Turn not away from a wise and good wife.] We have rendered ἐπορεύοντας by "turning away," as being a more comprehensive term than "forego not." But we have no doubt that the meaning is, as given by Wahl: noli separari ab uxoribus tua. This aptly follows on v. 18. Grace = gracefulness.

20. After the wife comes the servant: A [domestic] servant who worketh truly [really, honestly] illtreat not, nor a hireling who devoteth his soul [life],—who gives himself wholly to it. The expression is probably taken from Deut. xxiv. 15: καὶ ἐπιστευθήσεται.

21. An intelligent servant... defraud him not of release.] Comp. Jerem. xxxiv. 8-16.

22. Rules in regard to property and family (vv. 22-28); and, first, as to kindness towards animals, yet this tempered by prudential considerations.

23. instruct.] Rather, train—in the sense of discipline. In the Syriac Version the second clause is rendered: "and give them wives in their youth." This might seem only a sarcastic paraphrase of what we read in the Greek. But when in Qidd. 30 a (comp. 29 b) we read the advice to marry one's son, and in connexion with it find the expression, while "thy hand is upon" his "neck" (אנוֹב בֵּיאוֹפָר), i.e. while he is young, we conclude that this was an old Jewish saying, and that the Syriac Version, which throughout this section is very apt, accurately represents the Hebrew original, of which the younger Siracide only retained so much in his translation as seemed to him suitable. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that Prov. xxii. 6, to which evidently there is reference in Eccles. vii. 23, is expressly quoted in Qidd. 30 a, in connexion with the advice just mentioned.

24. care of their bodies.] That it be preserved pure and chaste.

and make not thy face cheerful towards them.] Let not thy bearing be jocular, but rather austere and severe. In what is known as the 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' (4) we find the following, which may be a parallel to v. 23: "Gold requires bearing and a young man chastising." Similarly, the Talmud offers a somewhat coarse parallel to v. 24, and even more so to Eccles. xili. 9, in what it says of a daughter as a doubtful boon to her father (Sanh. 100 b). In general, all such sayings seem the outcome of the Rabbinic maxim that "Women are of a light mind" (for example, Qidd. 80 b).

25. Marry.] Lit., give away, viz. out of the house; a common mode of expression.

thou wilt have performed [completed, accomplished] a great work: and to a man of understanding give her.] The Talmud goes much farther than this, and advises a father, if his daughter have attained marriageable age, even to set his slave at liberty and to marry him to her (Pent. 113 a).

26. do not cast her out [in the sense of divorce]. H, 248, Syr., Vet. Lat. add the following clause, as in the A. V.: but give not thyself to one that is bateful. This, either in the sense that it would be dangerous to trust such one, or else with the meaning attaching to it in the Syr. or in the Arab. Version. The Syr. has, quod si sit improba ne te concrescas illis; the Arab., nec fideum ashebas illis si fuerit impudica. The current views on divorce are sufficiently known, and receive further illustration in this verse.

27. sorrows.] Le. birth-pangs.
29. Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests. 
30. Love him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not his ministers.
31. Fear the Lord, and honour the priest, and give him his portion, as it is commanded thee; the first-fruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things.
32. And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that thy blessing may be perfected.

33. A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living; and for the dead, detain it not.
34. Fail not to be with them that weep, and mourn with them that mourn.
35. Be not slow to visit the sick: for that shall make thee to be beloved.
36. Whosoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Whom we may not strive with, nor despise, nor provoke, nor have to do with.

28. the things that they have done for thee.] Lit., "just as they to thee."

29. Directions as to our duty towards the Lord and His priests (v. 29-31). See the marginal references. In the Syr. Version all the clauses in v. 31 after "as it is commanded thee" are omitted. In their place the following words are added: "the bread of oblations and the first-fruits of the hands." This is undoubtedly a Christian alteration, and otherwise interesting as probably marking early Christian practice.

32. Our duties towards our neighbour; especially the poor, the sick, and the mourners (v. 32-35). The injunctions are in entire accordance with Rabbinic teaching, which points to God as giving the example of clothing the naked (Gen. iii. 21), visiting the sick (Gen. xviii. 1), burying the dead (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and comforting the mourners (Gen. xxxv. 9). [So often; see, for example, Ber. R. 8]. The "blessing," eiv plugin, no doubt represents the Hebrew נברא, in the sense of blessing received.

33. This verse seems to present real difficulty. We propose translating, supposing the text not to be corrupted: Bestowal [boon, shewing of favour, display of kindness] of gift [of giving] towards every one alive, and from the dead withdraw not bestowal. We believe that the Hebrew original for ביטוי דנועות was נבירה תרבות, and we adduce the following as an illustrative parallel from Sukk. 49 b (lines 13, 12, 11 from bottom): "In three things does the bestowing [boon, favour] of acts of kindness excel almsgiving. Almsgiving is by money, gemiluth chasidim alike by money and personally; almsgiving is to the poor (mark the prepos. 5), gem. chas. is alike to the poor and to the rich; almsgiving is to the living, gem. chas. is alike to the living and to the dead" (by attending to their bodies, burial, &c.). And the parallelism is the more marked, that in v. 32 there is express reference to almsgiving.

34. Comp. the following in 'Der. er. Zuta,' v. p. 35 a (at the close of vol. ix. in the Talmud): "A man should not be weeping among those who laugh, nor laughing among those who weep." The same sentiment is expressed in Rom. xii. 15, but there more truly and beautifully. A somewhat similar admonition to take part in mourning for the dead occurs in Moed. Q. 28 b, with special reference to Ecclesiastes vii. 2.

35. for through these (things) thou shalt be beloved.

36. In all thy things (דועות דועות—acts, undertakings.) A similar saying occurs in Ab. iii. 1 in the name of Akabba the son of Mahalalel: "Consider three things (דועות), and thou shalt not come into transgression—from whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou shalt have to give a judicial account." Thus we are on thoroughly Jewish ground in these verses.

thou shalt not ever sin.] The εἰς τούς αἰωνᾶς has evidently here a temporal meaning.

CHAPTER VIII.

From ch. vii. the transition is easy to practical rules of life in ch. viii. These are once more divided into two parts: Part I. details those regarding oneself (v. 1-7); Part II. those which bear reference to others (v. 8-19). Part I. consists of three stanzas, sufficiently indicated by the initial words: "Strive not," v. 1; "Jest not," v. 4; "Neglect not," v. 8. The first stanza is of three verses (2 + 4 + 2), the second of four verses (4 x 2), the third of two verses (2 x 4). Part II. consists of
STRIVE not with a mighty man, lest thou fall into his hands.

Be not at variance with a rich man, lest he overweigh thee: for gold hath destroyed many, and perverted the hearts of kings.

Strive not with a man that is full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire.

Jest not with a rude man, lest thy ancestors be disgraced.

Reprove not a man that turneth from sin, but remember that we are all worthy of punishment.

Dishonour not a man in his old age: for even some of us wax old.

Rejoice not over thy greatest enemy being dead, but remember that we die all.

Despise not the discourse of the wise, but acquaint thyself with their proverbs: for of them thou shalt learn instruction, and how to serve great men with ease.

Miss not the discourse of the elders: for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth.

Kindle not the coals of a sinner, lest thou be burnt with the flame of his fire.

Rise not up [in anger] at the presence of an injurious person, lest he lie in wait to entrap thee in thy words.

Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; for if thou lendest him, count it but lost.

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The reference is to the four stanzas. It warns against foolish confidence in our private dealings (first stanza, vv. 10, 11), in business transactions (second stanza, vv. 12-14), in public association (third stanza, vv. 15, 16), and in private association (fourth stanza, vv. 17-19). Thus the arrangement would be: Part I., three stanzas—respectively, 2 + 4 + 2; 4 × 2; 2 + 4; 3 × 2.

1. Strive not.] Viz. in words.
2. Be not at variance [rather, contend not]... lest be overweigh thee [rather, lest he put against thee weight]—that is, bring down the opposite scale by the weight of his wealth.
3. full of tongue.] Rather, glib of tongue. 
4. a rude man.] Rather, one uneducated. Our ancestors might be "disgraced" by possible reflections upon them.
5. Omit "but" in the second line. The reasoning is, that as we have all sinned, so we all deserve punishment. Seneca: Dei ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus.
6. Dishonour not [although this is perhaps rather too strong an expression for want of respect] a man in his old age, for even some of us are waxing old.
7. Rejoice not over the dead.] H, 248, Co., add: "thy greatest enemy being dead,"

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8. This verse opens the third series of warnings. Despise not.] Rather, neglect not. acquaint thyself.] Rather, be conversant, busy thyself.

9. and to serve great men.] Omit "how" and "with ease"—in all probability in the same sense as Horace's: Quod tandem pacto decet majoribus ui = versari cum magnatibus. (Ep. i. xvii. 67.)

10. Here begins Part II.
11. Rise not up [in anger or altercation] before an insolent person.] To judge from the Greek text (ἀρετρον), the Hebrew original must have been יֵשְׁבֵּשׁ, not יֵשָׁבֵּשׁ (perhaps in a causal sense). The rendering "insolent" scarcely fully expresses the meaning of the Greek word, for which the German übermütig, with the additional idea of godlessness, seems the appropriate equivalent. In the LXX. ὁβροντες occurs five times for וָשַׁבְּשָׁה (perhaps in the Targum, וָשַׁבְּשָׁה). Grothus supposes the scene to be an assembly. Lost he set or set himself as an ambush as lying in wait to thy mouth—to what thou sayest.

12. The meaning of the second clause
13 Be not surety above thy power: 
for if thou be surety, take care to pay it.

14 Go not to law with a judge; 
for they will judge for him according 
to his honour.

15 Travel not by the way with a 
bold fellow, lest he become grievous 
unto thee: for he will do according to 
his own will, and thou shalt perish 
with him through his folly.

16 Strive not with an angry man, 
and go not with him into a solitary 
place: for blood is as nothing in his 
sight; and where there is no help, he 
will overthrow thee.

17 Consult not with a fool; for 
he cannot keep counsel.

18 Do no secret thing before a 
stranger; for thou knowest not what 
he will bring forth.

19 Open not thine heart to every 
man, lest he requite thee with a 
shrewd turn.

CHAPTER IX.

1 We are advised how to use our wives. 3 What 
women to avoid. 10 And not to change an 
old friend. 13 Not to be familiar with men 
in authority, 14 but to know our neighbours, 
15 and to converse with wise men.

BE not jealous over the wife of 
thy bosom, and teach her not 
an evil lesson against thyself.

2 Give not thy soul unto a woman 
to set her foot upon thy substance.

would be probably better represented by 
translating, instead of “count it but lost,”
make as if (thou hast) lost,—whether in 
the sense of pretending or of considering 
that it was lost. Instead of “for” translate and.

13 and... consider [have thought, have 
a care] that thou shalt [have to] pay. Be 
prepared for it.

14. a judge.] Bretschneider, however, 
regards κρατών as the gen. of κρατῆς, “a 
judge,” but of κρατῶς, electus, egregius, 
prae-
stans, nobilis. Δόξα, “honour,” “estimation.”

15. bold.] Rather, venturosus or daring.

lest he become a burden [burdensome] 
to thee... and thou shalt perish 
through [together with] his folly.] Vet.
Lat.: Ne forte gravet mala sua in te... et 
simul cum stultitia illius peries.

16. with a furious [perhaps irritable] 
man make not strife.] Comp. Prov. xv.
18, xxii. 24, xxix. 22, where in the LXX. also 
the word ὑμώπος is used.

into a solitary place.] Rather, through 
the desert.

overthrow thee.] In the sense of killing.

17. for he cannot keep a matter 
secret.] ληγον στήθι uncertainly in the 
original, ἥθω νῦν.

18. a stranger.] Probably, although perhaps 
not exclusively, a non-Israelite.

bring forth—engender, begat, bring into 
the world: what kind of child he will bring 
into the world as representing what hast thou 
done.

19. lest he requite thee, &c.] Rather, lest he return thee ill thanks [Bissell: and 
so get an ill return]. Syr.: ne te beneficio 
adstringat.

CHAPTER IX.

The prudential rules for social intercourse 
are here continued: and, first, in regard to 
women (vv. 1—9), the admonitions being 
arranged under four particulars (vv. 1, 2; 
3, 4; 5, 6; 7—9); secondly, with reference to 
what is to be sought or else avoided in 
intercourse with acquaintances. The arrangement 
is as follows: first, what is to be desired in 
regard to friends (v. 10); secondly, what is 
not to be sought nor wished for (vv. 11, 12); 
thirdly, what is to be actually avoided (v. 13); 
lastly, again, what is to be desired (vv. 14—16).
The two closing verses, which at first sight 
seem difficult to arrange, form a very apt 
conclusion: v. 17 referring to stanzas vvv. 
14—16, and v. 18 to the stanza of six lines in 
v. 13.

1. Bretschneider designates this egregium monitum. The Rabbis also often warn against 
groundless jealousy. The reason here given 
is that it might direct the mind of a wife to 
the very thing feared. Bretschneider quotes 
from Tibullus: Ipse miser docuit, quo possit 
ludere pacta.

2. On the other hand, the opposite ex- 
reme is to be avoided.

Give not up thy soul to a woman, 
that she set not her feet [step not, 
trample not] upon thy power [authority].] 
The Talmud has it: ‘Of three the life is not a 
life: of him who hopes [looks] for the table 
of his neighbour, of him over whom his wife 
holds rule, and of him who is affected with 
disease in his body; [To these some add, as 
a fourth, him who has only one shirt.]’ (Bets. 
32 b, and otherwise.) In ‘Babith. Vets. 75 b,
F 2
3 "Meet not with an harlot, lest thou fall into her snares.

4 Use not much the company of a woman that is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts.

5 "Gaze not on a maid, that thou fall not by those things that are precious in her.

6 Give not thy soul unto harlots, that thou lose not thine inheritance.

7 Look not round about thee in the streets of the city, neither wander thou in the solitudes thereof.

three are enumerated who cry in vain: he who lends money without witnesses; he who gets himself a lord over him, and he who is under the rule of his wife.

4. Use not much the company of] Rather, Be not long with.

5. We would prefer translating the second clause: "lest thou be made to offend through the honours paid to her;"—if this meaning of ἐν τοῖς έπετευμοῖς συνέτρεις could be established. But it will be safer to render it: lest thou be offended (annoyed) by the penalties for her,—the money—or other penalties on her account, possibly with reference to Deut. xxii. 29. This seems also to accord with the Syriac Version. The moral code of the Rabbis went much beyond this, and forbade even to look at the finger of a woman, or at her shoe, as well as to exchange any needless words with her. Two Rabbis, shoemakers by trade, are mentioned as extraordinary instances of forbearing any such forbidden gaze, even under the daily temptation of their trade (Pes. 113a).

7. For "neither wander thou in the solitudes thereof"; the Vet. Lat. has: "nec obernarris in plateis illius"—perhaps after the Syr., and reading הַנְבָּרָה for הַנְבָּרָה.

8. beautiful.] Rather, handsome, comely, as referring more to form.

another's beauty.] The beauty of one who is another's.

derived.] Rather, led astray.

for herewith.] Rather, and therefore.

This and v. 9 are among the passages quoted in the Talmud as from Ben Sira (Sanh. 100b, Yebam. 61b). As bearing on the mode of quotation in the New Testament, it is instructive to find that these Talmudic citations from Ben Sira are not literal, but probably made from memory. They are as follows: "Avert thine eye lest thou be caught in her snare. Do not resort to her husband to drink with him wine and strong drink. For by the

8 "Turn away thine eye from a beautiful woman, and look not upon another's beauty; for many have been deceived by the beauty of a woman; for herewith love is kindled as a fire.

9 Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor sit down with her in thine arms, and spend not thy money with her at the wine; lest thine heart incline unto her, and so through thy desire thou fall into destruction.

10 Forsake not an old friend; for

fairness of a beautiful woman many have been destroyed, and mighty [either in the sense of numerous, or of strength] are all her slain' (Prov. vii. 26)." "Many are the wounds caused by the pedlar [who sells ἀρτίους de luxe to women], which lead to the committing of sin, as the spark kindles the coal. 'As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit' (Jer. vi. 27)." The Syr. places v. 8 after v. 9.

9. A warning against familiarity which may lead to sin. A similar, if not the same, saying is adduced in the Mishnah in the name of Jose b. Jochanan (Abb. i. 5).

another man's wife.] A married woman.

The next clause in the A.V., "nor sit down," &c., must be omitted. It is evidently a paraphrastic gloss.

and be not feasting with her at wine.] The expression (συμβολοκοσμών) probably means frequent indulgence in feasts or entertainments where wine is drunk. We are not to give in her honour nor to partake in merry wine-parties with her (not necessarily in the absence of her husband—probably rather the contrary). Fritzsche applies it to what he calls "Pikenike," but we have not been able to discover any trace of picnics amongst the ancient Jews. The verb is used for the Hebrew לְלוּ in the LXX. Deut. xxi. 20, and also by Aq.: and either as verb or substant. for the same Hebrew word by Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 30, by Aq., Sym., and Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 21, and by Aq. and Theod. in Prov. xxvii. 7 (see the note on the latter passage in Field's 'Hexapla'). Schleusner (ad voc.) attaches to the word the somewhat strange meaning of contending in jokes, bandying jests.

through thy desire.] Or passion, inclination—πνεύματα (πνεύματα here = ἔννοια). For πνεύματα Clemens Alex., the Syr., Arab., and Vet. Lat. have = αἴτια. Comp. Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; Prov. vii. 26, 27.

10. The verse begins a new section. The
the new is not comparable to him:
a new friend is as new wine; when
it is old, thou shalt drink it with
pleasure.

11 "Envy not the glory of a sinner: for thou knowest not what shall be his end.

12 Delight not in the thing that the ungodly have pleasure in; but remember they shall not go unpunished unto their grave.

13 Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill; so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death: and if thou come unto him, make no fault, lest he take away thy life presently: remember that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest upon the battlements of the city.

14 As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour, and consult with the wise.

15 Let thy talk be with the wise, and all thy communication in the law of the most High.

16 And let just men eat and drink with thee; and let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.

17 For the hand of the artificer the work shall be commended: and the wise ruler of the people for his speech.

18 A man of an ill tongue is dangerous in his city; and he that is rash in his talk shall be hated.

CHAPTER X.

1 The commodity of a wise ruler. 2 God setteth him up. 7 The inconveniences of pride, injustice, and covetousness. 14 What God hath done to the proud. 19 Who shall be honoured, 29 and who not.

second clause would be more adequately rendered: for the fresh one—he who is newly made (ρέος χειρός; comp. Delitzsch on Heb. x. 20)—is not equal to him. The third line gains in force by omitting (as in the original) the words "is as." The so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' has the same or a similar admonition: "An old friend deny not."

11. the glory.] In the sense of "prosperity."

12. Have not pleasure in [what is the pleasure of the ungodly: remember that they will not be justified (i.e. escape punishment as the sentence of their condemnation) unto the grave (Hades); that is, punishment will surely overtake them: their end.

13. If vv. 11, 12 had indicated what a man should not seek for nor wish, vv. 13 continues the same reasoning and shews what he should actually avoid. "The man that hath power to kill" is presumably "the sinner" of v. 11 and "the ungodly" of v. 12, and his "power to kill" consists in his evil example, and in the danger accruing from his companionship and from fellowship with his deeds, which will entail such punishment on the doer. Keep far from him,—"and thou shalt not be in the anguish of fear of death; and if thou approach [or come to] him, do not go wrong [err not, in the moral sense], lest he take away [rob] thy life: know [recognise] that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest on the battlements of a city;" that is, thou art like one who walketh on the battlements of a city besieged—such and so great is thy danger, and so watchful must thou be.

14. The advice that follows is closely connected with what had preceded: According to thy power [to the utmost of thy power, so far as thou canst] seek to make out [search out] thy neighbour (to know what he really is). "Consult" in the sense of taking counsel.

15. Let thy conference (διαλόγισμος) be with those of understanding.


17. In the band of artificers is the work commended. The skillful artificer produces work that brings its own commendation: the German, das Werk soll den Meister loben. "And the ruler"—perhaps, rather, the leader—"of the people is wise in speech."

18. Dreaded [a matter of fear] in his city (is) a man glib of tongue [linguatus], and be that is rash [reckless, perhaps violent] in his speech shall be hated. Thus the two last verses form an apt conclusion of the preceding argument.

CHAPTER X.

The second line of chap. ix. 17 evidently leads up to chap. x., which treats of rulers, both good and evil. From this subject the transition to that of pride is easy and almost natural. Rulership and pride form the theme of the whole chapter. Its division into two parts is clearly marked. In Part 1. (vv. 1-17)
WISE judge will instruct his people; and the government of a prudent man is well ordered.

2 As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein.

3 An unwise king destroyeth his people; but through the prudence of them which are in authority the city shall be inhabited.

4 The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it one that is profitable.

5 In the hand of God is the prosperity of man: and upon the person of the scribe shall he lay his honour.

6 Bear not hatred to thy neighbour; and for every wrong; and do nothing at all by injurious practices.

7 Pride is hateful before God and man: and by both doth one commit iniquity.

Rulership and pride are viewed in relation to God. The argument turns, so to speak, on the alternate formula: "from God" and "before God." The first stanza, vv. 1-3 (3 x 2), shows how a people is bound up with its rulers. This is followed by a moral reflection, intended to show that this is of God's appointment, vv. 4, 5 (2 x 2). The next stanza, vv. 6-8 (2 x 2), reverses the reasoning, and points out that the fate of rulers is connected with the state of the people, and winds up with a moral reflection on the folly of pride and the transient character of everything earthly, vv. 9-11 (3 x 2). The Part concludes with a stanza of six verses (vv. 12-17) on the pride of nations—showing that the origin and the essence of pride are departure from God, and that the issue of such pride are the Divine judgments (3 x 4 and 4 x 3). In Part II, pride is treated in a parenetic manner. The following are the principal points: (1) To the question, wherein true honour consists and how it is to be sought, the answer is twofold: first, positive, vv. 18-22 (2 + 4; 2 x 2); secondly, negative: in two stanzas, vv. 23-25 and vv. 26, 27 (3 x 2; 2 x 2). (2) This is followed by the usual caution against the opposite extreme, vv. 28, 29 (2 x 2). (3) The chapter concludes in a somewhat flat manner in a stanza of two verses (vv. 30, 31; 2 x 2), of which v. 30 may specially refer to theme 1, and v. 31 to theme 2 of Part II.

1. A general introduction to this part of the subject. "Judge" is used in the sense of supreme magistrate, ruler, δικαίωμα, "instruct," in the sense of moral guidance, discipline. The general proposition is set forth in the second clause of the verse: "And the government of one of understanding shall be well ordered."

2. As in v. 1, the governor is presented in his twofold capacity, as judge and as ruler. Lit. According to the judge of his people, so also his officers [ministrants], and according to the ruler of the city all they that inhabit it.

3. woweir. Rather, uninstructed: here also in the moral sense, as in v. 1. The verb answers to the Hebrew יָיָה, and the common rendering of יָיָה and יָיָה in the LXX. is ἡμείς and καταβαίνων. But a city shall be upbrought [in the sense of "flourishing"] through the (good) understanding of those in authority.

4. In the band of the Lord (is) the dominion of the (whole) earth. In the LXX. ἐξουσία is the word used for גֶּבֶר and the Chald. 阘. Hence it must here be rendered by "dominion" or "rule." And him who is serviceable [profitable, useful for fulfilling God's purpose] will he raise up in due time upon it." (upon the earth).

5. In the band of the Lord is the prosperity of a man. I.e. his success—here probably the promotion of an individual to power. And not only does God so promote him, but he afterwards sustains and invests him with His own authority. Instead of "scribe," rather officer or ruler; the word γαμματιστής here being not the scribe in the ordinary Jewish sense, but the equivalent for νεώτ, "officer" (as in Ex. v. and otherwise), which word is in the LXX. of the Pentateuch always rendered by γαμματιστής, or (in Deut.) by a compound of it.

6. Transition to the next subject. The fate of rulers and kingdoms is connected with the state of the people. 

Every wrong. Rather, any wrong.

And do not anything at all in works of violence. Probably in the sense: when violence is wrought against thee. This rather than that a person should not resent wrong by violence.

7. Hatful before God and before men is pride. The next line is difficult, and we render it with some hesitation: and according to both (i.e. in the judgment both of God and man, δι' αυτόν) it (pride)
8. Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is translated from one people to another.

9. Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man: for such an one setteth his own soul to sale; because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels.

10. The physician cutteth off a long disease; and he that is to day a king to morrow shall die.

11. For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms.

12. The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker.

13. For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall pour out abomination: and therefore the Lord brought upon them strange calamities, and overthrew them utterly.

14. 4 The Lord hath cast down the thrones of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead.

10. a long disease, the physician jokes.] This either in the sense that he ironically refers to it as such, or else that he speaks of it lightly, as a long disease or weakness; while in truth he who to-day is a king will even to-morrow be dead. This would give good sense. But the Syr. clearly shows us not only what the original bore, but how the error in the Greek version arose. The Syr. has in the first clause: “To-day he walks,” instead of the Greek: “to-day a king.” As pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth, the Hebrew was יָלַע or יָלַע, “he walketh,” which the Greek misread יָלַע, “a king.” The correct rendering of v. 10b is therefore: Ye, he walketh to-day, and to-morrow he shall die.

11. Such shall be his portion. This and v. 10b has been erroneously regarded as refering to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. vi. 8, 9; 2 Macc. ix. 9), and hence as a later, spurious addition. But the restoration of 10b from the Syr. leaves no room for such a conjecture.

12. The verse opens the stanza (vv. 12–17), which treats specially of pride, and more particularly of national pride, as appears from vv. 14–17. Indeed, pride had all along been the subject of moralising. Comp. v. 7. In v. 12 the source of pride is pointed out.

13. The better reading is: For the beginning of pride is sin. The reading of the A. V. is that of 248, Co., Syr., Chrysost. strange calamities.] Rather, unexpected, unwonted, marvellous. The verb (μαραθοῖος) stands in LXX. Deut. xxviii. 59 for מֵלַב, and the word generally bears this meaning in the LXX., whether semus bono or male.

14. The verse points out the final issue, and at the same time accounts for the extraordinary calamities referred to in v. 13. Omit "proud," and in the second clause "up."
15 The Lord hath plucked up the roots of the proud nations, and planted the lowly in their place.

16 The Lord overthrew countries of the heathen, and destroyed them to the foundations of the earth.

17 He took some of them away, and destroyed them, and hath made their memorial to cease from the earth.

18 Pride was not made for men, nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman.

19 They that fear the Lord are a sure seed, and they that love him an honourable plant: they that regard not the law are a dishonourable seed; they that transgress the commandments are a deceitful seed.

20 Among brethren he that is chief is honourable; so are they that fear the Lord in his eyes.

21 The fear of the Lord goeth before the obtaining of authority: 1 Or, pride.

22 Whether he be rich, noble, or poor, their glory is the fear of the Lord.

23 It is not meet to despise the poor man that hath understanding; neither is it convenient to magnify a sinful man.

24 Great men, and judges, and potentates, shall be honoured; yet is there none of them greater than he that feareth the Lord.

25 Unto the servant that is wise shall they that are free do service:

ECCLESIASTICUS. X.

[ 16. countries of the heathen.] Rather, lands of nations. But the Syr. here offers a more correct translation, at least in v. 15. It reads in v. 15, instead of "nations," and in v. 16, instead of "the heathen," "the proud," which suits the context better. The Syr. may have vocalised דִּיר and the Greek Δύσι—or more probably the one read דִּים, the other דִּים. The Syr. rendering is supported by 248 and the Vet. Lat. in v. 15, but not in v. 16.

17. He took some of them away.] Thus, if we read with A.C.S., when we may either read with the Compl. εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν or correct αὐτῶν (as A.S. and six other Codd. C. has αὐτῶν). The Vat. has εἰς ὑπαρξεῖν εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν, "he made waste," "dry," "some of them" = בַּתְוָנָה. (Fritzsche). In that case the reference in the next clause, he destroyed them (αὐτῶν), would be to the inhabitants. On the whole, this gives the better meaning.

18. This verse begins Part II., with manifest, though somewhat loose, reference to what had been said of nations.

not made.] Lit., "not created"—pride is personified. The outcome of it is: "furious anger" (passionate anger).

of a woman.] Rather, of women.

19. The A. V. here follows the Compl. and 248, probably representing what originally had been a marginal gloss. In its place must be substituted from the Alex. and Vat. (also in part quoted by Orig. 'c. Cels.' viii. 50): What generation [lit. "seed," גֵּד] is honoured? The generation of man. What generation is honoured? They that fear the Lord. What generation is unhonoured? The generation of man. What generation is unhonoured? They that transgress the commandments. Thus man may either attain to high dignity or the opposite, according to his relation towards God.

20. In the midst of [among] brethren, he that is chief among them [their chief] is honoured. in his eyes.] i.e. in the eyes of God.

21. This verse (found in 116, 248, Co, at the end of v. 20) must be omitted.

22. Whatever the outward condition of a man, that which alone constitutes glory is the fear of God. This is shewn in detail in the following verses (23-25). Indeed, the connexion of v. 22 with the next stanza is so close that it is not easy to separate them.

23. This verse follows as a corollary from v. 22. "Meet" = right, righteous.

a sinful man.] Lit. a man, a sinner. Drusius thinks the use of the word "man" (ἀνδρας) indicates a rich man [so also the Syr.], since people generally hold a rich man in honour, though he be a sinner. But perhaps we should not confine the idea to wealth, but extend it to all those outward distinctions to which men pay regard, irrespective of character and conduct. He is but a man, and as such must be judged according to v. 22. "Understanding," in the true sense, as opposed to "sin."

25. wise.] In the same sense as "understanding" in v. 23: "Will not grudge:" rather, will not murmur (the verb occurs
and he that hath knowledge will not grudge when he is reformed.
26 Be not overwise in doing thy business; and boast not thyself in the time of thy distress.
27 Better is he that laboureth, and abundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself, and wanteth bread.
28 My son, glorify thy soul in meekness, and give it honour according to the dignity thereof.
29 Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own life?
30 The poor man is honoured for seven times in the N. T.). The words "when he is reformed," although occurring in the Syr. and Vet. Lat., should be omitted. Comp. Prov. xvi. 2.

26. Another species of pride. It probably refers to a man who imagines himself superior to doing his own plain work—too wise or clever for it—and afterwards claims merit and piety when failure and distress supervene. For "be not overwise" the Syr. has "be not slow," which the Vet. Lat. reproduces, although in the second clause (for "boast not thyself," which it transfers into the first clause).

dignity.] Rather, worth.

29. The sinning here referred to springs from want of proper self-esteem, from undue self-depreciation.

30, 31. See introductory remarks to the chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

The previous chapter had suggested the contrast between the seeming and the real—appearance and fact. This is the subject of ch. xii., the moral being to avoid rashness and inconsiderate judgment in regard to what we see (v. 5-6), what we hear (v. 7-9), and what we do (v. 10-13). This concludes Part I. In it the writer had already by implication pointed to the Lord as the only Source of all good—He whose giving alone bestows what is real. This forms now the theme of Part II. (beginning with v. 14). The argument may be thus summarised: Not the appearance of outward possessions, but the judgment of the Lord (v. 14-21); not the present and immediate sequences—

that which appears—but the final arbitration as determined by God (v. 22-24), when there shall be a final adjustment of things (v. 25-28), and that which before God was all along the real shall also outwardly be experienced and become apparent. The last stanza, beginning with v. 29, seems more naturally to belong to ch. xii., unless indeed we were to consider it as another species of that which presents itself to us in outward life, and in regard to which we require to be warned. Thus the chapter would consist of two parts, each of thirteen verses (as vv. 15 and 16 in Part II. must be omitted). Part I. would comprise three stanzas (vv. 1-6, 3 x 2 + 4 + 3 x 2 lines; vv. 7-9, 3 x 2 lines; vv. 10-13, alternately 4, 2 and 4, 2 lines). Part II. would be similar in its arrangement, having also three stanzas (vv. 14-21, omitting vv. 15, 16 in the A. V., or 3 x 2 + 4 + 3 x 2 lines; vv. 22-24, 3 x 2 lines; vv. 25-28, 4 x 2 lines). The last stanza in the chapter (vv. 29-34) we prefer regarding as part of chap. xii.

1. This verse seems really to belong to the previous chapter, but it may have been placed at the beginning of chap. xi. as an apt introduction. The better reading of the first clause is no doubt the Alex. [also C.S. (X), 248, and seven other Cod.], which has aerou after kephaléin. Translate: The wisdom of the humble [modest] shall lift up his head, and make him to sit among great men. There are so many Rabbinic sayings to the same effect that this sentiment may be almost regarded as a Jewish axiom.

2. Commend not.] Praise not, make not much of him. The writer had probably 1 Sam. xvi. 7 in view. For the Vet. reading avlóteis we must certainly adopt the Alex. (supported by many others) abvleres. "His
ECCLESIASTICUS. XI.

[Prov. 18. 13.]

3 The bee is little among such as fly; but her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

4 "Boast not of thy clothing and raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour: for the works of the Lord are wonderful, and his works among men are hidden.

5 Many kings have sat down upon the ground; and one that was never thought of hath worn the crown.

6 "Many mighty men have been greatly disgraced; and the honourable delivered into other men's hands.

7 "Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke.

8 "Answer not before thou hast heard the cause: neither interrupt men in the midst of their talk.

9 Strive not in a matter that concerneth thee not; and sit not in judgment with sinners.

10 My son, meddle not with many matters: for if thou meddle much, thou shalt not be innocent; and if thou follow after, thou shalt not obtain, neither shalt thou escape by fleeing.

11 "There is one that laboureth, and taketh pains, and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind.

12 Again, there is another that is less.

Outward appearance;" i.e. because of its unattractive character.

3. Before μηδένον the article should be inserted, with C, H, and many authorities. (Comp. Chrysost., ' Hom. 20 in Eph. v.')

4. Boast not in the putting on of clothes.] Or else, as in the A.V., "of thy clothing and raiment." The reference is to outward prosperity. The S.v.r. very curiously renders the first two lines: "deride not him who is dressed in rags, nor despise him whose throat is bitter." If the latter sentiment seems Hebraic, the former is scarcely in accordance with Jewish thought. Indeed a Rabbinic work (comp. Zunz, ' Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 104) quotes as from Ben Sira the following sentence (found also in 'Der. er. Z.') towards the end of the last ch.): "The adornment (splendour) of God is man; the adornment of man is his dress." And this agrees with many Rabbinic sayings in which attention to dress is enjoined on the sages. Lines c and d give the reason for the warning in lines a and b. God may send sudden reversal in punishment of our pride, or else the prosperity of which we boasted may be only apparent and temporary. Verses 5 and 6 carry out this idea.

7. Before thou blamest, examine [omit "the truth"]; consider first. This perhaps rather than "understand first." In Bb. B. 98 b, and, we find the following as a quotation from the book of Ben Sira [the last clause in it we italicise to mark the quotation from Ecclus. xi. 8]; "Everything have I weighed in the balances, and I have not found anything lighter than bran (יִפְּלָב, the husks which fall off from the flour in the mill), yet lighter than bran the bridegroom who lives in the house of his father-in-law; and lighter than such bridegroom a guest who brings a guest; and lighter than such guest he who returns answer before he has heard, and interrupt not in the middle of a discourse" [speech]. Comp. Prov. xviii. 13.

9. of sinners.] That is, where sinners sit in judgment.

10. From rashness as to what we see and hear the writer proceeds to rashness in what we undertake and do.

Son, let not thy deeds [undertakings, aims] be about many things.] The A.V. gives the sense correctly.

for if thou comest first. That is, if thou art successful. This seems to suit the sense and context better than "if thou multiply;" viz., if thou engage in many pursuits. The alternative would be: success and failure are here to be equally deprecated. Success will involve what is morally blameworthy; failure will be disastrous.

if thou pursuest [seekest after, followest after, viz. these various objects], thou shalt not overtake [seize, catch]; and if thou runnest away, thou shalt not escape.] Viz., blame, or else damage. Success involves guilt, the pursuit will lead to failure, and even if abandoned it will involve damage.

11. This verse further illustrates the latter part of v. 10, while vv. 12, 13 refer to the first two lines in v. 10, shewing, in opposition to that haste after many things which involves guilt, that the blessing of God enricheth and exalteth those who are apparently not prosperous but pious and content to wait upon God. Verse 11 reads better by omitting the word "one." It tells us that speed is not success.
slow, and hath need of help, wanting ability, and full of poverty; yet the eye of the Lord looked upon him for good, and set him up from his low estate,

13 And lifted up his head from misery; so that many that saw it marvelled at him.

14 *Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord.

15 Wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of the law, are of the Lord: love, and the way of good works, are from him.

16 Error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners: and evil shall wax old with them that glory therein.

17 The gift of the Lord remaineth with the godly, and his favour bringeth prosperity for ever.

18 There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward:

19 Whereas he saith, "I have found / Luke 12. rest, and now will eat continually of my goods; and yet he knoweth not what time shall come upon him, and that he must leave those things to others, and die.

20 "Be stedfast in thy covenant," Matt. and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work.

21 Marvel not at the works of sinners; but trust in the Lord, and abide in thy labour: for it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord on the sudden to make a poor man rich.

12. On the other hand, "There is that is slow and hath need of help, is inferior in strength and aboundeth in poverty," &c. It seems a mistake to regard (with Fritzsche) the person here described as one who is idle or wanting in energy. Such an one could not be represented as receiving Divine help—the argument is not in support of fatalism, but intended to shew the superiority of moral worth.

yet.] Rather, and.

13. Omit "from misery," and again, "that saw it;" translate the last clause: and many marvelled at him.

14, 17. Here begins Part II., which presents the other aspect: so to speak, the Divine view-point. In v. 14 the general principle is laid down; in v. 17 it is added that what God so giveth [or else His "good will" and "good pleasure;" see i. 10] to the godly is not merely seeming and transient, as is the prosperity of the wicked, but abiding. (Verses 15 and 16, which are wanting in all the best MSS., and disturbing, must be omitted, although occurring in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.)

18—21. These verses contain an antithesis—two verses (18, 19: 2 + 4 lines) concerning the rich fool being opposed to two other verses concerning the poor who is pious (20, 21: 2 + 4 lines).

19. The A. V. and commentators close v. 18 with a colon, and regard v. 19 as indicating what is "the portion of his reward." But we would suggest that v. 18 closes with a full stop, and that v. 19 constitutes a separate sentence, complete in itself. Probably the Hebrew original, as has been suggested, bore: נֵֽלֶ֖שָׁ֑יָ֑י— a well-known Hebrew construction (for the instances of this use of נֵֽלֶ֖שָׁיָ֑י see 'Noldii Concord. Partic.'). The translator rendered the Hebrew נֵֽלֶ֖שָׁיָ֑י literally, "&c. - נֵֽלֶ֖שָׁיָ֑י - as &c. The Hebraism in נֵֽלֶ֖שָׁיָ֑י with infinitive is of frequent occurrence in the N. T. (see Vorstius, 'de Hebraism. N. T.' c. xxxi.). It is also met with in our book (Eccles. iv. 9, vii. 9, x. 11, xvi. 5). The meaning is: While [or although] he saith (viz. in his heart): and now will eat of my good things, and knoweth not [or yet knoweth not—καί &c.] what time shall pass. Comp. our Lord's parable of the rich fool (St. Luke xii. 16, &c.). Similar sentiments are expressed in Rabbinic writings. Thus in the Midr. on Eccles. i. 4: "In this world one man builds a house and another inhabits it, one planteth a garden and another eateth the fruit thereof." Comp. also the Midr. on Eccles. ii. 1.

20. thy covenant.] Viz. with the Lord. Grotius here rightly reminds us of Neh. ix. 38.

and have thy conversation in it (ομιλείν, Schleusner = בָּאתי - for the use of the word, see LXX. Prov. xxiii. 31.) Do thy work quietly and godly to old age.

21. Marvel not, &c.] Either in the sense of marvelling at what a sinner doeth, so as to be disturbed in the quiet pursuit of duty or in the stedfastness of faith; or else: marvel not at the success of his works. According to the better reading, the last
22 The blessing of the Lord is in the reward of the godly, and suddenly he maketh his blessing to flourish.

23 Say not, "What profit is there of my service? and what good things shall I have hereafter?"

24 Again, say not, I have enough, and possess many things, and what evil can come to me hereafter?

25 In the day of prosperity there is a forgetfulness of affliction: and in the day of affliction there is no more remembrance of prosperity.

26 For it is an easy thing unto the Lord in the day of death to reward a man according to his ways.

27 The affliction of an hour maketh a man forget pleasure: and in his end his deeds shall be discovered.

28 Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.

24. Similarly the opposite extreme must be avoided. "Say not, I have what is sufficient: and what evil shall befall me now!"—in the immediate present. Omit the words in the A.V., "and possess many things."

25. If in the previous verses the author displayed a considerable knowledge of human nature, his philosophy is weak and his theology poor in the last stanza (vv. 25-28), which gives a kind of general summary and application of the teachings of this chapter. Past sufferings will be forgotten by the righteous when prosperity cometh, and the opposite will be the case with the wicked. In his displeasure at not being invited to a feast, a Rabbi is said to have written to his colleague on the day of his son's marriage: "After all thy joy, death; and what advantage hast thou then of thy joy?" (Midr. on Eccles. i. 3.) And it was a common saying that a man did not depart out of this world till he had had at least half of his wishes (υ. ς. i. 13). Some retribution would come in the end to the wicked. None therefore was to be pronounced blessed before his death.

28. and in his children shall a man be known.] That is, either generally his punishment would overtake him in the fate of his children, or else, even if he should die unpunished, yet his character will appear in his children and his punishment in their punishment. The Rabbis express similar notions as to sins of the parents leading to physical and moral consequences in their children; while, on the other hand, it was a common saying that before the sun of one righteous person set that of another rose. This was said with reference to the birth of pious sons on the day that a pious father died (Midr. on Eccles. i. 5). The curious idea also prevailed that a son is commonly like his maternal uncle (Baba B. 110 a). In general, as to children being morally either like or unlike their parents, see Midr. Shir Hash. i a, b). But, apart from all this, what most painfully impresses us in v. 25-28 is the marked absence of any reference to another life.
Bring not every man into thine house: for the deceitful man hath many trains.

Like as a partridge taken [and kept] in a cage, so is the heart of the proud; and like as a spy, watcheth he for thy fall:

For he lieth in wait, and turneth good into evil, and in things worthy praise will lay blame upon thee.

Of a spark of fire a heap of coals is kindled: and a sinful man layeth wait for blood.

Take heed of a mischievous man, for he worketh wickedness; lest he bring upon thee a perpetual blot.

Receive a stranger into thine house, and he will disturb thee, and turn thee out of thine own.

Be not liberal to the ungodly. Trust not thine enemy, nor the wicked.

When thou wilt do good, "a know to whom thou doest 7. 6.

moral spot or blemish (Job xi. 15; xxxi. 7), it is frequently so applied by the Rabbis, as in the following appropriate saying: "he that is proud is one who has a blemish" (דְּנֶב לְבָנָה), Meg. 29 a.—The Syr. has instead of this a different verse.

Take heed of an evil doer, for he worketh wickedness. In the sense of strinx or machinor; not so much as regards his own conduct, but what he deviseth and prepareth.

Receive a stranger [rather: take a stranger, viz. to live with thee]; and be will distract thee with disturbances and strange thee from thine own—from thine own family. This construction—rather than "turn thee out of thine own," viz. property—accords with the context, and is established by its occurrence in Jos. 'Ant.' iv. 1, 1 (about the middle). There is evidently here a word-play between the allótpros, "the stranger," whom we are not to take into our house, and its consequence, that he will make us a stranger to our family: ἀπαλλοτρίωσεν σε τῶν ἰδίων σου.

Chap. xi. 29-34.

The chapter with which, as previously stated, the concluding stanza of ch. xi. should have been joined, treats of our dealings with others. Ch. xii., as in our A. V., consists of three stanzas, each of six verses, which may be roughly headed as follows: To whom to do good, and to whom not to do it (stanzas 1, 5.1-6): the reasons for this advice (stanzas 2, 5.7-12); the consequences of neglecting such advice (stanzas 3, 5.13-18). Each of the first two stanzas might be headed, Give unto the good; and stanza 3, If thou dost otherwise, thou wilt have thyself only to blame. Lastly, each of the three stanzas may be subdivided into two shorter stanzas, each of three verses, which respectively mark progression in thought.

1. This verse forms a general introductory
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it; so shalt thou be thanked for thy benefits.

2 Do good to the godly man, and thou shalt find a recompence; and if not from him, yet from the most High.

3 There can no good come to him that is always occupied in evil, nor to him that giveth no alms.

4 Give to the godly man, and help not a sinner.

5 Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not unto him, lest he overmaster thee thereby:

for [else] thou shalt receive twice as much evil for all the good thou shalt have done unto him.

6 For the most High hateth sinners, and will repay vengeance unto the ungodly, and keepeth them against the mighty day of their punishment.

7 Give unto the good, and help not the sinner.

8 A friend cannot be known in statement—as it were, the text. Instead of the first clause, "When thou wilt do good, know," &c., the Syr. has: "If thou doest good, thou hast done evil"—evidently a confusion of נד וספ and ד. And there will be thanks for thy benefits—beneficia, "good doings."

3. The meaning of this verse is extremely difficult, and we may conjecture that either the Greek translator did not properly understand the Hebrew original, or that by an attempted literalism he clumsily rendered it into Greek. In either case our commentary must be somewhat conjectural.

There are not benefits [perhaps דַּלַּלְךָ, or else דַּלְלָלָךְ—in the sense that there is not room for them, they are not in place, hence they should not be shown] (in regard) to him who is continuous in evil [perhaps מַסְכַּל בֶּן, or else מַסְכֵּל בַּל, in the later usage of that word, nor [in regard] to him who (himself) bestoweth not alms.]

The original may have had שלום, which bears the twofold meaning of bestowing and retributing (the older Siracide viewing it in the latter, the younger Siracide taking it in the former sense); or it may have been בַּל שָׁלוֹם, or even שלום דַּלַּלְךָ—for all these expressions occur, while in Rabbinc thought אָדַת הַמָּלְאָךְ וְאָדַת אֲדַמִּים are always most closely connected.

4. This verse presents a sad contrast to the words of our Lord, St. Matt. v. 42-48. But the saying of the Son of Sirach is entirely in accordance with Rabbinc views. It occurs in the so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form: "Do not good to the evil, and evil shall not bestow thee" (comp. Paul Fagius, 'Sent. mor. Ben Syre,' c. comment. ix.). It is also found as a proverb in several of the Midrashim (Ber. R. 32; Vayy. R. 22; Midr. on Eccles. v. 9) in the form just cited, and also in the following: "If thou doest good to the evil, thou hast done evil." In the Midr. on Eccles. v. 9 it occurs (among a number of legendary illustrations) in connexion with the story of a man who, having seen a bird restoring another to life by means of a certain herb, took it with the view of raising the dead in Palestine. By the way he saw a dead fox, on whom he made successful experiment of his herb. But when he afterwards applied the same cure to a dead lion, the latter straightway rent him in pieces.

-In the Syr. v. 4 and 5 are inverted.

5. Do well.] Rather, do good.

broad back. Probably the Hebrew וַיָּלָם, as Frizsche suggests.

thy bread.] Rather, his bread, but in the sense of "the bread which thou givest him." "Bread" is here used in the sense of sustenance or support, like the Heb. בְּר. The meaning of v. 4 seems to be: lest by giving him assistance thou furnish him only with the means of injuring thee; and then the consequences will be as described in clauses d and e. Bretschneider regards וַיָּלָם s. y 7 as a later addition, chiefly because v. 7 repeats v. 4. But each of these verses begins a new stanza and serves as text to it, and the repetition in v. 7 only renders the advice more emphatic.

6. For.] Rather, For also; a vindication of the sentiment expressed in v. 5, very different in spirit from Rom. xii. 19-21. The last part of the verse in the A. V. (beginning with "and keepeth," &c.) must be omitted.

7. Another stanza begins with the same heading as the former (v. 4).

8. A friend cannot be tested.] The A. V. adopts the rendering of the Vet. Lat. aperuitur, the reading being הַמַּלְאָךְ וְאָדַת אֲדַמִּים, with 106, 353; the Alex. has יִמָּלְאָךְ. But there is no occasion for departing from the
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9 In the prosperity of a man enemies will be grieved: but in his adversity even a friend will depart.

10 Never trust thine enemy: for like as iron rusteth, so is his wickedness.

11 Though he humble himself, and go crouching, yet take good heed and beware of him, and thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a looking-glass, and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away.

12 Set him not by thee, lest, when he hath overthrown thee, he stand up in thy place; neither let him sit at thy right hand, lest he seek to take thy seat, and thou at the last remember my words, and be pricked therewith.

13 Who will pity a charmer that is bitten with a serpent, or any such as come nigh wild beasts?

14 So one that goeth to a sinner, and is defiled with him in his sins, or mingled who will pity?

Vat. reading, ἐπεσκόπασαι. We feel convinced that the Hebrew word so rendered was שֵׁלָם, which the LXX. renders by ἐπεσκόπασαι in Deut. xviii. 19. In our passage the Heb. word would be used in the sense of "search out," "test," "prove." Comp. the similar use of διασκόπεις in Aesch. 'Ag. 393. For "cannot" in both clauses, rather shall not.

9. enemies will be grieved.] Rather, his enemies are in sorrow. For the second clause comp. Prov. xix. 4, 7.

will depart.] Rather, will separate himself. There seems little doubt that the original had יִשְׂרָאֵל, as in Prov. xix. 4, which must be rendered: "but the poor—his friend separateth himself."

(Thus R. V. misses the meaning alike in text and margin; comp. Nowack ad loc.)

10. Rather, for as the bronze is covered with rust [= contracteth rust; Vat. Lat. aeruginas, so his wickedness, viz. contracteth evil. Wahl (after Bretschneider): sic malitia ejus semper nova mala parit.

11. The construction and meaning, especially of the last clause, are somewhat difficult. In any case the Greek cannot be rendered as in the A. V., "and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away."

We propose translating the verse: And though he humble himself and go crouching, take heed to thyself [the Greek expression = ἐπεσκόπασαι and beware of him [Bissell], and be in regard to him as one that hath wiped a mirror, and thou shalt know that it is not always tarnished—καρπεῖται or καρπωμάτα, as in St. Jas. v. 3, which we would also render "is tarnished." The meaning is: if thou take heed, and wipe the mirror, thou wilt get a true reflexion, and thus experience that it does not always give a false image and representation. The Hebrew original probably had שֵׁלָם לְךָ דְבָרִים. The word שֵׁלָם occurs as a substantive הָשְׁלָם in Ezek. xxiv. 6, 11; and although it is commonly rendered "rust," its primary meaning is "tarnishing," "dirt" (comp. 'Castelli Lxic. 10133, and especially Pagninus, 'Thes.' 704, 705). Accordingly the Targum renders the word in Ezek. by מִשְׁלָמֵהוּ (= מָשְׂלָמֵהוּ) from מָשַׁלָם, "to be dirty," "to defile," "to dirty" (one of the derivat. is used of the manuring of plants; comp. generally Levy ad loc.).

In later Hebrew "to be rusty" is יַלֶלֶךְ, and יַלֶלֶךְ, "rust." Without prolonging this discussion, we venture to think that the simile of the Son of Sirach gives an apt meaning according to our rendering of it, whereas it would be well-nigh unintelligible if we were to adopt the common interpretation: that it [the mirror] does not cover itself to the last with rust. We scarcely require to add that the mirror was of polished metal. [The Syr. has here some strange variants.]

12. Set him not up beside thyself, lest when he beath overthrown thee be set himself up in thy position. טֹוָא, here condition in society, dignity.

seat him not at thy right hand [Bissell]—[give him not the place of honour], lest he seek thy chair [καθίσησθαι, the seat of honour], and at the last thou come to recognise [know the truth of] my sayings, and thou be afflicted [Wahl, acer dolore afflicter, either יַלֶלֶךְ יַלֶלֶךְ, as in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7, or יַלֶלֶךְ, as in Ps. cix. (c.viii.) 16 over my words.] That is, because thou hast neglected them.

14. With this verse begins the third double stanza (see introd. to the chapter). The verb is continued in v. 14, which reads: "So (who will pity) him that goeth unto a sinner, and is mingled up (with him) in his sins." As in the case mentioned in v. 13, so here: a man has himself to blame
CHAPTER XIII.

Keep not company with the proud, or a mighty man than thyself. 15 Like wise is the poor. 25 A man’s heart will change his countenance.

HE that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith; and he shall not be acquainted with a proud man shall be like unto him. 2 Be burden not thyself above thy power while thou livest; and have no fellowship with one that is mightier and richer than thyself: for how agree the kettle and the earthen pot together? for if the one be smitten against the other, it shall be broken.

do not deliberate goes into such dangers.

15. For a while he will abide with thee, but if thou begin to fall, he will not tarry.

16. An enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips, but in his heart he imagineth how to throw thee into a pit: he will weep with his eyes, but if he find opportunity, he will not be satisfied with blood.

17. If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first; and though he pretend to help thee, yet shall he undermine thee.

18. He will shake his head, and clap his hands, and whisper much, and change his countenance.

for the consequences, if he deliberately goes into such dangers.

15. For a while he will abide with thee, but if thou begin to fall, he will not tarry.

16. An enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips, but in his heart he imagineth how to throw thee into a pit: he will weep with his eyes, but if he find opportunity, he will not be satisfied with blood.

17. If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first; and though he pretend to help thee, yet shall he undermine thee.

18. He will shake his head, and clap his hands, and whisper much, and change his countenance.

CHAPTER XIII.

From warnings of the dangers attaching to intercourse with evil, the writer proceeds to describe unwise intercourse: such as the attempted companionship of the poor with the rich (vv. 2-3); and he concludes by moralising with the view of dissuading the pious poor from either wrongfully seeking riches and courting the rich, or being discontented with their lot. Apart from v. 1, which, as often, serves as a link of connexion with the previous chapter, and omitting v. 14 as a spurious addition, the chapter consists of twenty-four verses, and is divided into two parts: Part I, vv. 2–13; Part II, vv. 15–26. Part I. contains two double stanzas, each of six verses (vv. 2–4 + vv. 5–7 and vv. 8–10 + vv. 11–13), shewing the folly of such attempted intercourse between poor and rich. In Part II. the first double stanza, vv. 15–20, shews the impossibility and the danger of such intercourse (vv. 15–17: what fellowship? vv. 18–20: what peace?). There is really no equality between the rich and the poor (vv. 21–23), although we ought at the same time to take the higher view of riches and poverty (vv. 24–26). Thus Part II. also consists of two double stanzas, each of six verses (3 + 3, 3 + 3).

1. Omit “therewith.” The Syr., “it sticks to his hand.” The saying has passed into a common proverb.

shall be like unto him. Better, shall become like him. Syr., “put on of his ways”—didicit mores eum (Payne Smith). The verse forms a transition from the former to the present chapter.

2. A burden (which is) above thy power. He who is more mighty than thou and richer than thou have no fellowship; what fellowship shall (earthen) pot have with (brass) kettle (caldron)? It shall hit (knock) against it [viz. the kettle against the pot, reading avr], and not avr—so also the Syr., and it
ECCLESIASTICUS. XIII.

3 The rich man hath done wrong, and yet he threateneth withal: the poor is wronged, and he must intreat also.

4 If thou be for his profit, he will use thee: but if thou have nothing, he will forsake thee.

5 If thou have any thing, he will live with thee: yea, he will make thee bare, and will not be sorry for it.

6 If he have need of thee, he will deceive thee, and smile upon thee, and put thee in hope; he will speak thee fair, and say, What wantest thou?

7 And he will shame thee by his meats, until he have drawn thee dry twice or thrice, and at the last he will laugh thee to scorn: afterward, when he seeth thee, he will forsake thee, and shake his head at thee.

8 Beware that thou be not deceived, and brought down in thy jollity.

9 If thou be invited of a mighty man, withdraw thyself, and so much the more will he invite thee.

10 Press thou not upon him, lest thou be put back; stand not far off, lest thou be forgotten.

11 Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk, and believe not his many words: for with much communication will he tempt thee, and smiling upon thee will get out thy secrets:

(the pot shall be broken.) Thus much for the folly and danger of such attempts.

3. The folly of the whole thing, viewed from the standpoint of the rich, could scarcely be more graphically set forth than in this and the following verses to the end of the stanza (vv. 3–7). The A.V., although not quite literal, gives the sense with sufficient accuracy: “and yet he threateneth withal,” rather, and is very wroth besides.

4. if thou barre nothing.] Rather, if thou be in want. Similarly we read in Abb. ii. 3: “Be cautious (in your intercourse) with the great [lit., those in authority], for they do not bring near [to themselves] a man except for their own purposes: they appear as friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need.”

In all probability the iparáv εἰς ρήσιν represents the Hebrew 3הָעָשׁ.

5. If thou barre [anything], he will live with thee.] In the sense of associating and making a companion. The Syr. has: “he will speak fair”—probably יִשְׂרָאֵל.

make thee bare.] Rather, empty thee [Bissell].

but he himself will not be sorry.] Bissell: “will not trouble himself.”

6. If he barre need of thee, he will lead thee astray.] Not necessarily (as Fritzsche thinks) to hurt and damage.

What wantest thou?] Viz. I shall get it for thee.

7. We cannot help thinking that the Hebrew had here a word-play between the αἰχματον, פָּרָג, from שָׁלַח, “to be ashamed,” and פֶּרֶג, from שָׁלַח, “to make dry,” for the Apoc.—Vol. II.
ECCLESIASTICUS. XIII.

But cruelly he will lay up thy words, and will not spare to do thee hurt, and to put thee in prison.

Observe, and take good heed, for thou walkest in peril of thy overthrowing: when thou hearest these things, awake in thy sleep.

Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon him for thy salvation.

Every beast loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour.

All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like.

What fellowship hath the wolf with the lamb? so the sinner with the godly.

What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? and what peace between the rich and the poor?

As the wild ass is the lion’s prey in the wilderness: so eat up the poor.

As the proud hate humility:

21 A rich man beginning to fall is held up of his friends: but a poor man being down is thrust also away by his friends.

out] (Similarly, Bissell.) The rendering of the A. V. depends on another reading which seems a gloss on the text.

Mereless, he that keepeth not words [concealeth not counsel, i.e. betrays what is said either in confidence or in the freeness and openness of conversation], nor will he spare [viz. to inflict, or cause to be inflicted—in the original, either שים or שים, both frequently so translated in the LXX.] injury or bonds. He is reckless of consequences.

Keep thyself [= take care of thyself], and take good heed, for thou walkest [goest about—Bissell] with thy fall.] A figurative expression (comp. Job xxxi. 5; Prov. xiii. 20), as it were: thou hast thy fall as a close companion in thy walk under such circumstances. The last clause in the A. V., beginning with “when thou hearest,” &c., must be omitted.

This verse in the A. V. must be omitted as a spurious addition; perhaps a gloss embodying moral reflection.

This verse begins Part II. (see introductory remarks), shewing the reasonableness and the propriety of the advice hitherto given, as representing a universal law in the physical and moral world, as well as of society. Similia simili gaudent; aequitas aequales detectat.

and every man loveth his neighbour.] In the sense of kindred in mind or station.

All flesh consorteth according to kind.

The passage is quoted in the Talmud (Babha K. 92 b) in illustration of the proverb, “A bad date-tree goes and joins itself to the reed.” This saying is illustrated by examples from the Law, Gen. xxviii. 9; and from the Prophets, Judg. xi. 3; to which is curiously added as an illustration from the Hagiographa what is evidently our passage in Eccles.: “Every bird dwells with its kind, and man with him that is his like.” It will be noticed that the Talmud has “every bird” (ההוא נלע) instead of “all flesh” (πᾶσα αγάλη)—the Greek translator probably having misread (as Raymondus Martini already suggests) הוה נלע for הוה נלע. Other similar sayings occur in Rabbinic writings. The Syr. has a somewhat different, but unsatisfactory, rendering.

This figure, taken from Is. xi. 6, has its parallel in classical writings, among which the best known is probably that of Horace (‘Epod.’ iv. 1): Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obigit, tecum mibi discordia est. For other parallels, see Grotius and Bretschneider.

What peace is there between the hyena and a dog?] Classic writers describe the enmity between these two, and how the hyena contrives to allure and then to devour the dog. The curious reader is referred to Bochart, ‘Hieroz.’ Pars i., pp. 832, &c.

The prey of lions (arc) wild ass in [of] the wilderness [ֶהצְּרָה בְּנִיאָיָם, Job xxiv. 5, LXX. δον ἀγγ. δαβόθ, but see Field’s ‘Hexapl., ad loc.]: so the fodder of the rich (arc) the poor.) For the plural use of the subst. see Winer, ‘Gram. d. N. T. Sprach-Id.’ § 27, 5.

An abomination to the proud is lowliness; so is the poor an abomination to the rich. The verse is omitted in the Syr.

21. beginning to fall.] Rather, The rich when he is moved—beginning to shake—in the biblical acceptation, especially in that of the Psalms (as in Ps. x. 6, and often) where the LXX. render בְּנִיאָיָם by σωλήνω. It is not necessary to confine the meaning of the clause to the threatening decay of outward fortune; it had better be understood.
22 When a rich man is fallen, he hath many helpers: he speaketh things not to be spoken, and yet men justify him: the poor man slipped, and yet they rebuked him too; he spake wisely, and could have no place.

23 When a rich man speaketh, every man holdeth his tongue, and, look, what he saith, they extol it to the clouds: but if the poor man speak, they say, What fellow is this? and if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him.

24 Riches are good unto him that hath no sin, and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly.

25 The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether it be for good or evil: and a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.

26 A cheerful countenance is a token of a heart that is in prosperity; and the finding out of parables is a wearisome labour of the mind.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 A good conscience maketh men happy. 5 The niggard doeth good to none. 13 But do thou good. 20 Men are happy that draw near to wisdom.

in the most general and wide application. Grotius: sustentatur ne ruat.

the lowly when he is fallen [when he is down] is besides pushed away by friends (προσαραθισαν). One might almost be tempted to render: “is besides kicked by friends.” Syr.: pelitur ex malo in peius—evidently a confusion between "έν" and "πέπλυνα". With this verse a new stanza begins. See introductory remarks.

22. When the rich maketh a fall [σφαλ- λεντος] (there are) many helpers. To take hold of him, to help him, to take his part.

he speaketh [spoke] things not to be spoken. What really only reflects upon or incriminates him.

and they justify him [declare him just]. The lowly cometh to a fall, and they rebuke him besides; he speaketh forth reason [what is reasonable] and no room is given him—locum dare alicui: he is not listened to, nor his reasonable statement accepted.

23. There is a realistic force in the A.V. which makes us hesitate to substitute the more literal rendering: “The rich speaketh and all are silent, and what he saith they extol [Syr. “and his favourers extol him”] to the clouds; the poor speaketh, and they say, Who is this? and if he stumble, they overthrow him besides.” [So Bissell, with the exception of the last four words.]

24. From these worldly experiences the writer turns in the last stanza to somewhat tardy and scarcely elevated moralising.

Good are riches to which no sin attaches.] This seems to suit the context better than the rendering of the A.V., which, however, is admissible.

and poverty is evil [wrong?] in the mouths of the ungodly. Le. according to their sentence, in their view, they declare it such.

25. But happiness or misery depends not on outward circumstances, but on the inner state of a man, on his heart. “Good” and “evil” must not be here taken in the moral sense. The saying is quoted in the Midrash in the name of Ben Sira in illustration of Gen. xxxi. 2: “The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether for good or for evil” (יִתְנַשֵׁת לְלָבַח, Ber. R. 73). The last clause in the A.V., beginning “and a merry heart,” &c., must be omitted.

26. Literally, “The token of a heart in prosperity [in good, in happiness] is a cheerful countenance, but the finding out of parables is thinking [cogitations, considerations] with pain.” Manifestly the two sentences must be intended as antithetical, and equally manifestly they are a further development of the thought in v. 25 in some such form as this: A heart in prosperity changeth the countenance for good; on the other hand, as regards the change for evil, the strain of the mind, whether in finding out wise sayings, or interpreting parables, or reading the deep things of providence or the problems of social life,—in short, troubling oneself with such problems and cares only makes a man miserable, and his appearance indicates it. Probably the writer had in his mind Eccles. xii. 12, which warns against much study, as מַעַרְשָׁה בְּנֵי, “weariness of the flesh.” There also the previous verses (9—11) bear reference to “parables” and “sayings of the wise.” Beyond these (ℳعالך הַלְּבָּשׁ) we are warned not to go, since much study is weariness to the flesh. But by the side of this parallelism we also mark the wide contrast between Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus. For while Eccles. xii. 12 is followed by the noble conclusion in v. 13, 14, Ecclus. xiii. 26 leads
ECCELESTICALUS XIV.

[5. v. 1—5.

BLESSED is the man that hath not slipped with his mouth, and is not pricked with the multitude of sins. 2 Blessed is he whose conscience hath not condemned him, and who is not fallen from his hope in the Lord. 3 Riches are not comely for a niggard: and what should an envious man do with money? 4 He that gathereth by defrauding his own soul gathereth for others, that shall spend his goods riotously. 5 He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good? he shall not take pleasure in his goods.

up to the doubtful, if not actually Epicurean, stanza in xiv. 11—19.

CHAPTER XIV.

There is a close sequence between this chapter and the previous one. The latter had ended by shewing that riches are not always and absolutely desirable, and that happiness comes from within rather than from without, concluding with a hint not to burden oneself with thought or care. Chapter xiv. begins with a prologue of two verses, which, as usually, forms a transition from the subject of the previous to that of the present chapter. Then follows stanza 1 in eight verses (ver. 3—10), presenting another aspect of the possible undesirableness of riches: they may not really be of benefit to a man—not even give him pleasure. The second stanza of eight verses (ver. 11—18) advises us rather to enjoy life so far as we can, closing with a transition in ver. 19 to the third stanza of eight verses (ver. 20—27), in which the writer once more assumes the functions of the moralist, this time in favour of wisdom.

1. The warning against the trouble and labour of “finding out parables” leads the writer to consider more serious consequences which may ensue: since a man may offend with his lips, and there may be a more bitter cause of sorrow than anything outward, even an evil conscience: “Happy [blessed] the man that slippeth not with his mouth” [possibly such passages may have been in the writer’s mind as Ps. xvii. 3; xxxix. 1; cxxi. 3; comp. St. James iii. 2], “and is not pricked [grieved] with the sorrow of sin” (so according to the better reading, i.e. with mourning for sin. The Aethiop. somewhat boldly renders, or rather paraphrases: “Happy is the sinner who is not troubled by grief.” The Syr. has for the second clause: “from whose eyes justice is not hidden.” Probably the Greek read ἄνωθεν μοίχαι, the Syr. ἄνωθεν ἴδουν ἰδειν. 2. Happy [blessed] (he) whom his soul convicteth not.] The word καταγγέλως, as in the parallel passages 1 St. John iii. 20, 21, means more than “accuse” and less than “condemn” in the sense of the actual pronouncing of sentence; in the LXX. it represents several Hebrew words and bears different meanings. In the second clause the words “in the Lord” in A.V. must be omitted, although in Hebrew “hope” is sometimes put for the object of hope. Possibly however, Eccles. ix. 4, &c., may have been in the mind of the writer, in which case it would indicate absolute and final despair.

3. With this verse begins the subject-matter of the first stanza: “To a niggard [to a man who is niggard] wealth is not comely,” it does not really adorn. We suppose that the writer had in view Eccles. v. 10—17, which leads up to v. 18. Riches in themselves do not make happy— all depends on the enjoyment of them. Accordingly Eccles. v. 18 proceeds: “Behold, what I have found good, what is comely [that it is comely] is to eat and to drink,” &c. The LXX. here render “comely” (πολύ) by καλῶς. We suppose then that the Hebrew original of Eccles. also had πολύ, and applied the reasoning in Eccles. as follows: Since the niggard does not eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, his wealth is not καλῶς, not πολύ. On the other hand, the second clause of the verse takes us to Prov. xxviii. 22: “The man of evil eye hasteth after riches, and he knoweth not that want will come upon him.” The expression, “the man of evil eye,” is rendered in the LXX. by ἄνθρωπος παρερχόμενος; and similarly in the passage before us: to what [purpose] are all riches to a man of evil eye? (ἄνθρωπος παρερχόμενος)—since in the end want will overtake him (Prov. xxviii. 22): comp. Hor. ‘Sat.’ i. 1, 59, &c. The meaning of “man of an evil eye” (comp. also Prov. xxiii. 6) is best gathered from its opposite: “he of good eye,” Prov. xxiii. 9.

4. He that gathereth from (off) his own soul [i.e. by pinching himself] gathereth for others [ἀλλοιοῦ], and on his good things shall others fare sumptuously [revel, τροφησόμενοι ἐτέρων.] Comp. Hor. ‘Od.’ ii. 14, 25, &c.

5. Clause 1 seems an application and further development of Prov. xi. 17: “He that doeth good to his soul [not in the spiritual
6 There is none worse than he that envieth himself; and this is a recompense of his wickedness.

7 And if he doeth good, he doeth it unwillingly; and at last he will declare his wickedness.

8 The envious man hath a wicked eye; he turneth away his face, and despiseth men.

9 A covetous man’s eye is not satisfied with his portion; and the iniquity of the wicked drieth up his soul.

10 A wicked eye envieth [his] bread, and he is a niggard at his table.

11 My son, according to thy ability do good to thyself, and give the Lord his due offering.

12 Remember that death will not be long in coming, and that the covenant of the grave is not shewed unto thee.

sense] is a gracious man, and he that afflicteth his flesh is cruel.” And be shall not have pleasure in [be happy in] his riches.

6. There is none more evil [or else wretched] than he that hath an evil eye [grudgeth?] towards himself. In the second clause we should prefer, instead of “a recompense,” “the recompense,” which suits the context better. The worst evil is when a man grudges things to himself, and this is what he gets as return and reward of his wickedness. But according to some the πόρος refers to ν. 7.

7. And if he doeth good, he doeth it unwillingly [lit., in forgetfulness—so also the Aeth. viz. of his real character and course of conduct. But this forgetfulness does not last], and in the end he sheweth forth his wickedness.

8. Wicked (is he) who is evil of eye.] Viz. in regard to others, who has not pity nor mercy on them. Βαρκαίω seems = βαρκαίω ὀφθαλμός, by which the LXX. render γῆς Ἐπωνομάζων, Deut. xxviii. 54, comp. ν. 56. and despiseth men.] The original would bear this rendering, but the better and more literal translation would be “and neglecteth souls,” in the sense of the needy and craving. The Syr. omits this verse.

9. Rather: is not satisfied with a portion, and wicked injustice drieth up the soul. The A. V. reads ἄδεια ποιμνὸς with 248, Go. The meaning is: not satisfied with a part, he wants all, and his wicked injustice as regards the claims of others drieth up every better feeling. Syr.: quia autem usurpat quod proximi sui est, evidently mispointing 2727 for 272.

10. Some misreading of the Hebrew must have caused the Syr. rendering: Oculus nequam multiplicant panem. The Greek has: “An evil eye is envious over bread, and [yet?] there is lack (deficiency) at his table”—although such an one grudgeth and envieth even bread to his neighbour, yet his own board is bare; or else, and at the same time his own board is bare. This latter view suits better as a transition to the stanza beginning with ν. 11, which recommends free enjoyment of what we possess, so long as it is in our power.

11. Son, according as thou hast, do good to thyself, and properly [rightly, in measure proportionate to thy possessions] bring obligations to the Lord.] A kind of attempted combination of enjoyment with piety, which reminds us of a similar proposal recorded in Eccles. ii. 3. But perhaps the writer may have had Prov. xvii. 9 in his mind,—the “dry morsel” there becoming here whatever a man has, and the “sacrifices” being no longer “of strife.” The Syriac has substantially the same for the first clause, but instead of the second virtually repeats the first clause: And if thou hast anything, do good to thyself. The alteration in this case seems to us to have been in the Syr.

12. the covenant of the grave.] Rather, a covenant of Hades—perhaps a reference to Isa. xxviii. 15. The expression naturally conveys the thought that one knows not such a covenant, that he has not seen it, and that such an agreement does not exist; in other words, we have not drawn up a bargain with Hades that we shall die at a certain fixed period, and know not at what moment we may have to depart. Yet there may be another view of it, which the Greek translator may have either misunderstood or else chosen to keep back. We find it, although with an explanatory paraphrase (marked by us with square brackets), in the Talmud, which reproduces τῶν, 11, 12, 18, although without quoting them. The subject is introduced by this admonition of a Rabbi: “Make haste to eat, make haste to drink, for this world which we leave is like a wedding” (equally brief).

To which another Rabbi adds this: “If thou hast anything, do good to thyself [for in Sheol there is no pleasure], and death knows no delay:” comp. Eccles. xiv. 11, 12 a. “And [if thou say, I will leave to my son] the law in Sheol who will declare to thee?” (ψωκοδωμός τοις ἑδικητικοῖς τιμῆς ἐπιρρέοντα: comp. Eccles. xiv. 12 b. “The children of man are like the herbs of the field—some bloom and some fade away:” comp. Eccles. xiv. 18 (Eruh. 54 a).
13 *Do good unto thy friend before thou die, and according to thy ability stretch out thy hand and give to him.*

14 *Defraud not thyself of the good day, and let not the part of a good desire overpass thee.*

15 *Shalt thou not leave thy travails unto another? and thy labours to be divided by lot?* Give, and take, and sanctify thy soul; for there is no seeking of dainties in the grave.

17 *All flesh waxeth old as a garment: for the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death.*

18 *As of the green leaves on a thick tree, some fall, and some grow; so is the generation of flesh and blood, one cometh to an end, and another is born.*

19 *Every work rotteth and consumeth away, and the worker thereof shall go withal.*

20 *Blessed is the man that doth not* Ps. 1:2.

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The context of the Hebrew text suggests a discussion on the impermanence of life and the inevitability of death. The reference to the covenant from the beginning indicates a theological consideration of human mortality and the transient nature of earthly existence. The imagery of leaves falling from a tree parallels the concept of life's cycles and the ultimate destitution of all earthly pursuits. The conclusion emphasizes the wisdom of the righteous man who avoids evil and maintains a spiritual perspective amidst the decay of physical things.
meditate good things in wisdom, and that reasoneth of holy things by his understanding.

21 He that considereth her ways in his heart shall also have understanding in her secrets.

22 Go after her as one that traceth, and lie in wait in her ways.

23 He that prieth in at her windows shall also hearken at her doors.

24 He that doth lodge near her house shall also fasten a pin in her walls.

verse is evidently based on Ps. i. 2, although significantly “wisdom” now takes the place of “his law”—a difference characteristic, on the one hand, of the age and date of Ps. i., and, on the other, of the standpoint of the Siracide.

and discourseth (about it) in his understanding.] This may also answer to ננה in Ps. i. 2.

21. He considereth [or, “he that considereth”—if we regard the “happy” of v. 20 as still carried on to this verse] her ways in his heart, and pondereth on her secrets. Wisdom is here personified.

22. that traceth.] Viz., her footsteps. The figure is of a hunter. This sentence must be either regarded as intercalated, by way of admonition, or else we must suppose that the Syr., which here represents the Hebrew more accurately when it connects all these sentences as subordinate to and dependent on v. 20.

23. He prieth in ... and listenth.] In other words, all means are used to learn her secrets.

24. In pursuit of the same object: “He lodgeth ... and fasteneth the peg in her walls.” The peg, viz., of his tent. Mark that Wisdom is represented as having a house—solid and permanent; whereas the human searcher after her is described as in a tent. See next verse. In the LXX. πάσαναλος always represents the Heb. יָּנָן, except in Ex. xxxix. 33 (of the Hebrew text; in the LXX. there is a different order, or rather disorder, and v. 33 is represented by v. 9).

25. and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.] Lit., “in a hostelry of good things.”

26. under her shelter.] The figure varies now to that of a tree. The shelter which his lodgment under her branches affords, extends to “his children” (descendants). The Syr. has: manus suaæ jactabit super ramos eius. At first sight we might conjecture that the Syr. read יַּעֲלָה, “his hands,” for יָּנָן, “his children” (as in the Greek Version). But on further consideration it seems more likely that the Syr., which here is throughout confused, had somehow transferred hither the καρα χειρας ανδρι (“by the side of her”) of v. 25. But, manifestly, it is impossible to make any good sense out of the Syr. Version. When, however, the Syr. has in v. 27 b: et in habitaculis eius relaxabit animum, it is evident that it read instead of יָּנָן, “glory,” יָּנָן, “chamber,” while it understood the word rendered in the Greek καραλοι, “he shall lodge,” as relaxabit, viz., animum, just as the LXX. similarly use the same Greek word (six times) for ננה or ננהאנה.

CHAPTER XV.

This chapter forms a natural and easy continuation of the preceding, and a progression upon it. If we might borrow the language of our public life, what in the last stanza of the previous chapter (xiv. 20-27) was the moral “amendment” on “the original motion” to do good to oneself, becomes in ch. xv. (1-10) “the original motion,” to which the objections or excuses on the part of a sinner in vvv. 11-20 are again a proposed “amendment” which is discussed and rejected. Thus the chapter consists of two parts. Part I. (vvv. 1-10): praise of Wisdom, in two stanzas—stanza 1 (vvv. 1-5), Wisdom from its objective aspect; stanza 2 (vvv. 6-10), Wisdom from the subjective aspect—the relation of the wise and of the fool or sinner to Wisdom. Naturally, the latter is chiefly dwelt upon. This prepares us for the excuses which the sinner makes for not submitting to Wisdom, that is, for continuing in his sinful ways. This forms the subject of Part II. (vvv. 11-20), which also consists of two stanzas, each of five verses. The first stanza (vvv. 11-15) once more presents the objective aspect of the answer to the sinner’s excuse: I cannot help myself—cirs-
He that feareth the Lord will do good; and he that hath the knowledge of the law shall obtain her.

2 And as a mother shall she meet him, and receive him as a wife married of a virgin.

3 With the bread of understanding shall she feed him, and give him the water of wisdom to drink.

4 He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

5 She shall exalt him above his neighbours, and in the midst of the congregation shall she open his mouth.

6 He shall find joy and a crown of gladness, and she shall cause him to inherit an everlasting name.

7 But foolish men shall not attain unto her, and sinners shall not see her.

8 For she is far from pride, and men that are liars cannot remember her.

9 "Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner, for it was not sent him of the Lord.

10 For praise shall be uttered in wisdom, and the Lord will prosper it.

1. That he feareth the Lord shall do this [viz. so follow, and cleave to, Wisdom, as described in the last stanza of ch. xiv.]; and be that is an adopt in the law [a master in it] shall obtain her. Viz. Wisdom. This verse is both important and characteristic as marking Hellenistic views. The object is to represent fear of the Lord as the search after wisdom, and a proper and full knowledge of the Law as the attainment of Wisdom. The transition from "the Law" to "Wisdom" which was in process in the so-called Chokmah-books (Wisdom-books) of the Old Testament appears here as an accomplished fact.

2. And receive him as a wife of (one's) youth.] Comp. Prov. ii. 17. That γυνὴ ναπθεβίας means not virgin-wife, but wife of one's youth, seems established by LXX. Jer. iii. 4, where ναπθεβία is the translation of דַּתָּם, "youth." And here it may be well to bear in mind that the Book of Jeremiah was apparently a favourite one with the Alexandrians (comp. Philo, 'de Cherc.' § 14).

3. Fritzschu explains the simile: as bread and water are the ordinary daily food, so wisdom supplies him spiritually with ordinary daily food. But the addition of these adjectives seems needless. The meaning conveyed to our minds is that of a supply, which differs from that of ordinary men as regards its source, and is suitable for nourishment. Here and in the following verses we mark a gradation: food, support (v. 5), advancement (v. 6), joy (v. 7).

6. Omit "He shall find." Joy and a crown of gladness, and an everlasting name shall he inherit.] This begins the second stanza of Part I., and serves as transition to what follows.

7. Some authorities have κατ—In the A. V. "but"—which must be omitted. Fools shall not attain to wisdom; sinners have this goal not even in sight. Comp. here Erubh. 55 a.

8. Cannot remember her.] Rather, shall not be mindful of her (Bissell)—either in the sense of bearing her in mind, or caring for her. For the first part of this verse there are many Rabbinic parallels, such as: "God lifted up him that abased himself, and abased him that uplifteth himself" (Erubh. 13 b; comp. St. Matt. xxii. 12); or "he that become proud shall fall into Gehenna" (Babbi. B. 10 b), &c.

9, 10. These are perhaps among the most difficult verses in Eccles. The A. V. represents the Greek text with sufficient accuracy. Nothing can be learned from a comparison with the Syriac. We would suggest that the writer, or the translator, had in his mind and wished to improve upon Prov. xxvii. 21 b, which in the LXX. has a clause added. It reads in the LXX. as follows: "but a man is tried [in the sense of "tested"] by the mouth of them that praise him. [LXX. adds:] The heart of the transgressor seeks after evil [mischief], but an upright heart seeks after knowledge." In whatever sense we may understand the somewhat difficult clause in the Hebrew of Prov. xxvii. 21, the writer of Eccles. would, if our view be correct, have paraphrased or applied it in the following manner: Such praise as cometh from a sinner is not seemly, becoming, beautiful.
It is not real praise, however many may utter it, because it is not sent of the Lord and has not His sanction. Praise—real praise—is uttered in wisdom (= by the truly wise = the pious); and such praise the Lord will prosper, that is, confirm and add His blessing to it. Bretschneider would regard αἰών as ἀείων, dicta sapientiae; Fritzsche understands it as referring to praise of God (Lobgesang) both, in our view, impossible explanations, alike as regards the meaning of the words and the context.

11. With this verse Part II. begins (see introductory remarks). The connexion between this verse and υἱόν, 10 seems as follows: Praise (although coming from the ungodly) might lead a man to imagine that he had the Divine approbation, and so hurried him on to his fall, which in that case might attribute to God. But for any such error the second clause furnishes a corrective by giving this test: for what He hateth, thou shalt not do (so more accurately than in the A. V.). It is not necessary to correct οὐ τινὰς into οὐ τινὲς. On the imperative use of οὐ with the indic. fut., see Winer, 'Gram. d. Neut. Spr.' § 41, 56, and § 56, p. 445. On the passage generally, comp. St. James i. 13—which here, as in so many places, shews lines of correspondence with Esclus. (comp. the General Introduction).

12. Say not thou, [God] Himself hath made me stray; for He hath no pleasure in a sinful man. In LXX. Prov. xviii. 2 οὐ χαρέας ἐγώ is the translation of יָלְדוֹת נַפְסִי; comp. also Is. xiii. 17. As the rendering "He hath no need of a sinful man" does not give any proper meaning, we conclude that the Greek translator used the same expression as in LXX. Prov., where the original had יָלְדוֹת. In that case the meaning would be: it is impossible to impute your conduct to God, since He has no pleasure in a sinner. Or else, as Symmachus renders by χαρέας the יָלְדוֹת of Eccles. iii. 1, 17, v. 3, which in the first two passages means "purpose," while in later Hebrew it stands for "a thing (or a thing valued)," the sentence might also mean: "for He has no purpose with, or else, He has no dealing with, or even, He attaches no value to a sinful man." But our first rendering is confirmed by the Syr. non enim oblectatur homine sceleroso.

13. The Lord hateth every abomination, and it is not loved by [not loveable to] them that fear Him. The Syr. renders the last clause: "and will not give them [it] to them that love Him." The rendering "will give" is unintelligible unless, as has been suggested by Mr. Margoliouth, the Syr. misread בָּשָׁה, dabib, for בָּשָׁא. 14. Similar evidence of direct translation from the Hebrew original comes to us from the use here in the Syriac of the expressions יִרְשָׁב בַּיִּשְׁר for בֵּית אָדָם and שִׂמְךָ for שְׂמִיךָ. There can be little doubt that the original contained the term יִשְׁרֵי, although not in the later application of it to either the good or the evil impulse in man, but in the earlier meaning of disposition, mind, counsel (Sinn, Geinnung). The Greek rendering also is manifestly Hebraistic. The original may have been: בֵּית יִשְׁרֵי, while the εἰς ἀφρόσις of the first clause may represent the Hebrew בּוּרֵרַת. But it is not only these expressions which are of interest. The verse is important as confirming the conclusion derived from Eccles. xiv. 17. For whatever meaning we may attach to the first clause of xv. 14, the second clause, when taken in conjunction with xv. 15, implies a virtual denial of the moral consequences of the fall.
ECCLESIASTICUS. XV. XVI.

16. He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt.
17. Before man is life and death; and whether liketh shall be given him.
18. For the wisdom of the Lord is great; and he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things:
19. And his eyes are upon them that fear him, and he knoweth every work of man.
20. He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. It is better to have none, than many Israel children. 6. The wicked are not spared for their number. 12. Both the wrath and the mercy of the Lord are great. 17. The wicked cannot be hid. 20. God's works are unsearchable.

DESIRE not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons.

less to mention the explanations and corrections proposed by others, since they only involve fresh difficulties.

16. stretch forth.] Rather, "thou mayest stretch forth thy hand." "Fire and water," in the sense of opposite extremes, yet probably not without some reference to their effects. The harsh Greek rendering of 16 b would represent what was elegant in the Hebrew original: יָּלָּל יָּרְאֵי.

17 b. and whatever be liketh.] In the Hebrew either יָּרְאֵי or יָּלָּל, for both of which the word is used in the LXX.—whichever of the two may be pleasing to him, or engage his choice: naturally not life or death, but that which leads to them, shall be his portion, or "be given him," in the end. Bearing in mind that verses 16 and 17 are based on Deut. xxx. 15 (comp. Jer. xxi. 8), we are struck with the absence of any reference to God as placing this choice before man. Can the translator have intended thus to emphasize man's absolute self-determination? The Syr., although in what seems a paraphrastic rendering, may perhaps more faithfully represent the meaning of the Hebrew original. It translates: "For life and death are given to the children of man that they may choose life and eschew death." The last verses form the general conclusion and application of Part II. With v. 19 a comp. Ps. xliii. 18; xlvii. 16.

CHAPTER XVI.

This chapter is one of the most lofty in the book. Omitting v. 15, 16—which, although found in 106, 248, Co., and in the Syr., are manifestly an interpolation—the chapter consists of twenty-eight verses, which naturally divide themselves into two equal parts: Part I., vv. 1–14; Part II., vv. 15–30. Taken as a whole, the chapter forms an exact counterpart to the preceding one. In ch. xvi., Part I. in praise of Wisdom (vv. 1–10) led up in Part II. to man's free determination, shewing his absolute liberty of choice, in accordance with which God would ultimately hold him responsible, therein also vindicating His own character. On the other hand, in ch. xvi., Part I. (vv. 1–14) leads up, not to man's choice and doings, but to God's determination and work (v. 16 and following), which appear in those benefits which He so freely bestowed upon earth. So close is the correspondence between the two chapters that Part II. of ch. xvi. (v. 17) begins with exactly the same words ("Say not thou") as Part II. of ch. xvi. (v. 11). In both cases an objection is met: in ch. xv. that man is not responsible; in ch. xvi. that he will not be called to account. In both chapters the refutation of the objection leads up to the statement of the positive truth which forms not only the climax, but the real subject-matter of each chapter. Part I. of ch. xvi. consists of three stanzas (5 + 5 + 4 verses). Stanza 1 is connected with the previous chapter, and shews that, since man is a responsible agent, even the most coveted possession—that of a numerous posterity—may not always prove a blessing. Stanza 2 illustrates the general inference that only the good will remain, while those who are evil shall perish in judgment. This is shewn by a reference to the history of Israel (vv. 6–10). Lastly, in stanza 3 the writer proceeds to shew that God deals in this manner not only with nations, but also with individuals (vv. 11–14). At this point the objection is artistically introduced that it is unreasonable to imagine that every single individual in this vast universe will be called to give a separate account, v. 17, which opens the first stanza of Part II. (vv. 17–33). The answer to this objection lies in higher views of God, which exhibit His often hidden wisdom and justice (vv. 18–23). Lastly, in the second stanza of Part II. (like the first, of seven verses: vv. 24–30) this is further enforced by a consideration of the sovereignty, care, and personal rule of God.

1. unprofitable.] In LXX. Hos. viii. 8 the
2 Though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of the Lord be with them.

3 Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude: for one that is just is better than a thousand; and better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.

4 For by one that hath understood shall the city be replenished:

but the kindred of the wicked shall speedily become desolate.

5 Many such things have I seen with mine eyes, and mine ear hath heard greater things than these.

6 In the congregation of the ungodly shall a fire be kindled; and in a rebellious nation wrath is set on fire.

7 He was not pacified toward the old giants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishness.

same word stands for מַעֲרֵי. In Jer. xxii. 18, xlviii. 38 (in LXX. xxxii. 38), the same Hebrew expression is similarly rendered (παρεια χραια αυτω). Comp. also Philem. v. 11 (see the excellent remarks on the expression in Philem. in the 'Speaker's Comment.' ad loc.). In any case the word διάμορφος conveys here a much stronger meaning than our ordinary usage of "unprofitable," although probably not one so strong as in the Hebrew passages referred to, which seem rather to be represented in Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 20.

neither delight in.] Better, neither have joy over. The general meaning of the verse is farther set forth in v. 2.

3. neither respect their multitude.] Rather, neither have respect [in the sense of reliance] to their place [in the sense of rank or condition]. The difficulty of the expression led to such attempts at correcting the text as the Alex. reading (and that of other authorities), τῷ πλῆθῳ, "the multitude," for τῶν ῥῶσων—adopted in the A.V.—or the Vulg. reading, κοινων. labore. But from the usage in the LXX. there cannot be any doubt that the Hebrew original for ῥῶσον was דִּיפִּי—here in the later Targumic and Talmudic sense of rank, condition (comp. the beautiful saying: "Not his rank maketh a man honorable, but the man his rank," Tan. 216, anticipating Burns). Indeed that meaning of the word seems already implied in Eccles., as in Eccles. iii. 16, and especially x. 4. Accordingly the words of the Septuagint mean: trust not in their life, and have no reliance on, look not to, their present rank and condition. In the next clause the words "that is just" must be omitted as a later gloss. The last line of the verse reads: And to die chilidless than to have ungodly children [Bissell].

4. Omit "speedily" in the second clause.

the city.] Rather, a city. We retain the rendering "shall be replenished" for αὐστηροθρόος, as more general, and including more than merely the population of a city. The expression seems to have been chosen as anti-

thetic to the ἐπνυσαθεραυς ("shall be made desolate") in the second clause.

but the house of the wicked shall become desolate.] "House" in the wider Hebrew sense of νόμιμος = the whole kindred and family, viewed as a unit. "Desolate:" the Hebrew word was either יִבְרֹל or יָבָשָׂא.

5. greater.] Rather, more mighty,—I have heard, or come to know, even more striking instances of this than those which I have personally witnessed.

6. This verse begins the stanza of historical illustrations. If we regard v. 6 as the first instance of them, the reference would be primarily to Num. xi. 1, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 21, although the history of Korah may also have been in view (Numb. xvi.). In that case we would translate: "In the congregation of sinners fire was kindled;" the Greek translator having for some reason rendered the Hebrew imperfect (in the first, though not in the second clause) by the future (in the LXX. Numb. xi. 1 reads: ἐσοώθει εἰς αὐτοίς πῦρ). But it is at least conceivable that v. 6 a is intended not as a reference to any particular event, but as a general summary and inference from the past, and as a prediction of what would take place in the future. This would avoid the strange transition from a much later event to the history of the giants, of Lot, and of Israel, in the following verses, which are all related in their chronological order. If this view of v. 6 be adopted, the future tense must be retained in the translation: "shall be kindled." See note on v. 8.

8 *Neither spared he the place where Lot sojourned, but *abhorred them for their pride. 9 He pitied not the people of perdition, who were taken away in their sins:


10 *Nor the six hundred thousand footmen, who were gathered together in the hardness of their hearts.

11 And if there be one stiffnecked among the people, it is marvelous if he escape unpunished: for *mercy and wrath are with him; he is mighty to forgive, and to pour out displeasure.


in the strength of their foolishness.] Rather, in their strength, omitting what evidently was a gloss (emendatory or else apologetic).

8. He spared not those who dwelt with Lot, whom He abhorred for their pride.] According to the common interpretation, the reference is here to the people of Sodom. But these would not have been "the sojourners with Lot;" rather was Lot a sojourner with them. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the following two verses (27v. 9, 10) can only refer to Israel. Hence we conclude that all these historical illustrations are taken from what befell the professing children of God. Accordingly they "who dwelt with Lot" must be those of his own family whose pride prevented their listening to his warning—παρείσχάσθαι standing for the Hebrew צָרִיךְ, and not צָרִיך, as sometimes in the LXX. On the other hand, the Syr., which has here several alterations, seems to wish to apply 27v. 6-9 not to Israel, but to their enemies,—as we think, wrongly.

9. The people of perdition.] I.e. devoted to perdition. The reference may be to what is recorded in Ex. xxxii., or else in Numb. xi. The Syr. would read the Heb. לֹא חָיוֹן לֹא שָׁם תָּבוּעָה— a play on the words.

10. Nor.] Rather, and so. The reference here is to the fact that the 600,000 footmen who came out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 37) perished in the wilderness on account of the hardness of their hearts. The rendering of the Greek: "who were gathered together," —παρεισχάσθαι,— is due to a misunderstanding of the verb παρεκάθισαν, or it may have been ἐπισκέψατο, which means indeed "to gather," but in the twofold sense of gathering together and of gathering away = taking away = destroying. The meaning of the Hebrew original no doubt was: who were carried off [swept away] in the hardness of their hearts.

11. Third stanza, preparing for Part II. Not only a community, but individuals are punished of God. Omit "among the people." 12. nor will He delay [defer, cause to come too late] the hope of the godly.] Briefly, God will fulfill, and that ere long, the hope of His people. The wicked shall not be allowed to be rich in his robbery, nor yet the just to fail of his hope. We have rendered ἵστημι not "patience," but "hope," in accordance with the usage of the LXX. The Hebrew may have been: מָצָא פָּנָיו מִן הָעָיִן: פָּנָיו יָשָׁה הָעָיִן נָא.

14. He will make a place for all mercy; every one shall find ( = receive) according to his works.] The difficulty here is whether the "mercy" (ἐλεημοσύνη) referred to is that shown by man, of which God will make acknowledgment, or that displayed by God in the sense that, while He will prove very merciful, every one shall receive a just retribution. The meaning of the expression "He will make a place" (παρεισχάσθαι τόπων) is illustrated by Acts xvi. 16; Rom. xii. 19; Heb. viii. 7, xii. 17. It corresponds to the Hebrew בַּיָּתָן [noun]. Although the term ἐλεημοσύνη is very rarely employed in reference to God, it is so used in Eccles. vii. 29, and in LXX. Ps. cii. (Heb. cii.) 6 a, where it stands for "righteous acts," פְּדָתי. Indeed, this latter passage may have been in the mind of the writer, and the παρεισχάσθαι of that Ps. have become the παρεισχάσθαι παρείσχασθαι παρεισχάσθαι of our passage. At the same time it must be admitted that the addition of παρεισχάσθαι seems to point to the exercise of human rather than Divine mercies. In that case "make a place" would = assign a place.
his light from the darkness with an adamant.

17 Say not thou, I will hide myself from the Lord: shall any remember me from above? I shall not be remembered among so many people: for what is my soul among such an infinite number of creatures?

18 Behold, the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, and all that therein is, shall be moved when he shall visit.

19 The mountains also and foundations of the earth shall be shaken with trembling, when the Lord looketh upon them.

20 No heart can think upon these things worthy: and who is able to conceive his ways?

21 It is a tempest which no man can see: for the most part of his works are hid.

22 Who can declare the works of his justice? or who can endure them? for his covenant is afar off, and the trial of all things is in the end.

17. Omit vv. 15, 16. (See introductory remarks.) It adds to our difficulties of interpretation that vv. 15, 16 are found in the Syr. Again, the Syr. also gives a totally different turn to v. 17 (comp. Syr. v. 18), and presents it in a sense foreign, as we believe, to the purpose of the original writer. It is not difficult to perceive the apologetic motives for thesealterations — although some may regard it as open to question whether the Greek or the Syriac translator tampered with the Hebrew original. For our own part we have no hesitation in abiding by the Greek Version. The last clause of the verse should be rendered: “For what is my soul in immeasurable [infinite] creation!” It must, however, be admitted that alike the thought and its mode of expression (eriatos) are not Hebrew, but Alexandrian.

18. Omit the words “and all that therein is”: “shall be moved,” &c.—rather: shall be shaken at his visitation. It is possible that vv. 18–22 still continue the objections of v. 17, derived from a misapplication of the observed greatness of God. But it seems difficult to imagine such language on the part of an unbeliever. On the other hand, if, as we suppose, vv. 21, 22 are intended as an answer to his secret thinking, vv. 18, 19 must also be regarded as part of the same argument. In that case the reasoning would be: True, God is very great; yet He is not far from His creation, but penetrates, pervades, and directs all—both physically and ethically—even though this may be unperceived or unheeded.

19. shall be shaken, &c.] Rather: “are shaken with trembling when He looketh upon them.”

20. But (εἰς for δὲ) upon (ordinarily, ἐπὶ) these things the mind (τὰ) shall not think.] The future here in the sense of “cannot” to express what is morally impossible: comp. Rom. v. 7; 1 Cor. viii. 8 (Winer's Gramm. p. 250). Most commentators, however, regard the words as implying a reproof of such a state of mind.

and His ways who shall consider! The interpretation proposed by us of this and the preceding clause, although not free from difficulty, agrees best with v. 19. We may add that the Syr. Version offers not any help on these difficult verses, and indeed is not trustworthy.

21. As a tempest, &c.] The figurative comparison of God’s dealings with the wind seems to have been not only frequent, but to have become almost proverbial. Comp. Ps. xxxv. 7; Prov. xxx. 4; Eccles. i. 6 (viii. 8), xi. 5; and especially St. John iii. 8.

22. The works of (God’s) justice [righteousness] who shall announce, or who shall expect [await]?” Ἑγουσίαι stands in the LXX. for a number of Hebrew words, but in a very large proportion of instances for such as mean “to expect” or “await.” The meaning here is: as it is extremely difficult, almost impossible, to announce and anticipate the manner in which God’s justice shall be manifested (since it is secret, sudden, irresistible, like the storm), so, on the other hand, there are few who expect it.

for far off is the covenant.] The clause following on these words in the A.V. must be omitted (in the Syr. the whole verse is wanting). These words express the false inference drawn by men from the impossibility of announcing God’s judgments, as well as the reason why they are not expected. They imagine: far off is the covenant. The reference to the διαβήσει is a favourite one with the Son of Sirach, who employs the term twenty-two times. In the LXX. it stands almost invariably for πρός. We suppose that “the covenant” here in view is that with death and Hades, to which reference was made in Ecclus. xiv. 12, 17. The writer had probably in his mind LXX. Is. xxviii. 15, and especially v. 17: “And I will cause
ECCLESIASTICALS. XVI. [v. 23—29.]

23 He that wanteth understanding will think upon vain things: and a foolish man erring imagineth follies.

24 My son, hearken unto me, and learn knowledge, and mark my words with thy heart.

25 I will shew forth doctrine in weight, and declare his knowledge exactly.

26 The works of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning: and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof.

27 He garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the chief of them unto all generations: they neither labour, nor are weary, nor cease from their works.

28 None of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his word.

29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings.

judgment to be for hope (here ἐλπίς), and my compassion (ἐλπιστορούμην, as in Ecclus. xvi. 14) for just measures, and ye that trust vainly in falsehood shall fall: for the tempest (καταρρύσεις, as in Ecclus. xvi. 21) shall not by any means pass by you except it also take away your covenant of death (καθαρσίαν, as in Ecclus. xvi. 22), and your hope in Hades shall by no means stand; if the rushing tempest (καταρρύσεις) should come upon you, ye shall be beaten down by it." In our view this passage explains not only the expression "for far off is the covenant," but also the following verse.

23. He that wanteth understanding [lit. heart, ἡ καρδία] will think these things, and an unwise and erring man will think foolish things [ἀνοικτά = ἀληθινά].

24. Stanza of final admonition. The expression "mark with the heart," as often in the Hebrew (עלפ), here apparently derived from Deut. xxxii. 46 (both in the Heb. and LXX.). Comp. also Ezek. xlv. 5. Hence the proper translation is: "And set thy heart upon my words."

25. I will shew forth instruction by weight [carefully and accurately measured out, perhaps also with a secondary reference to its value], and declare [announce, set forth] knowledge with exactness [accuracy, precision].

26. By [according to] the counsel [appointment, decree — מַעַן] of the Lord (are) His works from the beginning, and from [the time of?] their making He assigned [apportioned] their parts [to each its part? perhaps]? This vast creation, so far from leading us to infer—as the foolish had suggested in the previous stanza—that the individual is lost or unheeded amidst the vast mass, rather leads to an opposite conclusion. From the first all things have had the law of His appointment impressed upon them, and in every part of creation we mark this orderly distribution.

27. He ordered [settled, appointed, prepared—adorned?] for ever His works, and their rule to their generation. Simple as these words seem, it is not easy to decide how exactly to render them. "The works" here referred to are God's chief works: the sun and stars to which Jewish Alexandrian philosophy attached such high importance, as well as the regulation of all nature (comp. here especially Philo, 'De Monarch. I. § 1; comp. ii. 5, 6, and the art. PHILO in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.'). We have rendered ἐξαρμόσω: He "ordered," "settled," which meaning it certainly bears in LXX. Mic. vi. 9, as well as a kindred meaning in other passages. The common rendering, "garnished" or "beautified," seems to give no meaning, while ours suits the context. Again, we have rendered ταίς ἀρχαῖς by "their rule," being the expression used in reference to the rule of sun and stars in LXX. Gen. i. 16, 18, and Philo similarly designates them as ἀρχαῖς ("De Monarch." i. 1). As to their "ordering for ever," the writer had probably Ps. cxlviii. 6 in view, where the same language is used. Indeed it is not improbable that the Hebrew original reproduced the בְּהֵשָׁה יִשָּׂרָאֵל of that Ps. (comp. also Ps. cxxxv., in the Heb. cxxxvi. 8, 9). It is even possible that the following clause also, καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν, may be the younger Sirach's peculiar mode of rendering the second clause of Ps. cxlviii. 6: "בְּהֵשָׁה אֲנָךָ אֲנָשָׁה—"they neither labour," —rather: they hunger not.

28. hindereth [crowdeth, in the sense of moving out of its place] another [lit. "his neighbour"]. "Each presseth not upon his neighbour, and unto everlasting [Aeon] shall they not disobey His word."

29. And after this.] Viz. after having
v. 30—5.] 

ECCLESIASTICUS. XVI. XVII.

30 With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof; and they shall return into it again.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 How God created and furnished man. 14 Avoid all sin; 19 for God seeth all things. 25 Turn to him while thou livest.

T HE Lord *created man of the earth, and turned him into it again.

thus established and regulated for ever what is in heaven above.

30. living things.] Rather, "living creatures." The Hebrew may have been: לָמָּלֶא שְׁקַל אָדָם.

and they shall return into it again.] Lit. "and unto it the return of them."  

CHAPTER XVIII.

The argument of the previous chapter is here continued. What had previously been stated in regard to the world is now shewn to apply also to man—only that in his case personal responsibility is superadded. The world has a Divine Law inherent in itself; for man, as made in the image of God, his mental and moral individuality—the mind, conscience, heart, and free will—are that Law. Man is thus in the highest sense a law unto himself. In his case there exists not any necessity of nature, but he has the moral freedom of a personal choice, for which he is also endowed with the necessary moral qualifications. Hence he is absolutely and personally responsible (comp. xvi. 17, &c.). This forms the subject of the first stanza (vv. 1—8; v. 9 must be omitted). Turning next from this subjective to the objective aspect of the question, the writer lays down this further position, that man is intended by God to glorify Him, for which purpose God has made Himself known to him, and this involves another and still higher degree of responsibility. This forms the subject of the second stanza (vv. 10—15, v. 15 marking the climax, while v. 16 must be omitted). But the highest responsibility attaches to Israel (stanza 3: vv. 17—24). In a concluding stanza (vv. 25—32) the writer makes a religious application of what had preceded. Thus the chapter consists of four irregular stanzas. We add that vv. 5, 9, 16, 18, and 21 in our A. V. must be omitted as spurious.

1. and turned him.] But the sense requires: "and shall turn him." In the Heb. it was no doubt את, or more probably את (comp. Kautzsch-Gesenius, 24th ed., p. 145, 4, note); or, as in the Syr., with בֵּית, before it. In the latter case the meaning would have been: He shall certainly turn him again (Ewald, p. 782). The Greek translator used the aorist instead of the future, possibly as in Rev. x. 7; 1 Cor. vii. 28 (Winer, i. f. p. 248). The statement itself is parallel to Ps. cxiv. 4.

2. few days.] ἡμέρας ἐνπαλιώ, lit. "days of number." A common Hebraism, as in ἡμέρας ἐνπαλιώ, "a few years," Job xvi. 22, and ἡμέρας ἐνπαλιώ, "a few days," Numb. ix. 20 (LXX. ἡμέρας ἐνπαλιώ, where the words in the Heb. are however in apposition, while in Eccles. the original had הָשָּׁם אִישׁ יְהוָה. The use of the word "number" for "numbered" = few, is frequent, alike in the Heb. and in the LXX.

and a (definite) time [a season.] No doubt יְהוָה, perhaps, as suggested by the next clause, with the secondary sense of a Divine appointment attaching to it, as in Eccles. iii. In Ezek. vii. 7, 12, the words "day" and "season" are also conjoined, both in the Heb. and the LXX., but in the inverse order of Eccles.

and He gave them the dominion [imperium, as apparent from the gen. of the object] of what is upon it.] Viz. of all that is upon the earth.

3. He ended them with their own strength.] I.e. strength of their own (so the Aethiop.), strength which was their own, human; while the figure, which was behind that strength and directed it, and of which they were the "image," was Divine. κυρίοι, κυρίοι, probably for the sake of antithesis to the κατεκίνησιν ("according to His image") in the next clause. The κυρίοι stands here instead of the genitive; comp. Acts xviii. 28, xxi. 15, xxvi. 3; Eph. i. 15 (Winer, i. f. p. 139, and § 30. Anm. 5, p. 174 of the 6th ed.). The Syr., which renders the second clause, "and covered them with terror," seems inapt and a confusion with the first clause of the next verse.

5. This verse must be omitted. As Grotius
five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof.

6 Counsel, and a tongue, and eyes, ears, and a heart, gave he them to understand.

7 Withal he filled them with the knowledge of understanding, and showed them good and evil.

8 He set his eye upon their hearts, that he might shew them the greatness of his works.

9 He gave them to glory in his marvellous acts for ever, that they might declare his works with understanding.

10 And the elect shall praise his holy name.

11 Beside this he gave them knowledge, and the law of life for an heritage.

12 He made an everlasting covenant with them, and shewed them his judgments.

13 Their eyes saw the majesty of

7. Omit "withal."

9, 10. Verse 9 is omitted in the LXX. (Vatic.), while v. 10 reads as follows: And they shall praise His holy Name [in the Syr. only: "And they that may praise His holy Name"] that they may declare (tell) the greatnesses of His works (μεγαλεία = ἡ ἡμέρα, Ps. lxxi. 19). Here—or perhaps at the next verse—begins a new stanza.

11. He gave them besides.] But we are inclined, in accordance with the Syr., to emend προσέθηκεν into προσέθηκεν: he set before them. This would suit the context much better.

and made them inherit a law of life.] Houbigant understands this as an allusion to the Law of Nature in man. But this seems incompatible with clause a and with v. 12, both of which—as we understand them—and as the original no doubt intended—would point to the Law of Moses. But we suspect that some alterations were purposely made in this verse by the younger Siracide. The Syr. has "covenant," and we suspect that the younger Siracide purposely changed the הָעֲרָא," "covenant," of the original into "wisdom," εὐστηκως, in order to give the verse a more general, Alexandrian sense. Similarly the Syr. has in the second clause "He taught them" (perhaps מַהֲלִית), which was changed into "made them inherit," as if it were a general human inheritance. Thus Houbigant may, after all, have rightly indicated the intention of the Greek translator, though not the meaning of the original.

12. This verse confirms our previous interpretation. "His judgments," in the sense of the Hebrew הָעֲרָא = laws, commandments, ordinances.

13. Here it is no longer open to doubt that the reference is to the revelation on Sinai. "The majesty of his glory,"—rather, the greatness of the glory (omitting "his");
his glory, and their ears heard his glorious voice.

14 And he said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness; and he gave every man commandment concerning his neighbour.

15 Their ways are ever before him, and shall not be hid from his eyes.

16 Every man from his youth is given to evil; neither could they make to themselves fleshy hearts for stony.

17 For in the division of the nations of the whole earth he set a ruler over every people; but Israel is the Lord’s portion:

18 Whom, being his firstborn, he nouriseth with discipline, and giving him the light of his love doth not forsake him.

19 ‘Therefore all their works are as the sun before him, and his eyes are continually upon their ways.

20 None of their unrighteous deeds are hid from him, but all their sins are before the Lord.

21 But the Lord being gracious, and knowing his workmanship, neither left nor forsook them, but spared them.

22 The alms of a man is as a sign net with him, and he will keep the good deeds of man as the apple of the eye, and give repentance to his sons and daughters.

and again in the second clause, and the glory of their voice [sound = their glorious sound] heard their ear. Many authorities correct add, “their” [after υἱοῦς], into αὐτῶν, “His,” and the Syr. has the same reading. But there seems no need for the correction. “Their” voice or sound was that of the commandments, 2. 12, while they only saw “the greatness of glory,” not “His” glory itself.

14. The reference seems to be to the chapters following the ten commandments, especially Ex. xx., xxii.

15. This verse sets forth the final inference from all as regards Israel’s personal responsibility, in answer to the objections mentioned in Ecclus. xvi. 17, &c.

16. The whole verse must be omitted. It is so evidently an interpolation and of late, probably Christian, authorship, that it is difficult to understand its insertion.

17. Omit “For in the division of the nations of the whole earth.” Fritzsche regards the “rulers” whom God had set over each people as their guardian angels, through whom He stood in some relationship to “every people,” and he refers in corroborration to LXX. Deut. xxxii. 8 and Heb. ii. 5. The latter passage has not any reference to this subject, nor does even the former bear out the conception of Fritzsche, since the parallelism between the verse in Ecclus. and that in LXX. Deut. is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. It is indeed true that the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 8 reproduces the tradition in the Jer. Targ. on Gen. xi. 7, 8, where the “We” who came down to confound the languages and to scatter the people are explained to be the seventy angels, having reference to the seventy nations who would be formed (comp. also Pirij d. R. El. 24). In the later Midrash this is further developed, and God not only assigns to the nations their bounds “according to the number of the angels of God” (LXX. Deut.), but these angel-princes are protectors of the nations, hostile to Israel, and shall ultimately be cast down (Ber. R. 56; Shem. R. 21; Vayy. R. 29; Ruth R. ed. Warsh. p. 36 b). But in Ecclus. there is as yet not any mention of such hostility to Israel on the part of the “angel-princes,” nor even a clear indication of the legend underlying the LXX. gloss on Deut. and the Jer. Targum. When to this we add that Michael was similarly regarded as the “Angel-prince” of Israel, we are inclined to regard the “rulers” of Ecclus. xvii. 17 as secular princes, and the reference—if any—to be to Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 in the Hebrew. And words of comfort like these would be very appropriate in the political condition of Israel in the time of the older Siracide.

18. This verse must be omitted.

19. Omit “therefore.”

20. Their unrighteous deeds are not hid from Him, and all their sins are before the Lord.] The Syr. “and open before Him are all their thoughts”—perhaps more true to the original, or else by way of softening it.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. The last clause after “apple of the eye” must be omitted. From the nation the writer passes to the individual. Although Israel as a people may suffer for their sins, yet there are the righteous among them. We have here clear indication of the later doctrine of
23 *Afterwards he will rise up and reward them, and render their recompence upon their heads.

24 *But unto them that repent, he granted them return, and comforted those that failed in patience.

25 *Return unto the Lord, and forsake thy sins, thy prayer before his face, and offend less.

26 Turn again to the most High, and turn away from iniquity: for he will lead thee out of darkness into the light of health, and hate thou abomination vehemently.

27 "Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks?

28 Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: the living and sound in heart shall praise the Lord.

29 How great is the lovingkindness of the Lord our God, and his compassion unto such as turn unto him in holiness!

30 For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal.

the meritoriousness of "good works," especially of "almsgiving." Altogether the verse forms a later Judaic paraphrase, or rather transformation, of Deut. xxxii. 10. It is now "almsgiving" which is precious as the signet on the hand, and which God guards as carefully as the apple of the eye. Nothing can annul what that signet has sealed; nothing shall disturb or dim that eye. The meaning which we attach to this verse is confirmed by the paraphrastic Syr. rendering: "The righteousness [merit; of all the sons of men is sealed and deposited with Him, and the goodness of all the sons of men is as the apple of the eye preserved before Him."

23. From the use of the expression "and render their recompence upon their own heads," which is not only exactly parallel to Joel iii. (Heb.iv.) 6, 7, but reproduces the wording of the LXX., we conclude that this verse refers not to the subject of v. 22, but to the punishment of the wicked. With this agrees the Syr.: "and return [give] their sins (in the Heb. it was probably דָּוִד; comp. also Ps. xxviii. 4) upon their heads."

24. *granteth... comforteth... fail in confidence. That is, those whose hope or confidence of forgiveness faileth. The Syr. either misread or misunderstood the original.

25. Last stanza. and offend less. Rather: and lessen (the occasion for) offence; lit., "the stumble." The word πένθοσκομμα is used in that sense (although for different Hebrew words) in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 12; Is. viii. 14, xxix. 21; and in N. T. Rom. ix. 32, 33, xiv. 13, 20; 1 Cor. viii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 8. Substantially, therefore, the advice is to avoid what would lead to sin. The Syr. had here either a different text, or altered the original. Or it may be that the younger Siracide had modified it in his own fashion. The Greek is certainly feeble as compared with the Syriac.

26. The clause beginning "for he will lead thee," and ending "into the light of health," must be omitted.

27–28. grave. Rather, Χάδεσ. thanksgiving. Rather, praise. Verses 27 and 28 seem again to imply a denial of personal immortality. On the other hand, the Syr. has: "For what delight hath the Lord in all those who perished in the world instead of them who live and render praise to Him?" Does the Greek text represent an alteration on the part of the younger Siracide, or is the Syr. version a Christian emendation? After "sound" in v. 28 omit the words "in heart." The gloss may have been intended to mitigate what might seem offensive in the original, while the limitation of "praise" to corporeal and temporal benefits is quite in the spirit of at least the younger Siracide.

29. Omit as glosses, similar in character to that just noticed, in clause a, "our God," and in clause b, "in holiness."

30. The first clause in the Greek gives no meaning. If we were to alter ἀνερα into ἀρά, it would agree with the Syr. and the sense would be: "For these things are not in man." But this does not fit in either with what precedes or with what follows. It seems not unlikely that the Hebrew original was "οὐκ ἄνερ οὐκ ἄνερ οὐκ ἄνερ... for the Lord is not as man," and that the younger Siracide misread ἄνερ for ἅνερ and ἄνερ for ἅνερ (comp. Horowitz, in Frankef's 'Moraitsch.' xiv. p. 198). If we may thus account for the first clause by a misreading of the Hebrew, it is not easy to explain the second clause. It accords indeed with the first clause in the Greek, but we can scarcely imagine that it faithfully represents the original. Can it have been intended to convey the same meaning as vvv. 27, 28—a or else to attenuate that meaning.
HE that liveth for ever "created all things in general.
2 The Lord only is righteous, and "there is none other but he,
3 Who governeth the world with the palm of his hand, "and all things obey his will: for he is the King of all, by his power "dividing holy things among them from profane.
4 To whom hath he given power to declare his works? "and who shall "find out his noble acts?

by a vague generality? The Syr. has: "nor is his counsel that of the sons of flesh."

31. Whether we adopt the Greek or the Syriac version of v. 30, v. 31 is evidently intended to set forth in contrast to the greatness and goodness of God the inherent weakness of the creature: What is more shining [more brilliant] than the sun? yet this is obscured: and an evil man will think of flesh and blood. Fritzsche translates: "taketh flesh and blood into consideration," and regards it as referring to a moral obscurcation. But this explanation is not satisfactory. For in that case we should have the inapt comparison of the natural obscurcation of the light of the sun with the voluntary moral obscurcation of the wicked. Our A. V. adopts the Alex. reading, which must be regarded as an attempt at emendation. The Syr. paraphrases. Horowitz (n. t.) conjectures that the Hebrew original was: כ ולים "how much more the thoughts of man who is flesh and blood," or else, on a like supposition, כ וויים "how much more the evil imagining of man who is flesh and blood." If so, the Greek translator might have treated the substantive יוס as a verb, and interpreted it by "meditateth," or "imagineth."

32. He surveys the host of the height of heaven, and men, all [of them], are earth and ashes.] We have rendered διωμυς by "the host," supposing the original to have been βιομυς or βιομυς, which is generally rendered in the LXX. by διωμυς. The Syr. has: "He judgeth the host of heaven, also the children of flesh . . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII.

As is the case in other chapters, so here also the closing part of chap. xvii. becomes the subject of farther teaching in chap. xviii. It consists of two Parts: Part I., v. v. 1-18; Part II., v. 19-end. Part I. contains three stanzas (6—originally 7 + 7 + 7 + 4 verses).

The first stanza (vv. 1-7) sets forth the greatness of God relatively to man; the second stanza (vv. 8-14), the smallness of man relatively to God in His greatness and goodness; while the third stanza (vv. 15-18) admonishes man in his own way to imitate the goodness of God. This forms the transition to Part II., which deals with man. Here also we have three stanzas (7 + 4 + 4 verses), which may be thus summarized: stanza 1 (vv. 19-25), man relatively to God; stanza 2 (vv. 26-29), general inferences; stanza 3 (vv. 30-33), moral application, or rather the commencement of a series of useful commonplace sayings.

1. The text seems here corrupt. The Syr. begins with what we number as v. 4. In the A. V. v. 3 must be omitted, so that the first stanza would only consist of six verses. But we would suggest that both vv. 1 and 2 must in the original have had a second clause, and that there is a lacuna between v. 2 and 4. Thus stanza 1 may originally have consisted of seven verses.

in general.] Rather, generally. This in the sense of the world as a whole (comp. the use of σωμα in 2 Macc. ix. 26). We conjecture that if this verse were in the original Hebrew, it contained a strong assertion of the Divine creation of everything out of nothing, and that the younger Siracide, entertaining the Alexandrian notion of the pre-existence of matter, had modified it, but disguised this under the ambiguous expression σωμα, which might mean "together," "as a whole," or "generally."

2. The Lord alone shall be justified [perhaps: "declared righteous."] This verse seems also fragmentary. We can only conjecture that it expressed an antithesis to the imperfection and defects of all creatures. See under v. 5. The second clause in the A. V. "and there is none other but he," as well as v. 3, must be omitted.

4. To no one [so the better reading] gave He power to proclaim His works.] Schlesner: facultatem dedit, seu copiam fecit—
5 Who shall number the strength of his majesty? and who shall also
tell out his mercies?

6 As for the wondrous works of
the Lord, there may nothing be taken
from them, neither may any thing
be put unto them, neither can the
ground of them be found out.

7 When a man hath done, then he
beginneth; and when he leaveth off,
them shall be doubtful.

8 What is man, and whereto
serveth he? what is his good, and
what is his evil?

9 The number of a man's days at
the most are an hundred years.

10 As a drop of water unto the
sea, and a gravelstone in comparison
of the sand; so are a thousand years
to the days of eternity.

11 Therefore is God patient with
them, and poureth forth his mercy
upon them.

12 He saw and perceived their end

opening to his view. The most apt rendering
here is the Latin obstupescere. This not only
answers to the Syr. rendering, but ἀποτίων is
used in the same sense in the LXX. (see, for
example, Gen. xxxii. 8 (LXX. 7), where it
stands for נַעֲשָׂה) and repeatedly in the N. T.
The Syr. translates "when they return," instead of "when he ceaseth." Possibly the
original may have been בַּשָּׂא, which the Greek
translator rendered "when he ceaseth," while
the Syr. derived it from בַּשָּׂא. The Greek
gives a better sense.

8. This leads up to the second stanza about
man. Instead of "whereto serveth he?" the
Syr. has, "what is his defect and what his
advantage?" — Heb. בִּשְׂפָט הַחַיּוֹת, a word-play.
Altogether a pessimist view of man and of life.

9. The number of days of a man [the
duration of his life] many years, if an
hundred.] Bretschneider quotes from Seneca,
"de breviti vitae," c. 3: "Perverssius te ad ultii-
mum actis humanae videmus: centesimam
tibi, vel supra, premitur annus." But then the
philosopher continues to show how much has
to be deducted from this age on account of
trouble, illness, and needless or frivolous
waste, so that the real span of life is after all

10. As a drop of water out of the sea
and a little stone out of the sand [the omsi-
ション of the prepos. in the second clause is a
Hebraism. See Winer, l. l., p. 373, &c.], so
a few years in the day of eternity.] The
Syr. here paraphrases in turgumic manner.

11. Therefore is the Lord long-suffer-
ing towards them.] He bears with them
in their sins. Bretschneider notes here the
absence of any reference to another life. This
appears especially in v. 12.

12. their end.] ἀναστηρωθήσεται is a rather
stronger word than "end," and used sensu
malo. The Hebrew had probably בִּשְׂפָט, as
in the Syr.
to be evil; therefore he multiplied 13 The mercy of man is toward his neighbour; but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh: he reproves, and nurtureth, and teacheth, and bringeth again, as a shepherd his flock.

He hath mercy on them that receive discipline, and that diligently seek after his judgments.

My son, blemish not thy good deeds, neither use uncomfortable words when thou givest any thing.

13. toward his neighbour.] The Syr., “him that is near in flesh;” this, in accordance with Rabbinic usage and ideas.

reproving, and disciplining, and teaching, and bringing back.] The reference is to God.

14. He hath mercy on them that accept discipline, and who hasten [make haste after His ordinances.] Lit., “judgments,” דודנומ—who submit to the discipline which He administers and become obedient. The Syr. here substitutes: “Happy they who hope in His compassion and they who receive [approve His judgments].”

15. Third stanza: see Introd.

Son, add not blame in thy good deeds.] Lit., give not blame, viz. words of reproach to benefits bestowed—a not uncommon mode of pharisaic churlishness. The opposite characteristic in the gifts of God in St. James i. 5—one of the many parallelisms between that Ep. and Ecclus. (see General Introd.).

nor with [in] every gift sadness [mournings] of words.] Lc, words that cause sadness. The Syr. evidently misunderstood this verse. The sentiment is truly Jewish in the best sense.

16. beat.] Perhaps “scorching east-wind;” in that case it would mean that it restores what such east-wind, דית, “has scorched” (see Grimm, ‘Lex. in l. N. T.’ sub cavaw).

17. a word.] Viz. a good, kind word.

better than a gift.] In the Hebrew probably: יבשא כִּי. The Talmud contains many similar statements. Thus Sukk. 19b: Alms are rewarded only according to the graciousness which accompanies them. In Jer. Peah,” viii. 9, it is pointed out that in Ps. xii. 1 it is said, “Blessed is he that considereth” (not “that giveth to”) “the poor.” In ‘Babbd. B.’ 9b we read that he that gave to the poor a Perutah (the smallest coin) was blessed with six blessings (according to Is. lii. 8, 9), but he that comforted them with words was blessed with eleven blessings (according to Is. lviii. 10–12). Lastly, in ‘Ab. de R. Nath.’ xiii. we are told that if one bestowed on another all the gifts in the world, but with an unpleasant countenance, it would be reckoned as if he had not given anything, while if a man received his neighbour with a pleasant face, even if he gave him nothing, it would be reckoned as if he had bestowed on him all the gifts in the world.

but.] Rather, and.

gracious.] The same expression in St. Luke i. 28.

18. A fool will upbraid ungraciously, and the gift of a shul] בַּשֵּׁרוֹן; Ecclus. xiv. 3, and often—here not exactly = envious, but corresponding to the German schelssichtig, misgünstig] meliteth the eyes.] Not, as Fritzschre understands it: “causeth weeping,” but as in Job xxxi. 16, for מַלֶּת; here possibly מַלֶּת נִיּוֹת—“consumeth the eyes,” perhaps in the sense of their looking and longing in vain.

19. This verse begins the second Part.

use physic.] Rather, attend to thy health, or else get thee medicine. The Syr.: “before thou fightest procure for thyself an helper, and before thou art sick a physician.”

20. Before judgment.] Here evidently that of God, whether the controversy be between Him and man, or between man and man.

and in the hour of visitation thou shalt find reconciliation.] Syr.: “Before adversity comes upon thee, pray, and in the hour of adversity thou shalt find it, and it will procure favour for thee.” The meaning
21 "Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins shew repentance.

22 "Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vow in due time, and defer not until death to be justified.

23 Before thou prayest, prepare thyself; and be not as one that tempteth the Lord.

24 "Think upon the wrath that shall be at the end, and the time of vengeance, when he shall turn away his face.

25 When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger: and when thou art rich, think upon poverty and need.

26 From the morning until the of the Greek is, that if a man thus makes timely self-examination, and combines with it humiliation and repentance, judgment will not descend upon him.

22. The second clause may refer to the practice of delaying to perform a vow till just before death, and then discharging his obligation, and thereby becoming "justified," that is, escaping punishment.

In general vv. 19-21 are strictly Judaic and find their parallel in Rabbinic writings. Thus we read ('Jer. Taan.' iii. 6, p. 92): " Honour thy physician before thou hast need of him." In the Midrash it is quoted as a proverb (Shem. R. 21), and explained to mean that we are to worship and to entreat God before we are overtaken by sickness or adversity (comp. Eccles. xxxviii. 1). In another place (Shabb. 32a) we find this: "Ever let a man seek mercy before he is ill. For when he becomes sick they say to him: Shew thy merits, and thou shalt be delivered." In Sanh. 44b we read: "Ever let a man pray before adversity comes." Again in Nedar. 41a it is said: "The sick does not rise from his sickness till all his sins are forgiven him," and in 'Bab. K.' 46b: "There is no medicament like the medicine of prayer and of the Law." Other passages might be quoted from the tractate 'Berakoth,' setting forth the connexion of prayer and humiliation with the healing of disease. The Syr. renders the passage somewhat differently, and as it seems to us, at any rate, paraphrastically.

23. Before thou vowest, prepare thyself. That is, we are to consider whether the vow should be made, and whether we are prepared to perform it. In the Midrash 'Tanchuma' (Par. Vayyishlach, ed. Warsh. p. 43b) this saying of Ben Sira is quoted as follows: "Before thou vowest, prepare thy vow lest thou be (or, thou be not) as one that causeth to err." This agrees with the Syr., which, however, renders the second clause "and be not as a man that tempteth his Lord"—possibly altering the הינא of the Hebrew original into הינא. But from the quotation in 'Tanchuma' it would rather seem that neither the one nor the other word was in the original. The passage is evidently based on Eccles. v. 4, 5, with which it is brought into connexion in 'Tanchuma.'

24. The Syr. here paraphrases what the translator either did not or else would not understand.

Remember [think upon the] wrath in the days of the end [death ?], and the time of retribution in the turning away [or hiding] of the countenance. Viz. when God shall turn away or hide His countenance. This rendering is established by the use of the similar expressions in LXX. Deut. xxxiv. 18, on which, indeed, the saying of the Siracide seems founded. Comp. for the expression also Deut. xxxii. 20 and other passages. (In general we mark the frequent reference in Eccles. to LXX. Deut.) The verse under consideration has been generally understood as referring to the time of a man's death: "the days of the end" = "the days of death." But in that case we should have expected the singular, not the plural: "in the day," as in Eccles. xi. 26, not "in the days." Accordingly we would suggest that the expression refers not to "death," but represents the Hebrew הינא: that which cometh afterwards, the end, in later Heb. especially the future. Indeed, in LXX. Prov. xxiv. 14 הינא is rendered by γελογη. Thus the meaning of the verse would be: remember the wrath in the days hereafter, in the future, in the end, and that there will be a time of tribulation when He turneth away His countenance. We would farther suggest that the reference is primarily to the making of vows by which God is provoked (v. 24), and secondarily to all sins of rashness. Thus it would, in the strictest sense, be a paraphrase of Eccles. v. 6, which should be rendered (not as in the A. V., nor as in the R. V., but): "Suffer not (cause not) thy mouth to bring punishment upon thy flesh."

25. Remember the time of hunger in the time of plenty, (and) poverty and need in the days of wealth. Here also the reference seems primarily to vows rashly made in a season of prosperity without bearing in mind the future difficulties which this may involve. Besides, the verse may also be intended generally to enjoin the
evening the time is changed, and all things are soon done before the Lord.

27 * A wise man will fear in every thing, and in the day of sinning he will beware of offence: but a fool will not observe time.

28 Every man of understanding knoweth wisdom, and will give praise unto him that found her.

29 They that were of understanding in sayings became also wise themselves, and poured forth exquisite parables.

30 * Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites.

31 If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies that malign thee.

32 Take not pleasure in much good cheer, neither be tied to the expence thereof.

33 Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing, when thou hast nothing in thy purse: for though shalt lie in wait for thine own life, and be talked on.

CHAPTER XIX.

2 Wine and women seduce wise men. 7 Say not all thou hearest. 17 Reprove thy friend without anger. 22 There is no wisdom in wickedness.

30. This verse is headed in the Greek text by the words: "Mastery (control) over the soul." This can scarcely have been in the original, and probably slipped from the margin into the text. It is therefore all the more remarkable that there should be an indication of this inscription in the Syr.—unless, indeed, the translator, or a later "hand," had the Greek before him. The heading itself is not inapt. In all probability the writer intended to begin with v. 30 the exquisite commonplaces or proverbs to which reference was made in v. 29.

31. If thou ministerest [supplyest] to thy soul the pleasure [gratification] of desire [appetite, passion], it will make thee, &c. Omit the words: "that malign thee." A man who gives the reins to his desires will soon become a laughing-stock to his enemies.

32. Delight not in much luxuriousness, nor suffer thyself to be bound to its association. So literally; the purport being to warn against being drawn into association with, or the society of, bóns vívans. Συμπόσια, in the L.XX. always for πολεμόν or πολέμιν — "Luxuriousness," not merely in the pleasures of the table, but including all the wantonness of which this formed part.

33. banqueting.] The expression refers to having a share in joint banquets. Philo (of Ebr., § 6, ed. Mangel, i. p. 360) makes curious reference to such joint feasts, and in haggadic manner traces the word συμπόσιον to a connexion between συμπόσια, the contributions to these feasts, and κόπτειν, "I strike," "wound," "smite." The last clause in the A. V. after "thy purse" must be omitted. The Syr. paraphrases rather is a Targum on the verse.
A LABOURING man that is given to drunkenness shall not be rich: and he that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.

2 "Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away: and he that cleaveth to harlots will become impudent.

3 Moths and worms shall have him to heritage, and a bold man shall be taken away.

4 "He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded; and he that sinneth shall offend against his own soul.

5 Whoso taketh pleasure in wickedness shall be condemned: but he that resisteth pleasures crowneth his life.

6 He that can rule his tongue

CHAPTER XIX.

From what seems a confusion in the text of \( \text{v}. \text{v}. 3-5 \), it is not easy to arrange the chapter. But its general subject seems an admonition to carefulness: first in reference to sinful indulgence (v. 1-3 of A. V.); secondly, in regard to what we listen to, and say (v. 4-12 of A. V.), and what we credit (v. 13-17). Then follows a caution as regards true and false wisdom, and what hypocritically assumes the appearance of wisdom (v. 20-28); the last two verses forming a general conclusion (v. 29, 30).

1. This verse connects itself with the close of the previous chapter.

"and be that despiseth the few things"—either he who is not careful over the few things which he hath, or else he who freely spends what in itself seems little, small sums—"shall speedily [soon] fall, in the sense of being ruined. The Syr. has: "he that loveth flesh shall inherit poverty." It is difficult to account for this: the Greek seems more congruous with the first clause of v. 1; the Syr. with v. 2.

2. [Fall away]—either he who is not careful over the few things which he hath, or else he who freely spends what in itself seems little, small sums—shall speedily [soon] fall, in the sense of being ruined. The Syr. has: "he that loveth flesh shall inherit poverty." It is difficult to account for this: the Greek seems more congruous with the first clause of v. 1; the Syr. with v. 2.

3. [Fall away]—either he who is not careful over the few things which he hath, or else he who freely spends what in itself seems little, small sums—shall speedily [soon] fall, in the sense of being ruined. The Syr. has: "he that loveth flesh shall inherit poverty." It is difficult to account for this: the Greek seems more congruous with the first clause of v. 1; the Syr. with v. 2.

4. [Mothers] In the wider sense of insects of that kind (maggots).

"and a reckless soul shall be destroyed." Several considerations seem to suggest corruption in the text. Thus the description of him that cleaveth to harlots as more reckless seems strange, while the second clause of v. 3 is not only needless, but weakens the first clause. Accordingly it has been suggested that the words "and a reckless soul ( \( \text{γαλανδρόνωρ} \)) have somehow intruded from the second clause of v. 3 ( \( \text{ψηφι} \text{γο} \text{αλανδρονω} \)), and that the verse should read: "he that cleaveth to harlots, mothers and worms shall have him to heritage." This would be parallel to such passages as Prov. v. 5; vii. 26, 27; ix. 18. But in that case it would also seem necessary to strike out the second clause of v. 3, as now doubly incongruous. That clause may originally have been a marginal gloss, which somehow crept into the text, and then in turn gave rise to the intrusion of \( \text{γαλανδρόνωρ} \) in v. 2. The alterations thus made may seem extensive, but they are in accordance with the Syr., which has: "and he that cleaveth to whoredom shall perish."

4. The writer now passes to an entirely different subject, which is connected with the verses following.

"He that hastily [quickly] trusteth [giveth credence]—who is hasty to give trust and credence—is of a light mind." The next clause presents difficulties. Its literal translation would be: and he that sinneth against his soul shall offend, or else be guilty. This, rather than the somewhat unnatural arrangement of the words adopted in the A. V. and by Fritzsche. But in any case it is difficult to see the connexion between this and the first clause of the verse. As in the LXX. the expression "against his own soul" is rendered by \( \text{τη} \text{ς \ιαυτων} \text{ψυχην} \) (LXX. Prov. xx. 2; comp. viii. 36) and not \( \text{ψυχην \ιαυτων} \), we might be inclined to suppose that the Son of Sirach had meant that one who sinned against the soul of another (not "his own") by lightly crediting a report was guilty of offence. But in the Book of Sirach \( \text{ψυχη} \text{ιαυτων} \) is also used for "his own soul." We would therefore suggest that the whole of this difficult clause was not in the original, but has somehow crept into the Greek text. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that the Syr. substitutes for it: "he that condemneth himself, who shall justify him?"—which is an interpolation from x. 29, and is omitted in the Arabic Version.

5, 6. We notice, first, that clause 2 of v. 5 and clause 1 of v. 6 must be omitted. But even so the Greek text is evidently corrupt. Although generally unwilling to adopt extensive emendations, yet those proposed by Drusius are so reasonable and give such a good meaning that we accept them, although
shall live without strife; and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil.

7 *Rehearse not unto another that which is told unto thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse.

8 Whether it be to friend or foe, talk not of other men’s lives; and if thou canst without offence, reveal them not.

9 For he heard and observed thee, and when time cometh he will *hate thee.

10 If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee.

They involve some difficulties. The present text runs: ὅ ἐν φαναρίῳ μοι γαρ ἔχει προσευχὴν;—"he that rejoiceth in heart" [is of joyful heart (?)] "shall be condemned;" καὶ ὁ μισῶν λαλίαν εὐαγγελίων ταῦτα κακίας—"and he that babbling shall have less evil." Even Fritzche admits that nothing can be made of κακίας in the first clause. It is therefore easiest to suppose with Drusius that the κακίας of the first clause, and the κακίας of the second, have been misplaced and must be interchanged. This gives a very good sense for the first clause: "He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned," i.e., he whose delight it is to hear and spread evil. In the second clause a further emendation is required. Drusius supposes that the Hebrew text had רָבָה, "he that repeateth a thing," lit. a word, and that the translator misread it דֶּשֶּׁר, "he that hateth," and accordingly rendered הָיֶשֶׁר "he that hateth babbling" (םָדָר). That the original had "he that repeateth" is confirmed by the Syr., which has the same word. The difficulties unsolved are the substitution of the ב for the מ, and that in 3. 7 what at first sight seem to have been the same Hebrew words (דֶּשֶּׁר מָדָר) are correctly rendered in the Greek: μὴ δὲ μάλλον λόγον (but see v. 7). Still the suggestion of Drusius offers the only satisfactory emendation of the verse. We have little doubt that the same inattention or ignorance which appears in the rendering "he that hateth babbling," also led to the strange error of literally translating רָבָה by λαλεῖν κατὰ ροήν. Thus corrected, the second clause in the Hebrew may have read as follows: רָבָה לָא רָבָה יִצְרָאֵל (םָדָר מָדָר); and the whole verse (vv. 5, 6 in A. V.) would have to be thus rendered: He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned; and he that repeateth a matter is wanting in understanding.

7. Never repeat a speech [a word], and thou shalt fare never the worse. Thus in the Greek. In the Syr. the last clause reads: "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek evidently took the root to be רָבָה, while the Syr. derived the word from דֶּשֶּׁר in the Piel, "to revile." Which of these was correct? We incline to the Syr., which would be a virtual adaptation of Prov. xxv. 9 b, 10 a. If we were conjecturally to reconstruct it according to that passage, the Hebrew of the word would differ from that in v. 6 (see above), and perhaps have run as follows: רָבָה לָא רָבָה יִצְרָאֵל (םָדָר מָדָר), "reveal not a matter [we prefer giving יִצְרָאֵל the wider meaning of "matter," rather than "word" or "speech"] lest man revile thee;" or if מָדָר, "and no one shall revile thee." But perhaps the construction may have been somewhat different.

8. Our conjecture of the derivation of v. 7 from Prov. xxv. 9 b, 10 a, is strengthened by v. 8, which would be an enlargement of the advice in Prov.—in fact, we have the הָיֶשֶׁר יִצְרָאֵל in the μὴ ἀποκαλυπτεί at the close of the verse. The Syr. has here something quite different—whether by way of "targum" or otherwise, it is impossible to say. But we cannot suppose that it gives a correct representation of the Hebrew text, if only because it does not in any wise fit into the context. The Greek text runs: Relate not [viz. a speech, or any matter] whether to friend or to foe [an enlargement on Prov. xxv. 9], and, unless sin [fault, blame] attach to thee, reveal (it) not, i.e., either in the sense that blame or guilt would be imputed or else that it would really accrue, in which cases it would be duty to disclose a matter.

9. The Syr. has: "lest he that heareth thee hateth thee, and regard thee as an harmful person." This seems a closer paraphrase of Prov. xxv. 10 than the Greek text. But the whole section to the end of v. 12 bears evident reference to that passage. The verse reads: For he heareth thee, and on his guard against thee; and on occasion [when occasion arises] he will hate thee; he will not only feel, but shew hatred. Grotius aptly: occasione exacta odium tuui monstrabit.

10. Hast thou heard a thing? [lit. "a word," but λόγον here = רָבָה]. Let it die with thee. Take courage! [cheer up]. It will not burst thee. For this latter the Syr. uses another illustrative figure.
ECCLESIASTICUS. XIX. [v. 11—20.]

11 A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.
12 As an arrow that sticketh in a man's thigh, so is a word within a fool's belly.
13 Admonish a friend, it may be he hath not done it: and if he have done it, that he do it no more.
14 Admonish thy friend, it may be he hath not said it: and if he have, that he speak it not again.
15 Admonish a friend: for many times it is a slander, and believe not every tale.
16 There is one that slippeth in his speech, but not from his heart; and who is he that hath not offended with his tongue?

17 Admonish thy neighbour before thou threaten him; and not being angry, give place to the law of the most High.
18 "The fear of the Lord is the first step to be accepted [of him]," and wisdom obtaineth his love.
19 The knowledge of the commandments of the Lord is the doctrine of life: and they that do things that please him shall receive the fruit of the tree of immortality.
20 The fear of the Lord is all wisdom; and in all wisdom is the MSS., the Syr., and Vet. Lat., "the neighbour" instead of "a friend." In that case the distinction seems to extend also to the persons—in the one case, a friend; and the admonition would be, that we should speak to a friend about what he is supposed to have done, and to a neighbour about what he is reported to have said.

15. Admonish.] Rather, cross-question; see v. 13.

16. There is that slippeth [omit "in his speech"]; but not from his soul.] The reference here seems not to sins of speech (Fritzsche), but to slips in outward conduct, which do not always proceed from inward badness, so that we must not in all cases judge the one from the other.

17. Omit in the second clause the words "not being angry."

Admonish [rather, cross-question] before thou threaten, and give place to the law of the most High.] Fritzsche understands this to mean that in doing as directed in the first clause we shall obey the law of God, as in Lev. xix. 17. But the phrase means, as in Rom. xii. 19, Eph. iv. 27, "to give free scope to a thing." Here: expostulate first, and, if needful, reprove and threaten; but beyond this allow the Law of God to take its course, give free course to it. Thus Rom. xii. 19 would really be a reference to this passage. The Syr. is here quite different.

18, 19. These verses must be omitted.

20. All wisdom is fear of the Lord;
and in all wisdom (there) is doing [fulfilling, observance] of the Law.] The words that follow in the A. V. must be omitted. The writer naturally passes from reference to the Law of God to true wisdom, which is its fulfilment. As regards the expression "doing of the Law," we again mark a similar use in St. James i. 25 (comp. vi. 22), and the parallelism extends beyond the wording to the reasoning. But in the form in which the saying appears in Eccles., it is so Alexandrian that we instinctively turn to the Syr. This has: "The words of prophecy and all wisdom is the fear of the Lord [religion], and the fear of God is wisdom." If we could accept this as representing or approximating to the true text, it would, first, imply a desire to combine the prophetic and the "Wisdom"-books of the Old Testament as constituting the substance of true religion; and thus, secondly, represent the via media in the combination of a moderate Hellenism with Palestinianism, before their separation and later antagonism; in short, what we consider to have been the peculiar theological standpoint of which the Book of Sirach is the expression. It is scarcely necessary to add that if we adopt the Syriac text, the Greek rendering must be regarded as an Alexandrian adaptation by the younger Siracide.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. And wisdom is not knowledge of wickedness, nor is, where the counsel of sinners (is), prudence.] Or else, "there is no case where the counsel of sinners is prudence." Fritzche omits σομον with the Alex.: "nor is the counsel of sinners prudence." The verse seems aptly to follow the reasoning of v. 20. The Syr. gives the sentiment in a concrete form: "He is not wise who is wicked," &c.

23. As the first clause yields no proper meaning, Fritzche proposes to substitute for πωμαι, "wickedness," παρωμαι, "cleverness," as in v. 25—supposing that πωμαι had crept in from the preceding verse. But there is little MS. support for this emendation. Besides, even if we were so to correct the first clause of the verse, a similar want of meaning exists in the second clause. On the other hand, it has been well suggested that a comparison with the Syr. shews that the word πωμαι, "wickedness," in the first clause, has been interchanged with τρομαι, "wisdom," in the second clause. Thus corrected, the text reads: "There is a wisdom and it is an abomination, and there is a silly person who is without [free from] wickedness." With this the following verse agrees.

24. Better one inferior in understanding who feareth (the Lord) than one who excelleth [aboundeth] in cleverness and transgresseth the Law.] The Syr. is only a virtual repetition of the previous verse.

25. There is an exact [accurate, precise] prudence [subtilty], and it is unjust. The outcome of this precise subtlety is not truth nor justice, but unrighteousness and injustice.

and there is that turneth aside (judgment) for the sake of making it appear judgment.] I.e. he not only makes his turning aside of judgment appear as if it were true judgment, but he is so subtle as to give to that which is really a turning aside of judgment the appearance of having been done for the sake of shewing forth judgment and vindicating the right. The clause is confessionally very difficult. We supply κρίμα after διαπρεπειον; the same expression occurs in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 6 for κρίμαν ὃν.

26. The transition is natural from the clever deceiver to the clever impostor. "There is that is wicked who is bowed down with sadness, and . . ."

27. He boweth down the face and
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and making as if he heard not: where he is not known, he will do thee a mischief before thou be aware.

28 And if for want of power he be hindered from sinning, yet when he findeth opportunity he will do evil.

29 A man may be known by his look, and one that hath understanding by his countenance, when thou meetest him.

30 A man's attire, and excessive laughter, and gait, shew what he is.

CHAPTER XX.

1 Of silence and speaking. 10 Of gifts and gain. 18 Of skipping by the tongue. 24 Of lying. 27 Of divers advertisements.

is deaf with one ear; when he is not observed [perceived], he will anticipate [surprise, prevent] thee.] The A. V. correctly gives the meaning of the writer.

29. By his look [i.e. by what is seen of him, as it were the impression made by his appearance— Μάτιω] shall a man be known, and one that hath understanding shall be known—occursu faciei—by the meeting of countenance.] I.e. by the manner in which his countenance is met, the expression it wears.

30. The Talmud also gives rules in regard to appearance and demeanour by which a man may be known. Two of those here mentioned—dress and gait—are referred to in Ber. 43 b. Comp. also the three things in which it is said that a man shews what is in him: in his cup, in his purse, and in his anger, to which is added as a fourth—in his merriment (Erubh. 65 b).

CHAPTER XX.

From the long parenthesis in chap. xix. 20–30 the writer returns to the topic of chap. xix. 13–17. The main subject discussed in chap. xx. seems to be that of speech. The various points in the reasoning are somewhat loosely connected—rather linked together than of one piece. But this is characteristic of the whole book. In the first eight verses the advantages and disadvantages of silence and speech are discussed; the moral being that it is impossible to lay down any absolute rule, and that sometimes what seems the worse is the better and more desirable, and vice versa. This leads the writer into a series of other illustrations, vv. 9–13. With v. 14 the writer returns to his subject, treating of the silly man in his talk (vv. 14–17), of the unpleasant man in his conversation (vv. 18–20), of rashness, especially in speech.

HERE is a reproof that is not comely: again, some man holdeth his tongue, and he is wise.

2 It is much better to reprove, than to be angry secretly: and he that confesseth his fault shall be preserved from hurt.

3 How good is it, when thou art reproved, to shew repentance! for so shalt thou escape wilful sin.

4 As is the lust of an eunuch to deflower a virgin; so is he that executeth judgment with violence.

5 There is one that keepeth silence, and is found wise: and another by much babbling becometh hateful.

(vv. 21–23), of false speaking (vv. 24–26), and lastly, of the bearing of the wise, whether as regards speech, silence, or conduct.

1. There is an exostulation [arguing, ἀληγγος] which is not seasonable. Ὅποιος bears the twofold sense of our word "seasonable,"—timely and seemly. As previously indicated, there is not an exact English equivalent for ἀληγγος: it is not precisely admonition nor yet reproof, but that argument which may imply either, or both, or on the other hand may fall short of them. The second clause is, if not quite literally, yet so forcibly rendered in the A. V. and so fully expresses the meaning of the writer that it had best be adopted; although for "again, some man" it will be better to substitute "and there is."

2. How much better to exostulate than to cherish anger.] Omit "his fault." Rather, damage. The Syr. has here something quite different.

Omit v. 3 in A. V.

4. We should be disposed to regard this as an interpolation, since, at first sight at least, it does not seem to fit into the context, but it occurs also in the Syr. If, however, we regard ποτειν κριματα not as meaning to execute judgment, but, like προβήτας in the Heb. and in the LXX., as occasionally meaning "to do judgments," in the sense of doing what is righteous, it would yield a good sense: "so he that doeth judgments (but) in [by] violence." The point of comparison in the coarse illustration of clause 1 would then be the incongruity and impossibility of the attempt in both cases. If this be the correct view, v. 4 may be connected with the first clause of v. 2.

5. There is that keepeth silence who is found wise, and there is that is odious.
6 Some man holdeth his tongue, because he hath not to answer: and some keepeth silence, knowing his time.

7 A wise man will hold his tongue till he see opportunity: but a babbler and a fool will regard no time.

8 He that useth many words shall be abhorred; and he that taketh to himself authority therein shall be hated.

9 There is a sinner that hath good success in evil things; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.

10 There is a gift that shall not profit thee; and there is a gift whose recompence is double.

11 There is an abasement because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.

12 There is that buyeth much for a little, and repayeth it sevenfold.

13 'A wise man by his words maketh himself beloved: but the graces of fools shall be poured out. Or, pleasant counsels.

14 The gift of a fool shall do thee no good when thou hast it; neither yet of the envious for his necessity: for he looketh to receive many things for one.

15 He giveth little, and upbraideth much; he openeth his mouth like a crier; to day he lendeth, and to morrow will he ask it again: such from a low estate.

from a low estate. Out of a low estate, out of humiliation. The expression “there is” = there may be. The attainment of high estate may entail real loss, while sinking to a humble condition may issue in real exaltation. In all these matters outward or temporary appearance must not deceive us.

13. The wise man by his speech . . . but the amilities of fools shall be poured out.] That is, all the speeches and the like in which fools do their best to make themselves pleasant shall be like water, or some other fluid, that shall be poured away.

14. The middle clauses in A. V. must be omitted.

The gift of one who is senseless [silly, foolish — בְּרוֹחַ, or else בְּרֵיחַ] shall not profit thee, for in his view [opinion, lit. his eyes—in the Heb. וַיַּכֶּא, “in his eyes,” or it may have been וַיַּכֶּא instead of וַיֶּכֶא] Is. he considers one thing as if they were many: not necessarily with a view to the return which he expects, but it is characteristic of certain persons that they look upon every little thing that they have or bestow as if it were an immense quantity, and so indefinitely multiply in their own minds any favour or benefit. This view is confirmed by the following verse. [We would here call attention to the Syr. and the Vet. Lat., both for their additions and the remarkable agreement between them, as specially noticed in the General Introduction, § VIII., when treating of the Vet. Lat.]

15. Omit the closing words “of God and man.”
an one is to be hated of God and man.

16. The fool saith, I have no friends, I have no thank for all my good deeds, and they that eat my bread speak evil of me.

17. How oft, and of how many shall he be laughed to scorn! for he knoweth not aright what it is to have; and it is all one unto him as if he had it not.

18. To slip upon a pavement is better than to slip with the tongue: so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily.

19. An unseasonable tale will always be in the mouth of the unwise.

20. A wise sentence shall be rejected when it cometh out of a fool's mouth; for he will not speak it in due season.

21. There is that is hindered from sinning through want: and when he taketh rest, he shall not be troubled.

22. There is that destroyeth his own soul through baseness, and by accepting of persons overthroweth himself.

23. There is that for baseness promiseth to his friend, and maketh him his enemy for nothing.

24. A lie is a foul blot in a man, yet it is continually in the mouth of the untaught.

16. speak evil of me.] We should prefer rendering: are paltry [sorry] of tongue. ἑαυτῶς gives the idea of meanness rather than evil, and this suits the context very well, since a silly, boastful person who had an overweening opinion of himself would not complain that those who receive his benefits—eat his bread—speak evil of him, but that they do not make enough of him or of his good deeds, give him not sufficient public praise, are mean and sorry of speech.

17. Omit all after "laughed to scorn."

18. The subject of v. 5 and following is now resumed, although tongue and speech have throughout been in the mind of the writer.

A slip [Slipping] on [because of, on account of] the ground rather than by [in] the tongue; so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily [quickly]. The idea seems to be: A slip on the ground brings a person to a sudden fall; but a slip as regards speech is far worse: he who committeth sins of speech may look for a sudden fall, far worse in every sense than the sudden downfall of a person who slips while he walks. The Syr. is quite different.

19. An ungracious man [is like] unseasonable talk [speech, saying]: in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous. Viz. as unseasonable—not necessarily foolish or wrong—talk is continuous in the mouth of uncultured persons, so is an ungracious personage: even when in the right he is always mal a propos. This is followed out in the next verse.

20. A parable from the mouth of a fool shall be rejected [not necessarily because it is silly or false; but from this cause], for he speaketh it not in its season. It is spoken unseasonably: so an ungracious person is always unseasonable in what he says and does, even if in itself it were right, and like an unseasonable saying he is rejected.

21. Silence from want of having anything proper to say may be preferable to unseasonable speech. This is illustrated by an analogous case.

There is that is hindered from sinning through want. Lack of means prevents his sinning—just as a man may be silent because he has not anything to say. But what of that? So far from being a real disadvantage: and in his repose he shall not feel remorse. Once more the Syr. is, for one reason or another, not of any help to us.

22. On the other hand, there is false and wrong silence: "there is that through baseness destroyeth himself" (lit. his soul, ὅπως) = he is ashamed or afraid to speak out and ruins himself by such silence—"and through a silly face overthroweth himself." The Syr. has "by covering his face." This may be merely a Targum of the Hebrew, just as the Greek was probably a paraphrase of it—or there may have been a confusion of the roots ὅπως, "to cover," and ἄπως, "to be foolish."

23. Similarly baseness may lead a person by his silence to give the impression of having made a promise to a friend, and thereby turn him into an enemy "for nothing"—when there is really no cause for it.

24. in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous. They will always tell and do lies.
25 A thief is better than a man that is accustomed to lie: but they both shall have destruction to heritage.

26 The disposition of a liar is dishonourable, and his shame is ever with him.

27 A wise man shall promote himself to honour with his words: and he that hath understanding will please great men.

28 He that tilleth his land shall increase his heap: and he that pleaseth great men shall get pardon for iniquity.

29 Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and stop up his mouth that he cannot reprove.

30 Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?

31 Better is he that hideth his folly than a man that hideth his wisdom.

32 Necessary patience in seeking the Lord is better than he that leadeth his life without a guide.

CHAPTER XXI.

2 Flee from sin as from a serpent. 4 His oppression will undo the rich. 9 The end of the unjust shall be nought. 12 The difference between the fool and the wise.

MY son, hast thou sinned? do so no more, but ask pardon for thy former sins.

2 Flee from sin as from the face

26. The Syr. has instead of what is rendered “disposition” the word “end.” It has been suggested that the Heb. had הָרָע, “the end,” “what cometh after,” and that the Greek misread it נָרָע, “the paths;” in which case the Greek would have to be corrected: “The end of a liar is dishonour, and his shame is continuous with him.” But it must be admitted that the Greek gives also a good sense and that it suits the context, while, on the other hand, the second clause in the Syr. shews that the rendering of the verse was paraphrastic, in which case we can understand the sense of the word “end” for “paths,” mode of life.

27. From sin and folly in speech, with their consequences, the writer again turns to wisdom in speech. The Vatican text has here again an inscription: “Sayings of Parables,” or rather “Parabolic” or “Proverbial sayings.” This has evidently crept into the text from the margin. It seems probable that these inscriptions represent an early attempt to arrange the somewhat loosely connected reasoning, especially in some parts, of this book under definite headings. “Shall promote himself” = make himself promoted.

28. and a prudent man will please the great [Bissell.].] The morality of the sentiment is not very elevated. The Syr. is doubtful and at best paraphrastic.

29. Presents [to guests—xenia, in Lat. as in Gr.] and gifts blind the eyes of the wise [all but the first word is a quotation from LXX. Deut. xvi. 19]; and, as a muzzle on the mouth, they turn away reproofs [Bissell].

30, 31. These verses occur again in xli. 14, 15. They may have been common sayings; but their repetition in the one or the other place is probably due to a marginal reference, that is boarded.] Rather, that is not seen, or, that does not appear. In either case, to be of use they must be brought forth. br.] Lit a man.

32. This verse in A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXI.

The writer returns in vv. 1 to xix. 13 b. But it is difficult to perceive any orderly arrangement in this chapter, which is even more loosely strung together than others. It was perhaps on this ground that the marginal heading (see xx. 27) “Parabolic” or “Proverbial sayings” was chosen. We can, however, mark the antithetic description of the sinner and the righteous, and, side by side with it, of the wise and the fool. The best arrangement seems to be that of grouping the chapter into triplets of verses (vv. 28 forming a general conclusion), in which case a progression of thought may be marked.


2. “As from the face of” = as from before, בִּלְבָּל. The danger of sin is illustrated by three figures: the serpent in its stealthy
of a serpent: for if thou comest too near it, it will bite thee: the teeth thereof are as the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men.

3 All iniquity is as a two edged sword, the wounds whereof cannot be healed.

4 To terrify and do wrong will waste riches: thus the house of proud men shall be made desolate.

5 A prayer out of a poor man's mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and his judgment cometh speedily.

6 "He that hateth to be reproved is in the way of sinners: but he that feareth the Lord will repent from his heart.

7 An eloquent man is known far and near; but a man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth.

8 "He that buildeth his house with other men's money is like one with unobserved approach; the lion with his destructive teeth; and the two-edged sword with its incurable wounds.

too near.] Rather, near.

slaying.] Perhaps a somewhat too strong expression.

souls.] Here in the sense of the Heb. דַּתָּעים, and not in that which in English commonly attaches to the word. The Syr. text is corrupt.

3. Every transgression (is) as a two-edged sword: for the wound thereof there is not healing.

4. Second triplet. Terrifying and violence—the one perhaps referring to words, the other to deeds, or else: violence and outrage.

so the house of the proud shall be made desolate.] "The proud" are the Heb. דַּתָּнятие in the O. T. sense of "proud," which implies ungodliness. In fact, the clause is a reproduction of Prov. xv. 25, although the LXX. there renders דַּתָּнятиֹ לַבַּל by οἶκου τοῦ βηστοῦν.

5. The prayer of the poor (reacheth) from the mouth (viz. of the petitioner) to his ears (viz. those of the proud).] The A. V. and some interpreters refer the "his" to God, and would have us translate: "The prayer out of the mouth of a poor man reacheth to his ears, viz. those of God. But, first, "out of the mouth of the proud" would have been εἰ στὸς ἄνθρωπος πανταχου; secondly, prayers that reach not "to" but "into" the ears of God are in the LXX. not rendered by εἰς, which cannot mean "to" in the sense of "into," but "up to," the loci terminus ad quem. The LXX. in such cases uses εἰς, as in LXX. Ps. xvii. 7. εἰς ὁρά τινα αὐτοῦ, or else the writer would have chosen such an expression as in Ps. xxxiv. 15 (LXX. Ps. xxxiii. 16), with which his thought would have been strictly parallel. Lastly, the αὐτοῦ, "his," of v. 5 most naturally refers to the "prayed" mentioned in v. 4. So also Grothus, Fritzschhe, and Bretschneider. Accordingly the judgment spoken of in the second clause of v. 5 must be regarded as that of "the proud," mais not into whose ears the prayer of the poor reached. The most curious attempt at interpretation is that of the Aethiop.: "When the proud man asketh, he gapes as far as his ears." [Here and in other references to the Aethiop.: Margoliouth.]

6. He that hateth reproof (is) in the track (in the wake) of the sinner.] Which perhaps is not the same as "he walketh in the way of the sinner"—in a sinful way, but rather that he walks in the footsteps, the track, which sinners who also refuse reproof have left.

reproof.] ἀργυρια, "expostulation," "moral argument." The first clause of the verse evidently refers back to xix. 13-17, and the second clause to xix. 20.

but be that feareth the Lord will repent (turneth) in heart.] The same verb is frequently used in the N. T. to indicate conversion.

7. Third triplet. Known from afar is he that is mighty in tongue, and (not) be "hasty" in his slips (or "he will not escape the man of understanding].

Generally, the "mighty in tongue" is supposed to mean an eloquent man who is known from afar,—as Fritzschhe explains, easily. But μάκροθεν is not used in that sense, nor is it easy to perceive either the meaning of an eloquent man being known from afar or the fitness of introducing him in that connection. As the whole triplet is condemnatory in its character, we regard the expression "mighty in tongue" as used in an ironical or rather an evil sense, and as referring to "the tongue that speaketh great things," Ps. xii. 4. In fact, "the mighty in tongue" are the same as those in Ps. xii. 5, "who say," With our tongues we will preval"—the διωκότες is the ἀρκαίας ἡμῶν (this rather than the ἀρκάδαις of Ps. xii. 5—see Delitzsch ad loc.), ἀρκαίας being in the LXX. commonly rendered by διωκότας.

8. The last words in the second clause are
that gathereth himself stones for the
tomb of his burial.
9 The congregation of the wicked
is like tow wrapped together: and
the end of them is a flame of fire to
destroy them.
10 The way of sinners is made
plain with stones, but at the end
thereof is the pit of hell.
11  If He that keepeth the law of
the Lord gotteth the understanding
thereof: and the perfection of the
fear of the Lord is wisdom.
12 If He that is not wise will not be
taught: but there is a wisdom
which multiplieth bitterness.
13 The knowledge of a wise man shall
abound like a flood: and his
counsel is like a pure fountain of
life.

rendered in the A. V. according to Co., or
rather 148, 106, which agree with the Syr.
In this reading εἰς χάμα is substituted for εἰς
χάμων, and the words ραφής αἰνοῦ ("of his
burial") are added. But, according to the
generally accepted reading, the second clause
must be translated: as one that gathereth
his stones for [unto] winter. To this it
seems difficult, if not impossible, to attach any
meaning. Fritzsche regards it as implying:
like a fool that gathereth stones instead of
wood for winter. The explanation is even
more difficult than the illustration which it
professes to explain. We would suggest that
the Greek misread ηντῆς, "winter," for δῆνη,
"desolation," which was the word in the
original. In that case the original would
have been: "He that buildeth his house by
goods [property] belonging to others as he
that gathereth his stones for desolation [for
a ruin, for what is to be such]."

9. The congregation of transgressors (is
as) tow gathered [heaped] together.] A
word-play here between σωματίωα, "gathered
together," and σωματίωα, "the gathering,"
"congregation."
and their end a flame of fire.] The
reference is probably to Is. i. 31. Omit the
words "to destroy them."

10. Fourth triplet. but.] Rather, and.
bell.] Rather, Hades. The Syr. has: "The
path of the wicked is a stumbling-block to
him, because the end thereof is a deep ditch."
Does the difference between the Greek
"made plain with (by) stones" and the Syr.
"stumbling-block" depend upon a different
reading or misreading of the Hebrew—to
which the Aethiop. seems to point by its
rendering, "rough are the stones of the road
of sinners?" Or did the Syr. alter what
seemed a dangerous statement in the original?

11. Omit in first clause the words "of the
Lord." Thus corrected, the A. V. expresses
one mode of rendering or rather interpreting
the first clause, in which case it would be
parallel to St. John vii. 17. But, as Fritzsche
rightly observes, the word εἰσοδομεῖ could
scarcely be used of "understanding" of the
Apos.—Vol. II.

Law. The word does not occur in the LXX.,
and (besides this passage) is only used by Theo-
dotion in the plural for γνῶσις, "the evil
counsels" (of the wicked), Prov. xii. 5. We
prefer therefore another rendering of the
clause, which seems not only more easy,
but entirely agrees with the Syr.: He that
keepeth (ἕκαστος) the Law gotteth the
mastery [rule] over his inclination
[intent, mind, disposition, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀποκαλύ
ting, in the peculiar sense of ἐπιθυμία.] The next clause of
the verse is so entirely Alexandrian that we
prefer regarding the Syr. as representing the
genuine Hebrew text. It reads: "and he
that feareth the Lord shall not want any-
thing," which is a reproduction of Ps. xxxiv. 9
(Heb. 10). In the Syriac Psalter this verse
seems wanting, but the Syriac of Ecclus. xxi.
11 reproduces the wording of the Targum on
Ps. xxxiv. 10.

12. wise.] Rather, prudent.
taught.] Here rather in the sense of moral
teaching. The Alex. rightly inserts δι', "but,
"at the beginning of the second clause. The
Syr. wholly omits the verse; and if our
conjecture be correct as to the Hellenistic alter-
ation introduced in the Greek of v. 11 b, we
can understand the motive for such a sen-
timent as v. 12, which seems an adaptation
from xix. 22-25.

wisdom.] Rather, prudence; perhaps
here in the sense of subtlety.

13. This verse begins another triplet—
unless, indeed, we were to regard it as com-
mencing with v. 14, the four lines of v. 15
being in that case two verses thrown together.
sball abound.] Rather, will increase,
—well, become more full.
counsel.] Probably, as generally in the
LXX., ἀποκαλύσις (this rather than ἀποκάλυψις)—in
the wider sense of "counsel" = resolve, purpose.

pure fountain of life.] Omit the word
"pure." Generally the expression "fountain of
life" is supposed to be = "living waters,"
ὕδωρ ζωῆς, but it rather corresponds to ἠπότοκος,
in Prov. xiii. 14, xiv. 27, to both of which
14. "The inner parts of a foot are like a broken vessel, and he will hold no knowledge as long as he liveth.

15. If a skilful man hear a wise word, he will commend it, and add unto it: but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it behind his back.

16. The talking of a fool is like a burden in the way: but grace shall be found in the lips of the wise.

17. They enquire at the mouth of the wise man in the congregation, and they shall ponder his words in their heart.

18. As is a house that is destroyed, so is wisdom to a fool: and the knowledge of the unwise is as talk without sense.

19. Doctrine unto fools is as fetters on the feet, and like manacles on the right hand.

20. "A fool lifteth up his voice.

This verse is strictly parallel, and where the LXX. translates πυγὴ χώρις. It is, indeed, not impossible that πυγή (χώρις might represent the Heb. דָּבָר דָּבָר רָכֲב), "fountain of living waters," not "fountain of life," since in one passage (Jer. vii. 13) it is so rendered in the LXX.; but it is very improbable, considering that in three other passages דָּבָר דָּבָר is not so translated (Cant. iv. 15; Jer. ii. 13; Zech. xiv. 8).

14. Omit "as long as he liveth," which, however, is supported by 165, 248, Co., and is in the Syr.

be will hold no knowledge.] As a vessel that is broken cannot hold what is put into it, so are the inner parts of a foot as regards knowledge — ἐφόρκαι, ἐφορκός : so in the LXX. rendering of Ps. xlix. (LXX., l.) 12; Ps. cviii. (LXX., cix.) 18. It is not quite が多い (comp. Ps. xxxix. 4; lv. 5), but rather designates the seat of feeling and thinking. For "broken vessel" the Syr. has "broken cistern," which is both more apt and more biblical.

15. We suspect that in the original v. 15 a, b and c, d formed two verses (see above, vul. 12, 13).

a skilful man.] Rather, a man of understanding [knowledge], in the wider biblical sense, including, and in a sense identifying, moral and intellectual knowledge, ἐπιστήμην (in the N. T. only in St. Jas. iii. 13—which should be marked as farther shewing the correspondence between St. Jas. and Ecclus.); the Heb. תָּכָר (so, with only one exception, in the LXX.), and generally combined with "wise."

but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it.] Rather, "he that liveth in pleasure [is given to pleasure] heareth it, and it displeaseth him." Clauses a and c, b and d are strictly antithetic. Opposed to "a man of knowledge" is δ ἐπιστήμην, "he that is given to pleasure." The word occurs again in 1 Tim. v. 6; St. Jas. v. 5, but it is not used in the LXX., where we have, however, the compound καταστρατεύσαο into Prov. xxix. 11; Amos vi. 4. Whereas the man of understanding addeth to a wise word, the man who liveth for pleasure casteth it behind his back. For the latter expression, see 1 Kings iv. 9; Ezek. xxiii. 35; Nehem. ix. 26.

16. This verse begins another triplet.

talking.] Narrative (talk, here perhaps: explanation).

in the way.] I.e., while journeying—instead of lightening its difficulties and troubles, only increasing them.

grace.] Not in the commonly understood biblical sense, but in that of pleasantness; see the Syr., which also instead of "fool" has "the wicked," and "the pious" instead of "intelligent."

the wise.] Rather, of him who is intelligent—has understanding.

17. The mouth of the prudent will be sought.] Viz., his word or saying; comp. as to God Amos viii. 12. In the second clause we accept (as in the A. V.) the Alex. reading διανοοθέτησεν instead of the Vat. διανοοθέτησεν.

18. As a house destroyed.] Fritzsche explains: "as a house destroyed is not of any use, so is wisdom to a fool." The Syr. has: "as a prison." We believe that the Syr. read אְרֹבֶן מַעַל (comp. Gen. xlii. 10) and the Greek ἀλλαγὴν ἁπλὴν. More puzzling is the Syr. rendering in the second clause. Here the Greek has: as words that will not bear enquiry (A. V., "as talk without sense"); while the Syr. renders, "like coals of fire."

19. Another triplet. Fetter on the feet (so is) instruction to those without understanding.] Alike hindering and unpleasant, as preventing them from freely walking in their own ways.

on the right hand.] Which is mostly engaged in action.

20. with.] Rather, in.
with laughter; but a wise man doth scarce smile a little.

21 Learning is unto a wise man as an ornament of gold, and like a bracelet upon his right arm.

22 A foolish man’s foot is soon in his [neighbour’s] house: but a man of experience is ashamed of him.

23 A fool will peep in at the door into the house: but he that is well nurtured will stand without.

24 It is the rudeness of a man to hearken at the door: but a wise man will be grieved with the disgrace.

25 The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain not unto them: but the words of such as have understanding are weighed in the balance.

26 The heart of fools is in their mouth: but the mouth of the wise is in their heart.

[a wise man.] Rather, a prudent man.

21. Instruction is to a man of understanding.] The verse is in antithesis to v. 19.

22. Another triplet. The foot of a fool (is) quickly into a house. We believe this to be the passage (hitherto not localised) which the Talmud has in view, when it quotes as from ‘The Book of the Son of Sira’: “Three I hate and four I do not love—a prince (leader) who goes about drinking-houses—some say, who is quarrelsome; some say, who is quick-tempered—a man who places his habitation in the high places of the city [we omit the third], and a man who enters the house of his neighbour suddenly” (without knocking) (Nidd. 16 b; comp. Pes. 112 a).

but a man of experience will feel shame before the face.] So literally; and the question is whether we are to explain it as “the face of him,” i.e. before him that is to be visited, or else as meaning “before the house.” Fritzsche goes so far as to apply the expression πρόσωπον (face) to the inner walls of the antechamber, before which such a person is supposed to hesitate or feel reluctance (bat Sechen). The Syr. renders: “bends down the face.” If we suppose the Greek text to be a correct rendering of the Hebrew, we should certainly explain it as meaning “the face of him” in the sense of being bashful when visiting a house. But may it not be that the Hebrew text was יִנָּהֵל יִנָּהֵל, “hesitates before it,” which was misunderstood and mistranslated as above?

23. A silly person . . . but a man who is instructed [cultured, educated; the German gebildet].] While a silly person in his curiosity tries to get a peep of what is going on, a well-bred person purposely stands far away. The Syr. has a strange and certainly inapt rendering.

24. It is want of breeding [rudeness] . . . but he who is sensible [intelligent, prudent] will be weighed down [bur-
ECCLESIASTICUS, XXI. XXII.

27 When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul.
28 "A whisperer defileth his own soul, and is hated wheresoever he dwelleth.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 Of the slothful man, 3 and a foolish daughter.

mouth . . . . "but in the heart . . . ." The first part of the verse does not require any comment. "To wear one’s heart on one’s sleeve" indicates shallowness alike of feeling and of intellect. The second clause Frizesche regards as meaning that the wise have first well pondered in their hearts what they utter with their mouths. But the antithesis seems to suggest more than this, viz. that the wise are reticent as to their deepest feelings: they do not parade them before all and every one—their heart is their mouth.

27. This verse is of the greatest interest, alike as regards the theology of the writer and indirectly the age of this book. When the writer speaks of cursing Satan as seducing a man unto sin, he refers to the person of the Devil. But the allusion implies not only belief in the personality of Satan on the part of the older Siracide, but that this belief was so general that the writer could put its expression into the mouth of the wicked. And not only so, but by the side of it we find also the rationalistic corrective that what men called Satan was really their own evil inclination. This certainly accords with an exceptional Rabbinic view, which identifies Satan with the Tetser ba-Ra, the evil inclination (Bab. Bathr. 16 a). But, just hinted, this was not the common view, according to which Satan was also regarded as inciting man to sin (comp. the App. on Satanology in ‘Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,’ vol. ii. p. 757). We have therefore here alike evidence of a general belief in Satan and its rationalistic modification. On the other hand, we also mark here a development (this rather than a progression) in the Old Testament standpoint on this subject. Its various stages in the later books of the Old Testament may be indicated in the following order:—Job i. 6–12, ii. 1–7; Zech. iii. 1, 2; and lastly, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, with which comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. With these passages should be compared, on the other hand, the curious (later) Rabbinic comments (see ‘Miqr. Gedol.,’ ad loc.). Considering the developed Angelology in the Book of Daniel, it seems strange that no reference should be made in it to Satan. Indeed, the apparent generality of the belief as implied in Ecclus. seems incompatible with this silence in Daniel, if the authorship of the latter were posterior to that of Ecclesiasticus. In the later Apocrypha (Bar. Tob.,) Demonology appears in a very developed and Judaic form. To Wisd. ii. 24 we do not refer, on account of the late composition of that book. The Syr. paraphrase for "Satan," "him that has not sinned against him," is both interesting and curious. In our view it implies not another Hebrew text, but the avoidance of its meaning by a paraphrase.

28. wheresoever be dwelleth.] Rather, in the neighbourhood, i.e. among his neighbours. The Syr. has: "The soul of the wise is grieved (oppressed, in anguish) on account of the fool, because he knoweth not what he should say unto him."

CHAPTER XXII.

This chapter is better connected than that which preceded. The subject seems still a warning against folly, in its various manifestations, specially as regards speech. In that respect the aspiration of the last verse forms an appropriate general conclusion. The first five verses refer to certain aspects of folly of conduct, especially as regards the young. From this the transition is natural to instruction, especially of the young, which is hopeless in cases where there is a certain disposition (five verses, vv. 6–12, as vv. 9, 10 must be omitted). This leads to the admonition to avoid all intercourse with such persons (three verses, but one of them a triplet, in six lines: vv. 13–15). Next, the steadfast purpose of a wise man is contrasted with that of the fool (three verses: vv. 16–18). Lastly, the difference is described between the speech and action of the fool in regard to others, with its sad consequences (four verses, the last of them double: vv. 19–22), and the speech and action of the wise in regard to others, with its happy results (four verses, the first of them double: vv. 23–26). The chapter closes with an aspiration after higher direction in this matter.

1. is compared.] I.e. is like.

a filthy stone.] The lapis latrinorum. will hiss him out to his disgrace.] Rather, will hiss over his dishonour. Generally the clause is supposed to refer to the filthy stone which is looked upon as disgusting. And so the Syr., "every one runs away from
2 A slothful man is compared to the filth of a dunghill: every man that takes it up will shake his hand.

3 An evil nurtured son is the dishonour of his father that begat him: and a [foolish] daughter is born to his loss.

4 "A wise daughter shall bring an inheritance to her husband: but she that liveth dishonestly is her father's heaviness.

5 She that is bold dishonoureth both her father and her husband, but they both shall despise her.

6 A tale out of season is as [is] music in mourning: but stripes and correction of wisdom are never out of time.

7 Whoso teacheth a fool is as one that glueth a potsherd together, and as he that waketh one from a sound sleep.

8 He that telleth a tale to a fool speaketh to one in a slumber: when he hath told his tale, he will say, What is the matter?

9 If children live honestly, and have [wherewithal], they shall cover 1 Or, the baseness of their parents.

10 But children, being haughty,
through disdain and want of nurture do stain the nobility of their kindred. 11 Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light: and weep for the fool, for he wanteth understanding: make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest: but the life of the fool is worse than death.

12 Seven days do men mourn for him that is dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man all the days of his life.

13 Talk not much with a fool, and go not to him that hath no understanding: "beware of him, lest thou have trouble, and thou shalt never be defiled with his fooleys: depart from him, and thou shalt find rest, and never be disquieted with his madness.

14 What is heavier than lead? and what is the name thereof, but a fool?

15 "Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear, than a man without understanding.

16 As timber girt and bound together in a building cannot be loosed with shaking: so the heart that is established by advised counsel shall fear at no time.
17 A heart settled upon a thought of understanding is as a fair plastering on the wall of a gallery.

18 Pales set on a high place will never stand against the wind: so a fearful heart in the imagination of a fool cannot stand against any fear.

19 He that pricketh the eye will make tears to fall: and he that pricketh the heart maketh it to shew her knowledge.

20 Whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away: and he that upbraideth his friend breaketh friendship.

21 Though thou drewest a sword at thy friend, yet despair not: for there may be a returning [to favour].

22 If thou hast opened thy mouth against thy friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciliation: except for upbraiding, or pride, or disclosing of secrets, or a treacherous wound: for for these things every friend will depart.

23 Be faithful to thy neighbour in his poverty, that thou mayest rejoice in his prosperity: abide steadfast unto him in the time of his trouble, that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage: for a mean estate is not always to be contemned: nor the rich that is foolish to be had in admiration.

24 As the vapour and smoke of a furnace goeth before the fire; so reviling before blood.
CHAPTER XXIII.

1 A prayer for grace to flee sin. 9 We may not see swearing: 14 but remember our parents. 16 Of three sorts of sin. 34 The adulterous wife sinneth many ways.

O LORD, Father and Governor of all my whole life, leave me not to their counsels, and let me not fall by them.

2 Who will set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom

before v. 23. But v. 24 aptly precedes v. 25, if its meaning be: If bloodshed come, I will not be ashamed nor hesitate to protect a friend.

25. The Syr. paraphrases: "If thy friend become impoverished, put him not to shame."

26. The Syr. has instead of this: "If thy companion reveal to thee a secret, disclose it not, lest every one that heareth it beware of thee, and regard thee as an evil-doer." The Greek text expresses a sentiment by no means elevated, and which considerably detracts from the moral value of v. 25. The meaning seems to be: If harm comes, the blame will be imputed to the other who allows his friend to suffer for his sake; and thus he, not I, shall suffer in public esteem. Probably, however, the Syr. expresses what was the sentiment of the original.

27. Bretschneider and Fritzsche would connect this verse with the following chapter. But we have repeatedly observed that the close of one chapter prepares for the subject of the following, and in fact forms the connecting link with it.

Who shall set.] Rather, Oh that one would set, the Greek being only a literal rendering of a common Hebrew idiom (Ewald, § 330 c). As the verse is evidently formed upon Ps. cxli. 3, we may conjecture the Hebrew to have been יִנְשָׂא נֶפֶשׁ מִזְאֵג (or point נֶפֶשׁ מִזְאֵג).

A seal of wisdom.] Rather, of prudence—this for the elegant Hebrew in the corresponding clause of the Psalm.

that I fall not suddenly by them.] Rather, that I fall not from it, viz. the watch or guard upon his mouth: for that purpose he asks for the additional security of a seal on his lips. Generally it is translated "that I fall not by it" (ου μὴ πίεσαι αὐτῷ αὐθεντή), and the reference is supposed to be to the γλῶσσα, "tongue," in the last clause. But it is difficult to understand how the δι' αὐθην can refer not to what precedes, but to what follows in the next clause.
over mine heart, that they spare me not for mine ignorances, and it pass not by my sins:
Lest mine ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction, and I fall before mine adversaries, and mine enemy rejoice over me, whose hope is far from thy mercy.
O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy servants always a haughty mind.
Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and thou shalt hold him up that is desirous always to serve thee.
Let not the greediness of the belly nor lust of the flesh take hold of me; and give not over me thy servant into an impudent mind.
Hear, O ye children, the discipline of the mouth: he that keepeth it shall never be taken in his lips.
The sinner shall be left in his foolishness: both the evil speaker and the proud shall fall thereby.
Accustom not thy mouth to swearing; neither use thyself to the naming of the Holy One.

emendation. The most noteworthy of these is the omission of the μη, "not," from clause ε, and the change of the verb from the plural to the singular. Thus the clause would read: "that he (viz. the Lord) would spare my errors"—the Syr.: "that the Lord would spare (not punish) my guilt." But the Syr. adds so much in the sequel that we must put it aside as a wide and very apt paraphrase. Fritzsche not only corrects the number in clause ε("that he may not spare my follies"), but alters in clause δ "their" into "my" ("that he may not let pass—dare rhomaiaste!—my sins"). This certainly is to cut the knot.

3. Omit from A. V., "to my destruction;" also the last clause, "whose hope," &c.

4. Sins and mistakes, the outcome of the heart, naturally lead to thoughts of the class mentioned in vv. 4-6.

a proud look.] Rather, lascivious (or lustful) eyes; comp. xxvi. 9; literally, "lifting up of eyes." This would correspond to the Hebrew usage of נדנ in Gen. xxxix. 7. But in the LXX. the latter passage is rendered, ἐπιβλητε ὑπος ὕθαλμος αὐτής. Moreover the word used in our verse for "lifting of eyes" (μετεωριμος ὕθαλμον) occurs either as a substantive or a verb, or in some derivative form, not less than twenty times in the LXX., but always in the sense of "high," or when connected with "eyes" for "proud," so in LXX. Ps. cxxx. (cxxxi.) 1 and in Is. v. 15. Can there have been some misunderstanding, such as that found in Deut. xxxii. 49, "eyes of deceit," was misread בְּעֵין לְשׁוֹן, "proud eyes,"—there being in the MS. neither vowel-points nor final letters, nor yet the separation of words? In that case a similar misreading would also have to be assumed in xxvi. 9. In the so-called "Second Alphabet of Ben Sira" we read: "Woe to him who walketh after his eyes, and he knoweth that they are children of whoredom, and he has nothing from them,"—in the sense of not gaining anything by them (comp. in Jer. Ber. 3 ε and in several Midrashim: "The heart and the eyes are the intermediaries of sin"). [On the figurative expression "whoredom of the face" for a bold and shameless look, comp. Hos. ii. 4 in the A. V. and R. V. ii. 2. Comp. also Prov. vii. 13; Jer. iii. 3.]

but turn away, &c.] Instead of this clause in the A. V. (which follows 248, Co.) read: and turn away lust from me. There is not, as some have supposed, anything in this prayer inconsistent with the fullest recognition of personal self-determination.

5. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

6. The somewhat realistic rendering of the A. V. had best be left. Omit from the A. V. "thy servant," and render: "and give me not over to a shameless mind."

7. This verse begins a new stanza. In the text of the LXX. we have here the inscription: "Discipline of the mouth"—originally, probably, a marginal note. In the second clause translate: "shall never be caught." For "caught" the Syr. has "exposed to infamy." The words following, "in his lips," or rather through his lips, must be joined to v. 8 a. So in the Alex. and in the Syr.

8. Through his lips shall the sinner be taken [we would read καλαμοθετηθη, supported by 157]: both the raider and the proud shall be made to stumble by them.

9. St. James v. 12 seems different in spirit from this warning, which is rather against the habit of lightly swearing, as leading to profanity and profanation. "The naming of the Holy One" may refer to the invocation
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For as a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark: so he that sweareth and nameth God continually shall not be faultless.

A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague shall never depart from his house: if he shall offend, his sin shall be upon him: and if he acknowledge not his sin, he maketh a double offence: and if he swear in vain, he shall not be innocent, but his house shall be full of calamities.

There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant that it be not found in the heritage of Jacob; for all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins.

if he shall offend. Rather, "if be offended [transgress], his sin (is) upon him." The first two clauses having laid down the general principle, its application is shown in three possible cases. The first is that of swearing and not doing: this involves sin. The second is: and if he neglect, overlook—this meaning being established by the use of the word in Ecclus. (ii. 10; xxxvi. 17 in the Greek MSS. except in 24, ch. xxxvi. 14); and especially in xxxviii. 16)—that is, if he simply treat his oath as nothing, then "he sinned twofold"—once by breaking his oath, the other time by treating an oath as if it were nothing. The third case contemplated is not that of an oath which is broken, not of an oath which is treated as if it were nothing, but of one which is needlessly taken: "and if he swear in vain" (without cause, διά, for which it stands four times in the LXX.; once for ἐπολύσῃ, Lev. xxvi. 16; once for δολεροῦ, Ps xxiv. (Heb. xxvii.) 3; and only once, in Ps. xxxv. (Heb. xxxvii.) 7, for μισῆς)—in such a case "he shall not be absolved," not be pronounced innocent, without guilt, not be so treated—lit. he shall not be justified. The expression in that sense is common in Hebrew. The Syr. paraphrases and alters, as it seems to us, purposely.

12. From swearing the writer passes to lewd speaking. Generally the verse is regarded as referring to the third and especially not with the fourth clause. On the other hand, the reference to lewd speaking is borne out by v. 13. Such speech was only too common among the surrounding heathen nations, but happily not "in the heritage of Jacob."

There is a way of speaking [a speech which over against it is surrounded by death.] The consequence of which is death on every side, ως περιφέρεσθαι λίγη. The reading ως περιφέρεσθαι λίγη, "the counterpart of which is death," is very attractive, but not necessary, and would only suit the context if the reference were to blasphemy.

God grant that. Rather, may it not be
13 Use not thy mouth to intemperate swearing, for therein is the word of sin.
14 Remember thy father and thy mother, when thou sittest among great men. Be not forgetful before them, and so thou by thy custom become a fool, and wish that thou hadst not been born, and curse the day of thy nativity.
15 "The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life.
16 Two sorts of men multiply sin, and the third will bring wrath: a hot mind is as a burning fire, it will never be quenched till it be consumed: a fornicator in the body of his flesh will never cease till he hath kindled a fire.
17 "All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die."

found. For "shall" in the next two clauses, rather "will." Omit "their" before "sins."

13. To filthy [lewd] coarseness according to thy custom, indulge not in that sort of coarseness which consists in filthy talk. The last clause literally rendered would be: "so there is no law of sin," or perhaps "speech of sin." But this seems so inapt that we suppose the Hebrew בְּרִית, literally a word, to have been here as frequently used in the sense of "matter of," as in בְּרִית נַעַר, or הָֽהָֽרֶבֶּן (which, however, rather means something noxious) or הָֽהָֽרֶבֶּן, or as the Rabbis have it: בְּרִית נַעַר. Accordingly, we would translate: "for therein is matter of sin." [It has been suggested that the λόγος ἐμπιστεύεσθαι here may throw light on the difficult expression ratio peccati ("the nature of sin") in Article ix.: "Of original or birth-sin."] The Syr. once more gives something different—as we believe, of purpose.

14. The admonition in regard to the tongue is now applied in a different direction. Fritzschte supposes the writer to be still referring to the same subject as in v. 13. He proposes to alter the "for (γάρ) thou sittest" into "when thou sittest," (as in the A. V.), and explains: Let consideration for thy parents, as those who have educated thee, act as a deterrent against coarse speech, lest thou bring them to shame. But irrespective of the arbitrariness involved in this explanation, it is difficult to see how indulgence in coarse speech could lead a person to wish he had not been born (clause 3). Lastly, v. 15 forbids any reference of v. 14 to lewd speech. Bretschneider cuts the knot by regarding v. 14 as spurious, while Grotius proposes a number of alterations too arbitrary for serious consideration. In our view the author here refers to another class of sins of the tongue—those in breach of the fifth commandment. It is the latter which he has in view. "Remember thy father and thy mother, for thou sittest in the midst of great ones, that thou be not forgetful before them (see Winer, § 56, 2), and by thy custom, viz. with them, thy habituation, here = familiarity, thou behave foolishly"—when the consequences mentioned in the last two clauses would ensue, as threatened on breach of the fifth commandment. For ἐνεργοῦς, "custom," see LXX. Gen. xxxi. 35 (ἡμᾶς) and 3 Kings xviii. 28 (ἡμᾶς).

15. A man subo is accustomed [who accustomed himself] to words of reproach [viz. towards his parents, or else words of shame, viz. in regard to them—either דְּרִישֵׁים, as in LXX. Is. xili. 28, or דְּרִישֵׁים] will not become instructed in the high moral sense—trained, educated—and in this, its true meaning, gebildet in all his days.] The Syr. paraphrases—again intentionally—v. 14, 15 (the former rather according to our interpretation of it), and adds a clause at the end of v. 15 which raises the suspicion of a desire to obscure what was the real subject referred to in the original.

16. From words the author turns to deeds. The meaning is sufficiently brought out in the A. V. "Two sorts"—"of men" is understood, not expressed in the text. The two sorts of men referred to are: A soul, hot as burning fire (so better than in the A. V.); and, secondly, the man guilty of the sin "in the body of his flesh," of whom it is said: he will never cease till he have kindled fire (so, more correctly). Fritzschte understands the εἰς σῶμα σαρκὸς αἵρετο just referred to of the τῷ δάκτῳ Ἰερ. of Lev. xviii. 6; xxv. 49: but this is quite differently rendered in the LXX., nor could such a sin have been ranked as less than the third class, described in v. 18, which is characterised as bringing down wrath (v. 16 ἔτος). The Syr. omits the first of the triad.

17. This verse is a parenthetic sentence referring to and explaining v. 16, and also preparing for the enormity of v. 18.

All bread.] Every kind of bread; "bread," a euphemism, for which the parallel in Prov. ix. 17 is doubtful (Prov. xx. 17 does
18 A man that breaketh wedlock, saying thus in his heart, 'Who seeth me? I am compassed about with darkness, the walls cover me, and no body seeth me; what need I to fear? the most High will not remember my sins:

19 Such a man only seareth the eyes of men, and knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are ten thousand times brighter than the sun, beholding all the ways of men, and considering the most secret parts.

20 He knew all things ere ever they were created; so also after they were perfected he looked upon them all.

21 This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken.

22 Thus shall it go also with the wife that leaveth her husband, and bringeth in an heir by another.

23 For first, she hath disobeyed the law of the most High; and secondly, she hath trespassed against her own husband; and thirdly, she hath played the whore in adultery, and brought children by another man.

24 She shall be brought out into the congregation, and inquisition shall be made of her children.

25 Her children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit.

26 She shall leave her memory to be cursed, and her reproach shall not be blotted out.

27 And they that remain shall know that there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and that there is nothing sweeter than to take heed unto the commandments of the Lord.

28 It is great glory to follow the not refer to this). Prov. xxx. 20 is more parallel, and Ecclus. xxiii. 18 seems to have this verse in view. But the euphemism was adopted in later Hebrew parlance (as נָב, "bread"), and is very coarsely carried into detail in Shabb. 62 b, last line.

19. The language is abrupt, but all the more striking.

And the eyes of men are his fear.] I.e. the object of his fear. It is difficult to reproduce the last clause. Perhaps this gives it most nearly: and fully looking into [perceiving] the secret places (lit., "parts"). This verse and that which follows are a very apt digression, which enhances the force of the admonition implied in the previous verses.

20. Before all things were [the All was] created they were known to Him, and so also after they were completed.] This is a bold Alexandrianism, for which the Syr. has what we believe correctly represents the original: "For before things are open before Him, nay and after the consummation of the world He judgeth it."

21. The writer returns to the subject in hand, and shews that although the adulterer may imagine that he can withdraw himself from the sight of God, yet He will bring his sin to light and punish it publicly by the hand of man.

22. From the male sinner the writer turns to the adulteress: Similarly also the wife. On the form παραπτώσα, see Winer, p. 72.

23. Instead of "her own husband," the Syr. has "the husband of her virginity." It has also only one verb, instead of the Greek: "she hath disobeyed . . . she hath trespassed." Probably the original had only the expressive הָנֹס, which would equally apply to her sin before God and towards man.

24. In the first clause the Syr. has: "she shall be driven from the congregation." The Greek seems to contemplate the public inquisition into her crime, which appears more likely to be correct than the communication indicated by the Syr., or the Syr. may have had Deut. xxii. 21 in view. In the second clause it is added that the consequences of her sin shall be felt by her children, and upon her children shall be visitation, probably חָרְשָׁנָה. Syr.: "and upon her children shall her sins be remembered."

27. The Syr.: "and all the inhabitants of the earth shall know, and all that are left in the world shall understand." It seems scarcely likely that these two clauses were in the original. Was the first clause original, and was the second taken from a comparison with the Greek translation? [See the General Introduction, § VIII.] Or are we to regard it as a Christian addition or rather amplification?
ECCLESIASTICUS. XXIV.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people.

2. In the congregation of the Most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power.

B. C.
cir. 300.

28. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Once more the closing lines of the preceding chapter form a transition to this, which is aptly headed in the LXX. "Praise of Wisdom." The beauty of this chapter has been generally acknowledged. Accordingly it has not only been separately translated into German (see the literature in Fritzsche, p. 124), but also repeatedly into Hebrew. Here we have to mention first the Hebrew translation by Lowth (in 'De sacra poesi Hebr. praelectiones,' ed. Oxon), reprinted by Fritzsche in his 'Comment. on Ecclus.' ('Kurzgez. Exeg. Handb. ii. d. Apokr.,' v., pp. 134-136), and furnished by him with Notes marking the alterations made by him in his own independent translation. While fully recognising the merits of this version, it must be admitted that it leaves not a little to be desired. Next, although not in the order of time, we have the version of Isaac Seckel Fränkel in his Hebrew translation of the Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1830). This elegant rendering is not open to some of the objections which have been made to that of Lowth. But it is far inferior in beauty of classical Hebrew to that of Ben Seebh (gen. General Introd.). The latter, however, follows to a great extent the Syriac, and often deviates from the Greek text. Passing from this to the subject-matter of the chapter, its general arrangement seems as follows. After an introduction in two verses, in which Wisdom places herself, as it were, in the midst of Israel, follow three stanzas in praise of Wisdom, each consisting of five verses. Stanza I. (v. 3-7) presents Wisdom before Israel's history commenced; Stanza II. describes Wisdom as having taken root in the midst of Israel (v. 8-12); Stanza III. sets forth the glory and beauty of the tree thus planted (v. 13-17; v. 18 must be omitted). These three stanzas are followed, in a fourth stanza (of four verses, 19-22), by an admonition to accept that Wisdom. This stanza seems to form a transition to what we regard as the underlying thought in the rest of the chapter (two stanzas: 6 + 5 verses). Their purport may, for want of better terms, be described as prophetic and missionary—not in any controversial sense, nor even as directly referring or addressing itself to the heathen world, but as embodying the thought and hope that the river of Wisdom, swelling in the fulness of its waters, shall yet become a sea; that her morning light shall spread to the utmost bounds of earth, and that her teaching as prophecy shall sound in the ears of all and to all generations (v. 36-44). The Syriac translation leaves no doubt that the chapter formed part of the original work of Sirach. Thus viewed, the chapter is of the greatest importance, as illustrating not only the religious views of the writer but, by implication, also the date of the composition of his book and the religious history of that period. For we mark a decided advance upon Prov. viii. That chapter itself is characteristic of the Choklemba-literature of Israel, but of its biblical period, although of a late stage in it. But Ecclus. xxiv, goes much beyond it in the direction of admitting the influence of Grecian thought, and indicating a benignant attitude towards the world outside the bounds of Israel. The former appears even from the manner in which Wisdom is described; the latter, from the thoughts and hopes expressed of the ultimate universal prevalence and acceptance of Israel's Divine Wisdom in the happy future in prospect. Eichhorn regards this chapter as beginning the Second Part of Ecclesiasticus (to xlii. 14); Fritzsche, as opening Section III.

1. The meaning would probably be more accurately thus represented: "Let Wisdom praise herself, and in the midst of her people let her glory." The writer, as it were, calls upon Wisdom to open her mouth and to set forth her excellency before the whole people. The future tense is to be understood in this inductive sense. From v. 3 onwards Wisdom is introduced as responding to this call. her people.] The Syr. has "the people of God." This, no doubt correctly. It also has "she will be honoured" instead of "let her glory."

2. In the congregation of the Most High [probably 38 3977, as in the Syr.] let her open her mouth, and let her glory [i.e. set forth her glory] before His Might [i.e. before God.].] The most divergent opinions prevail as to the meaning of the expression "before His Might" (οντες διναμως αυτου). Lowth renders "before His host," pre-
3 I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud.

4 "I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar.

5 I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.

6 In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation, I got a possession.

7 With all these I sought rest:

sumably Israel; Fritzsche, יָדֹּסָי, "before His Might"; Frankel, יָדֹּסָי. We believe that the original was יָדֹּסָיו, literally, "before the Might," but a very common mode of expression in later Hebrew for "before God." Perhaps, however, the Hebrew may have been יָדֹּסָיו קרֹבָּרַהוּ.

3. Wisdom responds to the appeal: "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High." This is the earliest identification of Wisdom with the λόγος, but as yet only as God manifesting, not as having manifested, Himself: hence not yet "the Word."

4. A cloud.] The dark and misty cloud. The λόγος as the creative (or rather the formative) agency is brooding over the face of the dark chaotic deep. What in Gen. 1:2 is said of "the Spirit of God" is here attributed to Wisdom, with this additional difference, that this emanation of Wisdom from God as He is manifesting Himself is represented as immediately preceding that orderly arrangement of the world in which Wisdom is the agent. The older Church writers regarded this personification of Wisdom as the Christ. But the vital difference of thought in Eccles. is apparent from the following verses (see especially v. 9). We find here, not the beginnings of Christianity, but of Alexandrianism; and the personification (?) or rather distinction of Wisdom as God manifesting Himself points forward to Philo, not to the Gospels.

4. I dwelt in the heights, and my throne (is, was?) on the pillar of cloud.] We cannot see in this any reference to the cloudy pillar in the wilderness. It is true that Philo ("Quis rer. Div. her." § 42) regards the cloud which separated Israel and the Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 19) as an emblem of Wisdom, but the whole context forbids us to identify this allegorical combination with the passage before us (see Dähne, "Jüd. Alex. Relig. Phil." ii. pp. 134, 135). The figure of Wisdom as enthroned on a pillar of cloud is sublime.

5. The figure is further developed. Amidst the solemn silence and solitude prevailing Wisdom fills all and pervades all.

I compassed.] In the sense of "I circled," or of "I went round about," יָדֹּסָי. The Syr. has: "together with Him." The difference is great, and of serious importance if the inference which it suggests be well grounded. We can scarcely account for it merely by a different reading of the same or similar Hebrew letters. For the Syr. at least suggests the word יָדֹּסָי. And, irrespective of this, the rendering of the Greek evidently suits the context, which the Syriac does not. It would therefore seem that the Syr. expression "together with Him" represents an intentional alteration on the part of the translator? If so, remembering that the ancient Christian writers identified "Wisdom" in Eccles. with Christ, it suggests a Christian hand, either in the translation or the redaction of the text. Without claiming certainty for our inference, the alteration in this verse forms an important element in determining the question of the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. In any case the expression "together with Him" goes much beyond the language of Prov. viii. 30, in which Wisdom presents herself as "as an artificer by His side" (טֹּזָי—certainly not יָדֹּסָי "together with Him"). When the Sirach speaks of the all-pervading presence of Wisdom, he refers presumably to her formative agency in regard to our present world.

6. We advance another step. The rule of Wisdom is to be traced, not only in nature, but also among men.

I got a possession.] Fritzsche supposes the Greek to have misunderstood יָדֹּסָי in the original; that the word here meant "I created" (as in Prov. viii. 22 and other places), and that it should have been translated by יָדֹּסָי. But this seems impossible. The underlying idea would not be Hebraic—in fact, it would be inconsistent with Prov. viii. 22. Nor yet would it be Alexandrian, as even the Greek translation of the verse shows. Still less would it belong to that intermediate period to which we ascribe the work of the Sirach. Lastly, what would be the meaning of a creative agency of Wisdom "in the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation"? Our difficulty is rather increased than diminished by the Syr., which renders: "I was given rule [or control] over
and in whose inheritance shall I abide?

8 So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.

9 He created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail.

10 In the holy tabernacle I served before him; and so was I established in Sion.

11 Likewise in the beloved city Or, holy.

8. With all these.] Viz. every people and nation. We can scarcely doubt that the question here propounded by Wisdom (although not necessarily addressed to God, as Fritzsche supposes) expresses what was afterwards formulated by the Rabbis in the legend that the Law had been offered to, and refused by, every nation before it was accepted by Israel at Mount Sinai (Abb. Z. 2 b, towards the end). The legend in the Talmud was supported by an appeal to Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Hab. iii. 2. Possibly the legend represents a survival of the fundamental thought of Alexandrianism, or rather of that more free thinking which in Palestine itself formed the root and source of what afterwards was developed in Jewish Hellenism as the idea of an original share of all mankind in that highest Wisdom which found its full expression in the Law. Long after such views had passed away in Palestine, and indeed evoked the bitter antagonism of the Rabbis, its leading idea may, all unconsciously to themselves, have survived in this legend. From its theological aspect that question ultimately resolves itself into the great problem which must engage every thoughtful student of Revelation: that of the universal Fatherhood of God. How differently it was solved in the Gospel and in Apostolic preaching, need not here be explained.

9. from the beginning.] Fritzsche (objecting with reason to the מַהְיוֹן of Lightfoot) suggests מַהֲיוֹן as the original Hebrew, but incorrectly, and his appeal to Mic. v. 1 only goes against him. We believe the Hebrew words were מַהֲיוֹן and מַהֲיוֹן, as in Prov. viii. 23, which, indeed, the LXX. renders by the same words as in our passage (πρὸ τοῦ ἀιῶνος . . . έκ δραχμῆς) in our passage δράχμην. The verse reads as follows: Before the Aeon [i.e. before time began], from the beginning, He created me (the two terms are evidently not identical, as Fritzsche supposes); and to the Aeon [i.e. the end of time] I shall not ever fail. The Syr. has: "Before the world I was created, and to the Aeon of Acheons [eternity], my remembrance shall not fail." Here also we should perhaps note as significant the alteration "to the Aeon of Acheons" in the Syr. for the Greek "to the Aeon." The expression "Aeon of Acheons," or, more frequently, "the Acheons of Acheons," is frequent in the N. T. It does not occur in the Gospels, where σωτήριον τοῦ ἀιῶνος is peculiar to St. Matthew (there five times, once in Heb. ix. 26), but in the Pauline Epistles (Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 18), in Heb. (i. 8; xiii. 21), in 1 Pet. (iv. 11), and especially in the Book of Revelation (there fourteen times). In the Old Testament it is only found in Dan. vii. 18 (there also in the LXX.). Besides this, it occurs in the LXX. (with the exception of 1 Esdr. iv. 38) exclusively, although frequently, in the version of the Psalms (there not less than twenty-eight times), and in Tob. vi. 18. Does this indicate that the LXX. version of the Psalms was made after Daniel, in which the expression was apparently introduced—but soon after it, as the frequency of its occurrence seems to suggest? It also occurs in the Targum Onkelos, and later on in that on the Psalms, which cannot date earlier than the second half of the 7th century. We regard it as characteristic of the anti-Hellenistic tendency of the Syr. that, while making the last clause of τ. 8 a separate verse (v. 9), it adds to τ. 9 (which in the Syr. is v. 10) the first clause of our Greek v. 10. For thereby what in the Greek exhibits Wisdom in a wider and universal aspect (τ. 9) becomes strictly Judaic (comp. the note on v. 34). If the emendations, therefore, are Christian, they must be Judaico-Christian. To complete its re-arrangement of the verses, the Syr. adds the Greek τ. 10 b to τ. 11, which thus becomes a verse of three lines.

10. and so.] The Syr. has "and again." Had the original בֵּית, or did the Syr. wish to convey something special? was I established.] In all probability the
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he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem
was my power.

12 And I took root in an honourable
people, even in the portion of
the Lord's inheritance.

13 I was exalted like a cedar in
Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon
the mountains of Hermon.

14 I was exalted like a palm tree
in En-gaddi, and as a rose plant in
Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a
pleasant field, and grew up as a plane
tree by the water.

15 I gave a sweet smell like cin-
namon and aspalathus, and I yielded
a pleasant odour like the best myrrh,
as galbanum, and onyx, and sweet
storax, and as the fume of frank-
incense in the tabernacle.

16 As the turpentine tree I stretch-
ed out my branches, and my bran-
ches are the branches of honour and
grace.

17 As the vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the
fruit of honour and riches.

18 I am the mother of fair love,
and fear, and knowledge, and holy
hope: I therefore, being eternal, am
given to all my children which are
named of him.

19 Come unto me, all ye that be
Hebrew had, as the Syr., בְּבֶן, which bears
the Greek rendering. The verse points to
the presence of God and the Divinely instituted
worship in the Tabernacle, which became
permanent in the Temple. In the Taber-
nacle Wisdom became as it were, the
ministrant, and in this her office she was
established in Zion. At the same time, this
verse, when viewed in connexion with v. 9,
is not by any means Judaic in the special
sense of the term. For Wisdom, which in
v. 9 was spoken of in relation to the world
generally, is in v. 10 only presented as con-
centrating her agency: she has her minis-
tration in the Levitical worship, and her Metro-
polis, so to speak, is in Zion. And this mode
of viewing Wisdom is, as we have seen, char-
acteristic of the theological standpoint of
the older Sadracide.

11. my power.] Rather, my author-
ty, "rule," as in the Syr.

12. And I took root in an honourable
people [one that attained honour, became distin-
guished through this very thing] in the portion
of the Lord, (the portion) of His inheritance.
(Comp. Deut. xxxii. 9, where the LXX. has
the same two words.)

13. This verse begins a new stanza. I was
exalted.] Rather, I grew lofty. Wisdom
having thus taken root, her glory is next set
forth under some figures.

14. I was exalted.] Rather, I grew
lofty.
in En-gaddi.] The Vat. text has ἐν αἰγα-
λοίς, "by the sea-shores," but the reading of
the A. V., found in one or another form in
several MSS., must be preferred, as being
confirmed by the Syr. and also generally
more suitable, since palms are not supposed
to attain any special height by the sea-shore,

while Engedi was celebrated for its palms, as
even its other name, Qaltasaton Tamar, indi-
cates. Omit "pleasant" before "field," omit also "by the water." The Syr., how-
ever, has the words, "a rose plant,"—do
account in Heb., as in the Syr., מַלִּית, or else מַלְיָה. The word occurs in the Mishnah.

15. But there is not only glory; beauty also
and sweetness, as well as rich fruit.

like cinnamon and aromatic aspalathus.
The latter is described by Pliny as of the
height of a small tree, with flower of rose.
Its root was used for making a precious
ointment.

I yielded.] Rather, I spread, I dis-
fused. The words "in the tabernacle" are
omitted in the Syr. The omission further indicates the Christian authorship of this
version.

16. Rather, and my branches (were)
branches of glory and grace — grace
here in the sense of beauty. For "tre-
ethyn" the Syr. has "rhodophane," the rose-
laurel, probably either a species of oleander
or a rhododendron.

17. I, like a vine, budded forth beauty
[adopting the Alex. reading, εἴσακαλύφτησαν], and
my flowers (ripened into) fruit of glory and
riches.] We are here reminded of St. John
xv. 1.

18. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.
It is probably of Christian authorship. It
is not found in the Syr., which in general
arranges the previous verses somewhat
differently.

19. This verse begins another stanza (see
the introductory remarks to the chapter).
On the ground of the previous description,
Wisdom now makes her appeal to all men.
23 All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, even the law which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob.

24 Faint not to be strong in the Lord; that he may confirm you, cleave unto him: for the Lord Al-mighty is God alone, and beside him there is no other Saviour.

25 He filleth all things with his

26 be confounded.] Rather, be ashamed not do amiss.] Rather, not sin. Syr.: "shall never fall, and all his works shall not be corrupted"—they shall be incorruptible, either in the sense of their being permanent in value and goodness, or in that of not becoming gradually perverted. The Syr. version gives, in our view, a better meaning than the Greek. In the original the first clause was probably, as in the Syr., יְּהִי עֲשָׂרָה יְהִי עֲשָׂרָה. Fritzsche explains: "he shall not be put to shame," viz. as regards his hope of happiness, by obedience to the Divine commandments. But the second clause is against this interpretation.

27 The Greek is here peculiarly interesting. Literally it reads: "All these [with reference to all that was previously said of Wisdom] the book of the covenant of the most high God." The sentence requires some verb. The Syr. has: "all these (things) are written in the book of the covenant of the Lord." We believe that the Hebrew had יִתְנָה לַיהוָה יִתְנָה לַיהוָה, "all these things are in the book of the covenant of Jehovah," and that the Greek, by way of giving a Hellenistic turn to the statement, left out the לַיהוָה, so as simply to identify Wisdom with the Law. We suspect a somewhat similar tendency in the next clause: "the law which Moses commanded, an [the?] inheritance to the congregations of Jacob." (we punctuate as Tischendorf and as in the Alex.). The plural "congregations" must refer to the Diaspora, and would scarcely have been in the original. The Syr. has: "the law which Moses commanded, it is an inheritance to the congregation of Jacob." The expression יִתְנָה לַיהוָה, Ps. xxvi. 12, and יִתְנָה לַיהוָה, Ps. lxviii. 27—both rendered by the LXX. ἐν ἐκκλησίαις —certainly do not here afford a parallel so as to explain the plural. The accus. νόμον, by virtue of attraction (see Winer, u. s. § 66, 5, p. 553).
24. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

25. Which [viz. the Law] maketh wisdom full as Pison, and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits. The Greek seems to convey the meaning that the Law gives the fulness of wisdom, which is again a Hellenistic turn for the Syr.: "which is full, as Pison, with wisdom." And this, as we suppose, the original had. The point of comparison is: when these rivers are most full of water.

26. He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as "Jordan in the time of the harvest." He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage.

27. The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last find her out.

29. For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels pro- founder than the great deep.

30. I also came out as a brook or, drais, from a river, and as a conduit into a garden.

31. I, said I, will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.

For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep. So abundant that it cannot be all taken in (v. 28 a); so deep that it cannot be quite searched out (v. 28 b). 'Anū—a well-known Hebraism (comp. Vorstius, 'de hebr. N. T.', p. 352).

A new stanza. Wisdom being thus beyond the compass of unaided man, she made for herself a channel in Revelation, and specifically in the Law, by which to carry her fertilising waters in the first place to her "garden," viz. Israel. But this river is yet to become a sea: the blessings first communicated to Israel are to be shared by all mankind and to all ages, and so shall the final aim of Wisdom be realised and her true character appear.

And I came out as a channel from a river, and as a conduit into an orchard (garden, park, παραδείγματος). Mark that this channel and conduit issued from the paradisical streams previously referred to. The underlying idea seems to be that these rivers had compassed all Paradise—that originally all mankind were intended to have share in that Divine Wisdom, but that in the course of time (comp. v. 7—9) her waters passed through the channel of the Law into Israel, which thus became "a well-watered garden," Is. lviii. 11, κέρας μελινοῦ—

the two words actually occur in v. 31. It is therefore the Law which, as Wisdom residing in the midst of Israel, is once more the speaker.

31. Omit from the A. V. "best" before "garden."

my brook, &c. Rather, the channel became to me a river. The last line is specially interesting: "and my river became a sea." For this the Syr. has: "and the river went down to the sea." It is scarcely possible to account for this difference either by a misreading or a mistranslation of the original. Nor can we suppose that the Syr. made an alteration of the original: first, because the thought which it expresses is much more Hebraic than the Greek version (we suppose both the Heb. and the Syr. to have referred to the Diaspora); secondly, because we cannot perceive any object for such an alteration.
32 I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off.

33 I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever.

34 Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom.

in the Syriac. For we cannot regard it as an allusion to the communication of Israel's Wisdom to the Gentiles by the Gospel (see next verse). On the other hand, if the alteration be on the part of the Greek translator, its object and meaning are obvious. The narrow channel of the Law becomes the wide river of prophetic declaration of true Wisdom lore, perhaps swelled by Grecian tributaries; and this again merges into the boundless sea, when Wisdom shall be no longer Hebraic nor yet Grecian, but universal, watering every shore. That such was the meaning of the Greek translator seems confirmed by the verses which follow.

39. I will yet light up instruction [in the moral and religious sense as the dawn [δροπός = ἀναίρησις, Joel ii. 2 — ἰδρύσας ἐν ἑαυτῷ, possibly the figure may have been in the mind of the writer, although with very different application], and I will cause it to shine forth [show it unto afar off].] Apria: see Winer, u. s. § 22, 3, p. 128, for the combination of these pronouns in the plural with a noun in the sing. Fritzsche suggests that προαίρονται was in the mind of the translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [in Greek doctrine in the morning and shall leave it to many ages.] The latter clause appears in the Greek as w. 33 b. As regards the first clause, the ἀσ — as the dawn or morning — has been evidently misread Σ. Irrespective of this alteration, it must be left undecided whether the Greek or the Syr. correctly represents the Hebrew original. Our view is in favour of the Syr.

33. I will yet pour forth teaching [instruction] as prophecy.] Possibly a Hellenistic adaptation of Joel ii. 28 may have been intended by the Greek translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [tell] my doctrine in prophecy" (once more — possibly though not probably — a confusion of Σ and ἀσ). and leave it unto generations of Aeons = all generations, the six marking the time, not the persons. For this clause the Syr. has: "and the end will be unto afar off." Possibly the original may have had (as in Talmudic usage) such a word as מַעָלִין, "doctrines," "teaching," and the Syr. may have misread it מַעָלִין.

34. The final exclamation of the Jewish Law, thoroughly Hellenistic in spirit: "Behold that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek her," viz. Wisdom: the Law laboured not only for the Jews, but for all who sought Wisdom. The Syr. omits this verse, nor do we believe that it was in the original Hebrew. We may perhaps suggest that the younger Sirach introduced it in this place from xxxiii. 17 (in the A. V.; xxx. 26 in the Greek MSS.), where the wording is similar, although not the connexion.

CHAPTER XXV.

From the height attained in ch. xxiv. the writer again descends to the general level of this book. In the chapter before us various proverbial sayings, the outcome of a not very elevated Oriental experience of life, are grouped under the headings of things desirable and undesirable. The first two verses are general. They are followed by a statement of what is desirable and honourable in old age, and specially in the eldership (four verses: v. 1 — 6), and of what is generally desirable in life (five verses: v. 7 — 11). Then follows what is undesirable in life (three verses: v. 13 — 15; v. 12 in A. V. must be omitted); lastly, what is undesirable in that which forms the largest factor in life, the family and the relation between the sexes (eleven verses: v. 16 — 26).

1. Interpreters have regarded the text as in a state of confusion, nor indeed is it easy to determine who is introduced as speaking in x. 1. The Syr. has: "Three things my soul desired, and they are beautiful before God and man." As regards the Greek text we are inclined to believe that the writer intended here to introduce universal Wisdom as speaking in her character of discipline or "instruction" (xxiv. 32, 33). In any case it seems difficult, without altering the whole text, to give it the meaning of the Syr., which the Vet. Lat. follows. Translate: concord among brethren (viz. of the same
the love of neighbours, a man and a wife that agree together.

2 Three sorts of men my soul hateth, and I am greatly offended at their life: a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer that doateth.

3 If thou hast gathered nothing in thy youth, how canst thou find any thing in thine age?

4 O how comely a thing is judgment for gray hairs, and for ancient men to know counsel!

5 O how comely is the wisdom of old men, and understanding and counsel to men of honour!

6 Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of God is their glory.

7 There be nine things which I have judged in mine heart to be happy, and the tenth I will utter with my tongue: A man that hath joy of his children; and he that liveth to see the fall of his enemy:

8 Well is him that dwelleth with nation, Israel), affection among kindred, &c. We have thus an ascending climax of relationship.

2. But three sorts (of men) my soul hateth, and I greatly abhor [abominate, am vexed at?] their manner of life [they—so probably, although possibly their life—the fact of their existence; the latter would be better Greek]: a poor man who is arrogant [ἀρrogāntos, not merely "proud," but arrogantly and insolently so], a rich man who is lying [as it were: a beggar who is a braggart, and a rich man who makes promises and breaks them. The bearing or conduct of these two "sorts" is utterly incongruous, absolutely inexcusable, nay unaccountable; it is of a character to evoke abhorrence, or else to make one wish such persons out of existence], and an aged adulterer [an adulterous old man] who is wasting in understanding.] The last clause must be regarded not as an apposition, but, as frequently in Hebrew, as generally applying to and describing the conduct of such an one. Like that of the other two, his conduct is utterly incongruous, inexcusable, nay unaccountable and inexcusable. For what we have rendered "arrogant," ἀρrogāntos, the Hebrew had no doubt נָדָע, as (four if not five times) in the LXX.; for "who is lying" it would have בָּדָא; בָּדָא with מ meaning "to lie to a person," "to deceive him,"—more particularly "to break one's plighted word" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 36). The Syr. does not specify the sin in the third clause, but has: "and an old man who is foolish and wanting in knowledge." Similarly the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Hex. The Talmud mentions these three things as what "the mind cannot bear," adding as a fourth: a Pamme—official, administrator in the congregation—who exalts himself over the congregation: either in the sense of vanity or else of neglecting their wants (Psalms. 113 b).

3. If thou hast not gathered in youth.] The Syr. adds "wisdom." Similar sentiments are expressed in Talmudic writings, the most closely resembling that of the Son of Sirach being the following quoted as a proverb: "If in thy youth thou hast not desired them (the words of the Law), how shalt thou attain them in thine old age?" (Ab. d. R. Nath. xxiv. about the middle).—The sentence is intended to prepare for the praise in the next verses of a wise old age, for which it is necessary to gather the stores in youth.

4. judgment.] בָּדָא, in the sense of "right, justice."

ancient men.] Rather, aged men. to know counsel.] The Syr. "understanding." Only such old age as here described is desirable.

5. bow comely is the wisdom of elders, and understanding and counsel to those placed in honour.] We believe the reference here to be to the official elders, the γεροπόντες, ηγουμένοι, the members of the γερουσία. This view is confirmed by the next verse; and in that case v. 6 also gains additional meaning. Similarly the Syr. has "dignitaries."

6. The crown of elders [again in the official sense] is much experience, and their glory (boast) fear of the Lord.] See previous verse. This adorns and dignifies them in truth.

7. A new stanza: what is desirable in life: Lit. Nine suppositions [= cases supposed] I in heart [i.e. in my own unspoken thinking and wishing] deem happy—while as to the tenth he has no hesitation in uttering and declaring it. The Syr. has: "Nine (things) which have not entered into my heart I have praised, and ten which I have not uttered." This must depend on a misreading. We would suggest that the original had בָּדָא בָּדָא בָּדָא, and that the Syr., dropping out the second ה, read: הָאָדָם הָאָדָם הָאָדָם.
But the love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination: he that holdeth it, whereto shall he be likened?

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of his love: and faith is the beginning of cleaving unto him.

[Give me] any plague, but the plague of the heart: and any wick.

The sentiment of the last clause is certainly not of an elevated character. For the remaining part of the verse the Syr. has: "the man who rejoiceth in his end" (presumably, who looks forward trustfully and joyously to the final Divine vindication and retribution, whether in this life or the next) "while he yet liveth shall see the fall of his enemies." We may feel certain that this was not in the original. It is another question whether the alteration was intentional or not. We believe the former, and that the Syr. sought, by perhaps slight change in the Hebrew text, to convert what was an objectionable into a pious sentiment.

Three further “beatitudes” follow (the third, fourth, and fifth): “Well is him”—rather, happy he—"that hath not slipped;" rather, that slippeth not. Last clause: “and that serveth not one unworthy of him”—a person whose character or folly renders it derogatory, or a trial, to have to do his bidding or to be his subordinate. To the first clause of the verse there are many parallels in Rabbinic writings. But the Syr. addition to this clause is, so far as we remember, the only source of what is an undoubtedly Jewish simile for an ill-assorted marriage. The verse in the Syr. version reads: "Well to the husband of a good wife, who draws not the plough with an ox and an ass together." May the apostolic injunction (2 Cor. vi. 14), "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers"—which seems, in the first place, to refer to religiously unequal marriages—have been derived from a Jewish proverb, preserved in this Syr. rendering, rather than from Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxi. 20? Or is the opposite the case, and did the Syr. derive its simile from 2 Cor. vi. 14? Instead of "that slippeth not with his tongue," the Syr. has, "whose tongue does not overthower [destroy] him."

Beatiudes 6 and 7. Happy he who findeth [= attaineth] prudence; in the sense of knowledge of what should be done. “And he that speaketh,” viz. it,—that is, in the prudent direction to duty. The A.V., although not literal, gives the meaning accurately. The Syr. has “mercy” instead of “prudence.” Probably the original had ידוע, “knowledge,” “prudence,” as in הָיָה ידועו (Prov. xxiv. 5), which the LXX. renders: ἀνήρ φυσιμων ἐκων; and the Syr. reads, instead of ידועו, the word ידוע—which means a friend, or else by a different punctuation of the Syr. may mean “mercy.” In point of fact, the Vet. Lat. has here “a true friend.”

Beatiudes 8 and 9. “Yet is there none;” rather, yet is he not. The Syr. omits this verse, but curiously interposes the following: “well to the man whom poverty has not broken, nor yet want hath broken”—possibly to make up the number of the beatitudes. “Wisdom” in its theoretical aspect is here distinguished from practical Wisdom, or the fear of the Lord.

The writer now sets forth that “tenth” thing he had in v. 7 declared it his purpose to “utter” with his tongue; that is, to make matter of special and explicit praise without fear of contradiction.

The fear of the Lord surpasseth above every thing.] Thus, and not as in the A.V.: the servi in the verb, in addition to that preposition, represents the Hebrew by נַעֲרֵה. The second clause of the verse is omitted in the Syr.

Rather, holdeth fast.

Perhaps, rather, to whom? To this question no answer is returned, perhaps to indicate that comparison is here not possible, since the condition of such a person surpasseth all else.

This verse deserves special attention. It does not occur either in the Vat. or in the Sinait. Cod. but in H. 24, 8, Co. We can scarcely doubt that it is a spurious addition, and due to a Christian hand. That we find it in the Syr., and in the Vet. Lat. and the Arab., does not surprise us, and confirms our impression of the Christian origin of the Syr. Version, and of the dependence upon it of the Vet. Lat.
ECCLESIASTICUS. XXV.

[14—19.]

And any affliction, but the affliction from them that hate me:
and any revenge, but the revenge of enemies.

There is no head above the head of a serpent; and there is no wrath above the wrath of an enemy.

I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than to keep house with a wicked woman.

The wickedness of a woman changeth her face, and darkenth her countenance like sackcloth.

Her husband shall sit among his neighbours; and when he heareth it shall sigh bitterly.

All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman: let the portion of a sinner fall upon her.


Any wound but not a wound of the heart, and any wickedness but not the wickedness of a woman. The Syr. has in both clauses, “but not as;” the Vet. Lat. either misunderstood or alters the wording. In the Talmud we have this (we italicize the parallel words): “Any disease but not disease of the bowels; any wound but not a wound of the heart; any ache but not ache of the head; any wickedness but not a wicked woman” (Shabb. 11a). This is interesting, as shewing that many of these sayings of the Sibirede must have been proverbial among the Jews.

Any affliction but not the affliction of them [= from them].

This verse is one of the most curious and interesting from the exegetical point of view. Since the time of Bretschneider, it has been generally held that what the Greek rendered “head” and “head of a serpent” (κεφαλῆς) was a mistranslation of מים, “poison,” as in Deut. xxxii. 33. And the evidence of what in itself seems probable lies in this, that the word מים, which occurs in the second clause of our verse in Ecclus., is the word by which the LXX. render מים in Deut. xxxii. 33. The correct rendering of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. xxv. 15 would therefore be: There is not a poison above more virulent than the poison of a serpent, nor rage (vehemence of passion) above the rage of an enemy. But this is not all. Not only has the Syr. also mistranslated מים by “head”—unless the word means in Syr. also “poison”—but it has: “There is not a head [poison?] of a serpent, and there is not an enmity of more bitterness than that of woman.” The Vet. Lat. has: et non est ira super iram mulieris; thus giving another evidence of its dependence upon the Syriac. As regards the clause itself, we have little doubt that the Syr. here purposely altered the original Hebrew, which was correctly given by the Greek, and the alteration is the more cunning that it fits so well into the context of the following verses. But what was the purpose of the alteration? We cannot help suspecting that it was intended to allude to the doctrine of the fall of man.

16. A new stanza. I would rather I should prefer to dwell together with a lion and a dragon than dwell in the house with a wicked woman.

Her face. Rather, her appearance. The meaning of the second clause seems to be that it makes her face, or herself, sinister instead of being bright as the day. The Syr. has: “makes pale the face of her husband, and makes it dark, &c.” It is not easy to account here for the change of person in the verse, although the Syr. seems more natural than the Greek. The Alex. has, instead of “like sackcloth,” “like a bear”—possibly some misreading. Curiously the Vet. Lat. has both the Vet. and the Alex. reading: tamquam ursus, et quasi sacrum ostendit. We conjecture that a later hand had altered the original translation and put, either in the text or margin, both the Alex. and the Vet. readings—markedly, the Alex. first—and that then an attempt had been made to make sense out of the two: negotia . . . obecerat vulturn suum tamquam ursus (in the nomin.), &c.

18. In the midst of his neighbours [possibly in the sense of relatives] her husband resteth; and he heareth [viz. either what is said of her, or else the praise of good women], he sibeth bitterly. Instead of αἰκονοις, “and as he heareth,” other texts have αἰκονοις, “involuntarily.” As the Syr. has the same, we imagine that this must be the correct reading. The Syr.: “In the midst of his companions sitteth the husband of the foolish woman, and involuntarily he sibeth.” The Vet. Lat. seems once more to combine the two different readings, slightly altering them.

19. All. Better, any. The Syr. modifies: “Manifold is wickedness, but it is not like the smallest wickedness of a wicked woman.” It seems needless to quote Rabbinic
20 As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man.

21 Stumble not at the beauty of a woman, and desire her not for pleasure.

22 A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach.

23 A wicked woman abateth the courage, maketh an heavy countenance and a wounded heart: a woman that will not comfort her husband in distress maketh weak hands and feeble knees.

24 Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.

parallels, but we may mention that which, on the basis of Eccles. vii. 26, prays for deliverance from that which is worse than death—a wicked woman (Yebam. 63 a).

20. A sandy (place of) ascent, &c. Equally to a quiet man is a woman who always puts in her words. The Syr. has, "of a long tongue."

21. These things being so, a general warning follows. "Stumble not," &c.—let not the beauty of a woman cause thee to stumble while pursuing thy way—and bear not desire after a woman. The Alex. supplements after “woman” εἰς καλλίτη, and Fritzsche adopts this; but the addition seems to us disturbing. The Syr. has: "be not allured by the beauty of a wicked woman; and even if she have wealth, do not desire after her." This seems rather an alteration than a different reading of the text. The Vet. Lat. repeats the tautology of the Alex. reading.

22. Anger, impudence, and great shame, when a woman supplies [viz. his livelihood—but the word is difficult] to her husband. Such are the consequences when husband depends upon his wife for his living. The Syr. has: "for hard servitude and evil shame (is) a woman who doeth harm to and lords over her husband, and with whom the heart is also covered [who dissemble]."

The last clause is an addition—unless it be a strange mistranslation of the opening Greek words of the next verse (καρδία του ναυμαχίου). Putting aside this clause, we suppose that the original had ἁγγείας ἱππέων, "cruel wrath,"—a similar expression in Gen. xlix. 7—in which the Greek misunderstood ἁγγείας for "impudent," as in Ezek. ii. 17, and then resolved the substant. and adj. into two substantives, while the Syr. misread the substantive and misrendered the adjective as if it had been ἐμφάνισε ἱππέων, "hard service" (taking ἁγγείας in the primary meaning of the word). In that case the original would have meant "cruel anger" (viz. on the part of the wife), "and great shame" (viz. on the part of the husband). But how are we to account for the difference between the Sustaining of the Greek, and the doing harm and lording" in the Syriac. Can it be that there was here a confusion between some form of ἁμαρτία (in the Greek) and ἔστιν (in the Syr.)?

23. A wicked woman [here follow the results]: a heart depressed, a countenance sullen, and a heart stricken [lit. stroke of heart]; hands relaxed [weak, that hang down], and knees palseied: such an one as makes not happy her husband [causes not his happiness]. Two kinds of wives are here distinguished: the wicked woman and, in the second part of the verse, one who does not actually secure the happiness of her husband. The influence of such a wife on his life is paralysing. It deserves notice that the quotation from Is. xxxv. 3, "relaxed hands and palseied knees," is not literally taken from the LXX. The passage is again quoted in Heb. xii. 12—and there the same difference from the LXX. obtains, while the words are added precisely as in Eccles.

24. The verse is remarkable, as ascribing to Eve not only the introduction of death, but also the commencement, although not the introduction, of sin. The first of these two propositions is not inconsistent with Eccles. xiv. 17 (mark there the word συμβεβηκα, and the pointed reference to LXX. Gen. ii. 17). But we must be careful not to identify the statement that "of woman came, or was the beginning of sin" with the N. T. doctrine of original sin. The Hebrew had probably וְנַאֲתָה, and the Syr. here reproduces it: "from woman began sins." We surmise that in 1 Tim. ii., culminating in 14, 15, the Apostle had this verse in Eccles. in view, although his reference was no doubt also to Gen. iii. 17. [We might almost conjecture that one of the objects in 1 Tim. ii. 14, 15 was to prevent any false inference as to the undesirability of the married estate on the part of Christian women.] Apart from this, it is noteworthy that the Apostle emphasises the introduction of sin through woman. In Galilee it was the custom for the women to go before the bier, so as to mark that death came through woman (Ber. R. 17).
25. neither to a wicked woman rule (perhaps better: authority or power).] Omit "to gad abroad," which is added in 248, Co. For ἑγορος, "rule," Fritzsche would read with the Sin., Alex., 248, and six other MSS. ἀληθεία, "liberty," or rather "confidence." But this not only gives the impression of a later emendation, but is forbidden by the Syr., which has "rule" or "power," and therefore establishes the Vat. text. The A. V. follows 248, Co. Very curiously the Syr. has: "nor to a woman face and rule." Did the Syr. make some confusion with such an expression as ἐπὶ τοῦ in the original, or may the latter have had ἵππος; "lifting up of the face," in the sense of special honour, distinction, which the Syr. misunderstood? The Syr. also adds: "for as the issue of waters as it proceeds becomes larger, so a wicked woman proceeds and sinneth." The Vet. Lat. is apparently emendated, but generally accords with 248, Co., which (as already indicated) have for ἑγορος, ἀληθεία, ἐκλογ. It renders: non des aquae tuae exitium, nec medicum; nec mulieri nequam veniam prodeundii (the latter also in A. V.).

26. If she go not according to thy hand—that is, either "according to thy manner," Ἴδια, or more probably ἵππος, "under thy leadership." The words "and give her"—viz. a bill of divorce—"and send her away" (more freely rendered in the A. V.) must be omitted. They are neither in the Vat., the Alex., nor the Sin. (which latter has in the first clause, instead of χειρίζεσθαι, χειρὰς ου), but the clause occurs in 248, Co., and also in the Syr. The wording of the latter (carnem tuam resecare) might lead us to suspect some indelicacy in the original which the Greek has modified (but see the note on xxvi. 1). The Vet. Lat. is paraphrastic or explanatory in the second clause.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The arrangement of this chapter presents special difficulties from the state of the text, things that are grievous. 29 Merchants and hucksters are not without sin.

BLESSED is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double.

2 A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfill the years of his life in peace.

3 A good wife is a good portion, which shall be given in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

since v. 19-27, although found in 248, Co., and in the Syr., are not in either the Vat. or the Alex., while v. 28, 29 evidently belong to ch. xxvii. (see the notes). The chapter as thus curtailed treats of the favourite subject of the Son of Sirach: woman. Four verses in praise of a good woman are followed by eight verses (vv. 5-12) which describe theills entailed by evil women. Lastly, we have six verses in praise of a fair woman (vv. 13-18).

1. Happy the husband of a good wife, and.] This verse and v. 3 are quoted in the Talmud in two passages (Yebam. 63 b; Sanh. 100 b) as from Ben Sira. In Sanh. 100 b they are introduced as useful for preaching purposes. But although the two verses are quoted precisely alike in both Talmudic passages, and are the same as in the Greek version, their order is inverted, v. 3 (of the Greek text) preceding v. 1. Moreover, between these two sayings another is inserted, which represents the closing verse of the previous chapter; being, however, neither exactly like the Greek nor the Syriac version, but almost a compromise between the two. We can scarcely agree with Fritzsche that the second clause of our verse is explanatory of the first. The doubling of the number of days seems a continuation, rather than an explanation, of the first clause.

2. a brave [worthy] wife. γυνὴ ὀφρεία, by which the LXX. render the בִּינוּ נְשָׁה of Prov. xlii. 4, xxxi. 10 (LXX. xxix. 28), while the same Hebrew expression in Ruth iii. 11 is rendered by γυνὴ δυνάμεως—another evidence that the translation of Prov. and that of Ruth were made by different hands and presumably at different periods.

his years.] Not "the years of his life," as in the A. V. after 248, Co. The Syr. interchanges v. 2 and 3, and it has "in joy" instead of "in peace." Such a woman will be a defence from evil and strife.

3. As regards the second part of the verse, the repetition of the word "portion" shows that there must have been some misapprehen-
4 Whether a man be rich or poor, if he have a good heart toward the Lord, he shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance.

5 There be three things that mine heart feareth; and for the fourth I was sore afraid: the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation: all these are worse than death.

6 But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman, and a scourge of the tongue which communicateth with all.

7 An evil wife is a yoke shaken to and fro: he that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.

8 A drunken woman and a gadder abroad causeth great anger, and she will not cover her own shame.

9 The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids.

10 If thy daughter be shameless, keep her in straitly, lest she abuse herself through overmuch liberty.

**SOLUTION:**

4. The heart of the rich and also of the poor is happy, at all times [here = under any circumstances] the countenance cheerful. Viz. if he have such a wife. The A. V. follows 248, Co.

5. There is some difficulty about the second clause. The text of the A. V. is here also that of the Alex. and S's. But this reading seems almost impossible (see Fritzsche). On the other hand, the Vatic. has: “with the face I have prayed,” which is no doubt the better text, but gives no meaning, since “to pray with the face” can scarcely be regarded as “to pray humbly,” i.e. with down-turned face. We imagine that the confusion originally arose from the expression [希腊文], “lest” (of course our present final letters were not in use), which the Greek translator misread [希腊文], or even [希腊文], “face,” and thus bunglingly turned into προσωποῦ, “with the face.” But as the reading “with the face I have prayed” gave no meaning, it was next emended into “I have feared.” The original had probably neither one nor the other, but something that would give this meaning: “Of three things my heart is afraid, and over the fourth, lest (I) it befall me”—or something of that kind.

6. The verse states that fourth object which inspired him with such dread. Omit “but.” The last clause we propose rendering: and a scourge of tongue which (equally) gives a share to all—is equally administered to all: the sense being that one of the (three) things connected with a jealous woman is that her evil speaking—the scourge of her tongue—equally falls upon all, however unreasonable and uncalled-for the promptings of her jealousy may be. The Syr. omits this verse.

7. a yoke shaken to and fro.] Rather, “an ox-yoke moved to and fro,” i.e. unsteady in its movement, one of the animals pulling in the other direction. The Syr. renders it by “a hard yoke,” perhaps reading נコピー, while the Greek derived the word from the verb יפוך.

8. A woman drunken [and roaming about, which the A. V. falsely softens]. The italicised words within brackets, which are not in the Vat. nor Alex. but in 248, Co., are also represented in the Syr. The idea suggested is sufficiently plain.

9. in the uprisings of the eyes and in her eyelids.

10. Three warnings follow.
11 Watch over an impudent eye: and marvel not if she trespass against thee.

12 She will open her mouth, as a thirsty traveller when he hath found a fountain, and drink of every water near her: by every hedge will she sit down, and open her quiver against every arrow.

13 The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fatten his bones.

14 A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is no-thing so much worth as a mind well instructed.

15 A shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace, and her con-tinent mind cannot be valued.

16 As the sun when it ariseth in the high heaven; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of her house.

17 As the clear light is upon the holy candlestick; so is the beauty of the face in ripe age.

18 As the golden pillars are upon the sockets of silver; so are the feet with a constant heart.

19 Daughter that cannot be turned aside—here, from lust (this, rather than “headstrong,” see Fritzsche)—keep a strict watch.

*through overmuch liberty.*] Rather, “lest finding relaxation,” i.e. of the watchfulness advised. Fritzsche tries to explain the sin referred to in a better sense than that implied in the A.V.; but in our opinion with little success.

11. (To go) After an impudent eye, be on thy guard (beware, have a care.).

It is scarcely worth discussing the meaning to be attached to these words, nor whether the reference is to a daughter, as in v. 10, or to another woman—probably the latter. If the warning of the first clause be neglected, marvel not if she leads thee into sin.

12. As a thirsty traveller will open his mouth and drink of every water that is near, so will she sit down before every peg, &c.

13. A new stanza, in praise of woman. The antithesis to the previous verses which described the bad woman is not difficult to trace. The expression “make fat the bones,” as in Prov. xv. 30.

14. Omit from the A.V. the words “and a loving”—evidently a later emendatory addition.

*and there is nothing so much worth.*] καὶ οὐκ ἔστω ἀντάλαμα, there is not an exchange—here, best: equivalent in value. Instead of “as a mind well instructed” of the more polite Greek, the Syr. has “as continence [exiguiety, parsimony] of throat.”

15. Omit from the A.V. the words “and faithful” (see v. 14). Lit., “is grace upon grace”—utmost grace.

16. A good paraphrase of οὐκ ἔστω σταθμὸς πᾶς ἄνδρος. Instead of “a continent mind” the Syr. has “continence [exiguiety, &c.] of the mouth,” but the allusion of the Greek is to something different, and marks a progression on the first clause of the verse.

17. As the lamp that shineth forth upon the holy candlestick; so is beauty of face upon a steadfast age [lit.].] The word ἥλικη is always used in that sense in the Apoc., and the meaning would be: so is matronly beauty after a constant, steadfast life.

18. Another figure, no doubt also derived from the furniture of the Temple, and equally designed to exhibit the combination of beauty with goodness.
19 My son, keep the flower of thine age sound; and give not thy strength to strangers.

20 When thou hast gotten a fruitful possession through all the field, sow it with thine own seed, trusting in the goodness of thy stock.

21 So thy race which thou leavest shall be magnified, having the confidence of their good descent.

22 An harlot shall be accounted as spittle; but a married woman is a tower against death to her husband.

23 A wicked woman is given as a portion to a wicked man: but a godly woman is given to him that feareth the Lord.

24 A dishonest woman contemneth shame: but an honest woman will reverence her husband.

25 A shameless woman shall be counted as a dog; but she that is shamefaced will fear the Lord.

26 A woman that honoureth her husband shall be judged wise of all; but she that dishonoureth him in his pride shall be counted ungodly of all.

27 A loud crying woman and a scold shall be sought out to drive away the enemies.

28 There be two things that grieve my heart; and the third maketh me angry: a man of war that suffereth poverty; and men of understanding that are not set by; and one that returneth from righteousness to sin; yea, the Lord prepareth such an one for the sword.

29 A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin.

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19–27. These verses, which are not found either in the Vat. or in the Alex., are an interpolation, although probably an old one. They occur in H. 248, and Co. They are also found in the Syr. (though not in the Vet. Lat.), but with expressions so strange and divergent from the Greek as to raise the suspicion of a later addition. We entertain the less doubt as to the spuriousness of these verses, since they often contain repetitions of what had been previously said.

28. This verse evidently begins a subject totally different from that hitherto discussed. We can scarcely doubt that this and the following verse form part of ch. xxvii. The new subject is introduced in a manner similar to Eccles. xxvi. 5. The object of the writer in thus introducing a new theme seems to be, by first stating three things on which all are agreed, to prepare for, and to conciliate, the favourable consideration of his readers in regard to the new subject which he is about to bring before them.

Over two things has my heart been grieved, and over [for] the third strong feeling cometh upon me . . . and men of understanding if they are not set by.] As the fifth line is not introduced in any of the Greek texts by καί, we propose beginning with it a new sentence, and combing it with the last line: He that returneth from righteousness to sin, the Lord prepareth him [such an one] for the sword. [So also Bissell, although not as to punctuation.] The Syr. has “and.” In this it is followed by the Vet. Lat., although not in the some what peculiar rendering of the three cases instanced: “a free man” for “a man of war”; “men of celebrated fame who fall from their glory,” and “over him who turneth from adherence to God [apostatises from the true religion].”

29. The sentence is in strict accordance with Rabbinic sentiment. The εἰμοποιος is here the גֵּר (as in the Syr.) of the Targumim and Talmud, the larger, resident, or else the importing merchant (even the dealer en grost), while the κακός is either the travelling hawker, the גָּוָל of the Talmud, or more probably the גֵּר, “huckster” or “shopman.” But in the LXX. the εἰμοποιος is alike the גֵּר, although even so a travelling merchant, and the גֵּר of biblical Hebrew—residents merchants being apparently unknown. The word κακός occurs only in the LXX. modification of the last clause of Is. i. 23 (“thy hawkers mix the wine with water”—the introduction of the term seeming to imply different authorship and perhaps later date than other parts of the LXX. The LXX. in Ezek. has only εἰμοποιος. The Talmud ranks the גֵּר, “huckster” or “shopkeeper” (by which the Syr. renders the κακός of our text: among those whose occupation involves robbing (Qid. 82 a, b—all together a curious passage). In Ab. ii. 5 we are told that he who trafficks much (multiplet merchandising, רֹפַע) cannot become a sage, while in Erubb. 55 b Deut. xxx. 13 is thus explained: “Thou shalt not find it [the Law] either with hawkers or
CHAPTER XXVII.

1. Of sins in selling and buying. 7. Our speech will tell what is in us. 16. A friend is lost by discovering his secrets. 25. He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it.

Many have sinned for a small matter; and he that seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away.

2. As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling.

3. Unless a man hold himself diligently in the fear of the Lord, his house shall soon be overthrown.

4. As when one sitteth with a sieve, the refuse remaineth; so the filth of man in his talk.

5. The furnace proveth the potter's vessels; so the trial of man is in his reasoning.

with merchants" (םירוטבב אל לאומש נל). The Syr. curiously adds explanatorily: "for if he stumbles not in this, he stumbles in that." But "the shopkeeper" or "hawk" is absolutely given up—he is not free from sin.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The subject begun in the two closing verses of ch. xxvi. is continued in the three opening verses of ch. xxvii. From "commerce" the writer proceeds to that other "commerce," the intercourse of daily life. This forms the general subject of the chapter. First, the source of conversation is traced to the condition of mind and heart (stanza 2, four verses: 4–7). This gives rise to a parenthetic stanza of three verses on righteousness and truth (vv. 8–10). Then follows an antithetic stanza about the discourse of the wise and of the fool (stanza 4 of five verses: 11–15). Next we have a stanza (the fifth) on unwarrantable and dangerous speech (six verses: 16–21); and then a sixth stanza of three verses on deceitful speech and action (vv. 22–24). The last stanza (six verses: 25–30)—on malice and anger—follows up that which had preceded, and intimates the righteous retribution of God on conduct such as that referred to. This stanza also serves as a transition from ch. xxvii. to xxviii.

1. A small matter.] Rather, a thing indifferent, which has no real value and for which he perhaps little cares. Comp. Note on vii. 18.

seeketh for abundance.] To increase = to accumulate wealth.

will turn away the eyes.] Viz., either from that which is right, or else in the sense of an obliquity of vision. The Syr, curiously has: "he that seeketh to multiply sins turneth away his eyes."

2. As a peg is driven in between the joinings of stones, so is sin crushed in between buying and selling.

There is some difficulty about the meaning of כְּתוֹלִית המֹסָר ("crushed in "). It is simply arbitrary on the part of Frisze to change the word into כְּתוֹלִית מֹסָר—by way of following (?) the Vet. Lat., angustiatur. The Syr. renders: "is made strong." This, as has been suggested, would represent כְּתוֹלִית, or it might be כְּתוֹלִית, which the Greek, however, read כְּתוֹלִית, "layeth hold of." And although כְּתוֹלִית properly means "is crushed," yet the figure in the first clause about the peg driven in might naturally suggest this free, but substantially correct, rendering of the Greek for the Hebrew: "layeth hold of."

3. The previous verse is followed by a general warning, which in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. is cast in the form of a personal address. The meaning is: Such being the temptations of daily life, take care lest instead of building your house by your gains you destroy it in consequence of your sin. The Syr. rendering of the second clause is both inapt and unaccountable.

4. A new stanza. talk.] Rather, thinking. As in the LXX. generally, we must regard λογος, as = λόγον. The object of the writer is to shew that the real character of a man will ultimately appear in his discourse. The lighter substances may be shaken out of a sieve, but the heavier remain. So it is with a man. The vile remains in his thinking and purposing, and it will manifest itself. This is the real test of what a man is and of what he will do or say.

5. In his reasoning.] Rather, in his consideration—in his balancing of what course to take, and in his consequent choice. This meaning seems to suit the whole context and also best to fit in with vv. 8–10. The expression διδασκαλεὶς τοῦ κόσμου, "the furnace proveth," reminds us of LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 (διδασκαλεῖς τοῦ κόσμου) rather than of LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21. Nevertheless, we suspect that the gloss (perhaps originally marginal) found in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21 may be based on Esclus. xxvii. 5, 6, rather than on LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 or on xii. 8.
6. The cultivation of a tree its fruit sheweth forth [mark the similarity with, and yet difference from St. Matt. vii. 16, 20, and comp. especially St. Jas. iii. 12, 17], so the matter [λογιος = ἔρημος in the sense of “object] of desire [or of cogitation] the hearts of men (taking καφδίας as the accus. plur., not the gen. sing.)] It would be extremely difficult, and perhaps scarcely worth the labour of the attempt, to explain the divergences in the Syr.

7. This verse, which forms the conclusion of this part, is omitted in the Syr. Translate: Praise not a man irrespective of (his) thinking,—viz. before thou knowest what that is—"for this is the trial [the test] of men."

8. This stanza follows naturally upon what had preceded. "If thou followest the right, thou shalt obtain [attain] and put it on," &c. The "long robe," παχνίδας, as in Rev. i. 13, especially the robe of the High Priest (Eccles. xlv. 8), and also in the LXX. O. T. (where its use in Ezek. ix. 2, 3 for דֵּבֶשׁ deserves notice). Here it indicates holy beauty and glory as of the raiments of the High Priest.

9. Birds will resort [turn in to lodge with] unto their like. Comp. our note on xiii. 16; "similarly truth will return," &c.: will ultimately appear on the side of the righteous and vindicate them, however they may have suffered or been misrepresented. On the other hand, sure destruction will ultimately overtake those who do the wrong (v. 10). Omit "as" in the A. V.


always with wisdom.] According to the better reading, always wisdom. The constancy of his wisdom, as the outcome of piety within, is contrasted with the phases of a fool, changing like those of the moon. The Vet. Lat. has this peculiar rendering: homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol, which gives a better antithesis than either the Greek or the Syr. text. This may have suggested the alteration—perhaps with some (Christian?) reference to Ps. lxxii. 17. It has indeed been argued that the Vet. Lat. has here preserved the correct Hebrew text, כַּמָּה הַמַּיְלָה הַנְּגַדְּדָה, "as the sun perpetual," which the Greek misread: עַבָּרָה יָדָּה הַנְּגַדְּדָה, "wisdom perpetual—is always." But it is difficult to understand either the supposed sentiment or that it should be so expressed (comp. Ps. lxxii. 17); still more whence the Greek could have derived the word διαφωτίας, the genuineness of which is attested by its occurrence in the antithetic v. 13. Lastly, the Syr. has the verse as in the Greek.

12. Into the midst of [among] those of no understanding: have heed to the time—choose the proper season, the proper moment for going among them; into the midst of those of understanding: be continuous.

13. The discourse of fools is an offence, and their laughter in the wantonness of sin—in wanton sin.

14. The profanities and blasphemies in their brawls are such that one stops his ears.

15. The strife of the audacious [insolent, proud, υπέρβαρον] is shedding of blood—leads to it—and their angry railing a grievous sound.] This and the two preceding verses evidently constitute a climax. The Syr. text is here confused, and seems corrupt.
16th his credit; and shall never find friend to his mind.

17 Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him: but if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him.

18 For as a man hath destroyed his enemy; so hast thou lost the love of thy neighbour.

19 As one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again.

20 Follow after him no more, for he is too far off; he is as a roe escaped out of the snare.

21 As for a wound, it may be bound up; and after reviling there may be reconciliation: but he that bewrayeth secrets is without hope.

22 He that winketh with the eyes worketh evil: and he that knoweth him will depart from him.

23 When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words: but at the last he will write his mouth, and slander thy sayings.

24 I have hated many things, but nothing like him; for the Lord will hate him.

19. As one that letteth.] Rather, and as thou letteth.

get him again.] θηρεύεσαι—a hunting term, "catch him in the hunt."

20. be is too far off.] Better, he has withdrawn himself far off.

as a roe.] Rather, "as a gazelle," or antelope, known for its fleetness. The Syr. has here the addition: "and as a bird out of the snare," evidently taken from Prov. vi. 5.

21. omit "as." in the A. V. wound.] For the Vat. θραύμα, "breaking," which may represent the Hebrew נָזָר, we adopt the Alex. reading πρόμα. There are hurts which can be healed, but not that here supposed.

22. a new stanza, describing another manifestation of the same sin. The A. V. here follows the reading of H. 248, Co. (which is also adopted by the Armen.), καὶ ὁ εἴδως αὐτὸν ἀποστολήσαι αὐτὸν αἰτοῦ. This is certainly preferable to the Vat., καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀποστολήσῃ αὐτῷ αἰτοῦ = and no one will be able to get rid of him. A., C., and eight MSS. have αἱρεὶ ἀποστολήσῃ—referring to the "evil" in the first clause.

23. the writer proceeds to give a description of such a person. Lit., before thine eyes he will make his mouth sweet, &c.; adopting the reading στόμα αἰτοῦ with A., C., 55, 106, 157, 248, 307, Co., Vat. Lat. (the Syr. here is throughout corrupt). This evidently suits the context better than the Vat., which has στόμα σου, "thy mouth."

but afterwards he will turn about his speech.] The last clause, literally rendered, reads: "and will put in thy words an offence;" that is, he will pur-
25 Whoso casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds.

26 Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and he that setteth a trap shall be taken therein.

27 He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh.

28 Mockery and reproach are from the proud; but a vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them.

29 They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die.

30 Malice and wrath, even these are abominations; and the sinful man shall have them both.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 Against revenge, 8 quarrelling, 10 anger, 15 and backbiting.

H E a that revengeth shall find a Dent. vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins [in remembrance.]

29. The Syr. here has a different and certainly erroneous rendering, probably due to a misreading of the Hebrew, which it is scarcely worth the labour to trace in detail, although in part it is evident.

30. even these.] Rather, these also. Omit from the A. V. the final word "both."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

This chapter stands in close internal connexion with the preceding. It deals with that to which the sins previously referred to give rise, and finally returns to these sins themselves. The special topics of the chapter may be grouped as follows: Revenge (stanza 1, of seven verses); strife (second stanza, of five verses: ἀλογοδοκίας; calumny (third stanza, of four verses: ταυτολογίας; its baneful effects (fourth stanza, of five verses: ταυτολογίας—although this and the previous stanza may possibly be combined into one). Lastly, we have a stanza which on the one hand promises to the righteous safety from the consequences of backbiting, and on the other admonishes to watchfulness (five verses: ταυτολογίας to the end).

1. The words italicised, "keep his sins in remembrance," are inadequate. The verb is used here as in Ps. cxxx. 5: "if Jehovah keep sin;" that is, not only remember, but reserve it for punishment (comp. the figure in Job xiv. 17), only that here it must have been ἀλογοδοκίας, which the Greek preserves, as well as the Vet. Lat. (servants servabit). We need scarcely here remind ourselves of Rom. xii. 19. But the whole sentiment seems so unlike the spirit of the book, and so Christian in its conception, that we suspect an interpolation. The Syr. is quite different, and perhaps preserves the Hebrew original. It begins the verse with what seems a modification of the second clause of the last verse in the previous chapter: "And the deceitful man destroyeth his way" (perhaps the
2. "Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest.

3. "One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord?

4. "He sheweth no mercy to a man, which is like himself: and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?

5. "If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, who will intreat for pardon of his sins?

6. Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; [remember] corruption and death, and abide in the commandments.

7. Remember the commandments, and bear no malice to thy neighbour: [remember] the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance.

original had something like Ps. i. 6: "and will receive retribution [vengeance] from God, because all his sins shall be carefully preserved to him."

2. *Forgive the unrighteousness* [the wrong, injury] of thy neighbour, and then when thou prayest thy sins shall be loosed [Lambdaovra; comp. St. Matt. xviii. 18.]. The latter expression, but chiefly the addition "when thou prayest"—which makes the verse parallel with St. Mark xi. 25—indicates Christian alteration. In Talmudic writings we find indeed such statements as "To whom is sin pardoned? To him who forgiveth injury" (Rosh Hash. 17 a, and in other places); and again: "every time that thou art merciful, God will be merciful to thee; and if thou art not merciful, God will not shew mercy to thee" (Jer. Bahba Q., viii. 10, and other places). Other similar passages might be quoted, to which St. Jas. ii. 13 forms the N. T. parallel. But so far as we know there is not any ancient Jewish saying strictly parallel to this verse in Eccles. We therefore regard it as a later Christian alteration. The Syr. Christian emendation goes even further. It has: "Remit what is in thy heart and afterwards pray, and all thy sins shall be remitted thee." The Vet. Lat. follows the Greek.

3. (One) *Man keepeth anger against* (another) man, and doth he seek healing from the Lord?" "Healing," like הַגָּלוֹת, or rather here הַגָּלוֹת, in the sense of forgiveness. We are here again on strictly Jewish ground. The N. T. also offers well-known parallels. Fritzsche quotes from the Pastor of Hermes, B. iii., Similit. ix. 25. But that passage rather recalls St. Jas. iv. 12. A better parallel would have been u. s., B. ii., Comm. ix.: "For He is not like men who remember evils done against them; but He Himself remembers not evils, and has compassion on His own creatures." This seems based on the following from Yoma, 86 b: "Come and see that the measure [manner of dealing] of the Holy One, blessed be He, is not like that of flesh and blood. A man makes his neighbour angry [offends him] by words, there is a doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by him; and if thou sayest, he will be assuaged by him, there is doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by words, but the Holy One, blessed be His Name: a man committeth a sin in secret—He [God] is assuaged of him by words (see Hos. iv. 3)."

4. Rather, *he hath not mercy.* *doth he ask forgiveness.* Rather, "does he entreat (viz. mercy) on account of his sins?" The Syr. omits the verse.

5. *He that is flesh keepeth resentment [μοιραία, who will avenge for expiate his sins] (Bissell.) The Syr. has: "he who is a son of man is not willing to remit, and who shall remit his sins?" Whose verses are intended to mark the incongruity of his position. But v. 5 seems also to indicate that works of mercy were regarded as a kind of atonement.

6. The writer now proceeds to positive admonition.

7. *thy end.* Rather, the end. For "abide in the commandments." the Syr. has "abstain from sinning"—probably correctly representing the original, since the next clause of the next verse is as in the Greek. Verses 6 and 7 mark a progression, which the Greek probably wished to make more emphatic by this "abide in the commandments," to be immediately followed by "remember the commandments," &c.

7. *bear no malice to.* Rather, overlook.

ignorance.* ἀγνώρια, as in the LXX., always in the sense of guilt or sin of weakness, אִנָּחֶם, or else אִנָּחֶם and מִיָּלָה. The Syr. has: "Remember the commandment and hate not thy neighbour before God, and give him what lacketh to him." It has been ingeniously suggested that the Syr. for "before" (בּוֹא) is corrupt, and that we should read "covenant"—"the covenant of God"—while
8. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins: for a furious man will kindle strife.

9. A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh debate among them that be at peace.

10. "As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth: and as a man’s strength is, so is his wrath; and according to his riches his anger riseth; and the stronger they are which contend, the more they will be inflamed.

11. An hasty contention kindleth a fire: and an hasty fighting sheddeth blood.

12. If thou blow the spark, it shall burn: if thou spitt upon it, it shall be quenched: and both these come out of thy mouth.

13. "Curse the whisperer and dou- / ch. 31. ble tongued: for such have destroyed many that were at peace.

14. A backbiting tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from man’s strength is his wrath;" the Syr., "as is the glory of a man’s hands, so is his wrath;" in the Hebrew original perhaps נר קיבול (in the LXX. ἔφοσι is mostly the translation of נ себе) — and according to his wealth his anger riseth."

11. The Syr. evidently read the original differently: "Pitch and naphtha kindle fire, and frequent quarrels spill blood." This seems more apt than the Greek text.

12. All depends on the disposition of men. What in the one case issues in fire, in the other is quenched: it is the individual not the thing which causeth the mischief. The twofold simile of fire and water in connexion with disputes (the latter simile brought out more fully in the Syr. than in the Greek) recalls St. Jas. iii. 6 and 10, 11. The Syr. is interesting as shewing that, even where it and the Greek are evidently renderings of the same Hebrew words, there may be slight differences between them, because each translator would deem himself at liberty to translate freely. The following is quoted in Vayyk. R. 33 (beginning) as from Ben Sira: "Is there a coal before thee — blow upon it, and it will kindle up; spit upon it, and it will be extinguished."

13. A new stanza (see introductory remarks). The Syr. renders: "also the third tongue, let it be cursed, for it has laid low many corpses." The expression "third tongue" is of post-biblical Jewish usage. It means the calumnious, babbling tongue, and its designation "third tongue" is explained by this, that it kills three: the person who speaks the calumny, the person who listens to it, and the person concerning whom it is spoken (Ar. 16 b; Jer. Peah, 16 a; in Vayyk. R. 26 an instance of this is given; in Jer. Peah it is added that in the time of Saul it killed four). The Syr. translator seems to have had this in mind in his paraphrastic rendering of the verse.
nation to nation: strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men.

15 A backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women, and deprived them of their labours.

16 Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly.

17 The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh: but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

18 Many have fallen by the edge of the sword: but not so many as have fallen by the tongue.

19 Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands.

20 For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass.

21 The death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.

22 It shall not have rule over them that fear God, neither shall they be burned with the flame thereof.

23 Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard.

—A Hebraism, meaning, who does not experience it.

21. The death thereof.] I.e. the death which it—viz. the calumnious tongue—worketh is evil, being a moral death (comp. Juvenal, viii. 192, and the note of Mayor).

And the grave.] Rather, and Hades is profitable rather than it, viz. Hades is more profitable, serves a better purpose, were rather to be chosen than such a tongue.

22. Possibly a new stanza: of promise and admonition. "It"—viz. such a tongue, not Hades—"shall not have rule." The use of the genit. here (σφαγην ευρεσθω) shows that it refers to a continuous hold (see Winer, I.1. p. 182). The Syr. renders our verse, "burn not:" in the optative form, "mayest thou not burn upon the righteous," &c.

23. Burn in them = among them. Devour them as a leopard.] Rather, mutilate them as a leopard (or panther). For "it shall be sent upon them as a lion," the Syr. has "it shall rule over them." Evidently reading (as has been suggested) מַלּוּשָׁה, while the Greek reads μυαλόν. If even in the Greek the wording of the first two lines (referring to the flame—although, from the context, that kindled by the tongue) raises the suspicion of a Christian modification, so that the words about the flame that would burn without quenching might be understood of Hades; this suspicion is increased by the Syriac, which seems to go much further in the same direction. It has: "All that forsake the fear of God shall fall into it [the flame]; upon them shall the fire kindle and not be extinguished, it shall rule over them as a lion, and as a panther tear them in pieces."

24, 25. The four lines of which these two
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24. Look that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns, and bind up thy silver and gold,
25 And weigh thy words in a balance, and make a door and bar for thy mouth.
26 Beware thou slide not by it, lest thou fall before him that lieth in wait.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 We must shew mercy and lend: but the borrower must not defraud the lender. 9 Give alms. 14 A good man will not undo his surety. 18 To be surety and undertake for others is dangerous. 22 It is better to live at home than to sojourn.

2 If he that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour; and he that strengtheneth his hand keepeth the commandments.
3 4 Lend to thy neighbour in time. 5 Deut. 15. 8. Matt. 5. 42. Luke 6.
3 5 Keep thy word, and deal faith-fully with him, and thou shalt always find the thing that is necessary for thee.
4 Many, when a thing was lent

verses consist are misplaced in the Vat. (although Origen—Hom. i. in Ps. xxxviii. and Hom. Cant. vii. 8—favours the Vat. arrangement). The natural, and no doubt correct, succession of the lines is preserved in H., 243, Co., as well as in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. It is as follows—

v. 24 Lo, surround thy possession [re- 
(ferring to land) with thorns [a 
mouth];
25 (24b) Bind up thy silver and thy gold,
(25a) And make for thy words a 
beam and weight [an accurate balance].

The latter illustration is the more forcible because silver and gold, so tied up, were weighed—money going by weight. The two verses express the same thought—only the one in a negative, the other in a positive form. The hedge round the field, and the door and bar to the mouth, are to keep out evil; the balance is to weigh out the precious metals. Instead of “thy possession” in 24 a the Syr. has “thy vineyard,” and the Vet. Lat. auers tuas (thine ears), adding the explanatory clause: “linguam nequam non audire.” The aures of the Lat. instead of the “possession” of the Greek is strange. The Syr. rendering, “vineyard,” has its parallel in the LXX., where νῦν is repeatedly translated by κτήμα.

26. Beware lest by any means thou slip by it, &c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

This chapter is only loosely connected with that which preceded. Generally we might say that we have in these chapters a succession of prudential counsels, conceived in a quasi-religious spirit, grouped under different headings, and bearing on different aspects of daily life. Possibly there may be some connexion between what was said at the close of the previous chapter about the binding up of silver and gold, and the admonition to mercy in this chapter; and again between the previous admonition to have a care over our words and the present warning against surcease for another. The topics of the present chapter are: (1) an admonition to mercy in lending, one stanza of six verses, v. 7 forming the transition to the next stanza, which presents another phase of Mercy: that which is not discouraged by misuse, but besoteth freely (vvs. 8–13). (3) The next stanza presents yet another aspect of Mercy: Suretship (vvs. 14–19—six verses). Lastly (4), the opposite point of view is taken, and we are shewn how desirable it is not to seek nor to accept Mercy (vvs. 21–28).

1. He that is merciful.] Lit. he that doeth mercy, תָּשֹׂה חָסֵד יָדַע, or הָרֵד לְמַעַל. be that strengtheneth his band [similarly in the Vet. Lat.: prævalet manu]. Rather, “and he that maketh strong with [by] his hand;” that is, supporteth another by helping him. The Hebrew would be: יָדָה יָדָה לְמַעַל, or יָדָה יָדָה, or יָדָה לְמַעַל, the construction as in Ezr. i. 6. As for the “commandments” thus “kept,” see Lev. xxv. 35 (אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא דָמָא); Deut. xv. 7, 8; comp. Ps. xxxvii. 26 (there יָדָה לְמַעַל, and in the next verse בָּשַׁע). Comp. St. Matt. v. 42.

2. The duty of lending in such a spirit has for its correlative the obligation of punctual repayment. The Syr. is explanatory rather than literal.

3. A further admonition to him who has contracted the obligation.

Keep thy word.] Lit. make strong, confirm it—a Hebraism.

always.] Lit., at every season, בְּשָׁעָה; viz. whenever thou shalt need it. Observance of duty will in that case bring its own reward.

L 2
them, reckoned it to be found, and put them to trouble that helped them.

5 Till he hath received, he will kiss a man's hand; and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly: but when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief, and complain of the time.

6 'If he prevail, he shall hardly receive the half, and he will count as if he had found it: if not, he hath deprived him of his money, and he hath gotten him an enemy without cause: he payeth him with cursings and railings; and for honour he will pay him disgrace.

7 Many therefore have refused to lend for other men's ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded.

8 Yet have thou patience with a man in poor estate, and delay not to shew him mercy.

9 Help the poor for 'the com-
mandment's sake, and turn him not away because of his poverty.

4. Lit. Many consider a loan as a find—they treat a loan as if they had found something on the road, which they may appropriate and think no farther of him who lost it. In the second clause the simile is continued: the lender is represented as having the labour and trouble of searching after what he had lost. It has been ingeniously suggested that in the first clause the original may have had a word-play between ἢσυς, "a thing asked," and ἐμπής, "a spoil" or "gain."

5. The description of the dishonourable borrower is true to the life—only it applies also to those of a like character who ask and obtain any favour.

Till he hath received.] Rather, until he obtain.

kiss a man's hand.] Lit. "kiss his hand." and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly.] Rather, "about his neighbour's property he will speak humbly" (lit. humble the voice). The meaning seems to be: he will refer in very humble language to the wealth of another—how easily he could help him, perhaps what liberal use he was wont to make of it. The Syr. gives the same impression. But afterwards matters are quite changed. "When he should repay," lit. at the time of giving back (ἀναδώκως), then there is postponement: he will pro-
tract the time, the payment is delayed for the future, while what he does "give back" (ἀναδώκης) are "words of sorrow (regret)." he is very sorry—but the times are so bad.

6. If be prevail [that is, if the creditor succeed in getting back any money from the debtor] be shall hardly recover the half; and be will regard it [esteem it] as a find [something that he had considered absolutely lost]. But if not [that is, if the creditor does not get back anything at all, then] be [the debtor] hath deprived him [the creditor] of his property, and [viz. at the same time] be

[the creditor] hath gotten him [the debtor] an enemy without cause [ἀσπάνω, ἄρει]—for nothing.

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
For loan oft loses both itself and friend."

Hamlet, Act i., Sc. 3.

The writer then looks back upon v. 5 a, b, c, d, and marks the contrast. This is the repay-
ment made: Cursings and revilings will he "give back" to him (ἀναδώκως ἄρεῖ—comp. v. 5a)—such is the coin in which he pays him back—and instead of glory [as when he kissed his hand and spoke so humbly about the other's property] he will "give back" to him (ἀναδώκως ἄρεῖ) dishonour.

7. Lit. Many turned away [viz. from lending—this, rather than they who came to borrow] on account of wickedness [viz. such as that above described]: they feared to be deprived [viz. of their property] for nothing. The Syr. has: "Many have refused to lend, not from [without its being from] wickedness, but because they were afraid of a useless quarrel." There can be little doubt that the Greek and not the Syr. translator here rightly understood the Hebrew original. It is therefore all the more deserving our attention that the Vet. Lat. follows the interpre-
tation of the Syr. It has: multi non causā nequitiae non fœnerati sunt.

8. This verse begins the admonition not to be discouraged in well-doing, to which v. 7 formed the transition from the previous stanza. The first clause of the verse refers to a case in which the delay—blamed in vvv. 5, 6—may not be culpable, and the creditor should be patient and forbearing: and in regard to charity [in the sense of bestow-
ing aims or benefits, ἔργον; the Alex. and others read: εἰς ἔργον, "in charity"] do not defer [delay] him—but put him not off to another time; let him not wait.

9. For the commandment's sake
10. Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and let it not rust under a stone to be lost.

11. Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than gold.

12. Shut up alms in thy storehouses; and it shall deliver thee from all affliction.

13. It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and strong spear.

14. An honest man is surety for his neighbour: but he that is impudent will forsake him.

15. Forget not the friendship of thy surety, for he hath given his life for thee.

16. A sinner will overthrow the good estate of his surety.

17. And he that is of an unthank-

assist [Syr.: “relieve”] a poor man, and according to his lack turn him not away empty.] As we understand the second clause, it may probably point in the direction of the Rabbinic rule that the poor should be assisted in a manner conformable to their former condition—according to their lack (Kethub. 6:7). The Syr. rendering depends either upon a misreading or is a mistranslation.

10. Lose money through a brother and [or] a friend, and let it not rust under the stone unto loss.] “The stone”: the definite stone that marks the place where the money is buried. The meaning is: better to lose money through a friend than by letting it rust. It is a secondary point that such an expression as loss by rust is scarcely applicable to silver. For there might be loss in such manner, or at any rate considerable deterioration. On the other hand, the figure of rust as affecting metals might be transferred from one metal to another (see the same about rust as affecting the gold of the idols: Ep. of Jer. νευος 12, 24). It is of much greater importance and interest to notice that this verse affords fresh evidence of the use which St. James made of Ecclus. For the figure in St. Jas. v. 3 of the rust as affecting the unused gold and silver is not found in any other part of Scripture, and seems derived from our passage. Moreover, of the two expressions for “rusted” and “rust” in St. Jas. v. 3, the one (iōs, “rust”) which in this signification occurs only in that place in the N. T. is used in our passage in Ecclus. (παρασκευαστής), while the other word in St. Jas. v. 3 (κορώνα—“your gold and your silver are rusted”) does not occur in any other place in the N. T. nor yet in the LXX, but only in Ecclus. xii. 11. This also indirectly shews in what general use our book must have been among the Jews—a fact confirmed, as we have seen, by the numerous Talmudic quotations from Ecclus. The Syr. has, instead of “let it not rust under a stone unto loss,” this: “rather than thou hide it under the stone or wall.” The difference in the two versions, “wall” (in the Syr.) and “loss” (in the Greek), we would account for by the latter reading שומש, while the Syr. read קср (Jer. v. 10), “walls.” For the divergence—the Greek reading “rust,” the Syr. “hide”—it is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. Possibly the Greek translation was not intended to be literal.

11. than gold.] Rather, “than the gold.” We remember here the better and far higher direction in St. Matt. vi. 19, 20. The Rabbis speak of certain things of which a man enjoys the fruit or interest in this world, while the capital itself remaineth for the next (Pash. i. 1, and in other places). Among them—although the study of the Law is said to outweigh all the others—the bestowal of mercy is mentioned (יו_by in Shabb. 127 a this is applied to hospitality and visiting of the sick). The Syr. paraphrases this verse.

12, 13. What a man is to lay up in his storehouses is not grain, nor fruits, nor any other source of wealth—but alms. This will prove a preventive against or else a deliverance from the ill that would otherwise befall him. The simile is farther developed in v. 13. When the Vet. Lat. thus paraphrases v. 12: conclude clemosynam in corde panisperis, et haec pro te exorabit ab omni mala—it may have had St. Luke xvi. 9 in view.

14. A new stanza: Suretiship. Translate: “A good man will be surety . . . but he who has lost shame will leave him,” in the sense of deserting him: such an one will leave the person who has become surety for him to bear the consequences of his rash kindness.

15. the friendship.] Rather, the favours—the kindness.

ke bath given his life.] Lit., his soul, in the sense of “himself.” The Syr. omits the verse.

16. the good estate.] Rather, the possessions. The Syr. omits this verse, and paraphrases v. 17 in a manner which raises suspicion of a later revision.
ful mind will leave him [in danger] that delivered him.

18 Suretiship hath undone many of good estate, and shaken them as a wave of the sea: mighty men hath it driven from their houses, so that they wandered among strange nations.

19 A wicked man transgressing the commandments of the Lord shall fall into suretiship: and he that undertaketh and followeth other men’s business for gain shall fall into suits.

20 Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and beware that thou thyself fall not into the same.

21 The chief thing for life is water, and bread, and clothing, and an house to cover shame.

22 Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than delicate fare in another man’s house.

23 Be it little or much, ‘hold thee’ (1 Tim. 6. 6, 8) contented, that thou hear not the reproach of thy house.

24 For it is a miserable life to

18. of good estate.] Rather, that were in a prosperous condition.

shaken them.] Rather, tossed them.

driven from their houses.] Rather, made to emigrate [to remove].

strange nations.] Rather, foreign nations.

19. This verse is found in its simplest and, no doubt, original form in the Vat. Cod. It reads: The sinner [the addition in the A. V., “transgressing,” &c. occurs in H., 248, Co., Syr., Vet. Lat., and is no doubt a later gloss] who fell into suretiship [perhaps in the sense of purposely incurring it, throwing himself into it—or else even in the sense of “rashly” doing so] and who pursueth after improper gains shall be thrown into judgments [law-sentences]. There is probably not a more difficult expression in Eccles than διώκων ἤργολαβειας, which we have rendered: “who pursueth improper gains”—although with great doubt. For, assuredly, it does not suit the context, whether of the previous clause or of the preceding verses, which throughout refers to suretiship. If therefore we have not the courage to give up the usual meaning of either διώκων or ἤργολαβειας, the latter must at least be taken sensu malo (which sometimes bears), so as in some way to fit into the context. But we would venture to suggest that διώκων might here be taken as a law-term—“a prosecutor”—and ἤργολαβειας as in the genitive. In that case the words might be rendered: and who pursueth another for a contract—referring to a man who first wrongfully or foolishly became surety, and then by a law-process tried to get rid of his engagement. This, if admissible, would suit the context well. The Syr. seems from its paraphrastic language to have had difficulty about this verse, and it inserts between the two clauses what reads like a later interpretation. The Arab. omits it.

20. On the preceding verse this follows as a general conclusion and summary: “Assist thy neighbour according to thy power, and (but) take heed to thyself that thou fall not.” The Syr. has instead of the words in the second clause: “and deliver thyself from double.” The “take heed to thyself” (Greek) and “deliver thyself” (Syr.) may well represent the same Hebrew word—probably (as in the Syr.) the word הָעֵשׁ, perhaps with the addition of another verb as in Ps. cxliv. 7, יָכְשֶׂךָ יָכְשֶׂךָ; perhaps it read יָכָשׁ יָכָשׁ יָכָשׁ. As to the Syr. rendering “double” for the Greek “that thou fall not,” the former may be a paraphrastic reference to the punishment into which such an one might fall, or (as has been suggested) it may depend on a confusion between בֵּן (the Greek) and בֵּן (the Syr.).

21. A new stanza. Utmost moderation is recommended, so as to be independent of others.

to cover shame.] Rather, “which covershame,”—conceals what decency forbids to be in public.

22. Better is the state of life.] Or, the mode of living, bios.

in a mean cottage.] Rather, under a roof of beams, the opposite of a “ceiled house.”

in another man’s house.] Rather, among strangers.

23. The second clause, “that thou hear not,” &c. (or rather, and thou shalt not hear, &c.), does not occur in the Vat., the Sin., nor the Alex., but is found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: “Whether he (live on) much or little, no one knoweth: and what he doeth within his house man does not see it.” The Vet. Lat. has a confused paraphrase.

24. Lit., A wretched life: from house to house—and where one so-
go from house to house: for where thou art a stranger, thou darest not open thy mouth.  
25 Thou shalt entertain, and feast, and have no thanks: moreover thou shalt hear bitter words:  
26 Come, thou stranger, and furnish a table, and feed me of that thou hast ready.  
27 Give place, thou stranger, to an honourable man; my brother cometh to be lodged, and I have need of mine house.  
28 These things are grievous to a man of understanding; the upbraiding of house room, and reproaching of the lender.

journeth [as one not forming part of the household but admitted to it: παροικησείς] he cannot open the mouth.  
25. Although all the Cod.'s have, as in the A. V., ήκείσαι καὶ ποιεῖσαι, “thou shalt entertain and feast,” it seems absolutely necessary to adopt the emendation of Bretschneider: ήκοισθησαι καὶ ποιεῖσαι: Thou shalt be entertained as a guest, and be given to drink unto ungraciousness — with ungraciousness, or else, till at last it is made ungracious — “and besides [afterwards] thou shalt hear bitter things about them,” viz. about thy entertainment and drink. The Syr.: “thou art a sojourner (= έκείσαι), and thou shalt drink contumely.”  
26. The verse expresses what is virtually said to such an one: “Go bye (along), sojourner, prepare a table, and if there is anything in thy hand (if thou hast anything) give me to eat” (entertain me). It is thy turn now, “give and take,” as men say.

27. Lit.: Go out, sojourner, from the face [or presence] of glory; probably in the sense of the A. V., Fritzsch explains: “Go away from this glory, which is not meant for thee [this seems strained] — my brother has been received as a guest. (I have) need of the house.”  
28. Lit.: upbraiding of a house — that is, as Fritzsch explains, connected with one’s being in a house — “and reproach [or disgrace] of a creditor.” These are the two things which a man of sensibility feels grievous: the one inside the house, when things are cast up to him and he has intimation to leave; the other outside the house, when he is harassed and importuned and put to shame by a creditor. The reference, it need scarcely be said, is to a poor man — but one of intelligence and education.
hath left one behind him that is like himself.

5 While he lived, he saw and rejoiced in him: and when he died, he was not sorrowful.

6 He left behind him an avenger against his enemies, and one that shall require kindness to his friends.

7 He that maketh too much of his son shall bind up his wounds; and his bowels will be troubled at every cry.

8 An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himself will be wilful.

9 Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heaviness.

10 Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end.

11 "Give him no liberty in his youth, and winkle not at his follies.

12 Bow down his neck while he is not really dead, for he continues in his son. This and the following verse cast light on one of the great consolations and hopes which the writer entertained in regard to death: continuance in one's children.

5. The words "in him," omitted in the Vat., are found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: "saw him and rejoiced." The Vet. Lat. has: vidit, et laetatus est in illo. We may therefore conclude that the pronoun was in the original, although probably in the same order as in the Syr. The omission in the Vet. may have been due to a wish to give the statement a more general form.

6. Compare here the previous remarks in the note on v. 4. The Syr.—probably rightly—inverts the clauses.

7. He that maketh too much of.] Better, he that treateth him indulgently (molliter et leniter): περιψυχαω—which the Vet. Lat. curiously resolves into two words, pro animabus (filiis). The Syr. rightly reproduces what probably was in the original: περιψυχαω; as in Prov. xxix. 21 (a verse which is differently understood in the LXX.). In Ber. R. 22 (on Gen. iv. 6) we read that he who in his youth indulgently treats (indulgeth) his (evil) inclination (יָשָׁעֲשׂ וְנָשָׁעֲשׂ יִשְׁרָאֵל), his end (will be) that it will rule over him in his old age; referring to Prov. xxix. 21.

From this it would appear that when the LXX. translated Prov. xxix. 21 by δε καταστασαλε εκ παιδιας, "he that liveth wantonly from a child," they only followed an ancient Jewish tradition in their identification of יִשָּׁרְאֵל, "his servant," with יִשָּׁרְאֶל, "his inclination," since the same explanation as in Ber. R. 22 also occurs in Sukk. 53 b. The other mistranslation in the LXX.: "and in the end shall grieve over himself," for the Hebrew יִשָּׁרְאֵל (erroneously rendered both in the A. V. and the R. V., following Jewish commentators: "shall have him become a son") is the same as in the Syr. (which agrees with the LXX. in the whole clause). The Targum has: "he that indulges [his inclination?] from his youth shall become a servant [to it?]" But in later Hebrew the word יִשָּׁרְאֵל was understood as meaning: "to lift oneself up," "to be lord or master." The interest of the subject will excuse this digression.

shall bind up his wounds.] I.e. he shall have such wounds to bind up. Hence the Syr. paraphrastically: "his wounds shall increase." The subject is the indulging father (so also in the Syr.) and not the indulged son.

and his bowels.] The Syr. rightly explains, "the heart." is troubled at every cry.] Whether of his son, or more probably, that caused by him. The Syr. has: "shall empty out." Perhaps the Hebrew had הָלַךְ הָלַךְ לְנָפֶשּׁ הָלַךְ, as in Is. xix. 3, where the LXX. renders ῥαπαχθησεται (as in our verse) το πνευμα εν ανασει.

9. Cocker thy child.] Rather, tend as a nurse thy child. The Syr. has "instruct." Possibly the Hebrew word was יָבָשֹׁן, which the LXX. renders by our Greek word in Lament. iv. 5 (comp. Heb. Numb. xi. 12), and which means "to tend," "to bear" (as a child is borne; comp. Is. ix. 4), and also "to train," "educate," "guide" (so repeatedly in the O. T.). The second part of clause 1 the Syr. translates: "lest thou be put to shame,"—possibly a paraphrastic rendering dependent upon the translation of the first word. The Greek means that by such dealing on the part of a father the son will come to bring terror and shame upon him. Fritzschhe quotes from Solon: liberis ne arriedit, ut in posterum non feces.

11 b and 12 a are placed in the Vat. after v. 13, probably by mistake of a transcriber. They are omitted in the Alex. Co., and other Cod. They must be restored from H., 248, Co. They also are in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. Verse 12 d is wholly omitted and restored from H., 106, 248, Co., Vet. Lat.
young, and beat him on the sides
while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart.
13 Chastise thy son, and hold him
to labour, lest his lewd behaviour be
an offence unto thee.
14 Better is the poor, being sound
and strong of constitution, than a rich
man that is afflicted in his body.
15 Health and good estate of body
are above all gold, and a strong body
above infinite wealth.
16 There is no riches above a
sound body, and no joy above the joy
of the heart.
17 Death is better than a bitter
life or continual sickness.

18 Delicates poured upon a mouth
shut up are as messes of meat set
upon a grave.
19 "What good doeth the offering
unto an idol? for neither can it eat
nor smell: so is he that is pursued
by the Lord.
20 He seeth with his eyes and
groaneth, as an eunuch that em-
braceth a virgin and sigheth.
21 Give not over thy mind to
heaviness, and afflict not thyself in
thine own counsel.
22 The gladness of the heart is the
life of man, and the joyfulness of a
man prolongeth his days.
23 Love thine own soul, and
comfort thy heart, remove sorrow
far from thee: for sorrow hath

18. For "poured" (better, "poured
out") the Syr.—which the Vet. Lat.
follows—reads "covered." May there have been a
confusion between פָּעַל and עָפַל? At the
same time 248 (which Co. follows) has also
אָפַל לֹא.
19. That the second clause of v. 18
refers to heathen practices, appears from
v. 19 a, b. In clause e the marginal rendering,
"afflicted" (viz. by sickness), gives the right
meaning. The Syr. paraphrases it: "so is
he who has wealth and [but] does not use it.
20. At the close of the verse the Syr.
adds: "But the Lord shall avenge it with
His hand,"—perhaps a marginal gloss. But
H., 23, 55, 68, 106, 253, 254 have (perhaps
after the Syr. 1): אוֹתָו יְסוֹד וְאֶשֶׁר כִּלָּתָא
interpolated, not unnaturally, from xx. 3.
21. This verse begins the third stanza,
which connects itself with v. 16 b (if not, ac-
cording to the Syr., with 15 b). From what
directly affects the body the writer passes to
what influences it through the mind. It is
probably to this verse that the Talmud refers
when it quotes as from Ben Sira (what we
also find—although there probably from
Prov. xxvii. 1—in-St. Matt. vi. 34): "Sorrow
not the sorrow of the morrow, for thou
knowest not what a day may bring forth;
perhaps to-morrow he is no more, and so he
shall be found sorrowing over a world which
is no longer his" (Sanh. 100 b; Yebam. 63 b).
Similarly we read (Ber. 9 b), "Suffice sorrow
in its hour" (i.e. when it comes); and (Jer.
Abh. Z. 39 b), "The sorrow of the hour
(immediate sorrow) is sorrow."
22. thine own soul = thyself. The Talmud
quotes here as from Ben Sira: "Let not care
25 'A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 Of the desire of riches. 12 Of moderation and excess in eating, or drinking wine.

[anxiety, sorrow] come into thy heart, for care [anxiety, sorrow] hath killed strong men" (in another place, "hath killed many"). (Sanh. 100 a.)

24. From sorrow the writer passes to other noxious affections of the mind.

26. The chapter closes with what in all the Greek MSS., except 248, which has it in its right place, stands as xxxiii. 13. In the Syr., which is followed by the Vet. Lat., it is in its right place. Translate: "A heart noble [liberal? — probably in contrast to v. 24] and good [cheerful?] at [over: see Wis. v. 349-351] shall [meats] will give him to attend to — have a care of the food." As we understand it, a man free from envy and anger and cheerful at table will enjoy his food, and it will do him good. Thus this sentence is not abrupt, but in strict connexion with the preceding context, which treats of health and how to promote it. Fritz-sche (whose interpretation alone we will mention) understands it to mean that a liberal heart and one that feels cheerily disposed at meat will have a care for the food — in the sense of seeing to it that there be not any sting — he will not be niggard as regards meat. But this would abruptly introduce what is in no way connected with the preceding context. Fritz-sche himself refers to the use of ἐμπειρομασια αἴτωρ for ἰδίως ἐπισκέψεως in Gen. xlvii. 21 [and the expression is not used in the LXX. in that sense in any other place: in Ecclus. it occurs only in our verse]. But this surely means, "I will pay attention to him," and cannot in any wise lead to the interpretation which Fritz-sche would give to our verse. The Syr. has: "(he that is of) a good heart has much meat, and all that he eats mounts into body." This phrase represents the Rabbinical 유ב יבנן (‘Abboth de R. Nathan,’ ed. Schechter, p. 82 a). The Vet. Lat. seems to have been ambitious of imitating this, although it omits the second clause of the Syr., which indeed may have been only a gloss. It has: "splendidum cor et bonum in eum ilium diligentem sunt." We mark that the Syr. is here not followed by any Greek MS. — not even by 248.

As regards the inversion and wrong order in the Greek MSS., not only of v. 25, but in the following chapters, a few remarks may here be in place.

The Greek MSS. (with the exception of 248, the "unus vetustus codex" cited by Nobilis) proceed from ch. xxx. 24 to ch. xxxiii. 16, "as one that gathereth." This is continued till xxxvi. 11, "Gather the tribes of Israel together;" after which follow xxx. 25 to xxxiii. 16, "I awaked up last of all," when the rest of xxxvi. 11 is taken up, slightly altered. It is evident that this must have proceeded from a misplacement of the sheets in the archetype of our Greek MSS. Such an accident was more likely to remain uncorrected in a book like the present, than in any of which the matter was more strictly continuous. Hence it happens that a similar case has occurred in the Greek of the Book of Proverbs, that another transposition is found in many of the MSS. of the Aethiopic version of Ecclesiasticus; and yet another in a British Museum MS. of the same version. On a similar transposition in the 'Mostellaria' of Plautus see Ritschl, 'Parerga Plautina.' There, as here, the copyists endeavour by a slight alteration to conceal the abruptness of the transition. While the transposed order is found in the versions clearly derived from the Greek (Syr. Hexaplarsis, Aethiopic, Armenian, and Coptic), with the exception of the Old Slavonic, the Vetus Latina and Peschittosyrmiac exhibit that followed by the A. V., and clearly shewn by internal evidence to be correct. This was also exhibited in the Complutensian edition. Owing doubtless to the authority of the Vulgate (into which the Vetus Latina had been received), it was followed in early editions of the LXX., and in the versions of Castalio and Tremellius. It is a sign of the general neglect into which the book had fallen that Fritz-sche (p. 169) can claim to be the first person who, on critical grounds, has adopted this as the right order.

CHAPTER XXXI.

This chapter naturally connects itself with the last stanza of ch. xxx. The somewhat Epicurean tone of the latter is now to a certain extent modified, although rather by the moral which prudence would suggest than by the higher principles which true religion would inspire. The general subject of the chapter is the wise use of wealth and of what it procures or offers. A stanza of seven verses in depreciation of too great a desire for wealth, since most serious dangers are often
ECCLESIASTICUS. XXXI.

1. Watching for riches consumed the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep.

2. Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep.

3. The rich hath great labour in gathering riches together; and when he resteth, he is filled with his delicacies.

involved in its acquisition (vv. 1-7), is followed by another of four verses (vv. 8-11) in praise of him who, while in the possession of wealth, has escaped its perils. The temptations of wealth, especially in the pleasures of the table, or else in thoughts of the greed after wealth and the other greed to which it so often leads—suggest stanzas 3 and 4, again respectively of seven and four verses (vv. 12-18 and 19-22). In the first of these moderation at table is recommended, while in the second the wisdom of such temperance is shown. Similarly, in a stanza of six verses (25-30), moderation in wine is enjoined. This stanza is prefaced and followed by what together forms a stanza of three verses (vv. 23, 24 + v. 31), of which the object is not advice as to our own conduct in regard to food and drink, but as to our conduct towards others in these respects (vv. 23, 24), and as to liberality in providing banquettes, and in v. 31 as to our bearing towards others at wine-parties.

1. Watching for riches.] Rather, "the sleeplessness of wealth" (Arm. Lat.), i.e., the sleeplessness which is caused by it. So Anacreon (Stobaeus, "Flor." iii. 241) called a talent a "gift which necessitates sleeplessness" (διάφορον ἄλλαζε θάνατον). Similarly the Syr., "watching consumeth the flesh of the rich." Apparently ἰδία and ἰδια were different punctuations.

2. The second clause in the Greek should be rendered: and sleep waketh up a sore disease; or (with a few MSS.) "and a sore disease waketh up sleep." The Syr. rendering, "rejacketh," makes it likely that the Heb. here was חָסֵף. We believe the reading of the best MSS. to have been original. Probably the whole sentence was a descriptive clause of the ἐγρυντία παλύτὸν of (or rather παλύτιον) which forms the subject of the last verse: "it is a waking care which driveth away sleep; a sore disease which refuseth slumber." We thus avoid the tautology of the present rendering of the first clause. The Syriac rendering for ἐγρυντία, "food," seems difficult to account for, except as a corruption of μάσημι, "wealth."

3. 4. A contrast between the labours of the poor and rich. The parallelism suggests that ὡς ἐν συνάγει ἔργωτείν of is not "to collect wealth" (Syr., Friztsche), but, "owing to the accumulation of his property," he had to pull down his barns to build greater ones (De Wette). Compare Marcus Aurelius, v. 12. The latter half of the verse represents the time when he says to his soul, "Eat, drink, and be merry." On the other hand, the poor labours, "owing to the decrease of his living," for the opposite reason; and at the end, "after sparing and labouring leaves not even enough for his burial" (Aristophanes, "Plutus," 557). The following verses are quoted from Ben Sira in the Talmud: "All the days of the poor are evil, Ben Sira says, even his nights. His roof is amongst the lowest of the rooves; and his vineyard at the top of the mountains; the rain of other rooves [flows] down upon his; and the soil of his vineyard [falls] down to other vineyards" (Bab. B. 146a; Sanh. 100b; Kethubb. 110b).

5. be that followed corruption shall have enough thereof.] For "thereof" (Alex.) the best MS. has "himself." "Corruption" is variously taken to mean "the corruptible" (Luther, Friztsche), or "that which leads to corruption" (Baduelius, who compares Gal. vi. 8). In both cases the parallelism is lost. The Syriac has: "he that pursueth wealth shall be led astray thereby," whence Grotíus conjectured διάφορον — ἀληθεύειν. The first of these corrections (which perhaps should rather be διαφόρον) we are inclined to accept. Instead of the second, we think it more probable that ἔνσωβα was a false reading for ἔνσων, of which, perhaps, the last letter was lost in the Greek translator's copy. Λύζω was perhaps altered variously to αὔνοα and αὔτίς when διαφόρων was written; compare the Coptic rendering, "he that pursueth it shall be filled with corruption."

6. Gold hath been the ruin, &c.] Rather, "many have been delivered unto ruin for the sake of gold, and their destruction came in their face." The verse (as the Syriac shews) means, they perished for all their gold could do; it could
that sacrifice unto it, and every fool shall be taken therewith.

8 Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold.

9 Who is he? and we will call him blessed: for wonderful things hath he done among his people.

10 Who hath been tried thereby, and found perfect? then let him glory. Who might offend, and hath not offended? or done evil, and hath not done it?

11 His good shall be established, and the congregation shall declare his alms.

12 If thou sit at a bountiful table, be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it.

13 Remember that a wicked eye is an evil thing: and what is created more wicked than an eye? therefore it weepeth upon every occasion.

14 Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it looketh, and thrust it not with him into the dish.

not prevent the most direct and obvious evils happening to them. Cp. Prov. xi. 4, 28.

7. unto them that sacrifice unto it, &c.] With this expression commentators compare Ephes. v. 5, "nor covetous man who is an idolater." The Syriac gives us an easier figure: "Riches are a stumbling-block to fools, and whosoever straights therein stumbles" (or "is overthrown thereby"). The words representing "them that sacrifice" and "fool" have changed places. It is probable that the Syriac order is right, and that the Hebrew word was תֵּל, misread by the Greek θηλή; the literal meaning would then be, "Riches are a stumbling-block in the way of fools, and every [one] that passeth by stumbles thereon." "Servus fit rei cui imperare debet" (Grot.).

8. batb not gone after gold.] Has guided it instead of being guided by it.

10. then let him glory.] Lit., let it be for a glory unto him. In the first clause the Greek seems to be more correct than the Syriac: "who has clung to it and hath peace!" The author probably used the Aramaic verb פִּלֶל for "to try," misread by the Syriac פִּלֶל, "to cleave;" while the rest may be explained from the various punctuations, וְלָלֶל and וְלָלֶל.

11. His good.] The possession thereof will be secured him.

bis almis.] Here more probably his righ-

teousness.

12. Third stanza: on moderation at table. The Latin has the heading de continentia. The author has in mind Prov. xxiii. Compare the precepts on eating in 'Massekhet Kallah,' p. 176; 'Derekh Erets' (ed. Tawrogi), p. 29; and Musonius ap. Stobaeum, i. 369, 45.


12. bountiful.] Rather, plenteous. זִיָּם is a Semiticism; cf. the Syr. here and Wright, 'Arabic Grammar,' ii. p. 179 ("because a person sitting at table rises above the level of it").

be not greedy.] Lit., open not thy oes. The author seems to be merely interpreting the phrase in Prov. l. c. 2, "put a knife at thy throat." The warning is probably not so much against greediness, as against making any remark.

There is much [meat] on it.] The γε is idiomatic, and represents our "What a lot!" (Kühner, 'Grammar,' ii. 733.) The Syriac, "it is not enough for me," is characteristic. The praising of the food in Oriental countries is done by the host; the mere act of admiration by anyone else would be regarded as dangerous. See Lane, 'Modern Egyptians,' i. 315: "When a person expresses what is considered improper or curious admiration of anything, he is generally reproved by the individual whom he has thus alarmed;" and especially ibid. 183, when any one is invited to partake of a meal, "he must reply if he do not accept the invitation, 'Henean' ('may it be productive of enjoyment'), or use some similar expression; else it will be feared that an evil eye has been cast upon the food;" Various remedies or the effects of such a phrase as "how pretty!" (καλὸν γε) are given in the former passage.

13. Remember that a wicked eye is an evil thing.] Syr., "that God hates (κακὸν ἴδε) an evil eye." The Greek text has perhaps toned down this powerful expression.

therefore it weepeth upon every occasion.] Rather, of the whole countenance. The thought is rightly explained by Fritzsche: as a sign of its wickedness, or in punishment of it, it alone of the whole countenance weeps. In Greek and some other languages δικαμοῦ, κλαω are identified with being punished.

14. whithersoever it looketh.] Whatever thou seest," according to one MS. and the Syr.; and this would be a more natural expression than that in the text. It is not unlikely, however, that we should render (with Grothus) "wherever he looketh." [i.e. the master of the feast]; and with this agrees
ECCLESIASTICUS. XXXI.

v. 15—23.

15 Judge of thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point.
16 Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated.
17 Leave off first for manners' sake; and be not unsatisfied, lest thou offend.
18 When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all.
19 A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed.
20 Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man.
21 And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest.
22 My son, hear me, and despise me not, and at the last thou shalt find as I told thee: in all thy works be quick, so shall there no sickness come unto thee.
23 Whoso is liberal of his meat, men shall speak well of him; and

the latter part of the verse: and press not with him [i.e. come not into conflict with him] in the dish (as it should be rendered).

15. Judge of thy neighbour.] Lit., the things of thy neighbour, i.e. his wishes. Compare Tob. iv. 15 (Fritzsche), and the phrase המ Yönetim (Kallah, l. c.).

and be discreet in every point.] Rather, on all occasions. The clause is omitted by the Syr. and Vet. Lat., but seems half-apologetic for the minuteness and apparent triviality of these precepts.

16. as it becometh a man.] Lit., like a human being; but the original was probably 백 (Babylonian), "like a man." Lit. quasi Homo frugi; rather, a grown man, anhp (Bar. hebraeus). Δειανυσιδας (devour) must refer to some childish and offensive way. The word is used by the comedian Apollonides (Kock, 'C. A. F.' p. 798; compare Aristophanes, 'Vespas.' 780) of a prolonged mastication. The opposite vice would be σαρκοβιβις. Similar precepts in Kallah, l. c.: "ne comedat cunctis digitis; ne ingerat manum ori suo; ne bibat dum os eius plenum est." The first of these is to avoid the appearance of gluttony; the latter two, to avoid giving offence.

17. Leave off first for manners' sake.] A most successful translation.

18. These precepts will be illustrated by Lane, l. c., 183: "The master of the house first begins to eat; the guests or others immediately follow his example: when only one dish is placed upon the tray at the time, each takes from it a few mouthfuls, and it is quickly removed to give place to another."

19. The gloss vinum, which appears in the Vet. Lat. ("a little wine"), apparently at an early period supplanted the text; since Clem. Alex. 'Paed.' 2, 2, quotes the verse with อ不对 only. Comp. Prov. xiii. 24.

20. Sound sleep.] Lit., sleep of health. of moderate eating.] Lit., upon a moderate stomach. Similar observations in Horace, 'Sat.' ii. 2, 81 (Fritzsche). Syr.: "with a man that is of moderate habits," and the word "man" seems recommended by the second clause.

21. arise, go forth, and vomit.] According to the better reading, rise up in the middle, i.e. of the banquet; μισοπόροις = μεςών, "being in the middle of a meal" (so Arm.). Syr., "remove thyself from the midst of the throng;" and so the Vet. Lat., surge e medio. Which of these two was the meaning of the original, "Rise from the midst of the party" or "of the meal," is not certain; nor is the difference very great. Compare Lane, l. c., p. 187: "Each person as soon as he has finished says, 'Praise be to God,' and gets up without waiting till the others have done." Fritzsche's paraphrase, "rise up and take a good walk," can scarcely be a serious explanation. The addition "vomit" (248, Co., and Lat.) is a suggestion of the purpose for which any one would rise; a suggestion drawn, we may hope, from Roman rather than from Hebrew customs. Compare the well-known place, Cic. 'ad Att.' xii. 52, 1, of Caesar: σαρκοβιβις κεκρημων κακος κακος κακος "he intended to take an emetic after dinner," Watson). Yet it may be merely a ditography.

22. quick.] Rather, active. Syr., "humble," probably an improvement. Fritzsche connects this activity with the supposed advice of the last verse.

23. liberal of his meat.] "Qui laute vivit seu largiter dat epula," Schleusner. Syr., "A good eye that is good upon bread is blest," perhaps "contaminating" the text from Prov. xxii. 9.

men shall speak well of him.] Lit., lips shall bless. 'Abboth de R. N.,' p. 66 b:
the report of his good housekeeping will be believed.

24. But against him that is a niggard of his meat the whole city shall murmur; and the testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of. 

25. Shew not thy valiantness in wine; for wine hath destroyed many.

26. The furnace proveth the edge by dipping: so doth wine the hearts of the proud by drunkenness.

27. Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately: what life is then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad.

28. Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind: 

29. But wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.

30. Drunkenness increaseth the rage of the fool till he be offended. 

"Three things endear a man to the world: an open hand, a spread table, and levitas capitii." of his good housekeeping.] Rather, of his goodness (lit., "beauty"). Syr., "and a good witness," mistaking מַעַלְו הַחֹבּוֹן for מַעַלְו הַחֹבּוֹן.

24. Omitted in the Syr., owing to the homoeoteleuton. 

bim that is niggardly.] Mistaken by the Vet. Lat. in nescissimo pane, somewhat naturally. The verse is a reminiscence of Prov. xi. 25. Cp. syn. xiv. 10.


25. Shew not thy valiantness.] From Isa. v. 22.

wine hath destroyed.] Syr., "old wine;" the original therefore varied the word in the clauses (e.g. מַעַלְו and מַעַלְו).

26. The furnace proveth the edge by dipping.] The interpretation of this verse offers some difficulties. Commentators seem to confuse two processes—the testing of gold and silver (with which the effect of wine is compared by Theognis, v. 499, ed. Bergk), and the dipping of red-hot iron in water to give it temper. As described in 'Encycl. Metropol.' viii. 408 b, in the latter process the steel is first heated and immersed to give it hardness, and a second time to give it temper. The degree of hardness attained is judged of (in the second process) by the colour which the metal takes in the several stages of the heating (ibid.). The verse might allude to this latter fact, and we might construe, "The furnace tests the hardness by colouring," with which the latter clause, "so doth wine the hearts of the proud by fighting" (v. infra), might be brought into agreement. At the same time it is very improbable that any such technicality is alluded to; and we have reason to suspect some mistranslation. The Syriac has: "As the furnace trieth the work of the goldsmith, even so is wine the provoker of sin." The second clause in the Greek is variously read, καρδίαν ὑπερφυσόν (Clem. Alex.); καρδίας εἰ μάχῃ ὑπερφυσόν (Vat.); καρδίας καὶ εἰ μάχῃ (155); καρδία ὑπερφυσόν εἰ μάχῃ (248, Co.). It would appear that καρδίας and εἰ μάχῃ are various translations of וּפָרֵא (or וּפָרֵא); and that the Syriac as well as the Greek versions go back to an original יִנֶּה יָד יָד, "so doth wine the heart of the proud." As the colour of the steel is brought out by the furnace, so the inherent pride is brought out by wine. In 'Abboth.' p. 68 b (ed. Schechter), wine is mentioned as one of the three things by which men are tested.

Fritzsche interprets the second clause (which he renders "so doth wine the hearts in the strife of the proud"), "according as the person who has drunk keeps cool or otherwise."

27. as good as life.] Syr., "like living water." מַעַלְו מַעַלְו. "What life is then?"

28. bringeth.] Lit., is. The Syriac transposes מַעַלְו into the first clause, rendering it "good times."

29. bitterness of the mind.] The Syr. has "pain, poverty, and headache." The verse should rather have been rendered, Bitterness of soul is wine that is drunk with excess and brawling. The meaning of the last word, διαφημία, ("quarrelling"), is not clear; in xxxii. 30 it can be rendered "stumbling." Arm. (here), "opposition," Fritzsche, "mutual assaults." In 'Abboth de R. N.,' p. 109, wine is reckoned among the seven things of which a little is good, and a large amount harmful. Compare Theognis, v. v. 509, 10.

30. Drunkenness increaseth the rage of the fool till he be offended.] Syriac, "Too much wine
of a fool till he offend: it diminisheth strength, and maketh wounds.

31 Rebuke not thy neighbour at the wine, and despise him not in his mirth: give him no despiteful words, and press not upon him with urging him [to drink].

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 Of his duty that is chief or master in a feast. 14 Of the fear of God. 18 Of counsel. 20 Of a ragged and a smooth way. 23 Trust not to any but to thyself, and to God.

maketh a stumbling to the fool." This we accept, supposing the Hebrew of the last words to have been read a Dbkq, misread by the Greek translator αυτας τας μητας anabêlas, and maketh wounds.] Lit., and addeth wounds (הִשָּׁבֵעַ), almost "and multiplieth wounds" (Syr.).

31. at the wine.] Lit., at the wine-party.

with urging him to drink.] Rather, with a demand for repayment (Lat., Arm.). Cp. xxix. 28. As, however, the Syriac has "before men," it would seem that we must accept אֲחֹרֵי תָּחִין (148, Co.) as the true reading: rendering "and wrangle not with him openly."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The admonitions of ch. xxxi, in regard to feasts naturally lead to others concerning the bearing of those who either preside at a feast—the begemon or symposiarch—or at least occupy a prominent position in it (vss. 1-6). This again gives rise to admonitions as to the conduct of younger men (in another stanza of six verses: vss. 7-12). The more serious tone which the writer has gradually adopted leads, in a third stanza of six verses (vss. 13-18), to the admonition to be guided by the fear of the Lord and the counsel of wise and experienced men. Substantially the same is the subject of the last stanza (also of six verses: vss. 19-24), although it is presented in a more epigrammatic form. Thus the chapter consists of four stanzas, each of six verses. The transition from the First Part of the chapter (vss. 1-12) to the Second Part, which embodies both the more general and the more religious part of these admonitions, is clearly marked (see the note on v. 13).

1. the master [of a feast].] Appointed by lot or election in the companies described by the Classics (e.g. Pollux, vi. 11). See Wetstein on St. John ii. 9, who cites from Plutarch’s ‘Symposiaca’ similar precepts. The mention of the office would seem to be rare in the Rabbinic writings.

be among them as one of the rest.] The Syriac adds the precept "sit not down at the head of the rich." Perhaps these words are genuine, the last word being slightly corrupted in the original (ךְִּלָּה) for דְּלָה), and meant "sit not down at the head of the couch."

take diligent care for them.] This, according to Plutarch, l. c., would refer to the nature and quantity of the wine to be given to each.

2. that thou mayest be merry with them.] Rather, through them. "Ut gaudeas cum videbis illis placere quae ordinasti," Grot.

and receive a crown for thy well-ordering of the feast.] Fritzsche finds a reference to a supposed custom of crowning the successful symposiarch,—a custom to which the ancients, perhaps, make no allusion. He seems to us rightly to reject the explanation of the older critics, who thought of the crowns which were worn at drinking-parties by the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps also by the Hebrews (Wisdom ii. 8; Isaiah xxviii. 1-5; Riehm, s. v. Kranz). The Syriac has here "that thou mayest receive honour at the table;" the Vet. Lat., "ut dignationem consequaris corregationis." The agreement of these two important witnesses seems to show that the original had not "crown," but only "honour;" although, if the word מָרֵא was used, it might reasonably have been construed in both senses, though employed only in the latter. It is rather more difficult to arrive at a conclusion about the last word, which the Latin renders so strangely by corregationis: probably as "of the club" (Grotius; see the last edition of Ducange). But the Greek (which is well rendered in the A. V.) gives an excellent meaning.

3. and hinder not music.] It is remarkable that Chrysostom cites this passage (xii. 395, Ben.) with the word "not" expressly omitted: τι έστιν και έμποδίςες μουσικά; οικευων έκ
4. *Pour not out words where there is a musician, and shew not forth wisdom out of time.*

5. A concert of musick in a banquet of wine is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold.

6. As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold, so is the melody of musick with pleasant wine.

7. Speak, young man, if there be need of thee: and yet scarcely when thou art twice asked.

8. Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words; be as one that knoweth and yet holdeth his tongue.

9. If thou be among great men, make not thyself equal with them; and when ancient men are in place, use not many words.

10. Before the thunder goeth lightning; and before a shamefaced man shall go favour.

Rise up betimes, and be not "praise of God." (Syr.) Comp. Prov. xxv. 11.

6. As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold.] Syr. "like a necklace of gold, precious stones, and emeralds;" to which reading we are inclined to give the preference, supposing that the Greek is merely a second rendering of 5a, which had been repeated by error in the translator's copy.

so is the melody of musick.] Syr. "good words."

7, 8. These verses are omitted by Syr.

7. and yet scarcely when thou art [rather, hast been] twice asked.] The verse is similarly rendered in the Vet. Lat. and Arm. Fitzschc translates, "yet scarcely twice even if it be desired" (after Baduellus).

8. comprehending.] Literally, multurn in parvo. Compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 200, καὶ μὴ πρόλιγος μνὴ ἐφολεῖν ἐν λόγῳ γένος; and for the effect described in ἅ, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 57, "iurantem me scire nihil mirarunt ut unum silicet egregii mortalem atique silenti." Compare generally Riehm, l. c., s. v. Gastmahl, and *Derekh Erets,* p. 10 (ed. Tawrogi).

9. make not thyself equal with them.] Syr. "play not the ruler;" Heb., perhaps ἔριζω, which might be pointed so as to give either sense.

and when ancient men are in place.] The better MSS. read: when another is speaking. The reading of the A. V. is that of Co., supported by Syr., Lat., and Copt.; whereas 248 and Arm. represent a middle stage, "where there are speakers." To us it seems evident that the received reading is correct; and a miswriting of the Greek will probably be the simplest account of the variant.

use not many words.] Lit., prato not much.

10. goeth.] Rather, hasteth. This verse is omitted in the Syr., and was considered by Bretschneider as an interpolation,
the last, but get thee home without delay.

12 There take thy pastime, and do what thou wilt: but sin not by proud speech. And for these things bless him that made thee, and hath replenished thee with his good things. Whoso feareth the Lord will receive his discipline; and they that seek him early shall find favour.

15 He that seeketh the law shall be filled therewith: but the hypocrite will be offended thereat. They that fear the Lord shall find judgment, and shall kindle justice as a light. A sinful man will not be reproved, but findeth an excuse according to his will. A man of counsel will be considerate; but a strange and proud

but on insufficient grounds. The meaning is thus given by Fritzsche (after Grotz): "A modest and graceful manner precedes the speech of a young man, just as regularly as the lightning precedes the thunder." With this we might compare such a description as that in Plato's 'Charmides,' p. 158 c (Jowett's translation, i. p. 14): "Charmides (there the model of ἄρεως σωφρόνος) blushed, and the blush heightened his beauty, for modesty is becoming in youth; he then said very ingenuously, and we should, however, prefer to regard χάρις as the favour which he inspires, nor do we perceive any allusion to his speech.


and be not the last.] Lit., and lead not the rear. The Vet. Lat. has "at the time of rising hinder not thyself;" pointing πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας for ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ; and this seems to have been the punctuation of the Syriac, which, however, is slightly corrupt. ὀπίδες probably represents the Heb. משנים, which the Latin (if it had the Hebrew) might have pointed משנים.

without delay.] Lit., and be not idle. Syr., "while there is memory in thee;" Lat. et ildic avovcare.

12. but sin not by proud speech.] "But not with sin and proud speech" (Lat., Arm.). Syr., "in the fear of God and not with loss," in the last words of which we recognize the common confusion between יְדִי and יָדִי. Drusius and Grotius suppose some bodily exercise or game referred to.

13. For these things.] Rather, after or upon these things.

replenished thee. Perhaps the Heb. original had בֹּקֶשׁ, of which the Greek translation would be a somewhat unfortunate rendering. Drusius cites an observation of Jerome that the Hebrew language puts "obrietos pro satiitate."

14. The Syriac connects this paragraph Apoc.—Vol. II.
man is not daunted with fear, even when of himself he hath done without counsel.

19 Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done, repent not.

20 Go not in a way wherein thou mayest fall, and stumble not among the stones.

21 Be not confident in a plain way.

22 And beware of thine own children.

23 In every good work trust thy own soul; for this is the keeping of the commandments.

24 He that believeth in the Lord taketh heed to the commandment; and he that trusteth in him shall fare never the worse.

the “interpretation” of the dream in Dan. ii. 25, where the word is used by the LXX., would be quite different to that implied in the present case. We believe the sense to be rightly expressed by the Syriac, “and shall make his path according to his will.” He will find out his own rules and take no guidance.

18. will be considerate.] Lit., will not disregard an idea. There are many difficulties in this verse.

(a) “A strange and proud man” seems an improper expression. Gaab (followed by Fritzsche) writes ἀλλοτριος [better ἀλλόριος], and renders “will not disregard the suggestion of a stranger.” We believe ἀλλόριος and ἑπερήφανος to be both translations of the same word ἐν, which by the first translator was read ἔν; the correction of the reviser, ἑπερήφανος, was introduced as an addition.

(β) “Even when of himself he hath done without counsel” is unsatisfactory as a rendering of μετ’ αὐτοῦ ᾿ανω βουλήθη, out of which no meaning can easily be obtained. Fritzsche supposes the original to have been ἑν αὕτης ἐν ῾ανω, and thus evokes the thought: “The proud man pays no attention to the opinion of another; and when he has acted, has no counsel, i.e. is completely at a loss.” We believe ᾿ανω βουλήθη to be a false repetition of the commencement of the next verse; and μετά το ποιήσα μετ’ αὐτοῦ to be a gloss upon ἐν τῷ ποιήσα of the second clause of v. 19. These conjectures are confirmed by Ms. 157 and partly by the Armenian version, which reads as follows: 19. ᾿ανω βουλήθη μιθων ποιήσῃ... μεταμελέον. 18. ᾿ανω βουλήθη μι παραδειγμ. ἀλλόριος καὶ ἑπερήφανος οὐ καταπητήσῃ φίλον. The version, however, breaks off here. After the ejection of these there remains: “A man of counsel will not overlook an idea, and a proud man will feel no terror.” If we compare the Syriac rendering of clause a, “leaves not wisdom hidden,” it will appear probable that the original had ἐν ὑπόλυτῳ (Job xli. 5)—“to darken counsel.” According to Gesenius, ‘Thes.’ s.v., ἐνυλω means to censure it, to endeavour to present it in an unfavourable light. The second clause is satisfactorily Targummed by the Syriac: “but the wicked man hath no control over his tongue.” Compare Prov. xii. 15.

19. advice.] Rather, counsel, or deliberation.

and when thou hast once done.] “With deliberation,” as glossed by the Greek (cf. supra).


20. and stumble not among the stones.] Rather, stony places. The Syriac renders “lest a second time thou stumble.” The warning conveyed, according to Fritzsche, is to avoid courses which may easily lead to difficult situations.

21. Be not confident in a plain way.] The meaning of the original is not very clear. The usage of the Greek of this period seems in favour of the rendering in the A. V., which is also that of S. H. The warning will then be not to trust too much to the apparent ease and simplicity of a course. The Syriac, “the path of the wicked,” and the Latin laboriose, are probably bold alterations.

22. And beware of thine own children.] An illustration, according to Fr., of the last warning: even children must not be trusted, however natural an object of confidence they might seem. The sentiment, however, seems to us here so unnatural and inappropriate that we incline to the Syriac text, “and be of good heed in thy paths;” suppose the Greek to represent the corruption of τὴν ἀρετήν into προσεκιμανάς, which has occurred already.

23. trust thy own soul.] I.e. “be self-confident;” or we might render it “believe with thy soul;” but in either case the thought would be unsatisfactory; for surely self-confidence cannot be said to be a way of keeping the commandments. The Syriac renders: “keep thy soul.” וֹכֵֹּת וֹכֵֹּת וֹכֵֹּת = “be cautious” (Prov. xi. 17, xxi. 5, &c.), which not only gives an intelligible phrase, but also restores the play on the two senses of the word “keep” intended by the author. Pārāt comes from τῆς v. 21 or v. 24.

24. He that believeth in the Lord.]. So Lat. and late MSS.; Vat., Alex., in the law.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

The structure of this chapter is somewhat difficult. It evidently treats of two different subjects, rather loosely strung together. The first section closes with v. 18. Its occasion seems to be taken from the second part of ch. xxxii. (see introductory remarks to it). As we have it in the Greek version, Part I. of ch. xxxiii. contains five stanzas, consisting respectively of three verses in the first and second stanza (vv. 1-3, 4-6); then of a third stanza of six verses (vv. 7-12), which is followed again by two stanzas, each of three verses (vv. 13-15 and 16-18). In this arrangement the central (third) stanza of six verses (vv. 7-12) is evidently the most important, and contains the main theme of discussion. This, if we understand it rightly, is kindred to the problem which partly formed the topic of discussion in the Book of Ecclesiastes—viz. the seeming arbitrariness in the dealings of Providence, the chance or else fatality which appears to attach to earthly things. A problem this, which—as we can readily understand—would naturally, almost inevitably, engage later Jewish thinking, not untinged by scepticism, when its ancestral religious teaching was—not without the influence of Grecianism—brought face to face with the moral problems presented in life. This great question, prompted perhaps by the second answer of ch. xxxii., the writer seeks to answer. He prepares for it in the two stanzas (vv. 1-3 and 4-6) which precede its statement in the central stanza (vv. 7-12); he finds a solution for it in the stanza which follows (vv. 13-15), and he gathers up his life-experience with its struggles and its victory in the attainment of that solution, in the stanza with which the section concludes (vv. 16-18).

Before proceeding, we mark that the Syr. version omits v. 2-4. To the question whether they really existed in the Hebrew original of the older Siracide and were omitted for dogmatic reasons by the Syriac translator (or his redactor), or whether they must be considered as a Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide, it is not easy to give an answer. On the one hand, the stanza introducing and preparing for the main question in v. 7-12 would give good sense even if we were to omit (as in the Syr.) v. 2-4. In that case v. 1 would set forth the general and comforting assurance, in view of the seeming prevalence of mere fate or else accident, that all shall be well with him who feareth the Lord. Verses 2 and 3 would next set forth in warning the influence of this great problem of life on the two classes differing from the pious servant of God: the fool—on whom all has simply a bewailing effect (v. 5), and the mocking sceptic who laughs at everything, even as a stallion who neighs under every rider (v. 6). Thus far the argument in favour of the omission of vv. 2-4 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, there are dogmatic and other reasons which might prompt the Syr. translator to omit these verses from his rendering of the Hebrew original. Thus v. 2 might seem a dangerous and rationalistic depreciation of the ancient Mosaic oracle by the Urins. And if that verse was to be left out, it would be natural to omit a whole triplet for the sake of symmetry; and in that case it must be v. 3-4, since neither v. 1 nor yet vv. 5 and 6 could have been omitted.

On the whole, we are inclined to decide in favour of the originality and authenticity of the verses (2-4) omitted in the Syr., and for the following reasons:—(1) They are requisite for the symmetrical structure of the whole section (two stanzas of three verses, one of six verses, and again two of three verses each); (2) they occur in the Vet. Lat.—and there apparently not from the Greek, but either directly from the Hebrew or corrected by it (see the notes); (3) a sentiment such as in v. 3 entirely accords with the theological standpoint of the older Siracide, however objectionable it might seem to a later translator, zealous for orthodoxy as he understood it.

No special difficulties attach to the second part of ch. xxxiii. (vv. 19-end). It consists of three stanzas, respectively of five, five, and three verses. The subject is so different from that treated in the first part that we might be tempted to regard this part as displaced, if it were not that we call to mind that such sudden, almost capricious, transitions seem in character with the disguised discussion of a problem such as in the previous verses. The first stanza (vv. 19-21) bears on the favourite subject of family, and the second stanza (vv. 24-28) gives advice on the treatment of slaves; the third (vv. 29-31) enjoins the cautions of religion and prudence in the matter.

1. in temptation.] Rather, trial.

even again be will deliver him.] Heb. (cf. M 2
but he that is an hypocrite therein is like a cartwheel; and his thoughts are like a rolling axle-tree.

6 A stallion horse is as a mocking friend, he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.

7 Why doth one day excel another, when as all the light of every day in the year is of the sun?

8 By the knowledge of the Lord

“In wagons of the kind called planitra the axle-tree was not a fixture, but revolved together with the wheels” (Rich, ‘Dict. of Antiq.’ p. 72). The same author makes axis versatilis (Lat. busis loci) “a revolving cylinder, such as is worked by a windlass, for drawing up weights.” In either case the point of comparison will be the impossibility of fixing it. The Syriac has “a swine:” we can scarcely doubt (with Linde and Bendten) that the original had a derivative of the Aramaic verb שָׁם, “to revolve;” compare וֶשָׁם and וְשַׁם.

6. A stallion horse.] Lat. emissarius, a low Latin word, on which see Ducange. Syr. “a ready horse;” pointing to an original יָשָׂם, as in Jer. v. 8. The primum and secundum comparisones are inverted.

a mocking friend.] Syr. “the friend of the wicked,” suggesting an original חַמָּשׂ, “one that loveth mockery.”

be neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.] I.e. on all occasions, whatever the circumstances (Fritzsche). יָשָׂם, “to neigh,” is used in the later Hebrew for “to giggle,” e.g. Midrash on Proverbs, p. 21 a. One is tempted to see an allusion to the story of Darius’ horse (Herod. iii. 87), which the author may have learned from some other source. The mockery spoken of, if it represent the Hebrew word suggested, means “scoffing;” i.e. at religion and morality (Prov. ix. 12, &c.). He can never be serious.

7. Why doth one day excel another.] I.e. as a good day, or else as a holy day.

saben as.] “This combination lasted till 1670” (‘Old and Middle English,’ p. 253). Maetzner, ‘English Grammar,’ iii. 436, quotes Shakspeare, 3 Henry VI.’ v. 7, “So Judas kissed his Master and cried, ‘All hail,’ saben as he meant ‘All harm.’” Marlowe, ‘Jew of Malta,’ v. 2, “What boots it thee to be the governor saben as thy life shall be at their command?”

8. The answer is, they were separated by a Divine decree.

be altered.] Rather, He made divers seasons and feasts.
they were distinguished: and he altered seasons and feasts.

9 Some of them hath he made high days, and hallowed them, and some of them hath he made ordinary days.

10 And all men are from the ground, and 'Adam was created of earth.

11 In much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and made their ways diverse.

12 Some of them hath he blessed and exalted, and some of them hath he sanctified, and set near himself: but some of them hath he cursed and brought low, and turned out of their places.

13 'As the clay is in the potter's standing, so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.

14 Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the godly against the sinner, and the sinner against the godly.

15 So look upon all the works of the most High; and there are two and two, one against another.

16 I awaked up last of all, as one that 'gathereth after the grapegatherer-gleaneth.
ers: by the blessing of the Lord I profited, and filled my winepress like a gatherer of grapes.

17 Consider that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek learning.

18 Hear me, O ye great men of the people, and hearken with your ears, ye rulers of the congregation.

19 Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another: lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for the same again.

20 As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, I give not thyself over to any.

21 For better it is that thy children should seek to thee, than that thou shouldest stand to their courtesy.

22 In all thy works keep to thyself the preeminence; leave not a stain in thine honour.

23 At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life, distribute thine inheritance.

24 Fodder, a wand, and burdens, are for the ass; and bread, correction, and work, for a servant.

I profited.] Lit. I got ahead; Syr. "I rose;" Lat. "I hoped." The Lat. is perhaps an error for "progressi
tur." The thought that he had got before others (Fritzsche) is scarcely hinted.

like a gatherer of grapes.] The whole verse implies that Ben Sira had predecessors in the class of literature to which this book belongs, and that he made use of or incorporated a number of their sayings (comp. Gen. Introd. p. 19).

17. This verse is omitted in the Syr. Version.

18, 19. The Syriac transposes 19 b after 20. This gives a more natural order, unless indeed 19 and 18 are parallel sentiments.

19. power over thee.] Rather, authority over thee,—become not their dependant.

and thou intreat for the same again.] Compare Lysias, p. 618 (ed. Reiske): ἔρημος ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων θανεῖται καὶ καὶ οἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἀπορώντες. The rendering in the A. V. follows the Syriac more nearly than the Greek, which has: lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for them. The Hebrew may have had ἐρήμος. The meaning "repent" for this word and its derivatives is late; and the original may have meant no more than "lest afterwards thou be compelled to beg of them."

20. give not thyself over to any.] The literal meaning may be, either "barter not thyself with any body" (Arm., Fritzsche), so that the other person assume thy place, or else "sell not thyself to any body." The Heb. (Fritzsche) was מַעֲשִׂי, which the Syrian may have interpreted from the Aram. מַעֲשִׂי, a "lord" or "master," rendering "make no flesh lord over thee."

21. stand to their courtesy.] Lit. look to the hands of thy sons; cp. Ps. cxviii. 2. The Arm. omits סְוֹ, giving the meaning "that thy children should be in want." The same version (with Syr.) substitutes "their hands" for "the hands of thy sons." The author may have intended to emphasise the difference between "children" in clause a, and "sons" in clause b. But this is one of the cases in which ancient scribes allowed themselves considerable liberty in dealing with authors' texts. For the phrase compare Aristophanes, 'Vespae,' 613 (of an old man in these circumstances): κεί μ' με δηθείς οΐς οὐ (τοι τῶν) μή Δητίς κει τοι τοιαίναν ἐποίησαν παραθησαίον, and 'Abiath de R. N., p. 90 α: "If a man eat of the property of his father or of his mother or of his children, his mind is not established; much more when he eateth of the property of others."

22. keep to thyself the preeminence.] We prefer the reading of C. and Arm., ὑπεραςπάω, "have the upper hand;" ἵπτοντος, "leave not." Rather, set not.

23. The substance of this verse is quoted in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form:—"Hide, my son, thy wealth in thy life, and conceal it; and give it not to thy heirs to the day of thy death."

At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life.] Lit. on the day of the completion of the days [om. Arm.] of thy life, and at the time of the end. Syr. "at the time when the number of thy days shall be completed, on the day of thy death, bequeath thy goods to thy son." Arab. "at the end of thy life bequeath thy goods to thy sons;" assuredly all that is required to express the thought.

On Slaves.

24. a wand.] Lit. a rod. Some have regarded this verse as a quotation (L. D.
25 If thou set thy servant to labour, thou shalt find rest: but if thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty.

26 A yoke and a collar do bow the neck; so are tortures and torments for an evil servant.

27 Send him to labour, that he be not idle; for idleness teacheth much evil.

28 Set him to work, as is fit for him: if he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters.

29 But be not excessive toward any; and without discretion do nothing.

30 If thou have a servant, let him of ch. 7. 30. be unto thee as thyself, because thou hast bought him with a price.

31 If thou have a servant, intreat him as a brother: for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul: if

Cramer, 'Moral der Apocryphen,' 201. Fritzschc finds in the proverbial form of the sentence the excuse for its coarseness.

<em>correction.</em> Probably a euphemism for "the lash," as the Arm. renders it. Compare Prov. xxvii. 3, which in Gesner's 'Stobaeus,' p. 604, is quoted with <i>virga servio insipienti.</i>

28. The Syr. is here different: "Thou shalt give him no rest; and if thou raise his head, he desireth liberty." The Latin version has also a very interesting rendering: <i>operatur in disciplina et quaerit requiescere: laxa manus illi et quaerit libertatem.</i> The variations in the second clause will be explained if we suppose the original to have been ל התייה, otherwise read ל התייה; the "hands" and "head" are the supplements (doubtless correct ones) of the translators. The Greek and Latin of clause 1 may imply an original ל ל יבגמה, of which the Greek translator rightly understood the first two words, while the Latin translation might be explained by pointing ל יבגמה rather than ל יבגמה: "make a slave work, and he will seek rest; relax his discipline, and he will seek liberty." The Syriac Version perhaps represents a guess at the general meaning of the passage rather than an accurate rendering.

26. a collar.] Rather, <i>strap;</i> referring to the reins. The Syr. omits this verse; and as the Hebrew language apparently possesses no words for the "rack" and the "torture," any more than it possesses one for the "cross," we may hope that it is an interpolation.

27. be not idle.] Syr. "that he may not rebel." We believe the Greek to be right.

28. Set him to work.] Syr. "give him authority in thy house," apparently deriving ל יבגמה from ל יבגמה, and thinking of the history of Joseph. The point is only worthy of notice orthographically.

30. But be not excessive toward any.] Lit. be not excessive in any flesh; explained to mean, punish not too severely. The verb is used by the LXX. to represent the Heb. ל יבגמה, so that ל יבגמה may be restored with considerable certainty for the first words. The Syr. has "too much so upon any man." The verse is apparently a warning against excessive ill-treatment, μάθαινε <i>diasarw tòν άνθρωπον.</i> (Aeth. reads <i>surropevos.</i>) On the condition of slaves among the Israelites, see the interesting Art. in Riehm, 'Hdw.' without discretion do nothing.] Rather, "without judgment." The Vet. Lat. rightly glosses, <i>nihil facias grave.</i>

30, 31. The Syriac transposes 31 b and 31 b; while the Lat. omits 31 entirely. The Syr. makes the sense much clearer by adding one; "if thou have one servant." Compare Prov. xii. 9.

<em>with a price.</em> Greek, in blood. The A. V. follows Drusius (who is followed by Botcher and Fritzschc) in giving the assumed original the sense of the Arm. ל יבגמה, "price." It is, however, by no means certain that this is right; for the minor premise of the argument involved would not necessarily be true; while the major can scarcely be imagined. The fact, too, that the Syriac and Latin agree in rendering <i>in tagniae animae tuae</i> makes it highly probable that the original was ל יבגמה. The Syr. renders the whole clause: "and fight not with the blood of thy soul [i.e. thine own blood; compare Hofmann, 'Julian der Abtrünnige,' 169, 3]; because, if thou afflict him, he will go away and perish: and with what spirit [Lag.: but "by what way," Pol.] shalt thou find him." The thought is here intelligible, though the language is somewhat strange. The Arabic translator glosses, "thine own blood," i.e. "thy goods.

31. as a brother.] So Alex. C., Arm., Lat., Syr. for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul.] The Greek should mean, for thou shalt need him as thine own soul (needeth him). Fritzschc would correct the
ECCLESIASTICUS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 Of dreams. 13 The praise and blessing of them that fear the Lord. 18 The offering of the ancient, and prayer of the poor innocent.

The hopes of a man void of understanding are vain and false: and dreams lift up fools.

2 Whoso regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind.

3 The vision of dreams is the resemblance of one thing to another, speaks of heathenism in a liberal manner—as it were, from a philosophical standpoint,—he discards its views and practices without hesitation or reserve. Alike his conclusions and his liberality, he hastens to inform us—not without righteous self-consciousness—had been the result of his travels. The reference to this forms the introduction (v. 9-13) to his own solution of these great problems (v. 14-17). This constitutes the subject of the second stanza in the chapter. Lastly, in a third stanza, consisting, like stanza 5, of nine verses (v. 18-26), the writer turns to another aspect of the subject. He had in the first stanza been repudiating heathenism, and in the second expressed the assured conviction of his own religion. The perversion and the misunderstanding of that religion form the subject of the third stanza (v. 18-26). As before he had censured heathenism, so now a spurious Judaism—a Pharisaism before the Pharisees, a legal literalism and zeal for outward observances, combined with impertinence and sin. The glimpse which the chapter affords into the religious condition of the period is as important, as, on the other hand, it is interesting to hear the views of a travelled, enlightened, liberal Jew who discourses on the heathen and the Jewish world.

1. The hopes of a man, &c.] Rather, a man without understanding hath vain and lying hopes. Syr. "He that looks for vanity shall find delusion."

2. followeth after the wind.] Cp. Hos. xii. 2. Syr. "who scareth a bird." Both correspond to Greek proverbs, ἀνέμους θηράν ἐν διπλασίω, and διάκεισι ποταμίων δραίω, doubtless, however, common to most nations. The Syriac, however, seems to be an interpolation from xxvii. 18; cp. Prov. ix. 12 (LXX.).

3. the resemblance of one thing to another, &c.] Lit. this against this; the resemblance of a face opposite a face. The reading in the text is not quite certain: for τοῦτο καρά τούτου some MSS. have τοῦτο καρά τούτου, which the Lat. represents. The Syr. and Arm. omit the first τοῦτο, which may be a correction of τούτου, inserted in a wrong place. Accepting the reading of the Syr.,
even as the likeness of a face to a face.

4 Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed? and from that thing which is false what truth can come?

5 Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams, are vain: and the heart fancieth, as a woman’s heart in travail.

6 If they be not sent from the most High in thy visitation, set not thy heart upon them.

7 For dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them.

8 The law shall be found perfect without lies: and wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.

9 A man that hath travelled knoweth many things; and he that

we obtain “even so is the vision of dreams;” which is more intelligible than that of the Lat., which would mean, “dreams are each exactly like the other.”

the resemblance of a face opposite a face.] The phrase seems to be taken from Prov. xxvii. 19, a very obscure passage. Badenius interprets our passage as an account of the origin of dreams; signifying that the “fancy” reproduces images to the “intellect” in the same way as a mirror. Grocius, on the other hand (followed by Fritzsche), finds the point of comparison in the unreality of the image: ut image in specro visa nisi post se relinquis, ita nec somnia. This is more probably right. Compare ‘Julian der Abtrünnige,’ 177, 15: “while thine eyes are on them they are gone.”

4. Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed]
The Syriac Version seems at first sight very different: “and over the head of his people he will gain the victory.” This, however, means only that the Syrian divided the words before him wrongly, reading for הנש לואנש ילגא, אבר ילעב. The Arab. gives the following version of the Syriac: “he that gives them the lie and relies not on them winneth the victory more than the greatest of his people.” The Syriac Version seems to imply that the words “unclean” and “cleansed” should rather have been rendered “evil” and “righteous.” Just as righteousness does not spring out of evil (“Do men gather grapes of thorns?”), so the truth does not come out of the false and unsubstantial. The Greek text would have referred to the unclean thing rendering everything else unclean,—a striking comparison, though not a very appropriate one.

5. Divinations, &c.] In this opinion the author is far in advance of the later Rabbinical schools.

and the heart fancieth, as a woman’s heart in travail.] Syriac, “he that believeth them, there is his heart.” Lat. et somnia malfacientium vanitas est. The Greek seems evidently correct. The physical phenomenon alluded to is sometimes mentioned by the ancients.

6. in thy visitation.] Rather, as a visitation; the Vet. Lat. and Arm.: “unless a visitation be sent.” Apparently we have not here the genuine words of the author. The Syriac has: “even though it be ordained of God that men go astray with the fancies of the night.” Combining the Syr. and Greek, we obtain a text like την αισθησην ανατινάξαι, “even though thou be visited from God;” and it is almost clear that the next verse requires some such saying. So many have been led astray by dreams that it is best to distrust them all, even at the risk of some one being really inspired. The verse well illustrates the methods of the two translators.

7. and they have failed, &c.] Rather, and [many] have failed.

8. The law shall be found perfect without lies.] Rather (Fritzsche), is perfected or realised without the help of false things (such as dreams). Syr. “Where there is no sin, God is pleased;” Lat. consuetudinem verbum.

The second clause is difficult: “Wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.” Syr. “the wisdom of the wicked is believed in the night.” Evidently there was a word in the original read by the one הולא, by the other הרל. “The wicked” of the Syriac need not be considered. Probably the original meant “wisdom is perfected in a faithful mouth;” i.e. wisdom when combined with sincerity is perfect.

Arguing back from this, we may interpret the first clause: “By not lying, the law is accomplished;” i.e. the telling of the truth is so important that by keeping this rule a man observes the whole law. The Syriac translator apparently was offended by this sentiment and diluted it. The author was led up to these remarks on truth by the falsehood of dreams.

9. A man that hath travelled knoweth many things.] So a few MSS., S. H. and Arm. The best Greek MSS., however, have περιτεύκτονος, “a man that is educated, &c.” The Syriac is here very different: “A wise man examines much.” This seems to shew that the late Hebrew word, נפוג, exercitatus, was
10 He that hath no experience knoweth little; but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.

11 When I travelled, I saw many things; and I understand more than I can express.

12 I was oftimes in danger of death: yet I was delivered because of these things.

13 The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live; for their hope is in him that saveth them.

14 Whoso feareth the Lord shall not fear nor be afraid; for he is his hope.

15 Blessed is the soul of him that feareth the Lord: to whom doth he look? and who is his strength?

16 For the eyes of the Lord are upon them that love him, and his ears are opened unto them.

17 He raiseth up the soul, and lightenth the eyes: he giveth health, life, and blessing.
18. ‘He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.

19. The most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.

20. Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor doeth as one that killeth the son before his father’s eyes.

21. The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

22. He that taketh away his neighbour’s living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodsinner.

23. When one buildeth, and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?

24. When one prayeth, and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?

25. He that was whetheth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing?

26. So is it with a man that fasteth.

were used as epithets, the word “giveth” being a gloss.

18. See introductory remarks. The long passage which follows contains interesting suggestions, but displays that want of continuous thinking, which prevented the Jewish Chokhmah ever developing into a system of philosophy. The author vacillates between different points of view, but follows neither to its legitimate consequences.

_He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous._ Fritzche’s suggestion that מַעַל, “a sacrifice,” has been wrongfully read מַעַל, is confirmed by Syr. For “ridiculous” Alex., with some other MSS., has “culpable” or “contaminated,” so, too, Lat. and Cyrill. Alexandr. vii. 311, who quotes this passage with Job viii. 20 and the end of Isaiah. We believe this (last) reading to be right, and (comparing it with the Syriac) suppose that the author must have intended some play on the words מַעַל and מַעַל.

_The gifts of unjust men are not accepted._ So 248, Co, Syr., Arm. The best Greek MSS. (and Lat.) have “mockeries.” We venture to suggest that the author here has another play on a word: for מַעַל, “sacrifice,” he substitutes מַעַל (“corn,” “mockery,” a Syriac word), מַעַל. This sort of witticism has always had peculiar attractions for the Jewish mind. So in the Qaraite-Arabic writings Mohammad is called פָּדַע (“unclean”) for פָּדַע (“Apostle”), נֶמֶק מַאַסָּא (“plagues”), &c. The substitution of בֵּיתֶה (“shame”) for בֵּית (“lord”) in the biblical text affords an early example of this. The Syriac, which has here “offerings,” may have simply “corrected” the text. Comp. Prov. xv. 7; xli. 27.

20. _that killeth._ Lit. _that slaugh-

_The point of comparison lies in the impossibility of conciliating the father with such a sacrifice. The words remind the reader of Virgil’s Priam, “qui nati coram me cernere letum fecisti et patris foedasti funere vultus.”

21. _The bread of the needy is their life._ Rather, _is the life of the poor;_ by no means a lucid sentiment. Syr. “the bread of mercy,” מַעַל, misread by the Greek, מַעַל. “The bread of charity;” the abuse referred to being the diversion of means intended for charitable purposes, or more properly to be spent in charitable objects, for more ostentatious employment in sacrifice.

22. _He that taketh away._ Lit. _that slaugh-

_The order of thought is satisfactorily explained by Fritzche. In the case of such a sacrifice as that described, while one prays (_i.e._ the sacrificer), the other (the poor man whom he has robbed) curses; how then can such a sacrifice profit any more than the operation described in this verse?

25. _Those, too, who approach God must do so seriously;_ He cannot be trifled with. It is not exactly said that the outward observance of fasts can only be of meaning or
CHAPTER XXXV.

1 Sacrifices pleasing to God. 14 The prayer

value in so far as it is symbolic of an inward process, but that a fast for sin and prayer for its forgiveness can only attain the object sought, if combined with the abandonment of sin—just as a bath of purification cannot avail if a dead body is immediately touched again. The sentiment seems almost to have become proverbial in Jewish theology. Thus we read (Taan. 16 a, line 10 from bottom) that a man who is guilty of a sin and confesses, but does not turn from it, is like one who holds an unclean reptile in his hand, who, even if he immersed in all the waters of the world, his immersion (bath of purification) would not profit him; but if he casts it from him, when he immerses in forty Seah (the bare legal measure of water for such a bath), immediately his immersion profited (obtains the object of purification)—the references in proof being to Prov. xxviii. 3 and Lam. iii. 41 (comp. also Yalkut on the passage in Prov. and the Midr. R. on that in Lam.). In 'Abboth, ut sup. p. 116, constant repentance with constant sinning is reckoned among the five unpardonable offences.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The reference in chap. xxxiv. to heathenism and to Judaism, whether pure or corrupt, leads to a farther and, in many respects, most interesting discussion. The main subject is that of sacrifices, on which the writer propounds his own more liberal views, insinuating rather than stating them, artfully slipping them in between other sayings irreprehensible to Jewish orthodoxy—thus finding a place for what he might scarcely have dared openly and broadly to teach. Equally interesting is it to notice how the Syriac translator modifies and alters in a Christian sense. Not only does he eliminate all references to sacrificing in the strict sense, substituting expressions which a Christian writer might employ, but his references to the words used by our Lord are so evident as at once to be obvious to every reader (comp. the notes on vv. 2—9). Thus the chapter may be regarded as adding important evidence on the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that the Greek translation contains important Hellenistic alterations by the younger Siracide. Of such we should probably have had more distinct expression than the Greek text contains. Indeed, the reference to sacrifices is exactly in the spirit which, as we have all along observed, is characteristic of the elder Siracide. It is the Grecianism of Palestine rather than of Alexandria—a mild Sadduceism, before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees: the influence of Greek thinking and life upon the more liberal spirits of Judæa, the effect upon them of contact with the great world without.

It is difficult to arrange the chapter into other than two sections, of which the one treats of sacrifices in their real import and value (vv. 1—13), the other of sacrifices unrighteous and unacceptable (vv. 13—15). The mention of the cry of distress addressed to the Lord (v. 15) leads to a more detailed reference to all such appeals, which assuredly will bring their answer in the Divine interposition, whether for deliverance or for judgment. But the greatest wrong was that which heathen persecution inflicted on the people of God; and the loudest cry for Divine judgment, that for vengeance on them and for smiting into fragments the sceptres of the unrighteous (v. 18). Thus the appeal for answer to prayer and for Divine interposition merges into a strong anti-heathen passage, while for Israel a season of refreshing mercy is asked in the interval before the judgment on their oppressors. We infer that the elder Siracide must have written in a time of anticipated persecution and suffering (see General Introduction).

1. bringeth offerings enough. Syr. "If thou doest what is written in the Law, thou hast multiplied service." If the Greek Version may be regarded as expressing the views of a Jew who attached not any absolute value to the ritual observances of the Law, the Syr. translator seems purposely to have omitted all reference to sacrifices and to occupy a totally different (Christian) standpoint.

be that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering. Syr. "blessed be his spirit,"—alteration of text in the same spirit as in the first clause.

2. He that giveth a good turn. Le. "requiteth a benefit." The Syriac of this verse is rendered by Dr. Payne Smith, col. 1179, "qui donum obierit id facit quod optimam retributionem s. wram sibi reifer." The
offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise.

3 To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.

4 Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.

5 For all these things [are to be done] because of the commandment.

6 The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof is before the most High.

7 The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable, and the memorial thereof shall never be forgotten.

8 Give the Lord his honour with a good eye, and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.

9 In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and dedicate thy tithes with gladness.

10 /Give unto the most High according as he hath enriched thee; and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.

11 For the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much.

12 Do not think to corrupt with Hebrew was probably מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי. The Syriac alteration here involves a meaning almost the opposite of that conveyed by the Greek. The translator seems to have wished to convey some of the N. T. directions and promises about the gracious retribution to those who give.

sacrificeth praise.] מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי. Syr. "keepeth the law." Had he read מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי? 3. is a propitiation.] The Syr. once more alters in the same spirit as before: "and restrain thy strength that thou do what is abominable." If the Greek represented repentance as real propitiation, the Syr. omits all reference to it, and so avoids what might sound either Jewish or Judaizing.

4-11. Nevertheless, though the best sacrifice is good conduct, still for the sake of the commandment, actual sacrifices must be offered also. This deserves special attention as expressive of views afterwards more fully developed in Hellenism.

4. before the Lord.] Syr. "before Him." For the phrase (or rather quotation), see references in marg.

5. For all these things are to be done.] Apparently not of absolute and internal necessity, but simply because ordered in the Law, and therefore to be observed. The Syriac translator once more alters the statement into "every one that doeth well keepeth the commandment."

6. maketh the altar fat.] Perhaps מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי, which should have been rendered "is thought fat," i.e. rich, savoury, "the altar" being a gloss. The Syr.: "is the prayer of their mouth,"—a very significant alteration.

and the sweet savour thereof.] Syr. "and their works cleave open the heavens."

7. the memorial.] Fritzsche suggests that this may have meant the מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי or memorial-sacrifice of Lev. ii. 2, 9, &c. But this seems not likely. The Syr. seems to shew that the word is used in our ordinary English sense.


and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.] Syr. "and vacillate not in thy gifts." He may have read מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי for מַעֲשֶׁה מְלַשֵׁי, but the alteration of "firstfruits" into "gifts" can only have been intentional. On the "firstfruits," see 'The Temple, its Ministry and Services,' ch. xix.

9. and dedicate thy tithes.] Syr. "lend to him that will not pay thee." The alteration here is not only bold, but the reference to St. Luke vi. 34, 35 is so clear that we can scarcely doubt the Syr. intended to put the words of Christ into the mouth of the Siracide. Very significantly the Syr. next reverses the order of the verses that follow, placing v. 11 of the Greek in immediate juxtaposition to v. 9 and v. 10 after our Greek v. 11. The entire elimination of allusion to sacrifices and the reference to the words of our Lord seem to establish the Christian authorship of the Syriac Version.

10. and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.] Lit. according to the finding of thy hand, תִּירָעָה; Syr. "with an ample hand" (מִלָּה for מִלָּה ?)

11. seven times as much.] Syr. "ten thousand times." The addition in the Syr. "he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, and who shall recompense but He Himself?" is an interpolation from Prov. xix. 17.

12. Do not think to corrupt with gifts.] Rather, Think not to bribe. For this the Syriac has a most interesting variant, putting simply "hesitate not," without further
18 'For the Lord will not be slack, neither will the Mighty be patient toward them, till he have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful, and repayed vengeance to the heathen; till he have taken away the multitude of the proud, and broken the sceptre of the unrighteous;

19 Till he have rendered to every man according to his deeds, and to the works of men according to their devices; till he have judged the cause of his people, and made them to rejoice in his mercy.

20 Mercy is seasonable in the time of affliction, as clouds of rain in the time of drought.

CHAPTER XXXXVI.

1 A prayer for the church against the enemies thereof. 18 A good heart and a forward. 21 Of a good wife.

18. The writer rapidly passes to an anticipation of judgment upon those tyrannical heathen rulers whose sway rested upon Israel with such terrible weight of persecution (see introductory remarks). The Syriac does not offer any variety of importance in this verse, though it renders none of the six clauses exactly as the Greek. Perhaps we may find a vestige of the old word דָּרֶくださו, "a sceptre," in στέφανος, for which the Syr. offers "rulers." The Lat., too, in v. 19 has preserved a vestige of the Hebrew in its rendering "according to the works of Adam."

20. His mercy is seasonable.] Syr. "the hater will be ashamed."
HAVE mercy upon us, O Lord
God of all, and behold us:
2 And send thy fear upon all
the nations that seek not after thee.
3 Lift up thy hand against
the strange nations, and let them see thy
power.
4 As thou wast sanctified in
us before them: so be thou magnified
among them before us.
5 And let them know thee, as we
have known thee, that there is no
God but only thou, O God.

6 Shew new signs, and make
other strange wonders: glorify thy
hand and thy right arm, that they
may set forth thy wondrous works.
7 Raise up indignation, and
pour out wrath: take away the adversary,
and destroy the enemy.
8 Make the time short, remember
the covenant, and let them declare
I Gr. onti. thy wonderful works.
9 Let him that escapeth be
consumed by the rage of the fire; and let
them perish that oppress the people.

ternal evidence. The first part of the
chapter (vv. 1-17) connects itself with
the concluding part of ch. xxxv.—both as regards
Israel and the Gentile world. It is a prayer,
at times sublime, for the deliverance of Israel,
the fulfilment of the prophetic promises, and
the advent of the Messianic kingdom, even
although there is not any mention of a personal
Messiah. As points of subsidiary interest we
note, on the one hand, the tone of sadness as
regards the condition of Israel at the time
the chapter was written, pointing back to a
period of persecution and suffering; and, on
the other hand, the variations introduced in
the Syriac translation, which, although somet-
times seemingly slight, are of great significance
as regards the religious views of the translator.
Of the second part of the chapter (vv. 18-26)
it is neither easy nor pleasant to speak, espe-
cially when following on such sentiments as
in Part I. The connexion between the verses
is not very obvious, although the whole may
perhaps be summed up under the general
heading "Discernment." Possibly also vv. 21
may mark the beginning of a sub-section on
the relation of the sexes. We can only add
that the part as a whole descends from anti-
thetic sayings, neither very wise nor very
elevated, to what may be euphemistic allusions
to the dangers threatening married life from
the presence of unmarried acquaintances (vv. 25, 26).

1. Have mercy upon us, &c.] Syr. "Redeem
us, O God, all of us."
befold [us.].] Lat. respicere.
2. Send thy fear upon all the nations that
seek not after thee.] The last words must
be omitted as not found in the original MSS.
of the Greek, but only given by the Vet. Lat.
and Syr. The addition may be an interpo-
lation from Jer. xx. 25 or Ps. xxix. 6. The
Vet. Lat. and Syr. also omit "all."
3. the strange nations.] Syr. (perhaps cor-
ruptly) in the singular.
4. As thou wast sanctified.] ליטר, Ezek.
xxviii. 32, &c. God is sanctified either by
rewarding the well-doer or punishing the evil-doer: here the latter is indicated.
5. Shew new signs.] The reference seems
to the former miraculous deliverances, espe-
cially to that from Egypt.
6. and make other strange wonders.] This
should be rendered: and do fresh wond-
ders, נחש [Grot., Fritsche]. This is
confirmed by the Syriac.
7. glorify.] Perhaps "strengthen" (Syr.),
Pârû, was intended.
8. the covenant.] סינאעאכ: Sin. סינאעאכ,
confirmed by Syr. Lat. fnis; Arm. and S.H.,
term." We should therefore substitute
the end. "Bring near" (Syr.) seems a
more suitable verb than "remember."
9. let them declare thy wonderful works.]
Syriac, "because there is none that sayeth
unto thee, What doest thou?" Whoever
was the author of this phrase, it is very remark-
able. It is intended to excuse the prayer
"hasten on the time." The writer is repres-
ented as pleading that, if the Divine term
were brought somewhat nearer, no one could
find fault with such a change.
10. Let him that escapeth.] Syr. "In wrath
and fire destroy the hater." We are not
likely to find any easier reconciliation of this
with the Greek than ἔχειν καὶ θεϊϊν. The
expression is like 1 Kings xix. 17.
and let them perish that oppress thy people.]
Lit. and destruction. Syr. "and all the
lords and princes of the people." Probably
the לדר of the original meant "and destroy"
(דדר), misread by both translators. The
violence of the sentiment may have led the
Greek to substitute for it the milder prayer
in the text. A literal translation might have
been dangerous to the Jewish community in
Alexandria.
10 Smite in sunder the heads of the rulers of the heathen, that say, There is none other but we.

11 Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit thou them, as from the beginning.

12 O Lord, have mercy upon the people that is called by thy name, and upon Israel, whom thou hast named thy firstborn.

13 O be merciful unto Jerusalem, thy holy city, the place of thy rest.

14 Fill Sion with thine unspeakable oracles, and thy people with thy glory.

15 Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed from the beginning, and raise up prophets that have been in thy name.

16 Reward them that wait for thee, and let thy prophets be found faithful.

17 O Lord, hear the prayer of thy servants, according to the blessing of Aaron over thy people, that all they which dwell upon the earth may know that thou art the Lord, the eternal God.

18 The belly devoureth all meats, yet is one meat better than another.


of the heathen.] The better reading is of the enemy (best Greek MSS., Syr., Lat.).

11. and inherit thou them.] Probably meaning “give them their inheritance.” The Greek MSS. have “and I inherited,” to adapt the syntax to that of xxxii. 16 (v. supra). Lat. et hereditatis es, following the Hebrew idiom דַּתְתָּם אֶחָד. as from the beginning.] Syr. “and let them inherit, as thou saidst from the beginning.”

12. the people that is called by thy name.] εἰς δούλων σου. Better Greek would perhaps be εἰς δούλους. They were the “people of Jehovah.”

whom thou hast named.] Best Greek MSS. which thou hast likened to. The other reading is supported by the Syr., and is probably correct, the reference being to Ex. iv. 22.

13. the place of thy rest.] The expression is strictly biblical (Ps. cxxxii. 14), and here very significantly used to point to the final fulfilment of the good promises of God concerning Israel and Jerusalem.

14. Fill Sion with thine unspeakable oracles.] Rather, with the talk of thy deeds. The passage has been admirably restored by Tischendorf from the Vat. ἀπεραλογίας. The former editions had ἀπὸ τὰ λόγια σου, which Frtszacher endeavours to construe. The Latin in enarrabilibus verbi, translated in A. V., stands for ἀπορραλογίας, which S. H. also represents. The Syriac seems to point to a Hebrew יִהְיֶה פֶּקֶר. This is apparently the only place in Greek literature in which a derivative of ἀπεραλογία is used with its original meaning. Ordinarily it means a “buffoon” or “jester.” See Mayor on Juvenal xvi. 16. The ἀπεραλογία (in Pindar especially, “great deeds”) will in this case be real and not exaggerated.

and thy people.] Emend from the Syriac, and thy templum (vain).

15. Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed.] Rather, to thy creations, i.e. “works from the beginning.” Prove the truth of the record of them by doing others like them. But the Syr., which renders “confirm the testimony of thy servants,” is far simpler: and indeed מַעַלָּם (cf. Eccles. ix. 1, ἀπορραλογία) may mean either, but more naturally: “thy servants.” Perhaps the phrase “which were of old” led the translator astray.

and raise up prophets.] Rather, and raise up the prophesies uttered in thy name. “Raise them up” in the sense of waking them out of their sleep — fulfil them. Syr. “let them come.” Similarly κοιμῶν is used of waking up an obsolete story.

16. The fulfilment of God’s promises is described as the reward of the patience and faith of those who now suffer, and the confirmation of the truth of prophecy.

17. according to the blessing of Aaron.] Syr. “according to the will of thy people.” The blessing of Aaron is recorded Num. vi. 23. With the Syriac cp. Ps. cvi. 4 (with Peshitto). It seems to us clear that the Greek is a gloss, and a remarkable one.

the eternal God.] Syr. “that thou alone art God for ever.”

18–20. The general subject is that of “discernment” — in matters relating to the senses, as regards the speech, and, lastly, the deeds of men.
19. "As the palate tasteth divers kinds of venison: so doth an heart of understanding false speeches.

20. A froward heart causeth heaviness: but a man of experience will recompense him.

21. A woman will receive every man, yet is one daughter better than another.

22. The beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance, and a man loveth nothing better.

23. If there be kindness, meekness, and comfort, in her tongue, then is not her husband like other men.

24. He that getteth a wife beginneth a possession, a help like unto himself, and a pillar of rest.

25. Where no hedge is, there the possession is spoiled: and he that hath no wife will wander up and down mourning.

26. Who will trust a thief well appointed, that skippeth from city to city? so [who will believe] a man that hath no house, and lodgeth wheresoever the night taketh him?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. How to know friends and counsellors. 12. The discretion and wisdom of a godly man blesseth him. 27. Learn to refrain thine appetite.

24. getteth.] Fritzche, “by purchase or otherwise.”


a help like unto himself.] See margin.

and a pillar of rest.] Compare the Latin phrase aquiescere in alioquo.


that skippeth.] The better reading (Lat. exilium). The Vat. has “that tumbleth.”

bath no nest.] Syr. “wife,” interpreting.

and lodgeth.] Syr. “and dieth,” but we should perhaps emend לְכָּל for לְכָּל.

wheresoever he happens to be at eventide. The verb represented is one of a class of Semitic verbs signifying “to be somewhere at a certain time.” Fritzche suggests בְּיוֹם (1 Sam. xvii. 16).
EVERY friend saith, I am his friend also: but there is a friend, which is only a friend in name.

2 Is it not a grief unto death, when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The three main divisions of the chapter are well marked. Advice in regard to friends (substantially the same as that given in c. vi.), whether untrustworthy or otherwise (vv. 1-6), is followed by directions with reference to counsel (vv. 7-15)—when and with what limitations it should be sought and taken. This naturally leads to general remarks on the need of reflection and the character of real wisdom (vv. 16-26). The stanza is very artistically arranged. Three classes of wise men who are not really such (vv. 19, 20, 22) are contrasted with three who are really wise (vv. 23, 24, 26). In each case an explanatory verse is added after mention of the second class (v. 21, and again v. 25). The concluding stanza (vv. 27-31)—if here in its right place—once more diverges, as in previous chapters, to a subject not worthy of treatment. The “counsel,” “reflection,” and “wisdom” are to discretion in the choice of food and moderation in it. The only link of connexion between this chapter and the first seventeen verses of the preceding is in v. 25. Most probably the last stanza forms part of the following chapter.

1. Every friend saith.] We can here observe that the Syriac has lost a letter at the beginning of the line; for אַּמָּתְאַה we should perhaps read אַמָּתְאַה. I am his friend also.] יִתְּנָה or יַחֲבוּלִים, meaning “I love him;” cf. Böttcher, 'Lehrb.' § 948; Driver, ‘Hebrew Tenses,’ § 11. For the expression compare Prov. xx. 9; and for the sentiment, ibid. 6.

but there is a friend which is only a friend in name.] Syr. “whose name is friend.” Comparing Prov. xxi. 24, it would seem that the Greek interpretation of this is wrong; the author meaning “there is a friend who deserves the name,” i.e. out of the whole number of self-styled friends there are a few who really belong to that class.

2. Is it not a grief unto death.] The Syriac (continuing the last verse), “who cometh not unto death.” Heb. וְלַא וְלַא לְאָל כֶּם, “Cometh it not nigh unto death?” The Syriac therefore wrongly pointed לְאָל for לְאָל, whereas the Greek read לְאָל for לְאָל; but the latter, by punctuating correctly, came nearer the sense of the original. Compare with the phrase Euripides, ‘Heracl.’ 247, καὶ τάδ’ ἄγχωνι πᾶλας, &c. The omission of the word “nigh” caused the insertion of the glosses “is therein” (καὶ) and “remains” (μεῖον) in different recensions.

when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy.] Lit. (according to the better reading) to enmity. Syr. “a true friend should be to thee as thyself.” The original would seem to have contained the word יִתְּנָה, and also the word פָּנָה, curiously interpreted in one of its Arabic meanings (الصدٍّ) by the Greek, and in another (صدٍّ) by the Syrian.

3. The expression is so bitter that we might fancy the author to be speaking from his own experience. “O wicked imagination:” possibly we should take this phrase generally, comparing Gen. vi. 9. But it may be (as Fritzsch thinks) an apostrophe of the horrible idea of the friend becoming unfaithful.

wast thou ever in,—like an unexpected figure on a stage by a machine; compare F.V. Fritzsch’s note on ‘Thesmophoriazuse,’ p. 97, where phrases like σπάρα γ’ ἡμῶν πράγματα διάμοιρας τις εὐεξεκυλικθηκέναι are collected and explained. As the Syriac and Latin both render “wast thou created,” we think the translator responsible for the Greekism. The rolling of water, however, may have been also in the translator’s mind.

4. There is a companion which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend.] (Cp. vi. 8-12.) The Greek, as Fritzsch observes, admits of three constructions: of which he prefers that by which εὐάγρος φίλον are combined, “a companion of the friend.” But this seems a very unnatural expression, especially if we consider the formlessness of the ancient languages for repetition of the same word in such cases. The Syriac has: “Evil is the friend who approacheth the table.” Evidently we have the same confusion between וְלַא and וְלַא which was noticed in xiv. 9; whereas the last words in both versions are apparently translations of בְּכָר הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, בְּכָר in the later Hebrew meaning “a feast.” The criticism of this verse is very closely con-
5. There is a companion, which helpeth his friend for the belly, and taketh up the buckler against the enemy.

6. Forget not thy friend in thy mind, and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.

7. Every counsellor extolleth counsel; but there is some that counselleth for himself.

8. Beware of a counsellor, and know before what need he hath; for he will counsel for himself; lest he cast the lot upon thee,

9. And say unto thee, Thy way is good: and afterward he stand on the other side, to see what shall befall thee.

10. Consult not with one that sus-}

connected with that of the next, which commences with the same words in the Greek, but with “good is the friend” in the Syriac. The probability seems to us in favour of the latter being right, the Hebrew text before the Greek translator having been corrupted in a very common manner. Probably, however, ἐν ζυγίῳ and ἐπὶ πόλεμος should have been rendered “an evil friend” and “a good friend.” The rule for the postposition of the adjective may be broken in the case of ἐν (Prov. xxix. 6; Ecwald, ‘Lehrb.’ p. 751; compare Nöldeke, ‘Syr. Gramm.’ p. 150). The translation of the first clause should then have been “an evil friend approacheth in prosperity.” It is remarkable that the Aethiop. retains “approacheth.”

will be against him.] Heb. יִשְׁלַח (cp. Syr.), meaning rather, “will stand aloof.”

5. There is a companion which beareth his friend for the belly.] (Cp. vi. 10.) ΙΣ. “out of sordid motives” (Fritzsch.) If we adopt the corrections of the Syriac Version (see last note), it will be evident that the friend described in this verse must be the opposite of the former, and that the parasite cannot be referred to. The Syr. renders: “Good is the friend who fights against the enemy and takes a shield.” It would seem that this represents the sense of the original. The parallelism, however, makes it probable that some words had been omitted, which the Greek ξάρως γαρσίς represent. We suggest that the Hebrew was שׁוֹב יִשְׁלַח לֹא בִּלְדָא דְּרוֹם, “a good friend fightheth on behalf of a friend,” the word דרומ (by a rather violent Aramaism) being used for “a friend,” for the sake of the assonance with דּוֹרָם. The Greek wrongly pointed this word δόρος, “the belly” (cp. Ps. cix. 4), while the homoeoteleuton caused the omission of the words in the Syriac’s copy.

taketh up the buckler.] Cp. Ps. xxxv. 2.


and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.] Syr. “make him not ruler over thy house;” perhaps רשד read variously with ו and י. Though the Hebrew text may be restored with some certainty, it is by no means easy to detect the original purport of the clauses. As, however, the tone of most of these precepts is that of warning rather than that of exhortation, it is probable that the Syriac is nearer the truth than the Greek. We venture to suggest (assuming ו twice corrupted to ו) that the author meant, “praise not thy friend above a kinsman, and exalt him not over thy household;” and, if so, as a corrective to a misapplication of Prov. xxvii. 10. The Aeth. translator conjectures (?) יִשְׁלַח for יִשְׁלַח, “forget not thy friend in thy wealth,”—an attractive suggestion, which, however, would be certainly misleading.

7. Every counsellor extolleth counsel.] (Cp. vi. 6.) Lat. prodiri; “considers his own counsel best,” Schleusner. Fritzsch. regards the text as corrupt. Our simplest course will be to read ἐκφαίει for ἐκφαίει, though so obvious a suggestion can scarcely be left to us to make. The verse will then apparently be modelled on ν. 1 (νόι πλιν ἐρήμη Φιλωσία αὐτῷ κύριος), and the original meaning have been “every counsellor will say: Counsel,” i.e. will call the course he suggests counsel, and therefore properly for the benefit of the person to whom it is given; whereas in some cases the counsellor himself is the person intended to profit thereby. The Syriac, “Behold every counsellor; yet there is counsel that is well made,” seems to be a loose paraphrase rather than a translation. Compare Derekh Erets,’ p. 38: “beware of him that counselleth according to his own way (for his own interest).”

8. what need be bath.] I.e. what is his real purpose or design.

lest be cast the lot upon thee.] It is useless inquiring what this can mean, since the Syr., by its rendering “an evil plot,” seems to have interpreted יָשְׁלַח rightly as a “net;” “lest he entangle thee in his net.” Fritzsch. finds this meaning in ne forte mitut sudem in terram of the Lat.

10. Examples of the persons whose advice
pecteth thee: and hide thy counsel from such as envy thee.

11 Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matters of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling; nor with an envious man of thankfulness; nor with an unmerciful man touching kindness; nor with the slothful for any work; nor with an hireling for a year of finishing work; nor with an idle servant of much business: hearken not unto these in any matter of counsel.

12 But be continually with a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord, whose mind is according to thy mind, and will sorrow with thee, if thou shalt miscarry.

13 And let the counsel of thine

should not be taken. First, one that suspecteth thee; rather, one that looketh upon thee with ill-favour; cp. L. and S. J. w. ἢμοσθένω. The Syriac Version paraphrases this 'thy enemy;' but the Lat. in some MSS. retains a remarkable variant, 'thy father-in-law,' which has indeed no value in itself, but points to an original פֶּתַל, rightly derived by Syr. and Greek from the Aramaic verb רָפָל, 'to see,' which apparently was used with the same specialization as the Hebrew ניא and Lat. invideo. This verse comes in the Vet. Lat. between 5 and 6; see on v. 11.

11. Neither consult.] Necessary to the sense, but omitted in the Vet. Lat. and Syr. The Lat. commences with the words, 'With an irreligious man treat about holiness, and with an unjust man about justice,' probably interpolated, when, owing to the transposition of א, the sentence was left without a natural commencement.

with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous.] ἀγαθακός. Lagarde, 'Mittheilungen' (Göttingen, 1884), 133, says: 'The thing to be ascertained by further investigation is the signification of ἀγαθακός. We can only guess that it is fellow-wife; we do not know it; from Steph. 'Thes.' i. 2, 908, it cannot be proved. Syr. 'lest thou commit adultery with her;' probably through some misunderstanding, though even in the Greek the subject of deliberation here is not strictly parallel to the rest. Compare 'Derekh Erets,' p. 19.

neither with a coward in matters of war.] Syr. 'with an enemy lest thou fight.'

with a merchant concerning exchange.] I.e. about goods, and more particularly about his goods (Syr.). His advice should not be asked on such matters as the article to be taken. In all these cases the reader is warned not to ask counsel of any person directly interested in the result of the deliberation.

with a buyer of selling.] I.e. about the price, as Syr. 'his price,'—the price which he ought to pay. In the East it would seem that these precepts are by no means unnecessary.

Then follows a class of counsellors who, from their character, are incapable of being judges of the matter to be discussed.

with an envious man of thankfulness.] Rather, with an ill-natured man (cf. Syr.; Lat. vixio livido).

with the slothful for any work.] The habitually timid and shrinking must not be consulted about taking any important step.

with an hireling for a year of finishing work.] Lit. with a domestic servant. The readings, however, vary; and Alex. has 'for a yearly servant,' which is supported by Lat. Syr. 'with an evil hireling bind not up [i.e. confide not] a secret.' A man hired by the time would be a bad counsellor concerning the point at which the work was finished; since it would be to his interest to protract the period as long as possible (Bretscher). Since no similar disqualification can be urged against the 'domestic servant,' we prefer the reading interevol.

with an idle servant of much business.] Rather, 'work.' Syr. 'with a servant who seeks to harm his master,' in which we recognize לין, but scarcely anything more. The opinion of a lazy servant must not be asked of in the question whether there is much work to be done. (Cp. Prov. xviii. 9.)

12. The attributes of the good counsellor follow.

a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord.] Whose advice will therefore be uniformly on the side of right.

whose mind is according to thy mind.] Whose advice will therefore be disinterested. The first qualification is wanting in the second class of counsellors mentioned above; the second in the first.

and if thou stumbliest, will grieve with thee.] For this the Syr. has: 'and who, when thou art hurt, is hurt himself, and with whom it goes well when it goes well with thee.' Both are explanations of the previous clause.

13. Yet self-reliance is, after all, better.

And let the counsel of thine own heart
own heart stand: for there is no man more faithful unto thee than it.

14 For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in an high tower.

15 And above all this pray to the most High, that he will direct thy way in truth.

16 Let reason go before every enterprize, and counsel before every action.

17 The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.

18 Four manner of things appear:

good and evil, life and death: but the tongue ruleth over them continually.

19 There is one that is wise and teacheth many, and yet is unprofitable to himself.

20 There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated: he shall be destitute of all food.

21 For grace is not given him from the Lord; because he is deprived of all wisdom.

22 Another is wise to himself; and the fruits of understanding are commendable in his mouth.

18. Four manner of things appear.] Lit. four parts. One may compare Deut. xxx. 19, "I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse." The Syriac has: "the Lord created all things."

22. the fruits of [add bis] understanding are commendable in bis mouth.] "Commendable" is an emendation of 248, Co., Lat., for "faithful," which, as Bretschneider and Fritzsche have seen, is an interpolation from the end of the next verse. The Syriac order is somewhat confused here. It would seem, however, that the clause corresponding to this is 23 b, "and the fruits of his works are from the appearance of his face." The combination of these two renderings suggests an original like ἐκείνος ὁ ἐχόμενος τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἴδιου, "and his own mouth receives the fruit of his understanding." The Syrian and the first Greek translator both took ἐκεῖνος as a preposition, whereas ἐνακροτοί,
23 A wise man instructeth his people; and the fruits of his understanding fail not.

24 A wise man shall be filled with blessing; and all they that see him shall count him happy.

25 The days of the life of man may be numbered: but the days of Israel are innumerable.

26 A wise man shall inherit glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.

27 My son, prove thy soul in thy life, and see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.

28 For all things are not profitable for all men, neither hath every soul pleasure in every thing.

29 Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing, nor too greedy upon meats:

30 For excess of meats bringeth sickness, and surfeiting will turn into choler.

31 By surfeiting have many perished; but he that taketh heed prolongeth his life.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 Honour due to the physician, and why.

16 How to weep and mourn for the dead.

24 The wisdom of the learned man, and of the labourer and artificer: with the use of them both.

"praiseworthy," represents a view which made it a passive participle.

23. A wise man instructeth his people.] These words remind us of x. 1. The Syr. has: "there is a wise man that is wise at all times," i.e. reading מַלְוָהָפִי for מַלְוָהָפִי (Malwah), and בַּי for בַּי. If we consider (1) the parallelism, (2) the frequent omission of letters, we shall perhaps decide in favour of the Syriac reading. The division implied in these verses is into (1) the wise to others but not to themselves; (2) neither to themselves nor others; (3) to themselves and not to others; (4) to both. The Syr. has misunderstood the second clause. Comp. 'Abboth de R. Nathan,' p. 87.

25. And that reputation will last, in spite of the wise man's death. This verse is omitted by Syr. On the second clause, see the introductory remarks.

26. shall inherit glory.] So 248, Co., Lat., Syr. The better Greek MSS. have "faith." The original probably meant "shall have a perpetual inheritance."

27. People should find out their particular weaknesses, and avoid yielding to them.

28. all things are not profitable for all men.] Syr. "all food is not good." There has been a confusion between כֹּל and כָּל. We believe the Greek text to be right.

29. Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing.] The Syriac has again כָּל for כֹּל.

nor too greedy upon meats.] Lit. be not poured out, a very elegant Grecism: compare Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 1469. The Syr. should be rendered "let not thine eye be evil over," i.e. be not envious of. This points to a Hebrew יִרְדָּה, a transposition of יִרְדָּה of the Hebrew (cf. Is. xxxii. 15).

30. will turn into choler.] Lit. will approach near to. Cp. xxii. 20 for the sentiment, and v. 2 (with note) for the expression.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The concluding stanza of ch. xxxvii. naturally leads to what forms the subject of the first twenty-three verses of this chapter. But when taken in connexion with the second part of the chapter (vv. 24-end), it seems as if the first part formed a portion of a larger train of thought. The subject of the second part is sufficiently set forth, or at least introduced in v. 24. It is the pre-eminence of Wisdom—to which Alexandrians and Palestinians would attach different ideas—as that which alone was worthy of a man's life, but to which a man's whole life must be devoted if it was to be attained. As regards this general proposition, both Alexandrians and Palestinians would agree. But when the Son of Sirach proceeds to compare with such pursuits all other occupations as not only inferior to, but incompatible with the pursuit of wisdom, the Palestinians would have agreed with him in regard to agriculture, v. 25, 26, but not as to handicrafts, the praise of which is very frequent in Talmudic writings. Indeed, it was a principle (Qidd. iv. 14; comp. 29 a), although not universally admitted (see in Qidd. iv. 14, the views of Simeon b. Elazar, but especially those of R. Nehorai), that every parent should teach his son some trade or craft. In accordance rather with Hellenic than Palestinian ideas, the writer declares all
HONOUR a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him: for the Lord hath created him.

such occupations needful indeed for ordinary life, vv. 31, 32, but excluding a man from those higher distinctions and that higher work which are sketched in truly Palestinian fashion.

With this train of reasoning the subject of the first part of the chapter may be in this wise connected that it excludes the occupation of a physician from the general disparagement of all other pursuits than study. For the physician has a direct appointment from God; his medicaments are directly from God; and the exercise and success of his profession are directly dependent upon God. When we enter into further details, the various topics in the first part (vv. 1-23) appear well connected, although their connexion is rather that of succession of thinking than strictly logical, when one thought springs from the other. This, indeed, is the case throughout Ecclesiasticus—we had almost said in much of Jewish Wisdom-literature, though certainly not in the canonical Ecclesiastes. The fundamental position of the writer is indicated in the two opening verses of the chapter. It is twofold: the physician is to be honoured—the physician is from God. In the first stanza (vv. 1-9) it is emphasised that the physician and his medicaments are from God; in the second (vv. 9-15), that healing is from God, and that it implies repentance and good works on our part. Throughout the writer does not seem quite clear how to combine the skill of the physician with absolute help from God. A very curious instance of rationalistic interpretation of the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 23-25 occurs in v. 5, which seems to imply that the healing was in the wood. (Comp. the same view in Philo, 'de vita Moys.' i. 33; and another rationalistic explanation of the miracle in Jos. 'Antiq.' iii. 1, 2.) The apparent depreciation of the physician in v. 15 is not inconsistent with the honour previously ascribed to him. It only presents another aspect of the subject, and the reference in v. 15 is not so much to the physician as to the sick who require his aid—dangerous illness being regarded, according to Jewish ideas, as the judgment of the Lord.

From such reference to dangerous sickness the transition in the third stanza (vv. 16-23) to death and mourning is easy and natural. The writer enjoins the duties towards the dead, and the usual practice of mourning, but tempers the latter with the caution that while too little of it would give offence, too much is unadvisable, as alike hurtful unto oneself and foolish. We have here that mixture of selfishness and Eastern world-wisdom with religion which forms one of the characteristics of the book (see General Introduction). Alike its philosophy and its theology are far from elevated—a kind of fatalism not unmixed with a constant regard for self underlying all. Yet even here what may be designated as the "ground-tone" in the previous two stanzas is not changed. The two ideas are still present in the latter: on the one hand, what men will think of us; and, on the other, that all is from God.

We feel tempted to note a few Rabbinic parallels to this chapter. In regard to the honour due to the physician (see note on v. 1) we have the exact parallel in Aramaic in Jer. Taan. 66 d and in pure Hebrew (though with different application) in Shem. R. 21 (see our note on Ecclus. xviii. 19). On the other hand, we read also: "The best of physicians deserves Gehenna" (Qidd. iv. 14). The dependence of healing upon God, and the need of humiliation, prayer, and good works in such cases, were generally acknowledged Rabbinic principles. In connexion with v. 12 we might quote this: "He that suffers pain goes to the physician" (Bab. Q. 46 b)—although the proverb has a wider and general application in the Talmud. In regard to v. 15 we read this as "a proverb": "The door that is not open to charity (the poor) shall be open to the physician" (Bemid. R. 9, and Mird, on Cant. vi. 11). The duties in reference to the dead are often insisted upon by the Rabbis. As regards excessive sorrow, referred to in v. 18, we read: "Every one who mourns over the dead beyond measure weeps over another dead" (viz. he will himself die), Moed Q. 27 b. On the subject of trades and occupations, we have already given parallels. But as regards the infinite superiority of the student to all others, referred to in v. 37-end, we recall the conception of the answer of Jochanan b. Zakkai to the workman who claimed equality with the Rabbi, since both laboured for the public good, and to whom the Rabbi would apply Eccles. iv. 17 (see the Midrash on the passage). And although (Ber. 17 a) the Rabbis are said to have placed on the same level the work of the labourer in the field and that of the student in the city, provided only his heart be directed towards God—by which, however, we are to understand that he engaged in study of the Law according to his ability—yet the immense superiority of the professed student of the Law to all other classes of men is too well known to require illustration. Lastly, as regards the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 25, it may be interesting to know that the rationalistic explanation
For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive honour of the king.

The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.

The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them.

Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?

And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works.

With such doth he heal [men,] and taketh away their pains.

Of such doth the apothecary

given by the Son of Sirach (in v. 5) occurs also in the Targum Onkelos. (For the views of Philo and Josephus, see above.)

1. which ye may have of him.] These words must be omitted, as not in the Greek. Syr. "Honour a physician before thou needest him;" with which the quotation in the Talmud and Midrash, אָסַ֖רוּ לְאֵלֶּ֣הֶנָּאֲכָ֑ם, exactly agrees (Jer. Taan. 66 d; Shem. R. 21). We learn, therefore, that in the Greek text (1) we must emend πρὸ τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦ for πρὸ τῶν χρείας; and (2) we must omit τῆς. This last may be merely a copyist's error; or it may have been inserted by some one who desired a more natural connexion between clauses a and b, and imagined the word τῆς ("his natural" or "proper honours") would give this. We do not think "honour" is here used in the sense of "pay," in spite of the interesting Latinism ut medico bonos habetur, cited by Baduellus. The subject of ill-health probably suggested to the author the remarkable character of the medical art, which even those who are not afflicted with illness ought, he thinks, to appreciate. The sentiment, therefore, is wholly different from that of xviii. 19, but does not imply either that people were in the habit of employing medical aid too seldom, nor that the medical profession was insufficiently respected" (Fritzsche).

for the Lord hath created him.] Syr. (and perhaps Greek): "for him, too, the Lord hath created." Like the poet, nascitur, non fit. Even the vast advances in the science made since the author's time do not prevent this observation still holding good. Yet the meaning may be simply that God hath appointed the healing art, "which is as necessary to the human body as cultivation to plants" (Midrash on Samuel, p. 28 b).

2. For of the most High cometh healing, [v. 7] Syr. "for by God is a physician taught." It is probable that both translators are wrong in supplying a verb in the first clause. The original (probably הַנְּשָׁאֵ֥ה הַכֹּ֛ל יִרְמָּ֖א הַפּ֑וֹת הַמְּשָׁאֵ֖ה) may have meant: "For from a king one can receive honour; but from God only the art of healing;" the phrases being (as sometimes in the Proverbs) inverted probably to call attention to the play on the roots צ יי and צ יי; with which compare Is. lxi. 3. The author is not alluding to the custom of maintaining state-physicians (which is well attested), but to the nature of his distinction, which, coming from a higher source, entitles its recipient to higher respect than any title bestowed by kings. If the reading "gift" of the best authorities (for "honour") be correct, this note will have to be modified only in respect of the play on words suggested.

3. The skill of a physician shall lift up his head.] The author means that this eminence of the medical profession is as a matter of fact generally recognised, and that there is no position of honour to which a physician of unusual skill may not aspire. The case in Gen. I. 2 (cited by Delitzsch, a. v. Arzneikunst, in Riehm, "Handwörterbuch") is perhaps to be explained by the special ideas of the Egyptians.

and in the sight of great men shall be in admiration.] Syr. "he shall be brought." The latter seems a more likely expression than the Greek rendering.

4. And no suspicion should attach to the instruments of the art. A paraphrase of the original is here preserved: לאו כָּל יָסָ֣ם כָּל יָסָ֣ם נַשָּׁאֵ֣ה וְלֹ֛א יָסָ֥ם נַשָּׁאֵ֖ה. The word for "medicines" is adopted by the Syr. and S. H.

will not abhor them.] Perhaps some sects then, as in our times, dislikd the employment of natural agency in the healing of the sick. (See Midrash, l. c.)

5. A scriptural argument in proof of the last assertion.

that the power thereof might be known.] Syr. "the power of God," perhaps a religious emendation on the part of the Syrian translator. Fritzsche (after Bretschneider), thinking that it is the virtue of the simples which is here being insisted on, prefers the reference to the wood; and this seems the correct view (see the introd. to the chapter).

7. With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains.] Syr. "doth the physician relieve;" similarly Lat., in bi curans mitigatis.
make a confection; and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.

9 My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.

10 Leave off from sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness.

11 Give a sweet savour, and a memorial of fine flour; and make a fat offering, as not being.

12 Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created dolorem; and Ben Sira, בּוּס רַמְאֶס מַדְּאֶל כֹּל הָאָדָם. The Qal participle having become a substantive, that of Piel is employed instead. The Greek original must have been corrupted.

8. Of such dust the apothecary make a confection.] Rather, the perfumer. Heb. preserved as above in Ber. R. 10, בּוּס אֶחָד, בּוּס אֶחָד אֶחָד אֶהָד הָאָדָם.

and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.] This means, according to Drus., Grot., Fritzsche, that before the drug is made, the patient is already healed—a hyperbolical description of the excellence and rapidity of the effects of these simples. Syr., “that work may not fail, nor wisdom from the face of the earth,” representing the same text with the single alteration of “wisdom” for “peace.” In spite of the ingenuity of the explanation quoted, we believe the Syr. rendering to be right; for the perfumer’s concoction can have no such effect, nor were the trades of physician and chemist distinct in those days. Though all these artists are inspired by God, yet they are made to employ certain simple means. The reason for which, the philosopher thinks, is a Divine design to encourage science; which otherwise would vanish, being useless. “Miraculous” healing would never have suggested a study of botany or mineralogy. “Peace” in the Greek text is probably a false repetition of σωματική (σωματική) from the foregoing clause.

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him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him.

13 There is a time when in their hands there is good success.

14 For they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and remedy, to prolong life.

15 He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician.

16 My son, let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, if as thou hast suffered great harm. 1 Thess. 5:16.
17 Weep bitterly, and make great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness.

18 For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the heart breaketh strength.

19 In affliction also sorrow remaineth: and the life of the poor is the curse of the heart.

20 Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and remember the last end.

21 Forget it not, for there is no turning again: thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself.

22 Remember my judgment: for thine also shall be so; yesterday for me, and to day for thee.

23 *When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest; and be comforted for him, when his spirit is departed from him.

24 The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise.

25 How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth ozen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?

26 He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

27 So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work:

28 The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his that thou hast suffered," and the Greek implies the same.

according to the custom.] Rather, according to his due. — perhaps, in grave-clothes suited to his station; compare Herodotus, ii. 139.

neglect not his burial.] This may refer to some abuse of the time, but more probably is only a solemn injunction of what was regarded as a religious duty.

17. Weep bitterly, and make great moan.] The Syriac has a very different sentiment: "Wine and refreshment for mourners;" alluding to the customary funeral-feast mentioned by Jer. xvi. 7, Tobit iv. 18 (Riehm, "Handwörterbuch"). Yet such an allusion should have been made later on in the chapter.
flesh, and he fightheth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly:

29 So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is always carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number;

30 He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnaces:

31 All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work.

32 Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down:


and be fightheth with the heat of the furnaces.] A remarkable phrase. Syr. "he burneth" or "is burnt with." The original was probably הָרֵאנֵי, which is almost exclusively employed of mental warmth, and was probably intended by the author to refer to the excitement produced by the heat.

is ever in his ears.] Lit. reneweth his ears, explained by Grotius as "pleases with its freshness:" an idea which the context assuredly does not confirm. Arm. "excites" (καταφέρει); S. H. "empties" (κεχωρεῖ); Aeth. "annoyeth" = καταφέρει (conjectured also by Grabe), or rather ἐκκεντρίζει, which may be right; ἐκκεντρίζει τῷ ἀστρα, "to wear away the ears," is a Greek phrase, of which Philo in particular is fond, applied to persons who are ever harping on the same string. No less ingenious, however, is the conjecture of Fritzsche that "reneweth" is a transliteration of בּאֵני, itself a misreading of בּי, "deafens," a word formed like יָבִי. The Syriac has "towards the conception he inclines his hand;" a remarkable rendering, the discussion of which would lead to conjectures not suitable for this place, but which suggests the correction פּוֹשׁ הַשְׁחָרִים כֵּןָכָּלָהְיָה יָבִי אָבְרֵי.

of the thing that be maketh.] Lit. of a vessel.

The last clause, "he setteth his mind . . . perfectly," is omitted in the Syr.

29. On the process described in this and the following verse, see Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch,' s. v. Töpferei.

who is always carefully set at his work.] Omitted in the Syr.

and maketh all his work by number.] I.e. makes it to order in definite numbers.

30. He fashioneth the clay with his arm.] Heb. יָבִי; the Syr. seems to have read יָבִי, "he breaketh."

and boweth down his strength before his feet.] The clay is prepared by stamping; cp. Isa. xii. 25. The Syriac version, "before his death he is bowed and bent," suggests that they took "before his feet" as a euphemism (compare the Latin rigidus calces extendere), scarcely to be found elsewhere.

be applieth himself to lead it over.] "Lead" must here mean to "glaze," white lead being employed in certain glazes. On the materials employed by the ancients in making glazes, see 'Dict. of Antiq.' s. v. Pistor. The Hebrew was probably הבּוֹשָׂה (cp. Payne Smith, 'Thes. Syr.' p. 224, s. v. בּוֹשָׂה). The Syriac, who renders "his work," may have either confused this with בּוֹשָׂה, or made a mere guess at the meaning, as the Aeth., who also translates "work," seems to have done.

and be is diligent [lit. and his sleeplessness is] to make clean the furnaces.] So that no improper materials may spoil the pottery. Syr. "to build" (perhaps corrupt; cp. Arab.). Perhaps the phrase in Hos. vii. 4 may suggest that the Siracide had intended בּוֹשָׂה, "to heat," miswritten בּוֹשָׂה.

31. All these trust to their hands.] Not, like the wise man, to their minds. Syr. "all these for the sake of their profit;" reading, perhaps, בּוֹשָׂה בּוֹשָׂה בּוֹשָׂה for בּוֹשָׂה בּוֹשָׂה בּוֹשָׂה. (Lat. speraverunt.) Yet there may have been a play on the words בּוֹשָׂה and בּוֹשָׂה.

and every one is wise.] They have then a wisdom, which is confined to the narrow groove of their respective arts; unlike that described in xxxix. 1. Both the Greek and Heb. (בּוֹשָׂה) mean rather "plays the wise man" than "is wise."

32. These are all essential elements of a civilised community.

they shall not dwell where they will.] I.e. men shall not establish any kind of community (Bad., Drus., Fri.). But the interpretation of Grotius, "they shall not sojourn," i.e. these artisans will easily find employment
33. They shall not be sought for in publick counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

34. But they will maintain the state of the world, and [all] their desire is in the work of their craft.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. A description of him that is truly wise.
2. An exhortation to praise God for his works; which are good to the good, and evil to them that are evil.

declare.] This requires the alteration of οἱ καὶ to οἱ καὶ (Fritzsche). justice.] Most authorities: "discipline."

they shall not be found where parables are spoken.] Lit. they shall not be found in parables; which Grotius interprets of their not being found quoted among authors of parables. The Syrian seems to have pointed actively, "they shall not find;" i.e. "they shall not attain to any portion of," which he paraphrastically renders they shall not "understand." This is probably the better interpretation. The suggestion that "parables," is a mistake for "rulers" (Gaab), deserves mention.

34. But they will maintain the state of the world.] Grotius quotes the Hebrew phrase ילל אורי, "people by whom the world is rendered habitable," applied to artisans, &c. Our author's words, however, would seem to have been יכ אראב עולס יוניא (Syr.  הב), The following clause (in which their "desire" seems to represent a word meaning "business," יכ, Syriac) would appear to give a slight probability to the Syriac reading "they understand."

and their desire.] The original (probably) "their meditation:" v. supra.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This is, perhaps, one of the most interesting chapters in the book. It gives insight into the views and philosophy of the author, and into one of the main objects of his work. Perhaps more clearly than any other it connects itself with the general drift of our canonical Ecclesiastes in discussing the great problems of life and the connexion between the (moral) government of God and the events and incidents of this world. It sets forth, from the standpoint of the writer and presumably of the "Bookmen" or religious philosophy of that period, how the Jewish sage—the philosophic believer—solved the great problems of religious thinking. He is no longer narrow, exclusively Judaic, ignoring other men and other thought, bigoted
and prejudiced. He has learned abroad; he has made personal experience of what is foreign. But, above all, he has been nourished at the fount of his ancestral religion (v. 1). And from a wider consideration of men and things he returns a firm believer in the God of Revelation, the God of Israel (vv. 8, 14, 15). Alike the main object and the main result of his thinking and of his investigations was that which also formed the topic of Cokkmab-literature—presented in Proverbs and Parables (vv. 1, 3, 6, 7). This was the topic of a faithful understanding of the deeper meaning of the Law, with which we must here combine the history of Israel, as the practical application of the fundamental principles contained in the Law (v. 8), and of which the full bearing appeared in prophecy (vv. 1, 22, 23). The great problem of Cokkmab was to vindicate the ways of God with man. The thesis itself (or the final conclusion) is propounded in v. 16 a, and the manner of its demonstration as well as its limits are indicated in v. 16 b. Nature, the history of the world, and the experience of each individual force upon us—in view of what seems sometimes unmitigated evil, at other times like mere accident, or else as if it were fate—such questions as these: “What does all this mean? Wherefore is it?” (v. 17)—that is, if there be a God, such as Revelation has set forth. The Book of Ecclesiastes had in part treated the same questions, though chiefly from the subjective standpoint (as it were) of the laughing philosopher. And it had answered them by pointing from self, and seeming accidentalness or fate—in short, away from moral indifferencism—through eternal, absolute right and truth, to personal moral responsibility as the final solution (Eccles. xi. 9; xii. 13, 14). But our writer answers them rather from the objective standpoint. The progression of thought may be thus marked. We accept the position that all these seemingly incongruous things, so full of difficulty when viewed separately, are just as alike of the Lord. And we maintain that all His works are exceedingly good—nay, we regard them as His commands (v. 16): for God reigneth. But we err and go astray when we view them separately; we must view them in their nexus—as integral parts of God’s government—each “in its season,” v. 16 b; each “for their use,” v. 21. And so we reach the conclusions expressed in vv. 33, 34. This, in our view, will help us to understand alike the structure and the content of this chapter, on which (as so often) the variations in the Syr. throw additional light.

The praise of the sage in the previous chapter leads our author to describe the ideal representative of Hebrew Cokkmab (Wisdom) in v. 1. In two stanzas, each of three verses (vv. 2-4, 5-7), his intellectual and then his spiritual qualifications are described. [We omit as spurious the first clause in v. 6. The pious gloss—omitted in the Syr.—is worthy of the Greek translator.] In a third stanza of three verses (vv. 8-10) the activity and final success of this sage are detailed, the whole appropriately closing with an encomium in v. 11 which may well be fitted on to v. 1. We infer that in the view of the writer the main object and topic of Revelation was Cokkmab or Wisdom. This Wisdom was alike based upon and the outcome of the Law, as properly understood; and it was also fully indicated and vindicated in prophecy, v. 1. Thus Ben Sira had evidently passed beyond the merely external and literal view of the Law, and occupied the standpoint of the Old Testament Cokkmab-literature. He continues and further develops that direction; but he also imports into it not indeed Hellenistic ideas, but the results on his own mind of the influence of foreign, Hellenic, thinking and intercourse. Similarly, he connects prophecy with the problems of Cokkmab. In his view it points to the full vindication of the results of Cokkmab. The future kingdom of God, as set forth in prophecy, would be anti-heathen; but chiefly he regarded it as the vindication of the moral government of God, the restoration of moral equilibrium in the world (vv. 22-25).

The second part of the chapter (beginning with v. 12) is intended fully to set forth the great topic which engages the thinking and teaching of the Hebrew sage—in other words, the object and the results of true Cokkmab. This is introduced in stanza iv. (vv. 10-15; six verses) by a solemn appeal, of which the outcome is that true Cokkmab will lead to the worshipful acknowledgment of God. Then follows in the fifth stanza, also of six verses (vv. 16-21), the statement of the theme itself (as previously described). Next we have an analysis of the thesis of Cokkmab. In stanza vi. of four verses (vv. 22-25) the subject is: the ways of God. These are described in a threefold antithesis: vv. 22 and 23, v. 24 a and b, and v. 25 a and b. The seventh stanza, consisting of eight verses (vv. 26-33), deals with the problem of the order and phenomena of Nature as affecting man, and shews that what from one aspect is good (vv. 26, 27) may from another aspect prove evil. Yet all cometh from God, exhibits His wise purposes, and
the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.

2 He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

3 He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.

4 He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

5 He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

6 When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences, and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer.

7 He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate.

8 He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord.

9 Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation.

10 Nations shall shew forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise.

11 If he die, he shall leave a

executes His behest. The whole concludes with two verses (vv. 34, 35), of which the first returns to the original theme (vv. 16, 17), while the second reiterates the acknowledgment and praise of God in all things on the part of true Chokhmah (comp. vv. 14 d, 15 a, b, c).

1. *But be that giveth.*] The Greek means lit. “except him that giveth.” There can, however, be no doubt that the A. V. rendering is what the author intended.

2. *Of all the ancient.*] Independent literary effort would seem to have ceased for some time. At the same time the writer is desirous of connecting the thinking of his ideal sage with the results of the previous development, of which it forms only another and further link.


4. *He shall serve among great men.*] Syr. “he shall go.”

5. *And appear before princes.*] Vat. “a prince.” Syr. this time: “he shall serve among kings and rulers.” The Greek is preferable. Also he must travel.

6. *He shall pour out wise sentences as showers.*] Syr. “parables twofold,” corrected, however, in the Arab.

7. *He shall direct his counsel.*] Lit. “he himself.”

8. *That which he hath learned.*] Rather, wise doctrine.

9. *Many shall commend.*] Syr. “many shall learn from him,” perhaps יִתְבַּרְכוּ and יְרַמְּוַה. The latter in the active could give no satisfactory sense.

10. *If he die.*] The Greek MSS. seem all to have the opposite order: If he persist,
greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it.

12 Yet have I more to say, which I have thought upon; for I am filled as the moon at the full.

13 Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose growing by the brook of the field.

14 And give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily, send forth a smell, and sing a song of praise, bless the Lord in all his works.

15 Magnify his name, and shew forth his praise with the songs of your lips, and with harps, and in praising him ye shall say after this manner:

16 All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and whatsoever he commandeth shall be accomplished in due season.

17 And none may say, What is this? wherefore is that? for at time convenient they shall all be sought out: at his commandment the waters stood as an heap, and at the words of his mouth the receptacles of waters.

he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he cease, he increases it. The inversion is found very early, although it does not appear on what authority. Evidently it was introduced by some one who hoped thereby to render this extremely difficult verse easier. The Syriac renders: "If he will, he shall be praised among a thousand: and if he be silent, among a small people." Clearly we have to deal with a text that has been either corrupted or misunderstood, for the restoration of which we venture the following suggestions: (1) The verbs יִשְׁמַע and יִשְׁמֹר might easily be confused, owing to the indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals in some parts of Palestine. Between מָשָׁמֵר, if he stand, and מָשָׁמֵר, if he desire, the preference seems to be for מָשָׁמֵר, on account of "if he cease" in the second clause. (2) The phrases "he shall leave a name" and "he shall be praised" perhaps represent נְשׁוֹנִים and נְשָׁמָה; doubtless of the two the latter is the more appropriate. (3) The phrases יָעֲשֶׂהוּ אֱלֹהִים and "in a small people" offer no obvious word which would account for them both; we suggest, however, that the original contained words signifying "without number" (e.g., בְּלַא עִלְוָה or בְּלַא עִלְוָה, read by the Greek λάθασα εἰς τὸν ἄλογον). The whole verse then, we suppose, may have meant: "If he remain alive, he will be praised by (or 'more than') a thousand; and if he die, by people without number." Omnia post obtium fingu matura vetustas.

12. as the moon on the twelfth day," Heb. נְשָׁמָה of Prov. vii. 20. The Latin Version has quasi furore, perhaps having the σελήναςομνος in mind.

13. The verses refer, according to Fritzche, to the spiritual blooming and blossoming which will proceed from hearing his hymn.
18 At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him; and none can hinder, when he will save.

19 The works of all flesh are before him, and nothing can be hid from his eyes.

20 He seeth from everlasting to everlasting; and there is nothing wonderful before him.

21 A man need not to say, What is this? wherefore is that? for he hath made all things for their uses.

22 His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood.

23 As he hath turned the waters into saltiness: so shall the heathen inherit his wrath.

24 As his ways are plain unto the holy; so are they stumblingblocks unto the wicked.

25 For the good are good things created from the beginning: so evil things for sinners.

26 The principal things for the whole use of man’s life are water, fire, and salt, flour of wheat, honey, milk, and the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing.

27 All these things are for good to the godly: so to the sinners they are turned into evil.

28 There be spirits that are created for vengeance, which in their fury lay on sore strokes; in the time of destruction they pour out their force, and appease the wrath of him that made them.

29 Fire, and hail, and famine.

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Gutmann, Fritzsche. The older interpreters thought of the Red Sea or the Jordan. The Syr. has a different verse.

18. At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him.] The Greek means literally, in his commandment is all pleasure. The Syriac renders: “with joy is his will performed.”

and none can hinder, when he will save.] Syr. “and none retards his command.” Here a question of some interest arises, which, owing to the Aramaising character of our author’s Hebrew, is hard to solve. It is quite clear that the words מָרָא, “command,” and מְלָא, “salvation,” have been confused, but it is not clear whether that confusion took place in the Hebrew of the Siracide, or in the Syriac of the translator. “His command” seems to us a more natural word in this verse than “his salvation;” on the other hand, we have some hesitation in crediting the Siracide with so decided an Aramaism as the first hypothesis requires.

20. The Syriac has a different verse: see also on v. 16.

22. covered the dry land.] “The dry land” occurs in the second clause in the Greek.Lat. inundavit; Syr. “riseth;” perhaps we should read ἐνεπάλυτον for ἐνεπάλυτον.

23. As he hath turned the waters into saltiness: so, &c.] Probably Bretsch. and others are right in referring so to the previous verse, with the meaning “similarly,” “on the contrary,” or “as powerfully.” The Syriac has: “so doth his wrath judge the nations.” Clearly the author meant “his wrath” to be the subject of the sentence, in antithesis to his blessing, which is the subject of the previous verse. The Hebrew then was probably דַּיָּלֵי שֵׁרֵד נֶדֶּה, “so doth his wrath drive out (exterminate) nations;” and his wrath “will also be the subject of the second clause, which perhaps contains a reference to the Cities of the Plain. Cp. Ps. civ. 33.

24. A favourite sentiment with our author.

25. so evil things for sinners.] Lat. “good and evil;” Syr. “for sinners also whether for good or evil.” The agreement of these two versions might seem a strong argument in favour of this having been the original text. But the Greek rendering suits the context far better, and the Syr. and Latin reading may only represent a later Christian emendation.

26. The place of iron in this list is certainly remarkable. The Syriac list adds “fat” and “raiment.”

28. The question whether these “spirits” are angels or winds is discussed by Fritzsche, who decides for the latter; yet vs. 29, 30 seem to contain a list of these “spirits.” Unless, therefore, it is a poetical phrase for “forces,” we must regard it as embodying the same idea as in later Rabbinism, which personified as Angels certain natural phenomena and eventualities.

lay on sore strokes.] Syr. “uproot mountains.” The expression בָּשָׁלֵל וּנְחָלָה was in common Rabbinic usage to denote the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible or incredible (see the passages in The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, vol. ii. pp. 109, 376, notes).
and death, all these were created for vengeance;

30 *Teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions, *serpents, and the sword, punishing the wicked to destruction.

31 *They shall rejoice in his commandment, and they shall be ready upon earth, when need is; and when their time is come, they shall not transgress his word.

32 Therefore from the beginning I was resolved, and thought upon these things, and have left them in writing.

33 *All the works of the Lord are good: and he will give every needful thing in due season.

34 So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved.

35 And therefore praise ye the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bless the name of the Lord.

CHAPTER XL.

1 Many miseries in a man's life. 12 The reward of unrighteousness, and the fruit of true dealing. 17 A virtuous wife and an honest friend rejoice the heart, but the fear of the Lord is above all. 28 A beggar's life is hateful.

29. *famine and death.] Syr. "and deadly stones." Here a somewhat similar difficulty occurs to that noticed at v. 18; for clearly we have a confusion between *P2, "stones," and *P2, "hunger," and the confusion may have been either in the Hebrew or the Syriac. Fewest difficulties will be offered by the supposition that the Greek translation is correct.

30. *Teeth of wild beasts.] Syr. "beasts of teeth," *i.e.* wild beasts, a very common Syriac phrase; and this the order of the Greek words makes it probable that the Siracide himself employed.

32. *Therefore from the beginning I was resolved.] "Against temptations which might shake his faith in God's providence" (Grotius). In that case, for "I thought," we should probably substitute "I perceived" the true state of the case. The verse makes the author cite his words above (16, 17), which the intervening verses have proved. The Syriac, not seeing this reference, has a rendering which is very plainly false.

33. *be will give.] Rather, supply or "furnish."

34. *in time they shall all be well approved.] On the occasion for which they were created. The Syriac adds, "for they are all stored up in his treasuries."

CHAPTER XL.

The connexion of this with the preceding chapter is both external and internal. As regards the former, the mention of the evils which afflict us in the world leads to the discussion of human sorrow and of its causes. This forms the first part of the chapter, ending with v. 17; while in the second part, by way of contrast, the happiness that is in the world is described, and its real source indicated as in the fear of the Lord. The internal connexion with the previous chapter lies in this, that here the object is once more to shew that the good as well as the evil that befalls men is from the Lord, and thus again to vindicate the ways of God.

The discussion is introduced by a prefatory verse, of which the burden is that somehow sorrow seems the lot of all men. Some of these sorrows are caused by the conditions of our existence, by the evil that comes to us through care, or lastly by our own needless or foolish apprehensions. This is the theme of the first stanza of six verses (vv. 2–7). But if this be the common lot of humanity, it falls sevenfold on the wicked, and theirs are also real evils—and these come to them from God in the punishment of their sins. This is the subject of the second stanza (comprising four verses: vv. 8–11). A more detailed exposition of this follows in the third stanza (vv. 12–17). The first and the last verse in it are antithetic, and may be regarded as introductory and concluding, while the intermediate four verses form two couplets: the first (vv. 13, 14) shewing what becomes of their ill-gotten goods, the second what becomes of their children (vv. 15, 16); these two—property and children—being the chief objects of desire. And the stanza appropriately closes with the antithesis of v. 17.

With v. 18 begins the second part of the chapter. If there be sorrow in the world—and real sorrow is the consequence of sin—there is also much real good and joy, and the truest and best is the result of fear of the Lord. This is beautifully set forth in a stanza of ten verses (vv. 18–27), in eight of which the second clause always forms a counter-climax to the first, while the ninth verse leads up to the final conclusion, fully expressed in the concluding verse (v. 27), which sets forth the blessedness resulting from fear of the Lord.

The concluding stanza of three verses

...
ECCLESIASTICUS. XL.

5 Wrath, and envy, trouble, and unquietness, fear of death, and anger, and strife, and in the time of rest upon his bed his night sleep, do change his knowledge.

6 A little or nothing is his rest, and afterward he is in his sleep, as in a day of keeping watch, troubled in the vision of his heart, as if he were escaped out of a battle.

7 When all is safe, he awaketh, and marvelleth that the fear was nothing.

8 [Such things happen] unto all flesh, both man and beast, and that is sevenfold more upon sinners.

(πρ. 28–30) is somewhat loosely connected with the subject-matter of the chapter, being apparently a practical application in the nature of advice how to avoid an unhappy life by industry, frugality, and piety.

1. till the day that they return.] The Greek of the best MSS. here is difficult, and indeed unanswerable. Even if we render “till the day of their being buried into the mother of all things” (Lat., Aeth.), we obtain an unnatural expression. We should expect the word ἐπαφής or ἐπάφημι, “their being gathered in,” and some word meaning this we believe the Greek to have had originally; e.g. ἐμφυτεύσις of MS. 157 (rendered in the A. V.). The Syriac Version has: “and so long as they grasp the land of the living.”

2. Their imagination, (cfr.)] The text starts with a remarkable accusative, which the Lat., S. H., and Arm. versions, bene sis lingverum, faithfully represent. To Bretsch. is due the suggestion that the original had ἐπαφής, “with,” which the translator mistook for the sign of the accusative. However, the Syriac translation makes the words contained in this verse the subject of which the substantives in v. 5 are the predicate, verses 3 and 4 forming a parenthesis, which construction seems obviously right. The translation should be emended as below.

their thoughts.] Syr. “their glory.”
and the fear of their heart.] Syr. “and the occupation of their heart.”
the imagination of expectation.] Syr. “and the end of their words.”
the day of death.] Syr. “till the day of their death.”
a linen flock.] Syr. “the garment of poverty.”

5. According to the punctuation as altered in agreement with the Syr. (see v. 2), a stop should be placed at “strife,” and “do” altered to “doth.” The objects of his thought enumerated are seven: perhaps the last two seem to be nearly the same as the first; the first is rather passion, the sixth ranking hatred (Lat. furor and iracundia perseverans; similarly Arm.).

change his knowledge.] Alter his state of mind.

6. as in a day of keeping watch.] Rather, of watch, or of watching. Just as the watcher, says Fritzsch, is alarmed by everything which he sees, so is the dreamer. But “a day of watching” seems a very unintelligible expression. It is unfortunate that the Syriac deserts us here. The Armenian Version gives two very satisfactory emendations, εὐρωπὸς and κομα, and after that he toils with dreams as in the day. The period during which he really rests is short, scarcely lasting a moment; during the rest of the time he is as hard at work as in the daytime. Had the Armenian translator been less faithful, it would not have been so easy for us to see what he read.

... the vision of his heart.] Syr. “of the night,” the more ordinary expression.

7. When all is safe, he awaketh.] So Grotius. Bretschneider renders: “at the moment when he is rescued from this troubled dream.” Fritzsch, “at the moment of his supposed rescue;” i.e. at the critical moment in the vision, when he fancies himself out of reach, he wakes up. The expression, however, is sufficiently strange to indicate either corruption or mistranslation. The Syr. renders: “according to the desire in his heart.” It is not easy to suggest any words which would have given rise to both interpretations. Perhaps the verse began with words signi-
ECCLESIASTICUS. XL. 195

9 'Death, and bloodshed, strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge;

10 These things are created for the wicked, and for their sakes came the flood.

11 'All things that are of the earth shall turn to the earth again: and that which is of the waters doth return into the sea.

12 All bribery and injustice shall be blotted out: but true dealing shall endure for ever.

13 The goods of the unjust shall be dried up like a river, and shall vanish with noise, like a great thunder in rain.

14 While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice: so shall transgressors come to nought.

15 The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth many branches: but are as unclean roots upon a hard rock.

16 'The weed growing upon every water and bank of a river shall be pulled up before all grass.

17 Bountifulness is as a most fruitful garden, and mercifulness endureth for ever.

18 To labour, and to be content with that a man hath, is a sweet life: but he that findeth a treasure is above them both.

flying "he wakes up with ... and a cry" (ומתקע, misread by Greek ὥμηκε). The phrase κατὰ σφόνως occurred in iv. 22.

8. [Such things] As those about to be described.

[happen] unto all flesh. Rather, are with all flesh. The verse would seem to have been corrupted at an early period. The Syriac omits πνευματος 9, 10.

9. Fritzsche would omit as a gloss the word "tribulation(s)," partly with the view of gaining a group of seven, partly because the word is too general, as he thinks, to occur in the middle of such a list. The same difficulties may have been felt by those copyists who put all the words following ἐμαυώκει in the genitive, and make them depend on it; compare also Schleusnser s. v. In rhetorical enumeration of this sort, however, we must not be too critical.

11. that which is of the waters doth return into the sea.] Syr. "that which is from the height to the height," reading מים for מים. Between these variants there cannot be any difficulty in choosing. For the sentiment of the Greek not only occurs in Eccles. i. 7, but forms a very appropriate conclusion of the stanza (see introd. remarks); while that of the Syriac would scarcely be biblical.

12. All bribery and injustice.] Syr. "every sinner and ungodly man," perhaps paraphrasing. For the general reasoning see the introductory remarks.

13. shall be dried up like a river.] Like an מים or stream which falls in the summer.

and shall vanish with noise.] Rather, shall roar themselves out, i.e. exhaust their power, like the thunder in summer; a remarkable comparison. Fritzsche thinks of the noise of the thunder being overpowered by that of the rain.

14. While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice.] Rather, In the opening of his hands one shall rejoice (Bissell)—probably in the sense of: when such an one is made to restore his ill-gotten gains, or is emptied of his riches, there is general joy.

15. The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth, &c.] They will therefore be unable to fully enjoy their possessions.

but are al.] Lit. "and" (i.e. nor). Syriac: "the root of sinners is like an ear which springs up on a rocky crag:" which, because it hath no depth of earth, must soon wither away. It seems as if the Syriac were thinking of the familiar parable in St. Matt. xiii.

16. The weed.] The Hebrew מים is transliterated as in other places of the LXX. It seems to us that v. 14 b should be transferred hither. Cp. Job viii. 11, 12.

17. is as a most fruitful garden.] Lit. a garden in blessings. The Syriac has: "the works of the just shall be blest in time." It is difficult to tell whether the Hebrew מים, "like Eden," was mistaken for מים, or whether the error is no older than the Syriac Version itself.

18. Here begins the second part of this chapter (see introductory remarks). The Syriac Version adds at the end of v. 17, "and he that approacheth unto them is like one that findeth a treasure;" while for this verse it gives "majesty and honour establish the name; yet better than both is he that findeth wisdom." The first of these clauses seems identical with the second in the Greek, with a
19 Children and the building of a city continue a man's name: but a blameless wife is counted above them both.

20 Wine and musick rejoice the heart: but the love of wisdom is above them both.

21 The pipe and the psaltery make sweet melody: but a pleasant tongue is above them both.

22 Thine eye desireth favour and beauty: but more than both corn while it is green.

23 A friend and companion never meet amiss: but above both is a wise woman with her husband.

24 Brethren and help are against time of trouble: but alms shall deliver more than them both.

25 Gold and silver make the foot stand sure: but counsel is esteemed above them both.

26 Riches and strength lift up the heart: but the fear of the Lord is above them both: there is no want in the fear of the Lord, and it needeth not to seek help.

27 The fear of the Lord is a garden, and a well of life: and he that keepeth it shall not lack any good thing.

28 My son, lead not a beggar's life; for better it is to die than to beg.

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sight corruption of ἡλεθίος to some derivative of ἡλιος; while the remaining two bear most of the traces of interpolation. The Latin Version substitutes in ea for ἡν ἡμοῖοις.

19. Children and the building of a city.] Syr. "building and planting." The word ἡλιος might be pointed so as to mean either "building" or "children." The second word "building" represents more than once in the LXX. the Hebrew נבש, which might also mean "daughters." A comparison with the Syriac shews us that πόλις is a gloss. The true text may therefore have been, "Sons and daughters continue a man's name; but nevertheless a blameless wife surpasses them." We suppose the Aramaizing form suggested to have given rise to the error of the translators. The S. H. Version has here a marginal note to prevent the misunderstanding in the case of the first word.

20. Wine and musick.] Syr. "old wine," the love of wisdom. If this be correct, the words must represent the Greek φιλοσοφια, and correspond with similar makeshift renderings of that word in Syriac and other languages. For that which rejoices the heart must be something acting on it objectively, not subjectively, corresponding therefore with "philosophy," but not with the "love of wisdom." Syr. "the love of a friend."

22. favovur.] Old English for "grace." Cp. "young thoust thou art, thine eye hath staid upon some favovr that it loves." (Shakespeare, "Twelfth Night," ii. 4.).

corn white it is green.] Lit. the green of the sown land. Compare M. Aurelius, x. 35: "The healthy eye must not say τα χνωρια θλω, I want only green." Viridita enim acris grata sunt visioneque refugiunt (Gataker). Among the "ingenious sayings" of Mohammad (Freytag, "Proverbs Arabum," iii. 1, 609) is this: 

24. Brethren and help are against time of trouble.] The Heb. יר, probably employed in the original, should have been pointed (with Syr. יר and rendered "ally": "A brother and an ally [save] in time of trouble." The sentiment of the verse is common in our author and elsewhere (e.g. Prov. xviii. 17).

25. make the foot stand sure.] Cp. Ps. xxxi. 9.

counsel.] Sagacity.

26. it needeth not.] Rather, one needeth not in it: i.e. armed with it, a man requires no other help.

27. a fruitful garden.] See v. 17. The Syriac renders similarly in both places.

and covereth him above all glory.] The authorities vary between the sing. and plur. for "covereth." Fritzsche decides for the singular, on the ground that the subject must be "God," who covers his fear with glory more than all greatness. The original must have been difficult, for the Syrian hesitates between "is raised" and "is praised."


28. lead not a beggar's life.] The Syriac
entirely perverts this very simple sentiment: "refuse not him that asketh thee; be not good to kill, but be good to preserve alive."

29. that dependeth.] Lit. that looketh to. The phrase corresponds with the Rabbinical י爼לע נדנ נדנ; "Three lives are no lives: he that looketh to the table of another," &c. (Bets. 32 b; Abb. de R. N. 25).

for be pollutteth himself.] Rather, who pollutteth himself. Fritzsche takes this literally, on the ground that the meat given him might very well be uncleann; we prefer to take it figuratively.

but a wise man well nurtured.] I.e. well educated.

30. Fritzsche would understand this of the contrast between his sweet manner and his internal feeling of degradation. The "begging" is more frequently interpreted of the morsel which he receives, while Grotius makes the "fire" that of hunger. The author is apparently thinking of Job xx. 12.

CHAPTER XLI.

The chapter consists of two parts (the first ending with v. 13), which are connected by successio in thinking rather than by a logical nexus. The first part of the chapter, however, is closely bound to the argument in the previous chapter. There the writer had treated of the evils that afflict man, among which "fear of death" was the most real and common to all (xl. 1-5). Besides, this was an evil the source of which must be traced to the Creator Himself. But in the first part of ch. xli. the writer endeavours to prove even in this respect his previous thesis by showing in the first stanza (v. 1-4) that death is not such an evil as men represent or imagine it; and, in the second stanza (v. 5-11), that it only becomes a real evil to the ungodly (comp. also xl. 8). Throughout we notice in the treatment of this subject a melancholy absence of the hope of another and better life. In the first stanza consolations are offered derived from the welcome release which death brings under certain circumstances, and from its general incidence, so that after all it was ultimately of little consequence how many years a man might have to live, while, on the other hand, it was right to submit to the will of God. Such being the case, the second stanza (v. 5-11) shews that death had real terrors for the sinner. The three things upon which a man set value and which would remain, as reward or otherwise, after his death, are described in an ascending climax as property, children, reputation. In all these three would the sinner suffer after his decease. Of these three the most precious and most enduring was a good name, after which we should chiefly strive.

This latter statement naturally leads in the second part to an enumeration of the things which were shameful, and should therefore be avoided. The three introductory verses (v. 14-16) bear particular reference to this, that to be proud or else ashamed of a thing it must appear outwardly and publicly: in other words, that the reputation of which we are to have such care depends upon this. Nineteen things are then enumerated of which we should be ashamed. These apply to the various circumstances of life, and they are arranged in a certain order and connexion. We mark that, in accordance with the purpose of the writer, only such offences are mentioned as may permanently injure a man’s reputation. Some difficulty may be felt as regards the offence mentioned in v. 19 c. We have little doubt that (as Fritzsche suggests) the expression was proverbial. Nor can we doubt that it referred to an unwillingness to give to the poor from the abundance of one’s table (comp. St. Luke xvi. 20, 21). And here, indeed, we have a parallel Rabbinic saying (Sanh. 92 a): "He that does not leave a piece of bread (העקד) upon his table shall never see a sign of blessing" (גאילד תן בד = no good shall ever come to him). [In Jer. Teram. 45 d it is interdicted to put bread under one’s arm. Levy (‘Neuhebr. Wörterb.’ iv. 154 a) regards this as directed against superstition, but the context shews that it was forbidden because repugnant, except from the face, was regarded as poisonous.

1. Drusius compares Seneca’s words: “O vita miserò longa, felici brevis.”

the remembrance of thee.] Probably the original had “art thou” (cf. Syr.).
vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things: yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat!

2 O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience!

3 Fear not the sentence of death, remember them that have been before thee, and that come after; for this is the sentence of the Lord over all flesh.

4 And why art thou against the pleasure of the most High? there is no inquisition in the grave, whether thou have lived ten, or an hundred, or a thousand years.

5 The children of sinners are abominable children, and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.

6 The inheritance of sinners' children shall perish, and their posterity shall have a perpetual reproach.

7 The children will complain of an ungodly father, because they shall be reproached for his sake.

8 Woe be unto you, ungodly men, which have forsaken the law of the most high God! for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction:

9 And if ye be born, ye shall be

liveth at rest in his possession.] Compare Dan. iv. 4, with which the expression in the text may agree.

that hath nothing to vex him.] The word in the text is condemned by the Atticists as late Greek. Perhaps it represents הָּשָׁן (Job xii. 5).

to receive meat.] Compare the opening verses of Eccles. xii. The words perhaps meant rather to “enjoy the taste (of food);” the Heb. גֹּדֵל being interpreted by the Greek after the Arab. [طعم.

2. thy sentence.] Also apparently a paraphrase for “thou.” MS. 155 further adds “and thy remembrance.”

that is now in the last age.] Fritzsch's proposed alteration of ἐκχατοτέρῳ to ἐκχατοτόρῳ would introduce an impossible accentuation; see Kühner, ‘Ausz. Gr.’ i. 249, and edit.

is vexed with all things.] There is no reason for preferring the marginal variant.

that despaireth.] Rather, is disbelieving, וֹּנתינ. Syr. (Lag.), “without money,” perhaps וֹנתינ. [ין.

3. Fear not the sentence of death.] In the sense that it is the law and common lot of humanity. Grotius compares a fragment of Aristophanes, το γάρ φοβειται τον θάνατον ἀξοὺ πολὺν πάνω γάρ ἐνυ ντοι φοβεῖται ποινήν. The Syr. makes it probable that “the sentence of death” is an insertion by the Greek translator.

remember them that have been before thee, and that come after.] Comp. Eccles. i. 10, וֹּנתינ אֶל מַעְרָו. “Remember that they are in the same case with thee” (Syr.).

4. And why art thou against.] Lit. why dost thou decline? Evidently this clause belongs to the preceding verse.

there is no inquisition in the grave.] That question is not asked there; it makes no difference, as regards our condition when we are dead, whether our life has been short or long.

5. and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.] “The reason why they are abominable” (Fritzsch). But this explanation does not seem satisfactory. Syr. “and a race of misery (lit. woe to it!) is the generation of the wicked.” Compare Aeth. “and their houses shall be overturned.” Ἀναστροφομαι is employed in Ezek. iii. 15 to represent מִשְׂפָּט. It might be suggested that the original had here מִשְׂפָּט וְלִשׁוֹן, “and the dwelling-place of the wicked is loathsome.”

6. inheritance.] Syr. “sovereignty;” Heb. (perhaps וֹּנתינ, which might be pointed so as to mean either וֹּנתינ or וֹנתינ. The latter would indeed be a Chaldaism, but not out of place in our author; while the former could scarcely be used in this way. We believe, therefore, that the Syr. version is here correct.

7. will complain of.] I.e. will have cause to do so. Syr. “shall curse;” if this be right, the Hebrew probably contained a jingle מִשְׂפָּט and מִשְׂפָּט.

8. which have forsaken the law of the most high God.] Syr. “to whom misery clings till the day of their death.”

for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction.] This clause must be omitted, as only found in 248, Co., and probably a correction or interpretation of the next clause, “and if ye be born.”
born a curse: and if ye die, a curse shall be your portion.

10 All that are of the earth shall turn to earth again: so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.

11 The mourning of men is about their bodies: but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.

12 Have regard to thy name; for that shall continue with thee above a thousand great treasures of gold.

13 A good life hath but few days: but a good name endureth for ever.

14 My children, keep discipline in peace: for wisdom that is hid, and a treasure that is not seen, what profit is in them both?

15 A man that hideth his foolishness is better than a man that hideth his wisdom.

16 Therefore be shamefaced according to my word: for it is not good to retain all shamefacedness; neither is it altogether approved in every thing.

17 Be ashamed of whoredom before father and mother: and of a lie before a prince and a mighty man;

18 Of an offence before a judge and ruler; of iniquity before a congregation and people; of unjust dealing before thy partner and friend;

19 And of theft in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his

9. Your birth and death will both be misfortunes.

a curse shall be your portion.] ἔλληνη.

10. The first clause occurred above (xL 11); and as the Syriac omits it, there is grave reason for doubting its genuineness here. See below.

so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.] In the event of the first clause being genuine, the application will be found in the sequence from that with which they began to that in which they end.

11. The mourning of men is about their bodies.] In the main object of sorrow with most men is that their bodies die; but there is a worse fate than this, which does not excite their apprehension—the loss of their name. In the case of the sinner that name will perish.

but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.] The second hand of S has here δοῦμα δι' ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐξελειφθήσεται, “but a good name shall not be blotted out.” This is supported by the Arm. Very similar is the reading of the Syr. “and the name of them that do good,” and of the Copt. “and the name of good men.” This last, ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν, is the reading of MSS. 155, 308; ᾠναρτηλῶν (which appears exclusively in Aeth. and Lat.) is perhaps a false interpretation of ἀνωθ' From the agreement of the Syr. and the Greek, it seems probable that “the name of good men” was clearly expressed in the original.

12. above.] Rather, longer than. From Prov. xxii. 1. The Midrash on that passage substitutes “a thousand Dinars of gold” for the “silver and gold” of the text.

Verses 13-xlii. 8 are omitted by the Syriac, which substitutes for them a short and curious sentiment. Some of the verses before us look like centots or quotations from previous chapters in the book.

13. A good life hath but few days.] Lit. a number of days, to which the Arm. boldly adds “hath not.”

14. in peace.] Proleptically, “and enjoy peace therefrom.”

The second half of this verse occurred word for word in xxi. 30, while v. 15 occurred in xx. 31.

16. Therefore be shamefaced according to my word.] So Fritzche and others; it may, however, mean only “be heedful of my word.”

it is not good to retain all shamefacedness.] Rather, to observe.

neither is it altogether approved in every thing.] This implies the reading οὐ παράδεισω ἐν παρί (for ἐν παρί), recorded by Hoeschel, and supported by the Copt.; and this we believe to be correct. The best Greek MSS., however, offer οὐ πάρνη ἐν παρί, a difficult expression variously interpreted (“nor is everything appreciated truly by all,” Fritzche). The Arm. renders “nor at all to please every one by faith.” A more intelligible explanation would be “nor is the rule ‘everything to every one in confidence’ approved.”

17. The list of cases of shame now given amounts rather to an enumeration of the persons on whom one should reflect when tempted to commit any crime, being those whom the crime most deeply hurts.

before father and mother.] “And mother” is omitted by the Arm., perhaps accidentally.

19. of theft in regard of the place where
covenant; and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat; and of scorning to give and take;
20 And of silence before them that salute thee; and to look upon an harlot;
21 And to turn away thy face from thy kinsman; or to take away a portion or a gift; or to gaze upon another man's wife;
22 Or to be overbusy with his maid, and come not near her bed; or of upbraiding speeches before friends; and after thou hast given, upbraid not;
23 Or of iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard; and of revealing of secrets.
24 So shalt thou be truly shame-faced, and find favour before all men.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 Whereto we should not be ashamed. 9 Be careful of thy daughter. 12 Beware of a woman. 15 The works and greatness of God.

thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his covenant.] It seems evident that a word has here dropped out, since the rhythm of the sentence is otherwise lost. Various attempts have been made to correct the sentence, among which we may mention Bretschneider's supplement "of disbelief," and Fritzsche's conjecture that "of the truth" was a translation of a false reading for "of the curse." Strangely, the true reading is here supplied by the Armenian Version, which gives "of lying in regard of the truth of God and His covenant," omitting the words "of a lie before a prince and a mighty man" in the second clause of v. 17. We believe that the Armenian translator cannot be conjecturing, but must have found this reading in his text. Besides settling the difficulty to which we have referred, it is recommended as doing away with the tautology of κρονος και ἄραντος following upon γυναικιναι και δυναται. For any difference between them would be difficult to substantiate. Lastly, this reading arranges the crimes in a natural order, ranging from the most deadly to the lightest. The history of the interpolation of v. 17 in the Greek would be an important contribution to our knowledge of the vicissitudes through which the text of this book has passed.

and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat.] Lit. to fix the elbow: according to the commentators, holding it tight, allowing no one else to obtain a portion of it. (See the introd. to the chapter.) The Arm. adds ἀλλοτρίως, "the bread of others;" and the Aeth. has "to approach to eat the strangers' bread."

of scorning to give and take.] Rather, of railing over giving and taking. Another reading is σκορπισμοι, "scattering," which the marginal annotator of S. H. explains of adulteration. "From robbing the goods of thy neighbour entrusted to thee" (Aeth.). "Taking and giving," ἀπό οἰκος, is a common Rabbinical expression for "commerce."

20. of silence before them that salute thee.] The Syriac, which, as we have noticed, omits the whole of the preceding passage, dwells on this point at some length.

21. to turn away thy face from.] Rather, the face of. Heb. דנה דנה (1 Kings ii. 16, &c.), the opposite of ד多く of the last verse.

take away a portion or a gift.] Rightly referred by Fritzsche to the distribution of goods between kinsmen. For the last word, לוח, it seems probable that לוח, "a share," should have been read; the corruption perhaps occurs elsewhere in this book.

22. overbusy.] These "maids" in the Greek romances and elsewhere are the ordinary go-betweens. The readings, however, vary.

23, 24. These verses are attached to the following chapter in the Greek editions.

23. of iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard.] This is apparently the only way in which the T. R. can be translated; we should, however, read with S, ἄραντος ἀπαντάς λόγου δικοὺς, of repeating a word which thou hast heard. The caution is against circulating idle rumours.


CHAPTER XLII.

Having in the previous chapter indicated what a man should be ashamed to do, the writer marks in the first stanza of this chapter (after an introductory verse) the things of which a man ought not, and needs not, to be ashamed—bearing in mind that by the latter expression he means that they will not really affect his reputation. This is indicated in the last two clauses of v. 8, with which the stanza closes (vss. 1–8). For v. 8 the wording of which should be compared with
ECCLESIASTICUS. XLII.

If these things be not thou ashamed, and accept no person to sin thereby:

2 Of the law of the most High, and his covenant; and of judgment to justify the ungodly;

3 Of reckoning with thy partners and travellers; or of the gift of the heritage of friends;

4 Of exactness of balance and weights; or of getting much or little;

xlii. 24 a) seems to imply that there was a false feeling of shame, which might prevent a man from doing that which, if "truly instructed" and disciplined, he would not hesitate to do before all men. The difficulty, that v. 6, 7 seem not to be formally included in the enumeration of things not to," is ashamed of, is only apparent. The proposal to put v. 8 before v. 6, 7—in which case they should be included in the next stanza (placed in connexion with v. 9)—is attractive, but not necessary. For, although there may be difference in form, v. 6, 7 manifestly contain, like the other verses in the stanza, directions concerning things which a man need not be ashamed to do. And possibly they may not have been formally connected with what a man should not be "ashamed of," because in the nature of things they would take place in the privacy of home and not in view of the public. Lastly, it is evident that with v. 9 another train of thought begins,—no longer referring to a man's actions, but to his feelings.

The large number of directions needful in regard to domestic life naturally leads the writer to revert to what seems to have been a topic of frequent lubrication with him: that of daughters and women. This forms the subject of stanzas 2 and 3, each of three verses (v. 9—11; v. 12—14). On each of these points we might adduce Rabbinic parallels. Indeed, v. 9, 10—although in a different, and as it seems to us more apt form—are quoted in the Talmud (perhaps from memory), as "written in the book of Ben Sira" (Sanh. 100 b). With this other Talmudic sayings may be compared—such as, "Happy he who has male children; woe to him that has female children" (Sanh. u. s.; Qidd. 82 b; Baba B. 16 b). "A boy comes into the world: his loam comes in his hand—a girl, nothing at all with her" (Nidd. 31 b). Indeed, it was hagadically explained that the word הילות for "maiden" meant נבש חיות, "she cometh empty" into the world (Nidd. u. s.). And as regards women generally, it is sufficient to refer to such sayings as "Women are of a light mind" (Shabb. 33 b; Qidd. 80 b): "Multiply not talk with a woman; they say, with one's own wife: how much more with the wife of one's neighbour? Hence the sages say, if a man multiplies talk with a woman he brings evil upon himself, he neglects study of the Law, and his end will be to inherit Gehinnom" (Ab. 1. 5).

As regards the second part of our chapter (beginning with v. 15), it might seem as if it were not in any way connected with what had preceded. But if we regard ch. xxxix. 16—xlii. 14 as so much matter intercalated, then ch. xlii. 15 would resume and continue the main subject-matter from ch. xxxix. 15. In that case one stanza (the fifth in the chapter, v. 15—20) would set forth the praises of God in Creation, Providence, and Revelation; while another (the sixth, v. 21—25) would be more specially devoted to the subject of Creation. We note in the two concluding verses two Cukkmatn figures: the antithetic dualism in nature (similar to that formerly noticed in the moral world; cp. xxxiii. 14, 15), as well as the permanence of nature (xlii. 24); and secondly, the higher beneficial purpose of every thing in nature (v. 25).

1. accept no person to sin thereby.] Sin not therein out of false shame.

2. Of the law of the most High.] I.e. to observe its ordinances and commandments in any circumstances and before any persons.

and of judgment to justify the ungodly.] This clause has occasioned some difficulty. Baduellius thought "be not ashamed" might mean "be not moved by false shame." Grotius still more harshly supplies "obloqui sententiis eorum qui id agunt." Fritzsche would take the words literally, to justify the ungodly when he happens to be in the right; a very improbable sentiment. The MSS. and Versions give no help. We prefer adopting the emendation (of Luther?), וו ומיהל, "to justify the pious," i.e. to give sentence in his favour, however unpopular such an action may be. Cp. Prov. xvii. 15. An interesting rendering (cited by Fritzsche) is "to punish the ungodly." Cicero tells us that ἐβελεθή αὐτῷ was the euphemistic expression for "they have been executed," in Sicily.

3. Of reckoning with thy partners.] Versions and commentators are divided between this interpretation and "of talking with." The latter, although supported by Grotius ("quid impedit quominus quis aut sodales aut viae comites suavi sermone oblectet") and Fritzsche, seems too trifling for this place. "Reckoning with thy partners" might mean (as the Aeth. glosses) concerning the profits; but
5 And of merchants' indifferent selling; of much correction of children; and to make the side of an evil servant to bleed.

6 Sure keeping is good, where an evil wife is; and shut up, where many hands are.

7 Deliver all things in number and weight; and put all in writing that thou givest out, or receivest in.

8 Be not ashamed to inform the unwise and foolish, and the extreme aged that contendeth with those that are young: thus shalt thou be truly learned, and approved of all men living.

9 The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated:

10 In her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in what is reckoning with travellers? Further, יָד (if the original of ποίον) could scarcely mean more than "concerning the matter of." We therefore suggest that in the Heb. יָד יָד, the last word was corrupt for יָד, and that the original meant "concerning the matter of a relative and a brother," i.e. be not ashamed to own brotherhood and connexion.

or of the gift of the heritage of friends.] Ordinarily interpreted as if the original had ἓρμος, i.e. of giving legacies to friends, in spite of the disapproval of the heirs. Perhaps the phrase is metaphorical, the "heritage of friends" meaning those privileges to which friends have a natural claim. A few MSS. and Arm. read "others" for "friends."

4. of getting much or little.] i.e. of acquiring wealth, whether in large quantities for fear of envy, or in small for fear of being thought mean (Grot.).

5. of merchants' indifferent selling.] Rather, of the money gained by selling and merchants. But Fritzschke is evidently right in substituting for the last word "and merchandise," supposing רִּית of the original to have been wrongly pointed.

to make the side, &c.] See xxxii. 24.

6. The suggestion of Gaab that xxv. 6, 7 should be placed after v. 8 seems recommended on syntactic grounds; but it is not necessary for the sense. (See introd.)

Sure keeping.] Lit. a seal. The seal is probably to protect the goods ("vilissima utensilium anulo clausa," Tacitus, 'Annals,' ii. 2), rather than the woman.

shut up.] Viz. the stores; Copt. strangely, "thy hand."

where many hands are.] Aeth. "comers."Rather, "servants." Compare the Latin fures for "slaves:" exilis domus est ubi non et multa superunt et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.

7. Deliver all things.] Lit. whatever thou deliverest, i.e. to the members of the household, "[let it be]."

8. that contendeth with those that are young.] i.e. in those contests which are only suitable for youth. The marginal reading is found in three MSS., and also in the Arm., Aeth., Copt., and S. H. versions. Compare xxv. 2 and the variant there.

9. The Syriac Version recommends here: The following passage repeats some of the matter of chaps. xxv., xxvi. Some fragments of the original are preserved in the Talmud (Sanh. 100 b).

The father waketh for the daughter when no man knoweth. Lit. a daughter is to her father a hidden sleeplessness. But ἀνέκδοτος might be taken with θυγαῖρ, "a hidden daughter," i.e. a maiden (Grotius). Syr. "a daughter is very precious to (or heavy) upon her father." Both these renderings are mistranslations of the Hebrew (ناقش פנים פנים). The Talmud quotes (with slight alterations) xxxv. 9 and 10 as from Ben Sira: "A daughter is a delusive treasure to her father [the Heb. words as just quoted]: from fear he cannot sleep. When she is little, perhaps she may be seduced ('); when she is grown up, perhaps she will go astray [we translate not literally]; when she is marriageable [the difference between this and the previous age being six months, according to Jer. Yebam. 3 c], perhaps she will not be married; when she is married, perhaps she will not have children; when she is old, perhaps she will practise magic." (Sanh. 100 b, with only slight differences in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira').

let she pass away the flower of her age.]

Syr. "lest she be despised," in the sense of not attracting suitors. The meaning is: she may pass the best of her life without being married.

10. The antithesis would be improved by transposing clauses b and c.
her father’s house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren.

11 Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest she make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies, and a byword in the city, and a reproach among the people, and make thee ashamed before the multitude.

12 Behold not every body’s beauty, and sit not in the midst of women.

13 For from garments cometh a moth, and from women wickedness.

14 Better is the churlishness of a man than a courteous woman, a woman, I say, which bringeth shame and reproach.

15 I will now remember the works of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seen: In the words of the Lord are his works.

16 The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things, and the work thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.

14. The misogyny of the author reaches its climax.

15. and declare the things that I have seen.] A single experience not sufficient for all.

16. With v. 15 begins the second part of the chapter, on which see the remarks in the introduction.

The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things.] The Syr. divides the verbs between the two clauses: “like a sun that riseth over all, are the mercies of the Lord revealed upon all His works.” It is, however, probable that the second clause was στρέφεται ἐκτὸς ὁ λόγος, “His works are full of His mercy.” The verse probably means that the whole range of objects on which the sun looks down are full of His glory, and is an explanation of the restriction “that I have seen” in v. 15.

and the work thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.] Rather, and His work is full of His glory.
17. *The Lord hath not given power to the saints to declare all his marvellous works, which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever may be established for his glory.

18. He seeketh out the deep, and the heart, and considereth their crafty devices: for the Lord knoweth all that may be known, and he beholdest the signs of the world.

19. He declareth the things that are past, and for, and come to, and revealeth the steps of hidden things.

20. / No thought escapeth him, / neither any word is hidden from him. / For he hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom, and he is from everlasting to everlasting: unto him may nothing be added, neither can he be diminished, and he hath no need of any counsellor.

22. Oh how desirable are all his works! and that a man may see even to a spark.
23 All these things live and remain for ever for all uses, and they are all obedient.

24 All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect.

25 One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?

CHAPTER XLIII.

The works of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderful. Yet God himself in his power and wisdom is above all.

The first stanza, with its concluding eulogy, treats of the sun (v. 1-5). The second stanza, with its eulogy (v. 6-10), is devoted to moon and stars. Here we may note some remarkable Rabbinic parallels as set forth in Ber. R. (the Midrash on Gen.), par. vi. We mark especially the designation of the moon as “an indication of times”—the Jews calculating the year by the moon—and “the sign of feasts,” the festal calendar being arranged according to the moon. Further, if, as we believe, the concluding words of v. 6 (σημειον αἰώνοι) should be translated “an everlasting sign” (not “sign of the world”), we have here another Rabbinic parallel, since calculation by the moon was regarded as a distinctive sign of and for Israel, whereas the sun served as the distinctive sign for the Gentile nations who calculated by it. Manifold and very curious is the application made of this notion in the Haggadah. Thus the obscurations of sun or moon were supposed to have each a special significance. Similarly, as the sun is in the sky only by day, but the moon by night and day, so the Gentiles had only part in this world, but Israel in this and the next; and again, as when the light of the sun sets that of the moon grows and spreads, so would it be in regard to the night of the Gentiles and the light of Israel. In fact, the constant renewal of the moon was an emblem of the constant renovation of Israel. Lastly, as regards the allusion in v. 8 to the attending “camps” of the stars (see note on that verse), we recall the Rabbinic legend, that because the moon had humbled herself to rule only by night God had appointed the stars to attend and accompany her, both when she rose and when she went down.

The third is a brief stanza about the rainbow (v. 11, 12), and serves as transition from objects in heaven to phenomena affecting earth, which are referred to in stanza iv. (v. 13-22), while the fifth and closely-allied stanza (v. 23-26) is devoted to those pre-
THE pride of the height, the clear firmament, the beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew;

2. The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising a marvellous instrument, the work of the most High:

3. At noon it pargeth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof?

4. A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more;

breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes.

5 Great is the Lord that made it; and at his commandment it runneth hastily.

6. He made the moon also to serve in her season for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world.

7. From the moon is the sign of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection.

sented by the sea. The concluding (sixth) stanza (vv. 27–33) is, as already stated, a grand eulogy. As concluding the Chokhmah utterances, it appropriately closes with a reference to it (v. 33 b).

1. It would be difficult to improve on the Authorized Version here.

The pride of the height.] The three members of this verse are apparently to be regarded as co-ordinate, the whole sentence being either exclamatory, or explanatory of the “glory” of xlii. 25 b. Grocius and Fritzsche, however, make “the pride of the height” predicate and the rest of the verse subject. The Copt. renders: “the boast of the height of the purity of the firmament.”

2. The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising.] Some object is wanted for “declaring,” which Fritzsche re-translates ἔστησα. Grocius read εὐεργέτης for εὖ εὔεργής, with Co., interpreting this, “tel leth of the glorious one;” the Aeth. seems to have had some similar reading, which cannot be right. Perhaps the original for ἐστιν had some derivative of ἑστησε, meaning either “beautiful” or “shining,” Arab. سُفُر and أسفر (used especially of the dawn to translate שָׁפָר by Jewish-Arabic commentators).

a marvellous instrument.] “A masterpiece.”

3 At noon.] Lit. at the noon thereof, i.e. caused by it.

The second clause is from Ps. xix. 7.

4. A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat.] “Is” should be omitted. The sentence will then mean: A man blowing a furnace in works of heat [produces great heat]. But this sense is not satisfactory, for it is much more natural to compare the sun with the furnace than with the man who blows it. Syr. “more than the furnace which blows in the work of the smith;” and this, there is reason to believe, represents the original, except that “blows” should rather have been rendered “which is blown,” “fanned” (ἀφύμε) ; and “the work of the smith” perhaps by “in the workshop (office) of the smith.” Καύματος for χαλέπιον is probably due to καυμάτων in v. 3. Grocius wished to read εὐεργέτης καύματος, “produces heat,” which the Aeth. apparently translates “breathing out fiery vapours.” Heb. perhaps יבש, for which the Syr. would appear to have read יבש, “his ashes.”

5. and at his commandment it runneth hastily.] The other reading, “it stoppeth” (a few Greek MSS. and S. H.), is merely a transcriber’s error.

6. He made the moon also to serve in her season.] The reading here translated is found only in 248, Co. The other MSS. read “and the moon in all things for her season,” in which “in all things” has no obvious meaning. Syr.: “the moon, too, standeth for a time.” From this it seems clear that Grabe rightly emended εὖ στῶσι for εὖ στάως, “the moon is at her station at her season,” viz. at night (Grocius).

for a declaration of times.] The calendars of the ancient nations were lunar; compare the Greek phrase κατὰ σελήνην ἀγενάς τις ἡμέρας. But the special reference here is to the Jewish calculation of time (see introd.).

and a sign of the world.] Compare xlii. 18. Rather, an everlasting sign. So also the Syr., S. H., Copt., Gutmann. This is the natural interpretation of the words. Fritzsche’s explanation, “a sign of the future, whence the future may be known,” cannot be adopted.

7. the sign of feasts.] E.g. the Passover.

a light that decreaseth in her perfection.] Iss. “after the full moon” (Fritzsche). The expression reminds us of Job xxvi. 10, ὑψωτάται ἄριστος θεὸς. We should expect a different phenomenon from that men-
8 The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven;

9 The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord.

10 At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches.

11 Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof.

12 It compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hands of the most High have bended it.

13 By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall, and sendeth swiftly the lightnings of his judgment.

14 Through this the treasures are opened: and clouds fly forth as fowls.

mentioned in b to be described here; and indeed the particular phenomenon which gave the sign of the feast, viz. the moon being full. If this was represented by the Aramaic יָמָן, both the Greek and Syriac renderings could be easily accounted for.

8. The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing.] The first clause should be in brackets, since the second clearly refers to the moon, not to the month. The verse is thought to have referred to the Hebrew יָמָן and יָמָן; the latter being the older and more poetical word for the "month," whereas יָמָן was the ordinary word. The Greek μηνών and μηνη is comparable; Drusius observes that the same remark holds good of the Flemish and English words. It does not, however, apply to the Aramaic and Syriac languages; whence the verse has been used to prove that the Siracide wrote in Hebrew. [Nevertheless the above interpretation is not free from difficulty. The original of the verse, as the consensus of Gr. with Syr. shews, must have been either יָמָן יָמָן or יָמָן יָמָן, either of which would be an unnatural way of expressing the sentiment in the text; meaning properly "the month" or "the moon is like its name," in some particular to be further explained. If the original contained the latter of the two words suggested, it should probably have been יָמָן, "He (or, as we say, she) is new, as his name (new moon, יָמָן) implies." The last clause of the former verse will then have referred to the full moon, and this to the new moon, while the next clause of this verse refers to its divers phases.]

an instrument of the armies above.] Rather, of the camps. Fritzsch's accepts the interpretation of Grotius, "a beacon," i.e. a general signal in accordance with which the armies direct their movements. Comp. here also the Jewish legend, referred to in the introd.

A full stop should be placed at the end of this verse. The next refers to the stars.

9. in the highest places of the Lord.] Some MSS. and Versions have: "in the highest places Lord."

10. they will stand.] Rather, they stand, in their order.] Heb. תַּנְכִּי, rite, and never faint in their watches.] Better Greek would have been καταλαῖξεν τὰς φυλάκες. Syr. "and change not in their courses." This makes it probable that the original was יָאָלוּ (Isa. li. 20; misread by the Syr. יָאָלוּ), with which the "courses" (םָאוּ; perhaps misread מָאוּ) agree better than the "watches" of the Greek translator. The "courses" of the constellations are familiar.

The rest of this chapter is wanting in the Syriac Version.

11. in the brightness thereof.] Cp. Ezek. i. 28.

12. have bended it.] Perhaps have stretched it, the metaphor having changed.

13. By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall, and sendeth.] The sentence is inelegant if the subject be God (Grotius), but we cannot well supply "the sky" with Drusius. The Aeth. would seem to have read ἐξων, "the snow pours down;" Fritzsc's suggestion that the verbs were used intrinsically in the original is, however, simpler. The mention of snow itself in this place is rather surprising.

the lightnings of his judgment.] Cp. Ps. xviii. 15, &c.

14. Through this.] Perhaps יְבָכִי, "for this purpose;"

treasures.] The storehouses in which the biblical poets figuratively represent hail, snow, &c., as piled up; see especially Job xxxviii. 22.

fly forth as fowls.] Compare the phrase of AESCHYLUS, λειωστεροι μιαδότες.
15. On the one hand, the light and elastic particles of cloud are combined into heavy masses; and, on the other, solid blocks of ice are splintered into hailstones.

16, 17. These verses have become disarranged in most MSS.; the original order—17a, 16a, 16b, 17b—must be restored from MSS. 23, &c., S. H., and Copt. Accordingly we arrange them as follows:—

17a. The noise of the thunder maketh the earth to tremble. See margin.

16a. at his sight the mountains are shaken.] Cp. Ps. i. 2, &c. If the original was וְשִׁירֵי, it may have signified "at its flashing" (i.e. the lightning): cp. Job xxxvii. 15.

16b. and at his wind the south wind bloweth.] מַעַר, Ps. lxviii. 26.

17b, &c. so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind.] Perhaps the original order was נֵס נַפְשׁוֹ הָניָּא נַפְשׁוֹ, "so too the north wind, storm and whirlwind." The variation of expression in the text is an ornament of Greek rather than of Semitic poetry.

as birds flying.] Rather, "alighting;" deponens ad sedendum, Lat.

be scattereth.] Heb. נַגָּר, perhaps here used intransitively, as in Hos. vii. 9. This will accord better with the simile.

lighting of grasshoppers.] More probably, "of locusts," as the ancient versions render it. For "lighting" we should perhaps substitute "ensampling;" Heb. נֵס (Ex. x. 14). The point of comparison lies in their "covering the eye of the whole earth." (Ex. x. 5.) The simile is a familiar one in Scripture.

18. at the raining of it.] "Solent enim viatoribus visum adimere" (Grotius). This is not more probable than Fritzsch's rendering, "at the moisture of it." Raining and snowing are, often confused by the ancients (see Tafel on Pindar, 'Olymp.' p. 403), but here some quality of the snow which occasions fear is required. Perhaps the other sense of the word מַגִּשׁו, "its body," i.e. nature (in Aramaic), was intended.

19. it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.] The marginal rendering must here be substituted. Aeth. "it splits like sharp crystal." For "stakes" we should also substitute thorns.

20. Comp. Prov. xxvii. 16, LXX. (Fritzsch).

upon every gathering together.] הָניָּא, Isaiah xxii. 11; the torrents would not freeze.

and clotheth the water.] Lit. and the water puts on as it were a breastplate. A jingle may have been intended between מַעַר and מַגִּשׁו if the latter (Aramaic) verb was used for "resteth." ꧸אנה and loricia are frequently used of any "coating;" loricia in Vitruvius is the plastering of a wall.

21. It devoureth the mountains.] "Auferendo viorem" (Grotius).

22. A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily.] "Present" and "coming speedily" represent the same word. If the Hebrew was מַגִּשׁו, it should probably have been rendered "a mist quickly healeth all."

dew coming after heat refreseth.] If the Greek be here correct, it is clear that a verse or clause must have been lost in which the heat was mentioned. This is practically the view of Gutmann and Fritzsch, who refer to the effects of the hot wind. The language there used agrees well with the effects of the מֵרָע or קַרְאָה elsewhere described; see Gen. xvi. 6 ("burnt by the east wind"), Ezek. xvii. 10, &c. Nevertheless, the phrase מַגִּשׁוֹ הָניָּא קַרְאָה, מַגִּשׁוֹ מַגִּשׁוֹ, must almost necessarily have meant "coming from the east:" "dew" then means "rain,"
23 By his counsel he appeaseth the deep, and planteth islands therein.

24 They that sail on the sea tell of the danger thereof; and when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat.

25 For therein be strange and wondrous works, variety of all kinds of beasts and whales created.

26 By him the end of them hath prosperous success, and by his word all things consist.

27 We may speak much, and yet come short: wherefore in sum, he is all.

28 How shall we be able to magnify him? for he is great above all his works.

29 The Lord is terrible and very great, and marvellous in his power.

30 When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can; for even yet will he far exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.

31 Who hath seen him, that he might tell us? and who can magnify him as he is?

and the description is continuous from v. 20. "Refresheth" should rather have been: which refresheth. The ancients believed that snow must be followed by rain within a definite period: see Herod. ii. 22; Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 260.

23. be appeaseth the deep.] "The deep subsideth," according to a few MSS.

and planteth islands therein.] This would seem to refer to the sudden emerging of islands, due to submarine motions; of which it is surprising that our author should have known. Grotius would have altered the text, so as to make it mean "et si qua est in mari insula, plantas profert," plainly not a fortunate suggestion. The word דֶּשֶׁר is rendered "islands" by the Pesh. in Ps. lxxii. 9, and a similar rendering is given the word דֶּשֶׁר by the LXX. of Isa. xlv. 16. The former word we believe to have been used in this place: "and he planteth her with ships." This, both on account of the next verses and because the appearance of ships rather than that of islands on the sea is the natural consequence of a calm. The word יֹרֵשׁ, "islands," is here preserved only by some "interpolated" MSS., and the Lat. and S. H. versions. All the old MSS., with the Aeth. and Copt., shew the corruption יֹרֵשׁהוּ, "and Jesus planted her."


the danger thereof.] It is not clear what the original can have been: "terror" was perhaps meant.

25. whales created.] The words must rather have meant "the [marvellous] creatures, whales." Compare the ordinary Greek idiom χρηματοφόρων, &c.

26. By him the end of them hath prosperous success.] The best authorities here have: through him prosperity is the end thereof. The interpretation of the clause Apoc.—Vol. II.
CHAPTER XLIV.

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

unnatural, if not improper. Probably the original was ἐν τῷ ἔναπτῷ, “who hath seen,” viz. the whole of his work.

32. Cp. xvi. 21.

33. wisdom.] I. only the few are privileged to obtain any insight into these things.

CHAPTER XLIV.

From praise of the Creator the writer proceeds to that of the most prominent and distinguished of His people. Yet here also the object is not merely, nor mainly, praise of the heroes of Jewish history, but rather praise of God in them and for them. The chapter naturally arranges itself in four stanzas. In the first (vv. 1-7) the writer indicates that his main object is to praise the God who had bestowed manifold and diverse gifts upon men for the good of His people. The description of these varied gifts and administrations is here general, the object being to shew that they all came from God and all served for the public good. In the second stanza (vv. 8-15) he proceeds to shew that there was another class, by whom also God was praised and whom He had raised up, although they had not occupied public or prominent positions, and their name and fame had not been preserved. Yet they also had their reward and their memorial. The latter consisted in their own happiness and peace unto death, and after it in the children and the good name which they left behind them. Once more we notice here a melancholy absence of all idea of another life (see especially v. 14). The stanza might be thus summed up: Not all can be famous, but all may be good; and, if so, they will be useful, happy, enduring, and of blessed memory: useful in life and after death.

The third stanza (vv. 16-18) begins the praise of individuals by name. In the Greek text this embraces Enoch and Noah. But it deserves special notice that the verse about Enoch (v. 16) is omitted in the Syr. Version, which in this is followed by the Arabic. On examining the Greek text, we find that it bears traces of Jewish tradition. On comparing LXX. Gen. v. 24 with Ecclus. xlv. 16a, we observe that while in the main the words of the LXX. are retained, there are also notable alterations. The LXX. has [we italicise the words used in common in the LXX. and in Ecclus.]: “And Enoch pleased God [the Lord] well, and he was not found because [these words are omitted in Ecclus.] God translated him”—where Ecclus. has: “and he was translated.” These alterations and omissions are very important, as they seem to avoid the biblical doctrine of Enoch’s translation (to heaven) by God (Ecclus. omits “he was not found because,” as well as the notice that God translated him). [We mark that Heb. xi. 5 reproduces the LXX.: see Delitzsch ad loc.] Nor is this modified by Ecclus. xlv. 14 (where the Alex. however reads, not ἀνελειπθεν, as the Vat., but μετέρθη as in xlv. 16). Now it is quite true that the Rabbis, chiefly in connexion with the Christian controversy, not only controverted the ascension to heaven of Moses and Elijah (Sukk. 5a), but that the Midrash (Ber. R. 25) maintains that Elijah had died [this expressly, and also implicitly by interpreting the נַפְלָי of Gen. v. 24 by the use of the same word in Ezek. xxiv. 16]. The Targum Onkelos boldly puts: “because God made him to die” [so the correct text, ed. Berliner]. At a later period the Targum Pseudo-Jon., however, not only taught Enoch’s ascension to heaven, but represents him there as Metatron, the highest of Angels, while, on the other hand, the so-called Jer. Targ. again omits all this. This latter may be regarded as the Palestinian current of opinion. Perhaps little intrinsic value attaches to the allegorisms of Philo, who makes the translation of Enoch the symbol of a change from a worse and blamable to a better mode of life (‘de Abrah.’ § 3), or from the domination of the body to the rule of the soul, and at the same time also the forsaking of the many for the solitude of meditation (‘de Praem. et Poen.’ § 3—as regards solitude and meditation, ‘de mutat. nom.’ § 4).

It results that Philo (like the majority of the Rabbis) not only ignored (if not expressly denied) the ascension of Enoch, but that, like Ecclus. xlv. 16b, he represented him as “an example of repentance”—as one who had changed from a worse to a better state. But this also accords with Rabbinic tradition. According to Ber. R. 25, he had been reckoned among sinners; was by turns wicked and pious; and God had said that if he continued in his piety, He would take him out of the world. Whatever, therefore, may be said about the ascension of Enoch (on which
2. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

3. Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

4. Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions:

opinions varied at different times), Philo’s idea about Enoch’s repentance seems grounded on Jewish tradition. [It need scarcely be said that, with his peculiar views, Philo could not have believed in any real ascension of Enoch, any more than the Son of Sirach, who studiously ignores another life.] So far then from Ecclus. xlv. 16 being a spurious verse (as Fränkel supposes, ‘Einfl. d. Palastin. Exeq.’ p. 44, note 2), it accords alike with Palestinian and Alexandrian notions, and there is not any reason why the older Siracide should not have written, and the younger Siracide translated, this verse—but quite the opposite. For its omission in the Syr. translation, we account on the ground that the verse would appear to the Christian translator inconsistent with Old but especially with New Testament teaching, and that it might deprive Christians of a powerful argument for the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. That it was used by Christians in that sense, is expressly stated in the Jewish Midrash. [We cannot help suspecting that similar motives prompted what seems to us the more emphatic wording of v. 21 b in the Syr.] Lastly, we notice with pleasure in the reference to Noah the absence of the later repulsive Rabbinic legends.

The fourth stanza in ch. xlv. (vv. 19–23) treats of the Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here also we mark the absence of later Rabbinic legends. Again, it is instructive—or at least should be so—that, contrary to the confident assertions of a certain school of modern critics, Gen. xxii. 18 was understood by the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) as by the LXX. to mean: “in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed”—and not “with thy seed shall they bless themselves.” Indeed, not improbably the younger Siracide here quoted from the LXX.

1. that begat us.] Rather, in their generation; in chronological order.

2. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them.] The last two words are not found in the best MSS. From the Syr. we learn that the original had דִּבֶּר יְבָא, which the Syr. pointed הָבָא, “let us give,” the Greek διδάσκαλος ἔδωκε; but which should have been pointed הָבָא, “was given.”

through his great power from the beginning.] “His great power” in the Greek is dependent upon “hath wrought;” giving in this context no very satisfactory meaning. The Syr. has: “because all their greatness was above the generations of the world.” From this it would appear that the original was יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־אֲנִי, “they were greater than the generations of the world;” i.e. they were eminent, conspicuous among them. The first word was misread יִשְׂרָאֵל from יִשְׂרָאֵל by both; the Syriac, “all [their greatness],” is an acknowledgment that the pronounal affix was in the singular.

3. First class of men of eminence.

Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms.] It is a little remarkable that the complement in all the other clauses in vv. 1, 4, is some personal quality of the individuals praised. Moreover the plural “kingsdoms” is improper, since reference is made only to the kings of the united people, and then to those of Judah. The clause is omitted in the Syriac. Perhaps the author intended “by their counsels,” using לְשׁוֹן in the Aramaic sense.

giving counsel by their understanding.] From the variations in the MSS., the original would appear to have had the imperfect.

and declaring prophecies.] Lit. and having declared by prophecies. The original had probably the perfect וַיֵּשֶׁב (cf. Syr.), and meant “they gave information by their prophetic power.” The Syr. renders: “they declared signs by their prophetic power.” “Signs” reads like a mistranslation of מַקֵּר, “coming events.”

4. Second class: leaders and teachers.

Leaders of the people by their counsels.] Aeth. “kings of the earth in their expiditions,” and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people.] The Greek is here difficult and certain corrupt. For γραμματισταὶ we should emend γραμματιστεῖς, from the Aethiopic and Coptic versions; and so Fritzsche suggested. The same is apparently supported by the Syr. The original of this was either הָבָא or הָבָא, “judges of the people by their prudence.” A possible version of the uncorrected text is that of Grotius, “and with wisdom [= possessed of wisdom] meet for the scribes of the people.”
5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing:
6 Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:
7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.
8 There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.
9 And some there be, which have no memorial; "who are perished,
10 But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.
11 With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.
12 Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes.

wise and eloquent in their instructions.] Lit. in whose instruction were wise words.

5. Third class: poets and composers.

found out musical tunes.] The word signifies perhaps no more than "producing" or "performing." The Syriac suggests that it was the inventors of the instruments to whom allusion was made.

and recited verses.] The difficult combination "recited in writing" seems to have led the Syrian to transfer "in writing" to the next clause. "Verses" apparently represents בַּכּוּד; for "recited" the comparison of Greek and Syriac suggests that the original was בַּכּוּד. Fritzsche regards this as an allusion to the books of Job and Canticles.

6. furnished with ability.] Heb. perhaps מְסַמֵּרָה (כַּמֶּשֶׁר חֵל) "well supplied with goods." The reference might be to the Patriarchs (Bretschneider); more probably it is to the wealthy landowners, the Naboths and Aruanahs, to whom incidental allusion is made.

in their habitations.] Compare Dan. iv. 1.

7. and were the glory of their times.] We have reason for believing (cp. Syr.) that the original of the first clause would have been translated literally, "all these — there was honour to them." The translator being unable to paraphrase the second clause as he had paraphrased the first, left it, somewhat carelessly, unaltered. He should have rendered it, "and had boasting (i.e. magnificence) in their days."

8. Second stanza. Yet not all of these became celebrated in after-times, nor had they even their memorial preserved.

9. that their praises might be reported.] Lit. that [men] might recount [their praises].

10. The difference is due to the use made by them severally of their privileges; the latter sui memores alios fecere merendo.

above righteousness.] Lit. righteousnoses; i.e. righteous acts (Isa. liv. 5).

bath not been forgotten.] Grotius (wrongly), "apud Deum scilicet."

11-12. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, &c.] There is some confusion in these verses, which with the help of the Syriac may be partly corrected. (a) Syr. "With their seed remaineth their fortune." We follow Fritzsche in believing that "good" was a substantive in the original; this may have been בַּכּוּד or בַּכּוּד. (b) The Syr. continues: "their root is to their children's children." He read therefore בַּכּוּד where the Greek read (perhaps) בַּכּוּד. If we combine these readings into בַּכּוּד, i.e. בַּכּוּד, "these will inherit them," Κεβωα αὐρων will be intelligible: "and their children shall inherit them" (or "have inherited them"). (c) The Syr. proceeds: "In their covenant remaineth their seed." This can be obtained from the Greek by shifting a stop. The covenant which God made with their fathers is extended by Him to the sons; and the covenant is called theirs, just as the "covenant of Abraham," &c. is spoken of. (d) Gr. 12: "And their children through them." Syr. "and their children's children in good works." It is easy here to detect two readings — בַּכּוּד, "on their account," and בַּכּוּד, "in works," and we cannot hesitate to prefer the former. It is possible that in (c) "by their covenant" would have been a better rendering. (e) v. 13: "Their seed shall remain for ever." Here we accept the emendation of the Syr. "their remembrance." בַּכּוּד for בַּכּוּד. We have 'heard' enough in the previous clause of the advantages enjoyed by their descendants.

The Syriac omits vv. 15 b, 16; the omission of this mention of Enoch is not a little remarkable, for it is the first time that he appears in the character of prophet. See the introduction.
13 Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

14 Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

15 'The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will shew forth their praise.

16 'Enoch pleased the Lord, and was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations.

17 a Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange [for the world]; therefore was he left as a remnant unto the earth, when the flood came.

18 An 'everlasting covenant was 'Gen. 9. made with him, that all flesh should perish no more by the flood.

19 Abraham was a 'great father 'Gen. 12. of many people: in glory was there none like unto him;

20 Who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant with him: he established the covenant in his flesh; and when he was a proved, he was found faithful.

21 Therefore he assured him by an oath, that he would bless the nations in his seed, and that he would be established the covenant in his flesh.]

16. being an example of repentance. As fully stated in the introduction, Philo takes Enoch’s translation as symbolic of his change to a better life; cf. Geiger, ‘Urschrift,’ p. 198. The versions all alter this sentiment (except Aeth.): Lat. ut det gentibus poenitentiam; Copt. “an example of wisdom” (Baovios); S. H. “to be an everlasting example” (with MS. 255). On the whole subject comp. the remarks in the introduction.

17. See the references.

be taken in exchange [for the world].] Lit. became a substitute; the Syr. and Aeth. versions gloss as the A. V. He became a substitute in the sense that his preservation served instead of the preservation of the whole world. This is more natural than to render “he became the price of the salvation of the world,” with Grotius and Fritzsche; giving a sentiment which is doubly inaccurate. Nevertheless, we shall find occasion at xvi. 15 for supposing that the word מַעַן was used by our author in its Arabic sense of “to leave behind.” He may have used a derivative here also in the sense of “remnant,” as Barhebraeus suggests.

when the flood came. The Vat. and some other authorities have (corruptly): “on this account the flood came.”

18. everlasting covenant. For the phrase comp. Ex. xxxi. 16.

no more. Lit. not.

by the flood. Rather, by flood.

19. a great father, &c. The author would appear to have employed a schema etymologicum, פָּרָא הָיָה וּמָשֵּׁל, פָּרָא בְּדֶרֶךְ. בנ is omitted (perhaps rightly) by Syr. The true etymon is still obscure.

in glory was there none like unto him. Lit. not found. Syr. “there was no stain set on his glory.” This seems to point to two separate readings, וְלֹא נֶפֶשׁ שָׁלֹשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר פָּרָא and וְלֹא שָׁלֹשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר פָּרָא. The latter expression occurs more than once in this book, and is likely to have been introduced here by the reminiscence of those other passages.

20. and was. Lit. became = entered into (Syr.).

be established the covenant in his flesh. The subject is probably still Abraham. בִּיסָם, as Grotius observes, is a technical term for “circumcision.” But the probable occurrence of that word in the preceding clause and the jingle make it not unlikely that the Aramaic בִּיסָם was here used. “Establish” means here to “ratify,” the sign in his flesh being compared to the pillars on which treaties were engraved by the ancients.

and when he was proved.] See Gen. xxii. These “merits” of Abraham are largely insisted on in the Jewish ritual.

21. be assured him by an oath. Rather, made good to him; and this is the Hebrew sense of בְּדֶרֶךְ and בְּשָׁם. This expression might be justified on the ground that the promise of God is so sure as to be identical with its fulfillment. Nevertheless the regular use of the verb בְּשָׁם in Aramaic for “to swear” (see Buxtorf, ‘Lex. Rabb.’ coll. 1992, 3), together with the Syriac version here, make it probable that the author meant “swore him an oath.” Compare v. 22.

that he would bless the nations in his seed.] The best authorities have the passive, “that all nations should be blessed.” It is well known that many modern critics make the original mean “that all nations should bless themselves by,” i.e. in their blessings cite the name of Abraham. See Edersheim’s ‘Prophecy and History,’ &c., p. 55.
multiply him as the dust of the earth, and exalt his seed as the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea, and from the river unto the utmost part of the land.

22 With Isaac did he establish likewise [for Abraham his father's sake] the blessing of all men, and the covenant,

and gave him an heritage. Perhaps "he installed him in the heritage." The Aeth. shews a reading, "the inheritance itself;" the Syr., Lat., and one Greek MS., "the inheritance," either of which would be easier.

and divided his portions.] Fritzsche would make this refer to the land.

CHAPTER XLV.

A continuation of the previous chapter. The subjects of praise are Moses (v. 1-5), Aaron (v. 6-22), and Phinehas (v. 23-25). The chapter concludes with a brief address to the high-priest then in office (v. 26). In the first stanza (v. 1-5) we mark the (perhaps first) occurrence of what afterwards became a usual mode of expression: "his memory to blessing" (see note). It is not easy to decide whether at any rate v. 2 does not contain an allusion to some of the legends connected with the early history of Moses (for a popular summary of them, see B. Beer, 'Leben Moses' [posthumous and incomplete]). In stanza ii. (v. 6-22) we notice a greatly disproportionate length and excessive abundance of detail, the more remarkable from its contrast with the comparative brevity of the encomium upon Moses, the great hero of Rabbinic conception and legend. This led writers in various ages to regard the author of this book as a priest (see General Introduction). To us it rather indicates that he wrote at a period when alike the civil and spiritual power was in the hands of the high-priest (the προστάτης τοῦ λαοῦ). The emphatic reference to the succession in the high-priesthood seems (as explained in the General Introd.) to indicate an allusion to contemporary events. According to Josephus, Simon I.—whom he designates as Simon the Just—was succeeded not by his son Onias (who was still a minor), but by his brother Eleazar, and afterwards by another brother, Manasseh. And it was only after the death of the latter that Onias II. became high-priest, being succeeded by his son, Simon II. (For the various dates see Gen. Introd., § II.)

As stated in another place, we regard Eclus. xlv. 25 as alluding to the long extrusion of
And he brought out of him a merciful man, which found favour in the sight of all flesh, even Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed.

2 He made him like to the glorious saints, and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.

3 By his words he caused the wonders to cease, and he made him glorious in the sight of kings, and gave him a commandment for his people, and shewed him part of his glory.

4 He sanctified him in his faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

5 He made him to hear his voice, and brought him into the dark cloud, and gave him commandments before his face, even the laws of life and knowledge, that he might re

Onias from the pontificate, due to intrigues of the actual occupants of the office with the Egyptian suzerains of Palestine. Similarly, we consider v. 26 as addressed to Onias II. The political rule of Judaea was in his hands (Jos. 'Ant.' xii. 4, 1), but to none of his successors could such language as in v. 26 have been addressed (see the General Introduction). On the bearing of all this upon the question of the date of the original composition of Ecclesiasticus, see the General Introduction. (For a brief summary of the history of that period, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' App. IV., vol. ii. pp. 668-670; and for a detailed account, Herzfeld's 'Gesch. des Volkes Israel.')

1. And he brought out of him a merciful man.] Syr., Lat., Copt., and Aeth. connect this with the last verse of the previous chapter, and put the verb in the plural. The phrase "and he brought out" is from Isa. lxxv. 9.

whose memorial is blessed.] an early case of this prayer, invariably attached (usually in the abbreviated form ְתַּלִּים) to the names of dead Israelites.

2. like to the glorious saints.] Lit. to the glory of the saints; “the angels” (Grotius, &c.; “the priests” (Fritzsch.).

and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.] Lit. in the fears of his enemies; “enemies” appears to be a gloss, by the Syr. rendering “among the timid.” The original (אֲרֵעֵבָה?) meant “with terror,” and is rightly represented by the Greek. This suggests doubts concerning the originality of גָּוִים in clause 1, to which the Syriac has nothing to correspond; while for “he likened” (אָנָשׁ) it has “he raised” (אָנָשׁ). “He raised him high with glory” was perhaps the original verse; the Syriac “with blessings” (for “with glory”) seems to be an interpolation from the end of the last sentence.

3. By his words he caused the wonders to cease.] Lat. monstra placuit; a phrase taken very improperly from the Roman religion. Grotius refers the words to the wonders of the Egyptian magic; Fritzschae to the withdrawal of the plagues. The words are too brief for the former interpretation, while we should expect the performance of the miracles to be mentioned rather than the withdrawal of them. The original was probably יְהֵי, which may mean either “he sent down” or “he caused to cease;” the translator not surprisingly adopted the wrong signification. The clause is omitted in the Syr. Copt. and Aeth., “he performed;” this may be either a liberty, or represent a reading ἔφη, which could have no claim to originality.

be made him glorious in the sight of kings.] Syr., “he made him to stand before the king.” “To stand before the king” is a Hebrew phrase meaning “to be the king’s minister” (Gesen., ‘Thes.,’ col. 1039 a and 1111 b); not quite an appropriate notion here, which the Greek translator may have intentionally avoided. The author’s idea was probably more similar to that of Ps. cxix. 46 or Isa. lii. 15. Yet יְשָׁרֵב is occasionally used in the sense of instar, “like,” “and he established him as a king” would here be very suitable.

and gave him a commandment for his people.] The original, והז יְשָׁרֵב (cp. Syr.), probably meant: “he set him over his people.”

part of his glory.] Most of the versions obliterate the partitive genitive, which is here highly significant.

4. He sanctified him.] לֹא; compare Jer. i. 5. “In” perhaps means “on account of” (Aeth.).

5. He made him to hear.] The privilege given him above all flesh” (Deut.xxiii. 10). The Syr. puts these words at the end of v. 3, and gave him commandments before his face. Probably לֹא לְבָנָה, “and set before him.” The personal conference is sufficiently insisted on in the previous clauses.

of life.] I.e. “which if a man do he shall live” (Ezek. xx. 11): compare Prov. vi. 23; supra, xviii. 11.
teach Jacob his covenants, and Israel his judgments.

6 He exalted Aaron, an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi.

7 An everlasting covenant he made with him, and gave him the priesthood among the people; he beautified him with comely ornaments, and clothed him with a robe of glory.

8 He put upon him perfect glory; and strengthened him with rich garments, with breeches, with a long robe, and the ephod.

9 And he compassed him with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people;

10 With an holy garment, with gold, and blue silk, and purple, the work of the embroiderer, with a breastplate of judgment, and with Urim and Thummim;

11 With twisted scarlet, the work of the cunning workman, with pre-

that be might teach, &c.] Cp. Ps. xxv. 14; and especially Ps. ciii. 7.

6. There is one word too much for the rhythm: "he exalted," "holy," "his brother" (cp. Ps. cxi. 16), are omitted by different versions. The last of these, which is omitted by the Syr., may perhaps be an interpolation. "The tribe is mentioned here, being in the case of Aaron of such importance" (Fritzsche).

7. be made with him.] See above, xliv. 21. Our author gives Aaron a higher place than the Pentateuch ascribes to him.

and gave him the priesthood among the people.] Syr. "he set him for the truth of his people." This variation is curious, because it suggests that our author made use here of a very decided Arabism, هو المصحف من هام on the one side, and Arab. 'immatun, "priesthood," more familiar in its derivativeấn (used by the Jewish-Arabic commentators in the sense of "high-priest"). The natural pronunciation would have beenấn, "truth;" and indeed the Greek translator must have been following some family tradition about the pronunciation of this word, if our conjecture be correct.

be beautified him with comely ornaments.] The marginal variant should have been "he called him happy." This the Lat. and Aeth. render "he beatified," while the Copt. beneficio linguæ reproduces the Greek word. That there must be a misreading or mistranslation here seems clear, as is observed by Fritzsche, who supposes that Assyrian was a corruption for Assyrian, "he girt him." The Syr. renders: "and gave him." This points, we believe, to an original Assyrian, which might well have signified in the Aramaizing dialect of the time Assyrian, but actually meant Assyrian, "and he gave him," from the verb Assyrian, used by Isa. liv. 9 with a similar construction, of which Assyrian, "a gift," is a derivative.

clothed him.] Lit. girt him. Syr. "he chose him with the sublimity of his glory."

We recognise the two meanings of Assyrian, "magnificence" and "robe;" if the Syr. "chose" is not corrupt, it probably represents a corruption, Assyrian. "Magnificence" is more suitable to this verse, since the garments are so fully described in what follows.

8. He put upon him perfect glory.] Syr. "garments of purple," apparently the original had only אדיד, "purple," very ignorantly read Assyrian, "perfection," by the Greek translator.

and strengthened him with rich garments.] Lit. with vessels of strength. Fritzsche's ingenious suggestion that the Heb. had Assyrian, meaning "girt," is probably correct, though not confirmed by the Syr. The remainder of the verse seems correctly restored by the same critic, Assyrian by Assyrian. Assyrian has not unfrequently the meaning "magnificence."

It is not a little remarkable that the following list of garments is omitted by the Syriac translator. It seems natural to attribute this to a wish on the part of a Christian translator or emender not to enlarge on the glories of the Jewish priesthood. But as we miss in it the rhythm of the rest of the chapter, it may be an interpolation.

9. The A. V., with S. H., seems rightly to connect Assyrian with "the bells." On all these see the various Bibl. Encyclopaedias. as that be went there might be a sound.] Rather, to give forth a sound: Assyrian is transitive.

and a noise made.] Rather, and to make a noise.

in the temple.] An apparent (not a real) anachronism.

for a memorial.] Meaning "for a reminder."

10. breastplate of judgment.] Lit. a platform of judgment. The reason of this translation of the Heb. Assyrian is obscure.
cious stones graven like seals, and set in gold, the work of the jeweller, with a writing engraved for a memorial, after the number of the tribes of Israel.

12 "He set a crown of gold upon the mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful.

13 Before him there were none such, neither did ever any stranger put them on, but only his children and his children's children perpetually.

14 Their sacrifices shall be wholly consumed every day twice continually.

15 Moses consecrated him, and anointed him with holy oil: this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed, so long as the heavens should remain, that they should minister unto him, and execute the office of the priesthood, and bless the people in his name.

16 He chose him out of all men living to offer sacrifices to the Lord, incense, and a sweet savour, for a memorial, to make reconciliation for his people.

17 He gave unto him his commandments, and authority in the statutes of judgments, that he should teach Jacob the testimonies, and inform Israel in his laws.

18 Strangers conspired together against him.

12. wherein was engraved Holiness.] Ex. xxviii. 36 has: "holiness to the Lord," which Fritzsche thinks should be restored here. The last words of the sentence ("the desires of the eyes," &c.) may either refer to the garments as a whole, or to that last mentioned.


14. Their sacrifices . . . wholly consumed.] See Ex. xxix. 38, 39. As the chief part of the daily worship in the Temple, our author makes the daily sacrifices include all the others. (Comp. Dan. viii. 11-13; xi. 31; xii. 11.) The substantives from the verb דָּשֶׁא כּוּנָּב are common in the LXX.; the verb itself is very rare.

15. Moses consecrated him.] Lit. filled his hand, יְזַיֵּב, from Ex. xxviii. 41; on the import of this expression, see the Commentaries. The Syr. renders: "placed his hand upon him;" a phrase that is used of the consecration of Joshua (Num. xxvii. 18), but not of Aaron. On the later use of the דָּשֶׁא כּוּנָּב in the designation to the Rabbinic office, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," li. p. 382. We can scarcely fail to see here a trace of the Syrian's Christianity.

16. minister unto him.] נֵבֶס; the Levites "ministered" to the priests.

17. out of all men living.] יְנַבֶּס, Gen. iii. 20, = every man. In the passage cited the phrase is clearly intended as an idiom.

18. for a memorial.] Le. "for a burnt offering," see Lev. xxiv. 7, &c.


20. He gave unto him his commandments.] The best MSS. (except S) give "He gave unto him in His commandments;" and this seems to be the original reading, although the Syr. favours the A. V. The author meant that God gave Aaron this authority (טֹהְרָבָא נַמְיָא) by committing unto him the תֹהְרָב. in the statutes of judgments.] Lit. in the covenants of judgments: v. ad sup. xxxviii. 43. The Syr. varies here as there.

The last clauses are omitted by the Syr. (See note on v. 8.)

19. Strangers conspired together.] Le. persons belonging to different families. In Num. xvii. 5 נֵבֶס is explained to mean: "not of
against him, and maligned him in the wilderness, even the men that were of Dathan’s and Abiron’s side, and the congregation of Core, with fury and wrath.

19 This the Lord saw, and it displeased him, and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed: he did wonders upon them, to consume them with the fiery flame.

20 "But he made Aaron more honourable, and gave him an heritage, and divided unto him the firstfruits of the increase; especially he prepared bread in abundance:

21 "For they eat of the sacrifices of the Lord, which he gave unto him and his seed.

22 "Howbeit in the land of the people he had no inheritance, neither had he any portion among the people: for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.

23 "The third in glory is Phinees, the son of Eleazar, because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord, and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back, and made reconciliation for Israel.

the seed of Aaron." Fritzsche’s conjecture that the author wrote דֵּי, “wicked men” (cp. Num. xvi. 26), is not confirmed by the Syr.

and maligned] = and envied, מִיֵּדֵיו, of Ps. cvi. 16.

the men that were of Dathan’s and Abiron’s side.] Heb. יֶשֶׁב (Gesenius, ‘Thes.’ p. 856), very happily rendered by this Greek idiom, which does not imply necessarily more than the people themselves.

and the congregation of Core.] Omitted in Ps. l. c. and in Deut. xi. 6.

with fury and wrath.] One of these words is sufficient for the rhythm, and only one is offered by Syr. and Lat. Cp. Num. xvi. 13 sqq.

19. and it displeased him.] Lit. and he was not pleased. Syr. “and he waxed wroth.” The latter is so much the more natural expression that we might conjecture that the Hebrew was יִדְלָל, corrupted in the Greek translator’s text to יִדְלַל, “and it pleased him;” “not” being the translator’s addition.

and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed.] The Syr. transposes this clause and the fourth. be did wonders.] Perhaps כָּאָם נֵבַעְרוֹי of Num. xxx. 30, of which the Syr. preserves a trace.

to consume them.] I.e. consuming them (Ewald, ‘Lehrb.’ § 280 d).

20. he made Aaron more honourable.] Rather, he gave him yet more glory, i.e. yet more than that described above. The rebellion of Korah did not directly increase his glory, although it publicly manifested and attested his Divine appointment.


divided unto him.] Rather, appertained to them.

the firstfruits of the increase.] יָדְרוֹב נְיָסִיִּים, Ex. xxiii. 19; Ezek. xlv. 30,—a phrase of uncertain analysis, on which see Dillmann ad l. c. Exod.

especially be prepared bread in abundance.] “Bread” of course means food in general. “He provided” is perhaps for מִדָּא, misread by the Syrian (“order”) דָּאָה.


22. An explanation of what was meant by the inheritance of v. 20.

be bad.] Rather, he hath or “shall have.” for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this text. The author probably intended a poetical apostrophe, in order, partly, to avoid the ambiguity of the repeated pronoun ("for He is his portion"); and he further employed a poetical construction (prob. לִפְנֵי יִדְּרָה), “thy portion as far as inheritance goes,” which the translator did not fully understand; cp. Wright, ‘Arabic Grammar,’ ii. § 44 e. The Syrian adds, “and his inheritance is the house of Israel.”

23. The third in glory.] Syr. “has received treble glory.” because be had zeal in the fear of the Lord.]יִדְּרָה נַפְס (cp. Num. xxv. 13); apparently, however, the translators wished to avoid the juxtaposition of the two words in the original.

and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back.] The Vat. gives “caused to stand;” but “stood” is defended by Syr. and by יִדְּרָה in Ps. cvii. 30. T ornament represents the Heb. יִדְּרָה, “breach,” which the Syrian renders more faithfully.
Therefore was there a covenant of peace made with him, that he should be the chief of the sanctuary and of his people, and that he and his posterity should have the dignity of the priesthood for ever:

According to the covenant made with David son of Jesse, of the tribe of Juda, that the inheritance of the king should be to his posterity alone: so the inheritance of Aaron should also be unto his seed.

26 God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The praise of Joshua, 9 of Caleb, 13 of Samuel.

Jesus the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who according to his name was made great for the saving of the elect of God, and taking vengeance of the enemies that rose up against them, that he might set Israel in their inheritance.

2 How great glory gat he, when he did lift up his hands, and stretched out his sword against the cities!

3 Who before him so stood to it? for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.

(here followed by S.H.). It means the plague which overtook the people.

42 25. According to the covenant. The Syriac Version has: "even David the son of Jesse inherited alone the inheritance of kings; and the inheritance of Aaron is to him and his sons." The parallel is as follows: just as the royal succession was in the house of David from father to son, so was it appointed that the succession in the high-priestly office should be in the direct line. For the allusion in this to the history of the time and the succession of Onias II., see the introduction.

26 God give you wisdom. Syr. "therefore bless God who has given you wisdom."

and that their glory may endure. Rather, and [give] their glory. The original may have been misunderstood in some way.

CHAPTER XLVI.

This chapter treats of Joshua, Caleb, the Judges, and Samuel—in so many stanzas of unequal length. What is said concerning the Judges in v. 12 a is not inconsistent with the writer's ignorance of another life after death. For (1) the Greek rendering must be corrected by the Syr. (see note on v. 11); (2) the statement itself is modified in v. 13 b; (3) we have a significant expression in regard to Samuel in v. 19 a. More difficulty in this respect is presented by v. 20 a. We had best explain the seeming inconsistency by supposing either that the writer understood the prophesying after death in some peculiar manner; or, more probably, that he regarded those in Hades as unconscious indeed—not truly living—but not as absolutely annihilated.

1. the son of Nave. Corrupt for "Nun" (Syr.). The same designation is used in the LXX.

was valiant in the wars. [Heb. נבּרִי הַלֵּא (cf. Syr.), "a valiant hero.

the successor of Moses in prophecies. The author perhaps referred to Joshua the promise of Deut. xviii. 18 (Fritzsche). Syr. "who was reserved (or "observed") to be like Moses," omitting the two following clauses. According to his name. Jēbū'ā a and J'sbū'āb ("salvation").

2. and stretched out his sword. So Alex.; Vat. "to decline." The reference is to Jos. viii. 18, 27, where Joshua stretches out his spear at the siege of Ai.

3. so stood to it. The sentiment required seems rather what the Syriac has, "who was able to stand before him." Perhaps the word rendered "so" may have been intended to mean "then."

for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him. This seems no adequate reason for the statement in the previous clause. The best
4 "Did not the sun go back by his means? and was not one day as long as two?"

5 He called upon the most high Lord, when the enemies pressed upon him on every side; and the great Lord heard him.

6 "And with hailstones of mighty power he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations, and in the descent [of Beth-horon] he destroyed them that resisted, that the nations might know all their strength, because he fought in the sight of the Lord, and he followed the Mighty One.

7 "In the time of Moses also he did a work of mercy, he and Caleb the son of Jephunne, in that they withstood the congregation, and with-

interpretation is that of Fritzschel, who would make the words signify "the Lord brought them on," delivering state after state into the hands of the invader. We suppose that there is here a mistranslation. The Syriac renders: "for he did the wars of the Lord" (i.e. fought the battles of the Lord). This suggests an original לָבָּא, נָהֲרְא בֵּית הָרֹן. The Greek (whether "wars," πολέμων, or "enemies," πολέμιος, be the right reading) missed the construction of the sentence; and, besides, failed to observe that the second לָבָּא, "he fought," was a denominator from the first לָבָּא, "war," and accordingly rendered it "brought near." It is not impossible that the sentence should have been introduced with "when" rather than "for." Compare, however, Jos. x. 18.

4. go back.] The author should have said "stand still." As, however, the Syr. represents this, the passage may have been interpolated from infra, xlvii. 23. The true reading is perhaps represented by MS. 155, κεντηθή, "was hindered," followed by the Lat. It is in any case strange that he did not adopt the characteristic word quoted from the Book of Jasher.

by his means.] Lit. in his hand = through his instrumentality.

5. when the enemies pressed upon him on every side.] "When he pressed the enemies" would (in this Greek) be also a possible version. The scene referred to is apparently that of Josh. x. 8, but does not correspond accurately with the description here. The Syriac Version, "and he answered him and put power in his hand," represents perhaps the correction of someone to whom the same difficulty occurred.

heard him.] Rather, answered them (Vat.).

6. And with hailstones.] The Greek text omits "and," and connects the words "with hailstones" with the previous clause: "and answered them" (except perhaps A, S; see Nestle, 'Append.' p. 128). The hailstones were the answer.

be made the battle to fall violently upon the
held the people from sin, and appeased the wicked murmuring.

8. And of six hundred thousand people on foot, they two were preserved to bring them into the heritage, even unto the land that floweth with milk and honey.

9. The Lord gave strength also unto Caleb, which remained with him unto his old age: so that he entered upon the high places of the land, and his seed obtained it for an heritage:

for Israel used in the Rabbinc writing when any evil is spoken of the nation. "To withstand the congregation" would have been an offensive phrase if used as a ground of panegyric. The copy followed by the Syrian is equally euphemistic, but has taken a different line.

and appeased the wicked murmuring.] Syr. "and taking away the ill report from the land of promise." The difference between the versions is here one of conception of the situation, the Syr. having reference to Num. xiii. 26, the Greek to Num. xiv. 7. This, however, does not necessarily imply any difference in the original, in which we should expect at least one of the characteristic words ἀληθής and ὁ γεώργης to be used. If the author employed the phrase ἀληθής γεώργης, the Greek "murmuring of wickedness" might conceivably (as to the latter word) come from an Aramaic gloss, י DevComponents, which had crept into the text.

8. people on foot.] Numbers xi. 21.
to bring them.] I.e. "to be brought," since none of the others survived.

9. See Josh. xiv. 6, 11.
be entered upon the high places of the land.] Rather, he rode upon. "To ride upon the high places of the earth" occurs in Deut. xxxii. 13 and Isa. lvi. 14. Hebron is called "a hill" in Joshua i. c.

10. that it is good to follow the Lord.] Syr. "that he had fulfilled the Law of God." The phrase is from Josh. xiv. 8, 9, 14. The word בֹּלְעָה had fallen out of the Syrian's copy.

11. the judges.] The Syriac Version seems to attach this word to the former verse, "that he had fulfilled the Law of God and His judgments." Probably, however, forawi dinaubw we should read aw dayōnaubw.

every one by name.] I.e. severally. The author will not mention their names now, but bids the reader pray for their memory.

10. That all the children of Israel might see it that it is good to follow the Lord.

11. And concerning the judges, every one by name, whose heart went not a whoring, nor departed from the Lord, let their memory be blessed.

12. Let their bones flourish out of their place, and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.

13. Samuel, the prophet of the
Lord, beloved of his Lord, established a kingdom, and anointed princes over his people.

14 By the law of the Lord he judged the congregation, and the Lord had respect unto Jacob.

15 *By his faithfulness he was found a true prophet, and by his word he was known to be faithful in vision.

16 He called upon the mighty Lord, when his enemies pressed upon him on every side, when he offered the *sucking lamb.

17 And the Lord thundered from heaven, and with a great noise made his voice to be heard.

18 And he destroyed the rulers of the Tyrians, and all the princes of the Philistines.

19 And before his long sleep he made *protestations in the sight of the Lord and his anointed, I have not taken any man's goods, so much as a shoe: and no man did accuse him.

20 And after his death *he prophesied, and shewed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 The praise of Nathan, 2 of David, 12 of Solomon his glory, and infirmities. 23 Of his end and punishment.

AND after him rose up *a Nathan to prophesy in the time of David.

2 As is the fat taken away from
the peace offering, so was David chosen out of the children of Israel.

3 He played with lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs.

4 Slew he not a giant, when he was yet but young? and did he not take away reproach from the people, when he lifted up his hand with the stone in the sling, and beat down the boasting of Goliath?

5 For he called upon the most high Lord; and he gave him strength in his right hand to slay that mighty warrior, and set up the horn of his people.

6 So the people honoured him with ten thousands, and praised him in the blessings of the Lord, in that he gave him a crown of glory.

7 For he destroyed the enemies on every side, and brought to nought the Philistines his adversaries, and brake their horn in sunder unto this day.

8 In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sung songs, and loved him that made him.

9 He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs.

10 He beautified their feasts, and set in order the solemn times until the end, that they might praise his holy name, and that the temple might sound from morning.

11 The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his horn for ever: he gave him a covenant of kings, and a throne of glory in Israel.

devoted to a reparation of Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

2. The fat was burnt on the altar, the rest given to the priest.

3. He played.] The other reading, “he struck” (see marg.), has little MS. support, but is supported by the Syriac.

5. that mighty warrior.] From 1 Sam. xvii. 33.

6. So the people honoured him with ten thousands.] Syr. “the women praised him.” Hebrew, unlike the other Semitic languages, has no distinction of gender in the third person of the perfect plural. The expression “honoured him with ten thousands,” is curiously concise, if the reference be to Sam. xviii. 7. The next clause, “and praised him in the blessings of the Lord,” is omitted in the Syriac. It is possible that these two clauses are only different translations of the same, with a various reading כְּפָּרוּיָה for כְּפָרֹיָה. The former of them, “they praised him with blessings” (Ewald, Lehbr., § 279 d), may have been what the author intended.

in that he gave him.] Lit. when a crown of glory was being won for him; or (possibly) “carried by him” (Aeth.). The clause does not read naturally, but cannot be corrected from the Syriac “he fought little,” which would be most inaccurate, and is also evidently corrupt.

7. and brought to nought.] Syr. “was avenged upon the Philistines,” Lat. extirpavit. The verb used in the Greek properly means “despised,” but is occasionally employed in the LXX. to represent the Hebrew דַלֶל, “to trample.” It is more likely that the LXX. misunderstood the Greek than the Hebrew word.

8. be praised.] Lit. he gave thanksgiving. It seems probable that the words at the end of the clauses have been transposed, and that the author intended, “he gave glory... in words of thanksgiving.” “Words of glory” is scarcely a Hebrew phrase; whereas “to give glory” and “a voice of thanksgiving” are common expressions.

9. This verse is interesting as shewing that our author was acquainted with the Book of Chronicles.

and daily sing praises in their songs.] This clause is omitted in all MSS. save 248 (and Co.). It is apparently due to a reminiscence of the Syriac verse, “every day continually he spake his praises before the altar; he gave mighty praises yearly.”

10. He beautified their feasts.] Lit. he put beauty in feasts.

and set in order the solemn times.] Times of singing.

11. took away his sins.] See 2 Sam. xii. 13; and (perhaps) Ps. li. 9.

be gave him a covenant of kings.] The
verse seems to refer to the *covenant* that the throne should be in his house for ever; see Ps. lxxxix. 29. "A covenant of kings," however, is a curious phrase. But 248, Co., Lat., and perhaps Syr., read *σαυρείας," a charter of royalty."

12. *at large.* Syr. "in quiet." The Heb. was probably מַלֵּית בּוֹ. 13. *made quiet.* For this phrase, see Deut. xii. 10, &c.

that be might build.] I.e. have time to build. Compare also 1 Chron. xxviii. 3.

14. For the simile, see sup. xxiv. 25.

15. *covered.* The image of the river (the Nile?) is kept up (Fritzsche).

16. *far unto the islands.* Cp. the comm. on Isa. xxiv. 15.

for thy peace.] This clause seems somewhat unnatural in the context. Syr. "and they wait[ed] for thy report" = and מַצְאִית לָשׁוֹן, "from the seed of Ammon," referring to the lineage of Reboam's mother; and that "foolishness" should be turned into "a fool." We do not doubt, however, that the Syriac rendering, "multiplying folly," is on the whole right, though the original text is hard to reconstruct.

19. *who turned away.* I.e. caused them to revolt. Syr. "who led the people by his counsel;" perhaps we should emend לָשׁוֹן, "who scattered" or "divided."
There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat. He caused Israel to sin, and shewed Ephraim the way of sin:
24 And their sins were multiplied exceedingly, that they were driven out of the land.
25 For they sought out all wickedness, till the vengeance came upon them.

There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat."

In the Greek this is the object of "left" in the first part of the verse. Syr. "let there be no remembrance to Jeroboam."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The subject of the first stanza (vv. 1-11) is Elijah; that of the second (vv. 12-16), Elisha. In stanza ii. v. 16 forms a natural transition to the mention of the pious rulers. Accordingly, king Hezekiah, with whom the prophet Isaiah is joined, forms the subject of the third stanza (vv. 17-24). The combination of prophets with kings (Nathan with David, xlvi. 1; Isaiah with Hezekiah), as well as the emphatic notice of the prophets (Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), shew that the author intended a review of the history of Israel from its religious aspect—although, at the same time, he may in his own mind also have classed the prophets with the representatives of Chokkmab.

As regards the theological standpoint of the writer, this chapter is of great interest and importance. We mark in it several points, as they successively emerge: (1) Verse 5 b seems to give further confirmation to the opinion previously expressed (see introduction to ch. xlv.) that the writer regarded the departed in Hades not as annihilated, although not in a state of consciousness nor of real life. (2) While we mark in vv. 10-12 the absence of any mention of or reference to a personal Messiah, there cannot be any doubt that the writer expected a Messianic kingdom, according to the Jewish conception of it. Its negative aspect in the punishment and destruction of the heathen was already set forth in ch. xxxv. 18, 19, and in the prayer, xxxvi. 1-17, where we should also notice the anticipatory fulfilment of prophecy (v. 15) in the restoration of Israel and the extirpation of Zion, on which see also xxxvii. 25 b. This positive aspect of "the kingdom" was further emphasised in the reference to Abraham in ch. xlv. 21, and to Isaac (v. 22): in that to David in ch. xlvii. 11, and even in the allusion (not contained in v. 22). These hopes are now fully expressed in ch. xlviii. 10, 11. (3) We gather from xlviii. 10, 11, that the writer identified the advent of this happy period with the return of

Elijah—sharing in this the ordinary Jewish views. (4) For the understanding of vv. 10, 11 we must call special attention to the Syriac translation, as not only restoring in some important particulars the correct text (as in the Hebrew original), but also affording to our mind clear evidence that the Syriac translation was made by a Christian hand. We further notice (5) that in v. 13 the Syriac evidently rightly omits the second clause; and lastly (6) that the writer not only fully admits the miraculous in the scriptural record of Israel (as in Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), but also the reality of prophecy as in the case of Isaiah in vv. 22-24. As regards the latter verses, there are notable differences in the Syr. Version. For, first, the Syr. has in v. 22 c, d, "as had commanded him Isaiah the prophet, the most glorious of the prophets." Secondly, v. 24 in the Syr. does not necessarily convey, as in the Greek, that Isaiah prophesied of "the last things." The Syr. version is as follows: "And in the spirit of might [probably according to Hebrew usage = the Spirit of God?] he saw [prophesied] new things and comforted the mourners of Zion. And so long as he was in the world he saw [prophesied] signs and wonders when they were not existent [before they took place]."

Comparing the Greek with the Syriac version (the Arab. is very corrupt), we ask ourselves whether the Syr. does not here represent the true Hebrew original and the Greek a latter alteration?

Looking back on the large belief in the supernatural on the part of the writer, his ignorance of another life seems certainly—to say the least—logically an inconsistency. But it is just the kind of inconsistency at which we do not wonder, which indeed we almost expect, on the part of such a religious philosopher as our author.

1. as src.] Cp. Isa. xxx. 18. The author refers to the fierce and uncompromising character of this prophet's messages.


2. by his zeal.] With reference to 1 Kings xix. 10.

be diminished their number.] Syr. "he split them." If the Greek translation be correct,
ECCLESIASTICUS. XLVIII.

3 By the word of the Lord he shut up the heaven, and also three times brought down fire.

4 O Elias, how wast thou honoured in thy wondrous deeds! and who may glory like unto thee!

5 Who didst raise up a dead man from death, and his soul from the place of the dead, by the word of the most High:

6 Who broughtest kings to destruction, and honourable men from their bed:

7 Who hearest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of vengeance:

8 Who anointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after him:

9 Who wast taken up in a whirlwind of fire, and in a chariot of fiery horses:

10 Who wast ordained for reproofs in their times, to pacify the wrath of the Lord’s judgment, before it brake forth into fury, and to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob.

11 Blessed are they that saw thee, and slept in love; for we shall surely live.
12 1 Elias it was, who was covered with a whirlwind: and Eiseus was filled with his spirit: whilst he lived, he was not moved with the presence of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection.

13 1 No word could overcome him: and after his death his body prophesied.

14 He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvelous.

15 For all this the people repented not, neither departed they from their sins, "till they were spoiled and carried out of their land, and were scattered through all the earth: Yet there remained a small people, and a ruler in the house of David:

16 Of whom some did that which was pleasing to God, and some multiplied sins.

17 1 Ezekias fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof: he dug the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.

18 In his time Sennacherib came up, and sent Rabscases, and lifted up Isaiah.
23 *In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king’s life.*

24 He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion.

25 He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The remembrance of Josias is like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the 34th.

Lat. versions omit this, and it is unnecessary if not perplexing in this context, it must be regarded as a dittography of καὶ ἐβηρέω.

lifted up his hand.] This is the reading of the worse MSS., but doubtless correct. For the expression, compare 2 Sam. xx. 21.

19. Omitted in the Syr.

22. was strong in.] Rather, abode by, πήνιν (Fritzsche). On the Syriac of clauses ε and d, see the introd.

23. In his time.] Syr. “by his hands,” reading πυρά (for υπάρ), which is probably right; compare, however, 2 Chr. xxxv. 4. The Syriac reading also makes the transition to Isaiah less abrupt.

24. what should come to pass at the last.] τιμής, “new things” (Isa. xlii. 9), like the Lat. novissima, seems from the Syr. to have been in the original. On the Syr. rendering of this verse, see the introd.

them that mourned in Sion.] From Isa. lxvi. 2, 3.

25. or ever they came.] Isa. xlii. 9.

CHAPTER XLIX.

This chapter consists of four stanzas. The subject of the first (vv. 1–3) is pious king Josiah, on whom, as a bright example of piety in very dark days, the writer dilates with peculiar tenderness. In the second stanza (vv. 4–10) the mention of the three pious kings—David, Hezekiah, and Josiah—leads him, by way of contrast, to speak of the wicked kings who had brought such unutterable misery on Israel. In accordance with our author’s method of combining kings (or reigns) with prophets, the reference to these kings brings up the names of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as well as the twelve prophets. The two former are described in accordance with the scriptural presentation of the leading features in their prophetic activity. We mark that, as afterwards Philo, our author gives special prominence to Jeremiah. The arrangement of his prophecies into those of judgment and consolation (v. 7, 8, 9) is in accordance with Jewish views. In v. 9 the subject is not Ezekiel but God, whose vision by Ezekiel had been described in v. 8 (see note on v. 9). In regard to v. 10 b, see the note.

The third stanza (vv. 11–13) refers to the activity of the post-exilian Jewish heroes: Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah. Ezra is not mentioned. The review of Israel’s history closes, not inapty, in the fourth stanza (vv. 14–16) with a retrospect upon the fathers of Israel’s history: Enoch, Shem, Seth, and Adam. It will be observed that they are enumerated in the inverse order of their succession. They are selected as the worthies to whom Israel’s covenant-history would be traced up. V. 12, regard to Adam, however, it is not clear whether v. 16 b does not refer mainly to his priority in time, as the first human being, the father of the whole race.

1. Josias.] See the passages cited in the margin.

like.] Lit. serves for. With the expression compare Cant. i. 2.

the composition of the perfume.] See Ex. xxv. 6, xxxi. 10. The translator adopts the LXX. version of the Hebrew words, in which σμύρνη is perhaps derived from a wrong root, meaning properly “burning,” “fumigation.”
ECCLESIASTICUS. XLIX.

2 They burnt the chosen city of the sanctuary, and made the streets desolate, according to the prophecy of Jeremias.

7 For they entreated him evil, who nevertheless was a prophet, sanctified in his mother's womb, that he might root out, and afflict, and destroy; and that he might build up also, and plant.

8 It was Ezekiel who saw the glorious vision, which was shewed him upon the chariot of the cherubims.

9 For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain, and directed them that went right.

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9 For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain, and directed them that went right.

that is made.] The Greek text refers “made” to the remembrance; the English translation follows a necessary correction.

as music, &c.] For the author's estimate of this, see sup. xxxiii. 5, 6.

The reference in clause 1 is not, however, necessarily to the incense of the sanctuary, but the meaning may be that of pleasure and refreshment, such as is conveyed to all the senses by perfume, honey, and music. And so it was a Jewish saying that “three things calm the mind of man, and they are these: sound [voice, music], sight, and smell [perfume].” (Ber. 57 b).

2. He behaved himself uprightly.] The original probably meant “he succeeded.” The Syr. renders: “he was hidden from temptations.” This perhaps represents no different reading, but a false connexion of the derivative of הָעִיִּים employed by the author with יהוה, “to carry captive;” which led to this glossing of the word “succeeded.” The verse indicates why his “remembrance” was so precious. On the activity of Josias, comp. 2 Kings xxii. 24.

3. be established the worship of God.] Lit. he strengthened.

4. The verse begins the second stanza. The author, one imagines, might also have mentioned at least Jehoshaphat and Asa; but (as Fritzsche remarks) the worship in the “high places” continued in their time.

failed.] I.e. came to ruin. Or, perhaps, rather, they deserted their post of duty.

5. be gone.] The Greek MSS. have all they gave, and this is rendered certain by the Syr. The author either refers to those foreign alliances which the prophets so severely condemned, or makes them responsible for result to which their actions led. Indeed, the two would be combined in the view of the writer. He would chiefly have in mind the calling in of the Assyrian power by Ahaz, with all its disastrous consequences to Judah and Israel; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

6. They.] The strange nation.

the streets.] Syr. “the ruins thereof.” ינשך and יאנשך were various readings. Doubtless the Greek reading is to be preferred.

according to the prophecy.] Lit. “by the hands.” We must read with the Syr. יָשָׂר, “in the days” of Jeremiah. The same variation was noticed at xlvi. 23.

7. Comp. the corresponding passages in Jeremiah, which can scarcely leave a doubt that the younger Sirach had the LXX. version of Jeremiah before him. The reference is to the twofold commission of Jeremiah: to destroy and to build.

8. the glorious vision.] Rather, the vision of the glory = הָעַיִם. The reference is to the visions described in Ezek. i, viii., and x.

which was shewed him.] Rather, which he shewed him.

9. For be made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain.] Lit. in rain. “Rain” is referred by the commentators to the ῥανγ καταληκτων, “flood ing rain,” with which in Ezek. xiii. 11 (LXX.) the false prophets are threatened. But the whole verse is so difficult and unsatisfactory that it cannot be supposed to represent the original faithfully. The Aeth. renders: “and he mentioned the enemy with wrath,” anticipating Fritzsche’s conjecture that the Hebrew דִּרְנָה, “wrath,” was corrupted into דִּרְנָה, “flood ing rain,” in the translator’s copy. The Syr., “and even concerning Job he
10 And of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed, and let their bones flourish again out of their place: for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope.

11 How shall we magnify Zoro­babel? even he was as a signet on the right hand:

give the singular. The latter would necessitate a reference to God (v. 9), and also the transposition (Fritzsche) of the last two lines of v. 10 to v. 9. In that case v. 10 would consist of only the first three lines in the A. V. On the whole we prefer this re-arrangement for the reason about to be mentioned.

and delivered them by assured hope.] Lit.

by (in) assurance of hope. Whether we retain this and the previous line in their present position, or, as we prefer, add them to v. 9, the subject must be "God." The Syr., which adopts the plural number ("they comforted") consistently with the reference to the prophets, alters the last line as follows: "and promised them that they should be delivered."

11. Here begins stanza iii. The omission of Ezra is somewhat remarkable. It is scarcely accounted for by the circumstance that only the rebuilding of the Temple and city were in the mind of the writer (Fritzsche). Did he feel out of sympathy either with the person or the special activity of Ezra in regard to the Law?

a signet.] The author adheres to his custom of employing characteristic phrases. In our view the writer does not intend to refer to the signet as an ornament, but to indicate that in and by Zerubbabel the previous promises of God to Israel were sealed.


who in their time. The addition seems needless, and, as we might expect, the Syriac is different; "by their exhortation," Polyglot; "in their poverty," Lagarde: the former is supported by the Arab., which, however, is corrupt. It is probable that the author wrote "with their hands," וינשימ, which was corrupted into ולשימ, as so often in these chapters.

built the house, and set up an holy temple.] Syr. "set up an altar and built a holy temple." This rendering avoids the tautology.

prepared.] A reference to Haggai's well-known prophecy; though the Siracide had no conception of the manner in which it would be fulfilled in the coming of the Messiah.
fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again. 14 But upon the earth was no man created like Enoch; for he was taken from the earth. 15 Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people, whose bones were regarded of the Lord.

CHAPTER L.

SIMON the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life re-

This chapter describes the services of the Temple in the time of Simon I., whose character and administration are highly extolled, and whose appearance in the various functions of his high-priestly office are also set forth under a variety of figures. It closes with a grand eulogy, perhaps in imitation of those at the end of each of the five books in the Psalter. This is followed by what we regard as a spurious later addition, alike in the Hebrew original and the Greek Version (see note on 25, 26). The book concludes with the name of the writer and a general commendation of that which formed the subject of the whole work.

The chapter seems arranged into six stanzas:—Stanza i., 1-4: praise of Simon I. as high-priest and ruler (see the General Introduction). Stanza ii.: the high-priest on the Day of Atonement, 5-10. Stanza iii.: the high-priest in the ordinary functions of his office, 11-20. Stanza iv.: grand eulogy, 21-24. [Stanza v.: later insertion, 25, 26.] Stanza vi.: general conclusion, 27-29. Thus the chapter would consist of four verses (stanza i.), six verses (stanza ii.), ten verses (4 + 6, stanza iii.), four verses (stanza iv.), and, omitting the interpolated stanza v., three verses (stanza vi.).

1. Simon the high priest, the son of Onias.] Syr. “son of Nathaniel,” a name with an easier etymology than “Onias.” In the list of the high-priests of that period we have no fewer than three of the name of Onias (four, if we include Menelaus; five, if we add the Onias who founded the temple at Leontopolis) in
ECCLESIASTICUS. L. [v. 2—5.]

 paired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple:

2 And by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple:

3 In his days the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass:

4 He took care of the temple that it should not fall, and fortified the city against besieging:

5 How was he honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary!

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Egypt. As regards the question which Simon is referred to in this verse—whether the first or the second of that name—we refer to the General Introduction, § II. The Syr. adds, “greatest of his brethren and crown of his people was.” And some such phrase seems required to give the sentence a commencement; it may have been omitted in the Greek copy by design or by neglect—probably the former.

repaired the house.] Gr. ἐστικαλπθη, well rendered in Latin by Kessler, “sartam tectam praestitit;” Heb. נַחֲלַת (Fritzsche). On the subject of these repairs we must once more refer to the General Introduction, § II.

fortified the temple.] Rather, strengthened or “rebuilt;” see the references in Gen. ‘Theas.’ v. v. פִּילו

2. And by him was built, &c.] This verse is obscure, and precise historical details are wanting (see General Introduction, § II.). The author apparently refers to a high surrounding wall built round the Temple; many of the words are to be found in the description of the palace at Persepolis given by Diodorus xvii. 71. The second clause may be translated “a lofty structure, a surrounding wall for the Temple.” ἑλεοδοδωρα—in the LXX. 2 Chron. xxiii. 5 “for Millo” —is employed to designate any massive structure; see Wesseling ad l. c., Diod., Suidas s. v., with the references in Bernardy’s edition. The first clause is rendered more difficult by the phrase ὧν ὕψος διαλίθη; which should mean, “by him was founded (= built) to the height of a double;” “a double,” διαλίθη, signifying some measure of length. In any case ὧν ὕψος, so close to ὑψόν, would suggest that the text was either corrupt or mistranslated. Perhaps the former was the case, and the original had ὅτι, signifying a “double wall” (compare l. c. Diod.), which the Syrian (whose text, however, is deficient) misread ὅτι, “height.” For various suggestions on this locality, see Fritzsche.

3. The A. V. here follows an emended text. The Greek literally rendered would be: in his days was diminished a receptacle of waters, brass [or, with some MSS., “a lake”], in circumference like that of a sea. It is clear that this “diminished” cannot represent the original correctly; nor are the attempts that have been made to correct the Greek text successful. Fritzsche, whose criticisms on the attempts of his predecessors are here as elsewhere painfully sharp, reads Ἐλατομία, “was cut out of stone;” a correction far inferior to that of Herzfeld (‘Gesch. Israels,’ ii. 195), Ἐλασμοθ. The Syriac Version, though it only preserves two words of the verse, enables us to correct the error with certainty. It renders “he dug a well,” shewing that ὅτι, “diminished,” in the Greek copy was an error for ὅτι, “dug.” But this also shews us that in the second clause ἀλωξός, “a lake,” must be substituted for χαλάς, “brass,” of the best MSS.; a substitution in accordance with the canon that a more difficult reading is to be adopted in preference to one easier. The whole verse should then be rendered, in his days was dug out a receptacle of waters, a reservoir in circumference like a sea. There seems here an allusion to some public work, probably with a view to render a longer defence of Jerusalem possible.

4. He took care of the temple.] The A. V. follows an emendation; all the best authorities have: who took thought for his people.

that it should not fall.] Rather, against ruin.

against besieging.] The author would seem to mean “to stand a siege in,” i.e. so that it could stand a siege. ἔτολοσιους would have been the correct Greek rather than ἔτολοσιους. The mistake may be due either to the translator or to his copyists.

5. Stanza ii. The description of the highpriest during the most solemn function of his office: on the Day of Atonement.

in the midst of the people.] Ewald took the words to mean “during the circuit of the people,” i.e. “on the solemn feast-day when the people walked in solemn procession round the sanctuary.” But this is impossible, since there was no such circuit on the Day of Atonement. Syr. “when he departed out of the temple;” whence Bretschneider corrected the Greek ναῶι for ναῶι.

in his coming out of the sanctuary.] Rather, when he came out from the house of
6 He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full:
7 As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds:
8 And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of summer:
9 As fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones:
10 And as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.
11 When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the

the veil, i.e. from behind the Veil—from behind the Holiest of all. As the high-priest only entered the Holiest of all on the Day of Atonement, the reference must be to his “glorious” appearance on that day. For details of the services of that day, we refer to ‘The Temple and its Services,’ ch. xvi. The appearance of the high-priest is described in the following verses under eleven figures.

6. as the morning star.] Compare Isa. xiv. 12.
in the midst of a cloud.] Syr. “between clouds.”

the moon at the full.] Lit. full in days. Syr. “in the days of Nisan;” a remarkable reading, if right, would seem to refer to the Paschal moon—but, if so, incorrectly. On the other hand, the autumn full moon—the harvest-moon—would be a much more suitable figure. It, as well as some of the subsequent figures, gains in significance when we remember that on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore “linen garments” (‘Temple and its Services,’ pp. 266, &c.).

7. As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High.] Syr. “upon a palace” (Heb. לַבִּירָם or מִשְׁרֵנָה!). The author is referring to girt rooves.
in clouds of glory.] Syr. omits “of glory.”

8. as the flower of roses in the spring of the year.] The expression “spring of the year” is the same as in xxiv. 23. Syr. “like the ears of the field;” an equally natural simile in our author’s mind; see on xl. 22.
as the branches of the frankincense tree.] The meaning of the expression ἐθανάτου λαί διον has been questioned. That represented by the A. V. is adopted by Fritzsch; and the reference to midsummer is explained by him (after Hug) from the observation of Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. i. 6), that the tree is tapped “under the Dog-star and in the hottest days.” It has been suggested that the mention of frankincense in the next clause renders this interpretation improbable; and that we should translate “the shoots of Lebanon.” This might indeed be referred to the fragrant herbs which grew there (so Herzfeld, l.c.; compare Cant. iv. 11), but it is more probable to be interpreted of the cedars, whose magnificent growth affords the material for so many biblical similes; since rich and luxurious vegetation rather than fragrance is the characteristic of all the plants mentioned in v. 10. On the other hand, however, aromatic plants alone are mentioned in one verse, and the mention of “branches of the frankincense tree” would form an apt transition to “the incense” in the next verse.
in the time of summer.] Probably “in harvest time,” לֵילָה יָרָן; cp. Syr. here, and LXX. of Prov. xxvi. 1. This corresponds with the date of the Fast.

9. as fire and incense. The figure of hendiadys is not common in the Semitic languages. We prefer, therefore, the reading of the Syr., לִעַי נָשָׁה, “offerings of incense”—conjectured independently by Fritzsch.
as a vessel of beaten gold.] Compare the similes in xxxii. 5, 6.

10. a fair olive tree.] “Fair” is found only in 248, Co.
budding forth fruit.] Rather, bringing forth. Syr. “whose branches are mighty,” perhaps thinking of נָרֵא for נָרֵה.
as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.] The cypress is φυλλίς (Theophrastus, Caus. Plant. iii. vii. 4). The tree spoken of, however, seems to have been the מַּיְנָן, or oleaster (cp. Syr.). The expression “which groweth up to the clouds” is so strange that even without the Syriac we might have guessed that the author had used the word פָּלִס, which bears the twofold meaning of “cloud” and “foliage,” and that the latter was the sense which the author intended to convey. Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. i. viii. 3 and iii. vi. 2) observes on the regularity of the boughs of this tree. To this feature our author probably alludes, but the original is difficult to reconstruct out of פַּרְעֹהַה and פָּלִיס.

11. Second stanza.
When he put on the robe of honour.] The
perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable.

12 When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the heath of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Libanus; and as palm trees compassed they him round about.

13 So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.

14 And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty,

15 He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweetsmelling savour unto the most high King of all.

16 Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and 'sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High.

17 Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.

18 The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.

19 And the people besought the Lord, the most High; by prayer before him that is merciful, till the distinctive vestments of the high-priest (see 'The Temple and its Services,' p. 72). Although during the ordinary part of the services on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore his usual vestments—"the robe of honour," or, as it is called, "the golden vestments"—yet it seems more likely that the reference now is to the ordinary, or to the Sabbath, or other festive functions of the high-priest. This, partly because it is not likely that these functions would remain wholly unnoticed, partly because we should scarcely expect that after the full description of the appearance on the Day of Atonement the writer would go back to it again. The wearing of the "golden vestments" during part of the Day of Atonement seems alluded to in the figure of v. 9. In connexion with this it here deserves notice that the services of that day were concluded by the high-priest in his "golden vestments" ('Temple and its Services,' pp. 285, 286). Indeed, a comparison of the figures in vv. 5-10 will shew that they correspond with the rubric regarding the vestments to be worn by the high-priest in the various functions of that solemn day.

be made the garment of holiness honourable.] Rather, he made the surrounding (the ambitus) of the sanctuary glorious. "The surrounding of the sanctuary" is the Court of the Priests where "the holy altar," i.e. the altar of burnt-offering, stood. For the rendering of δυαραμα by "sanctuary," comp. Ecclus. xliv. 10, 15; xxxvi. 15; xlix. 6. The high-priest might officiate on any day and in any of the priestly functions.

12. the portions.] Syr. "of flesh." The sacrifice was cut up in pieces according to certain rules, and salted before being laid on the altar. For the various rubrics, comp. 'The Temple and its Services,' pp. 90, 100, 135, 141.

16. 'sounded the silver trumpets] Or, trumpets beaten forth with the hammer.

17. as a young cedar in Libanus.] Omitted by Syr.; perhaps it has come in from v. 8.

18. the singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.

19. And the people besought the Lord, the most High; by prayer before him that is merciful, till the
solemniTY of the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service.

20 Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name.

21 And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High.

22 Now therefore bless ye the God of all, which only doeth wonderful things everywhere, which exalteth our days from the womb,

and dealeth with us according to his mercy.

23 He grant us joyfulness of heart, and that peace may be in our days in Israel for ever:

24 That he would confirm his mercy with us, and deliver us at his time!

25 There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:

26 They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem.

the priests drew three blasts from their silver trumpets, and the people bowed down and worshipped” (u.s. p. 143).

20. On the priestly benediction and the response of the people, see u.s. p. 141. In the Temple of Herod the priestly blessing was given before the meat- and drink-offering and the Psalmody.

21. Although this verse seems naturally to connect itself with that which precedes, the structure of the chapter (see introduction) requires it to be connected with the hymn which follows.

22-24. Although put in the mouth of the people, this is rather ideal than real, and the hymn of thanksgiving must be regarded as the original composition of the Sirachite rather than as forming part of the services in the Temple.

its catholic character, as distinguished from narrow Jewish views (v. 22 a, b);

its expression of a wider gratitude (v. 22 a, d);

its healthy tone (v. 28), and its pathetic utterance of hope (v. 24), entitle it to a place among the loftiest of uninspired hymns.

As noticed in the General Introduction, it has been reproduced in the well-known German hymn of Rinckart (about 1648): *Nun danket alle Gott*—with special appropriateness to the circumstances of the time of its composition—"the close of the Thirty Years' War. (For its translation into English, see 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.) The Syriac version of the hymn is as follows:

"According to the people of the earth praise the Lord,

Who doeth famous things on earth,

And created the sons of man from out the womb of their mother,

And ruleth them according to His will,

To give unto them wisdom of heart;

And let there be peace between them;

And let mercy be established with Simon:

[or : And let it be established with Simon the Just (see General Introduction, p. 61)]

And with his seed, as the days of heaven."

It will be observed that while the Syriac rendering is in the first five lines more universal in its tone than the Greek, being probably modified by the Syriac translator, the last three lines seem more accurately to express what one would expect to have been in the mind of the original Hebrew writer.

25, 26. There be two manner of nations, &c.] It has been suggested that these two verses have the appearance of being a riddle, containing the author's name or an indication of the date at which the book was completed. Upon the whole their insertion in this place—after the concluding eulogy of vv. 22-24 and before the customary close in vv. 28, 29—seems so strange and incongruous that we are disposed to regard them as the later addition of a scribe, and as dating from near the time of Herod. This on account of the covert allusion to Edom, which, as the birthplace of the family of Herod, the Idumean, was held in such general hatred at that time. For the reference to "the mountain of Samaria" must have been intended to cover some other allusion, the Samaritans being referred to in the last clause of the verse. The Hebrew original had no doubt "in mount Seir," referring to Edom. This is preserved in the Syr. יִשְׂרָאֵל (comp. Ps. lxxiii. 8—while in the Samar. version of the Pentateuch Seir is rendered by יִשְׂרָאֵל). Similarly, the Vct. Lat. translates: in monte Seir. By the expression "Philistines," we conjecture that the foreign—Grecian—settlers in Palestine (advenae) are meant, especially those who inhabited the older Philistine and Phoenician cities by the sea-coast. The
27 Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem hath written in this book the instruction of understanding and knowledge, who out of his heart poured forth wisdom.

28 Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things; and he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise.

29 For if he do them, he shall be strong to all things: for the light of the Lord leadeth him, who giveth wisdom to the godly. Blessed be the Lord for ever. Amen, Amen.

CHAPTER LI.

A Prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach.

I WILL thank thee, O Lord and King, and praise thee, O God my Saviour: I do give praise unto thy name:

2 For thou art my defender and helper, and hast preserved my body from destruction, and from the snare of the slanderous tongue, and from the lips that forge lies, and hast been mine helper against mine adversaries:

3 And hast delivered me, according to the multitude of thy mercies and greatness of thy name, from the teeth of them that were ready to devour me, and out of the hands of such as sought after my life, and from the manifold afflictions which I had;

4 From the choking of fire on every side, and from the midst of the fire which I kindled not;

words "they that dwell among" are taken from H, 248, Co., but are not in any of the principal MSS., which have only "the Philistines."

CHAPTER LI.

Viewed generally, this chapter consists of three parts: Part I., vv. 1-12; Part II., vv. 13-27; Part III., vv. 28-30. The first two parts consist of several stanzas. Part I. has two stanzas, each of five verses (vv. 1-5; 6-10), and closes with a stanza of two verses (vv. 11, 12). Part II. has three stanzas, each of five verses (vv. 13-17; 18-22; 23-27). Part III., which may be regarded as the general conclusion, consists of one stanza of three verses. Not only the different parts of this chapter, but the stanzas of which each part consists, are well marked by the difference of the subject in each of them. Perhaps this is least clear in Part I. But here also we notice that from the record of strictly personal events in stanza i. (vv. 1-5) the writer passes in the second stanza (vv. 6-10) to a more general religious consideration of them and a statement of his own spiritual experience, which in the third stanza rises into thanksgiving (vv. 11, 12). This forms an apt conclusion of Part I. In Part II. the writer once more gives in the first stanza (vv. 13-17) what may be called a more personal account of his inner life as regards Wisdom, and again passes in the second stanza (vv. 18-22) to a more general statement in regard to it. Lastly, stanza iii. is an admonition addressed to all, and based on the writer's personal experience of Wisdom. This prepares for Part III., which contains a general commendation of the pursuit of wisdom and piety.

As regards critical points we note that this chapter is wanting in the S. H. Version, and in one or two MSS. Fritzscbe would place it before vv. 27 of the last chapter, without any adequate ground. Bickell endeavours to prove that it was an alphabetical psalm. In any case, from its personal character, the author was justified in making it an appendix to his book, within which it would have been entirely out of place. The Syriac Version has many strange variations (as in the preceding chapters), all of which do not require to find a place here.

1. I will thank thee, &c.] Cp. the commencement of Ps. cxxxviii. The Aeth. inverts clauses 1 and 2. On the circumstances of danger which beset the author, see the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8, 13.

2. For thou art.] Rather, hast been on a particular occasion.

3. and greatness of thy name.] Lit. those who stood beside me—naturally in a hostile sense, "waiting to destroy me."

4. mine adversaries.] Lit. the snare of the slanderous tongue. For the circumstances in Ben Sira's personal history which explain this verse, comp. the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8.

5. and of thy name. The text, if right, exhibits a remarkable zeugma. Aeth. "and on account of thy name." Some MSS. (with the Lat.) solve the difficulty by omitting the copula; and this Fritzscbe adopts after Drustus. The original is likely to have been וַשְּנֵן בֵּית תְּמוֹשׁ, "according to the multitude of the
5 From the depth of the belly of hell, from an unclean tongue, and from lying words.

6 By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue my soul drew near even unto death, my life was near to the hell beneath.

7 They compassed me on every side, and there was no man to help me: I looked for the succour of men, but there was none.

8 Then thought I upon thy mercy, O Lord, and upon thy acts of old, how thou deliverest such as wait for thee, and savest them out of the hands of the enemies.

9 Then lifted I up my supplication from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death.

10 I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the days of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, when there was no help.

11 I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving; and so my prayer was heard:

12 For thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks, and praise thee, and bless thy name, O Lord.

13 When I was yet young, or ever I went abroad, I desired wisdom and openly in my prayer.

14 I prayed for her before the temple, and will seek her out even to the end.

15 Even from the flower till the mercies of Thy Name," when the was corrupted into 'I. The reason for the periphrase must have been rhythmical.

4. *which I kindled not.* Le. trouble which I had brought on by no folly of my own. It is likely, however, that there is a mistranslation, and that the original meant "so that I was burnt."

5. *the belly of hell.* Or, rather, Hades—or also in v. 6. The phrase is from Jonah's hymn (ii. 3, ἐκ τῆς ἱλάρας), to which this chapter contains several allusions. The meaning is that he was guiltless.

unclean tongue.] Comp. "Isa. vi. 5, "of unclean lips," which, however, is rather different.

6. *By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue.* The text of the best MSS. is here corrupt and must be corrected. The inferior MSS. read δαβολίας for δαβολιάς. The text means: from a false accusation to the king, from the accusation of an unrighteous tongue. The A. V. follows a correction, δαβολία. Grpt. "from the calumny of the tongue of violence of the king." This clause, however, really forms part of the preceding verse, to which it should be joined. With the next clause begins the second stanza, which is connected with the first by the resumption of the reference to Hades.

my soul drew near, etc.] Similar complaints are frequent in the Psalms.

7. *They compassed me.* Syr. "I turned behind."

8. *out of the hands of the enemies.*] The better MSS. have hands of the Gentiles. This would also fit in better with the peculiar circumstances of danger in which the writer was placed.

10. *the Lord, the Father of my Lord.* "Christi ut apud Davidem Pa. cx. i." (Grotius). This, however, is impossible in such a book as this. The Syriac shews us that the original text signified: "unto the Lord, my father, O Lord."

in the time of the proud, when there was no help.] The construction is difficult; the best critics seem, however, agreed about the meaning.

11. Concluding stanza of Part I. and so (rather, see) my prayer was heard.] Apodosis of v. 10. The whole cast of this stanza is entirely in accord with the spirit of the Old Testament. Whatever Israel lost in its degenerate times, it was not the dignity of suffering.

13. The verse begins Part II. Here Bickell makes the alphabetical portion begin.

or ever I went abroad.] The commentators are divided between this meaning and that suggested in the margin. For the author's travels, see xxxiv. 11. Yet "to wander" need mean no more than "to leave the nest."

openly.] Perhaps "loudly."

14. *before the temple.* Cp. Ps. v. 8; cxxxviii. 2. The posture of the suppliant is that of looking towards the sanctuary.

and will seek her out.] A holy resolution to persevere in what he had from the first
grape was ripe hath my heart delighted in her: my foot went the right way, from my youth up sought I after her.

16 I bowed down mine ear a little, and received her, and got much learning.

17 I profited therein, therefore will I ascribe the glory unto him that giveth me wisdom.

18 For I purposed to do after her, and earnestly I followed that which is good; so shall I not be confounded.

19 My soul hath wrestled with her, and in my doings I was exact: I stretched forth my hands to the heaven above, and bewailed my ignorance of her.

20 I directed my soul unto her, and I found her in pureness: I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning, therefore shall I not be forsaken.

21 My heart was troubled in thee, seeking her: therefore have I gotten a good possession.

22 The Lord hath given me a tongue for my reward, and I will praise him therewith.

23 Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the house of learning.

24 Wherefore are ye slow, and what say ye of these things, seeing your souls are very thirsty?

25 I opened my mouth, and said, "Buy her for yourselves without money, and she is hard at hand to find.

sought, and in which experience had confirmed the wisdom and goodness of his choice.

15. Even from the flower till the ripening grape.] The writer has in mind Isa. xviii. 6. If the reading adopted by the A. V. be right, the author is referring to his own lifetime, "from earliest youth to manhood." The simile is a common one in the classical poets. Horace's inimitis svae and Pindar's γέννησαι φαίνεται ὑπεράνεσθαι ἐκλέπτειν will occur to many readers. Most MSS., however, have ὄς, "as," for ἔς, "till," giving a difficult verse, which might be explained with Fritzschc: "from her [Wisdom's] flower, as from the ripening grape," &c.

16. and got myself, &c.] Compare the phrase in the Prologue.

17. I profited.] Rather, I made progress. Syr. "her yoke became a glory to me," Perhaps ἐγνώζω has been confused with ἐγνώς.

18. This verse begins a new stanza.

19. bath wrestled with her.] Syr. "clung to her." Can there be any reference here to the wrestling of Jacob? But the word is not the same as that used in Gen. xxxii. 21.

20. The order of the clauses in the T. R. is as follows: "I directed my soul," "I have had," "I found her," It is clear that the order of the A. V. is correct, which is supported by A and S.

I have had my heart joined.] Lit. I gained heart, i.e. I acquired wisdom, לְעֵינִי (as the Syr. shews).

with her.] The T. R. has "with them." The Syr. omits the phrase.

21. My heart.] The marginal reading is that of all the best authorities, doubtless altered for decency's sake. Syr. "my entrails burned like an oven."

22. This verse begins a new stanza. The Orientalists feel no modesty in praising their own works. In an Arabic letter shewn the commentator, the author of a poem in honour of Mohammad writes: "Have you not heard what the author of it says of it?—Blessed are all they that read it; lost are all they that cast it aside." At the same time the praise in this verse may be intended rather for what formed the subject of the work than for the writer's mode of presenting it.

24. and what say ye of these things.] These words are omitted by the best MSS., and are shewn to be spurious by the Syr. In reality they represent a gloss τι λέγετε upon the διώκει οὐστερεῖτε, "why are ye slow," of the text.

25. A recommendation willingly to submit themselves. The expression "yoke" for "obligation" is common in Jewish writings:
Behold with your eyes, how that I have had but little labour, and have gotten unto me much rest.

Get learning with a great sum of money, and get much gold by her.

Let your soul rejoice in his mercy, and be not ashamed of his praise.

Work your work betimes, and in his time he will give you your reward.

comp. Ab. iii. 5; Ber. iii. 2 (especially the latter).

Syr. adds, "and he that giveth his soul will find her."

The labour was brief, the rest great and lasting. We prefer referring the sentence to the author's experience as regards his submission to wisdom and piety than to the labour of composing his book and the satisfaction ensuing from it.

rest.] The Syr. omits the word. Perhaps נֵסָּה, "a present," should have been read rather than נֵסָּה, "rest."

Concluding part. The Syr. renders this verse: "Hear my teaching though little, and ye shall gain silver and gold by me."
BARUCH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. CONTENTS AND DIVISION.

The Book of Baruch, as it stands in the Authorized Version, consists of several parts distinctly marked:—


Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. Israel's Confession and Prayer in the time of captivity.

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. Israel admonished to return to the Fountain of Wisdom.

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. Encouragement and promise of a happy deliverance.

The Epistle of Jeremy, which appears in the A.V. as Baruch chap. vi., is a distinct work, which it will be better to consider in a separate Introduction.

The first step towards determining the relation of these several parts to each other, and to the whole, is to state briefly the contents of each, before attempting to examine them critically.

Chap. i. 1-14. THE HISTORICAL PREFACE. (a) Origin of the Book in Babylon (i. 1-9). (b) Message sent with the Book to Jerusalem (i. 10-14).

(a) This is the Book which Baruch wrote in Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and read in the ears of King Jehonias and all the captives who dwelt by the river Sud. "Whereupon they wept, fasted, and prayed before the Lord;" and, having collected money, sent it to Jerusalem with the book (v. 14), and with the silver vessels brought from the Temple, which Zedekiah had made after Jehonias had been carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar (1-9).

(b) With the money and the book was sent this message: "Spend the money in sacrifices, pray for Nebuchadnezzar and his son Balthasar, that we may live long and happily under their shadow, and that God may forgive us our sins, and turn his anger from us. Read this book of confession and prayer in the Temple upon the solemn Feasts" (10-14).

Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. ISRAEL'S CONFESSION AND PRAYER. (a) Confession of sins (i. 15—ii. 10). (b) Prayer for forgiveness and deliverance (ii. 11—iii. 8).

(a) The Lord is righteous, but we and our fathers have sinned against Him since the day that He brought them out of the land of Egypt (i. 15-19). The judgments therefore which God foretold by Moses and the Prophets have justly fallen upon us; yet, notwithstanding all God's terrible chastisements, we have not repented and turned to Him (i. 20—ii. 10).

(b) And now, Lord, remembering Thy mercy to our fathers in Egypt, we acknowledge our sins, and pray Thee to "deliver us for thine own sake," that our
INTRODUCTION TO BARUCH.

afflicted souls may live to praise Thee (11–18). We plead not any righteousness of our fathers, or of our kings. Thy prophets warned us to submit to the king of Babylon, but we hearkened not to the warnings which Thou hast now made good upon our fathers, upon us, and on Thy holy House (19–26). Yet in all this Thou hast dealt mercifully with us, according to Thy word by Moses, that, after being made few in number and scattered among the heathen, Thy people should remember themselves and turn unto Thee, and be brought back to the land promised to their forefathers, and be joined to Thee in an everlasting covenant, and be no more cast out of the land (27–35).

We cry to Thee in anguish: hear us in Thy great mercy: hear the prayers of Thy people, and remember not their iniquities: for now Thou hast put Thy fear in our hearts, and we praise Thee this day in the midst of our captivity (iii. 1–8).

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. ADMONITION TO RETURN TO THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM. Why art thou in captivity, Israel? Because thou hast forsaken the Fountain of Wisdom. Where Wisdom is, there is life and peace (9–14). But who has found the place of Wisdom? Not the rulers of the earth, nor those whose hearts were set upon riches; neither they, nor their children after them, nor the wise of all nations, nor the giants of old time have found Wisdom. None hath found her in all the wide world, in the sky, or beyond the sea; none but the All-Wise, the Maker of the world and all that is therein, whom the light and the stars obey (15–34). This is our God, and He hath given wisdom unto Israel in the Law that endureth for ever. Happy art thou, O Israel, if thou wilt walk in that light (iv. 1–4).

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. ENCOURAGEMENT, AND PROMISE OF A HAPPY RETURN. Let Israel take courage. The remnant shall not perish, though they have provoked God to jealousy by idolatry, and have grieved Jerusalem their mother (5–8).

Sion appeals to her neighbours for pity, because her children have departed from God’s law, and been carried into captivity by a strange and terrible nation (9–16). Turning now to her children, she cries, How can I help you? He that hath sent these evils on you will deliver you. Go your way; and while I in sackcloth cry unto the Eternal, cry ye also to Him for deliverance. For He has given me a joyful hope that ye shall return with gladness. Therefore bear His chastisement patiently, and ye shall see the destruction of your enemies. Seek Him with tenfold earnestness, and He will save you (17–29).

Jerusalem herself now receives a message of comfort. Woe to thy enemies! Woe to the city where thy children are in bondage! She shall be desolate, burned with fire, a habitation of demons.

See thy children gathered to thee again. Put on again thy glorious apparel. God giveth thee a new name. Arise! Stand upon the height, and see every valley exalted, every mountain brought low, that thy children may be brought back to thee in the light of the glory of God (iv. 30—v. 9).

Looking back over this summary of the contents, we see clearly that there is no essential connexion between the first portion i. 1—iii. 8, consisting of the Prayer and its historical preface, and the second part iii. 9—v., containing the Praise of Wisdom and the Promise of speedy deliverance.

Accordingly, in considering the questions of Authorship, of the Time and Place of Composition, and of the Original Language, we cannot admit any argument which rests on the supposed unity of the Book, but must examine the two parts separately, before attempting to discover how they came to be connected.

§ II. THE REPUTED AUTHOR.

We do not propose in this section to discuss the authenticity of the book, but only to review the historical and traditional notices of Baruch, the reputed author.

The book which bears the name “Baruch” (“Blessed”) professes to contain “the words of the book which Baruch the son of Neriah . . . wrote in Babylon
in the fifth year" after "the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire."

The Baruch here meant is unquestionably the companion of the prophet Jeremiah, described by Josephus as "being of a very illustrious family, and eminently learned in his native tongue." (Ant.'x. ix. § 1.) He is first mentioned in Jer. xxxii. 12, as "the son of Neriah;" and was thus the brother of "Seraiah, the son of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah," who went to Babylon with Zedekiah, king of Judah, taking with him the book in which Jeremiah had written "all the evil that should come upon Babylon" (Jer. li. 59, 60).

The ancestry of Baruch is traced back for three generations before his grandfather Maaseiah in Baruch i. 1, an historical notice the truth of which is generally admitted.

In Jeremiah xxxvi. Baruch appears as the prophet's faithful friend, who wrote in the roll of a book, and read first to the people assembled in the outer court of the Temple on a public Fast-day, in December 605 B.C., and then in the ears of the princes of Judah, all the words in which Jeremiah gave warning of the coming destruction. Of Baruch we do not hear again until after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 588 B.C.; but from the statement of Josephus, in the passage already quoted, that Jeremiah, when set free from chains at Ramah (Jer. xl. 1-6), entreated Nebuzaradan to release Baruch also, we may infer that he had shared his master's captivity.

After the murder of Gedaliah and the flight of Ishmael (Jer. xlii.), the prophet delivered to "the remnant of Judah" a warning from God not to seek refuge in Egypt, but to remain quietly in their own land (xlii.). The advice was rejected, and Baruch was accused of urging Jeremiah to deliver the people into the hands of the Chaldeans (xliii. 3); and both the prophet and his faithful companion were compelled by "the captains of the host" to go with them into Egypt, where they dwelt at Tahpanhes (xv. 7), a town of Lower Egypt on the eastern border, near Pelusium, called by Herodotus Daphnae, and identified by Sir Gardner Wilkinson with Tel-Defennèh ('Dict. of the Bible').

There Jeremiah uttered his prophecies of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii. 8-13 and xlvi., xlvii.), and his remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt (xlvii.). The fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, though not recorded in the historical books of the Old Testament, is attested by Josephus, who says that Nebuchadnezzar slew the king of Egypt, and set up another in his place, and again made captive the Jews who were in Egypt, and led them away to Babylon ('Ant.' x. 9, § 7).

According to a Jewish tradition (Seder olam rabba, c. 26) Jeremiah and Baruch were both carried away to Babylon at this time, and a trace of this same tradition is seen in the Greek superscription of Ps. cxxxvii., which the Vatican Codex attributes to Jeremiah (Σῷ Δαβὶ Ιερεμίων).

Another tradition, mentioned by S. Jerome ('adv. Jovin.' ii. 9), states that Jeremiah and Baruch both died in Egypt, the former being stoned by the Jews at Tahpanhes, for his stern rebuke of their apostasies. This is usually regarded as the most trustworthy account: but, according to another rabbinical tradition, Baruch left Egypt after his master's death, and himself died in Babylon twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

In concluding this notice of the reputed Author of the Book, we may draw attention to an interesting view of the personal character of Baruch in Jer. xlv. The chapter expressly refers to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when Baruch wrote the words of Jeremiah in a book, and read them in the ears of the princes (Jer. xxxvi.). Baruch himself was deeply affected by the message which he had to deliver: "Thou didst say, Woe is me now! for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow; I fainted in my sighing (R.V. I am weary with my groaning), and I find no rest."

But the word of the Lord must be fulfilled: "That which I have planted I will pluck up, even this whole land." Let Baruch therefore form no vain hopes, nor seek great things for himself, but be content to know that wherever he may go his life shall be protected.

The nature of this prophecy explains its position: being purely personal and
private, it is not inserted in the course of the history after Jer. xxxvi., but appended, with other isolated prophecies, at a later period, probably after the death of Jeremiah, to his final remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt.

§ III. THE ALLEGED PLACE AND TIME OF WRITING.

According to the account given in Baruch i. 1–14, the book was written by Baruch, the son of Neriah, “in Babylon, in the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire.”

The first question is, To what capture of Jerusalem does this statement refer?

(1.) In the year B.C. 606, Nebuchadnezzar “came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years” (2 Kings xxiv. 1): “then he turned and rebelled against him. And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, . . . and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets” (v. 2). On this occasion, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6, Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim “in fetters, to carry him to Babylon;” but this intention seems to have been frustrated by the death of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6; Jer. xxii. 18, 19): “Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon” (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7).

Jehoiachin, who succeeded, reigned only three months, and then was carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, with great treasure, and with the princes and all the men of might. These events took place B.C. 599–597; but though Jerusalem was besieged and taken more than once, there is no mention of its being burnt with fire at this time.

(2.) In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, B.C. 588, the king having been previously carried away captive to Babylon, “came Nebuzaradan . . . unto Jerusalem, and he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king’s house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man’s house burnt he with fire” (2 Kings xxv. 9). The same event is described in similar language in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19, it being expressly mentioned that “they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire.”

It is beyond all reasonable doubt that this latter destruction of Jerusalem is the event referred to in the words of Baruch i. 2, “what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire:” and in the fifth year after that event, i.e. in 583 B.C., Baruch is said to have written the book and read it in the ears of Jehoiachin. (Compare note on i. 2.)

The objections urged against the historical truth of this statement are numerous, the most important being drawn from the representations in i. 1–14: but our course will be cleared if we deal first with arguments drawn from other portions of the book.

Thus, in the sections iii. 9—iv. 4 and iv. 5—v. 9, there are expressions which betray a later date than the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem in 588 B.C. In iii. 10 a late period of the Captivity is implied in the words “thou art waxen old in a strange country:” and in iv. 22, 24, 25, the assurance that the promised deliverance is near at hand is emphatically repeated.

It is not enough to answer, as Reusch does on iv. 22, that “the seventy years of the exile are but a short time in comparison with the ‘everlasting joy’ which follows thereon (iv. 29; v. 1: compare Isa. liv. 7, ‘For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee’).” In fact, the continuance of the Exile for seventy years was foretold, not as a short but as a long time, in direct contradiction to the false prophet who promised deliverance within two full years (Jer. xxviii. 3, 11; xxix. 5–10).

With regard to Isa. liv. 7, 8, the prophet appears to set himself in imagination beyond the close of the Captivity, whereas Baruch is supposed to write not long after its commencement. In looking back upon the Exile as past, it was quite natural to regard it as of short duration: but the hope of speedy deliverance in Baruch iv. 22–25, though put into the mouth of Sion at the time of her children’s departure, is in fact only suited
to a late period of the Captivity, and is directly contrary to the expectation expressed in i. 12, "We shall serve them many days."

The true answer is that the objection is decisive as to the later date of these sections, but does not affect the previous section, i. 1—iii. 8, which is perfectly distinct.

Returning to the introductory section, i. 1—14, we have to consider the objection that it "contains historical errors which are inconceivable in a contemporary, but may fairly be imputed to a later writer."

The general charge, thus stated by Fritzsche and adopted by most Protestant commentators, is based upon alleged misrepresentations of—(A) the personal history of Baruch; (B) the circumstances of the captives in Babylon; (C) the condition of Jerusalem.

A. The presence of Baruch in Babylon in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem (i) has no other evidence, and (x) is improbable, because Baruch attached himself constantly to the person of Jeremiah, and he was at that time still alive (Fritzsche; so also Lange).

(1.) As regards the want of evidence to confirm the statement that Baruch was in Babylon (i. 1), it might be fairly answered that there is no evidence against it, and therefore no inference to be drawn either way. The scriptural history, as we have seen, is silent concerning the latter years of Jeremiah and Baruch after their arrival at Tahpanhes.

Either of the traditions above mentioned, that they were both carried away by the Chaldeans from Egypt to Babylon, or that Baruch after his master’s death joined the Jewish exiles in Babylon and died there twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem, is in itself as probable as the other tradition, that both remained in Egypt and died there.

(2.) The confident assumption that Jeremiah was still alive in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem is not supported by any particle of evidence. On the other hand, the tradition that both died in Egypt states also that Jeremiah was stoned by his countrymen: if this were so, the occasion was probably his rebuke of their idolatry, which seems to have occurred soon after his arrival at Tahpanhes (Jer. xlili. 8—xlvii.); and probability is thus given to the view that Baruch survived him. We conclude that, beyond the statement of i. 1, 2, there is no evidence either for or against Baruch's visit to Babylon, and no improbability in it. Certainly we cannot admit Fritzsche's positive assertion: "There is, therefore, an error in i. 1, 2."

B. (1.) "According to i. 3, King Jehoiachin was present at the reading; but at that time he was still in prison" (Fritzsche).

This objection rests solely upon an extremely literal, and probably exaggerated, view of the statement in 2 Kings xxv. 27, concerning the release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach many years later. It is not probable that the king or his fellow-captives were kept for thirty-seven years in such close confinement as to be forbidden to meet together to listen to the reading of a book by one of their number.

(2.) "In i. 11 the son of Nebuchadnezzar is called Balthasar." Balthasar, i.e. Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1), was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to the custom of the writers of the Old Testament, might be called his son, as in Dan. v. 2, 11, 18, Nebuchadnezzar is called the "father" of Belshazzar, being in fact his grandfather. Our author, taking the expression too literally, makes Belshazzar heir to the throne during the life of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31), was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, on whose death (556 B.C.) his infant son, Laborosoarchod, was murdered by the usurper Nabonadius (Labyrinthus). This last having married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Nittiocris), associated his eldest son, Belshazzar, with himself as co-regent, thus restoring the line of Nebuchadnezzar. Nabonadius, when defeated by Cyrus, fled to Borsippa, while Belshazzar was shut up in Babylon and there perished, B.C. 538. The touching prayer of Nabonadius for Belshazzar —"my eldest son, the offspring of my heart,"—in one of the cuneiform inscriptions, is given in the 'Speaker's Com-
mentary’ on Dan. v. 1, where the history of the period is admirably discussed.

C. State of Jerusalem.—(1.) It is argued that the state of Jerusalem in the fifth year after its destruction by the Chaldeans could not have been such as is assumed in the request of the exiles that their money might be spent in sacrifices (i. 10), and the book read in the house of the Lord upon the feasts and solemn days.

Reusch answers that of the people who had not been carried away some would naturally gather again round Jerusalem (compare Jer. xl. 22), having among them some priests who had either been left behind by the Chaldeans or had escaped and hidden themselves: that though Temple and Altar had both been destroyed, they might have raised an Altar among the ruins, and resumed their sacrifices and observance of the Feasts, as well as the circumstances would permit. This explanation is in fact justified by the statement in Jer. xii. 5, that there came Jews “from Shechem, and Shiloh, and Samaria, with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord.”

Thus the ruins of the Temple (as the chief modern interpreters agree) are still called by Jeremiah himself “the house of the Lord;” and if offerings are brought in less than three months after its destruction, much more may have been done in five years towards a partial restoration of the accustomed worship.

(2.) “It is not true that Joachim was at that time the High Priest.”

In this objection there are two points to be examined: (a) The title ascribed to Joachim, the son of Hilkiah; (b) The date.

(a) “The priest” (δ ἱερέας, i. 7) very frequently means “the High Priest,” this latter title (ἡγεμόνια) being rare in the Pentateuch, and the corresponding ἀρχιερέας still rarer. On the other hand, ἀρχιερέας has become frequent in the Apocryphal books, while δ ἱερέας is, apparently, only once in them applied to the High Priest (I Macc. xv. 1, 2).

In Jeremiah (xx. 1; xxxi. 1; xxxix. 20, 21; xxxvii. 3; lii. 21) we find “the priest” (δ ἱερέας) used as a distinctive title of persons who were not the High Priests, as “Pashur the son of Immer, the priest, who was also chief governor in the house of the Lord” (xx. 1–6) in the time of King Jehoiachim, and “Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah, the priest” (xxi. 1; xxxvii. 3) in the time of Zedekiah. To this Zephaniah a letter was sent by Shemaiah from Babylon, in which he said, “The Lord hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye should be officers in the house of the Lord” (xxix. 26).

The office in which Zephaniah succeeded Jehoiada was that of “second priest,” or “Sagan,” as we learn expressly from Jer. lii. 24: “The captain of the guard (Nebuzaradan) took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest,” and brought them to Riblah, where they were put to death, B.C. 587, and Seraiah was succeeded as High Priest by his son Jehozadak, who was carried away captive to Babylon (1 Chr. vi. 14).

Thus the contemporary usage of the title by Jeremiah, and the absence of the name of Joachim from the list of High Priests in 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14, combine to shew that Joachim is called “the priest,” as being the successor of Zephaniah in the office of “second priest” and “governor of the house of the Lord.”

(b) As to the date Kneucker (p. 208) argues that “the author of the (alleged) interpretation (i. 4–9) has no doubt mistaken the time at which Joachim son of Hilkiah attained the office of ‘second priest,’ when he puts him in office in the fifth year after the capture of Jehoiachim, i.e. B.C. 595: for he was much earlier.”

But “the fifth year” is not B.C. 595, but, as we have shewn, B.C. 583, and even with this later date there is no such mistake as is alleged.

Hilkiah is mentioned as High Priest in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4), i.e. about 620 B.C. His son might therefore well be the “second priest” in 583 B.C., about thirty-seven years later; and in that office he would have the care of the treasury, more especially in the absence of the High Priest in Babylon.
(3.) Another alleged error is the statement that "vessels of the house of the Lord" were at that time brought back, "namely silver vessels" which Zedekiah had made (i. 8).

The golden vessels provided by Solomon (1 Kings vii. 48-50; 2 Chr. iv. 19-22) are said to have been "cut in pieces" (2 Kings xxiv. 13), or, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, when he brought Jehoiachin "to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the Lord."

On this occasion (599 B.C.) there is no mention of silver vessels. But at the end of Zedekiah's reign, when Nebuzaradan "burnt the house of the Lord," we read (2 Kings xxv. 9, 15) that "the fire-pans, and the bowls, and such things as were of gold, in gold, and of silver, in silver, the captain of the guard took away."

This express mention of silver vessels at the end of Zedekiah's reign, and the absence of any such mention on the previous occasion, seem to give probability to our author's statement (i. 8) that they had been made by Zedekiah to replace the golden vessels which had been destroyed and carried away at the beginning of his reign: just as, when Shishak carried away the golden shields which Solomon had made, Rehoboam made shields of brass to replace them (2 Chr. xii. 19). "It is true," says Reusch, "that in Kings and Chronicles (where the narrative of the reign of Zedekias is very defective) this is not expressly stated, but it is in itself very probable that Zedekias, the successor of Jehoiachin, caused those golden vessels, such at least as were indispensable to the Temple service, to be replaced by new, cheaper, silver ones.

"These new silver vessels, together with the others which had been left behind in 599 B.C., were carried away to Babylon in 588 B.C., after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 13 ff.), and were (as we learn from Baruch) restored at this time,—being either redeemed by the exiles or restored by Nebuchadnezzar out of compassion to the penitent Jews; while the other silver and the golden vessels remained in Babylon till the time of Cyrus."

There is nothing improbable in this explanation, and the allegation of error, resting only on an argument e silentio, is by no means proved.

The following is, according to Reusch (p. 47), the most probable combination of events partly stated, partly assumed, in the Book of Baruch.

"In the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, i.e. in 583 B.C., Baruch was in Babylon, and read his book to Jeho- niah and an assembly of the Jewish exiles.

"This assembly made a collection of money, and sent the produce to Jerusalem.

"In the letter which accompanied it, the Jews at Jerusalem were exhorted to present offerings for Nebuchadnezzar and for the exiles, and to read Baruch's book (sent with the letter) on Feast-days."

Baruch himself was the bearer: he was going back to Jerusalem to restore some of the vessels of the Temple which had been carried off at the time of its destruction; namely, silver vessels made by Zedekiah to replace the original golden vessels carried away by Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of the city in the time of Jehoiachin, B.C. 599.

"In this there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Baruch himself composed this short historical preface to his book, though it is also possible that some one else may have added it afterwards."

This defence is ingenious, but not adequate. We may acknowledge our belief that the tendency of modern criticism has been to exaggerate the supposed evidence of spuriousness drawn from the historical statements of the book. If, however, these statements were entirely free from any great inaccuracy, it would not necessarily follow that Baruch was the author, but only that the real author was well informed concerning the events of which he writes. On the other hand, the serious error of representing Belshazzar as contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar (see above, B 3) is fatal to the theory of Baruch's authorship, and betrays an ignorance which can only be imputed to one who lived long after the death of Belshazzar and the return of the exiles.
§ IV. RELATION TO THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

One of the commonest and strongest arguments against the genuineness of the Book of Baruch is based upon its want of originality and its close dependence upon earlier books. There is much truth in the objection, at least as applied to the earlier portion (i. i—iii. 9); but there is also much exaggeration and inaccuracy in the expressions used.

Eichhorn, as quoted by Reusch, p. 66, calls the book "a mere rhapsody out of various ancient Hebrew scriptures, especially Daniel and Nehemiah." Keel, also quoted by Reusch, writes still more strongly: "Every Prophet of the Old Testament brings new as well as old out of his treasure. The worthy Baruch contents himself with transcribing the older prophecies. In comparing the contents of his book, there comes over one a feeling as if some incompetent scribbler had wished to do an exercise in the language and style of the Prophets; it reminds one of the rhetorical practice of a feeble schoolboy, who composes an opusculum out of all sorts of passages."

Fritzsche, with more justice, speaking of the first part only, calls it "a cento from earlier writings, in which Jeremiah, Daniel, Nehemiah, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah are so strongly used, that this necessarily carries us on into a later time which had lost all productive prophetic power."

We do not find, even in the first part, any proof of dependence on Nehemiah; but the use made of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in the first section, and of Isaiah in the second, is such as goes far to justify the conclusion which Fritzsche has drawn.

The similarity between Baruch i. 15—ii. 17 and Daniel ix. 7—19 is too evident to be denied, and too close to be accidental. The two passages are so much alike, not merely in single phrases and sentences, but in the whole course of thought, that no one can help assuming a connexion between them. But while fully admitting this connexion, Reusch tries to maintain the genuineness of Baruch by suggesting that he, and not Daniel, is the original author. In support of his opinion he appeals to the frequent resemblance to passages of Jeremiah, and argues that the prayer, composed by Baruch, may have come into general use among the Jews in captivity, to whose circumstances and feelings it is very suitable, and thus its language was adopted by Daniel in his prayers, as also in "the Prayer of the Three Children in the Furnace."

This argument, if well founded, would be more effectual in destroying the genuineness of Daniel than in establishing that of Baruch.

A more impartial judgment on the relation between Baruch and Daniel is expressed by critics like Fritzsche and Kneucker, who deny the authenticity of both alike. They "can afford to see," as Dr. Pusey says of Fritzsche, "that the Book of Daniel was used" in Baruch, on account of the late date assigned to the latter.

Dr. Pusey's own judgment is too valuable to be omitted: "The great prayer of Daniel is made the basis of the early portion of the prayer in Baruch. . . . The agreement is not in formulae, but in whole verses, and that in the same order. Nor can there be any doubt, that Daniel is the original, which is filled up and expanded in Baruch. The prayer of Daniel is one whole, whose inspired thoughts, like those in the Psalms, have formed the devotions of 2300 years, ever gushing forth in renewed fulness. . . . " . . . The prayer in Baruch, on the contrary, is a mosaic formed of jewels from Daniel, Nehemiah (?), and Jeremiah, blended together, yet not forming one distinct whole." (Lectures on Daniel, p. 362.)

§ V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

Three different opinions have been held concerning the original language of the book: (a) that the Greek text is throughout original; (b) that it is throughout a translation from Hebrew; (c) that the part i. i—iii. 8 was originally written in Hebrew, and iii. 9—v. 9 in Greek.

It will be desirable to consider the language of these two parts separately, it being universally admitted that they do not contain equally strong evidence of a Hebrew original.
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In I. 14 the author, writing in the name of the Exiles, directs that his book shall be read publicly in the Temple at Jerusalem. This of course implies that the book to be so read was written in Hebrew, and the evidence would be conclusive if the Introduction (i. 1-14) were the genuine work of Baruch: even a later author may have intended his prayer to be used in public worship, and we are "hardly justified in assuming this direction to be a mere fiction" (Fritzsche). The real evidence, however, lies in the language of the Greek text itself, and in its relation to the Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint.

It may be admitted that a translation from Hebrew might possibly be written in so pure a style as not to be distinguishable from an original work in Greek; or, on the other hand, a book written in Greek by a Jew, accustomed to think and write in Hebrew, might bear the appearance of a translation from Hebrew.

The question is therefore put on a right basis by Fritzsche when he says that even strong Hebraisms may indicate only that the writer was a Jew, not necessarily a translator; "but the question is as to the nature of those Hebraisms and of the whole work. Where a man's thoughts and words run back at once into Hebrew, where we find what is absolutely contradictory to the genius of Greek not distinguished from the context, and can discover only faint colouring of genuine Greek, while on the other hand considerable knowledge of Greek accident and, in a measure, of syntax is shewn—there the writing must be a translation, because otherwise this very knowledge must have had a more decided influence, and the appearances can only be explained by the restraint which hampers the writer. And this principle is applicable here: the section i. 1-iii. 8 contains not only individual examples of strong Hebraism, but is almost one entire Hebraism, and reads like another translation in the Septuagint." (p. 71).

We proceed to notice the special instances alleged in proof of a Hebrew original.

(a) The constant use of καὶ (Heb. 1) at the beginning of a sentence, when in ordinary Greek some other conjunction would be used.

(b) The relative followed by a demonstrative, as in Hebrew (אֹתָן). The same construction occurs also in ii. 13, 29; iii. 8. All these passages are derived directly or indirectly from Deut. xxx. 3, where the LXX have the same close imitation of the Hebrew.

(c) i. 15, ὃς ἦν ημερὰ αὐτῆς. The same phrase is repeated in i. 20; ii. 6, 11, 26, in all of which places it is in quotations from canonical books, and agrees with the rendering of the LXX.

The instances given above are generally accepted as proofs of a Hebrew original (Fritzsche, Reusch, Lange, Kneucker). If their evidence is somewhat weakened by their occurrence in citations from the Hebrew Scriptures and their close agreement with the Septuagint, it is on the other hand worthy of notice that the later section of Baruch is almost, if not entirely, free from these forms of Hebraism.

In i. 10, προὶ ἐμπροσθ, meaning "sin offerings," is a phrase which may have become familiar in Hellenistic Greek from its use by the LXX; and in ii. 25 the strange use of ἀφορμή for "persistence" is closely connected with Jer. xxxii. 36.

More decisive evidence of translation from Hebrew is found in the following passages, and discussed in the notes on them:—

i. 10, μακά, said to be used in translations only, not in any original Hellenistic writing.

ii. 18, καὶ ἦν μέγεθος καν., as it seems, only be explained as representing some Hebrew word which has been misread or misunderstood.

On ii. 29, βύθυπνοις, and iii. 4, τεθυματο, see the Additional Notes.

In these and other passages we may recognise the truth of Fritzsche's remark that, in this first section, "the very literal translation allows the exact Hebrew to gleam through."

A further proof of the existence of a Hebrew original is found in the fact
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mentioned by Schürer ('Geschichte d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,' p. 724), that in the Milan MS. of the Hexaplar Syriac there is a marginal note at i. 17 and ii. 3, "This is not found in the Hebrew."

In the second part (iii. 9—v. 9) Kneucker gives a long list of Hebraisms, most of which are so thoroughly naturalised in Hellenistic Greek, that they prove nothing concerning a Hebrew original:

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iii. 11. προσελογίζομεν μετά τών εἰς θέου, a citation from Ps. lxxviii. 4.

iii. 24. οἶκος θεοῦ for "heaven:" see note on ii. 16.

iii. 31. οὐκ ἔστιν δ' γυνάκων.

iii. 33. ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ φώτος καὶ πορεύεται.

iii. 35. καλοθείνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. Is not this good Greek?

iv. 5. λαΐς μου.

iv. 18, 21. ἔσελθαν ἐκ χειρός ἐξήρων.

iv. 20. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου.

iv. 26, v. 5. ἄνω ἀντωνίων ἔστι δούμων. See Matt. viii. 11.


v. 4. καλεῖσθαι, in the sense "to be:" "thy name shall be called."

Such examples are far too weak to prove a Hebrew original, and cannot be compared to the instances collected from the first part.

The following are more deserving of consideration, though far from convincing:

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iii. 17. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τέλος. Compare Nah. ii. 9; iii. 9, 9; Isa. ii. 7; ix. 7; Eccl. xii. 12.

iii. 18. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξήρωσις. Compare Job v. 9; Ps. cxlv. 3; Prov. xxv. 3; Eccl. viii. 16; Isa. xl. 28.

iv. 22. τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτήρος. See the note.

v. 6. ὡς ἤρθον βασιλείας. See the note.

The insufficiency of the evidence derived from these Hebraisms in the second part is admitted even by the advocates of a Hebrew original. They acknowledge also that the Greek style differs from the language of the earlier chapters, being purer, more flowing, more choice in particular words and phrases.

The contents also are more original, and "in the appreciation and treatment of older prophetic and didactic passages (the author) shows a certain independence and versatility; and here and there we cannot deny to him a certain poetic force and vivid representation. Com-

pare, e.g., iii. 15, 24, 32; iv. 5, 23, 30, 36" (Kneucker).

On the whole, we may safely conclude that the evidence of translation is almost irresistible in the first part, while in the second there is more probability in favour of the Greek as original. In Dr. Fusey's judgment the latter part bears "no marks of a translation" ('Lectures on Daniel,' p. 361)

§ VI. PROBABLE DATE.

The marked difference between the two portions of the book, both in style and contents, casts much doubt upon the unity of authorship, and makes it not improbable that the two parts were composed by different authors at different times: but when, or by whom, we have not the means of deciding.

Ewald assigns an early date to the first section of the book,—"written during the last period of the Persian rule, as the communities in and around Jerusalem were becoming more restless and disaffected towards the existing rule, and, on the other hand, the communities in the East were fearing, and perhaps had actually experienced therefrom, great injury both to themselves and the cause of the true religion generally." ('Prophets of the Old Testament,' v. 109.)

This early date is declared by Kneucker (p. 55) to be "absolutely impossible," without any reason except that it is opposed to his theory of the late date of Daniel. Fritzsche, apparently for the same reason, assigns the composition to the late Maccabean period; while Kneucker himself is unable to reconcile the contents and purposes of the book with the circumstances of the Jews in any period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70.

The earlier date assigned to this first portion of the book by Ewald appears much more probable: the arguments in favour of it are very forcibly stated by Ewald in 'The History of Israel,' v. p. 207 (Engl. Tr.), and again in the work quoted above.

In regard to the second section (iii. 9—v. 9), Ewald's judgment, that "in point of age, subject, and purpose, as
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well as art and execution, it was originally a different piece," will hardly be questioned by any one who is not interested in maintaining that the whole book is the genuine work of Baruch.

The uncertainty as to the original language of this section increases the difficulty of assigning it to any definite period. Dr. Pusey, speaking of the latter portion, says, "that mostly original and beautiful section was probably written not so long after the close of the Canon. It is written amid hopes of a speedy restoration, but in a calm atmosphere of trust, in the consciousness of no troubles beyond those which were the results of the Captivity, and with no anticipation of the distresses of the Maccabeian period. It was, then, doubtless written before Antiochus Epiphanes." If, however, the Greek text is the original, the comparatively late date of the composition is rendered probable by its dependence upon the Septuagint, in such expressions as ἐνωτισάε (iii. 9), τί ὅτι (iii. 10, ἦν ἐφιάμον πάχη (v. 3); and especially in the words ἑπετέλεσε δόξης (v. 1), and ἐσ διώκαμον (v. 7), on which see the notes.

Schürer (p. 724) sees a decisive proof of very late date in the remarkable similarity between Baruch v. 9 and Psalm of Solomon xi. The Psalms of Solomon were not written till after the death of Pompey (B.C. 48), that event being graphically described in Ps. ii. 30, 31. But there is no sufficient evidence that our author borrowed from this late Psalter. From a careful examination of the similar passages, it seems more probable that both borrowed independently from the Septuagint.

§ VII. Text.

For the purpose of this Commentary it will be sufficient to mention briefly a few of the chief authorities to which we may have occasion to refer in discussing the more important variations of the Greek text.

I. The Textus Receptus is contained in the edition of the Septuagint published at Rome in 1587 by authority of Pope Sixtus V., and based upon the famous Vatican Codex (B). The text of the Roman edition was several times republished by Tischendorf, and a sixth edition by Nestle in 1880, with prolegomena, emendations, and the various readings of the oldest uncial MSS.

II. The Vatican Codex (B) of the 14th century, edited by Vercellone and Cozza ('Bibliorum Sacrorum graecus codex Vaticanus,' Romae, 1688-1785, tom. i–v). The Book of Baruch is in the fourth volume.

III. Codex Alexandrinus (A), of the 5th century, in the British Museum, edited by Grabe (Oxon. 1707–1720) and by Baber (1812–1828), is the basis of the edition of the Septuagint published by Field (Oxon. 1859), at the cost of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The Codex has been recently published in a photographic fac-simile. A full account of it is given by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint (pp. lii.–liii.).

Of the value of the text of this famous uncial Fritzsche (p. vi) gives the following estimate:—"Greater attention has been given to the Codex Alexandrinus only in order to shew that it is greatly overvalued; and notwithstanding its antiquity, it ought, with its made-up text, to be used only with great caution."

In the great critical edition of the Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827), the variations of twenty-five manuscripts are compared with the Vatican Text of the Book of Baruch. After comparing these variations in thirty-one passages, Kneuecker (p. 97) thus states his conclusion:—"Although the original text of the Greek Version is found in no one MS. entirely pure, yet it may be recognised and restored with certainty everywhere, except in some four passages [ii. 10, 18, 29, 31], from the Vatican Codex with help of other manuscripts, of which five are sufficient for the purpose,—namely, III. (Alex.), XII. (Marchalianus), 22, 233, 239."

XII. Codex Marchalianus (Vat. 2125), an uncial of the 6th or 7th century, but of no great critical value.

235 (Vat. 2067), a cursive of the 12th century.

239 (Bologna 641) is dated 1046 A.C.
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These three MSS. contain both Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy.

22 (British Museum), a cursive of the 11th or 12th century, contains Baruch.

This MS. and 233 are said to "belong, according to a recent discovery of Paul de Lagarde and Mr. Field, to the recension of the martyr Lucian made in the 3rd (?) century" (Lange, p. 61). The recension here meant seems to be the revised version of the Septuagint made by Lucian in the 4th century: see 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' Lucianus (12).

Fritzsche (p. 174) gives the following classification of the MSS. collated by Holmes and Parsons for the Book of Baruch:

"(1) To the first class belong 22*, 48, 51, 231, 62, 96. These agree closely throughout, and often stand alone, but then always give arbitrary changes; e.g. in i. 9 they give, in agreement with the Syriac, καὶ τοῖς ἑκάστιν, an interpolation from Jer. xxiv. 1 (Sept.).

"In general agreement with these are also 36, 49, 26, 198 (reaching to ii. 19), and 229.

"(2) The second class consists of the Codex Alexandrinus, 33, 70, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 228, *233, *239. In this class, however, particular divergences are more frequent. Thus Alex. stands oftener alone, and here, as elsewhere, it is shewn that its text is an amended one, which existed elsewhere in a purer form.

"Lastly, *XII., 23 [Venetus, an uncial marked by Holmes and Parsons as a cursive], and 106 are of a very mixed nature, agreeing sometimes with the first class, sometimes with the second."

The Received Text is acknowledged to be an essentially good one: the two classes into which Fritzsche divides the MSS. represent two revisions of it, not strictly independent, yet often preserving the original reading, especially when their chief witnesses agree.

The CodexSinaiticus (Friderico-Augustanus) and the famous Codex Ephraem Syri rescriptus (C) do not contain Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy. For these books Tischendorf compares the Roman Text with the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. only, making no use of Versions or Fathers (Proleg. p. xxii.).

Versions. — The ancient versions, Latin (2), Syriac (2), Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, are all made from the Greek.

The Latin Version adopted in the Vulgate (Vetus Lat. a) is part of the so-called Itala, in use before the time of Jerome, who did not include either Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy in his revision.

It is an extremely literal, even servile, rendering of the Greek; Fritzsche does not hesitate to call it also "a paquo full of provincialisms and grammatical blunders." Kneucker, who gives a detailed account of the readings of this version (pp. 141–151), concludes that "The old Itala, for the Book of Baruch, has followed a Greek text which is not contained entire in any of the known Greek Codices, which are also altogether of later origin,—a mixed text, which may be traced most frequently (apart from the Vatican Codex II.) in the MSS. 62, 36, III. (Alex.), 48, 231."

The second Latin Version (Vet. Lat. b), first published at Rome by Tommasi, 1688, was re-edited by Sabatier ('Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae'), and thought by him to represent the earliest form of the Itala, but is described by Fritzsche as a less literal and more latinised reproduction of Vetus Lat. a, collated with a Greek text.

A full account of the Syriac and other ancient versions is given by Kneucker.

The English Authorized Version agrees generally with the Vatican Text; where this differs materially from the Alexandrine, or from the Latin, the readings of these latter will be noticed in the Commentary, but minute textual criticism is not embraced in the plan of this work.

§ VIII. PLACE IN CANON.

St. Jerome expressly states that neither the Book of Baruch nor the Epistle of Jeremy had any place in the Hebrew Canon; nor is any portion of either work extant in Hebrew.

On the other hand, it is stated in the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' v. xx., that the Jews, "even now on the tenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when they assemble together, read the Lamentations of Jer-
miah” (iv. 29), “and Baruch, in whom it is written. This is our God, &c.” (Bar. iii. 36). This statement may possibly have arisen from the direction in i. 14.

In the Greek Bible both works are placed among the writings of Jeremiah; and in the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS., as also in the Roman edition, they stand in the following order: (1) Jeremiah, (2) Baruch, (3) Lamentations, (4) Epistle of Jeremy.

In the Latin Bible as revised by St. Jerome, Baruch and the Epistle are both omitted for the reason above stated, nor have they any place in the oldest known MS. of the Vulgate, the Codex Amiatinus.

In the Clementine, and other editions of the Vulgate, “the Prophecy of Baruch,” including the Epistle of Jeremy as chap. vi., is placed after Lamentations.

At the Council of Trent it was recognised, among the other deuterocanonical books, as part of the Old Testament Canon (‘Conc. Trid.’ S. 4, decr. de can. Script., cited by Reusch).

In the English Bible, at the time of the Reformation, it was removed to the place where we now find it among the Apocrypha.

APPENDIX: THE TITLES OF GOD IN BARUCH.

It is interesting to notice the use of different titles of God in different parts of the book.

In the First Section, i. 1—iii. 8:—
(a) Kύριος and its cases without the article stand alone more than twenty times, and with the article twice (ii. 9, 17).
(b) Kύριος θεός ἡμῶν about five times (i. 18, 19, 22; ii. 5; iii. 8).
Kύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν (Ἰσραήλ, αὐτῶν) about ten times (i. 10, 13, 21; ii. 11, 12, 15, 19, 27, 31; iii. 6).

In the Second Section, iii. 9—v. 9:—
(a) Κύριος apparently does not occur at all, but only θεός, or ὁ θεός, as far as iv. 7.
(b) In iv. 8 αἰώνιος first occurs in the combination θεόν αἰώνιον. Compare Isa. xl. 28.
(c) In iv. 10, 14, 20, 22 (first part), 24, 35, and v. 2, ὁ αἰώνιος seems to take the place of Κύριος as representing the sacred name ΙΕΒΟΥΑΗ.

Also in the latter part of iv. 22 (παρὰ τῶν αἰώνιων σωτῆρος ἡμῶν) it probably has the same sense, “The Eternal your Saviour,” corresponding to “The Lord (ΙΕΒΟΥΑΗ) your Saviour” in Isa. lxxx. 26; lx. 16.

(d) ‘Ο ἄγιος, “The Holy One,” is not found in the First Section; but in iv. 22, 37 and in v. 5 it stands alone, as in Isa. xl. 25 and Hab. iii. 3. In the canonical books it is commonly found in combination with other words, e.g. “the Holy One of Israel.”

This remarkable difference between the two parts of the book in the words used to represent the sacred name ΙΕΒΟΥΑΗ seems strongly to confirm the other evidence that the two parts had different authors or translators.

For the general argument and main substance of this note on the titles of God, and for very valuable criticism on other parts of this commentary on Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy, I am indebted to the Rev. P. H. Mason, B.D., Tutor, President, and Hebrew Lecturer of St. John’s College, Cambridge.

E. H. G.
CHAPTER I.

1 Baruch wrote a book in Babylon. § The Jews there wept at the reading of it. ¶ They send money and the book to the brethren at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER I.

I-14. HISTORICAL PREFACE.

On the contents of these verses see the Introduction, § 1.

1. And these are the words.] Compare Jer. xxix. 1, “Now these are the words of the letter,” &c. The conjunction implies that the Book of Baruch is to be connected with the writings of Jeremiah, which it follows immediately in the ancient MSS. (See the Introduction, § viii.)

the son of Nerias, the son of Maasiai.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 12. The same descent is ascribed in Jer. li. 59 to Seraiah, Baruch’s brother, who was the chief chamberlain of Zedekiah, and went with him to Babylon. This Maasiai, or Mahseayah (Heb. מַשֵּׁה), is not to be confounded with the Maasiai (Heb. מָשָׁא) who is mentioned in Jer. xxxv. 4 and in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 as “governor of the city” in the time of Josiah, nor with the Maasiai in Jer. xxix. 21.

Sedecias.] The name is the same as Zedekiah, but the person here meant is not to be identified (as in the ‘Dictionary of the Bible,’ art. “Sedecias”) with the false prophet in Jer. xxix. 21, 22: see the preceding note.

Asdiasi.] The name, not the person, is the same as in 1 Chron. iii. 20. “Hasadiah.” The Syriac Version gives “Sarai,” from a mistake between two similar letters.

Chelciai.] The same name, in the Hebrew form, was borne by Hilkiah, the father of Elisah, who was over the household of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 18, 26; Isa. xxii. 30, xxxvi. 3); by Hilkiah, the High Priest in the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4); and by Jeremiah’s father, one “of the priests that were in Anathoth” (Jer. i. 1).

The Old Latin (b) adds after the name of Chelciai “of the tribe of Simeon;” but we have no proof of this statement in the genealogies, only a bare possibility being implied in the fact noticed in 2 Chr. xv. 9, that some of the tribe of Simeon joined themselves to Judah and Benjamin in the reign of Asa.

In the work known as “The rest of the words of Baruch” Jeremiah is called a priest, and Baruch a Levite.

“Th e strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpyov. ‘Intro. in lib. Vet. Test. Jerem.’) that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maasaki, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family” (“Dictionary of the Bible,” art. “Jeremiah”).

in Babylon.] On the question whether Baruch was ever in Babylon, see Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

2. In the fifth year.] The date from which this “fifth year” is to be reckoned must, of course, be gathered from the context, and accordingly can be no other than the time when “the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire,” i.e. 588 B.C.

The proposal to refer the date to the fifth year of the exile of Jehoiachin, B.C. 595, is quite arbitrary, and only serves to make a difficulty where none really exists.

in the seventh day of the month.] According to 2 Kings xxv. 8, Nebuzaradan came “unto” Jerusalem in the fifth month, “on the seventh day of the month;” according to Jer. ii. 12, he came “unto” Jerusalem in the fifth month, “in the tenth day of the month.” The burning of the city, which followed, is not limited by either of these passages, nor by Baruch, to one particular day; there is therefore no necessary discrepancy.

It is possible (as Kneucker suggests) that the original reading in Baruch was—“in the fifth year, in the fifth month, and in the seventh day of the month;” and that the second clause being so similar to the first was accidentally omitted, as in Ezekiel xxxii. 17.
seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire.

3 And Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jehochanias the son of Joachim king of Judah, and in the ears of all the people that came to hear the book.

4 And in the hearing of the nobles, and of the king's sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and of all the people, from the lowest unto the highest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud.

5 Whereupon they wept, fasted, invoked the Lord, and prayed before the Lord.

6 They made also a collection of money according to every man's power:

7 And they sent it to Jerusalem unto Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom, and to sons of Jehoiachin. See the note on Jer. xxii. 30, "Write ye this man childless," and compare the expression "our kings" in v. 16.

6 the elders.] These are mentioned (with the priests and the prophets) in Jer. xxix. 1 as "the residue of the elders which were carried away captive."

from the lowest unto the highest.] "from the least even unto the greatest," as in Jer. xlii. 1, or "both small and great," as in 2 Kings xxiii. 2, where the same words are used by the LXX., meaning "both young and old."

the river Sud.] Of this river nothing is known except from this passage. We may infer that it was not far from Babylon, but beyond this the endless conjectures concerning its position are of little use.

5 Whereupon, &c.] "And they wept and fasted." Compare 2 Sam. i. 12.

Instead of the contents of the book being given here, as we might have expected, the effects of the reading are first stated.

and prayed.] The rendering in the margin, "vowed vows," represents the reading of the Alexandrine and other MSS., which may have been suggested by the mention of offerings in what follows (v. 6, 10).

6. according to every man's power.] Literally, "according as each man's hand was able;" an evident Hebrewism. Compare Deut. xvi. 10 (Sept.) and 17; "every man shall give as he is able," marg. "according to the gift of his hand."

7. sent it.] The "it" should be in Italics, being rightly supplied, as is seen from v. 10. Ewald's rendering "sent him," i.e. Baruch, is less natural.

Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom.] Read, "Joachim the priest, son of Hilkias, son of Shallum." Joachim is not here called the High Priest, but simply "the priest" (דְּרוֹפֵא), being thus distinguished from the general body of priests, probably because he was (like Pashur, Jer. xx. 1, and Zephaniah, Jer. xxix. 25, 26) the 'chief
the priests, and to all the people which were found with him at Jerusalem,

8 At the same time when he received the vessels of the house of the Lord, that were carried out of the temple, to return them into the land of Juda, the tenth day of the month Sivan, namely, silver vessels, which Sedecias the son of Josias king of Juda had made,

9 After that Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Jechonias, and the princes, and the captives, and the mighty men, and the people of the land, from Jerusalem, and brought them unto Babylon.

10 And they said, Behold, we have sent you money to buy you burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and prepare ye manna and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;

governor in the house of the Lord," and therefore the proper person to receive the money. Compare Ezra viii. 29, 33; and see more on this point in the Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

*aubich ware found with him. [Compare 1 Sam. xiii. 15, "and Saul numbered the people that were present (marg. "found," LXX. τῶν εὐποθέσανων) with him."

8. At the same time when he received.] Omit the words "at the same time," which are not expressed in the Greek, nor required in the English. The person meant is evidently not Joachim, for he is described as being already at Jerusalem, but the chief person previously mentioned, namely Baruch, who being at Babylon (is said to have) received the vessels in order "to return them into the land of Juda."

the temple.] The sanctuary, or Holy Place (Δωρεά), distinguished from "the house," as a whole, and from "the oracle" or Holy of Holies: see 1 Kings vi. 3, 5.

to return them.] The Greek word (ἀναστατίζων), not very commonly used in this sense "to restore," seems to be taken from Jer. xxviii. 3, where Hananiah falsely prophecies that within two years God would "bring again" all the vessels of the Lord's house that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away, and also bring back Jehoiachin and all the captives. Compare Jer. xxix. 10 and Baruch i. 12. No restoration of the vessels is elsewhere recorded before the time of Cyrus.

the tenth day of the month Sivan.] The Vat. Codex has Σεοσάον, which is probably an error for Σεοσίναν, the name of "the third month, that is the month Sivan" (Esther viii. 9), corresponding nearly to June. The words seem to be misplaced here, and Hitzig thinks their proper place is in v. 14. If retained here, they define more closely the time when Baruch is said to have "received the vessels." Reusch supposes that his intended departure was delayed some weeks; and the assembly, which is to be regarded as immediately preceding it, took place "on the seventh day of the fifth month."

silver vessels.] On the historical worth of the statement concerning these vessels, see the Introduction, § iii. p. 247.

9. The whole verse is taken from 2 Kings xxvii. 14 and Jer. xxiv. 1, with some remarkable variations.

the princes.] These are not princes of the royal blood, but the chief officers of the court (ἀρχιερείας, τοῦ ἱεροῦ).

the captives.] See the Additional Note.

the mighty men. [Greek, δυναστεῖς. These might be either, as in 2 Kings xxvii. 14, "the mighty men of valour," (ρῶς δυναστείας λεγών), or more generally, as in 2 Kings xxvii. 15, "the mighty of the land" (ρῶς λεγότερος τῆς γῆς), i.e. the rich and powerful, the same class who in v. 4 are called "the nobles" (τῶν δυναστῶν). This latter sense is the more probable, as corresponding more nearly to the Septuagint version of Jer. xxiv. 1 (τῶν προσώπων, "the rich.")

and the people of the land.] These, in contrast to "the mighty men" above mentioned, can only be the common people in general: many of these were carried away into captivity; for, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 14, "none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land."

10-14. A message sent from the captives in Babylon to Jerusalem, with the gold and the Book of Baruch.

10. sent you money to buy you burnt offerings.] Read, "sent unto you money, and buy ye for the money burnt offerings."

sin offerings.] Literally, "for sin" (εὐαπτίς), as in Isa. liii. 10; Ps. xl. 6; Heb. x. 6, 8.

manna.] Read, "a meat offering." The reading of the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. πάσα is a frequent corruption of ἡμᾶς, the Greek form of the Hebrew word for a meat offering (בּ'אָשֶׁר, misbah-):
11 And pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven:

12 And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their sight.

13 Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God; and unto this day the fury of the Lord and his wrath is not turned from us.

14 And ye shall read this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of the Lord, upon the feasts and solemn days.

compare in the Septuagint Jer. xvii. 26, xli. 5.

Offer upon the altar.] See Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

11. In Jer. xxix. 7, the exiles themselves are bidden to seek the peace of the city whither they are carried away captive.

Balthasar his son.] The LXX. use the same Greek form of the name both for Belshazzar (Dan. i. 7) and for Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1). This latter, here called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was in fact his grandson; see the notes on Dan. v. 2, 11, in the 'Speaker's Commentary,' and our Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

On the meaning of the name Belshazzar ("Bel protect the king"), see the Additional Note on Dan. i. 7.

At the days of heaven upon the earth.] Both here, and in the original passage (Deut. xi. 21) from which this phrase is taken, the more exact rendering is "as the days of the heavens above the earth," i.e. as long as the heavens continue to cover the earth,—in other words, to the end of time. Compare Job xiv. 12, "till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake," Ps. lxxxix. 29, "his throne as the days of heaven."

12. And the Lord will give us strength.] Compare Ps. xxix. 11: "The Lord will give strength unto his people." The effect of the prayers for the kings of Babylon will be that in their prosperity they will be favourable to the captives, who will long enjoy their protection. "In the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (Jer. xxix. 7).

Lighten our eyes.] I.e. give us safety and prosperity. Compare Ezra ix. 8; Ps. xiii. 3, xix. 8; and Baruch iii. 14.

Live under the shadow.] The protection enjoyed under the rule of a powerful monarch is compared to the shadow of a great tree; thus Ezekiel, when describing the Assyrian as "a cedar in Lebanon," says that "under his shadow dwelt all great nations" (xxxii. 6; compare Dan. iv. 12). It is a different image when the Psalmist speaks of "the shadow of God's hand," or "the shadow of his wings."

Serve them many days.] In accordance with Jer. xxix. 5, 28.

13. Pray for us also.] Ewald draws attention to the tone of genuine humility in these Jewish exiles, who, "with a consciousness of their errors and calamities, gladly accept for themselves the intercession at Jerusalem."

Sinned against.] Greek, "sinned unto," as in ii. 5; Prayer of Manasses, 7.

The fury of the Lord and his wrath.] Both words in the Greek express strong emotion; but when they are distinguished, "wrath" (ὀργή) is the settled feeling of anger, and "fury" (θυμός) its sudden blaze. The distinction is well seen in Ecclesiastes xxviii. 10: "to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment before it brake forth into fury" (κοπάσαι ὀργήν πρὸ δυναμοῦ).

14. This book.] The Book of Baruch, referred to in i. 1, and contained in i. 15—iii. 8.

To make confession.] This meaning of the Greek word (ἐκκοφράσω) is fully established by its use in Ezra x. 1, "when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed (ἐσθρησκευθήσατε), weeping and casting himself down;" and in Neh. ix. 2, "stood and confessed (ἐσθρησκευθήσατε) their sins," and ib. v. 3. It is found also in Lev. v. 5, xvi. 21, xxvi. 40; Num. v. 7; Neh. i. 6; Ps. xxxii. 5; Dan. ix. 20. A public confession is to be made in the very words of the book, which follow in v. 15 ff.

The meaning given by Fritzsche and Lange, "we have sent you this book to make it known," is very feeble.

In the house of the Lord.] See note on v. 10; and Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

Solemn days.] Lit., "days of season," an unusual expression: but compare Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 8, "He altered seasons and feasts."

Apop.—Vol. II.
BARUCH. I.

15 And ye shall say, "To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness, but unto us the confusion of faces, as it is come to pass this day, unto them of Juda, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

16 And to our kings, and to our princes, and to our priests, and to our prophets, and to our fathers:

17 For we have sinned before the Lord,

18 And disobeyed him, and have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in the commandments that he gave us openly:

19 Since the day that the Lord brought our forefathers out of the land of Egypt, unto this present day,

16. our kings, &c.] The like enumeration of special classes, beginning with the highest, and so shewing that none are to be excepted, is frequent in Jeremiah, e.g. xxxii. 32: in Dan. ix. 8, the priests and the prophets are not mentioned, but the fuller enumeration given by our author is found also in Neh. ix. 32, and our fathers.] All generations as well as all classes are included in the author's view, which embraces the whole history of Israel from the giving of the Law to the time present (v. 19).

17. For we have sinned.] "For that," compare Dan. ix. 8, "because we have sinned against thee," and see the note at the end of the chapter on the Greek construction, and on the evidence of a Hebrew original of Baruch.

18. And disobeyed him.] Our author substitutes this for the beautiful passage in Dan. ix. 9: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him." How can we fail to recognise here the difference between the real prophet and the copyist? The remainder of the verse is taken entirely from Dan. ix. 10, but with variations, which imply that the Book of Baruch was first compiled in Hebrew. See the note at the end of the chapter on v. 17.

the commandments.] In Dan. ix. 10 both Hebrew and Greek have "in his laws," our author's phrase is especially frequent in Ezekiel.

that he gave us openly.] The same words (δια των κατά προφήτας δόθων) are better rendered in ii. 10 and in Daniel, "which he set before us," i.e. as the rule and guide of our life.

19. The sin confessed is no occasional transgression, but continual disobedience from the first day of the national existence till now. For the phrase compare 2 Sam. vii. 6, "since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day," 2 Kings xxii. 15; Jer. vii. 25.

we have been disobedient.] The unusual form of the verb (ὑπενεπαθοῦμεν) expresses very strongly the continuous persistence in disobedience; compare Deut. ix. 7, 24 (LXX.).
we have been negligent in not hearing.] The Greek word (σκέδασμός), meaning to do anything in a slight, careless, negligent way, does not occur elsewhere in the LXX. It is well translated by Ewald, “we were too careless to hearken.” A comparison with Dan. ix. 11, “by departing (εξέλθων, LXX.) that they might not obey,” shews the independence both of our translator and of his Hebrew text. See the note on σκέδασμος at the end of the chapter.

20. Wherefore the evilscleavedunto us.] Better rendered by Ewald: “So there cleave unto us the evils.” Compare Dan. ix. 11: “Therefore (καὶ, Heb. *) the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God.” The reference is to Deut. xxviii., where see especially v. 21, “The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee” (προσόκολλήσαι Κύριος); and v. 60, “and they shall cleave unto thee” (κολληθοῦσαί εἰς σοί).

appointed by Moses.] “appointed unto Moses,” i.e. commanded Moses to declare: see Ex. xvi. 16, 32, 34 (LXX.).

at the time.] “in the day.” compare Jer. xi. 4; Dan. ix. 15.

like as it is to see this day.] “as it is this day.” see on v. 15. In Jer. xi. 4, 5, from which our passage is evidently taken, the clause refers to the continued possession of the land: “in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt... that I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as it is this day.” In the present context the last clause seems to refer to the beginning of the verse: “cleave unto us... as it is this day.”

21. Nevertheless.] Literally, “And.” The words are taken from Dan. ix. 10, as in v. 18 above.

22. But every man followed the imagination.] “And we walked every one in the imagination of his evil heart.” The same phrase (διανοοῦντες καρδίας) occurs in ii. 8, and in 1 Chr. xxix. 18, but apparently nowhere else in the LXX., and once only in the N. T. (Luke i. 51).

to serve.] The same Greek word (ἐργάζομαι, “to work”) occurs below in v. 21, 22, 24; “to serve the king of Babylon.” The translator of Jeremiah alone appears to use it in the sense of “serving God,” or “serving false gods” (xxx. 8, 9), though elsewhere he renders the Hebrew root (שָׁבָע) by its usual equivalent (δοῦλοι).

in the sight, &c.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 30.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 9, 17, 19.

9. the captives.] The Hebrew word (שׁלֹשִׂים), which is rendered in our A. V. “smiths,” is originally a Hiphil participle, which means “shutting up,” and is used as a noun in two senses: (1) a prison, Ps. cxlii. 7; Isa. xxiv. 22, xlii. 7. (2) a smith, i.e. locksmith, 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2. In the first of these passages the LXX. have rendered it by συγγκλέειν, and by διασώρησις in both passages of Jeremiah. These are, according to Furst, the only places in which it occurs.

The active sense (συγκλέειν) corresponds to the Hebrew, and is required by the context, in which שׁלֹשִׂים is associated with ויּנ, “craftsmen” or “carpenters.”

But the translator of Jeremiah took it in a passive sense—“one who is shut up,” “a prisoner”—and the mistranslation is repeated in Baruch.

Reusch supposes that διασώρησις is used by the translator in an active sense (Schlosser = locksmith), and thus substitutes ignorance of Greek for a mistaken rendering of the Hebrew.

The inference in any case is clear that the writer of the Greek text of Baruch was either the same person as the translator of Jeremiah, or at least had the Greek version of Jeremiah before his eyes.

In the Latin “cunctos potentes” is thought to be a corruption of “vincit et potentes,”
CHAPTER II.

The prayer and confession which the Jews at Babylon made, and sent in that book unto the brethren in Jerusalem.

"Dan. 9:12, 13.

THEREFORE the Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, and against our judges that judged Israel, and against our kings, and against our princes, and against the men of Israel and Judah,

2. To bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses;

3. That a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter,

4. Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection to all the kings,

CHAPTER II.

1. Therefore the Lord made good.] Lit., "And the Lord established." The whole verse is taken, with slight variations and additions, from Dan. ix. 13, on which see the notes in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

his word.] The LXX. in Daniel render the Hebrew less exactly by προορύγματα.

judges that judged Israel.] The meaning of "judges" in Daniel i.c. is rightly expanded in the words which are here added by our compiler, "and against our kings and against our princes." For in Daniel we are not to think only of "the judges" specially so called, though in our passage the word is so limited. Compare 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17. The wider sense occurs in Ps. ii. 10; Hos. vii. 7.

2. To bring upon us, &c.] Explanation of the way in which God fulfilled His word. On this explanatory use of the Greek infinitive (with τοῦ) "in epezeugesis, where the simple infinitive with or without ἀντε might have been used," see Winer, 'Greek Gr.' § xiv. p. 410, E. Tr. This construction is very common in the LXX., with the infinitive denoting both design and consequence.

great plagues, such as never happened, &c.] There is a sort of redoubled comparison resulting from a combination of two thoughts: (1) plagues such as never happened elsewhere, and (2) such plagues never happened elsewhere as happened at Jerusalem. There is a similar mode of expression in Col. i. 6.

under the whole heaven.] Deut. iv. 19; Dan. vii. 27; Baruch vi. 3.

3. The reference is to Lev. xxvi. 29, and Deut. xxviii. 53—passages which are recalled in Jer. xix. 9; compare Lam. ii. 20 and iv. 10: "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people." "That a man should eat, &c." More exactly, "That we should eat, each man the flesh of his son, and each man the flesh of his daughter." The Greek here follows closely the idiomatic use of the Hebrew word בֵּית.

4. Moreover be hath delivered them to be in subjection.] "And he made them subject:"
5 Thus we were cast down, and not exalted, because we have sinned against the Lord our God, and have not been obedient unto his voice.

6 To the Lord our God appointed righteousness: but unto us and to our fathers open shame, as appeareth this day.

7 For all these plagues are come upon us, which the Lord hath pronounced against us.

8 Yet have we not prayed before the Lord, that we might turn every one from the imaginations of his wicked heart.

9 Wherefore the Lord watched over us for evil, and the Lord hath brought it upon us: for the Lord is righteous in all his works which he hath commanded us.

10 Yet we have not hearkened unto his voice, to walk in the commandments of the Lord, that he hath set before us.

II And now, O Lord God of Israel, that hast brought thy people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power, and hast gotten not the same word as in i. 22.

8. prayed before the Lord.] More literally, "did not entreat the face of the Lord." Compare the rendering given in the margin (E. V.) in I Kings xiii. 6; Ps. cxix. 58; Jer. xxvi. 19; and many other passages, including Dan. ix. 13, from which our verse is wholly taken. The corresponding Hebrew phrase is very expressive,—"stroke the face."
thysel thyself a name, as *appeareth* this day:

12 O Lord our God, we have sinned, we have done ungodly, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances.

13 "Let thy wrath turn from us: for we are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us.

14 Hear our prayers, O Lord, and our petitions, and deliver us for thine own sake, and give us favour in the sight of them which have led us away:

15 "That all the earth may know that thou art the Lord our God, because Israel and his posterity is called by thine name.

16 O Lord, bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.

17 Open thine eyes, and behold; for the dead that are in the graves, whose souls are taken from their [Greek: *psychai*] bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness:

bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.

and hear, as in Dan. ix. 18, incline thine ear, and hear." The original is Isa. xxxvii. 17, the prayer of Hezekiah against Sennacherib.

17. Comp. Isa. xxxvii. 17: "Open thine eyes, O Lord, and see." The remainder of the verse is taken substantially from Isa. xxxviii. 18, Hezekiah's prayer after his recovery from sickness.

in the graves.] Literally, "in Hades," "in the unseen world." The souls, not the bodies of the dead, are of course meant. See the next note.

whose souls are taken.] "whose spirit is taken." The construction of the relative pronoun is closely copied from the Hebrew. See Introd. § v. p. 249.

from their bodies.] The Greek word (σημεία) rendered "bodies" means really the inner organs, especially the nobler organs, lungs, heart, and liver. The description strengthens the contrast between the living and the dead, who, being deprived of the "spirit," have no longer any living bodily powers wherewith on *earth* to praise God.

By "spirit" is here meant "the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7, vi. 17, &c.).

will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness." [will not give unto the Lord glory and righteousness]. The Gr. word (δικαιοσύνη) rendered "righteousness" in A.V. may mean, as in 2 Sam. xix. 28, a "right," a just claim, equivalent to "due honour." The corresponding Hebrew word (קדש) has the same sense also in Neh. ii. 20, but more usually means "justice" or righteousness shown in act: compare Keil's note on Dan. ix. 16. The meaning of our passage therefore seems to be to "ascribe to God glory and justice." In the phrase "give glory to God" the Hebrew word always used (הלָּעָה) means not mere "praise" or "recognition," but inherent glory. See notes on Rom. iii. 23 in the
18 But the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul, will give thee praise and righteousness, O Lord.

19 Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings.

20 For thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation upon us, as thou hast spoken by thy servants the prophets, saying,

Thus saith the Lord, Bow down your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon: so shall ye remain in the land that I gave unto your fathers.

Speaker’s Commentary. Our interpretation is rendered certain by the corresponding passage in v. 18, where the more usual word (δειγμα) is employed.

The doctrine of the verse concerning the state of the dead does not differ from that which is found in the original passage (Isa. xxviii. 18), and frequently in the Psalms. Compare the notes in the ‘Speaker’s Commentary’ on Pss. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10-12, cxv. 17; and see the same thought expressed in Ecclus. xvi. 27, 28. The meaning of such passages is well stated by Cornelius à Lapide in his ‘Commentary on Baruch,’ quoted here by Reusch: “The dead, it is said, praise not God, (1) because in their state as dead they cannot praise Him with bodily organs, the mouth and tongue. (2) They do not praise God for new mercies received from Him day by day in wonderful deliverance from troubles as happens to the living (Ps. lxxxviii. 11: ‘Thou shew wonders to the dead?’... Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?). (3) They praise not God with such praise as the living praise Him withal, nor with such praise as the living can hear; wherefore in respect of the living there is from the dead no praise, even as there is no voice, no life. ...

“For the Old Testament understands by the praise of God an outward and perceptible praise, which may edify others and encourage them to join in the same, such as the praise of penitents enthralling and impressing God’s mercy, as was this praise of Baruch and the Jews, which is properly called ‘giving glory’; for ‘glory’ is praise and renown made public, whereas praise and honour may be private and secret.”

18. greatly vexed. The Greek means literally “vexed at the greatness” (ἐνι τῷ μεγεθῷ); and this reading is fully supported in the MSS. But there is almost certainly some corruption, or error of translation: for the following clause, “which goeth stooping and feeble,” is descriptive of the body, not of the soul.

Ewald (reading καὶ for ἐνὶ) renders: “the grieving soul, and the pride which goeth along bowed and fainting;” but neither this, nor any other possible meaning of μεγεθος, is satisfactory. The whole verse is imitated from Deut. xxvii. 65: “Neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind.” See the Additional Note, and Introd. § v. p. 249.


21. The verse is compiled from Jer. xxvii. 11, 12.

Bow down your shoulders. “Shoulder.” The Greek words used here (ἡμως) and in v. 33 (προσωπος) are both different from the word (τριγομας, “neck,” Hebrew הַנָּשַׁ), used by the LXX. in the corresponding passages of Jeremiah xxvii. 2, 8, 11, 12 ; xxviii. 12, 14; another Hebrew word (נָשָׁ) is represented.
22 But if ye will not hear the voice of the Lord, to serve the king of Babylon,

23 I will cause to cease out of the cities of Judah, and from without Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of joy, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: and the whole land shall be desolate of inhabitants.

24 But we would not hearken unto thy voice, to serve the king of Babylon: therefore hast thou made good the words that thou spakest by thy servants the prophets, namely, that the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers, should be taken out of their places.

25 And, lo, they are cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night, and they died in great miseries by famine, by sword, and by pestilence.

26 And the house which is called by thy name hast thou laid waste, as it is to be seen this day, for the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house of Juda.

27 O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us after all thy goodness, and according to all that great mercy of thine,

throughout, as also in the epithet "stiff-necked" (σιβηροτρέχλος) in v. 30.

In Jeremiah the command to bring the neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon was enforced by the prophet's symbolic action in putting bonds and yokes upon his own neck.


so shall ye remain in the land.] "and abide upon the land:" i.e. do not attempt to escape into Egypt. Compare Jer. xiii. 10, 13.

23. The verse is taken very literally from Jer. vii. 34, which passage is in part repeated in xvi. 9, and in Jer. xxv. 10, a context already quoted by our author: the translation, however, is independent of the LXX.

desolate of inhabitants.] See notes on v. 4; and compare Jer. xxxiii. 43, xlviii. 9.

24. But we would not hearken.] "And we hearkened not." The prophecy especially meant is Jer. viii. 1: "They shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem out of their graves."

places.] "place."

25. Instead of continuing the quotation from Jer. viii. 2, "And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved," &c., the author passes to another prediction of similar import.

to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night.] Or, "to the heat by day, and to the frost by night." The Greek words are the same as in Jer. xxxvi. 30, where they refer to the dead body of Jehoiakim. This obvious reference of the passage is overlooked by Ewald, who imagines that there is an ommis-

sion in the text, which he would supply thus: "and now are they cast out of their graves; and thy surviving ones are exposed to the heat," &c.

they died.] This refers to the people generally, as in Jer. xxi. 9.

in great miseries.] A free but good rendering of the Greek (σύναμωστώμενοι).

by pestilence.] The Greek word (ἐκορογρακαῖος) means properly "a sending forth," but here, and in Jer. xxxiii. 36, with which our passage closely corresponds, it is used as an equivalent to the Hebrew word meaning "pestilence." See the fuller explanation at the end of the chapter.

26. which is called by thy name.] Literally, as in Dan. ix. 18, "upon which thy name has been called;" compare v. 15.

bust thou laid waste, as it is to be seen this day.] The Greek means simply, "hast thou made as it is this day." See note on i. 15.

house of Israel.] "The evil of the house of Israel" is in like manner called to remembrance in Jer. xi. 17, a passage written more than a hundred years after the fall of the kingdom of Israel. Compare ii. 1.


goodness.] The Greek word (εὐσεβεία), in its form as a substantive, seems to occur only here and in the books which were written originally in Greek (The Song of the Three Children, v. 19, "loving-kindness;" Wisdom ii. 19, "meekness;" xii. 18, "equity;" 1 Macc. ii. 22, "favour;" x. 4, "mercy"). The adjective, however, is used by the LXX. to render the Hebrew word meaning "ready to forgive" in Ps. lxxvii. 5.

according to all that great mercy of thine.] See the note on v. 19, and compare Dan. ix. 18.
28 As thou spakest by thy servant Moses in the day when thou didst command him to write thy law before the children of Israel, saying,

29 "If ye will not hear my voice, surely this very great multitude shall be turned into a small number among the nations, where I will scatter them.

30 For I knew that they would not hear me, because it is a stiff-necked people: but in the land of their captivity they shall remember themselves.

31 "And shall know that I am the Lord their God: for I will give them an heart, and ears to hear:

32 And they shall praise me in the land of their captivity, and think upon my name,

33 And return from their stiff neck, and from their wicked deeds: for with them shall I remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord.

34 "And I will bring them again into the land which I promised with an oath unto their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they shall be lords of it: and I will increase them, and they shall not be diminished.

35 And I will make an everlasting covenant with them to be their God, and they shall be my people: and I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land that I have given them.


this very great multitude shall be turned, &c.] this swarm so great and so many shall turn," &c. The nation is compared to a great swarm of bees, the Greek word being an imitation of their humming. As a substantive it is apparently only used here, but the verb (βουλίζω) occurs in Jer. xxxii. 35; 1 Chr. xvi. 32; and in Plato, 'Rep.' viii. 664, d. See more in the Additional Note.

30. I knew that they would not hear me.] "I know that they will not," &c. The same tense (γνωμαι) is used by the LXX. in Jer. xiv. 20, xviii. 23, xxxiii. 3, xlviii. 10; in all which places the A. V. has the present.

captivities.] "captivity," as in v. 32. The Greek word (ἀποροσκεῦς) is used by the LXX. only in Jeremiah.

shall remember themselves.] Literally, "will return to their heart." Similar phrases occur in 1 Kings viii. 47; 2 Chr. vi. 37; Dan. iv. 34, 35.

31. an heart.] I.e. "a heart to know me" (Jer. xxiv. 7), "an understanding heart" (as some MSS. here read); or else "a new heart" (Ezek. xix. 31). Compare Jer. xxxii. 39, where for "one heart" the LXX. read an other heart.

ears to bear.] Literally, "hearing ears." compare Prov. xx. 12, "the hearing ear and the seeing eye."

33. stiff neck.] See note on v. 21.

wicked deeds.] See note at the end of the chapter.

the way of their fathers.] I.e. their evil course of conduct, as in Ezek. xvi. 61; xx. 43; xxxvi. 31, 32.

34. The promise of restoration is already given in Lev. xxvi. 42-45; Deut. xxxi. 1-5.

the land which I promised with an oath.] See Deut. xxxiv. 4.

35. I will make an everlasting covenant with them.] In Lev. xxvi. 44, 45, God promises to "remember the covenant of their ancestors." Here the "everlasting covenant," as in Jer. xxxii. 40 and frequently, is the "new covenant" of Jer. xxxi. 31-33.

I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land.] This corresponds to Jer. xxxii. 41, "I will plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart, and with my whole soul," xxiv. 6, "I will plant them, and not pluck them up," and xlii. 10, "I will plant you, and not pluck you up."

Some modern interpreters, while acknowledging that these passages express a Messianic hope, deny the accomplishment of that hope in Jesus of Nazareth, and say that the promise has never been fulfilled: they see in it nothing more than a promise of material prosperity made to Israel after the flesh. Grotius gives rather a different view: "This covenant with Israel continued until Messiah came, and would have continued afterwards if they had received the Messiah,—a condition which is sometimes expressed, sometimes to be understood."

But both these views are directly opposed to the distinguishing characteristic of the "new covenant," that it shall never be broken, as the old covenant was (Jer. xxxii. 32, &c.). The description of the "new covenant" in Jeremiah as one which shall be written upon the heart can only apply to the spiritual
covenant which God has made with the true Israel in Jesus Christ (Isa. lv. 3; Heb. viii. 6).

The Messianic hope had its material as well as its spiritual side, and the two are often combined in one view by the prophets, looking forward to the restoration of Israel and redemption in Christ as one event. In the former, however, the material aspect of the promise had its temporal and symbolic fulfilment: in the latter, the spiritual fulfilment in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men.

VERSUS 4, 7, 18, 25, 29, 33.

All that can be said with certainty is that the passage gives strong evidence of a Hebrew original.

25. pestilence.] That the word ἀσωριωθή is here used in this peculiar sense is clear from the parallel passage (Jer. xxxii. 36), where it is employed by the LXX. to translate the Hebrew word (הנה), which is commonly used for "destruction," "death," "pestilence" (δαριωθή, Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, &c.). As to the origin of the meaning so remote from the etymological sense of ἀσωρίωθη, "a sending forth," it suggests that it arose from the frequent use of the phrase ἀσωριώθη δάρωθι (Lev. xxvi. 25; 2 Chr. vii. 13; Jer. xxiv. 10; Ezek. xiv. 19, 21, xxviii. 23; Amos iv. 10).

29. multitude.] The Greek substantive βοσβράσις, "buzzing," is said to be used nowhere else: the Hebrew word (הנה) to which it corresponds (as βοβροκ to הנה in Jer. xxxii. 35; xviii. 36) occurs in 1 Kings xx. 13; 2 Kings xxv. 11; Isa. xiii. 4, xvii. 12; Ezek. xxx. 15, and is variously rendered by the LXX. as δύολος, ἱδην, πνήμονα. From this frequent use of הנה for "multitude," Kneucker argues that "the Greek translator here certainly misses both the sense and the right word, and is guilty of a mis-translation." But an examination of the passages quoted above from Isaiah will show that in his use of the word the idea of "multitude" is derived from that of a "humming noise." Our author's attempt to represent this original meaning of the Hebrew by the new but rightly formed word βοβροκ cannot justly be called a mis-translation. It is, however, a strong proof of a Hebrew original.

33. wicked deeds.] For πονηροὶ πραγματίων, which is the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, the Vatican has πονηρῶν πραγματίων, and this is adopted by Fritzsche in the same sense as "statutes that were not good" (Exek. xx. 25). But there the "statutes" are represented as given in anger by God: here, if the word (πραγματικά) is retained, it should be compared with Deut. xxviii. 20 (πονηρί πραγματίων, "the wickedness of thy doings"); Jer. xxiii. 2, 22, xxv. 5, xxvi. 3. A better word than "deeds" or "doings" would be "practises," i.e. habitual deeds,—customs recognised and, as it were, prescribed (πραγματικά).
CHAPTER III.

The rest of their prayer and confession contained in that book, which Baruch wrote, and sent to Jerusalem. 30 Wisdom was shewed first to Jacob, and was seen upon the earth.

O LORD Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish, the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.

CHAPTER III.


Some commentators regard this as a separate prayer composed by Baruch for the exiles independently of the preceding chapters, alleging that "every link of transition, and still more every indication pointing to the preceding promise, is wanting" (Reusch).

No link of transition is needed, for the prayer follows quite naturally upon the promise.

The indications pointing to the preceding promise are numerous, as will at once appear by comparing v. 6 with ii. 31, 32, 35; v. 7 with ii. 31–33; v. 8 with ii. 24–33.

Besides these references to the promise (ii. 28–35), Kneucker has shewn that every verse has some phrase or thought connecting it with the preceding portion of the book, i. 15–22.

This will be the more evident if, instead of quoting the parallel passages in the notes on each verse, we bring together a few of the more striking into one view.

Compare iii. v. 1 with ii. 18.
iii. v. 2 ii. 14, 27.
iii. v. 3 ii. 13, 29.
iii. v. 4 i. 20; ii. 7, 10.
iii. v. 5 ii. 17, 15, 19.
iii. v. 6 i. 15, 18, 21, &c.
iii. v. 7 i. 16–19; ii. 6, &c.
iii. v. 8 i. 15, 19, 20; ii. 4.

While thus closely connected with the preceding chapters, the whole prayer is more independent of other books of Scripture, more forcible, tender, and earnest. By homework and whenever composed, it expresses the genuine feelings of the writer.

1. the soul in anguish.] "a soul in anguish," literally, "in straits" (ἐν ἀγκῳσει), Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Susanna 22. Our English rendering of this word, and the equivalent (στραβογραφία, Isa. xxx. 6; Wisd. v. 3), is derived from the Vulgate (in angustiis). See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' ii. 20.

2. Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us, because we have sinned before thee.

3. For thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly.

4. O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites, and of their children.
which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God: for which cause these plagues cleave unto us.

5 Remember not the iniquities of our forefathers: but think upon thy power and thy name now at this time.

6 For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, O Lord, will we praise.

7 And for this cause thou hast put thy fear in our hearts, to the intent

Another opinion is that the phrase refers to the prayers which righteous men, now dead, such as Moses or Samuel or Solomon, had offered during their life (Ex. xxxii. 32; 1 Kings viii. 25 ff.): but this explanation is very far-fetched, and inconsistent with the plain meaning of the words “Hear the prayer of the dead,” which can hardly be understood of prayers offered many centuries before.

A third view, held by many commentators (Maldonatus, a Lapide, Calmet, Grotius, Luther, Ewald, Reusch), is that by “the dead of Israel” are meant the suppliants themselves, who in their misery speak of themselves hyperbolically as “the dead.” It is true that in v. 3 they speak of themselves as “perishing,” and in v. 11 as “counted with them that go down into the pit;” but those expressions are evidently metaphorical, and can only apply to the living, while here it seems equally clear that the perfect participle (που τεθνηκότων, as in ii. 17) can only apply to those who are actually dead.

It is, in short, impossible to find a satisfactory explanation of the words “prayer of the dead;” their meaning is clear, but quite inadmissible in this context, and directly opposed to our author’s statement in ii. 17.

There is no various reading in the Greek text, except “prayers” for “prayer,” which gives no help. But if proof were needed that the Greek text is not the original, we may find it in these words.

In Hebrew the difference between “the dead of Israel” (מֵּתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) and “the men of Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל) lies only in the vowel-points of the first letter, and is no greater than the difference between מְתַבֵּי and מְתִיבֵי. In the Hebrew original of Baruch, written, as it must have been, without vowel-points, there could not have been any sign at all of the two meanings of מְתַבֵּי. This at once makes it probable that a translator from the Hebrew may have put “the dead of Israel” instead of “the men of Israel,” which latter reading removes the difficulty of our passage.

The probability of this explanation is raised almost to certainty, when we consider the frequent mistakes which Greek translators have made in rendering the Hebrew word (_Drawi, “men”), and especially when we find that in Isa. v. 13 the Seventy, and in Isa. xlii. 14 Aquila and Theodotion, give it the meaning “dead,” as our translator does here.

For a fuller discussion of the subject, see the critical note at the end of the chapter.

and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God.] Render, “and sons of the sinners before thee, which hearkened not,” &c. “The sinners” meant are spoken of in the relative clause which follows in the 3rd person, and clearly distinguished from the suppliants who speak of themselves in the 1st person (μου). Thus in the former part of the verse they give a twofold description of themselves: (1) as the remnant of Israel, and (2) as sons of the sinners whose disobedience has brought evil upon their children. This interpretation is confirmed by v. 5, 7, 8, in which the fathers only are mentioned as sinners before God. The present participle (μοι ἀμανατόνωτοι) makes no difficulty, as it answers to the Hebrew participle, which has no distinction of tense: in both languages the participle is often a timeless substantive; see Winer, ‘Gr.’ § xiv. 7.

for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.] “and so the evils cleave unto us.” Compare i. 20. It was a characteristic tendency of the Jews to trace the misfortunes of the children to the sins of their fathers: Ezek. xviii. 2; Lam. v. 7; Jer. xxxi. 29; Tobit iii. 3-4.

5. forefathers.] “fathers.”

think upon thy power.] “remember thy hand,” compare ii. 11; Isa. ii. 9.

and thy name.] Ps. lxxix. 9, cvi. 8; Isa. lxiii. 12; Jer. xiv. 21.

6. thee, O Lord, will we praise.] The inverted order of the words produces an emphasis which is not in the original: “we will praise thee, O Lord.”

7. And for this cause.] “for therefore,” i.e. that we should praise Thee, as is explained below.

i.e. that we should call upon thy name.] Or, according to the Vatican MS., “and (made us) to call,”—a second thing put into the heart by God.

and praise thee.] “and we will praise thee;” namely, because through Thy grace we have repented, according to Thy promise:
that we should call upon thy name, and praise thee in our captivity: for we have called to mind all the iniquity of our forefathers, that sinned before thee.

8 Behold, we are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse, and to be subject to payments, according to all the iniquities of our fathers, which departed from the Lord our God.

9 Hear, Israel, the commandments of life: give ear to understand wisdom.

10 How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies’ land, that thou art waxen old in a strange

compare ii. 31, 32. For this we will praise thee even now, while yet in exile. called to mind.] “put away from our heart” see the note at the end of the chapter, on the reading.

8. captivity.] More literally, “place of exile” (ἀποκουσία). Compare ii. 13. and to be subject to payments.] “and a penalty” (Ewald). The Greek word (ἐπαθρεύα) does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, and its meaning here is not very clear. The A. V. seems to refer it to “paying tribute”; Grotius understands it of “debt,” referring to Deut. xxix. 44; others of the guilt and penalty of sin (Reusch); Kneucker thinks that the Greek translator misunderstood the Hebrew word. But, instead of resorting to uncertain conjecture, it is better to take the Greek word in its proper sense of “paying a penalty,” and to connect it closely with the words which follow. We thus get a thought perfectly appropriate to the context, that God has scattered the Israelites among the heathen to be an object of reproach and of cursing, and “to pay the penalty for” [literally, “according to”] all the iniquities of their fathers. Compare ii. 4, and the notes there.

iii. 9—iv. 4. ISRAEL ADONISHED TO RETURN TO THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM.

9. Hear, Israel.] An echo of Deut. v. 1, or rather of Deut. vi. 4, “the beginning of what is termed the Sh’mia (“Hear”) in the Jewish services” (‘Speaker’s Commentary’).

commandments of life.] The genitive expresses the effect or purpose, as in Rom. v. 18, “justification of life.” Compare Rom. vii. 10, “the commandment which was unto life,” and the note there. The same thought is more fully expressed by our author in iv. 1.

give ear to understand.] The Greek word (ἐπωρώθη) is common in the LXX.; e.g. in Ex. xx. 26, “give ear to his commandments.” Here, as in Ps. xlix. 1, it refers to what has gone before: Ponder them in your ears, to understand wisdom.

10. How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies’ land?] “Why is it, Israel, why is it, that thou,” &c. The same construction (γιὰ ὥτι) is found in i Sam. i. 8, Isa. xxii. 1 (Septuagint), and in Mark ii. 16, Luke ii. 49, Acts v. 4, 9. Much of the vivacity of the question is lost in the Authorized Version by omitting the second interrogative with Codex A and other MSS. The attention is first roused, then quickened by the repetition, as in Prov. xxxii. 2: “What, my son? And what, the son of my womb? And what, the son of my vows?”

The question includes ν. 10, 11, and is answered in ν. 12, 13: its four clauses form a climax of misery, completed in the words “counted with them that go down into the grave.” thine enemies’ land.] This cannot possibly mean, as Ewald supposes, “the ancient native land of Israel here called a foreign land (ν. 10),” because “the most utterly foreign nations and rulers marched over its soil, as if it were entirely lost to Israel.” This verse is in its plain and obvious meaning fatal both to Ewald’s theory, that the Section iii. 9—ν. 9 is “A prophetic Liturgy on the basis of the Law,” “intended to be used at a public service of humiliation in the Temple at Jerusalem,” and to Noldeke’s view (mentioned by Kneucker) that it is an address of “consolation for the Israelites left behind in misery after the destruction of Jerusalem.” waxen old.] Compare Ps. vi. 7, xxxii. 3; Lam. iii. 4; and especially Dan. xi. 33, where, instead of “fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days,” the Vatican text of the LXX. means “they shall fall upon the sword, and wax feeble [lit. “old’’] by it, and by captivity,” &c. Compare also Ps. xviii. 45, “The strangers shall fade away” (ἐπολαίοθηται), where, as in Ps. vi. 7, the idea of decay is more prominent than that of age.

Hence Reusch and Kneucker argue that the phrase “waxon old” does not necessarily point to a late period of the Captivity: but see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

defiled with the dead.] Not “by the dead,” but “equally with the dead.” This meaning
BARUCH. III.

[V. II—14.]

country, that thou art defiled with the
death,

11 That thou art counted with them that go down into the grave?
12 Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom.

13 For if thou hadst walked in the way of God, thou shouldest have dwelt in peace for ever.

14 Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding; that thou mayest know also where is length of days, and life, where is the light of the eyes, and peace.

is required by the Greek (σωματικόν), and agrees better with the parallel clause which follows. The dehlement meant is probably the contact with idolatry, as in Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. xx. 31. The meaning suggested by Grotius, that the Jews in Babylon were made to serve in burying the dead, is a mere conjecture, having no support either in the context or in history.

11. counted with them that go down into the grave.] The language is taken exactly from Ps. lxxxviii. 4, except that "Hades" is substituted for the "pit." Compare v. 19 below.

Ewald interprets the passage metaphorically of "the dead, i.e. such as were without the true pure life mentioned in v. 9, i.e. among heathen and under their rule," so that Israel is "itself, as it were, dead and polluted by the dead." But the true meaning is that which is more fully developed in the Psalm from which the clause is quoted, Ps. lxxxviii. 3-6, where the suppliant describes himself as one brought down by extreme misery, as it were, to the very edge of the grave, and cast aside like a neglected corpse.

12. The speaker who addresses Israel now answers his own question. It is because "Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom, i.e. God Himself, as in Jer. ii. 13, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," xvi. 13, and Ps. xxxvi. 9, "With thee is the fountain of life."

In Ecclesiasticus i. 5 the Authorized Version gives, "The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom," but the verse is not found in the Vatican Codex, and is generally regarded as spurious. Also in 2 Esdras xiv. 47 (A. v.) it is said of certain books: "In them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom" (fons sapientiae): this Book of Esdras does not exist in Greek.

In our passage it is certainly best to interpret "the fountain of wisdom" of God Himself, according to Ecl. i. 1: "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever." Israel had forsaken God by ceasing to walk in His way, as is explained in the next verse.

13. For if.] Omit "for."

"The way of God" is the way in which God teaches man to walk: compare Ps. xxvii. 11, "Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path;" Micah iv. 2. On the reading see the Additional Note.

14. Learn where is wisdom.] Since the cause of thy misery is that "thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom" (v. 12), learn now once more who possesses and imparts her (v. 15, 27, 32). Compare Job xxviii. 12 ff.

wisdom.] "prudens" (φρόνητος). "The Divine Principle which alone produces true life and happiness is here personified, and characterised in three distinct elements as φρόνητος, 'insight,' 'prudence;' λογίας, 'strength,' and σοφίας, 'understanding.'... But the same Principle is also characterised simply as φρόνησις (v. 28), σοφία (v. 23), and ἐπιστήμη, v. 20, 27, 36." (Fritzsche.)

See further, on the distinction between these words, in the Additional Note.

strength.] i.e. the moral and spiritual power which belongs essentially to godly wisdom. Compare Mic. iii. 8, "Truly I am full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression;" Job xii. 13, "With him is wisdom (σοφία) and strength (δύναμις), he hath counsel and understanding (σοφίας)."

See also Prov. ii. 2, 3, 6 in the Greek.

also.] "at the same time."

length of days.] The Greek substantive (μακροβίωσις) seems to occur only here.

Kneucker remarks that the Septuagint maxim, "With the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding," (Job xii. 12), takes from the religious standpoint of the Jews the converse form: "The fruit of wisdom (as revealed in God's law) is long life and happiness: Ex. xx. 12; Deut. iv. 6; Prov. iv. 10." See also Prov. iii. 16, "Length of days is in her right hand."

life.] True "life" (ζωή), as in v. 9, is more than mere "length of days;" it is life in its essence as a spiritual force, "the strength, freshness, and bloom of life." (Reusch.) For this emphatic sense of "life," compare Ps. xvi. 11; Prov. iv. 13: "Keep her (instruction), for she is thy life,"

the light of the eyes.] i.e. cheerfulness, happiness: see note on l. 12.

peace.] Prov. iii. 17: "all her paths are peace."
15 “Who hath found out her place? or who hath come into her treasures?
16 Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth;

17 They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air, and they that hoarded up silver and gold, wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting?

15. The question, Where is Wisdom to be found? is repeated under various forms, and many imaginary answers are rejected, but the true answer is not given till v. 32 ff.

Compare Job xxviii. 12, 20, “Whence then cometh wisdom (σοφία), and where is the place of understanding (ἐγνώσεως)?” v. 23, “God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof,” i.e. her dwelling-place (Ps. xxxvii. 10). “Wisdom” is here used in its comprehensive sense as that which exists in God as its source, and must be sought by man from Him.

It is regarded (in the question) as something hidden and hard to find: as in Job xxviii. 21, “It is hid from the eyes of all living.” Its place is known to none but God (Bar. iii. 32).

16. Where are the princes of the heathen become.] “treasuries,” or “treasure-houses.” Compare Job xxxviii. 22, “Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?” Ps. cxxxv. 7, “He bringeth the wind out of his treasuries.”

17. They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air.] Job xii. 5: “Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? Or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?”

The Seventy seem to have understood Ps. civ. 26 in the same way: “There is that leviathan whom thou hast formed to take thy pastime with him (δρακόν ὁ δίκαιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἔξωθεν, ὁμοιότατος).” On this traditional Jewish interpretation, adopted by some modern commentators, see the note in the ‘Speaker’s Commentary.’

The meaning of the allusion to “the beast” and “the fowls of the air” in connexion with the search after Wisdom is seen by referring to such a passage as Job xii. 7: “Ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee: and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee.” These mighty rulers in all their pride could find nothing better to do than to amuse themselves with such trifles, and yet they have not learned wisdom from the birds who have travelled so far and seen so much: compare Job xxxv. 11: “But none saith, Where is God my Maker, . . . who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven?” —a passage which may otherwise be rendered: “Who teacheth us by the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wise by the fowls of heaven.” See Delitzsch and the ‘Speaker’s Commentary.’

whereto men trust, and made no end of their getting.] Literally, “whereto men trusted, and there is no end of their getting.” In the former clause the Greek translator has rightly given the past tense: in the latter, which represents a common Hebrew phrase that has no verb expressed, he seems inadvertently to have used the present (τοις).

In Isa. ii. 7 the LXX. rightly use the past tense (οικον ἀκοπεῖος). The sense and connexion are clearly shewn in the A.V.: “they that hoarded up silver and gold, . . . and made no end of their getting.” Neither their absolute power, nor their boundless riches, could give wisdom to those princes of the heathen. On the Hebraisms of this and the next verse, see the Intro. § v. 250.

18, 19. There is some difficulty in determining the sense and construction of these verses, and their relation to the preceding context. Much depends upon the meaning of the first clause, which in the Vulgate (qui argentum fabricant) and A.V. is referred to the silversmiths, and more particularly (as Kneucker thinks) to the makers of silver
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18 For they that wrought in silver, and were so careful, and whose works are unsearchable,
19 They are vanished and gone down to the grave, and others are come up in their steads.
20 Young men have seen light, and dwelt upon the earth: but the way of knowledge have they not known.

21 Nor understood the paths thereof, nor laid hold of it: their children were far off from that way.
22 It hath not been heard of in Chanaan, neither hath it been seen in Theman.

idols, the value of "whose works" is "unsearchable" from their number and excellence. Taken in this sense, and in connexion with vv. 16, 17, the general meaning of the passage will be, that not only the mighty and the rich, but the skillful artists whose works were so precious,—all are gone.

On the other hand, it must be considered that the Greek word (vexavuo), though not uncommon in the Septuagint, seems never to be there used of material, but only of moral working. With the usual meaning "con-" or "devising," i.e. how to get, the whole passage, v. 16-19, may be thus rendered:

"Where are the rulers of the nations, and they that had dominion over the beasts upon the earth; they that played with the birds of heaven, and hoarded up silver and gold wherein men trusted, and there was no end of their getting?—For they that wrought to get silver, and were full of care, and whose works are past finding out, they are vanished." &c.

See the Additional Note for a fuller discussion of the sense and connexion of the whole passage.

18. so careful. The same word as in Matt. vi. 34.

whose works are unsearchable. The probable meaning is, "whose labours are infinite." Compare in the Greek Isa. xli. 18: "there is no searching of his understanding." 20, 21. One generation after another has failed to find wisdom.

20. Young men have seen light. "Young men have seen light," i.e. have been born and lived. Compare Job iii. 16: "infants which never saw light."

By "the way of knowledge" and "the paths thereof" is meant the way that leads to knowledge (pivovatm, "science," Aristot.): so in v. 23, 27, 31, 36.

nor laid hold of it. These words should begin a new sentence: "Nor did their sons lay hold of her, they wandered far," &c.

from that way. Literally, "from the way of them." (avrot), which De Wette explains as meaning "the way of their fathers" (ii. 33): the children wandered away far beyond their fathers.

It would be simpler to refer avrot to the children themselves—"they wandered far out of their way," i.e. out of the right way in which they should have sought Wisdom. Compare Job xvii. 9, "The righteous also shall hold on his way," Prov. v. 8, "Remove thy way far from her;" Ex. 10, "He that perverteth his ways shall be known;" Ex. 5, "The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way;" Deut. 3, 24, "Man's goings are of the Lord: how can a man then understand his own way?"

Even this rendering may be questioned on the ground that throughout the whole passage it is "the way of knowledge" that is mentioned: v. 23, 27, 31, 36. Fritzschc, Reusch, and Kneueher prefer the various reading (avrot for avrot), which has little authority.

22, 23. "He enumerates the nations that prided themselves on wisdom" (Theodoret).

22. Chanaan. According to the later usage of the name, Canaan refers to the Phoenicians who dwelt on the sea-coast (Zeph. ii. 5; Matt. xv. 22), "whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth." (Isa. xxiii. 8). Compare 2 Chr. ii. 7, and Ezek. xxviii. 3-5, where of "the prince of Tyre" it is said: "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee: with thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom, and by thy traffic, hast thou increased thy riches." &c. Compare Zech. ix. 2, 3.

"Theman," or Teman, a district and city in the south of Edom, was as famous for wisdom in counsel, and for proverbial sayings, as Canaan for arts and commerce. Jer. xlix. 7: "Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts, Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?" Compare Obad. 8, 9.

23. The Agarines. "The sons also of Agar," i.e. the Ishmaelites (Gen. xvi. 15; xxxvii. 25; Ps. lxxxiii. 6).

that seek wisdom upon earth. Gen. xxxvii. 25: "Behold a company of Ishmaelites came
23 The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran and of Theman, the authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding; none of these have known the way of wisdom, or remember her paths.

24 O Israel, how great is the house from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. These travelling merchants are here represented as seeking wisdom upon earth on the principle that knowledge is increased by travel. The same word (σοφίας) is in this verse first rendered "wisdom," and then (as in v. 14) "understanding;" the latter should be used in both places, though there is no emphasis on the special sense.

On the reading see the Additional Note.

the merchants of Meran.] The name "Me-

nan" is not found elsewhere, and is thought to be a corruption, though there is no various reading. The most probable conjecture is that it has been substituted for ین in the Hebrew form of the name "Medan," which in Gen. xxxvii. 36 is supposed to be applied to the Midianites (v. 28) or Ishmaelites who bought Joseph. The different names given to the traders do not shew that the account has been drawn from different legends, but that these tribes were often confounded, from the fact that they resembled one another so closely, not only in their common descent from Abraham (Gen. xvi. 15; xxv. 2, 1 Medan and Midian, both sons of Keturah), but also in the similarity of their mode of life and constant change of abode, that strangers could hardly distinguish them, especially when they appeared, not as tribes but as Arabian merchants, such as are here described as being, "Midianitish men, merchants" (Keil and Delitzsch on Gen. xxv. 2). Thus "the merchants of Medan" who were sons of Keturah are very naturally mentioned in connexion with the "sons of Agar" or Ishmaelites, as in Genesis. and of Theman.] This is not necessarily the name of the same people as in v. 22. The Greek name (Θεμαν) represents two different Hebrew names: "Theman" or "Te-

man" (Gen. xxxvi. 11), grandson of Esau; and "Tema," son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15), mentioned in Job vi. 19, Jer. xxv. 23, Isa. xxi. 13, 14. The modern name is Teyma (Dictionary of the Bible).

the authors of fables.] The Greek word (μνημονευόμενος) is not found elsewhere in the Greek Scriptures, and μύθος only in Eccles. xx. 19, followed by παραβολή in v. 20.

Various meanings are here proposed. Ewald writes: "This undoubtedly refers to a literature of legends and stories, much read at that time, and which spread from this people over the whole earth, a precursor of the later 'Thousand and One Nights,' &c."

The older commentators think that it means those who in Oriental fashion clothed their thoughts in fables, parables, or proverbs: e.g. Ezek. xvii. 2; xviii. 2, 3. Compare Ps. xii. 4, "I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp," lxviii. 2, "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old; which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us," &c. On the full meaning of Mashal, compare Lowth (Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, sect. iv. p. 43): "The Persians, the Arabs, and many of the most ancient of the Eastern nations, preserved in verse their history and politics, as well as the principles of religion and morals."

searchers out of understanding.] This additional description confirms the view which we have taken of the preceding clause. If, as Bishop Lowth suggests, the legendary lore included under the name Mashal embraced "all science, human and divine," these mythologists might well be called inquirers after wisdom, or "searchers out of understanding."

none of these have known.] Literally, "but the way of wisdom they have not known."

The construction is irregular, but the meaning not obscure: The sons of Agar and merchants of Medan and Theman have been diligent searchers after knowledge about earthly things, yet they have not found the way that leads to true wisdom (τροφία)." On the construction and reading, see the Additional Note.

24-28. In this third part of the answer to the question, Who hath found out the place of Wisdom (v. 15)? the author passes from the consideration of particular classes of men, the mighty and rich (16-19), the ancients and their descendants (20, 21), nations most famous for enterprise, commerce, and intelligence (Phoenicians and Arabians), and rises to a higher thought that in the whole created world, great as it is, Wisdom is nowhere to be found, except in Him who is "the fountain of wisdom" (v. 12).

"Hitherto he has said that earthly might and riches, and human study and search, cannot bring men to the attainment of wisdom; the thought now takes the turn that human strength (Kraft) gives no claim to the reception of wisdom—that in imparting it God has no regard to power and might." (Reusch.)

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of God! and how large is the place of his possession!
25 Great, and hath none end; high, and unmeasurable.
26 There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.
27 Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them:

28 But they were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness.
29 ‘Who hath gone up into heaven, and taken her, and brought her down from the clouds?
30 Who hath gone over the sea, and found her, and will bring her for pure gold?’

24. O Israel.] The motive of this appeal is explained by v. 36. The thought that God has made His wisdom known to Israel only is already passing through the writer’s mind.

The house of God.] This phrase, which first occurs in Gen. xxviii. 17, is always applied in the O. T. to some place or building where God grants His presence. But here its meaning cannot be limited to an earthly sanctuary, which would neither suit the description in v. 26, nor the mention of the giants in v. 27. Nor does v. 27 allow us to apply it to ‘the heavens’ as God’s dwelling-place. (Comp. ‘De Mundi opif., § 7.) It must have the wider meaning in which Philo-Judaicus (‘De Incor. Mundi,’ § 21, θεον δὲ τι μεγάθεν ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ αἰσθητοῦ) applies it to the whole created universe. It is, however, possible that this idea of ‘the universe’ is expressed by combining the two clauses of the verse, the heaven being ‘the house of God,’ and earth ‘the place of his possession.’ The latter phrase is illustrated by Ps. cix. 24: ‘The earth is full of thy riches’ (εὐρύ-ςτος, the word here rendered ‘possession’).

25. This thought of the immensity of the world serves to render God’s favour to Israel the more conspicuous: ‘The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof: the world, and they that dwell therein’ (Ps. xxxiv. 1); and yet ‘He hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure’ (Ps. cxxxv. 4).

26. There were the giants, &c.] The author follows the Septuagint version of Gen. vi. 4 more closely than is here shewn in the A.V. ‘There were the giants born, who were from the beginning men of renown, of great stature, expert in war.’ Other references to Gen. vi. 4 are found in Ecclus. xvi. 7; Wisdom xiv. 6.

27. Those did not the Lord choose.] ‘Not these did God choose.’ Reusch refers to Deut. iv. 37: ‘Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, . . . to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art;’ and argues that our author is thinking especially of the giant sons of Anak, and the Rephaim, because it was more directly to them that Israel was preferred. But the allusion to the giant race of the world before the Flood is more in accordance with the wide scope of the whole passage (vv. 24–30), and the grandeur of the thoughts which it borrows from the ancient Scriptures.

29. But they were destroyed, &c.] ‘So they perished, because they had no prudence (φθοράς); they perished because of their foolishness.’ The language is not so well suited to the Canaanites who were destroyed by Israel, as to the flood of waters ‘in the old time, when the proud giants perished’ (Wisdom xiv. 6).

30. The language is borrowed from the description of the Divine commandment in Deut. xxx. 12: ‘Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us? . . . Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us?’

But the language is not used by our author to enforce the same argument as in Deuteronomy. There the purpose is to make Israel feel that the wisdom of God has been brought very near to them, even in their heart and conscience, and therefore need not be sought far off, ‘in heaven,’ or ‘over the sea.’ Here the meaning is, that man can never find wisdom for himself, not even if he could mount up to heaven or cross over the sea. Our author’s use of the passage thus falls far short of that deep significance which St. Paul discerned in it (Rom. xi. 5–9). The addition of the words ‘brought her down from the clouds’ rather points to a connexion of our passage with Ecclus. xxiv. 3—where Wisdom says of herself: ‘I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud.’ I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. 1 alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.’ The conclusion of that passage, as of our own, is that Wisdom could find no resting-place except in Israel. Compare also Job xxviii. 14.

31 No man knoweth her way, nor thinketh of her path.
32 But he that knoweth all things knoweth her, and hath found her out with his understanding: he that prepared the earth for evermore hath filled it with fourfooted beasts:
33 He that sendeth forth light, and it goeth, calleth it again, and it obeyeth him with fear.

34 The stars shined in their watches, and rejoiced: when he calleth them, they say, Here we be; and so with cheerfulness they shewed light unto him that made them.
35 This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him.
36 He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto

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31. No man knoweth.] "There is none that knoweth."

her path.] L. the path that leads to Wisdom.

32. But be that knoweth all things knoweth her.] The comparative poverty of our language makes it almost impossible to reproduce the distinction between the two Greek words: one of which (εἰδὸς) represents the ever-present knowledge of Him "that knoweth all things;" while the other (γνωρίζει) ascribes to God the same mental process by which man gets to know what was not previously known to him. See the Additional Note. The latter idea is developed in a still more anthropomorphist fashion in the following words: "and hath found her out with his understanding."

The description of God's creative action as extending over all His works serves to confirm the truth that He must know fully the way of wisdom, for only by wisdom hath He made them all. This argument also is taken from Job xxxviii. 23, 24 ff. It serves to exalt the glory of Him, who is in an especial sense the God of Israel, by whom the chosen nation has been so highly favoured (vv. 35; 36).

for evermore.] Compare Eccles. i. 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever." Thus the earth may be called eternal in comparison with man and his works, but the statement must not be taken in an absolute sense. The duration of God's works exalts His power.

33. By "light" some here understand the light of the sun, and others lightning. In favour of the former they refer to Job xxxi. 26: "If I beheld the sun, (margin, "light") when it shined." This seems to be the only passage in which the Hebrew word for "light" (יִשָּׁתָן) is translated "sun" (ἦλθεν, LXX.), though of course it often means the light of the sun.

On the other hand, "light" (יִשָּׁתָן) is used for "lightning" in Job xxxvi. 30, 32, xxxvii. 3, 11, 15; from which passages the description seems to be taken. Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings that they may go?"

and rejoiced.] The lightning is personified, and described as conscious of God's power and command.

34. The stars shined in their watches.] Compare Ecclus. xiii. 10: "At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches."

"A metaphor from soldiers keeping watch: for the stars are the host of heaven" (Cornelius à Lapide). The old commentator in this good note anticipates the poet's thought:

"The sentinel stars set their watch in the sky."

and rejoiced.] Compare Job xxxviii. 7, "The morning stars sang together;" and Ps. cxlviii. 3, "Praise him, all ye stars of light;" and Shakspeare's allusion to the former passage ('Merchant of Venice,' v. 17):

"There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims."

when he calleth them.] Ps. cxlviii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.

Here we be.] Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?"

Judith ix. 6. "They spake not by word, but by deed" (Cornelius à Lapide).

35. Compare Ps. cxlviii. 14, "This God is our God for ever and ever;" and cxlxxi. 5, "Who is like unto the Lord our God?"

This mighty God, the Maker of the world, to whose power and wisdom all things in heaven and earth bear witness, is in an especial sense our God, whom alone we worship, and who has chosen us to be His peculiar people.

36. The question of v. 15 now receives its full answer. God alone has "found out all the way [or rather "every way"] of knowledge."

Compare Job xxviii. 23: "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof;" i.e. of wisdom.
and bath given it unto Jacob his servant.}

Ps. cxlvii. 19: "He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments they have not known them." Compare also Is. xli. 1, "Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen;" and Deut. iv. 5.

beloved.] See Deut. xxxii. 15, in the LXX. (διάκρισιν ἐκ ζηλωμάτων).

37. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth.] "Afterward she was seen upon earth." No subject is expressed in the Greek, but there can be no doubt that the statement refers to "knowledge" (ἐπίστασιν, v. 36), not as in A. V. to God. Compare Ecclus. xxiv. 8: "So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment. . . . Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel. . . . and so was I established in Sion" (v. 10).

and conversed with men.] In Prov. viii. 31 Wisdom speaks thus of herself: "Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men." On the supposed reference of this verse to the Messiah, see the Additional Note.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 2, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23, 32, 37.

2. The Vatican MS. omits the words ἐν τοῖς ἑλίμιοις εἰς καὶ ἑλίμιοι, which are found in the Alexandrine and most other MSS. and Versions. They are rejected by some modern commentators, and Kneucker argues that the superfluity of words does not suit the deep emotion of the suppliant; a criticism which is not convincing.

4. The great difficulty of the expression "Hear the prayers of the dead Israelites," the complete removal of the difficulty by the proposed emendation "the prayer of the men of Israel," and the striking proof which the supposed mistake affords of a Hebrew original,—all make it desirable to examine carefully the way in which the LXX. render the word דּוֹקָה, and its construct דּוֹקֶה.

The word first occurs in the phrase דּוֹקָה יְהוֹעַד, "men of number," i.e. "few in number" (A.V.), men easily counted (ʾeʾādērēm tīmē). This formula occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 30 (דּוֹקָהוֹ דּוֹק הָדִירְךָ; in Deut. iv. 27 (דּוֹק הָדִירְךָ; i Chron. xvi. 19 (דּוֹקָהוֹ דּוֹק הָדִירְךָ; Ps. cv. 12 (דּוֹקֶה דּוֹק הָדִירְךָ דּוֹקָהוֹ). We see that in the Greek translation no trace appears of the original meaning "men;" and we shall find further reason to doubt whether the translators had any knowledge of this meaning.

In Deut. xxxiii. 6, "Let not his men be few" (literally, "a number"), the LXX. give καὶ ἐστὶν πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ. In Deut. xxvi. 5 and xxvii. 62 we find another combination, δῷκον ἐκάτω; meaning literally "with men of fewness," and rendered in both places by the LXX. εν ἀριθμῷ βρασίν. In all these passages the idea of a "small number" is expressed by the words with which דּוֹקָה is combined, but was apparently attached by the Greek translators to that word itself. Thus in Isa. xiii. 14, "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel," the LXX. have דּוֹקָהוֹ דּוֹק הָדִירְךָ, and the margin of the A. V. gives as an alternative "few men of Israel."

The mistaken notion of the LXX. becomes apparent when we turn to passages in which there is no idea of number in the Hebrew. Thus in Job xi. 3, "Should thy lies put men (בּוֹדֶה) to silence?" they seem to wander in total darkness, writing εὐφορνίμοις γνωρίσεις γνώσεις δηλωμένοι, and still clinging in the last word to their error. Still more remarkable is their rendering of Ps. xvii. 14: "From men which are thy hand, O Lord, from men of the world." Here בּוֹדֶה is first translated ἀπὸ ἀγαθῶν, and the second time ἐν ἀγάθῳ (of which ἀγαθὸν, Cod. Vat., is a manifest corruption).

The same ignorance of the true meaning of the word appears in other passages: Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6; Job xii. 11, xix. 19, xxii. 15, xxiv. 12, xxxii. 31; Ps. xcvii. 4; Isa. xxx. 25, v. 13. These are all the passages in which the word occurs, according to Fürst's Concordance; and the only one of them in which the Greek translators may be thought to have known its meaning is Job xxii. 15, where they turn "wicked men" (A. V.) into ἀδέσποτοι δίκαιοι.

In Isa. v. 13 they have confounded יְהוֹאָדָא, "men, with יָהוֹאָדָא, "dead" (ἀναφώνω), having turned "men of famine" into "dead through famine."

It is remarkable that the same confusion is seen in the Latin rendering of another passage quoted above—Isa. xii. 14, "ye men of Israel,"—for which we find, qui mortui sunt ex Israel, which is derived from the Greek version of Aquila (εἰς θάνατον) or Theodotion (ἀναφώνω). With these proofs of the confusion of the two words, it seems impossible to doubt that here also a translator's mistake has given us
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"the dead of Israel" instead of "the men of Israel."

Mr. Cheyne, in a critical note on Isa. iii. 35, observes that δεινός "implies dependence or weakness." Hence he renders it in xli. 14, "a petty folk of Israel." But in fact the idea of "weakness" seems to be quite excluded by the parallelism of the two clauses in Isa. iii. 25: Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. Compare Job xi. 3. There is no need to assume, as some do, that the Hebrew word itself has come to connote "fewness" from its frequent occurrence in the combination גֵּרֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, "men of number," i.e. "few." See Delitzsch, and Rosenmüller on Isa. xli. 14; and on Baruch iii. 4, Welte, Hitzig, Kneucker, and Reuss.

7. The A.V. ("called to mind") represents the reading of Cod. Alex. and other MSS., ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν, for which Cod. Vat. has ἀπὸ καρδίας. The Vulgate gives convertimur ab iniquitate patrum.

12, 14. The author uses three synonyms in this section, which may be thus distinguished: "understanding" (σῶσις) is a purely critical faculty; "prudence" or "discretion" (φύλαξ) is practical and directive; and these both have as their object things human and temporal; while "wisdom" (σοφία) is the perfect combination of science (ἐπιστήμη) and intelligence (νοῦς), having for its object the highest natures" (Hampden, 'Fathers of Greek Philosophy,' p. 145). Compare Arist. 'Εθν. Nic.' vi. 6: εἰγάνη ἦν σοφία νοῦς καὶ ἐπιστήμη, ὑπὲρ καθαρὰ ἐξουσία ἐπιστήμη τῶν τιμίωτάτων. Schol. τιμίωτατα δέ οἷς ἄρχαι.

13. For ever.] The Alexandrine and many other MSS. read τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, as in v. 32; Isa. xiii. 20, xiv. 20. For such adjectival use of αἰῶνα, see Matth., 'Gk. Gr.,' ii. § 429, 4.

16. For they that wrought in silver.] Use of τεκταίνω (ομοίω) in the LXX. —

Prov. iii. 29. μὴ τεκταίνει ἐπί δόν φιλόν κακά.
xii. 20. δύσατον εἰς καρδία τεκταίνομεν κακά.
xiv. 22. πλακώμενοι τεκταίνουμεν κακά, ἐλευθερίας δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειας τεκταίνουμεν ἄγαθοι.
Ps. cxxix. 3. The ploughers ploughed (ἐτέκταν) οἱ διαστρατεύοντες ἐπάκρις.
Ezek. xxii. 36. τεκταίνοντων διασθερίαν.
Sirach xi. 32. ποιήσας γὰρ τεκταίνει.
xxvii. 22. τεκταίνει κακά.

In none of these passages is there any support for the A.V. "wrought in silver." In classical authors the verb is found only in the Middle Voice, and its meaning ("to build") is expressly distinguished from the notion of "working in metal" by Plato, 'Legg.'

viii. 84 ἦ: μηδὲς χαλεπῶν διὰ τεκταίνοσθω, μηδ' ἂν τεκταίνομεν χαλεπῶν ἄλλων ἐμπεταθῇ μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης.

We thus seem to be driven to adopt the metaphorical use of the word, which alone is found in the Septuagint; in this sense it is rendered "devises" in Prov. iii. 29, vi. 14, xiv. 22; and in the last of these passages it is immediately followed by μεριμνώντες, as here by μεριμνώντες. The meaning will then be— "they that did devise to get silver, and were so careful;" and this is the meaning generally adopted by modern commentators, as Fritzsché, Reusch, Ewald, and Reuss.

But another question remains concerning the connexion of νυ. 16, 17 with νυ. 18, 19. Fritzsché supposes that the answer to the questions in νυ. 16, 17 is not expressed but understood after νυ. 17: "Where are the mighty and the rich?" "They are gone." And then the proof of this supposed answer follows in νυ. 18, where we have a very irregular construction, a nominative absolute, followed by an apodosis introduced by a superlubus καί: "For they who devised to get silver, and were so careful—their works are nowhere to be found." Then νυ. 19 forms a separate sentence. It is obvious that this entire separation of νυ. 19 makes the construction of νυ. 18 very harsh, and the general connexion is better represented in the A. V.

23. The reading of the chief MSS. (οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) gives no satisfactory sense. Fritzsché and Reusch omit the οἱ, with six or seven cursives: its presence in the older MSS. is probably due to an ancient error of transcription, caused by the previous occurrence of the same word in the earlier part of the verse. In ἄδον δὲ ... the omission of δὲ by the Alexandrine and other MSS. is a manifest attempt to correct a supposed error of construction. But this use of δὲ in apodosis is not uncommon in good Greek authors, and is here justified by the implied contrast of the sentence: "the searchers after wisdom yet have not learned." See Schiifer, 'Appar. Demosth.' iii. p. 448; Winer, 'Gramm.,' p. 694. This idiomatic use of δὲ is not likely to have been introduced into a translation from Hebrew.

32. Kneucker argues that εἴδως is here an error of translation for ἰδόν, because the latter would have expressed more correctly the meaning of the Hebrew in Job xxviii. 24 ("seeth"): but the argument is not conclusive, since the author may have taken εἴδως from the finite verb (οἶδα), which the LXX. employ in νυ. 23 to translate the Hebrew יִתֶּה, which "includes the action of knowing both as commencing, and as completed" (Gesenius).

"The analysis of the Divine wisdom is here pushed to an excess: God finds wisdom by means of His intelligence; instead of saying
37. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men.] This passage, understood of God as its subject, is constantly used by the Greek and Latin Fathers as a distinct prophecy of the Incarnation, and a proof that Christ is God. One example may suffice: “The prophet also, amazed at His great solicitude on behalf of the world, cried out clear and loud in these words, ‘Our God was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.’” (Chrysost. Ecloga, Hom. xxxiv.)

Augustine quotes the passage for the same purpose, ascribing it to Jeremiah (‘c. Faus tum,’ xii. cap. 43).

Kneucker adopts this hyper-orthodox interpretation in order to turn it into an argument against the genuineness of the verse, which he regards as a spurious interpolation added by some Christian for a dogmatic purpose.

Against the more natural interpretation of the verse as referring to the abiding and progressive revelation of Divine truth to Israel, Kneucker argues (p. 312): “How could the author describe this as ‘Wisdom appearing and walking among men’? If δοξη means anything at all, it means a visible form (against which even an appeal to v. 32 cannot avail), and indeed by virtue of the words ‘conversèd among men,’ a human form (Phil. ii. 7), and nothing to the contrary is proved by such passages as Lev. xxvi. 13; 2 Sam. vii. 7.”

In answer to this it is enough to say with Bishop Horsley (‘Biblical Criticism,’ ii. 64) that “Divine knowledge is personified in this discourse;” and “that ‘knowledge’ is the true subject of the verbs in this 37th verse, appears indisputably from the 1st verse of the following chapter, which explains how Knowledge was seen upon earth by means of her conversation with men under the Jewish Dispensation.”

When a personification is employed, the language must necessarily be such as would apply to a visible human form: and the evidence of this afforded by v. 32 (δοξη) cannot be set aside by mere assertion, however confident.

It may be well to refer to the views of some of the best Roman Catholic commentators, as represented by Reusch. “Maldo natus, Corn. à Lapide, and Calmet, although they agree with this (the Messianic) interpretation, yet remark that δοξη and σοφια must also be referred to Wisdom; and accordingly to the context it seems to me quite inadmissible to give them any other reference: the whole preceding section treats of Wisdom; σοφια is equally the general subject of the whole section; it is professedly a discourse concerning Wisdom, for it is of her that the inquiry was made in v. 15; God is mentioned only on account of the connexion in which Wisdom stands to Him. Moreover we read immediately in the following verse παρεις οι καραπντες απροπ, sc. σοφια, where again the subject of discourse is Wisdom; and a connexion with what follows can scarcely be established, unless we refer this verse to Wisdom.”

While thus rightly defending the true grammatical interpretation, Reusch holds that there is still an implicit reference to the Messiah, in whom “in the fullest sense Wisdom appeared upon earth and walked among men.”

CHAPTER IV.

1. The book of commandments is that wisdom which was commended in the former chapter. 25. The Jews are moved to patience, and to hope for the deliverance.

CHAPTER IV.

The new chapter ought to begin with v. 5, for it is evident that vv. 1–4 are closely connected with the description of “Wisdom” in the preceding chapter, and form the proper conclusion of the argument introduced in iii. 9. For while in iii. 36, 37 the thought has been stated in a general form, that Israel is the nation which God has distinguished by the gift of Wisdom, the practical application of the whole argument lies in the fact that this Divine Wisdom is identified with the Law of Moses, and that Israel can be restored to true happiness and prosperity only by faithful observance of the Law (v. 4).”

1. This is the book, &c. This Wisdom or Knowledge (iii. 36), which God has given to Israel, “is the book of the commandments of God.” For the mode of expression compare Eccles. xxiv. 23, where Wisdom herself speaks: “All these things are the book of the covenant of the most High God, even the law which Moses commanded,” &c. The book of the Law is the actual expression of the Wisdom given by God to Israel. This was the foundation of all religion for the Jews, and by none of them was the book of the Law
2 Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it: walk in the presence of the light thereof, that thou mayest be illuminated.

3 Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation.

more highly revered or more diligently studied than by the Babylonian Dispersion. "When the Law had fallen into oblivion, it was restored by Ezra of Babylon; when it was a second time forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came and recovered it; and when yet a third time it fell into oblivion, Rabbi Chija came from Babylon and gave it back once more." (Jubilees 20 a, quoted by Dr. Edersheim, Jesus the Messiah? i. 12.)

the law that endureth for ever.] Compare Ecclus. i. 15: "She (Wisdom) hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed." It is no doubt true, as Fritzsche observes, that the Jewish belief "in the eternal duration of the Law was a result of their Thocreatic mode of viewing it:" but this does not affect the truth on which their belief was founded.

Reusch quotes with just approval the distinction drawn by Aquinas, and after him by Cornelius a Lapide, that "the Law is in its moral precepts absolutely eternal, but in its ceremonial circumstances eternal only; so far as they are completed and fulfilled in their Antitype: for in the new Law, that is in the mysteries of Christ and of His Church, the figures which foreshadowed them continue and are fulfilled." Compare Ps. cxix. 44, 52, 89, 96, 144, 152; Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17.

they that keep it.] "they that keep hold of her." Ps. lxxii. 23, "Thou didst hold me by my right hand" (ἐχάρῃ αὐς, LXX.).

but such as leave it.] "but they that forsake her:" compare iii. 12.

2. of it.] "of her.

that thou mayest be illuminated.] This clause is misplaced, and very freely paraphrased. Render the passage thus: "direct thy way towards shining, in the presence of her light." The two clauses are parallel, as in Isa. ix. 3: "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." The figure of walking by the light of a torch or lamp is applied in a similar way in Job xxxix. 3: "When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness."

3. thine honour.] "thy glory:" i.e. the special privilege of Israel in being the sole possessor of God's law (iii. 35); compare Deut. iv. 6, "This is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations;"

Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20; Ecclus. i. 19.

4. O Israel, happy are we: for things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us.

5 Be of good cheer, my people, the memorial of Israel.

6 "Ye were sold to the nations," Is. xli. 1, &c. Not for [your] destruction: but be-

for things.] "for the things," &c. Compare for the thought Ps. cxix. 1, 2; Ex. xv. 25; Wisdom ix. 18, "Men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom."

iv. 5—v. 9. CONSOLATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR ISRAEL.

5-8. Let the people be of good courage, for their captivity is not meant for their destruction, but for chastisement.

5. Be of good cheer.] The Greek word (θαυμάζετε) is the same which is thus translated in the New Testament: it is used sometimes by the LXX. to represent the Hebrew which is more exactly rendered in the A. V. "Fear not."

my people.] God is here the speaker.

the memorial of Israel.] The remnant which keeps alive the remembrance of the nation is here called its "memorial." This meaning of the word (μνήμη) follows very naturally from its use in such passages as Ps. ix. 6, xxxiv. 16, cxvi. 15, in which the utter destruction of a people is described as cutting off their "memorial." In this latter way the word is used very often in Ecclesiasticus. The sacrificial sense of "memorial" (Lev. ii. 2, &c.) is less appropriate here, though adopted by Ewald, whose explanation is rather fanciful: "Thou incense-offering Israel: thus a poet or bold speaker might denominate that nation whose whole life (and therefore itself in a certain sense) ought to be continually a sweet odour for the true God."

6. Ye were sold to the heathen,—i.e. given over into bondage or captivity, as in Lev. xxv. 39; Deut. xxvii. 8; and metaphorically in Rom. vii. 14, "sold under sin."

not for [your] destruction.] Omit "your." This additional thought clearly shews that the author has borrowed his language from Esther vii. 4, "we are sold to be destroyed,"—literally, "for destruction," the Greek words being the same as here (ἐπράδησαν... ἐκ ἀπωλείας).
cause ye moved God to wrath, ye were delivered unto the enemies.
7 For ye provoked him that made you by sacrificing unto devils, and not to God.
8 Ye have forgotten the everlast- ing God, that brought you up; and ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.
9 For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said, Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion: God hath brought upon me great mourning;
10 For I saw the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Ever- lasting brought upon them.
11 With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning.

but.] The conjunction (δὲ), though omitted in the Textus Receptus (Tischendorf), is undoubtedly genuine, and strengthens the antithesis to the negative clause, “not for destruction.” It is thus clearly implied that the Captivity is meant to be only a temporary chastisement.

delivered unto the enemies.] “delivered over to your adversaries” (ἐπεισαρίστοι, as in Josh. v. 13; Isa. i. 24).
7, 8. Proof of the charge that Israel had “moved God to wrath.” The description of God as “him that made you,” and in v. 8 as him “that brought you up,” or nurtured you (τὸν προφήτη σαυτόν), serves to aggravate the ingratitude of His people. The language of the two verses is chiefly taken from Deut. xxxii. 15-18: “He forsook God which made him . . . they provoked him to jealousy . . . they sacrificed unto devils, not to God . . . thou hast forgotten God that formed thee.”
7. unto devils, and not to God.] Besides Deut. xxxii. 17, compare Ps. xxvi. 5: “For all the gods of the nations are idols” (δαιμονία, LXX.); cvi. 37: “Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils;” 1 Cor. x. 20, on which passage see the note in the ‘Speaker’s Commentary.’ The true meaning of the original passage of Deuteronomy is given in the margin of the A. V., “devils which were not God,” and placed beyond doubt by v. 21, “that which is not God” (ἦν οὐ δεός). Render therefore here—“unto daemons and no God.” The substitution of “daemons” for “devils” is required by the fact that “devil” (διαμολος) is a name appropriated to “the Prince of the daemons,” and the Greek word is never used as a substantive in the plural. Compare Archbp. Whately, ‘Good and Evil Angels,’ p. 88. See the Additional Note.
8. the everlasting God.] Isa. xl. 28; Sus. v. 42.

that brought you up.] Literally, “nursed you;” the LXX. use the Greek word (περιφέρεια) only in Ex. ii. 7, of Moses’ nurse.
ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.] Jerusalem is personified as the mother and nurse of her people: compare Isa. liv. 1-6, 13; Lam. i. 5, 16; Tobit xiii. 9. She mourns over the sins which have driven her children into captivity, and made her desolate.

9-16. Jerusalem appeals to her neighbours for pity.
9. For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said.] “For she saw the wrath of God which had come upon you, and said.” The cause of the grief of Jerusalem is stated in the principal sentence “for she saw the wrath of God:” this therefore must not be reduced to a subordinate clause, as in the A. V.

Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion.] Compare v. 14, and v. 24 where the same words (αἱ πάροικοι) are translated “the neighbours of Sion.” In this its original and simple meaning the word is used by classical writers, and by Aeschylus (‘Persae,’ 869) is applied, exactly as it is here, to neighbouring cities or states: compare Jer. xlix. 18; 1. 40, “Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbour cities thereof.” The more common meaning of the word (πάροικοι) in the LXX. is “stranger” or “sojourner.”

God hath brought upon me great mourning.] Most of the MSS. and versions insert “for” (γὰρ) to mark more expressly the cause of the appeal, which Jerusalem makes to her neighbours for sympathy. But the conjunction is not necessary, and is very frequently omitted after “Hearken” or “Hear.” Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 2;—2 Chron. xiii. 4, 5; xv. 2; xviii. 18;—Isa. xxviii. 22; xxxii. 9, 10; xxxix. 5;—Jer. vi. 19;—Amos iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1; vii. 16, &c.

10. For I saw, etc.] “For I have seen the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Eternal hath brought upon them.” Here, as in the last clause of v. 9, the aorists referring to events supposed to be recent are better rendered by the perfect. The Alexandrian Codex and the Vulgate insert “my people” (τοὺς λαοὺς) before “my sons and daughters,” a needless gloss.
11. With joy.] “For with joy.”
12. Let no man rejoice over me, a widow, and forsaken of many, who for the sins of my children am left desolate; because they departed from the law of God.

13. They knew not his statutes, nor walked in the ways of his commandments, nor trod in the paths of discipline in his righteousness.

14. Let them that dwell about Sion come, and remember ye the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.

15. For he hath brought a nation upon them from far, a shameless nation, and of a strange language, who neither reverenced old man, nor pitied child.

16. These have carried away the dear beloved children of the widow, and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.

sent them away.] Le. into captivity; compare v. 23.

rejoice over me.] Le. exult in my misfortunes, as in v. 31; Mic. vii. 8; Obad. v. 12.

a widow.] The Greek word (χωρὶς) sometimes has, both in classical and biblical usage, a general meaning, “desolate” or “bereft.” It is thus applied to Jerusalem in Isa. xlix. 21: “I have lost my children, and am desolate” (χωρὶς); compare μηθ. 16 and 19, Lam. i. 1, and the opening lines of Heber’s “Palestine.”

Reft of thy sons, amid thy foes forlorn, Mourn, widow’d Queen; forgotten Zion, mourn.”

It is not necessary therefore to press the meaning “forsaken of God.”

who . . . am left desolate.] “For the sins of my children am I left desolate.” The proper connexion of this with the following clause preserves the parallel arrangement of the original.

turned aside.] “Job xxxi. 7; Ps. cxix. 51, “declined.” The clause is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, where A. V. has “turned back.”

knew not.] “considered not” (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν); i.e. did not give heed to understand and observe them. This clause, like the last, is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, except that there the LXX. have ἐγνώσασθαι, “would not consider.” A. V. Here the reading of God A (ἐφώλασαν, “kept”) is a gloss.

his commandments.] “the commandments of God,” according to the better reading.

trod in the paths.] Omit “in.”

discipline. The Greek word (σωθεία), like the Hebrew (יַעֲדֵי) to which it answers, is applied to the “correction” of children by their parents (Prov. xxii. 15; xxiii. 13) and of men by God (Jer. ii. 10); but also has the meaning “instruction” (Prov. i. 2, 7, and very frequently).

Thus “the paths of discipline” are the paths in which God’s instruction and correction should teach men to walk.

A renewed appeal to the neighbouring cities, beginning in the 3rd person, passes by a lively and not transition to the 2nd person. The remainder of the verse is repeated from v. 10.

Taken from Deut. xxviii. 49: “The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far.”

a shameless nation.] This answers to “a nation of fierce countenance,” in Deut. xxviii. 50, which is literally “a nation strong of face,” and is rendered by the LXX. ἀναιδεῖς πιστεύοντας, “shameless of face.” Compare Dan. viii. 23.

of a strange language.] The LXX. use the same word (αἱλογόνωνος) in Ezek. iii. 6: it is rather a paraphrase than a literal rendering of the Hebrew in Deut. xxviii. 49, “whose tongue thou shalt not understand” (A. V.).

who neither reverenced.] “For they neither reverenced.” With “for,” the reading of the Vatican MS., this sentence gives the reason for the description “a shameless nation.” In Deut. xxviii. 50 it is “which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young;” but according to the LXX. “nor pity the young.”

These have carried away.] “And they have carried away;”—a continuation of the statement, “he hath brought a nation upon them from far” (v. 15).

the dear beloved children. “the beloved sons,” the mention of daughters separately shows that “sons” are here meant.

and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.] “and robbed the lone woman of her daughters.” Codex A reads μονογυνή,
17 But what can I help you?  
18 For he that brought these plagues upon you will deliver you from the hands of your enemies.  
19 Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate.  
20 I have put off the clothing of peace, and put upon me the sackcloth of my prayer: I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days.  
21 Be of good cheer, O my children, cry unto the Lord, and he shall deliver you from the power and hand of the enemies.  
22 For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you; and joy is come unto me from the Holy One, because of the mercy which shall soon come unto you from the Everlasting our Saviour.  
23 For I sent you out with mourning and weeping; but God will give you to me again with joy and gladness for ever.  
24 Like as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your captivity: so shall they see shortly your salvation from our God, which shall come upon you with great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.  
25 My children, suffer patiently the wrath that is come upon you from God: for thine enemy hath persecuted thee; but shortly thou shalt see his destruction, and shalt tread upon his neck.

which word is used by the LXX in the sense of "desolate" in Ps. xcv. 16.

17-25. After appealing to the neighbouring cities, Jerusalem now speaks to her children, as they are being led away into captivity.

17. But what can I help you?] "But I—in what am I able to help you?" There is strong emphasis on the pronoun, the meaning being made clear by the next verse: "It is not I, but God that must help you."


20. the clothing of peace.] "the robe of peace," i.e. the beautiful garment worn in times of prosperity. The word (παρθένον) is generally used by the LXX. for a priestly, royal, or festal robe: compare Luke xxv. 22, xxv. 46; John xix. 2, 5; Rev. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14.

the sackcloth of my prayer.] "the sackcloth of my supplication," i.e. the sackcloth which I wear as a suppliant in my distress. But in Ps. xxii. 24 the LXX. use δεινός for "affliction," and a comparison of v. 1 makes it probable that we should adopt the same meaning here,—"the sackcloth of my affliction." Compare Esther (Apoc.) xiv. 2.

I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days.] "I will cry unto the Eternal all the days of my life." Compare Ps. cxvi. 2, "I will call upon him as long as I live," where the margin gives "in my days," and the Greek is the same as here, and in Isa. xxxix. 8.

21. unto the Lord.] "unto God."

22. For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you.] "For I hope in the Eternal for your salvation." See the Additional Note. By "salvation" is here meant a happy return from exile (see v. 24, 29, 37), with all the blessings which Prophecy connected with it.

the Everlasting our Saviour.] This, as a title of God, is repeated in v. 33 and v. 5: compare Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xli. 25, &c.  
shall soon come.] Compare v. 24, 25, and see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

the Everlasting our Saviour.] "the Eternal your Saviour;" see Appendix at the end of the Introduction, p. 253. The words are partly taken from Ps. xxiv. 5, which may be rendered, according to the LXX., "He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour." Ps. cxi. 21: "Forgat God their Saviour." The phrase "God of (our) salvation" in the A.V. of the Psalms is in the LXX. "God our Saviour." Compare Isa. xiii. 3, &c.

24. Like as now.] "For like as now." By the neighbours of Sion are meant the neighbouring cities, as in v. 9.

By "brightness" is meant the moral splendour of God's attributes, which will be displayed in the deliverance and restoration of His people.

25. suffer patiently.] The verb is properly intransitive, "be long-suffering," and seems to be nowhere else followed by an accusative.

for thine enemy hath persecuted thee.] Omit "for," which is not found in the Vatican MS.

"The shorter and more abrupt reading is better suited to the impassioned tone of the context." (Fritzsche.)

tread upon his neck.] "tread upon their necks." Taken from the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 29. The frequent interchanges of the singular and plural are
26 \[My delicate ones have gone rough ways, and were taken away as a flock caught of the enemies.
27 Be of good comfort, O my children, and cry unto God: for ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you.
28 For as it was your mind to go astray from God: so, being returned, seek him ten times more.
29 For he that hath brought these plagues upon you shall bring you everlasting joy again with your salvation.

characteristic of the speaker's emotion. For examples in the N. T., see Winer, § ixiii.

26. My delicate ones.] Mic. i. 16; Deut. xxviii. 56; Isa. lxi. 1, 8. "He calls them delicate who lived in ease and plenty, as having no experience of hardships." (Theodore.)

and were taken away.] "They were taken away."

a flock caught of the enemies.] "a flock ravaged by enemies."

27. Repeated from \[v. 21. that brought.\] "that bringing," God. Vat.

28. so, being returned, seek him ten times more.\] "so tenfold more return and seek him."

29. everlasting joy again with your salvation.\] Omit "again," to which there is nothing answering in the Greek. "Your salvation" —i.e. your restoration from exile—shall be accompanied with the enduring joy "which goes hand in hand with righteousness and the fear of God: see \[v. 36; v. 1-4.\" (Fritzsche.) See above on \[v. 22.

iv. 30—v. 9. Jerusalem now ceases to address her children, and herself receives comfort from the prophet.

30. be that gave thee that name will comfort thee.] The etymology of the name Jerusalem is much disputed: according to Gesenius and Fürst it means "Foundation of peace." Here the allusion is to the latter part of the name, "peace." It is, however, doubtful whether there is any allusion to the name "Jerusalem" at all. The A. V. needs correction, thus: "he that calleth thee by name."

Many names are suggested: "the holy city" (Isa. lxvi. 21; ii. 1); "the city of God" (Psa. xxx. 7; xxvi. 1; xli. 3; lxxvii. 3); "the city of the Lord" (Isa. i. 14); "the city of righteousness" (Isa. i. 26); "the throne of the Lord" (Jer. iii. 17). Other commentators refer to such passages as ii. 15; Jer. xxv. 29,

30. Take a good heart, O Jerusalem: for he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.
31 Miserable are they that afflicted thee, and rejoiced at thy fall.
32 Miserable are the cities which thy children served: miserable is she that received thy sons.
33 For as she rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall: so shall she be grieved for her own desolation.
34 For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude, and

"the city which is called by my name;" and Isa. lxii. 2, "Thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name," and \[v. 4, \] "Thou shalt be called Hephzibah."

It is not necessary to the argument to determine what particular name, if any, is intended: "The fact that God has 'called thee by name' is itself a pledge that He will comfort thee."

31. Miserable.] The word (δειχνομαι) expresses contempt as much as pity: it is the opposite to μακαριω, \[v. 4.\]

32. which thy children served.] "to which thy children became bondsmen."

33. she that received thy sons.] The verb (δειχνομαι) seems hardly appropriate to receiving captives, yet Babylon is evidently meant here; and though the preceding descriptions are more vague, they also point to Babylon, as is clear from comparing \[v. 31 with v. 33.\] The cities mentioned in \[v. 32 are the cities of Babylonia among which the Jewish exiles were distributed.

33. Kneucker (who in this follows Schürer and Volkmar) finds in these verses allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans A.D. 70, and to the great triumph of Titus. But see Introduction, § vi. p. 250.

rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall.] In the Greek the words of the latter clause (ἐδικαιώθη, πτώσα) are stronger than those of the former (ἐξάραμ, πτωσα). The case is exactly the reverse in our A.V., which borrows the strong word "ruin" from the Latin. A more correct rendering would be: "was glad at thy falling, and rejoiced over thy ruin."

34. According to the frequent custom of the prophets, God is introduced for a moment as speaking in the first person.

For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude.] "And I will take away
her pride shall be turned into mourning.
35 For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting, long to endure; and she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.

36 "O Jerusalem, look about thee from her the rejoicing," &c. The latter words may describe either the rejoicing of the city over her great population (genitive of the object, πολυφυλας) or the joy of the great multitude itself. This latter is the usual construction of ἀγαλλίαμα in the LXX. See Ps. xlviii. 2, cxix. 11; and, for the thought, Isa. xxiv. 8-12.

35. Here the prophet speaks again. There is an allusion to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, to which the destruction of Babylon is compared also by Isaiah, xiii. 19.

long to endure.] Literally, "for long days," i.e. "for many days."

devils.] "daemon:" see on v. 7, and compare Isa. xiii. 21: "Owls (στερνής) shall dwell there, and satyrs (daemona) shall dance there;" namely, in Babylon.

for a great time.] See note on Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch vi.), v. 3. "The expression shews that he did not predict that she should be always utterly uninhabited, but for a long time: and she is inhabited now by a few jews." (Theodoret.)

36, 37. Prophecy of the return of the captives from Babylon. The author in the assumed person of Baruch, professing to predict the return from captivity, sets himself in the very time of that return,—a proof that such was the well-known style of the real prophets, and therefore a refutation of the main objection which modern critics have urged against Isaiah's authorship of the latter portion of the book which bears his name. See Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

36. the joy that cometh unto thee from God.] That is the joy foretold in v. 22.

37. from the east to the west.] Lc. from all quarters. The phrase is repeated below v. 5. Compare Isa. xiii. 5; Zech. viii. 7. "When the exiles in Babylon had returned, those also came back who had fled at the time of the war, and occupied the western and southern regions; and this is why he made mention of those who came from the west." (Theodoret.)

rejoicing in the glory of God.] "Because it is not in their own power that they have got the better of their enemies, but God, who gave them up, restored their liberty." (Theodoret.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES

7, 8. Kneucker regards the whole passage from "him that made you" (v. 7) to "forgotten" in v. 8 as an interpolation on the following grounds, which appear to be quite erroneous:

(1) In Deut. xxxii. 18, "God that formed thee," the participle stands in apposition to a preceding subject; and the omission of the subject by our author is not in accordance with Hebrew usage. But a similar use of the Hebrew participle, not in apposition to a preceding subject, is often found, as, for instance, in Job xxxi. 15, xl. 19; Isa. xvii. 7, xii. 11.

(2) "Forgotten" is very weak after "provoked," to which the only proper parallel is "ye have grieved." But "forgotten" is taken exactly from the original passage, Deut. xxxii. 18.

7. devils.] Fritzsche and Reuss find here in the word daemonion an imaginary proof that the author held the later Alexandrine doctrine concerning devils. "According to the prophets, the false gods are purely imaginary beings, but they were regarded later as evil spirits who had induced men to worship them" (Reuss).

The supposed proof is at once confuted by the fact that the LXX. use daemonion in Deut. xxxii. 17, from which our author is evidently borrowing his language. The acceptance of a word already employed in the Septuagint version is no proof that the writer holds the Alexandrine doctrine.

22. The peculiar construction—ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξήρισεν ὑμᾶς ἑαυτόν διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν—is explained by Fritzsche as being made up of the two usual constructions ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ and ἐξήρισεν ὑμᾶς. But Reusch and Kneucker regard it as a close imitation of a Hebrew construction such as is found in Ps. xxxvii. 5, "Commit thy way unto the Lord," and Prov. xvi. 3, "Commit thy works unto the Lord," in both which passages the Hebrew verb means literally "roll," i.e. "devolve."
CHAPTER V.

A PROMISE OF LASTING HAPPINESS AND BLESSING TO JERUSALEM.

1. The comeliness of the glory.] The same Greek words (ἐνυπάρχεια δόξης) are used by the LXX. in Jer. xxiii. 9, but are there an evident mistranslation. The metaphor here is the same as in iv. 20 (where see note), and is frequent in Isaiah, e.g. li. 1, “put on thy beautiful garments” (τὴν δούαν σου); lix. 3, “the garment of praise” (δόξης); lix. 10, “the garment of salvation.” Compare Psalm of Solomon xi. 8, “Put on, O Jerusalem, thy garments of glory, make ready thy robe of holiness.”

2. A double garment.] “the double garment” (διαλοίδα); i.e., a large mantle or cloak. When Samuel appears to the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14), “he is covered with a mantle.” In Ps. cix. 20 it is said concerning the wicked, “Let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a mantle;” and in Job xxi. 14, “I put on righteousness, and it clothed me, the LXX. render the last clause “like a mantle” (ίση διαλοίδα).

Fritzsche remarks: “It is to be observed that here ‘righteousness,’ i.e. right conduct in all respects, is in the most general sense traced back to God as its source from whence it proceeds: ... and from v. 4 it is quite clear that ‘righteousness’ as a virtue is intended.”

This sense of the word (διαλοίδα) is acknowledged by all in v. 4, but here the meaning appears to be the same as in τ. 0, —namely, “goodness,” “kindness,” “mercy.” The word often has this meaning in the Septuagint, as will be seen by comparing the following passages in which it is employed in the Greek with the A. V., which renders the Hebrew word (תפתי) by “mercy” or “kindness:” Gen. xix. 19; xx. 13; xxii. 23; xxiv. 27; xxvii. 10; Ex. xv. 13; xxxiv. 7; Prov. xx. 28; Isa. lxii. 7.

A diadem.] “the diadem” (τὴν μυτραν), the same word which the LXX. use in Isa. lix.

10: compare Judith x. 3, xvi. 8, “a tire.” In these passages it means the turban or tiara worn by women, but it is also frequently used of the High Priest’s “mitre,” as in Ex. xxxviii. 37. Jerusalem, decked once more as a bride, is to be crowned with “the glory of the Eternal.”

3. Unto every country under heaven.] For the Greek phrase, which means literally “the whole region under heaven,” compare Ex. xvii. 14, Deut. xxv. 19, and especially Luke xvii. 24.


The peace of righteousness.] I.e. the peace which is the fruit of righteousness: compare Isa. xxxii. 17; James iii. 18.

The glory of God’s worship.] The Greek word (θυρωματια) means in the Septuagint “the fear of God” (Gen. xx. 11; Job xxi. 28), or “godliness” (Ecclus. i. 25), and thus in 1 Tim. ii. 10 differs from εὐαγγέλια in the same chapter. v. 2, only in being expressly limited to the reverence and piety which are shewn towards God. (See Trench, ‘N. T. Synonyms,’ i. 206.)

The meaning, therefore, of the second name here promised to Jerusalem is, “The glory which is the fruit of godliness.” The A.V. seems to fix the thought chiefly upon the glory of outward worship, as (many suppose) in Ps. xxii. 2.

Reusch, who regards the book as a genuine prophecy of Baruch, argues that the promises of this verse extend to a moral renewal and perfecting of Israel; and that this having been only partially and imperfectly realized by the Jews after their return from captivity, the complete fulfilment is only seen “in the Jerusalem to which the Jerusalem of the Old Testament is transfigured by the Messiah in the Church.” But the Messianic tone is sufficiently accounted for by the author’s intimate knowledge and free use of the prophetic books, without our assuming that the writer was Baruch, and Baruch a prophet.

on high, and look about toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the west unto the east by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God. 
6 For they departed from thee on foot, and were led away of their enemies: but God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom. 
7 For God hath appointed that every high hill, and banks of long
continuance, should be cast down, and valleys filled up, to make even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the glory of God.
8 Moreover even the woods and every sweetsmelling tree shall overshadow Israel by the commandment of God. 
9 For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and rightousness that cometh from him.

and stand on high.] "and stand upon the height:" compare Isa. xl. 9.
look about, &c.] Isa. ix. 4: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far," &c. See on iv. 37, and compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 3, "Stand upon high, O Jerusalem, and see thy children gathered from the east and from the west."
in the remembrance of God.] "in God's remembrance:" the obvious reference to iv. 27, "Ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you," leaves no room for the ambiguity contained in the A.V.
6. For they departed, &c.] "For they went out from thee on foot led away by enemies, but God bringeth them in unto thee lifted up with glory as a royal throne." Compare Isa. xiii. 22, "They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders;" Isvi. 20, "And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem."
The comparison to "a royal throne," literally "throne of the kingdom" (1 Kings i. 46; 2 Chron. vii. 18), has been regarded by most interpreters as unusual, and by some as inadmissible. The origin of the various reading "as sons of a kingdom" (Cod. A, &c.) is probably to be traced to this supposed difficulty. But the use of a "moving throne" among the Persians, and of litters or palaquins by the Egyptians, makes it probable that what is here meant is such a seat or throne either carried on men's shoulders or as a horse-litter. The figure is then most appropriate to the triumphant return of the captives in regal state. See Delitzsch on 'The Song of Solomon,' iii. 7-9; and Kittto, 'Biblical Cyclopedia,' LITTER.
7. God hath appointed.] An evident reference to Isa. xl. 4, the language of which passage is closely followed here.
every high hill and banks of long continuance.] "every high mountain and lasting hills:" Deut. xxxiii. 15, and xiii. 2 (τειχών).
cast down.] "made low."
to make even.] Mic. vii. 12 (eis θυμαλσεις). Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 5, "The high mountains hath he brought down to make even ground (eis θυμαλσεις) for them." The LXX. use the word only in Mic. vii. 12, and there it is a mistranslation.
go safely in the glory of God.] The allusion here, as in v. 9, "in the light of his glory," is to the light that guided Israel in the wilderness. See Ps. of Solom. xi. 7, quoted below on v. 8. For the construction compare Job xxix. 3 (ὀρεῖ τῶ θυμαλσείς αὐτοῦ ἑπορεύσωμεν), "when by his light I walked."
8. and every sweetsmelling tree.] The Greek words (σῶρος ἔδωκεν ἐκδικεῖα) are not found in the Septuagint, but only in Ps. of Solomon xi. 7, "Every sweetsmelling tree did God cause to spring up for them, that Israel might pass on in charge of the glory of their God."
shall overshadow Israel.] "made a shade for Israel" (Ewald): compare Jonah iv. 6. In the liveliness of his description the author writes as if the return were already past. Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 6, "The forests made a shade for them."
9. God shall lead Israel.] Ex. xiii. 21 (ἰνήκε δέ)
in the light.] "by the light:" see on v. 7.
the mercy and rightousness that cometh from him.] The goodness of God towards His people is called "mercy," as being unmerited, and "rightousness," as being a faithful adherence to His promises. See note on v. 2.
THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. CONTENTS

VERSES 1-7: Prefatory Statement.—The "Epistle of Jeremy" professes to be a copy of a letter sent by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews who were about to be carried away captives to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He tells them, by God's command, that their captivity is the punishment of their sins, and that it will be long before they shall be brought back in peace (vv. 1-3).

Meanwhile they must keep themselves free from the idolatry which they will see in Babylon, and remain true to the Lord, whose angel will protect them (vv. 4-7).

VERSES 8-72: The Vanity of Idols. — From this point onward the whole Epistle is occupied in setting forth at large the vanity of idols and the folly of idol-worship.

There is no clear logical arrangement of the thoughts, but the divisions are marked by the recurrence of a refrain, which is apparently intended to give a sort of rhythmical air to the whole composition.

This refrain occurs first at v. 16, "they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not:" it is repeated with slight variations at vv. 23, 29, 65, and 69; which verses may therefore be taken as marking the divisions of the Epistle. The question, "How can they be called gods?" also recurs in slightly varied forms at vv. 30, 40, 44, 46, 49, 52, 55.

Most of the thoughts are found in Ps. cxv. 4-8 (cxxxv. 15-18); Isa. xlv. 9-19; Jer. x. 3-9; Wisdom xiii. 10-19, xv. 13-17.

§ II. THE SUPPOSED AUTHOR.

The occasion described in vv. 1, 2 seems to be that on which Nebuchadnezzar, "in the eighth year of his reign" (2 Kings xxiv. 12), carried away Jeconiah and all the chief men of Judah, with great treasures, to Babylon.

At that time (B.C. 597) Jeremiah sent a letter "from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captives . . . from Jerusalem to Babylon, after that Jeconiah the king and the queen . . . were departed from Jerusalem" (Jer. xxix. 2).

The fact that Jeremiah had written one such letter to the captives seems to have suggested the idea of dignifying by his name another letter not written in reality till many ages after his death.

The purport also of this second letter, as an argument against the folly of idolatry, was appropriate to the character and position of Jeremiah, and to the spirit of his genuine writings. It is in fact little more than an enlargement of the prophet's warning against idolatry in
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chap. x. 1–16, from which passage, and from Ps. cxv. 4–8 and Isa. xlv. 9–19, much of the argument, and even of the language, is freely borrowed.

The assumption of the name of Jeremiah does not necessarily imply an intention to deceive: it was in accordance with the literary usage of the later centuries B.C., and was probably understood to mean nothing more than that the author had endeavoured to imitate the manner and spirit of the elder prophet, and to write for his own generation as he supposed Jeremiah might have written under the same circumstances.

That the imitation is not very successful, may be judged from the admissions even of those who try to maintain the actual authorship of Jeremiah: thus Reusch (p. 78), in describing the composition, says: "There is a long series of facts brought forward, from which it may be clearly seen that the gods have no power nor life. There is no strict logical arrangement prevailing in the development of the subject, but the facts are simply placed one after another, some of them repeated several times in a slightly modified form, and sometimes also facts wholly different in character are set side by side. The enumeration of them is only interrupted by the statement—ten times repeated as a sort of refrain at varying intervals and in varied form—"whence it is seen, that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.""

It is strange that a scholar who sees so clearly and describes so fairly the character of the writing can yet believe that Jeremiah was its author. It has none of the grace or power of Hebrew poetry, nor even its outward form,—nothing but a monotonous repetition of one prosaic sentence as a sort of refrain. From first to last we feel not a breath of the genuine spirit of prophecy; no spark of the fire which burned so fiercely in the words of Jeremiah, and made him so terrible to the sinners of his day; not one sound of the sorrowful sighing of his soul over the sins and calamities of his country.

The inferiority of style is admitted: how is it to be explained? When Ewald says that the author writes like an orator who proves and exhausts his subject from every point of view, and shews not the remotest movement towards prophetic flight ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), Reusch can only reply that "the Jews who were carried into captivity with Zedekiah belonged for the most part to the lower classes; and the fact that the letter was intended chiefly for the great mass of the people, explains its popular form and the mode of representation which is characterised by Ewald quite correctly. For such readers it was very proper to draw attention to the multitude of tangible facts which shew the nothingness of the false gods. This also explains why the letter agrees in the thoughts with other passages in which Jeremiah speaks of idolatry, especially with chap. x., but differs in its mode of expression from his prophecies. Its particular and temporary aim also helps to explain why it was not adopted into the collection of the prophet's predictions."

Unhappily for this argument, the author professes to write to the Jews who were carried into captivity, not with Zedekiah, but previously with Jechoniah; and these belonged for the most part not to the lower, but to the higher classes (2 Kings xxiv. 14–16).

When an able and zealous advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle is reduced to so feeble a defence, based upon a palpable error, it is needless to discuss the question of Jeremiah's authorship any further.

§ III. The Original Language.

An advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle must of necessity maintain that it was written at first in Hebrew. This opinion, though still defended by some Roman Catholic commentators, as Welte and Reusch, is rejected without hesitation by the great majority of competent and impartial critics. The general judgment is thus expressed by Fritzschke (p. 266): "If any one of the Apocryphal books was composed in Greek, this certainly was. The style, it is true, bears traces of the Hellenistic dialect, but, for Hellenistic Greek, it is very pure, and contains many rare forms and combinations. Of Hebraism there are but rare and slight reminiscences."
THE EPISODE OF JEREMIAH.

The facts upon which this judgment is based cannot be denied: and Reusch, in reply to it, can only plead that "This character of the writing is far from proving that the letter could not possibly be a translation from the Hebrew. The translator, who perhaps is not the same as the translator of the book Baruch, might possibly translate freely and in seemingly good Greek style; and in the explanation of the Epistle occasion will often be presented for pointing to passages which a Greek author would certainly have expressed otherwise, and which betray a translator who in some particulars did not perfectly understand the original, or know how to render it, and did not confine himself so closely to the letter of the original as we could have wished."

The instances quoted by Reusch from Welte in support of this answer are the following:—

(a.) Inconsistencies of Greek construction. —Verse 6: προσκυνήσει with the accusative, and with the dative in the very next verse.

The worthlessness of this objection is apparent from Reusch's own note on v. 6: "Προσκυνήσει is construed sometimes with the dative, sometimes with the accusative: the latter is more in accordance with the Greek usage, the former with the Hebrew."

In John iv. 23 we find the same variation in a single verse: it is therefore no evidence of a Hebrew original.

Verses 8, 68: "The neuter plural with its verb in the singular, and in the plural in the same verse."

Again we refer to Reusch himself on v. 8 for an answer: "Εὐλογία and διάνωμα; after the subject in the neuter plural the singular is admissible, and the plural."

The transition in the same verse from singular to plural, both referring to the same subject, is found also in John x. 4.

Verse 38: "εἰ τοιμὰ with the accusative, and in v. 64 with the dative."

Reusch's note on v. 38 is: "εἰ τοιμὰ here, as is usual, with the accusative; in v. 64, Hebraistically with the dative."

The classical usage with the accusative is most common in the LXX. But the dative occurs in Ex. i. 20, Josh. xxiv. 20, and five times in Ecclesiasticus: it also occurs in Mark xiv. 7 with εἰ τοιμὰ, and in Luke vii. 27 with καλῶς τοιμά. It may therefore rightly be called Hellenistic, but does not give evidence of a Hebrew original.

(b.) "The use of the future in a thoroughly Hebraistic manner in vv. 33, 34, 67." On v. 33 Reusch writes: "The future εὐδοκήσει is here especially harsh, and in this and other passages is only to be explained from a close adherence to the Hebrew."

But there is no need to assume "a close adherence to the Hebrew;" for the future is better explained as expressing a general truth (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16), or probable event. See Winer, 'Gr. of N. T. Greek,' iii. 16; Bernhardy, 'Syntax,' p. 377.

(c.) "The construction βούλευσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα (v. 48) is not found in classical Greek, but answers closely to the Hebrew יְנַעֲלַ אֶלָיו."

In Trümmer's Concordance the Greek construction is cited only thrice (2 Kings vi. 8; Isa. xl. 14; Jer. xxxvi. 16), and only in the first instance is it a translation of the Hebrew phrase quoted by Reusch. Its occurrence in the Epistle only shows that the author was familiar with the style of the Septuagint.

(d.) Welte notices also the use of the singular τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν in vv. 13, 21 for the plural, as shewing that there stood in the Hebrew text דְּרֵבָנָה.

The inference is quite unwarranted. In v. 22 we find in like manner τὸ σώμα αὐτῶν, as in 1 Cor. vi. 19 (τὸ σώμα ζωῆ); and this use of the singular, to express an object which belongs to each of several individuals, is not at all uncommon. See Matt. xvii. 5, xxii. 16; Luke iii. 31; 2 Cor. viii. 24, passages in which πρόσωπον is so used.

If these supposed traces of Hebraism be compared with the instances found in the first part of Baruch (Introduction to Baruch, § V.), it will be evident that they are quite insufficient to give even a show of probability to the theory of a Hebrew original.

When Reusch replies that there is no proof "that a Hebrew original is impossible," he makes an unreasonable demand for such demonstrative evidence as the nature of the case excludes.

Ἀρος.—Vol. II.
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We may safely accept Ewald's judgment ('Prophets of the O. T.', v. 139, E. Tr.), that the author's "Greek language seeks occasionally [as in v. 4, ἀφομοιωθέτες ἀφομοιωθέτες] to assume the peculiarities of the Hebrew: but even in this respect he only partially succeeds."

Schürer also (in his 'History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ,' Leipsic, 1886) decides that the Greek is certainly original.

§ IV. OBJECT OF THE EPISTLE.

Though the author writes under an assumed name, his work is not on that account to be put aside as a mere literary forgery: it has a serious practical purpose which cannot be overlooked.

The writer is evidently making an earnest appeal to persons actually living in the midst of heathenism, and needing to be warned and encouraged against temptations to apostasy (vv. 5-7). He shews an intimate knowledge of the details of idol-worship such as could hardly be possessed by any but an eyewitness: and thus, as Ewald observes ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), "the numerous close allusions to idolatrous usages confer on this composition a high historical value." The condition of the readers thus indicated corresponds with that of the Jewish communities descended from those captives who, after the destruction of Babylon, instead of returning to Jerusalem, chose to remain in the country where they had made themselves a home. These, who were by far the greater portion of the Captivity, formed the nucleus of those numerous colonies throughout the East "from India unto Ethiopia" (Esther viii. 9), which were included under the general title of "The Dispersion" (James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1).

Thus, whether the letter was intended for the common benefit of "the Dispersion among the Greeks" (John vii. 35), or for some particular community, the local colouring is with perfect propriety borrowed from the position of their ancestors, the original captives in Babylon.

That position is admirably described by Ewald ('History of Israel,' v. 24): "The very closeness of this contact (with heathenism), and the accuracy of the knowledge thus obtained, must have created a profound repulsion in all the deeper minds; and the fact that the genius of heathenism had been developed by the Babylonians of this very period to the highest point of art and science of which it was susceptible, but had become utterly corrupt as a rule of life, necessarily increased the horror with which it was regarded. Thus the rejection, in the most contemptuous manner conceivable, of every feature of heathenism kept pace with the deepening consciousness of the eternal truth of their own religion: and never before had all the senseless and therefore intrinsically ridiculous notions involved in idol-worship been pursued and exposed in detail as they were now."

Though the historian is here speaking of the actual period of the Captivity, and grounding his remarks, according to his own well-known theory, upon the writings of Jeremiah and the so-called Deutero-Isaiah or "Great Unnamed," his description is quite as appropriate to the circumstances of "the Dispersion" several centuries later, and especially to the Epistle of Jeremy.

The author was certainly a Hellenistic Jew, and possibly, as Fritzsche thinks, a Jew of Alexandria: but, whether living in Egypt or elsewhere, he doubtless had good reason for laying the scene in Babylon, and veiling his fierce attack on idol-gods under the venerable name of Jeremiah, instead of openly deriding in his own name the religion of the people among whom he dwelt.

§ V. APPROXIMATE DATE.

Attempts have been made to find a relative date for the Epistle of Jeremy from a supposed allusion to it in 2 Macc. ii. 1, 2, where it is said to have been "found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away... not to forget the commandment of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, when they see images of silver and gold with their ornaments."

The language of the last clause is very similar to that of the Epistle in vv. 4-6;
and Ewald, who recognises the allusion, observes that "there is no reason why the writer of 2 Maccabees should not have been acquainted with our little book" (‘Prophets,’ v. 141, E. Tr.). Herzfeld takes the opposite view, that the coincidence of language proves the Epistle to be the later work. Fritzsché however, with better judgment, thinks that the similarity of language is not such as to afford a safe criterion.

At all events, the supposed allusion to our Epistle seems to be excluded by the statement in 2 Macc. ii. 4: "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God." The Epistle contains no such reference to the tabernacle and the ark, nor to the command "to take of the fire" (v. 1).

Another supposed note of time is the frequent reference to offending, resisting, setting up, and putting down kings (v. v. 18, 34, 53, 56, 59, 66), in which Ewald finds an indication of the times of the last Seleucidae and Ptolemies, and so fixes the date of the Epistle "about the beginning of the last century before Christ."

"The Grecian kings had then already greatly fallen in estimation and power, and were easily deposed."

This date, 106 B.C., differs little from that which is usually assigned to the Epistle,—namely, the later period of the Maccabees, the last of whom, John Hyrcanus, died about 106 B.C.

§ VI. TEXT.

The Epistle of Jeremiah is found in the same Greek MSS. which contain the Book of Baruch, except a few cursive. "The character of the MSS. in relation to each other is very much the same as in Baruch, only more invariable here" (Fritzsché). On this point see the Introduction to Baruch, § VII. pp. 251, 252.

§ VII. PLACE IN CANON.

In some Greek MSS. the Epistle of Jeremiah is included in the Book of Baruch, but in Cod. Vat. and Cod. Alex. it is separated from Baruch, and follows the Lamentations of Jeremiah. It has, in fact, no connexion with Baruch, except through the author's assumption of the name of Jeremiah, and his imitation of parts of his prophecy.
THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

(BARUCH, CHAPTER VI., IN A.V.)

5 The cause of the captivity is their sin. 3 The place where they were carried is Babylon; the vanity of whose idols and idolatries are set forth at large in this chapter.

A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.

BECAUSE of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians.

3 So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence.

4 “Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear.

VERSES 1–7. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF THE ALLEGED AUTHORSHIP AND OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE.

On the general contents of these verses, see the Introduction, § 1.

The superscription is counted as v. 1 in the E.V., but not in the Greek.

1. were to be led.] From this expression and from vvs. 2, 3 we see that the letter proffesses to have been written at a time when the captives had been removed out of Jerusalem, but had not yet left their own country for Babylon. This agrees with the occasion described in Jer. xxix. 2.

2. Because of the sins which ye have committed.] Compare the answer given in Jer. xvi. 10–13 to the question of the people: “Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this great evil against us?”

3. remain there . . . for a long season.] “be there . . . a long time.” Compare Jer. xxxii. 14, and Bar. iv. 35. The false prophet Hananiah, having foretold a speedy return from Babylon, was rebuked by Jeremiah (xxviii. 2–17), who in his letter to the captives bade them look for a long continuance of their exile: “Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them: take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters . . . And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.” (Jer. xxix. 5–7.)

4. seven generations.] “even unto seven generations.” See the Additional Note.

5. I will bring you away peaceably from thence.] “I will bring you out thence in peace.” Ezek. xxxiv. 13, “I will bring them out from the people.” It is the same word (אָגַף) which is constantly used of bringing out the people from Egypt.

6. Now shall ye see.] “But now ye will see:” now, i.e. for the present, and as long as your captivity shall last.

7. gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood.] The Vulgate changes the order, and reads: “gods of gold and of silver and of stone and of wood.” The addition may have been suggested by the original passage (Deut. iv. 28): “There ye shall serve gods, the work of men’s hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell.”

Tertullian (‘Scorpiace,’ c. 8) quotes the words in the order in which they stand in the A.V. His version of the passage (c. v. 4–6) is quite independent of that given in the Vulgate; he cites the whole passage as from Jeremiah.
EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

5 Beware therefore that ye in no wise be like to strangers, neither be ye afraid of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshiping them.

6 But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee.

7 For mine angel is with you, and I myself caring for your souls.

8 As for their tongue, it is polished by the workman, and they themselves are gilded and laid over with silver; yet are they but false, and cannot speak.

9 And taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their gods.

10 Sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon themselves.

11 Yea, they will give thereof to

borne upon shoulders.] The custom of carrying the images of the gods in procession upon festival days is often ridiculed by the Hebrew prophets, as by Isaiah (xlvi. 7), "They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place," and by Jeremiah (x. 5), "They must needs be borne, because they cannot go."

which cause the nations to fear.] "which strike terror into the heathen," literally, "shewing terror to the heathen." Compare Ps. lx. 3, "Thou hast abased thy people hard things," and Ps. lxxii. 20, "Thou which hast shewed me great and sore troubles."

5. that ye in no wise be like to strangers.] "lest ye also become altogether like unto the aliens." The repetition (ἀφομοιωθῆνες...ἀφομοιωθῆνες) is employed, like the corresponding Hebrew idiom, to give emphasis. Compare for the thought Deut. xii. 30, xviii. 9; Jer. x. 2.

neither be ye afraid of them.] "and lest fear of them take hold of you." Compare (A. V.) Ps. cxlviii. 6: "Fear took hold upon them there." in your hearts.] Literally, "to your mind" (ἐν ἑσπερία): compare Gen. xxvii. 41; Jer. v. 24. Cyprian ("On the Lord's Prayer," c. 5, E. Tr.), less correctly, connects these words with the clause which follows: "The Holy Spirit, moreover, suggests these same things by Jeremiah, and teaches, saying, In the heart, O God, oubre to worship Thee."

O Lord, we must worship thee.] "Thou, O Lord, art he whom we ought to worship." The emphasis excludes the worship of any other god.

The whole verse is omitted in the Alexandrine Codex.

7. God is here introduced as speaking. The thought is connected with vv. 5, 6, thus: "Fear them not, but worship Me only, for mine angel is with you." Compare Ex. xxxii. 32, xxxiii. 34, xxxvii. 2, 3, 14, 15, and notes on these passages in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

and I myself.] Our A.V. follows the Latin (exquiram) in understanding this clause in the 1st person as referring to God. It is simpler to refer it to the angel, instead of introducing a new subject: "Mine angel is with you, and he saith for your souls." This construction is confirmed by a similar use of the pronoun in v. 8: "and they themselves (αὐτά ὑμῖν). The phrase (ἐκσπαραγέω τάς ψυχάς), literally, "seeking out your souls," is sometimes used of seeking to destroy life (2 Sam. iv. 8; Ps. liv. 3). Here, however, it evidently has the same meaning as in Ps. cxiii. 4, "No man cared for my soul" (margin: "sought after"); and in Prov. xxix. 10, "The bloodthirsty hate the upright: but the just seek his soul," i.e. watch over, and protect his life.

VERSES 8–16. IDOLS ARE THINGS WITHOUT LIFE, THE WORK OF MEN'S HANDS, SENSELESS AND HELPLESS.

8. Reasons for not fearing the idols. The conjunction (γάρ) which shews the connexion with v. 5 should not have been omitted in the A. V.

As for their tongue.] "For as for their tongue." Ps. cxv. 4: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not;" repeated in Ps. cxxxv. 15.

false.] Compare v. 48, 59. The substantive (ψεύδος) is used for an idol in Isa. xxxiv. 20: "Is there not a lie in my right hand?" Compare Jer. xiii. 25, xvi. 19; and Rom. i. 25.

9. that loveth to go gay.] Literally, "fond of ornament" (φιλοκόσμος), a word used by late Greek writers,—Plutarch, Aelian, and Lucian,—but not found elsewhere in the LXX. or N. T.

for the heads of their gods.] "to set upon the heads," &c.

10. convey.] This word means "to remove secretly," as in John v. 13; or "to steal," a sense in which it is commonly used by our older writers: "Convey the wise it call" (Shakespeare). This is also the meaning of the Greek word (φαρωφύμοι).
15 He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an ax: but cannot deliver himself from war and thieves.
16 Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not.
17 For like as a vessel that a man useth is nothing worth when it is broken; even so it is with their gods: when they be set up in the temple, their eyes be full of dust through the feet of them that come in.
18 And as the doors are made sure on every side upon him that

“bestow.” “consume.” The LXX use the same Greek word in Deut. iv. 24 and ix. 3: “The Lord thy God is a consuming fire.”

Arnobius (‘Adversus Gentes,’ vi. 21) repeats some amusing tales of robberies from the images of the gods.

11. and deck them.] I.e. the gods. This clause should be preceded by a fuller stop than in A.V. After the digression concerning the thievish priests in ου, 10, 11 a, the author resumes his account of the false gods: “And they deck them with their vestments as men.”

and gods of gold.] The repetition of the word “gods” strengthens the expression of scorn.

12. Yet cannot these gods.] The word “gods” is not in the Greek, but the addition agrees well with the scornful irony of the passage: so also “cannot” is better than the more exact “do not.”

mothx.] Literally, “parts eaten away” (μύδωρ), corruption, or “decay:” a similar word (μύδωρ) is used in Matt. vii. 19.

Compare for the thought Arnobius (vi. 16): “Do you not see that these images, which seem to breathe, whose feet and knees you touch and handle when praying, at times fall into ruin from the constant dropping of rain, at other times lose the firm union of their parts from their decaying and becoming rotten (putredinis modo carie relaxari) . . . and are eaten away with rust?”

though they be covered with purple raiment.] The construction of the Greek (genitive absolute) shows that this clause should rather be joined with the following verse, as in the Latin and Arabic Versions.

13. They wipe their faces.] Compare v. 24. Here the Middle Voice (αφαίρεσαι) is remarkable, but may perhaps imply that the priests do not themselves wipe off the dust, but get it done.

when there is much.” “which is thick”

14. be that cannot put to death.] Here, as in v. 11 and frequently in the Epistle, the future expresses as certain what the author thinks likely. See Introduction, § III. b. Though “cannot” is not actually expressed in the Greek (οὐκ ἀνέβλησι), it is correct in sense. Perhaps also, as Reuss thinks, there is a touch of irony in the future.

The author here passes to the singular, which makes the description more lively, as though he had some particular idol before his eyes.

as though he were a judge.” “like a man that is a judge.”

15. He hath also in his right hand a dagger.

“And he holds a dagger in his right hand.” The dagger and axe were not likely to be placed both in the same hand, as might be supposed from the A.V. The same Greek word for “dagger” (γυχρίδω) is used by the LXX. in Jer. 1. 42, where A.V. has “lance,” and in Ezek. xxii. 5, 4, 5, where A.V. has “sword.”

thieves.] “robbers” (ληστῶν), as in v. 18: the more exact rendering agrees with the idea of defence against violence.

16. Whereby.] “Whence.” The verse draws the conclusion from the whole paragraph, vv. 8–15, and also forms an introduction to the next paragraph.

fear them not.] Jer. x. 5.

Verses 17–23. The Idols are Useless and Helpless.

17. Compare Jer. xxi. 28: “Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? Is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure?”

the temple.] Literally, “their houses,” as in v. 55.

18. upon him that offendeth the king]
offendeth the king, as being committed to suffer death: even so the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest their gods be spoiled with robbers.

19 They light them candles, yea, more than for themselves, whereof they cannot see one.

20 They are as one of the beams of the temple, yet they say their hearts are gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them and their clothes, they feel it not.

21 Their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple.

22 Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also.

23 By this ye may know that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.

24 Notwithstanding the gold that is about them to make them beautiful, except they wipe off the rust, they will not shine: for neither when they were molten did they feel it.

25 The things wherein there is no breath are bought for a most high price.

**VERSES 24-29. THE COSTLY BUT HELPFUL IDOLS ARE DISHONOURED BY THEIR OWN PRIESTS.**

24. Notwithstanding the gold. “For as to the gold.” The sentence, if completed as it begins, would have been — “For the gold will not shine.” But the plural subject, introduced in the relative clause — “with which they are set about for beauty” — is carried on into the principal sentence — “they will not shine.”

25. bought for a most high price. It is better to retain the order of the Greek words: “They have been bought at all cost — things wherein is no breath.” Compare Jer. x. 14, “There is no breath in them.” and Ps. cxix. 17, “Neither is there any breath in their mouths,” and Hab. ii. 19, quoted below on v. 39.
26 "They are borne upon shoulders, having no feet, whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth. 27 They also that serve them are ashamed: for if they fall to the ground at any time, they cannot rise up again of themselves: neither, if one set them upright, can they move of themselves: neither, if they be bowed down, can they make themselves straight: but they set gifts before them, as unto dead men.

28 As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse; in like manner their wives lay up part thereof in salt; but unto the poor and impotent they give nothing of it.

29 Menstruous women and women in childbed eat their sacrifices: by these things ye may know that they are no gods: fear them not.

30 For how can they be called gods? because women set meat before the gods of silver, gold, and wood.

31 And the priests sit in their temples, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads.

36. The clauses should be transposed: "Having no feet, they are borne upon shoulders." See on ver. 4.

"whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth." "displaying unto men their own worthlessness;" i.e. that they cannot walk, but must be carried. But a different meaning is suggested by the use of the Greek word (κρυπτα, "shame") in Jer. xiii. 26; Nah. iii. 5.

27. for, &c.] "because, if they fall to the ground, they never rise up again of themselves."

set them upright, &c. [set it upright, &c. There are frequent changes from the plural to the singular throughout the description of the idols.

be bowed down.] "be laid down." "make themselves straight.] "set themselves upright."

but they set gifts before them, as unto dead men.] "but the offerings are set beside them as beside the dead." Compare Ps. civ. 28: "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." Exclus. xxx. 18, 19: "Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave. What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell." Tobit iv. 17: "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked;" or, according to the Vatican Codex, "Pour out thy wine and thy bread over the tombs of the just."

For the custom of setting a feast before an idol, see Bel and the Dragon, vv. 3-15. The same custom is said to remain among the Arabs of Barbary (Dict. of the Bible: Mourning, p. 437 b).

28. As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse.] "But their sacrifices their priests," &c.

in like manner their wives.] "and in like manner their wives also."

but unto the poor, &c.] "but give no part either to the poor or to the feeble."

29. eat.] "touch," and thereby defile: compare Lev. xii. 4, "she shall touch no hallowed thing.

by these things ye may know.] "Knowing them from these things."

30. bow can they be called.] The Vatican MS. preserves the true reading (ελθθειναμος, the optative without δ), meaning, "How could they be called!" "How could such a thing be thought of?"

because women, &c.] "for women," &c. A reason why the Jews could not regard the idols as gods; for among the Jews women had no share in the service of the Tabernacle or Temple.

31. The idolatrous priests assume in their worship all the signs of mourning because (as Grotius observes) those whom the Babylonians, like the Egyptians, regarded as gods, were in reality dead men. Among the Jews, on the contrary, the priests of the living God were expressly forbidden to defile themselves for the dead (Lev. xxiv. 1-11; Ezek. xlv. 25).

32. sit.] Compare 1 Sam. i. 9: "Eli the priest sat upon a seat (τιν τοι διηρω, 'upon the seat,' LXX., the Hebrew also having the article) by a post of the temple." The Greek word (διηρωνω) is rightly rendered "sit" in the A.V., as in the Latin and Syriac Versions: but its more special meaning, "to sit in a chariot," is more common; and interpreters, assuming this to be the only meaning, have adopted various readings which are quite inadmissible.

having their clothes rent.] Lev. xxvi. 10: "The high priest . . . shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes."
32 They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead.
33 The priests also take off their garments, and clothe their wives and children.
34 Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, they are not able to recompense it: they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.
35 In like manner, they can neither give riches nor money: though a man make a vow unto them, and keep it not, they will not require it.
36 They can save no man from death, neither deliver the weak from the mighty.
37 They cannot restore a blind man to his sight, nor help any man in his distress.
38 They can shew no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the fatherless.
39 Their gods of wood, and which are overlaid with gold and silver, are like the stones that be hewn out of the mountain: they that worship them shall be confounded.
40 How should a man then think and say that they are gods, when even the Chaldeans themselves dishonour them?

35. money. Literally, “brass” or “copper,” a common term for small money: Matt. x. 9; Mark xii. 41. Observe the contrast to 1 Sam. ii. 7, “The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich.”

they will not require it.] The thought and language are evidently taken from Deut. xxiii. 21: “When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee.”

36. They can save no man from death.] Deut. xxxiii. 39. “There is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive;” 1 Sam. ii. 6, “The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.”

37. to his sight. Omit “his.” Compare Ps. cxlv. 8: “The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down.”

38. Ps. cxlv. 9: “He relieth the fatherless and widow.”

39. Read: “They are like unto the stones from the mountain, these wooden things, and things overlaid with gold and silver.” Compare Hab. ii. 19: “Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! Behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it.”

shall be confounded.] “and they that serve them shall be put to shame.” The reference is to the priests who “serve” (ἱερεῖς) the idols, rather than to the worshippers in general.

40. Here, as in v. 30, the refrain, according to the A.V., forms the conclusion of one section, and the introduction to the next. But the last clause should more properly be joined with the next verse.
41. Who if they shall see one dumb that cannot speak, they: bring him, and intreat Bel that he may speak, as though he were able to understand.

42. Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them: for they have no knowledge.

43. The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.

44. Whatsoever is done among them is false: how may it then be thought or said that they are gods?

VERSES 41–44. THE IDOLS ARE PUT TO DISHONOUR BY THE CHALDEANS THEMSELVES.

A new sentence begins here, but its apodosis must be supplied from the preceding, thus: “And moreover—(how can a man think them to be gods)—when even the Chaldeans dishonour them?”

Their own worshippers put their idols to disgrace, “by continually demanding from them what they know cannot be performed” (Grotius).

41. Who if they shall see one dumb. [Who when they see a dumb man.]

bring him.] I.e. the dumb man, whom they bring to the idol: according to another construction, it may mean “they bring Bel and entreat him.”

as though be were able to understand.] By entreating Bel, who cannot even hear (αἰσθήσει) their prayer, to make a dumb man speak, they put their idol to open shame.

42. Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them.] This is much better than the rendering which some commentators adopt: “And though they are themselves aware of this, they cannot leave them;” for the next clause states that they, the worshippers themselves, “have no knowledge” (αἰσθησία, “perception,” or, as in the margin, “sense”), and therefore cannot forsake their foolish idolatry.

43. Compare Herodotus, i. 199: “The most disgraceful of the customs among the Babylonians is the following. Every woman of the country must once in her life go and sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some strange man... Sitting in the temple-court of Aphrodite with a wreath of cord (θομυρυς) round their heads are many women, for some are coming and others going: and ropes stretched to form passages in every direction keep a thoroughfare among the women, along which the strangers pass through and choose for themselves. And when a woman takes her seat there, she is not allowed to go away to her home until one of the strangers throws a piece of money into her lap and takes her with him outside the temple.”

Strabo (lib. vi. c. r) gives a similar account, and states that the practice was instituted in consequence of some oracle.

The goddess called by Herodotus Mylitta, and identified with Aphrodite, seems to be the same with Milta, Blita, or Beltis, the wife of Bel or Bil: see Rawlinson, ‘Herodotus,’ i. 199.

Selden (‘de Diis Syris,’ ii. 3) supposes this custom to be the same which is mentioned in a Kings xvii. 30, “The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth,” where the last words mean literally “booths of daughters.” See, however, the note in the ‘Speaker’s Commentary’ on Kings, where the words are differently explained.

44. done among them.] Literally, “having put ropes round about them” (σωσσαρία περιβοϊμοι): this does not refer to wearing girdles of cord, nor to a wreath of cord round the head (θομυρυς, Herod.; θομυρυς χειροτεματική, Strabo), but to the roped passages (σωσσαρείες βαδισοδοι, Herod.), each woman being enclosed within a rope, which must be broken that she might be led away.

burn bran for perfume.] “burn bran as incense”—namely, to the goddess, that through her favour a paramour may be found. Compare Theocritus, ‘Idyl.’ ii. 33 and 161; Virg. ‘Ecl.’ viii. 82: “sparge molam.”

but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him.] “and when one of them has been dragged off by one of them that pass by to lie with him.”

was not thought as worthy as herself.] “has not been thought worthy, like herself.”

her cord.] “her rope.”

44. done among them.] “done on them;” it refers to the idols (ἐν αὐτοῖς, Vat.), rather than to the worshippers or priests (ἐν αὐτοῖς, Alex.).
EPISODE OF JEREMY.

45. 'They are made of carpenters and goldsmiths: they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.

46. And they themselves that made them can never continue long; how should then the things that are made of them be gods?

47. For they left lies and reproaches to them that come after.

48. For when there cometh any war or plague upon them, the priests consult with themselves, where they may be hidden with them.

49. How then cannot men perceive that they be no gods, which can neither save themselves from war, nor from plague?

50. 'For seeing they be but of wood, and overlaid with silver and gold, it shall be known hereafter that they are false:

51. And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings that they are no gods, but the works of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them.

52. Who then may not know that they are no gods?

53. For neither can they set up a king in the land, nor give rain unto men.

54. Neither can they judge their own cause, nor redress a wrong, being unable: for they are as crows between heaven and earth.

VERSES 45-52. IDOLS ARE MERE WORKS OF MEN'S HANDS.

45. made of carpenters.] "made by carpenters." Isa. xl. 19; Jer. x. 3, &c.

46. be gods.] These words (elvas theoi) are found in many MSS. and Versions, but not in the Vatican Codex. Without them the meaning will be: "The makers themselves do not continue, and how then is it likely that their works should be of long continuance? for what they have left to those that come after them are lies and disgrace."

47. lies.] I.e. false gods: see note on v. 8.

48. any war or plague.] "For whenever war or troubles come upon them."

49. from war, nor from plague.] "from wars nor from troubles.

50. And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings.] "To all the heathen and to their kings it shall be manifest."

51. There is no work of God in them.] I.e. They cannot do any work such as a god can do.

52. Who then may not know.] "To whom then shall it not be known." The Vatican Codex omits the negative particle, which is necessary to the sense. Without it we should have the inappropriate question—"Whereby then shall it be known that they are not gods?" The other reading is also confirmed by the form of the questions in vv. 49, 56, &c.

53. a king in the land.] "a king of the land." See note on v. 34.

54. their own cause.] Compare v. 14. Some would render: "they cannot judge men's causes." But there is a keener reproach in the A.V.

55. nor redress a wrong.] Or, as in Isa. i. 17, "relieve the oppressed." See the note at the end of the chapter on the various reading.

56. being unable.] "impotent as they are." for they are as crows, &c.] The Alexandrine and other MSS. connect this with the preceding clause, omitting γιάσ: "being helpless as the crows that are between heaven and earth." This does not affect the sense, which, however, the commentators have failed to discover. Thus Reuss: "This seems to be a proverbial saying. Anyhow the comparison is to the feebleness of the crow, not to its position. Yet the animal is much less feeble (!) than the idol."

Certainly a living crow does not appear to be feeble, especially when flying between heaven and earth." But what is more impotent than a dead crow hung up "between heaven and earth," to scare his fellows. The same thought recurs in v. 70.
55 Whereupon when fire falleth upon the house of gods of wood, or laid over with gold or silver, their priests will flee away, and escape; but they themselves shall be burned asunder like beams.

56 Moreover they cannot withstand any king or enemies: how can it then be thought or said that they be gods?

57 Neither are those gods of wood, and laid over with silver or gold, able to escape either from thieves or robbers.

58 Whose gold, and silver, and garments wherewith they are clothed, they that are strong do take, and go away withal: neither are they able to help themselves.

59 Therefore it is better to be a king that sheweth his power, or else a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of, than such false gods; or to be a door in an house, to keep such things safe as be therein, than such false gods; or a pillar of wood in a palace, than such false gods.

60 For sun, moon, and stars, being bright, and sent to do their offices, are obedient.

61 In like manner the lightning when it breaketh forth is easy to be seen; and after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.

62 And when God commandeth the clouds to go over the whole world, they do as they are bidden.

63 And the fire sent from above to consume hills and woods doeth as it is commanded: but these are like unto them neither in shew nor power.

64 Wherefore it is neither to be supposed nor said that they are gods, seeing they are able neither to judge causes, nor to do good unto men.

55. Whereupon when.] "For even when." burned asunder.] "burned through and through" (μετριον).

56. thought or said.] "admitted or supposed."

VERSES 57-59. IDOLS MOST HELPLESS AND USELESS EVEN OF MEN’S WORKS.

57. Neither are those gods of wood, etc.] There is more force in the proper order: "Neither from thieves nor from robbers can they escape,—these gods of wood," &c.

58. Whose gold and silver . . . they that are strong do take.] Here, again, the force is better preserved by retaining the order of the Greek: "From whom the strong will strip off the gold and the silver and the raiment that is about them."

59. power.] "courage" (ἀὕρπημα).

a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of.] "a vessel in a house useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it." See Additional Note on the various reading.

such false gods.] "the false gods." The same words are repeated thrice in this verse, like a new refrain.

or to be a door.] "or even a door," &c; i.e. is better than they.

VERSES 60-63. GOD’S WORKS ARE ALL USEFUL IN THEIR SEVERAL OFFICES.

60. sent to do their offices.] Literally, "sent forth for needful purposes."

61. easy to be seen.] "brilliant" (ἐόντος), or "fair to see."

and after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.] This version, with a slight addition, represents correctly the Received Text: "the wind also bloweth," &c. As sun, moon, stars, and lightning are all useful in their several offices, "after the same manner the wind also" everywhere does its work.

On the marginal rendering, "the same wind bloweth in every country," see the Additional Note.

62. And when God commandeth, etc.] "And when the clouds are commanded by God."

they do as they are bidden.] "they fulfill his bidding."

63. And the fire, etc.] "And the fire when sent forth from above to consume mountains and forests doth that which is appointed."

but these.] "but these (idols)."
EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

65 Knowing therefore that they are no gods, fear them not.
66 For they can neither curse nor bless kings:
67 Neither can they shew signs in the heavens among the heathen, nor shine as the sun, nor give light as the moon.
68 The beasts are better than they: for they can get under a covert, and help themselves.
69 It is then by no means manifest unto us that they are gods: therefore fear them not.
70 For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing: so are their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold.
71 And likewise their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold, are like to a white thorn in an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body, that is cast into the dark.
72 And ye shall know them to be no gods by the bright purple that rotteth upon them: and they themselves afterwards shall be eaten, and shall be a reproach in the country.
73 Better therefore is the just man that hath none idols: for he shall be far from reproach.

66. Compare Jer. x. 5: "They cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good." But God's curse or blessing affects every king.
67. Compare Jer. x. 2: "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven."
68. Get under.] "escape into."
69. by no means.] "in no wise." These words may be connected with the close of the sentence, thus: "In no wise then, it is manifest unto us, are they gods."
therefore.] "wherefore."
70. a scarecrow.] Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) quotes this passage and a Scholiast's note upon it: "The prose writers of the Greeks give the names προσβασκάνα and κεφαλέβα to things which the watchmen in a field set up to frighten birds or even men. But these latter are called μπομπόκεια."
71. in a garden of cucumbers.] Compare Isa. i. 8, with S. Basil's comment on the word: "A place that produces quick-growing and perishable fruits." On the form of the word, see the Additional Note.
72. cast into the dark.] "The dark" (ἐν σκοτεία) does not here mean "the grave," as Reusch supposes, nor "sheol." The idols are as senseless and as little respected as a corpse cast out unburied in some dark place. The same Greek word (ἀπομυϊούσα) is used in Judges iv. 22 of the corpse of Sisera, and in 1 Macc. xi. 4: compare Bar. ii. 25.
73. by the bright purple, &c.] "by the purple also, and by the brightness that rotteth upon them," &c. The word rendered in the margin "brightness" (μαρμοίος) means properly "marble," so called in Greek from its brightness. Marble was no doubt sometimes used to overlay and adorn wooden images, but the idea of rotting (ἀπομυῖος) does not agree very well with marble, which moreover has not been mentioned in the preceding descriptions of the idols. Other words have been suggested, but the reading is not doubtful, and it is best to accept the general sense of "brightness" with the margin.
74. a reproach in the country.] Compare v. 27 and 47.
75. the just man that hath none idols.] "a righteous man that hath no idols." The author breaks off rather abruptly with the general reflection that it is better to have nothing to do with idols, which bring only disgrace upon their worshippers.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 3, 27, 54, 59, 61, 70.

3. seven generations.] The Greek word (γεωνί) usually meant a space of about thirty years: and if it has this meaning here, the duration assigned to the Captivity is just thrice as
long as in Jer. xxix. 10: "For thus saith the Lord, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place."

The commentators on the Epistle attempt in various ways to reconcile or explain the apparent discrepancy. Some refer to Suidas, who observes that γενέα was used in medical language for a period of seven years: but that was evidently an exceptional use, which would be quite inappropriate here. Just as little help can be gained from a very doubtful passage in which Diogenes Laertius is supposed to use γενέα for a period of ten years. Reusch, a Roman Catholic commentator, who maintains that the Epistle is a genuine work of the prophet Jeremiah, supposes that γενέα is the translation of the Hebrew word (Ym) which, "where it is used as a definition of time, signifies only in a general way 'a period of time,' 'a succession of years:' and why should not Jeremiah have said bere 'many years and a long time even unto seven periods,' and there have recalled the more exact determination which he had already given elsewhere (xxv. 12)?" Other suggestions, such as δεκάδων for γενέων (Houbigant), or three for seven (i.e. γ for ε') (Weltk), are still less probable.

Modern commentators, including the Roman Catholics, have for the most part given up the genuineness of the Epistle, and hold that it must have been written several centuries after the death of Jeremiah. A Jew of that later period, seeing that so large a portion of his nation was still scattered among the heathen in Babylon and in many other lands, might well think that the promised restoration of God's people, with all the great and glorious blessings which were to accompany it, could not have been fulfilled by the return of a small part of the exiles from Babylon. Unable to discern the spiritual meaning of the promises, and looking still for a more complete restoration of the greatness and glory of the nation, he might be inclined to extend the duration of the exile from "seventy years" to the longer and more indefinite period of "seven generations."

This view is held, with various modifications, by Fritzsche, Lange, Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' v. 140, E. Tr.), and is on the whole the most probable.

27. (a.) The Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. both read δι' τοῦ μήτηρ, ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν πιέζει δι' αὐτῶν ἀνιστάσθαι. If this be retained, the sense will be that the attendants are ashamed "because (the idols), lest they should fall to the ground, are set up by them." The construction is perfectly regular, but the sense not satisfactory.

A better reading is suggested by the vari-
in the N. T. (Rom. vii. 24; 2 Cor. i. 10; 2 Tim. iii. 11, &c.).

59. Which the owner shall have use of:]
The reading χρήσται (Alex.) has probably been substituted for the less usual κεχρήσται (Vat.), and a feeble tautology thus introduced into the passage. As χρήσται is, apparently, never found with ἔνι and a dative, ἔν ἧν also was changed in some MSS. into ἔν ὧν, ἔν ὧν, ἦ, or ἦ, which last form is represented in the Authorized Version.

Neither of the changes is required. That κεχρήσται means "shall need," rather than "shall use," is probable from the use of κεχρήσμος in this sense (Homer, 'Od.' i. 13, xiv. 155; Soph. 'Philo.' 1264, &c.). If we then understand ἔν ἧν in the usual sense of purpose, the meaning of the passage is clear: "a vessel useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it." The Latin Version (gloriabitur) represents a reading καυχήσται, and so confirms the form κεχρήσται.

61. The Vatican text of this verse has τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα κ. τ. λ. The Alexandrine, which omits καὶ, may be rendered, as in the margin, "and the same wind bloweth in every country." In support of this rendering, Fitzsch goes to The Song of the Three Children, v. 43: "O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord." But the sense thus obtained, that wind is everywhere the same, the work of the same Creator, is less appropriate to our passage than that of the Vatican text—that as the other elements of nature all are useful, so the wind also is everywhere active.

This construction leaves πνεῦμα without an article, as ἐνεκεῖνοι, ἐν τῷ ὅπαστε, ἐν τῷ ὅπαστε, which go before, and ἐνεκεῖνοι which follows, all are. Compare for this omission of the article the passage cited by Bishop Middleton, ch. vi. § 2, from Plato, 'Cratylus,' 408 ν: ἐνεκεῖνοι τὸ καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνεκεῖνοι—and the earlier passage, 397 D: φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρώτοι τῶν ἐνυψώσαντων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγίζουσαν, ὑστεροῖ ὑπὸ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔποιει καὶ ἐνυψώσαν καὶ γάρ καὶ ὅπαστε καὶ ὅπαστε.

For the quasi-adverbial use of τὸ αὐτό, compare Philipp. ii. 18.

70. ἐν σωκυράτῳ:] Both here and in Isa. i. 8, the MSS. vary between this form and σωκυράτῳ. Fitzsch goes for the latter on two grounds:—

(i) That it is better supported by MSS. in other authors, as Hippocrates, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria. Basil quotes from Isaiah ἐν σωκυράτῳ, but himself writes σωκυράτων immediately after.

(ii) Fitzsch finds no satisfactory etymology for σωκυράτων, but compares σωκυράτων with φαλάτων, φαλάτων.

Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) speaks of σωκυράτων as a faulty reading in some editions of the Bible. The combined authority of the Vat. and Alex. Godd. in favour of σωκυράτων in both passages must outweigh the testimony of the Cursives.
ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

I. THE SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN.

Bar'kú Yahvéh mal'íkau
Gibbóre kóh 'osé Ĥail
Lišmó' beqôl débáro.

Bar'kú Yahvéh kol-g'é'ánu
M'ʒar'tháu 'osé rèçónó.

Bar'kú Yahvéh kol-má'sau
Békól m'qomóth memšáltó
Bar'kí náshí eth-Yáhveh.

(Ps. ciii. 20 sqq.)

The numerous Talmudic and Midrashic references to the story of Hana-niah, Mishael, and Azariah make it probable that at one time Jewish tradition had more to tell about the three martyrs than is now read in Dan. iii. A story of this kind would naturally be a popular favourite, and as such would be peculiarly liable to amplification and embellishment. Hence it is not surprising to find that the Greek versions of Daniel, followed by the Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, have interpolated at chap. iii. 23 a Prayer which Azaria utters in the name of the Three, and a Canticle which they are supposed to have chanted together in the midst of the flaming furnace.1

Independently of the Story of the Three Children, it appears from Jer. xxix. 22 sq., that burning alive was, as a matter of historical fact, a Babylonian mode of execution; and we have an older notice in the records of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who thus revenged himself on his rebellious brother Samas-Sum-sutun, viceroy of Babylon (circ. 648 B.C.).2 Firdausi tells a story which shows that Persian tradition also had its martyr-

1 This Prayer and Canticle are also read as Nos. viii.—x. among the hymns appended to the Ethiopic Psalter, where they are properly arranged, as poetical pieces, according to the rhythm.

2 See the Introd. to the Prayer of Manasses.

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hero who came unhurt out of a fiery furnace (Malcolm's 'Persia,' i. 29, 30). The passage about the Two Wicked Prophets, quoted from the Midrash Tan-hámá in the Introd. to Susanna, makes Nebuchadnezzar refer to the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; and curiously relates that whereas Ahab and Zedekiah perished in the flames, their holy companion, Joshua, the High Priest, came forth without other harm than the singeing of his garments. In such legends it is possible to see a literal application of scriptural passages like Ps. lxvi. 12, "We went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us out;" Zech. iii. 2, "Is not this man [i.e. Joshua, the High Priest] a brand plucked out of the fire?" and Isa. xlii. 2, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." From texts such as these, the Haggadic expositors might easily develop stories illustrating their apparent meaning. The case is precisely analogous to that of Bel and the Dragon, and the Story of Susanna.

In the Midrash we find, besides, the following references to the Story of the Three Children. In Wayyiqra Rabba (Parash. xxxiii., cap. xxv. 1), Nebuchadnezzar remorsest with them thus: "Did not idolatry originate among you? Is it not written, 'And their graven images from Jerusalem and Samaria' [a misrendering of Isa. x. 10]? And come ye now to make nought of my god? When ye were in your own land, ye sent to us, and procured claws, hair, and bones of idols, and drew them, in

1 Apud Dr. Aug. Wünsche's 'Bibliotheca Rabbinica.'
order to fulfil that which is written (Ezek. xxiii. 14), 'the images of the Chaldeans pouredtrayed with vermilion;' and come ye now to make my idol image nought?" R. Jehudah bar R. Simon makes the king remonstrate in like manner, on the ground of Ezek. xvi. 25; xxiii. 42, 43 (with a ref. to Jer. li. 44).

"R. Samuel bar Nachmani said: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them: 'Your idol image was of silver and gold, as it is said (citing Hos. viii. 4); but my idol image is wholly of the purest gold, as it is said (Dan. iii. 1); and come ye now to make mine idol image nought? Did not Moses write for you in the Law (Deut. iv. 28), There ye shall serve gods the work of men's hands?' They answered: 'My lord, O king, to bow before does not mean to worship, but to be subject to them in the way of forced labours, subsidies, poll-taxes, and fines.' Our Rabbis have taught: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them, Did not Jeremiah write for you (xxvii. 8), 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve N. the king of Babylon,' &c. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego gave the same explanation as before, adding, with reference to the command to worship the image, "Thou art [orבָּרָכְרָאֵר] bark [םְנֵל = נָבָר] like a dog, swell thyself out like a water-jar (יָרָה), and chirp like a cricket" (יָרָה). Straightway he barked like a dog, swelled himself out like a water-jar, and chirped like a cricket" (a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's madness).

In the Talmud Bab. Abodah Zarah 3 a, it is said that the heathen will attest before Messiah's tribunal that Israel has kept the whole Law. Nimrod will declare that Abraham chose to be cast into his fiery furnace rather than worship his idols. Nebuchadnezzar will witness in favour of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

Sanhedrin, 93 a (referred to in the Introd. to Susanna), makes Nebuchadnezzar reply to his daughter thus concerning the proposals of the Two Wicked Prophets: "The god of these men hatheth lust (פַּרְעֹת); when they come unto thee, send them unto me. When they came unto her, she sent them unto her father. He said unto them, Who told you? They said, The Holy One (blessed be He!). [He said:] Behold Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, I have asked them, and they have told me it is forbidden (רַרֲא). They said unto him, We too are prophets like them. He (God) spake not unto them; unto us He hath spoken. He said unto them, I desire to prove you as I proved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They said unto him, They were three, and we are two. He said unto them, Choose you whom ye desire along with you. They said, Joshua, the High Priest. They thought, Let Joshua come; for his merit is great, and will shield us." The result was that they were burnt, and Joshua's garments singed (Zech. iii. 1, 2). "He (Nebuchadnezzar) said unto him, I know that thou art righteous; but what is the reason that the fire gained a slight advantage over thee, and none at all over Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah? He said to him, They were three, and I (am only) one. He said to him, And behold Abraham was alone there, and there were no wicked men with him, and yet leave was not given to the fire (to burn him)." "Here there were wicked men with me, and leave was given to the fire. This is what they say, Two dry sticks (ָּפָּפְפִּים) and one green one. The dry ones kindle the green one." Taanith, 18 b, also alludes to the miracle of the deliverance of the Three. Pesachim, 118 a, has the following: "Hizkiah said [with reference to the text "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us "] : It implies a descent of the righteous into the furnace of fire, and an ascent therefrom: a descent, as it is written: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us. Hananiah said, But unto thy Name give the praise. Mishael said, For thy loving-kindness and for thy truth's sake. Azariah said, Wherefore should the heathen say? They all said, on coming up from the furnace of fire, that which is written: Praise the Lord, all ye heathen. Hananiah said: Laud him, all ye peoples. Mishael said: For his loving-kindness is mighty upon us. Azariah said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever; praise ye Jah."

"In the hour when Nimrod the wicked threw Abraham our father into the midst of the furnace of fire, quoth Gabriel
before the Holy One (blessed be He!): Lord of the World, I will go down, and cool, and deliver the righteous one out of the furnace of fire. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him: I am alone in my world, and he is alone in his world: it becometh the Only One to deliver the only one. And as the Holy One (blessed be He!) doth not cut off the reward of any creature, He said: Thou shalt prevail, and thou shalt deliver three of his sons' sons. R. Samuel the Shilonite discoursed thus: In the hour when Nebuchadnezzar the wicked threw Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah into the midst of the furnace of fire, Yôrêûmêl, the Prince of Hail, stood before the Holy One (blessed be He!). Said he before Him: Lord of the World, Let me go down and cool the furnace, and deliver these righteous ones out of the furnace of fire. Quoth Gabriel unto him: The Omnipotence of the Holy One (blessed be He!) is not (involved) in this, that thou the prince of the hail (cool the flames), when all men know that waters (naturally) quench fire; but I, the Prince of Fire, will go down and make it cool within (דְּבַרִּים אָנֹכִי) and hot without, and thus work a miracle within a miracle. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him, Go down. In the self-same hour Gabriel opened his mouth and said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever." Cf. also Pesach., 94 a.

The above passages not only illustrate the tendency to put appropriate thanksgivings into the mouth of the Three Martyrs, which we find exemplified at length in our Apocryphon: they also shew that the conception of a deliverance from a fiery furnace was traditional among the Jews, in all probability from very ancient times. And we have to bear in mind a fact familiar enough to students of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, though apparently unknown to many expositors of Scripture, whose minds conspicuously lack that orientation which is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the treasures of Eastern thought; I mean, the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to rouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value. To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity.

The composer of the Song of the Three Children has drawn largely upon the Psalter, and the Prayer of Azarias follows scriptural models. Although the Greek text as Greek reads rather baldly, we cannot agree with Fritzsch that "the accumulated doxologies" of the Song are an artistic defect; nor do we think the separate enumeration of the manifold powers of creation "frigid." The monotonous form is itself effective. It is like the monotonous of the winds or the waves; and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendour of God's world, and the sublimity of the universal chorus of praise. The instinct of the Church, which early adopted the Benedicite for liturgical use, was right.

The supposition that the Prayer and the Hymn are due to different authors rests upon a false contrast between vv. 15 and 31, 62. It is true that the former passage presupposes the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of sacrifice, but the latter does not contradict this, for the temple of thine holy glory is the celestial temple or palace (see note ad loc. and Isa. vi. 1); and the language of v. 62, "O ye priests of the Lord," &c., is accounted for either by the consideration that there were priests among the exiles, or by the fact that the verse is taken bodily from Ps. cxxxiv. 1, and the author's view is ideal. Fritzsch believes

1 I.e. the Three Holy Children.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SONG OF

he "has simply fallen out of his cue." In v. 15 he certainly appears to have done so, in the remark that "there is no prophet," which would suit his own time, but not that of the Exile. But here, too, the writer may have been influenced by a reminiscence of such passages as are cited in the note on the verse. The style of prayer and song is identical throughout.

As to the original language of all the Three Additions to Daniel, it was probably in each case either Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek text consequently is either a translation or a paraphrastic remodelling of the pieces. Eichhorn at first argued for a Greek original, as in the case of Judith also, but later he changed his opinion so far as to leave the question undecided. Keil and Fritzsche maintain the originality of the Greek. The latter observes that in cases of this kind a Hebrew original has usually been inferred from the strongly Hebraizing character of the Greek; but there is always a great difference between a translation and an original Hellenistic text. In the latter a Greek colouring will always make itself apparent; in the former, awkward renderings, if not actual blunders, will always be discernible. Fritzsche admits however that, as regards the Song of the Three Children, its brevity and simplicity are against his decision; and we think that he is wrong in the assertion that there is no trace anywhere of a Hebrew text. It may be true that a Hellenist familiar with the LXX. might have written such a piece; and it is true that no mistakes in translation can be certainly specified. This last is an important point; for, as Dr. Pusey has well observed, "Hebraisms in themselves prove nothing; for one who thinks in his own language and writes in another is, in fact, translating, although mentally. One, e.g., who had the word ἔστι in his mind, might just as well use ἄνωτέρω for it, instead of ἐνώπιον, as one who had it before his eyes; and so on. But mistakes in translating shew that the writer and translator were different." The suggestion, however, that in v. 14 the Heb. לָכְכָה has been misread as לָכָה is plausible. The difficulty in v. 17 may indicate not so much a corruption of the Greek text as a confusion of the Heb. noun הָשָׁם, "holocaust," with the verb הָשָׁם, "to perfect," and it is doubtful whether a Hellenist would have used such an expression as καὶ ἐπείγομαι τὸ μέσον τῆς καμάνου ὅσει πνεύμα δρόσου διανοιγόν (v. 27), unless he were translating from a Semitic original. The word πνεύμα for άνεμοι (v. 43) may point to Heb. הרוח, which covers both terms; cf. v. 64. The commentary adds other indications, and demonstrates the strongly Hebraic cast and complexion of the Prayer and Song. But the argument for an original Hebrew text does not rest only upon such grounds as these. It may also be based upon the contents of all three Additions, which are indeed hardly conceivable as the fictions of Alexandrian Hellenists. The passages above quoted from the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash prove that the Story of the Three Children was a favourite topic with the Rabbis and their disciples, and seem to indicate the existence of a more extended tradition, which may have included the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three. Perhaps the Greek translator found this piece in a Hebrew Midrash Daniel. This would account for the recurrence to the Hebrew names of the Three. In the Aramaic of Dan. iii. they bear their Babylonian designations. See further the Introd. to Bel and Susanna.

The Additions constitute integral portions of the LXX. text of Daniel, and it is obviously difficult to suppose that the author of that text invented these stories himself, or incorporated in his version of a work written in Hebrew and Aramaic three important pieces which he only knew in a Greek dress. Moreover, the strange juxta-

1 Compare also Wegiyra Rabba, xxx. 23, 40: "R. Isaac explained the verse (‘He will regard the prayer of the destitute,’ Ps. cii. 17) with reference to the generations in which the people of Israel has no king and no prophets and no priests, and no Urim and Thummim, but only Prayer. Hence David said before God, ‘Lord of the World, despise not their prayer.’" 2 ‘Einleit. in d. Apokr. Schr.’ p. 419; ‘Einleit. in d. A. T.,’ iv. 530.

1 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 377, note 7.
position of the two languages in Daniel may indicate, as Lenormant suggested, that certain lacunae in the Hebrew text have been supplied from an Aramaic version; and if that be so, it is not impossible that one or more of our three Additions represent sections of the lost Aramaic text, which may have been fuller than the Hebrew Daniel. Little, at all events, can be alleged against the supposition that the Alexandrian translator of Daniel rendered these narratives from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, and added them to his version of the main work, as pertaining to the same subject. The identity of style, even in minute particulars, strongly favours this conclusion. And, as regards the numerous variations between the different versions, especially in the case of Bel and Susanna, we may apply the words of Dr. Neubauer: "No books are more subject to additions, alterations, and various adaptations, than popular histories; the text is in the hands of a few, and the contents are related orally to the people; hence the great variety in the texts even of the early translations." What Dr. Neubauer thus writes of Tobit, has equal force in the present instance.
THE SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN,

Which followeth in the third Chapter of DANIEL after this place,—fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.—Verse 23. That which followeth is not in the Hebrew, to wit, And they walked—unto these words, Then Nebuchadnezzar—verse 24.

2. Azarias his prayer and confession in the flame, 24 wherewith the Chaldeans about the oven were consumed, but the three children within 25 it were not hurt. 28 The song of the three children in the oven.

And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.

2. Then Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner: and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said,

3. Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore:

TITLE.—The Song of the Three Holy Children. In the Vatican LXX, the title is ‘Prayer of Azarias’ and ‘Hymn of the Three.’ The Alex. MS. omits. Friztache edits: ‘Prayer of Azarias and Laud of the Three Children’ (προσευχή Αζαρίου και τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ). The Gk. term αὐναριαν may represent Heb. נְנָה, lau, psalmu, as in Ps. cxxv. (title), or נְנָה, actio gratiarum (Ps. xxvi. 7). In the Vulgate, S. Jerome notes: “Quae sequuntur in Hebraeo voluminis non reperi.” Walton’s Syriac has the heading, “Prayer of those with Hananiah;” the Ethiopic, “Prayer of Azariah.” The Syriac edited by Bugatus from the Ambrosian MS. has no heading.

2. Then Azarias stood up and prayed.] The text of Theodotion connects this section with Dan. iii. 23 thus: “And they were walking in the midst of the flame, praising God and blessing the Lord. And standing with (them): Codd. 34, 36, al., Azarias prayed on this manner,” &c., as in the A.V. The Ambrosian Syriac, which represents the LXX., has: “23. The men, therefore, that bound them of the house of Azariah, when the flame had gone forth from the furnace, it kindled and slew; but they were preserved. 24. Thus, therefore, prayed Hananiah and Azariah and Mishael, and praised the Lord, when the king commanded to cast them into the furnace. 25. But when Azariah rose up, he prayed thus; and when he had opened his mouth, he was giving thanks to the Lord, with his fellows who were with him in the midst of the fire, when the furnace was being heated [melaggar, “kindled”] by the Chaldeans mightily: and they said.”

Fritzache edits: “On this manner, therefore, prayed Ananias and Azarias and Misha, and sang praises unto the Lord, when the king commanded that they should be cast into the furnace. Now (δῆ) Azarias stood and prayed on this manner, and opening his mouth began to give thanks (τρικολογία) unto the Lord, with his companions in the midst of the fire, as the furnace was being heated by the Chaldeans exceedingly, and they said.” Theodotion pruned away this prolixity, and improved the connexion of the inserted piece with the original text. The mention of “the Chaldeans” here, and again in v. 24, as executing the royal decree, is remarkable. In the canonical text of Daniel they are mentioned but once (Dan. iii. 8), where it is said that “certain Chaldeans slandered the Jews” to Nebuchadnezzar. Moreover, the recurrence to the Hebrew names of “Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego” is surprising; for throughout the narrative in Dan. iii. they are called by their Babylonian designations. It is also to be noted that in Dan. i. and ii. the order of the names is always “Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah,” never, as in the addition, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (here, and v. 65). These peculiarities may be allowed to have some weight, in considering the question whether the piece originally belonged to the Book of Daniel or not; but they certainly do not tend to prove that the original language of this piece was Greek.

v. 4–8.] SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.

4. "For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and all thy judgments truth.

5. In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment: for according to truth and judgment didst thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins.

6. For we have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from thee.

7. In all things have we trespassed, and not obeyed thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us.

8. Wherefore all that thou hast brought upon us, and every thing that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

W., Vulg., Arab., and Ethiopic. Tischendorf and Fritzsche read αἶρετος for αἰερετος (so fifteen critics MSS, Syr. Hex., and Co. Ald.), and connect the epithet with the preceding clause. We think the reading of the four versions agrees better with that parallelism which is one of the principles of Hebrew poetical construction. Else the term αἰερετος, Heb. יְנֵי, is applicable in both ways:

Ps. xviii. 3; cxiii. 3.

The word δεδοξασμένον, "glorious," gloria affectus = assecdissent, may represent Heb. יָנֵי, יָנֵי, as in Mal. i. 11, "My name is great among the nations;" or rather יָנֵי, יָנֵי, יָנֵי, יָנֵי, יָנֵי, יָנֵי; cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, 12; lxxvii. 3.

4. For thou art righteous in all the things."

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν," in reference to all. The phrase occurs in Neh. ix. 33—a very similar context. Cf. II. xix. 181: δικαιοσύνες καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ γύρους.

"This clause is amplified in the successive sentences of the prayer to the end of v. 8. The spirit of it is the same as that which finds expression in Ps. li. 4. Cf. also Jer. xii. 1: Ethiopic: "in all that thou hast brought upon us" (Gen. xxi. 10).

yes, true are all thy works.] Gk. καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργα σου ἀληθινά. Cf. Dan. iv. 34: καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργα αὐτοῦ ἀληθινά καὶ ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ κρίσις. Also Deut. xxxii. 4: γὰρ, ἀληθινά τὰ ἐργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ κρίσις. And for the next clauses, Hos. xiv. 10; Ps. xix. 9. "Truth"—ἀληθεία—is the reading of Codd. II., III. al.; but Fritzsche edits ἀληθινά, "true." In Ps. xix. 9 ἀληθινά = Heb. וָנָה, "truth." Syr. W., "in truth;" Syr. Hex., "truth."

5. In all the things.] Literally, "And judgments of truth thou diddest, according to all that thou broughtest upon us, &c." [Ethiopic: "and thou hast done judgment and justice in all that thou hast done to us"]; because in truth and judgment didst thou do all these things [so Syr. Hex.; but Theod., Syr. W., Vulg., Arab., Ethiopic, ἐπιγράφει τοινυ ἡμᾶς πάντα] on account of our sins. Cf. Gen. vi. 17; Jer. xix. 15; Judg. xvi. 19; Ps. iii. 7.

The construction of ἐπιγράφει with the dative is unusual in the LXX.

6. For we have sinned.] Fritzsche edits: "Because we sinned in all things (ἐν πάσαις, omitted by Theod.), and did lawlessly, to revolt from thee." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 37; Dan. ix. 9, 15; Jer. xvii. 5. Instead of ἐγκακεῖσας ἐγκακεῖσας ("we made lawlessly revolt"), Cod. III., XII. al. read ἐγκακεῖσας, "we did lawlessly by revolting." Syr. W.: "On account of our trespasses which we sinned and did wickedly (before thee), and went far from thee, (and did against thy word,) and sinned unto thee in all, and unto thy commandments we hearkened not," &c. Syr. Hex. omits the bracketed clauses. Ethiopic: "because we have transgressed and gone astray, in that we have forsaken thee."

7. In all things have we trespassed.] καὶ ἐγκακεῖσας ἐν πάσαις. The last verse began with ἐγκακεῖσας. It is likely that the compound verb represents a different Heb. verb, viz. ἐγκακεῖσας, impf. eit: see Neh. ix. 33. The Syr. Hex. has "we sinned .. we went astray in everything."

thy commandments.] Fritzsche: "the commandments of thy law." Theod. omits τοῦ κόσμου, and reads the simple ἔγκακεῖσας, instead of ἐγκακεῖσας. All the verbs are aorists: "And we did wickedly in all things, and the commandments of thy law we obeyed not, nor observed straitly (κατὰ συντρέχειν), nor did thou commandedst us, that it might well befall us."

8. Wherefore.] Rather, "and now." This καὶ τινῖ—Heb. יִנְתַּנִי—is a very common formula in later Hebrew style; cf. Neh. ix. 32; 2 Chron. vi. 16, 17, 40, 41. Theod., Syr. W., Arab., wrongly omit the characteristic יִנְתַּנִי. The formula recurs in xxx. 9 and 17 infra. The writer repeats the statement of v. 4, as a preliminary to specifying what it is that God has brought upon His people. This peculiarity is another indication of a Hebrew original.
9. And thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forswakers of God, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world.

10. And now we cannot open our mouths; we are become a shame and reproach to thy servants, and to them that worship thee.

11. Yet deliver us not up wholly, for thy name’s sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant:

12. And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for thy beloved
SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.

Abraham’s sake, for thy servant
Isaac’s sake, and for thy holy Israel’s
sake:

13 To whom thou hast spoken and
promised, ‘that thou wouldst multiply
their seed as the stars of heaven,
and as the sand that lieth upon the
seasheal.

14 “We, O Lord, are become
less than any nation, and be kept
under this day in all the world be-
cause of our sins.

15 Neither is there at this time
prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt
offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or
incense, or place to sacrifice before
thee, and to find mercy.

16 “Nevertheless in a contrite
heart and an humble spirit let us be
accepted.

been the original language of this Prayer,
the expression of the text would most likely
have been διὰ ἸΑΒ. τῶν ϕιλῶν σου. Some
critics have supposed that the original ex-
pression in the present context was the
Chaldee מָשָׁא. It may, however, have been
the Hebrew term just indicated, or the
synonymous נִבְרָדֵי: comp. Deut. xxxiii. 12,
[ which is twice rendered רְאוֹ רְאוֹ],
and the Targum has רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ, “the seed of Abraham my lover.”
So Syr. W. here; Syr. H., “who is dear (חָבָה)
to thee.” Ethiop. “beloved,” “friend”
(Hos. iii. 1).

for thy holy Israel’s sake.” The phrase
“Israel (i.e. Jacob) thy holy one” is
unknown to the O. T. In Exod. xix. 6 it is
said that the people of Israel shall be
“a kingdom of priests, and a holy
nation;” and the idea is reiterated in the succeeding
portions of the Pentateuch, eg. Lev. xi. 44, 45; Deut. vii. 6. Compare also Dan. vii. 18, 21 sqq. Applied to Jacob, the term seems
to carry the same general sense: separated
from the rest of the world, and devoted to
Jesus. Cf. δεσπος in Ps. iv. 3; xvi. 9. Syr.
H., “Israel thy people.”

13. “To whom thou hast spoken.” So Theod.,
ος ἀγαθός πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐγένετο, “unto whom
thou spakest, saying.” We prefer this Hebra-
ism to Fritzsche’s ὡς ἀγαθός. (The Vatic.
LXX. omits πρὸς ἀποστόλους, ἕλθε.) For the pro-
mise, see Gen. xxiii. 17.

14. “For we... are become less than any
nation.” Whereas Jehovah had promised to
make them numerous as the stars of heaven and
the sand of the seashore, they are “minished
below all the (heathen) nations” (ἵνα μερίζη
παρά πάντα τὰ βαθὺν.) For the verb,
see Jer. xxix. 6 (יוֹהָ; 1 Chron. xvi. 19.
“O Lord” is διὸ σωτήρ (σωσί), instead of
the commoner σωτήρ. Comp. Gen. xv. 2, 8;
Luke ii. 29.

be kept under... world.” “Are low
(ταρταροί) in all the earth.” It is possible
that Mem and Beth have been confused here, and
םלכ נב לוב written for בַּלכ. In that case the
original text was, “and are lower than all the
earth,” which agrees better with the parallel
clause. Comp., however, Judg. vi. 15 (LXX.
Alex.). For רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ, see Ps. xviii. 27; Isa.
xiv. 32; 1 Sam. ii. 8 (יִמּוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ רְאוֹ in Judg.
vi. 15). Syr. W., “we are scattered;” Vulg.
bumiles; Syr. Hex. messkine, “poor.”

15. “Neither is there at this time.” Comp.
Hos. iii. 4: “For the children of Israel shall
abide many days without a king, and with-
out a prince, and without a sacrifice, and
without a Mazzebah (sacred pillar), and without an
Ephod and Teraphim.” Also 2 Chron. xv. 3;
Isa. iii. 1 sqq., ix. 15.

This verse bears on the question of date,
inasmuch as the assertion that there was no
prophet implies a time subsequent to that of
the Exilic prophets. The author uncon-
scionably transfers a feature of his own day to
that of Daniel. On the other hand, the sus-
pension of the sacrificial rites is in keeping
with the supposition that at the time of
composition the Temple lay in ruins.

sacrifice or oblation.” The Gk. terms θυσία
(θυσια, “peace offering”) and προσφορά (προσ,
“meat offering”) are thus associated in
Ps. xli. 6: “Sacrifice and meat offering thou
wouldst not.”

or place to sacrifice... and to find mercy.”
Because “in Jerusalem was the place (τὸυ)
where men ought to worship.” Cf. 2 Chron.
vi. 20; 1 Chron. xxii. 1; 2 Chron. vii. 12;
Deut. xii. 5 sq. The term rendered “to
sacrifice” is κάρφωσα, which in Attic Gk.
means “to bear fruit,” “to crop land,” “to
enjoy the fruits or interest” of a thing or a
sum of money. Here, as in Lev. ii. 11, it
denotes “to offer a meat offering,” and
represents the Heb. שָׁבַע, “a fire offering”
(שָׁבַעום, Lev. ii. 9, 10 et al.). Syr. W.,
“nor a place where we may offer sweet
spices and a sacrifice;” Syro-Hex., “a place
to offer fruits;” so Ethiop. For “find
mercy”—ἐὐρέων ἐνεργεῖ—comp. Gen. xix. 19;
Num. xi. 15 (Heb. לגו, gratia).

16. contrite heart.” Gk. “contrite soul.”
Cf. Isa. i. 1; Ps. xxxiv. 18, cxlvii. 3.

17 Like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs: so let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and grant that we may wholly go after thee: for they shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee.  

18 And now we follow thee with all our heart, we seek thee, and seek thy face. 

19 Put us not to shame: but deal with us after thy lovingkindness, and according to the multitude of thy mercies.  

20 Deliver us also according to thy marvellous works, and give glory to thy name, O Lord: and let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed;  

21 And let them be confounded.

a Heb. term which means "placable," "forgiving," and is followed immediately by σολευέσθαι, "merciful." So here "forgivingness" is the meaning (cf. Baruch ii. 21), and the term is followed by το πλῆθος του ελώνου σου, which is a substantial expression corresponding to πολέεσθαι.

20. thy marvellous works.] Or, "miracles," τὰ φαντασματα σου, Προπομα: Ps. ix. 1, and often. Cf. Exod. iii. 20. It should be remembered that what we call "operations of Nature" were, to the Old Testament mind, "marvellous works (or miracles) of Jehovah," a view which is at once less "scientific" and more profoundly true than ours.

give glory to thy name.] Ps. xxix. 1, 2; cxv. 1. Cf. also John xii. 28.

let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed.] Literally, "Let all them that shew evil things to thy servants be turned about" (or "put to shame," Ael. 4 H. iii. 17; or "feel shame," 2 Thess. iii. 14; Titus ii. 8; see Liddell and Scott, i.e. τρέφον. The verb renders two Heb. synonyms denoting "shame;" see Ps. xxxv. 4, 26; and also a term meaning "was humbled," or "humbled oneself;" Judges iii. 30; 2 Chron. xii. 7.

Those who argue for a "Chaldee" original have supposed that oi ἑνδικανμένοι (κακοί) represents κακοὶ or κακοί. But the Greek is not peculiar. An exact parallel occurs in the LXX. of Gen. i. 15, 17, where the Heb. הושע הננו is rendered κακόι ἑνδικανμένοι. Syr. W.: "think evil things against." Syr. Hex: "shew in (against) thy servants evil things" (δαμακενωμεν β' ἀβδε ἀδικοί βιοθο).
22. And let them know. Fritzsches omits καί. Some MSS. of Theod. give it, and it accords better with Hebrew style to retain it. So Walton's Syr.

thou art Lord, the only God.] Or, "thou art alone the Lord God."—σὺ οὐ μόνον κύριος ὁ θεός (Fritzsche). But Theod. σὺ οὖν θεός (6, 111, XII. al.) θεός μόνος, "thou art the Lord God alone." Cf. 2 Kings xix. 19, "All the kingdoms of the earth shall know that σὺ (the) κύριος ὁ θεός μόνος." The article before θεός is not in the Hebrew.

avord.] ἡ οἰκέων, sc. γῆ. So Syro-Hex.

Sometimes the Greek term renders γῆ, "earth," "land," "a country," e.g. Isa. x. 23; but more often ἄγρια, terra fertili et habitat, and then generally orbis tertarum (Prov. viii. 31). See Delitzsch ad Ps. sc. 2. Walton's Syr., "in all thy works."

23. And the king's servants.] The A.V. follows the text of Theodotion, which contracts the verse considerably. Fritzsche gives the full reading: "And when they had cast the three all at once into the furnace, and the furnace was red-hot (διάστροφος), according to the heating of it seven times as much—and when they had cast them in, they who cast them were in above them (ὑπεριάω αἰώνω, Ezek. x. 19; xi. 22), while the others were kindling underneath them (ὑπεριάω ἐνυπάρχων αἰώνω: see Ezek. xxiv. 5) naphtha, and tow, and pitch, and brushwood." So Syro-Hex.

Naphtha is appropriately mentioned, as it was a natural product of Babylonia (Dioscor. i. 101). The word is of Persian origin (ναφτ), and denotes a clear rock-oil or petroleum, used by the Jews for lighting purposes. See Targum Jerus. on Exod. xiv. 24: "And he cast upon them naphtha ([labelled] χαλέ) and fire and hailstones." The term is also Talmudic (דבש): Shabb. 24b, line 19. See also Plin. xxxv. 15; ii. 105. Syr. Hex. id.

"Tow."—Fritzsche στόμε, Theod. σταρνιόν, but more correctly στυγγίαν, according to inscriptions—is the Latin stappa. Judges xvi. 9; Isa. i. 31 = נף, stappa.

25. And it passed through, and burned those Chaldeans it found about the furnace.

26. But the angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows, and smote the flame of the fire out of the oven.

27. And made the midst of the furnace as it had been a moist wind, so that the fire touched them not at all, neither hurt nor troubled them.
28 Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed, God in the furnace, saying,
29 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.
30 And blessed is thy glorious and holy name: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.
31 Blessed art thou in the temple of thine holy glory: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.
32 Blessed art thou that holdest the depths, and sittest upon the cherubim, and art esteemed above all things. 

In classical Gk. the word is an adjective, meaning "bottomless," and then "boundless," "immense," in a general sense. In the LXX. ἡ ἄγνωστος = "the ocean," and this accords with the Sumerian and Assyrian ABZU, āpī, which denotes the ocean flowing round the earth and under the earth, which, according to the Babylonian cosmogony, was the nusur (i.e. father) of all things. In Rev. ix. 1, ἡ ἄγνωστος is the pit of hell.

and sittest upon the cherubim.] See Isa. xxxvii. 16; Ps. lxxx. 1.

33. the glorious throne of thy kingdom.] Lit., "the throne of the glory of thy kingdom." Fritzsche omits ἡγεμόνε, which is found in some MSS. of Theod. Syr. W. omits; Syr. H. marks it with an asterisk.

34. to be praised and glorified above all.] Fritzsche, ὠρατὸς καὶ ἄγνωστος; Theod., ὠρατός καὶ ἄγνωστος. The last word is probably due to a transcriber's error.

35. in the firmament of heaven.] So Theod. Fritzsche omits "of heaven;" but cf. Gen. i. 6. It is probably original.

36. O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

The refrain of this and the following verses, "praise and exalt him above all for ever" — or, as the P.B. gives it, "Praise him and magnify him for ever" — might be ἀντίθεσις εἰς ὑπεραυξάνεις. Cf. Dan. ii. 4; Ps. lxxvii. 7.

36. O ye heavens.] Syr. W. adds "of the Lord." Fritzsche puts the next verse before
SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN.

37 O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

38 O all ye waters that be above the heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

39 O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

40 O ye sun and moon, bless ye Ps. 148 the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

this one, and so the Prayer-book version. The order of the text is that of Theod., Syr., Old Lat. and Vulg. The general term "heavens" naturally precedes, as including the special angels. Moreover, the "works of the Lord" are subdivided into celestial and terrestrial, the former category covering everything from v. 36 to v. 51. Fritzsche therefore is wrong in stating that "By οὐρανοῖς, in contrast with θερα, v. 38, only the visible arch of heaven [dus Gēwulē] is meant, and that for this reason the angels are named first." οὐρανοῖς— is a term including both the material and the spiritual heavens. Indeed the distinction is hardly made by Hebrew thought. In Ps. cxlviii. 1, 2, we have the same order as here,—first the heavens, then the angels; cf. Ps. cxxi. 19, 20. But cp. also Ps. cxlviii. 4. The contemplation of the heavens is a natural source of elevated thought. And this is not the case now when so much more is known about their mechanical structure and laws than it was in those ancient times, when they and all that they contained were regarded as intrinsically divine. Kant's saying about "the starry heavens above and the moral law within" has become a commonplace. "The philosopher who knows most, whether in the courses of the stars, or in the unfolding of the embryonic point, or in any other department of knowledge, is of all others in a position to feel in the highest degree the greatness of that which lies behind the phenomenal. The emotions which are considered more distinctly religious cannot be rendered less active by a higher intellectual appreciation of the greatness of their object." (Wm. Huggins, F.R.S., Times, Jan. 19, 1884.) For the later Jewish theory about the seven heavens and their contents, see Chagigah, 12 B.

37. O ye angels.] The language of this hymn does not go beyond that of the Hebrew psalms within the Canon, as may be seen by referring to the parallels (Ps. cxxi. 20; cxlviii. 2; lixviii. 25; civ. 4). There is therefore no need to discuss the doctrine of angels here. See the story quoted in the Introd. from Pesachim, 118 a sq. Gabriel, as the Prince of Fire, reminds us of Gibil, the ancient Babylonian genius or spirit of fire.

38. ye waters that be above the heaven.] The upper deep or celestial ocean, whose waters pour down in rain when "the flood-gates of heaven are opened:" see Gen. i. 7, vii. 11; Isa. xxiv. 18. This ancient Semitic conception, so faithfully reflecting the simplicity with which primitive man regarded the phenomena of the natural world, will be a "rock of offence" to none, except to those who stickle for "the scientific accuracy of the Bible," and thereby evince a perversity of thought hard to be understood by any who perceive the glaring anachronism of the phrase.

39. O all ye powers of the Lord.] Δύναμις often represents ἁγίοις, vis, robur, virtus, copia; but very often also ΝΣ, militia, exercitus, especially in the phrase (ὁ) κύριος τῶν δυνά- μεων, "the Lord of hosts." That the latter is the case here is plain from the archetypal passage, Ps. cii. 21: εὐλογείη τον κυριον πάσα αἱ δύναμεις αἰώνοι; Heb. יְנֵגֶרֶכְו דֵּשֶׁ. What these powers are is defined in the following verses, viz. the principal objects, processes, and phenomena of the natural world, especially the sun, moon, and stars. The last were pre-eminently "the host of heaven." Cf. Gen. ii. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xxxiv. 4; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; 1 Peter iii. 22. Fritzsche explains "the mighty denizens of heaven," "the celestial powers in general." In Syr. W. this verse precedes τ. 38.

40. O ye sun and moon. ] Eichhorn and others since have objected that the language of this hymn is inappropriate to its alleged occasion. We may, however, observe an ideal fitness here and elsewhere. For the Three Holy Children are martyrs, and the idolatry against which they bear their testimony of suffering is a worship of the powers of nature. Anu", the spirit of heaven; Ēa, the spirit of earth; the Igigi or good angels, and the Annuamki or evil angels; Sin, the moon-god, and Shamash, the sun-god; Merodach (Jupiter), Dilipad (Venus), Kiamau (Saturn), and the other heavenly bodies; as well as Rimmon, the god of the air, Gibil (fire), and other natural objects and processes, were worshipped in Babylon. Above all these the hymn extols Jahweh, their Creator.

Here, as in Ps. cxlviii. 3, the order of the words is noticeable. The Assyrian inscriptions reverse it, reading Sin, Shamash, &c., in their lists of gods. The moon was the more important deity in Semitic mythology. The verse is starred as spurious in Syro-Hex.
SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN. [v. 41–46.

41. O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

42. O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

43. O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

whence it would appear to be an addition of Theodotion's. But the sun and moon would hardly be omitted where the stars are mentioned (see the parallel passage cited above); and the presence of the verse in the Greek MS. favours its genuineness.

44. O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

45. O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

46. O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

also Gen. viii. 29 (καυμα = δὴ. So Syr. here); Isa. xxxii. 14; Deut. iv. 24; Exod. iii. 2, xix. 18, xili. 21; Amos v. 6; Dan. vii. 9; Ps. xviii. 12–14. From these and other passages it will be seen that fire was first the visible element in Theoph, and then the standing symbol of the Divine splendour and purity.

45. Winter and summer.] I.e., ψυγας και καινωμα (all. καινωμα), the reading of Theod. Καινωμα is sun or summer heat: Isa. xlix. 10; Matt. xx. 13. Sometimes it is the hot east wind: Hos. xii. 1; xiii. 15. Fritzsch edd. here: ριγος  (ριγος) και ψυγος, "O ye frost and cold." So Syr. H.; but Syr. W., "O ye souls of the righteous." In his commentary he remarks: "The text and yet more the arrangement of these verses (45–51) apud Theod. is unsettled. The MSS. which directly follow the LXX. deserve no consideration. After the πιρ και καινωμα of verse 43 (44) the LXX. suitably wrote ριγος και ψυγος, vers. 44 (45); but the objection is that πιρς και ψυγος, 'frosts and cold,' follows as verse 46 (47) in the LXX. To judge by the evidence in Holmes and Parsons' work, verse 46 of the LXX. was struck out, and πιρ και καινωμα was altered into ψυγος και καινωμα (others better, καινωμα: 147, 23; καινῳμα). Whereas then, some good witnesses, like the Old Lat., place the verse after verse 43, others, as the Vatic. LXX., place it after verse 47. Internal probability favours the latter arrangement, as the alteration of ριγος και ψυγος into ψυγος και καινωμα would have been preposterous; and, externally, the fact that some MSS. (eg. 33) apparently give only πιρς και ψυγος (after the LXX.), but placed after verse 47. With 'Light and darkness,' verse 47, 'cold and (sun) heat' might undoubtedly be connected.

46. Dews and storms of snow.] Gk. δροας και νυχτος. Theod. omits this verse (so Syr. W.), and also that which follows it in Fritzsch's edition: ευλογητε πιρς και ψυγος των καινωμα Κ.Α. (vid. last note). Fritzsch remarks: "Theodotion purposely omitted ευλογητε δροας και νυχτος κ.α. after verse 43 (44); for the MSS. which give it are evidently interpolated from the LXX. Similarly he passed over ευλογητε πιρς και ψυγος κ.α., vers. 46
47 O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

48 O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

49 O ye ice and cold, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

50 O ye frost and snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

51 O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

52 O let the earth bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

(47), and then put verse 47 (so) ἐν πάνω καὶ ἀνέφει παράλληλα. 47. (Theod.) The Heb. word rendered peculiar is in both cases ἄνω, "raindrops" "rains." The mention of "dew" twice, first with "shower" (v. 42) and then with "snowstorms," is curious. Perhaps it represents some other Heb. word here, as in Prov. xxvi. 1, where the LXX. renders μελα, "snow," by δόρος.

47. O ye nights and days.] The order is that observed in the first cosmogony (Gen. i.-ii. 3). The Hebrews, as is well known, reckon their day from evening to evening.

48. O ye light and darkness.] It is not clear from the Heb. of Gen. i. 2 whether darkness is there regarded as prior to creation or as itself a product of the Divine activity. Yet v. 5, where Elohim gives a name to the darkness, seems to imply much what the great Prophet of the Cabbala meant, when he said, "I form the light and create darkness" (Isa. xlv. 7). Light and darkness are often symbolical of the two aspects of God. The former sets forth the Divine as revealing itself to the faith of humanity; the latter, as hiding itself in impenetrable secrecy from all attempts to fathom its transcendent nature.

49. 50. O ye ice and cold . . . O ye frost and snow.] See notes on vv. 45, 46. The P.B. has: "O ye frost and cold . . . O ye ice and snow." The Greek is: "O ye frosts (πάγου) and cold . . . O ye hoar frosts (πάγους) and snows." Syr. W., "O ye cold and heat" — "summer and winter"; Syr. H. omits.

Dr. Child Chaplin well observes that "the services of frost and snow in Nature's economy are apt to be overlooked," owing to their more familiar associations with physical suffering. Here "they are dwelt upon as illustrations not only of Power, but also of Goodness and Wisdom." The Three Children might be supposed to remember that the greater stream of the Euphrates was still copiously fed from its snowy reservoirs on the Armenian mountains," even amid the parch-

ing heats of an Eastern summer. The beauty of ice and snow, as seen in Alpine and in Arctic regions; the utility of that cold which "brings sleep to the vegetable world, and prepares it by a period of rest to burst forth with fresh vigour in the spring,"—of those frosts which crumble the hard clods and mellow the soil and check the exuberance of insect life, and of those deep snows which shelter the tender plants from the cold which would kill them,—is well set forth and expanded in his interesting work. The Book of Job supplies instances of the wonder and admiration excited by the beauty of the phenomena of ice and snow (xxxvii. 6; xxxviii. 19).

51. O ye lightnings and clouds.] In connexion with lightning, we naturally think of thunder-clouds. These grand and awful phenomena of nature have been associated with the idea of Theophanies from time immemorial. The black train of storm-clouds sweeping across the sky appears to have suggested the poetic conception of the cherub as the war-horse or war-chariot of Jehovah: see Ps. xviii. 10; Hab. iii. 8; and esp. Isa. xiii. 1, "Behold, Jehovah rideth upon a swift cloud." The lightnings were His arrows, or the shining lance which He hurled at His enemies (Hab. iii. 11; Ps. xviii. 14). The thunder was His terrible voice, striking the world with dismay (Ps. xviii. 13; Ps. xxix. passim). How invertever this idea was among the Jewish people may be seen from the fact that down to the latest times of Rabbinism, the mysterious Batb Qēl, or voice from heaven, was believed to be final arbiter of disputed questions.

52. O let the earth bless the Lord.] Having appealed to the principal phenomena of the heavens, the Psalmist now turns to the earth, and, after a general appeal, makes successive mention of each of its more obvious features and denizens. In order to realize how fully the earth does evermore witness to the glory of God, we may recall, with Dr. Child Chaplin, that wealth of natural beauty which clothes its varied surface, and constitutes so appropriate a covering for the priceless treasures hidden in its bosom. We may consider the earth as the storehouse
SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN. [v. 53—58.

53 O ye mountains and little hills, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

54 O all ye things that grow on the earth, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

55 O ye fountains, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

57 O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

58 O all ye fowls of the air, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

whence all our material and many of our mental and spiritual wants are supplied; and as presenting an overwhelming abundance of riches, in which nothing is superfluous, everything precious, when once we have mastered the secret of its application. We may see in the distribution of land and water, the arrangement and dislocation of strata, and other geological characteristics, no ambiguous proofs that long before man's appearance on the scene, his heavenly Father was providing for his well-being in what was to be his earthly home. "God has encompassed us on every side with symbols that recall Him to our thoughts, and it is habitual neglect alone which makes them profitless."

58. O ye mountains and little hills.] Gk. ἄρα καὶ βουνοί. As to the latter word, Liddell and Scott remark that it is probably a Cyrenean word (see Hdt. iv. 158, 199), adopted by Aeschylus in Sicily, and frequent afterwards. Fritzsche refers to Sturz, 'De Dial. Maced. et Alex.,' p. 153 sq. In LXX. it commonly renders Heb. יְהוָה, colōs: Exod. xvii. 9, 10. Hills and mountains are natural types of strength and permanence. In the flat plains of Babylonia the Jewish exiles might fondly remember the Hermons and Carmel and "the hills standing about Jerusalem;" and the thought of Him whose "righteousness standeth as the strong mountains" would be their comfort in the hour of despondency. "In sublimity," writes Dr. Child Chaplin, "mountains rank with the ocean and the clouds. . . . On the one hand, their height, their mass, and the deep planting of their roots in the earth,—on the other, the beauty which rests upon their varied outlines, which clothes their sides and precipices, and lies among their valleys and deep glens,—mark them out not only as the most conspicuous, but also among the most attractive objects in the world." In them, too, beauty and utility coincide. They play an indispensable part in the economy of Nature. "They act as loadstones to the clouds, and draw down from them the fertilizing rain."

54. O all ye things that grow on the earth.] So Syr. H.; Syr. W., "all ye herbs of the earth." Theod., "in the earth." In the Prayer-book it is: "O all ye green things upon the earth."

56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. "Like the 'voices of the stars,' the green things upon the earth are truly a fair Hymn of Praise written all over the land, not in dull words, but in living characters of beauty." (Dr. Child Chaplin.) Syr. W. adds: "O all ye things that protrude upon the earth," &c. After this follow: "O ye seas and rivers"—"O ye sources and all fountains"—"O ye fishes and all that creep in the waters."

55. O ye fountains.] Prayer-book: "O ye wells." Λίγη, "fountains" or "springs," is the Heb. לִקְרָבָּה or לִקְרָב, rather than מַקְר "well" (φοῖνος). Cod. Chisian. reads εὐλογεῖται δρῦμοι καὶ Λίγη, "O ye rains (or rain-storms) and fountains." Syr. H. obelizes the added words as Theodotion's. Fritzsche is wrong in stating that Syr. W. also contains them. Theod. transposes vss. 55, 56.

56. O ye seas and rivers.] Some copies of Theod. have "sea" (θάλασσα). Fritzsche observes that it is unlikely that Theod. changed θάλασσα into the sing., as the former reading of his text is very well attested by some MSS. and the Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., and Arab. versions. Besides, the plur. agrees better with σποράμες. If not accidental, the variant is due to the comparative rarity of the plural form (cf. Gen. i. 10)."
59 'O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

60 O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

61 O Israel, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

62 'O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

63 O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

64 O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

65 O ye holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

66 O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise and
exalt him above all for ever: for he hath delivered us from hell, and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us out of the midst of the furnace and burning flame: even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us.

67 "O give thanks unto the Lord," Ps. 136, because he is gracious: for his mercy endureth for ever.

68 O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of gods, praise him, and give him thanks: for his mercy endureth for ever.

appeal to the three youthful martyrs is obviously suggested by the preceding appeal to "the pious and broken in heart," or the  gesture in general, the pious patriots who clung to their ancestral manners and worship in spite of tyrannical persecution. Of such the Three Children were bright examples.

As to their names, the first means "Iah bestoweth;" the second, "Iah helpeth;" and the third, Mishael, "Who is what God is?" The Babylonian designations of the three youths have occasioned much perplexity. Perhaps instead of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, they should be (Amil-Merodach [for Ἱγνόκος], Sheshach [see Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41], and Abad-Nebo. In the first two we may suppose that by some accident of transcription ὑ and υ changed places. The difference between Ἱγνόκος and Ἱγνός is otherwise trifling. Sheshach (σισθάχ) occurs as a nomen individui in the Talmud, e.g. Abod. Zarah, 65 A., line 20. Perhaps, however, the ending -ak points to Babylonian ʔ, the moon-god. Then Shadrach would mean "command of ʔ;" and Meshach might be me ʔ ʔ, "water (i.e. son) of the moon-god."

for he hath delivered us from hell." From Hades, i.e. Sheol, the place of the departed. This clause, together with the rest of the verse, certainly wears the appearance of an interpolation intended to make what is in reality a kind of General Thanksgiving more applicable to the special circumstances of the Three Children. The psalm indeed may have been adapted to its present purpose, much as portions of several psalms are adapted in 1 Chron. xvi.

saved us from the hand of death." Cf. "God will redeem my soul from the hand of the grave," Ps. xxxix. 15; and Ps. lxxxix. 48; Hos. iii. 14; Dan. vi. 27.

delivered us out of the midst." Fritzschke edits: "rescued us out of the midst of burning flame." Some copies of Theod. have: "rescued us out of the midst of a furnace of burning flame." But the addition (αἰκίνου) is wanting in Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., XII., 23, Tur., and other versions and MSS.

even out of the midst of the fire." Rather, and out of the fire he ransomed us" (εὐποράω). Theod. reads: "out and out of the midst of fire he rescued us," repeating the word εὐποράω from the last clause. Cf. Micah iv. 10. Syr. W.: "he brought us forth."

67. O give thanks.] A common liturgical formula, introduced here, as in 1 Chron. xvi. 34, to form a doxology. See Ps. cvi. 1; cvii. 1; cxviii. 1, 29; cxviii. 1. In the latter two psalms, as in 2 Chron. v. 13, it is ἐυαγιόως for ἐυποράω. The Heb. word is the same in all (336). "Give thanks" is εὐποροεἰδεθ, "confess ye fully," cf. Matt. xi. 25. The LXX. use the verb to render Heb. נַפְלַל properly "to confess," e.g. sin (Ps. xxxii. 5); then "to acknowledge" God's favours, and "to praise" Him.

68. O all ye that worship the Lord.] Syr. H. marks "the Lord," as added by Theod. On this ground Fritzschke thinks the original text was simply πάντες οἱ σεβόμενοι, "O all ye that worship;" σεβόμενοι being used thus absolutely in later times, e.g. Wisd. xv. 6; and they who are meant are the worshippers of the one God in general; not proselytes in particular, as Theodoret suggests, and as the word is used in Acts xvii. 4, 17. But cf. Ps. cxvii. 4; cxviii. 4; cxviii. 20: "ye that fear the Lord," ἰδουν ἴση. The verb ἰδουν, "to fear," is rendered σεβόμενοι in Josh. iv. 24, xxii. 35; Job i. 9; Jonah i. 9. Moreover, the Greek verb occurred ἰδον. supra with an object. We think, therefore, that ἰδον should be retained.

bless the God of gods.] See Ps. cxxix. 2; Deut. x. 17; Dan. ii. 47, xi. 36. At the end of this verse the Vulgate has the note: "Hucusque in Hebraeo non habetur: et quae posuimus, de Theodotionis editione translati sunt."

Syr. W. adds to the last verse "Praise him and exalt him for ever," and concludes thus: "O all ye that fear God, bless the God of gods; praise him and exalt him for ever. O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever." Syr. H. adds, doubtfully, "and unto an age of ages" (so Cod. Chisianus). The innovations on the simple and almost stereotyped formula of the original text are obvious.
ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

II. THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA.

This piece is not so intimately connected with the canonical Book of Daniel as the preceding. In fact, it rather resembles one of the separate narratives which collectively make up the first six chapters of that work, in being a whole complete in itself. It is variously entitled 'Susanna' (Syro-Hex.), or 'History of Susanna' (so Syr. W.), or 'Daniel' (Syr. W., 'The Book of little Daniel; the History of Susanna'), or 'The Judgment of Daniel,' &c. The last title is certainly that which expresses the clearest insight into the real point of the story. So far as is known, its claims to credibility and consequently to canonicity were first called in question by the historian Julius Africanus, circ. 240 A.D., who expressed his doubts in a letter to Origen. Africanus roundly calls it a spurious portion (κλεμμένος μέρος) of the Book of Daniel; and while admitting its merit as a graceful story, he declares it to be a modern fabrication (χαρέων μὲν ἄλλως σύγγραμμα, νεωτερικῶν δὲ καὶ πεπλασμένον).¹ Origen, after recourse to some Rabbis of his acquaintance, wrote an elaborate reply to the objections of his correspondent. The first of these was that νν. 45, 46, which represent Daniel as prophesying under direct inspiration (ἐπιφωνίᾳ προφητικῇ), are inconsistent with what is told of him elsewhere. By way of answer to this really pertinent objection, Origen simply refers to Heb. i. 1. Not less cavalierly, as Fritzsche observes, does he set aside the second objection, that the conviction of the Elders in νν. 52 sqq. has an element of the theatrical, by appealing to the Judgment of Solomon as related in 1 Kings iii. 16 sqq. But he is greatly perplexed by the remark that the paronomasia of νν. 55, 59, prove that the original text was Greek. He says: 'As this passage gave me no rest, and I often dwelt upon it in doubt, I had recourse to not a few Hebrews with the question what was the πράσιος called in their tongue, and what was the word for πράσιον, and similarly how they expressed σχίνος and σχίζων.' Some did not know the Greek terms, but asked to be shewn the trees, which Origen accordingly pointed out, but to no purpose. One said that he could not tell what a tree not mentioned in Scripture would be called in Hebrew. Sometimes a perplexed writer would for despatch use a Syriac instead of a Hebrew term. He too asked Origen to shew him a passage of Scripture where the holm-oak and mastick-tree were certainly mentioned. Origen concludes: 'As this was what the Hebrews said with whom I conversed, and so nothing is to be learned about it, I am careful not to express an opinion whether these words are preserved among the Hebrews in such a relationship and in the like significance or not.'¹ It does not seem to have occurred to this learned Father that a twofold coincidence of this kind in two languages so remote from each other as Greek and Hebrew was a thing not to be expected. But what is more surprising than an ancient writer's philosophical perplexity is the fact that modern critics have actually found in these instances of paronomasia the clearest proof that the piece was originally composed

¹ 'Africani ad Orig. Epist.' p. 10, apud Migne, xi. col. 44.

¹ Migne, xi. pp. 61-65.
INTRODUCTION TO THE

in Greek. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Grätz, and Fritzsche do not seem to have remembered how common the figure paronomasia is in Hebrew and Oriental literature, and at the same time the extreme unlikelihood that any given instance could be exactly reproduced in an alien language. Can we successfully imitate in English the prophet Isaiah’s “He looked for judgment (בָּחָר), but behold oppression (מִסְפָּר); for righteousness (כְּלָיָה), but behold a cry (קַרָּה)?” Whether, as Scholz supposed, the Greek translator of Susanna correctly rendered the Hebrew verbs, and then chose names of trees to match, or whether he found it necessary to give up both the verbs and the nouns of the original text, in order to produce a successful imitation, can hardly perhaps be decided. But the fact that one of Lagarde’s Syriac texts (Lp) gives a fair paronomasia in the first case between בָּחָר, pāšēgā, “pistachio-tree,” and the verb בָּשָׁא, bēṣaq, “to cut off,”—and in the second, between כְּלָיָה, rummanā, “a pomegranate-tree,” and כְּלָיָה, rūmcha, “a sword,”—is enough to relieve us from the perplexities of Africanus and Origen. This Syriac version may, in fact, have preserved the original names of the trees: for, as Jacob of Edessa, cited by Bugati, observes, neither the σῖκος or mastick-tree, nor the πῦξις or holm-oak, was native in Babylonia, nor were they planted in gardens; whereas the pistachio and the pomegranate, mentioned in the Syriac version of his day, were both garden trees, although their names did not correspond in sound with the terms σῖκος, nēsaddēgāk, “he will rend thee,” and σῖκος, nēsēnāk, “he will saw thee,” used by Daniel in cursing the Elders. The Greek translator may have been reminded by pāšēgā of the likenessounding Greek term μαστίξω, which means “gum mastick,” the resin of the σῖκος, which last he, therefore, adopted. The Heb. rimmōn (Syr. rummānā) in like manner reminded him of πῦξις. But what could have been the Heb. paronomasia thus imitated in Syriac and in Greek? Perhaps as Brüll thinks, רְמָוִים רֵאָשׁ אֵשׁ קַשָּׁה קַשָּׁה (Deut. viii. 11), or אֵשׁ קַשָּׁה קַשָּׁה אֵשׁ קַשָּׁה: Ezek. xxi. 26.

But there are plenty of other possibilities, as the following will shew:—

לַמָּה, “nut-tree,” Cant. vi. 11, and often in Bab. Talmud. רָעִי, “will cut in two,” 1 Kings iii. 25. 2 Or לַע; cf. Nah. i. 12.

לַמָּה, “fig-tree;” “the angel will multiply thy sorrow,” לְמֵא אֱלֹהִים לְבֵהַל מַעָיִן, Lam. ii. 5; Isa. xxix. 2. Cf. also Ps. xci. 10. See Sanhedr. 41 a, cited infra.

רְמָוִים, “cypress” (a Babylonian tree) .... לַמָּה אֱלֹהִים, “he will not forgive thee.”

לַמָּה, “palm,” the Babylonian tree par excellence; 6 לַמָּה, Ruth i. 20.

If Aramaic was the original language of the piece, מַדְת, “a palm,” and מַדְת, “to cool” (of passion).

Other such plays on words might be suggested; but these may suffice to shew how far those of the Greek text are from constituting an insuperable objection to the theory of a Hebrew original.

Africanus next expresses suspicion of the fact implied by the narrative, that the Jews during the Exile were permitted to exercise the power of life and death among themselves, and even, as in this case, over the royal consort. If, on the other hand, Joacim was not the former king, the account of his external prosperity and high distinction is not true to the historical conditions of the time. Origen’s reply is that the state of the Jewish community in the Exile was not altogether wretched; Joacim was the former king; and as to the ius gladiti, even at the present day conquered peoples are sometimes allowed to live under their own native jurisdiction. Moreover, it might be that such cases were tried secretly. He is greatly perplexed by the remark that the piece is not found in the Book of Daniel as received by the

1 "The History of Susanna was confessedly written in Greek. No other explanation can be given of the verbal allusions 54–5, 58–9. In regard to the other additions there are no data." (Pusey, 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 378 and note.) In the same context, Dr. Pusey remarks of the LXX. version of the Book of Daniel, that "the Greek itself is, in many parts, purer and more elegant than that of any other of the Septuagint translations. The translator avoided Hebraisms, which Theodotion subsequently restored, and, in some places, substituted a classical Greek word." (Ibid. 378–9.) So far, then, as this applies to the Additions, it is obviously no argument against the supposition that they were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, like the rest of the book.
Jews; and can only reply that the Jews must have intentionally omitted it, on account of its contents. Many other pieces are also found only in the LXX., and so would have to be rejected along with Susanna. But may it not be that Providence was mainly solicitous of adi- faction in the Holy Scriptures; and ought we not to be mindful of the proverb, "Remove not the ancient landmark" (Prov. xxii. 28) ? Africanus further objected that no prophet else- where makes use of a quotation in the manner of v. 53, for no prophet required to do so; and lastly he thinks the style different from the Book of Daniel, which Origen denies; but neither goes into detail.

For many centuries the matter lay where Africanus and Origen had left it. After the Reformation, Protestant writers, such as Ludovicus Cappellus, strongly attacked the piece, in the interests of theological controversy, calling it a "silly fable"—fabula ineptissima,— and the author a "tritler"—nugator. Houbigant replied with considerable ad- vantage. Michaelis set himself to ex- pose a whole mass of absurdities in the legal proceedings against Susanna and her accusers. Eichhorn again examined the question, only to prove that "the whole piece may be a moral fiction" (eine moralische Dichtung). Jahn saw in it a parable, shewing that "not always even to men of niper years must an unerring right judgment be attributed." Bertholdt divined its nature far more correctly in pronouncing the piece a traditional history or Jewish Haggada: "Es scheint daher besser zu sein die Sache als eine Sagengeschichte, als eine jüdische Aggadah zu betrachten." The moral appended in the LXX. text, vv. 63, 64, which is the ground of Jahn's con- clusion, is merely a reflection added by the author of that text, and is wanting in Theodotion. Fritzsche rightly remarks that the story is told as authentic history; and he adds: "It is very possible that a tradition (Sage) lay at the basis of the narrative, as the substance of it unhappily stands in direct contradiction to no period; but it may with more certainty be affirmed that the connexion with Daniel is arbitrary. The person of Daniel is, in our opinion, involved in much obscurity; hence it is the more remark- able that this piece is connected with him, according to the etymology of his name [Daniel, "my judge is Ei"], and that here, as in Ezek. xiv. 14 sqq., xxviii. 3, he is represented as a model of righteousness and wisdom." And here he leaves the matter, although Plessner had already pointed to ma- terials in the Talmud and Midrash which confirm Bertholdt's conjecture. Frankel and Geiger have referred to an old Halachah, which explains much that is surprising in the story; and lastly, Dr. N. Brüll, in an elaborate mono- graph, has sought to establish, by a careful combination of all available ma- terials, the probable meaning and character of this curious relic of antiquity. Among these materials are certain statements in Origen's reply to Africanus which receive an entirely new significance, when brought into connexion with the data supplied by the Hebrew sources. Thus Origen relates that a learned young Jew, the son of a Rabbi, had informed him that the Two Elders of the story were Ahab and Zedekiah, the false prophets spoken of in Jer. xxix. 20–23, and that the punishments Daniel predicts for them refer to the other world.

What else Origen heard about these Elders may be given in his own words: Καὶ ἠτεροὶ ἐπὶ οἱ ἔφεσσαν ἐπὶ τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ἕτοισιν παραδόσεις ἑπέφορος, ὅτι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐλεύθερῳ ἰδίᾳ τῇ ἑρωτείᾳ τοῖς ἐπὶ γενετοῦ δοκιμάζων προανεικυτῶν οἱ προφητεύουσαν οὐτοὶ ἐσθιότα τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ σαφῆς. Καὶ ἐκάτερα αὐτῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπὶ παρενεχθέν γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ αὐτὸν ἦς μετατημένης ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπατώτερα τῆς τοῦ πάσης ἑπεξεργασίας τῆς τῆς σαφῆς ἑπεξεργασίας αὐτή τῇ ἐπαργηθείσῃ καὶ οὕτως ἐμοκρατήσας τὰς γυναικὰς τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπατής. Ἀχιαβ καὶ Ζεδεκιά. To these malpractices, added the Jew, Daniel alludes in ad- dressing the first Elder with πεπαλαιωμένη

1 What follows is mainly an abstract of Dr. Brüll's ingenious argument, Das apokryphische Susanna-Buch, in his 'Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur' (Frankfurt am Main: 1877).
and can you assert such a thing? Has your God changed his mind? Whether ye be true or false prophets, I know not; but Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah I have already proven. Although I had the furnace heated seven days for them, yet they came forth alive and well. For you I will only heat it one day. If you are not hurt by the fire, I shall have the best proof that you are true prophets, and we will do all your bidding.’ They objected: ‘Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were three, we are only two, and a miracle cannot be wrought save for three.’ Nebuchadnezzar asked: ‘Is there then a third such as you?’ ‘Yes, the High Priest Joshua.’ They thought they would be saved for his sake. So Joshua was brought, and thrown with them into the furnace. They were both consumed, but Joshua remained unhurt, as it is said, Zech. iii. 2, ‘Lo, that is the brand plucked from the burning.’ And from Zedekiah and Ahab was the curse taken which was in the mouth of the whole captivity at Babylon: ‘The Lord make thee like Zedekiah,’ &c. (Jer. xxix. 22).

The same story occurs in the Talmud Babl Sanhedrín 93 a, where the same passage of Jeremiah is cited with comments. ‘It is not said whom he burnt (הנהרה), but whom he roasted (הדרק),’ said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai, teaching that they did as it were vilenesses (תקוות).’ Commenting on the next verse, ‘Because they have done folly in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours’ wives,’ the Gemara continues:

By doing what? by going to Nebuchadnezzar’s daughter. Ahab said to her, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Zedekiah; and Zedekiah said, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Ahab. She went and told her father,” &c. (The italicized variation will be noticed.) The Baraita of R. Eliezer again, c. 33, on the authority of R. Johanan, mentions neither the wife nor the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, but the Chaldean.
women generally, as thus attempted by Ahab and his confederate in guilt, whom it represents, not as false prophets, but medical charlatans:—

אחזב וב פצלית וזריחי וב פצלית וזריחי
אחזב וב פצלית וזריחי וב פצלית וזריחי

Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah became pretended physicians. And they used to treat the wives of the Chaldees, and debase them. The king heard thereof, and commanded them to be burnt.

In the Pesigta again (Ed. Buber), No. 25, p. 164 f., the story is further modified:—

אחזב וב פצלית וזריחי וב פצלית וזריחי
אחזב וב פצלית וזריחי וב פצלית וזריחי

Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah were pretended prophets. And they used to commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, as it is written, Jer. xxix. 23. And what would they do? One of them went to a woman and said unto her, 'I have seen (in a vision) that my fellow will come unto thee, and that thou wilt raise up a prophet in Israel.' The matter went on, until they attempted the queen in the same fashion, with the result mentioned above. Here we are at once struck with the strangeness of the implication that not only Jewesses, but even Babylonian ladies, even the queen, could be influenced by the promise of giving birth to a Jewish prophet. How are we to account for this transformation of the original tradition, which brings in Babylonian women instead of Jewesses? The reason, Brill thinks, was probably genealogical. In the interests of purity of descent, the fact had to be suppressed that during the Babylonian Exile Jewish matrons had been misled into fornication. If the Haggada also told of an attempt upon a noble lady—say the wife of a former Jewish king—and this attempt led to the ruin of the perpetrators, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar was naturally substituted; and to make everything plausible, she was provided with a suitable name, Semiramis. And as the old tradition made the two miscreants promise the birth of the Messiah, and this could be no inducement to Babylonian women, this difficulty was got rid of by substituting prophet for Messiah. The Messianic reference, Brill thinks, would have been pointless, unless made at a time when there was no representative of the House of David to whom such hopes could attach. This feature of the Haggada, therefore, agrees with the theory that the Joachim of Susanna is Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, the Jewish king who languished in prison throughout the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. A captive at the age of 18, he either had no children, or only such as "were made eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." The situation was one which afforded free scope to pretenders of all sorts; and it is quite possible that Ahab and Zedekiah had higher designs than the mere gratification of lust in their attempt on Susanna. In the Midrash Wayyigra Rabbâ, Par. xix., a story is told indicative of contemporary Jewish fears that the House of David might become extinct with Jehoiachin's death. The Great Sanhedrin is said to have sought and obtained, through the intercession of Queen Semiramis, permission for the wife of Jehoiachin to visit him in his prison. In the sequel of the story, which it is unnecessary to translate, the wife of Jeconiah appears as preserving her purity, according to Jewish ideas, under circumstances of great temptation: and she utters an exclamation, יפה עשתה אשה אסתר, which, curiously enough, contains the name of the heroine of our Apocryphon. Dr. Brill supposes that this cry of hers gave rise to her popular designation; a supposition which he confirms by the fact that Susanna is not known as a Hebrew proper name of earlier date. (See Bk. of Jubilees, viii. r.) And when she leaves her husband, she takes a bath of purification, which detail coincides with the fact that Susanna in the Apocryphon is about to take a bath when the Elders attack her. On these grounds, Brill thinks, and we are disposed to agree with him, that the
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Susanna of our story is the king's wife in the Midrash. And this is borne out by other points of coincidence. Susanna was the wife of Joacim; and Joacim was the most prominent personage among the Exiles. The description only suits Jehoiachin-Jeconiah, the former king of Judah, who some twenty-five years after his imprisonment was restored by Evil-Merodach to kingly honours at the court of Babylon. In these changed circumstances we may be sure that the respect of his own countrymen would not be wanting; Jehoiachin would be regarded as the Prince of the Captivity, and would leave his dignity to his successors. It is beyond question, says Brill, that the Babylonian Exilarchate, which reached in almost unbroken succession down to the second half of the 14th century, as also the Palestinian Patriarchate founded by Zerubbabel, originated in the position of honour accorded to king Jehoiachin. There is no difficulty in supposing a confusion of the names Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim such as occurs elsewhere: see S. Jerome's caution on this point (‘Comm. in Dan.’i. 1). Moreover, S. Hippolytus identified Jehoiachin-Jeconiah with the Joacim of our work. See Georg. Synccell. Chronogr. 218: 'Ο λεγόμενος Ἰωάκημος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Σωταρίαν καὶ τὸν Δανηλ κρίμα ἔτη λέγεται τῶν ὕδων Ἱωάκημι Ιωσαφᾶ τὸν καὶ Ἰεχωνίαν μετὰ τῶν πατρὸς κρατήσαντα μετακομμαθήναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ώς προκύνεται τὸν τὸν Δάνηλ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῦσας τὴν παρούσης αἰχμαλωσίας λέγεται. Τούτων δὲ λέγεται καὶ τῶν Σωταρίαν ἀνδραὶ ἔλαυν καὶ πυρανὸς ὁ λόγος. Africenus and Origen, in the correspondence referred to above, were of the same opinion, though the former suggests a possible difference. Upon the whole, then, it is highly probable that the Susanna of our story is the wife of king Jehoiachin, of whom the Midrash speaks. Amid whatever variations of outward form, an essential similarity has so far been established between the Greek History of Susanna and certain Haggadic passages in the Talmud and Midrash.

We have now to consider the intervention of Daniel, and his examination of the two false witnesses. In the Midrashic story, too, we see a third person intervening, whose moral rectitude shines out in vivid contrast with the turpitude of the two prophets, at the moment of their penal destruction. Joshua ben Josedech the High Priest is so far an adumbration of the Daniel of Susanna. But the conception of Daniel as a judge cross-questioning the witnesses is consipicuous by its absence from the Talmudic and Midrashic stories about the wicked prophets and about Susanna; that is to say, it is unknown to the popular tradition (Volkssage), and did not belong to the original story of Susanna. It is not, however, due to the mere fancy of the author; and as it, in fact, constitutes the kernel of the whole narrative, it deserves careful consideration. Now there happens to be preserved in the Mishna a fragmentary notice of an exactly similar examination of witnesses. In Sanhed. 5, 2, it is written: וְתַאֲשִׂי יָרֵעָה מִן יוֹסֵף מֶהוֹרָי, “Once upon a time Ben Zakai put questions about fig-stems.” Two other fragments of this old Halachah are quoted in Bab. Sanhedr.
by a dry general description, but by a concrete instance of their actual working. The author’s aim is to portray certain deplorable defects inherent in the administration of justice in his own time, and to suggest a radical cure.

The proofs are evident in the story itself. (1.) Ahab and Zedekiah, who elsewhere are lying prophets, or medical rogues, are here judges who bear false witness. (2.) Daniel too is a judge, though elsewhere he has nothing to do with things judicial. (3.) The entire action is mainly developed in the hall of judgment. (4.) The two references to Scripture which occur in the piece bear upon justice and its administrators (Exod. xxiii. 7; Zech. 5, 6, 8, 11). (5.) The indirect citation of the Pentateuchal law for punishing false witnesses with the same penalty that the accused would have suffered, would seem superfluous, if the author had not meant to show that the application of the same was in place in the case he describes. (6.) The plan of the piece indicates that the traditions about the Babylonian false prophets and Susanna are merely the substructure for the representation of the examination of witnesses by which Susanna’s innocence was established.

And here we may add another remarkable coincidence. Simon ben Shetach, the well-known President of the Sanhedrin, taught in words what Ben Zakkai taught by example. See Pirqê Abôth, i. 9:

“Simon ben Shetach used to say, Examine the witnesses abundantly, and be cautious in thy words, lest they learn from them to give false answers.” This saying appears to have been the fruit of bitter personal experience. Simon’s own son is said to have been condemned to death, on the testimony of witnesses suborned by Simon’s enemies. The witnesses confessed the truth just before the execution; but their victim refused to be tried again. “Father,” said he, “if thou desirlest that help come through thee, use me as a threshold.” (Jerus. Sanhedr. vi. 3: אָם אָם כָּבָּשׁ אֲלוֹ הָעִשָּׂ תּוּ לַתּיָּרָסָע אֲלָוָא אֲלָוָא אֲמָסָפָו.) In other words, the son was willing to be a conspicuous example of the judicial abuse against which his father was agitating. About this time probably Ben Zakkai lived, who, as we have seen, instituted a more stringent process of inquiry; and the Story of Susanna may well be a product of the same period, intended to advocate the claims of this innovation in the practice of the courts, by a striking example of the miscarriage of justice under the old system, and of its complete vindication by the new method. But Simon ben Shetach was also the champion of another reform in connexion with the law of testimony. As the brother-in-law of king Alexander Jannaeus (acc. 106 B.C.), he was able, after a long struggle, to secure the triumph of his party the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin, and of their principles in the administration of the law, over their opponents the Sadducees, who had been dominant under Hyrcanus and until the close of the reign of Jannai. According to Sadducean principles, they who had falsely accused a man of a capital crime were only put to death, if the sentence had already been executed on their victim. The legal aphorism, “life for life,” was construed literally. The Pharisees, on the other hand, relying upon Deut. xix. 19, considered the intention of the accusers as equivalent to actual murder. According to them, the maxim “life for life” came into application as soon as, in consequence of the false depositions, sentence had been pronounced, although not yet carried out. The law at the time extraordinarily favoured informations. The witnesses, who were also the accusers, were only examined about the main fact, so that their falsehood could not easily become evident; and even if it did, they got off without punishment, though the accused had actually been executed.

This crying evil the Pharisaic party sought to remedy by the introduction of a more rigorous examination of witnesses, and by making the law more severe against false witnesses. The partiality and prejudice of the judges are attested by a saying of Judah ben Tabbai, the colleague of Simon ben Shetach; see Pirqê Abôth, i. 8. And, according to the Talmudic Sota 22b, Jannai left his wife Salome the warning: “Be not afraid of
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the Pharisees, nor of those who are not Pharisees (i.e. the Sadducees); but (be afraid of) the painted ones, who look like the Pharisees, whose works are like the work of Zimri, and who seek the reward of Phinehas." The state of things thus indicated is mirrored in our Apocryphon. The two Elders are counterparts of the "painted ones." Susanna is treated as an adulteress, without examination of the witnesses. At the right moment, Daniel, the personified judgment of God, appears on the scene. He knows Susanna's innocence by inspiration; but he will shew the people how a Sanhedrin ought to ascertain the truth. Each of the witnesses must be questioned separately about the details of the charge. The Sadducean interpretation of the law would have let off the guilty Elders; but the Pharisaic principle is rigorously carried out in their execution.

From all this, it appears to be a highly probable conclusion that this Apocryphon is an Anti-Sadducean Tendens-Schrift, in which not unskilfully the matter of an old tradition about the punishment of some seducers of women is worked up into an instructive picture of a certain period. Its aim was twofold: (1) To illustrate the utility of an investigation of particulars such as Ben Zakkai actually practised at the time; and (2) to accentuate the necessity of a rigorous punishment of false witnesses, independently of the question whether an accused person has suffered on the ground of their evidence, or not. The former point is especially prominent, as being distinctly an innovation. The fact that the son of Simon ben Shetach was obliged to submit to death in order to secure the punishment of his lying accusers, proves that the court which tried him consisted of members of the Sadducean party. This event, which probably occurred during the bloody struggles between the persecuted Pharisees and the Sadducees favoured by Jannai, between the years 94-89 B.C., must have roused popular indignation, and powerfully furthered Simon's projects of legal reform, and the ascendancy of the Pharisaic party. It also called forth the History of Susanna. If this account of the origin and tendency of the work be accepted, it must evidently be regarded as a plant of Palestinian rather than Alexandrian growth. The primary language was probably neo-Hebrew. The Greek of Theodotion falls back easily into Hebrew, and that of the LXX., although somewhat more free, and variously interpolated, is essentially Hebraising. From Babylonia the original elements of the story passed to Judea, and the Alexandrian translator and editor may have received it thence either in the shape of an oral or a written relation. It is true that we have no direct evidence from ancient times for the existence in Hebrew or Chaldee of the Story of Susanna as we know it. Nachman, the only old Jewish writer who mentions it, quotes part of Judith i. 7, 8, 11 from the Peshito Syriac, with the reference וְמִיַּכָּר בֵּית־אֲבָנּוֹת שׁוּשָּׁן, "as it is written in the Roll of Shushan," i.e. probably Susanna. Perhaps he has not so much confused Judith with Susanna, as cited the former from a 'Book of Holy Women' in which the Story of Susanna came first.

In the Greek MSS. and common editions, the narrative is commonly given as Dan. i. So also in Old Lat. and Arab. Chronological propriety suggested this arrangement, as it purports to relate an episode of Daniel's youth. But as the place is Babylonia, and the time the Captivity, a better position would obviously have been after Dan. i. The LXX. text, the Vulgate, and the Complutensian edition, relegate the piece to the end of Daniel, as a mere addition or appendix to the canonical work (ch. xiii.). The Syro-Hexaplar also places it, along with Bel and the Dragon, at the end of the book, separating it from the canonical portion by the note, "Finished is Daniel according to the tradition of the Seventy," and by a further note relating to the Greek codex.

The two Greek texts, that of the LXX. and that of Theodotion, differ remarkably in the opening of the story. There are four Syriac texts, of which two appear in Walton. The others known to the

1 The remarkable additions and omissions of these texts may partly depend on traditions known to the translators, but long since lost.
writer are the Syro-Hexaplar, and a fourth text, of which Lagarde has given extracts in his "Apocrypha Syriac." 1

1 These texts are indicated in the notes as Syr. W, and Syr. W₂ (the so-called Harklensian); Syr. H; and Syr. L. I have used A. M. Ceriani's beautiful photo-lithograph of 'Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus' (Milan, 1874), as well as Bugati (1788). This version was made at Alexandria, A.D. 617, according to the subscription, which runs thus: "Daniel according to the Seventy. Finished is the Book of Daniel the prophet, which has been interpreted from the tradition of the Seventy and Two, who in the days of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, before the coming of the Messiah a hundred years, more or less, interpreted the Holy Scriptures out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, in Alexandria the great city. Now this book was interpreted also out of Greek into Syriac in the city Alexandria, in the month Kanun Posterior of the year nine hundred and twenty-eight of Alexander, Fifth Indiction." It is an accurate rendering from the Greek, and contributes much to the restoration of the text.

The Syro-Hexaplar is from the LXX.; the rest apparently are based upon Theodotion's recension. In the LXX. text there is a strange lacuna at the outset, in which the context indicates that particulars relating to the two Elders must have been imparted. The words of Daniel to the two miscreants (vv. 52, 56) involve references to former misconduct not related in the existing mutilated narrative, but once probably communicated in the missing verses. Perhaps the omission was intentionally made by those who inserted the narrative in the Hagiographa, in order to avoid defaming the Jewesses of the Exile. Theodotion completed the truncated text by details about Susanna's family connexions, and this involved further changes. The expression "in that year" (v. 5) points to the existence of a chronological datum in what once preceded.
THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA,

Set apart from the beginning of Daniel, because it is not in the Hebrew, as neither the Narration of Bel and the Dragon.

16 Two judges hide themselves in the garden of Susanna to have their pleasure of her: 28 which when they could not obtain, they accuse and cause her to be condemned for adultery: 46 but Daniel examineth the matter again, and findeth the two judges false.

There dwelt a man in Babylon, called Joacim: 2 And he took a wife, whose name was Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.

3 Her parents also were righteous, and taught their daughter according to the law of Moses.

4 Now Joacim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining

Verses 1-54 belong to Theodotion, and Cod. Chisian. and Syr. H. have marked them as added to the LXX. from his text. Fritzsche thinks that the LXX. either began the story with v. 4, or that some such words as ἵνα δὲ δῶν προφυτεύτω ἐν Βαβυλώνι have been lost. But see the Introduction ad fin. Syr. W. "When Daniel was twelve years old, there was a man whose name was Joacim, and he had a wife whose name was Shushan," &c.

1. Joacim.] Joacim, in the Gk. Ἰακίας, is of course the Heb. יָעָשׁ or Jehoiakim. Cf. Judith iv. 6. Ammonius, Hippolytus, Syncellus, and many others have identified him with the king of Judah who was carried captive to Babylon and afterwards liberated: 2 Kings xxiv. 15; xxv. 27 sqq. Bugatti’s objection that this is to confuse יָעָשׁ with יָוָשׁ, Jehoiakim with Jehoiachin, does not hold: see 3 Esdr. i. 39, 43, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, 9. Fritzsche observes that although Joacim is styled “more honourable than all others” (v. 4), his entire position in the story does not harmonize with the hypothesis that he was king; indeed, had he been so, it must have been expressly stated. But see the Introd.

2. Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias.] The majority of MSS. spell the first name Σοῦσαννα. Fritzsche notes that Cod. II. and others give Σωσάννα; and so Tischendorf has edited (LXX. Vat., 5th ed.) but Dr. Bissell says this is a mistake as regards Cod. II., which has Σωσαών throughout. The name is a transliteration of ססנה (Sisanna), “lily,” which does not occur as a proper name in the O. T.; but see Luke viii. 3. This story of the woman who was both chaste and fair as a lily may have popularized the name. Shushan, Dan. viii. 2, the capital of Susiana, is obviously not an originally Heb. word. Chelcias, Gk. Χελκιας, is the Heb. חלכיה, “Hilkiyah.” So the Arab. and Syr. H. The common text (Walton, Lagarde) has χόλκια, which apparently confuses the name with Elkanah. The latter text makes him a priest, and relates that the synagogue met in the house of Joacim, and that Susanna lived in wedlock a few days only, and had spent the rest of her time as a pious widow. Compare the story of Judith. Hilkiyah was a common priestly name: see 1 Chron. vi. 13, 45, ix. 11; Jer. i. 1; also 2 Kings xviii. 12, xxii. 8, 11.

a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.] The union of beauty with virtue, the ideal of womanhood, was realized in her. Verse 3, as Hippolytus notes, suggests the reason.

3. righteouse.] δίκαιος, δικαίως. As such, they “taught” (διδαχαζομαι = had taught) their daughter, as the Law enjoined: Deut. iv. 9, 10; vi. 7, 20; Ex. xiii. 14.

4. a great rich man.] Lit., “very rich”—πλούσιος φόδος (Gen. xiii. 2). The term rendered “fair garden” (Gen. xxvii. 12), the Gk. form of a word denoting in Persian a royal park or pleasure-ground. Xenophon brought the term into Gk. use: cf. ‘Anab. i. 2, 7; ‘Cyrop. i. 3, 12. Photius and Pollux state that the word is Persian. In Heb. it occurs in the form דִּבְרָה, pardu, Cant. iv. 13; Eccl. ii. 5; Neh. ii. 8. The Vendidad has it in the form pairidiza, “enclosure,” “park;” and in Armenian parde is “the garden round a house.” Cf. the Syr. pardoais, “garden.” The Old Lat. here has viridarium, “a plantation,” or “pleasure-garden;” Vulg. poma-rium, “orchard.”

Joining.] “Joining” is γενναίος, “neighbour-
unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honourable than all others.

5 The same year were appointed two of the ancients of the people to be judges, such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness came from Babylon from ancient judges, who seemed to govern the people.

6 These kept much at Joachim's house: and all that had any suits in law came unto them.

such as the Lord.] Rather, "of whom the Lord spake: Lawlessness hath gone forth from Babylon from elder-judges who were accounted to govern the people." The words purport to contain a direct reference to some prophetic utterance; and in form partly correspond with Jer. xxiii. 15: ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν Ἰερουσαλήμ ἔστηκε μοισχός πάση τῇ γῆ. It is very probable, as Fritzsche observes, that the apparent quotation is really due to a reminiscence of Jer. xxxix. 20-23. Jewish tradition, indeed, identifies the two Elders with the adulterous prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, "whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." But the tradition may have grown out of Jeremiah's words, "Because they have committed villany in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives." The objection to it is that Ahab and Zedekiah were prophets, not elder-judges; they were burned alive by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas the two Elders were stoned by the Jews, according to the Law (v. 62. The LXX., however, says: ὧδε γεγολου ἴωριον ἔριστε πῦρ διὰ μισοὺ αὐτῶν). Walton's Syr. a is unique in giving the names of the two Elders, Amid and Abid (not Amid, as Fuller); i.e., apparently, "Drowned" and "Lost." As regards the words "who seemed to govern"—ὁι ἱδαδοι κυβερνοῦν—we may compare Mark x. 42 (see Matt. xx. 25); Luke xxii. 24; Gal. vi. 3, ii. 9 (οἱ δοκοῦντες στοιχεῖα εἶναι); 1 Cor. x. 12, vii. 40, xi. 16, xiv. 37. This seems better than to understand by the words that the Jews had only the ἱδαδοι of self-government at the time. S. Jerome: "Qui injuste praesunt populó tantúm nomen habent judicium: regere videntur populum magis quam regunt." (So Ammonius: ἐφαίσσομαι ὑπηρετῆσαι, καὶ τις κανένας ἐπίσκοπον ἐμπεσοῖς τὰς ψυχάς.) Syr. W. 2: "who were ministering in the temple"(!). Syr. W. 2: "who are accounted heads of the people."
7 Now when the people departed away at noon, Susanna went into her husband's garden to walk.
8 And the two elders saw her going in every day, and walking; so that their lust was inflamed toward her.
9 And they perverted their own minds, and turned away their eyes, that they might not look unto heaven, nor remember just judgments.
10 And albeit they both were wounded with her love, yet durst not one shew another his grief.

11 For they were ashamed to declare their lust, that they desired to have to do with her.
12 Yet they watched diligently from day to day to see her.
13 And the one said to the other, Let us now go home: for it is dinner time.
14 So when they were gone out,
they parted one from the other, and turning back again they came to the same place; and after that they had asked one another the cause, they acknowledged their lust: then appointed they a time both together, when they might find her alone.

15 And it fell out, as they watched a fit time, she went in 'as before with two maids only, and she was desirous to wash herself in the garden: for it was hot.

16 And there was no body there save the two elders, that had hid themselves, and watched her.

17 Then she said to her maids, Bring me oil and washing balls, and shut the garden doors, that I may wash me.

18 And they did as she bade them, and shut the garden doors, and went out themselves at 'privy doors to fetch the things that she had commanded them: but they saw not the elders, because they were hid.

19 Now when the maids were gone forth, the two elders rose up, and ran unto her, saying,

20 Behold, the garden doors are shut, that no man can see us, and

up the apparent lacuna thus: "Now it happened one day, when the assembly broke up, they were waiting to see her when she entered the garden, and they parted not the one from his fellow." Then follows v. 13.

Instead of νυν. 12–21, the LXX. has: "And when it was early morning (i.e. on the day of the elders' wicked attempt), they tried to steal a march on each other, making haste to see which would present himself to her first, and address her (ἐρχόμενοι ἑκείνων ἄλλοισιν οὐσεῖντες, τις φανέρεται αὐτῇ πρότερος κ.τ.λ. Cf. Mark xvi. 9). And, behold, she, according to her custom, was walking about, and the one of the elders was come; and, behold, the other arrived, and one questioned the other, saying, Why wastest thou forth thus at early morning by thyself, without taking (Matt. iv. 5) me along with thee? And they fully confessed to one another each his pain. And one said to the other, Let us go unto her; and having agreed (συνοδεύσων), they came to her, and began to press her hard (ἐξελέγοντο αὐτῇ, Ps. cxxviii. 12; Wisd. xiv. 19; Esth. vii. 8 (b)). And the Jewess said to them," &c. (v. 22).

14. asked one another.] ἀντικαίνουσεν ἄλλους τῇ αἰρίᾳ. The rare ἀντικαίνειν (here used c. dupl. acc.) occurs Judges vi. 29 (Alex.), where the Vatic. MS. has the common ἐκκαίνειν. And in Acts xxii. 24, 29, in the sense of questioning a man by torture.

The Syriac texts vary much from the other versions and from each other in this verse.

appointed they a time.] ἠνατέλεσαν καὶ ἔοι. For the verb, see Polyb. ix. 17, 14; Job ii. 11 (vart.). "Both together" is καὶ (Codd. 34, 230, 245 add γείμων): Ecclus. xlviii. 1.

15. as they watched a fit time.] See ν. 12 for the verb. With ἠμᾶριν εἶδενοι cf. εὖ καὶ εἰδοὺς, Ps. xxxii. 6 (Heb. "at a time of finding").

she went in as before.] Lit., "she went in once, as yesterday and the day before;" i.e. as aforesight (ἐρχόμενοι πρὸ καθάς ὧδε καὶ τρίτης ἢμερας. Cod. xi. 16, 34, τρίτης ἡμέρας, which is the more usual Gk. form of this common Hebrew phrase. See Gen. xxxii. 2; Exod. v. 7, 14; Josh. iv. 18. Homer's ὥθησε καὶ πρώτοικα, and the Attic ἰθήκες και πρώτην, are similar). Syr. Wv, "according to the custom she had."

16. that bad bid themselves, and watched ber.] "In hiding, and watching her closely;" like evil beasts biding their time for a spring. The verb is παραπηρέω, which is almost equivalent to insidari: see νυν. 12, 15, supra.

Syr. Wv, calls them "chiefs of the synagogue."

17. washing balls.] Gk. σφημάτων (III. 23, 26, al. σφημά). The more Attic form is σφήμα. In the LXX. (Esth. ii. 3, 9, 12) the word renders Βατάραν, θύραν, a term denoting the cleansing of the person by means of cosmetics, which was customary on reception into the harem. Here, too, the sense seems to be the same, viz. perfumed ungents, cosmetics, rather than soap (Jer. ii. 22). Syr. Wv, has ἄγνυμφος, the same word (σφήμα) apparently; Syr. Wv, ἄγνυμφος, which is said to mean the herb alkali. Fritzsche refers to Atheneaeus and Galen for proof that the Greek term was used in three senses: (1) soap; (2) perfumes; (3) in medical writers, vegetable saps, and ointments.

Susanna wanted the oil and cosmetics for use after, not before or in, the bath.

18. ibid.] "Shut fast." (ἀνατελέσαν)

at privy doors.] "By the side doors"—κατὰ τὰς πλαγεὶς θύρας. Vulg. per posticum, "through a back door." Arab.: "side doors." because.] Rather, "that." The construction is like that of Gen. i. 4; Exod. ii. 2.

19. ran unto ber.] "Ran upon her," in the sense of assault: see 1 Macc. vi. 45.
we are in love with thee: therefore consent unto us, and lie with us.
21 If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a young man was with thee: and therefore thou didst send away thy maids from thee.
22 Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands.
23 It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.
24 With that Susanna cried with a loud voice: and the two elders cried out against her.
25 Then ran the one, and opened the garden door.
26 So when the servants of the house heard the cry in the garden, they rushed in at a privy door, to see what was done unto her.
27 But when the elders had declared their matter, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna.
28 And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled

20, 21. consent unto us.] συνηκασθῶν ἡμᾶς. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 1, 2; Luke xxiii. 51. Old Lat. consenti nobis. For the following phrase (Gk. γενοῦ μεθ' ἡμᾶς), see Gen. xxxix. 10; 2 Sam. xiii. 20; Tobit iii. 8; and v. 54 infra (LXX. text). Having resolved on the deed, these Elders and these Judges make no scruple about words. Cf. the scene in which Angelo declares his purpose to Isabel, 'Measure for Measure,' Act ii. sc. 4, towards the end:

"I have begun;
And now I give my sensual race the rein;
Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite."

* * *

As for you,
Say what you can, my false o'erweights your true."

23. sighed.] Or, "groaned aloud" (ἀνεστικαί). Cf. Lam. i. 4; Eccles. xxv. 18.
24. cried out against her.] "Cried out against her," "before her." Gk. κατακαίνειν αὐτής. Vulg. adversus eam. It is the Heb. יֹּסֶך, יֹּשֶׁךְ, or יָסֶךְ; the Chaldee יֹּסֶךְ, Dan. v. 1. (So Syr.)
25. Then ran the one.] Lit. "and the one ran and opened the doors:" nempe quasi adulterum persequens, as Grotius rightly explains.
26. the servants of the house.] ol εἰς οἴκια. A well-known idiom, expressing in brief that the servants in the house rushed out from the house. Syr.: "sons of the house." rushed in at a privy door.] "Leaped in through the side door," or "postern." Cf. v. 18 supra; Gen. vi. 16: τὴν δὲ θύραν τῆς εἰσοδοῦ ποιήσας εἰ πλαγιῶν. For the verb, Amos v. 19.
27. declared their matter.] "Spoken their words," i.e. their accusation of Susanna, which Syr. W. gives at length, beginning: "It happened, as we were passing by outside of the
to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death;

29 And said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, Joacim’s wife. And so they sent.

30 So she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred.

31 Now Susanna was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.

32 And these wicked men commanded to uncover her face, (for she was covered) that they might be filled with her beauty.

33 Therefore her friends and all that saw her wept.

34 Then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head.

35 And she weeping looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.

36 And the elders said, As we

garden, we looked over to see the garden, and we saw Susanna," &c. The italicized words do not agree with υἱοὶ, 36, 38 infra. Syr. W., is briefer: "Susanna has committed adultery, and we caught her with a young man in the garden." At the end it adds: "And they threw chains upon Susanna, and she was in the house of ward three days." The confusion of the slaves, and the reason assigned for it, is a natural touch. Had their mistress been subject to ill report, they would hardly have been so strongly affected in the present instance.

28. full of mischievous imagination. Full of their (ripe) lawless (i.e. iniquitous) intent. They sat as judges frequently in Joacim’s house: υἱοὶ, 4, 5 supra. (Syr. W., adds the purpose of the assembly: "to inquire concerning Susanna; that if she had indeed done this uncleanness... she might be put to death.") The two miscreants determined to destroy Susanna, not only to protect themselves from possible consequences of their villainy, but also because foiled passion is apt to turn to deadly hate. The cool audacity of their behaviour reminds us again of Shakspeare’s Angelo:

"Tis not impossible But one, the wicked’st caitiff on the ground, May seem as shy, as grave, as just, as absolute, As Angelo; even so may Angelo,
In all his dressings, characts, titles, forms, Be an arch-villain."

After the words of Susanna (v. 29), the LXX. proceeds thus: "But the men of Belial (οἱ παραδίκους ἄνδρες) Deut. xiii. 16; & Macc. i. 12, 36; Wisd. ii. 16) departed, threatening in themselves (Gen. xxvii. 43), and plotting (ἐνεργείαις, Ecclus. xi. 31. Hesych. explains, διαμαλαβόμενος), that they might put her to death; and they came to the synagogue of the city where they were dwelling, and they who were there, all the sons of Israel, held a council (ἐνεργοστάσει). And the two elders and judges stood up, and said, Send for Susanna, &c. (v. 29), and straightway they called her."

Apos.—Vol. II. 29. Send for... so they sent.] ἔοις τεων in this sense is rare: Deut. xxviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxx. 1; Neh. vi. 3.

31. very delicate.] τρωφόρα σφόδρα. The word is here used in a good sense, of personal beauty: cf. Deut. xxviii. 54, 56. Often it means "voluptuous," "luxurious," "effeminate." Isa. xlvi. 1, 8. Syr. W., adds: "and she was gentler than all women, and her attire was very sober."

32. commanded to uncover her face.] Or, "that she be unveiled." see Num. v. 18 (LXX.). The act was according to law, but the Elders had another motive, as the verse declares. The LXX. text states this even more plainly: οὐκ ἔμπλησθοι καὶ ἔχασαν αὐτήν (so Syr. H. and W.,). To strip off the veil was to treat her as a common courtesan.

33. her friends and all that saw her.] "Now her friends (οἱ παραδίκων, Xen. 'Anab.' i. 1, 5) and all who saw (XII. 23, et multi; εἴδοντες, 'knew.' LXX. δοὺς ἰδεῖναν, Dan. vi. 5, 8; Mark i. 34; Vulg. qui non venunt) her were weeping" (or, "began to weep," at the sight of the degradation done to her). In the LXX. v. 30 runs thus: "Now when she arrived with her father and mother, her men-servants also and her maids, being in number five hundred, arrived, and the four children (εὐαίδας of Susanna.) Syr. H. also gives the number 500 (not " fifty," as Fuller).

34. laid their hands upon her head.] The symbolical act which the law prescribed for witnesses in criminal cases. See Lev. xxiv. 14; Deut. xiii. 9, xvii. 7; Acts vii. 58. Dr. Bissell wrongly refers to lifting up the hand as a sign of adjuration (Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 40). The LXX. text is: "But the elders and judges (see v. 29, 41) their usual designation. On the present occasion they were witnesses, not judges) stood up and laid their hands upon her head."

35. looked up toward heaven.] At the moment when the accusers laid their hands upon her head. Comp. Matt. xiv. 19; Luke ix. 16;
walked in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away.

37 Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her.

38 Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them.

39 And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, and opened the door, and leaped out.

40 But having taken this woman, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify.

41 Then the assembly believed them, as those that were the elders and judges of the people: so they condemned her to death.

42 Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, O everlasting God, thou knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be:

43 Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did such things as these men have maliciously invented against me.

44 And the Lord heard her voice.

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Mark vi. 41, vii. 34; and contrast v. 9 supra. The upward look referred to the cause of a higher tribunal, and expressed entire confidence in its righteous dealing. The lesson taught is essentially the same as that of Dan. iii. 17, 18; vi. 16, 22.

The LXX. gives the verse thus: "But her heart was trusting upon the Lord her God, and having thrown her head back (ἀνακεφάλεια éis τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, Theod.) she wept in herself, saying, O Lord, the eternal God," &c. (v. 43). Fritzschke, after Bugati, inserts πρίς before the participle, remarking, "non legitur in c. Chis. sed habet Syr. B." But the Syriac word wrongly rendered πρίς by Bugati means "she lifted up" (אָשֵׁב).

37. The meaning of ἀνίστες (μετ’ αὐτῆς) is not noticed in the last ed. of Liddell and Scott. Vulg. concubuit eum ea. The usual meaning of the word is "to recline at table," like ἀνακεφάλεια: Tobit ii. 1; Judith xii. 15; Ecclus. xxii. 1. In Gen. xlii. 9, however, the word is used of "lying down to sleep"—ἀναστούν ἵκοιμηθά λέγουσαν.

39. bold.] Lit., "get the mastery of," ἐγκρατεῖκα γενίσθαι. The phrase occurs 2 Macc. viii. 30, x. 17, xiii. 13; Ecclus. vi. 27; Cod. III. reads περικρατεῖα; see Acts xxvii. 16, περικρ. γενίσθαι τῆς σκάφης. For the next phrase, cf. Exod. i. 9.

40. having taken this woman.] "Having laid hold of her," ἐπαλαβόμενον ταύτης: cf. Judges xii. 6; xvi. 3, 21; xix. 25, 29; Isa. iv. 1.

41. Then the assembly.] Lit., "And the synagogue believed them, as elders of the people and judges" (Syr. Wp.: "chiefs of the priests"). The elders had the same advantage over Susanna, as Angelo over Isabel in the play. See 'Meas. for Meas.' Act ii. sc. 4, where Angelo demands:

"Who will believe thee, Isabel? My unsold name, the austereness of my life, My vouch against you, and my place i’ the state, Will so your accusation overweigh, That you shall stife in your own report, And smell of calumny."

they condemned her to death.] Κατέκριναν αὐτὴν ἀποκτενίσαν, "they gave sentence that she be put to death:" the absolute use of the verb, as in Mark xiv. 64. Cf. Esth. ii. 1.

Syr. Wp. adds: "saying, Whoso committeth adultery is worthy of death, and to be stoned with stones. And the ninth hour was Susanna delivered up, to be cast down from the place whence adulteresses are thrown headlong, and many were gathered together to behold it."

42. O everlasting God.] 'Ο Θεός ὁ αἰώνιος. Isa. xxvi. 4, 'Ο θεός μέγας ὁ ἀλώνιος; Gen. xxii. 33. Compare also Dan. iii. 34, iv. 31, vii. 14, 47; Gen. ix. 16; Exod. xii. 14; Mic. ii. 9. The term ἀλώνιος, applied to the mountains, to the divine covenant with Abraham and his seed, to the Mosaic institutions, to the kingdom of the Messiah, to the Deity himself, denotes "age-long, "enduring," perpetual." Sometimes the meaning falls very far short of "everlasting," "eternal," in our stricter sense of the words: e.g. Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10; Isa. lxi. 4, lxxii. 11; Job xl. 23: where "immemorial," "ancient," "permanent," sufficiently express it.

that knowest the secrets.] 'Ο τῶν κρυπτῶν γνωστής (not in LXX.). In 1 Kings xxii. 6, and elsewhere, γνωστής is "a wizard." With its use in the present passage, cf. the epithet καρδιογνωστή, Acts i. 24, xv. 8 (so Syr. Wp. here); and Deut. xxix. 29, "The secret things (τὰ κρυπτά) belong unto the Lord our God." In Dan. ii. 29, 47, God is called ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστηρίων, "He that revealeth mysteries."
Therefore when she was led to be put to death, the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel:

Who cried with a loud voice, "I am clear from the blood of this woman.

Then all the people turned them toward him, and said, What mean these words that thou hast spoken?

So he standing in the midst of them said, Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel?
49 Return again to the place of judgment: for they have borne false witness against her.

50 Wherefore all the people turned again in haste, and the elders said unto him, Come, sit down among us, and shew it us, seeing God hath given thee the honour of an elder.

51 Then said Daniel unto them,

"age," Ps. lxxi. 18; and then the respect or honour which naturally belongs to age, the privilege of age: Demosth. 1003. 10; Gen. xlii. 33; τὰ προσβήσια δὲ τὸ προσβήσιον τὸν Ἱεροπλήρωμα, "the function of judgment, the court: in view. Vulg. bonorem etenim. Cod. l. 35, 36, &c. read προσβήσιον, a term which first occurs in the N.T., and always bears the sense of a "senate" or "college of elders;" e.g. Luke xxii. 66. In ecclesiastical writers it denotes the office of a presbyter.

52. O thou that art waxen old in wickedness.] Gk. συναλαμμένος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ κακῶν, "aged (or grown hoar) in evil days." The genitive is relative: cf. Dan. vii. 21, θεοὶ ἡμᾶς, "the Ancient of (i.e. in respect of) Days;"

The LXX. text runs thus: "And he called the one of them, and they brought the elder to the younger, and Daniel said unto him: Hearken, hearken, O thou that art waxen old," &c. (53), "when thou wert trusted with hearing and judging capital cases (κρίνεις κρισιμένως θάνατον ἐπιφανειάς), and the innocent thou didst condemn, but the guilty (ἔφεσας, Mark xiv. 63) thou usedst to let go (ἔφεσες, Mark i. 34), though the Lord said," &c., as below.

now thy sins which thou hast committed.] Lit., "now are come (ἡκαστον = ἡκονον) thy sins, which thou usedst to commit aforetime (ἐποίεις τὸ πρῶτον;). The term ἡκαστον does not mean "are not to come light" (Schleusner's patrim), but rather, "are come home to thee;" thy present mi-erable situation is the consequence, as it is the climax, of a life of sin. There is nothing unreal in this assertion. The deliberate and flagrant wrong of which this Elder had just been guilty, using the sanctity of office for a cloak of malignity and lust, could not be interpreted as a sudden and unaccountable aberration of conduct. It rather was an index of a corrupt character, whose principle was selfish advantage, and whose practice judicial injustice. But we must not forget that the invasive of the youth-ful speaker is supposed to be divinely prompted (v. 45), and his insight into fact-inspired. It is curious that the Syriac versions get rid of the quotation (Syr. W.,: "And the-
v. 54—57.

HISTORY OF SUSANNA.

judgment, and hast condemned the innocent, and hast let the guilty go free; albeit the Lord saith, "The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay.

54 Now then, if thou hast seen her, tell me, Under what tree sawest thou them companying together? Who answered, Under a "mastic tree.

55 And Daniel said, Very well;

thou hast laid against thine own head; for even now the angel of God hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two.

56 So he put him aside, and commanded to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thine heart.

57 Thus have ye dealt with the Lord is righteous and innocent;" Syr. W. omits.

54. Now then, if thou hast seen her.] The emphasis is on ber: "Now then, if her thou sawest." His conviction of her innocence is absolute. LXX.: "Now then, under what tree and at what sort of κατανάζω = νοιάζον, Mark xiii. 1) place of the garden hast thou seen (κύπαρισσας) them together? (διότι σὺν ταύροις.

And the impious one (ἀσεβῆς) said, Under a mastic tree."

mastic tree. See the margin. The στάκτω is the Pistacia lentiscus of Linnaeus; see Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xiv. 20, xv. 6, xxiv. 6, &c. This tree or shrub yielded a resin or gum which was much used, and oil also was prepared from its berries. See further Dioscor. i. 50; Hdt. iv. 177. Of the versions Old Lat. rightly gives lentiscum; Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the Greek word; Syr. W. has "terebinth;" W. and L. have "pistachio-tree." Mastic is the odoriferous gum of the tree (Gk. μαστίχα). There is a paronomasia in the Greek, or play on the asonance between the words στάκτω, "mastic-tree," and στίκω, "will cleave thee;" and a similar one in v. 58, 59, on πηλός, "a holm-tree," and the verb πηλεῖ, "to cut (saw) thee." Such a conceit may seem to us far-fetched and inappropriate; but the Oriental mind delights in such lusus verborum, and the peculiar force of many passages of the Hebrew prophetha is lost in our version, because they have not been preserved in translation. See, for instance, Isa. v. 7; Mic. i. 10—15. In the present case, the Vulgate has: "Sub sebino—Ecce enim Angelus Dei scindet te medium." But it neglects the paronomasia in v. 58, 59. Luther imitates thus: "Unter einer Linden."—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich finden. 'Unter einer Eichen.'—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich zeichnen. In English we might write: "Under a cleft-tree."—For presently will an angel . . . cleave thee asunder. 'Under a saw.'—The angel will saw thee asunder. The cleaving and sawing of the text are, of course, metaphorical, and the terms used are conditioned by the necessities of the paronomasia. The legal punishment was death by stoning. See note on v. 6a infra.

56. seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda.] If character were the criterion of race, then this Elder belonged to the nations that were exterminated for their religiously sanctioned immoralities, rather than to the house of Judah which had dispossessed them. Cf. St. Paul's argument, Rom. iv. 12, 16. The LXX. gives the verse thus: "Why was thy strain (lit., seed; the vital principle in thee: i John iii. 9) perverted (διεμπεριστατότοις, Deut. xxxii. 5; Matt. xvii. 17) like that of Sidon (Gen. x. 15; Matt. xi. 21), and not like that of Judah? (Ezek. xvi. 3). Beauty deceived thee, paltry desire (ἡ μυραλέα ἐπιθυμία. Perhaps, "transient, shortlived lust").

beauty bath deceived thee.] Cf. Judith ix. 10; xiii. 16; xvi. 8.

57. Thus have ye dealt.] Lit., "So used ye to do to the daughters of Israel, and they, for fear, would company with you (be your
daughters of Israel, and they for fear
companied with you: but the daugh
ter of Juda would not abide your
wickedness.
58 Now therefore tell me, Under
what tree didst thou take them com-
panying together? Who answered,
Under an holm tree.
59 Then said Daniel unto him,
Well; thou hast also lied against
thine own head: for the angel of
God waiteth with the sword to cut
thee in two, that he may destroy
you.
60 With that all the assembly
cried out with a loud voice, and
praised God, who saveth them that
trust in him.
61 And they arose against the
two elders, for Daniel had convicted
them of false witness by their own
mouth:
62 And according to the law of
Moses 'they did unto them in such a
sort as they maliciously intended to
do to their neighbour: and they put
them to death. Thus the innocent
blood was saved the same day.
63 Therefore Chelcias and his wife
praised God for their daughter Su-
paramours." The former Elder was charged
by the young prophet with corrupting justice;
this one is upbraided with habitual corruption of
his countrywomen—a reminiscence, probably,
of 1 Sam. ii. 22, where the two sons of Eli are
represented as guilty of such debauchery. The
contrast of the noble firmness of a daughter of
Juda (Susanna) with the weak submission of
two daughters of Israel (the women of the
Northern kingdom, or the Ten Tribes) is
curious. Cf. Hos. iv. 15.
58. Under an holm tree.] The Gr. term
πηλος denotes the "ilex" or "evergreen
oak," see Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' iii. 16:
Dioscor. iv. 48. According to Liddell and
Scott, πηλος is also the name of a small
species, with prickly leaves, bearing berries;
from the kernels of which a scarlet dye was
made, i.e. Quercus cocifera (Theophr. 'Hist.
Plant.' iii. 7. 3), which is still called πηληθῶ
in Greece. The Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the
Greek word; Old Lat. has ilex (so Syr. W.,
and Arab.); but Syr. W. and L. "pome-
granate."
59. Well; thou hast also lied.] Rather,
"Well hast thou also lied." See v. 55 supra.
the angel of God waiteth.] Or, "the angel
of God is waiting, sword in hand, to saw
thee asunder, that he may utterly destroy
you (both)." Cf. Num. xxii. 31; 2 Sam. xxiv.
16: 1 Chron. xxi. 16, 27. LXX.: "And
Daniel said, Thou sinner, now the angel of
the Lord standeth with the sword—until the
people shall destroy you—that he may saw
thee up." (ιον καταστρέφει σα. "And all the
synagogue cried out over the youth (ἐξι τῆς
νοστιμίας), that out of their own mouth he
had brought them both to confessing their false
witness" (ὑμολόγους αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει ἀμφό-
τεροις πεπληρωμένης: cf. Eurip. 'Androm.'
615). "And as the law orders (διυγμενεῖ),
they did unto them, according as they had
maliciously intended against their sister" (so
Syr. H.).
62. maliciously intended.] See v. 45 supra.
As to the law referred to, see Deut. xix. 16-21.
Death by stoning was the penalty for adul-
terers: see Deut. xxii. 24 sqq. Cod. 34 ex-
pressly notes that the two Elders were stoned,
both here and at v. 45 supra.
Thus the innocent blood.] "And innocent
blood was saved on that day." See Deut.
xix. 10: xxii. 8, 9. This phrase and the two fol-
lowing verses are not read in the LXX., which
concludes the piece thus: "And they gaggad
them (ἐδίσομαν, Mark i. 25; Matt. xxii. 34),
and having led them forth threw them into a
ravine. Then the angel of the Lord threw
fire between (διὰ μισου) them, and innocent
blood was saved on that day. Therefore the
young men of Jacob are beloved in their simplicity
(ἐνσόφλεγον), and, for ourselves, let us
guard as sons virtuous young men (so
Fritzsche). For young men are pious, and
there will be in them a spirit of knowledge
and understanding for ever and ever." But
2 Sam. ii. 7, ψινος δυνατος = ἑν κατώ, suggests
a doubt of Fritzsche's emendation of the harsh
and, as he says, unprecedented construction
φωλασάμεθα εἰς ψινος δυνατος μέτοικος εἰς
διδ. ὣς ψινος κ.λ. the meaning may be:
Let us guard youths for (= that they may
become) sons of valour (men of valour or
worth, νικετος). But perhaps we should translate:
"Let us watch over (Heb. τηρεῖν
ἐν. i Sam. xxvi. 15) capable sons when
young." It is difficult to imagine that Greek
was the original language of this closing sen-
tence. As Greek it is intolerable as well as
unintelligible; as a bald rendering from a
Semitic tongue its peculiarities are intelligible
enough.
sanna, with Joacim her husband, and all the kindred, because there was no dishonesty found in her.

64. From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people.

63. dishonesty.] Lit., “unseemly act”—ἀσεχήμων πράγμα. In Gen. xxxiv. 7, “folly” (=unchastity) is rendered ἀσεχήμων, and in Deut. xxiv. 1 we read ὁτι εἶρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεχήμων πράγμα (Heb. ור יר רע = turpe quid), “because he hath found some shameful thing in her.”

64. From that day forth, &c.] Lit., “And Daniel became great before the people, from that day and onward” (ἐπίκειτα, ultra). Cf. Luke i. 15, where it is said of St. John Baptist, “He shall be great before the Lord;” and Gen. x. 9. Syr. W₂ prolongs the verse.
ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

III. BEL AND THE DRAGON.

"All mockery is bound (forbidden) save mockery of idolaters, which is loose (allowed), as it is written, Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth."—Sanhedr. 63 b, 1, 30.

The Midrashic literature supplies evidence that the stories of Bel and the Dragon existed in Aramaic, and probably in Hebrew, at a very early date. Thus Raymund Martini (A.D. 1250) cites xxv. 28-42 from a Midrash Bereshith Rabba. He introduces the passage thus: "Habacuc vero prophetamuisse contemporaneum Danieli inde colligitur ubi in Bereschit Rabba hoc modo scribitur de Joseph." Then follows the extract from the Midrash, written in what may perhaps be called Syro-Chaldee, in default of a better description: "And they cast him into the pit" [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. This is as it is written in Daniel: "And the Babylonians gathered themselves together against the king, and turned against him, and were saying one to another, The king has become a Jew; Bel he has broken in pieces, and the dragon he has killed, and the priests he has killed," &c. &c. to the end of the story, where Martini adds: "Hucusque Traditio." Vid. his 'Pugio Fidei,' fol. 742 (ed. of Voisin, Paris, 1651, p. 742; ed. of J. B. Carpzov, Lipsiae, 1687, p. 956). The extract agrees generally, though not verbatim, with the corresponding portion of the Syriac text in Hebrew characters, published by Dr. Neubauer in the Appendix to his 'Book of Tobit' (Oxford, 1878), as part of an extract from the Midrash Rabbah de Rabbah, which he identifies with Martini's Bereshith Rabba. The whole section, as given by Dr. Neubauer, may be thus translated:

"Midrash Rabbâh de Rabbâh, Parashah

'And Jacob dwelt' [Gen. xxxvii. 1], at the verse 'And they cast him into the pit' [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. 'I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 55]. This is Daniel, who prayed before the Holy One (blessed be He!) out of the pit, and the Holy One (blessed be He!) heard the voice of his prayer, and delivered him from the lions. This is what is written: 'Thou hast heard my voice,' &c. 'Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee,' &c. [Lam. iii. 56, 57]. And so he saith: 'My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me; forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me' [Dan. vi. 23]. And it sufficed not that he delivered him, but he avenged him of his enemies. This is what is written: 'O Lord, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul, thou hast redeemed my life' [Lam. iii. 58]. And so he saith: 'And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den (pit) of lions; them, their children, and their wives: and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den' [Dan. vi. 25]. Behold, we find that Daniel was delivered out of the pit, from the Scripture ( רדס), and our Rabbis have said, 'A tradition (דעת) is in our hands that another time Daniel was delivered out of the pit of lions, in the days of Cyrus the Persian, because he had denied the idol (ڂנ, lit. strange worship) and destroyed it. They have
said: 'The king Astigös (marginal gloss: *He is Darius the Mede*) was gathered unto his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom,' &c." The Midrash here introduces the stories of Bel and the Dragon from the Syriac version, but in Hebrew characters. The text coincides, save in a few minor variations, with the Syriac of Walton's Polyglot.

After v. 22 follows the subscription in Hebrew: "Ended is the story of Bel, the image of the Chaldeans." The story of the Dragon is introduced by this subscription: "The matter of the destruction of the Dragon (עֵיבֶר), which is called The Burden (or Story) of the Dragon (נִשְׂרָאָת הַדוֹרָא)." After the telling of it in Syriac, the Midrash resumes, of course in Hebrew: "Therefore it is said, 'They have cut off my life in the pit, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 53–55]. It is found that Daniel was twice cast into the pit: once, in the days of Darius the Mede, and another time in the days of Cyrus the Persian his son-in-law (נן). And on the former occasion he remained not therein but one night, and was delivered; and on the second, he remained therein seven days, and was delivered. And this, the second history, is not written in the Holy Books (שָׁנוּם). It was perceived that, as the Righteous Man (i.e. Daniel) was accustomed to this miracle, it sufficed to mention it once."

The transcriber of the MS. added the following note: "These two histories—to wit, the History of Bel, the Image of the Chaldeans, and the Burden of the Dragon—the Nazarenes [i.e. Christians] comprise them in the Canon of the Twenty-four Books of the Prophets, along with three other books. And the translator of them saith that he found them not in the Sacred Tongue [i.e. in Hebrew]."

The stratagem by which Daniel successfully exposed the trickery of the priests has its duplicate in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bechoroth*, 8 b).

The Midrash *Bërêkhith Rabbâh*, § 68, contains the following reference to the story of the Dragon. "Another word, 'And behold the Lord stood above it.' "And behold the angels of God'—this is Daniel—'ascending and descending on it' [see Gen. xxviii. 12, 13], who ascended and brought forth that which it had swallowed out of the midst of its mouth. This is what is written: 'And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up' [Jer. li. 44]. For Nebuchadnezzar had a dragon (יָדוֹרָא), which would swallow up whatever they cast before it. Quoth Daniel to him, 'Give me leave; and I extirpate him' (לְשׁוֹן הַמִּסְתָּר). He gave him leave. What did he do? He took straw, and hid nails in the midst thereof. He cast it before it, and the nails pierced its bowels. This is what is written: 'I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up.'"

In the great prophecy against Babylon (Jer. li.) the following words are put into the mouth of the subverted Jewish people: "Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly; from my delights he hath pushed me away" (v. 34); and these into the mouth of God, "I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up; and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea, the wall of Babylon is fallen" (v. 44). In the former part of the prophecy the omnipotence of the Creator is finely contrasted with the powerlessness of dead idols: "The Lord of hosts hath sworn by himself . . . He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his understanding. When he uttereth a voice (i.e. thundereth), there is a tumult of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: lightnings for the rain he maketh, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures. Every man is become brutish, without knowledge: every founder is ashamed of the image: for his molten image is a lie, and there is no breath in them. They are vanity, a butt for mockeries; in the time of their punishment they shall perish. The portion of Jacob (i.e. Jehovah) is not like them; for he is
the fashioner of all things . . . Jehovah Sabaoth is his Name." Here, then, we have the original germ of the two strange narratives before us. Just as the nucleus of the Story of Susanna is found in a passage of the great prophet of Judah's decline and fall, so the legends of Bel and the Dragon find their ultimate source in another oracle of the same prophet. Jeremiah furnishes the motive, which the Haggada has developed in its own fashion, turning the prophet's poetic imagery and metaphor into coarsely concrete matter of fact; but at the same time illustrating in a highly effective manner the prophet's own moral of the utter futility of idols, and the sole sovereignty of the God of Israel.

It is natural to ask whether the cuneiform inscriptions contribute anything to the elucidation of these curious narratives: for although, as we have seen, the Haggadic exposition or expansion of Jer. li. 34, 44 is sufficient to account for the growth of the two fables, it is still possible that the phraseology of the prophet himself is coloured by mythical conceptions of Babylonian origin. Dr. Bissell refers to 'Records of the Past,' ix. 137, for the story of "a contest between Bel and the Dragon." That legend, however, like the others of the same series, is exceedingly difficult to understand, and the translation referred to is now quite antiquated. I give portions of the text, transliterated into Roman characters, with a version which is the result of a careful comparison of my own translation with another generously communicated by Professor Sayce. The passages illustrating our Apocryphon are tolerably clear.

**Tablet K 3437, Brit. Mus. Assyrian Documents.**

*Obverse.*

... laṭ-ṭa imnasu usahia
... . . . . . u ispat*u idussu ilul
... (is)cun birka ina panisu
... mustaḥmeṣu zumursu untalli
(e)busma ṣatărə sulmu piṣia Tī'amat
(ir)bitti sāri ustibita ana la aṣe mimmisu
sāru ītanu sāru sūtu sāru sadu sāru aḫarru
idus šapara ustakriba cisti ASU DINIG ANIM
ibi imḫuša sāru limna meḫša asamsutum
sārī arba sārī vii sāru GUGU sāru NU-DI-A
useṣamma sārī sa išnū šibittiṣun
piṣia Tī'amat sutluḫu tibū arciṣu
iṣṣima belum ababa IJCU-su GALA
narcaḫa si cullu maḫrī galīta ircab
iḫbatimma irīt naḫmadu idus sa ilul
* * * *

*Reverse.*

... . . . . . ana ADAD-e'a limuttaci tuctinni
... dat ummati luridītu sunu IZCUMES-ci
endimmu anacu u cās nibus sasma
Tī'amat annita ina semiswa
maḫḫur itemi usanmi ṭensa
iṣṣima Tī'amat sitmuria elita
sursis malmal isdrura ʾisda . . .
imanni šipta ītānami tā(sa)
u išni sa taḫaz uthublu sunu IZCUMES su(nu)
imindima Tī'amat nun me DINIG MES DINIG AMAR UT
sasmi idulubu kitrubu taḫazis
usparirma belu* šaparasu usalmisi
imḫuša ḡabīt arcati panussu ʿumtassar
iptema piša Tī'amat ana laḫātisu (or sa)
imḫuša ʿosteriba ana la catam sapīsa
izzuti sāri carsasa ʾimanuma
insukd lībbas ma pāsa uṣpalci
iššuk mulmulla ḫṭepi caṛasa
kirba usbatika usallī ḡība

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*Note:* The text is a transcription of cuneiform inscriptions, providing historical and cultural context to the narratives of Bel and the Dragon and their parallels with biblical stories.
INTRODUCTION TO BEL AND THE DRAGON.

... imisi ma napsatas uballi
salamsa idda elisa izaza (or izia)
ultu Ti’amat alic pani inaru
ciprisa uptarriha buljarra issapha
u DINGIR MES ripisa alicu idlsa
ittarri iplehu usahhiru* arcausu
useumba napsatus ediru
ittalum naapsudis is lihe
... bu sunuti ma izumes sunu usablir

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.
(a weapon) his right hand he made grasp;
... and the quiver at his side he slung (from his shoulder: cf. 'Il.' i. 45).
He shot lightning with his countenance.
With whirling (wrath?) his body he filled.
He made also a net, to throw round* the monster Tiamat.
The four winds he seized, that nothing* of her might go forth;
The north wind, the south wind, the east wind, the west wind.
By his side he placed the net, the gift of his father Anu.
He created a stormwind, a baleful wind, a hurricane, a whirlwind,
Four winds, seven winds, a destroying wind, a wind not to be stilled.
He sent forth also the winds which he had made, the seven of them.
The monster Tiamat cloeth herself, cometh after him.
The Lord also raised the Flood, his mighty weapon;
That chariot which levelleth all enemies, he rode.

Reverse.
"... against my fathers thine enmity thou didst harden.
Let thy people ..., let them marshal thine arms!
Stand, I and thou will do battle."
Tiamat, on hearing this,
Encounter ordered she, she repeated her command.

She rehearsed a spell, she poured forth her charm;
And the gods of battle called for their arms.
Then Tiamat assailed the prince of the gods Merodach;
In battle she came on, she closed in conflict.
The Lord also spread his net, he threw it around her;
A stormwind, taking the rear, before him he let loose.
Tiamat opened her mouth to draw it in:
The stormwind she received within her, so that she could not close her lips.
With violence the winds filled her belly, and
She was pierced through her heart, and her mouth she opened wide.
She bit the shaft; her belly was stricken through.
Her inside he thrust through, be mastered the heart;
He bound her, and her life he swallowed up.
Her carcass* he cast down, upon her he stood.
When Tiamat the leader he had vanquished,
Her might he broke, her army was routed;
And the gods her helpers, marching beside her,
Wheeled round, were terrified, turned* their back.
They clung together in flight, powerless.
... them, and their weapons he brake in pieces.

The above rendering is far from being equally certain throughout. In many places the writer has greatly doubted whether it would not be the more pru-}

* The terms marked with an asterisk were suggested by Mr. T. G. Finches, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, who kindly read through this portion of the sheet with me.
tainty which still clogs the progress of students of Assyrian, than the attempt to wrest an intelligible meaning out of the mythological tablets.

The reader will notice the curious coincidence between the mode in which the Dragon is slain by Daniel, and Tiamat by Merodach. This can hardly be accidental. The legends which form the basis of our Apocryphon must have originated among the Jews of Babylon, who, as the Talmud shews, were more or less acquainted with Babylonian myths about dragons and sea-monsters. It is not of course necessary to suppose that the Jewish authors of these stories were versed in cuneiform writing, or even that they had any accurate knowledge of the mythus of The Combat of Mardug and Tiamat. They could hardly, however, have been wholly ignorant of the popular legends; and the common representations on seals, of which so many examples are preserved in the Museums of Europe, would afford the inexact sort of knowledge which finds its expression in the Haggada. Dragons and serpents of huge size are often referred to in the Babylonian Talmud. Thus in the Mishna (Abodah Zarah, 42b) we read: "Whoso findeth vessels whereon is the form of the sun, the form of the moon, the form of a dragon ( eğerי ינש), let him throw them into the Sea of Salt. Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel saith, Those which are upon valuable vessels are forbidden; those which are upon common vessels are allowed." In the Gemara (ib., 43, line 15) R. Joshua ben Levi is related to have said: "I was once walking after R. Eliezer haQafar Beribbi in the way, and he found there a seal-ring, whereon was an image of a dragon. And he met a young pagan, and spake not to him at all. He met an adult pagan, and said to him, Desecrate it; but he would not. He beat him, and (then) he desecrated it "(by breaking off a bit of the image). The Jews in Babylonia must have often found such objects graven with the images of Bel-Merodach and Tiamat, and other mythological subjects, and doubtless their fanaticism destroyed many. The idol Bel-Merodach, the tutelar deity of Babylon, had a famous temple there, which is mentioned thus in Abodah Zarah, 11b, med.: "R. Hanan son of R. Hisda says that Rab said—or, according to others, R. Hanan son of Rabba says that Rab said—Five houses of idols are pre-eminent (׳םד). These are the house of Bel at Babel, the house of Nebo at Cursi, Tra*ta which is at Mephug [Ashtoreth-Derceto at Hierapolis-Mabug], Carpha which is at Ascalon [Hdt. i. 105, Aphrodite], Nashra which is in Arabia [i.e. the Eagle, which in Arabic as in Assyro-Babylonian is the name of a star or star-group]. When R. Dimi came (from Palestine to Babylon), they added to them Jarid [Jarud, serpent] which is at Ain Beci, Nidbaca which is at Accho—there are some who say, Nithbar which is at Accho. R. Dimi of Nehardea hands down the converse, viz. Nidbaca, in Ain Beci and Jarid in Accho." It is noteworthy that serpent-worship is here recorded of a Palestinian town.

But although this long tractate has strange worship, i.e. idolatry, for its topic, it does not again mention Bel; and it is curious how little of correct reminiscence of this kind is to be found in Jewish literature. Bel-Merodach is one of the numerous solar figures of Oriental mythology, and his adversary Tiamat is the primeval chaos or darkness, out of which all things emerged. She had her dwelling in the sea, and is represented on the seals and cylinders as a winged monster with horns, hooves, sharp talons, and a scaly tail. She and her demon troops waged unceasing war against the god of light. The student of universal mythology will be familiar with such conceptions. Night, the clouds, the sea, are in turn described as monstrous serpents or dragons, now vanquishing and now vanquished by the god of day. The resolution of almost all genuine products of the mythopoetic faculty into variations of this one theme will surprise nobody who recollects that the mental infancy of man is characterised, not by exuberant fertility, but by a uniform barrenness of imagination. Tiamat may be compared with Aepi, the great dragon of the Egyptian mythos, who is called Hemhehti, "the Roarer" (i.e. the thunder-cloud), before whom Ra is "in a flutter"; "Seb standeth still in terror,
and the company of the mighty gods is
in a quake." Apepi is at last "overcome
by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-
god, and is forced back into his cavern,
and over him is placed a stone of forty
cubits, while the devouring flame preys
upon his bones" (Renouf). A trace of
the like symbolism may perhaps be seen
in Job xi. 13.

It is evident from Gen. i. 21, Ps.
lxxiii. 13, that ἄρχον (dragon) usually
meant any kind of aquatic monster
(καρχις). In Isa. li. 9, Ezek. xxxii. 2, it
is "the crocodile," as an emblem of
Egypt. In Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12, it denotes
"serpent," the etymological import of
the term being apparently "that which
is much extended." For Talmudic stories
about huge serpents, see Baba Bathra,
73 b, et seq.; Chullin, 127 a; Sanh. 59 b.
Compare also the legends about
the Leviathan, which in Scripture means
the crocodile (Isa. xxxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv.
14, civ. 26; Job xi. 21), but in the
Talmud a mysterious monster, created
male and female on the fifth day (Bab.
Bathra, 74 b). Fearing that if they mul-
tplied they would ravage the earth, God
emasculated the male and killed the
female, and preserved her flesh for the
great banquet of the righteous in the
world to come. A similar tale is added
about the Behemoth (hippopotamus). Cf.
also Abod. Zarah, 3 a. The following
excerpts from Abodah Zarah (Mishn. 7,
Per. 4) are good instances of the mingled
shrewdness and sarcasm with which
the old Rabbis could argue
against idolatry. "They asked the
Elders in Rome, If his (God's) good
pleasure be not in idol-worship, why does
he not put an end to it? They answered,
if they (i.e. the heathen) worshipped a
thing that was not necessary to the
world, he would put an end to it. As it
is, they worship the Sun, the Moon, and
the Stars, and the Zodiacal Signs; must
he destroy his world for the sake of the
fools? They answered, If so, let him
destroy anything (any object of idolatry)
that is not necessary to the world, and
let him leave anything that is necessary.
They (the Jews) answered, Then we
should be strengthening the hands of the
worshippers of these things, who would
say, Ye see that they are gods, for they
are not put an end to." The Gemara has
the following wise remarks:—"Lo, he that
stealth a sela of wheat, and soweth it in
a field—it were right that it should not
come up (being stolen goods). But the
world goes on in its wonted course; not-
withstanding, the fools who deal corruptly
will have to pay the penalty. If a man
the neighbour's wife, she ought
to conceive. But the world goes on
in its wonted course, and fools who deal
corruptly will have to pay the penalty.
A philosopher asked R. Gamaliel, It is
written in your law, The Lord thy God
is a consuming fire, he is a jealous God
(Deut. iv. 24): why is your God jealous
at the worshippers and not at (the idol)
itself? He said unto him, I will tell thee
a parable wherefore it is so. The matter
is like the king who had a son, who
reared a dog, and named it after his
father's name, and whenever he swore
would say, By the life of the dog Abba.
When the king heard thereof, with whom
would he be angry, with the son or with
the dog? He said, With the son. He
said (also) unto him, Thou art calling it
(the idol) a dog; and is there no reality
(πρᾶξε) in it? He (R. Gamaliel) saith,
And what hast thou seen? He saith
unto him, Once a fire broke out in our
city, and the whole city was burnt, but
the idol-house was not burnt. He saith
unto him, I will tell thee why, by a para-
ble. The matter is like the king against
whom a province had rebelled. When he
made war, did he make it with the living
or with the dead? He saith unto him,
Dog thou callest it, dead thou callest it.
If it be so, let him destroy them (the
idols) out of the world. He saith unto
him, If the heathen served only a thing
that the world had no need of, he would
abolish it. As it is, they serve the
Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Zodiacal
Signs, the Rivers, and the Valleys: must
God destroy his world for the sake
of fools?"

After what has been said, it is hardly
worth while to notice the objections
raised by matter-of-fact critics against
the two closely-connected stories of our
Apocryphon. "Anachronisms," "liter-
ary extravagances," "a legendary char-
acter," are obvious on the face of the
narratives; but such faults as these,
INTRODUCTION TO BEL AND THE DRAGON.

though valid against any pretensions to the rank of authentic history, do not render the stories less effective as pieces of Haggadic satire, or less interesting as preserving vestiges of a cycle of popular legends relating to Daniel. In the LXX. the piece bears the curious title εκ προφητειας Ἀμβακοῦμι νεῷ Ιησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λεω: "From the prophecy of Habakkuk son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi." (So also the Syro-Hexaplar.) Bertholdt supposed that this Habakkuk was an Egyptian Jew, who worked up a Volkssage about Daniel into the present narrative. It is more likely that the prophet Habakkuk, who probably flourished in the last decade of the 7th cent. B.C., and may well have been a Levite (see the subscription to chap. iii. 19), is the author intended (so S. Jerome); 1 in which case, as Fritzche observes, the piece may be an extract from a pseudepigraphic writing attributed to that prophet. This partly explains the language of S. Athanasius (‘Synops. Script. Sacr.’; in Migne, ‘Series Græc.’ tom. xxviii. 432): Βαροῦχ Ἀμβακοῦμ 'Εζεκηλ καὶ Δανιήλ ψευδεπίγραφα. The fact that in the LXX. Daniel is introduced as a priest, and as a person otherwise unknown, points in the same direction.

1 Eusebius supposed another Habakkuk and another Daniel.
THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF

BEL AND THE DRAGON,

Cut off from the end of DANIEL.

19 The fraud of Bel’s priests is discovered by Daniel, 27 and the dragon slain, which was worshipped. 33 Daniel is preserved in the lions’ den. 42 The king doth acknowledge the God of Daniel, and causeth his enemies into the same den.

And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.

1. king Astyages.] See Hdt. i. 107, according to which passage Cyrus was son of Mandane, daughter of Astyages the Mede, and Cambyses the Persian. Hdt. i. 130 relates that Cyrus deprived Astyages of his kingdom, and kept him at his court until the old king died. Our text appears to assert that Cyrus only assumed the sovereignty on the death of his grandfather. Ancient authorities are not agreed as to whether Cyrus was the immediate successor of Astyages (Diod., Justin, Strabo, Canon of Ptolemy), or not (Xen. ‘Cyrop.’ i. 19, Cyzaxares; Joseph. ‘Ant.’ x. 11. 4, Darius); nor as to the manner in which the Persian sovereign got possession of the Median realm. The recently discovered cuneiform records of Nabonidus and Cyrus himself have thrown unexpected light upon difficulties which were the despair of bygone generations of scholars. Cyrus relates that Astyages “assembled (his forces), and against Kurash king of Anshan (Cyrmus king of Persia) to take him he marched . . . Istuvēgī (Astyages), his forces rebelled against him, and with hands seized (took him prisoner), to Kurash they ga’ve him up.” (Marched) Kurash to the land of Agamantu, the royal city; silver, gold . . . of the land of Agamantu he carried off, and to the land of Anshan he took the plunder.” This generally confirms the statements of Herodotus on the matter. (See ‘Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.’ vii. 155.) Nabonidus (Nabû-nâšîd) states that his god Merodach “Kuras king of Anzan, his young servant, with his clansmen caused to march; the far-reaching people of Manda (the Medes) he defeated; Istuvēgī king of the people of Manda he captured, and his hoards to his own land he took.” (‘Cylinder of Nabonidus,’ lines 27–29.) In the Vulgate, this is the concluding verse of Susanna.

2. And Daniel conversed with the king.] Lit., “and Daniel was a companion of the king.” Συμπλοτήριον, convivium, is a term so used in Polyb. viii. 13. 3; and Cic. ‘Fam.,’ ix. 10. Plutarch has the word of the confidants of the Emperors (‘Jul. Caes.’ 21). Συμπλοτήριον occurs in Wisd. viii. 3, 9, 16. Syr. W, prefixes the statement: “And Daniel—his glory was equal with that of the king.”

was honoured above all his friends.] Comp. the favour which Daniel is said to have enjoyed with Darius the Mede (Dan. vi. 3). In ch. i. 21 we read that Daniel “continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus,” i.e. remained in Babylon until the year when permission was given for the Jewish exiles to return. Ch. x. purports to relate a vision seen by Daniel “in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia.”

The LXX. and Syr. H. begin the narrative thus: “A man there was, a priest, whose name was Daniel son of Abal, a companion of the king of Babylon.” Thus the particular king is left undetermined. See Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 7, for a priest named Daniel, contemporary with Ezra. According to Dan. i. 3, 6, the prophet of this name was hardly a priest. The name “Abal is probably corrupted from some word like Ἄβαλ or Ἄβαλων (Num. iii. 35). This seems better than to regard it as a variant of “Ἄβελ, Ἄβαλ, Abel, Gen. iv. 2. Epiphanius (‘Advers. Haeret.’ iv. 3) speaks of Σωτάρα (钆שנ = גולש, Simeon) as the father of the prophet Daniel.

3. Bel.] בֶל, in Herod. Zeis Ἰππαθος, the Assyro-Babylonian Bēlu, Bēl; that is, Bel—
4. And the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost not thou worship Bel?

5. Who answered and said, Because I may not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

Merodach, the tutelar god of Babylon. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 1, 2, which reproduces this foreign name accurately. It answers to the Heb. בֵּאֵל, Aram. בֵאֵל, Baal. This Bel, who is identified with Merodach, the god of the planet Jupiter, is distinct from the old Bel of the first triad of gods, who is called the "father of the gods," and whose consort is Bêlit (Beltis), "the mother of the gods." Bel-Merodach is, in fact, styled "Bêlu the son of Bêl." His consort is Zarpanitte or Zibbanith, called "mistress (Bêlit) of the countries" and "mistress of the gods," and "first-born of Anum." She is the planet Venus (Dilbab). See also Hdt. i. 131; Ἐλλήνης = Bêlit.

there were spent upon him every day. It appears from Herodotus that the god was honoured in this fashion with what the Romans called lectisternia: Hdt. i. 183. Cf. also Diod. Sic. ii. 9. The Phillips' Cylinder gives us Nebuchadnezzar's testimony to the same fact:

"When Merodach, mighty lord, to the lordship of the land Raised me, and Widespread peoples for shepherding gave me; To Merodach, the god my maker, I was reverently obedient, To follow his laws I bowed the neck. His rich oblations, His splendid freewill offerings, Above the former amount I increased. For one day an ox, fine (†), fat, . . . Fish, fowl, spices (?) . . . Honey, curd, milk, the best of oil, Sweet wine (?) mead (?), strong drink, . . . Costly wine, wine of Italy, Of Tu'mmu, of Ĉīmmi, of Helbon, Of Aranahamum, of Suham, Of Bit-kubatum and Biti'am, Like the waters of a river, numberless, In the chalices of Merodach and Zarpanit, My lords, I made to abound." (1 R. 65, col. 1, 8 sqq.)

great measures of fine flour, . . . vessels of wine.] Σεμώδειας ἀργίλας . . . οὐκόν μετρητῆς. The first word, which means "the finest wheat flour" (Lat. similis, similage), represents Heb. יִדְמָה‎, "meat-offering," A.V.: see Lev. ii. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7; Isa. i. 13. Cf. also Gen. xviii. 6. "Arpîṭa occurs Isa. v. 10, for Heb. הִשּׁר "homer," A.V. The Artaba was a Persian measure, containing 1 medimnus 3 choenices, according to Hdt. i. 192; or 1 medimnus, according to Suidas and Hesychius. The former assignment is probably the more exact. The μετρητὴς was the common Athenian liquid measure (= ἀμφορεύς), holding about 9 gallons. The Vulg. gives <amporae>; but the Roman <ampora = ἀτίτημες. In 2 Chron. iv. 5 the term renders Heb. יִדָּמָה‎, "bath;" in 1 Kings xviii. 13 יִדָּמָה, -ם, "seah," axov. It is the "firkin" of John ii. 6. For Merodach, see Josip. ben Ṣorin, apud Selden, Synag., 2, "de Belo et Dracone."

Instead of 40 sheep, LXX. and Syr. H. have the disproportionate 4; and "oil" instead of "wine." See vv. 10, 14, 21 (LXX.). Syr. W.: "40 rams."

4. the king worshipped.] The verb is ἵσειδομεν, veneratur (Josh. iv. 24) = ἴθε ψευτικώς = "used to fall down before," often in LXX. as ἴσον, ἵσειδομεν, se procubuit, an act of homage to God or man (1 Chron. xxix. 20; Gen. xviii. 1, xxiv. 26). In Daniel = Chaldee יהוּדָי (ii. 46; iii. 5, 6, 7, &c.). (The same verb as "to adore" ante.)

LXX. Syr. H.: Δανιήλ δὲ δοξάσα τὸν κύριον, "but Daniel used to pray unto Jehovah." A similar contrast is presented in Dan. iii. cf. also Dan. vi. 11. So Syr. W.: "God," absolutely. At the end it adds rightly, "my god."
BEL AND THE DRAGON.

6 Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day?

7 Then Daniel smiled, and said, O king, be not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never eat or drink anything.

8 So the king was wroth, and called for his priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devouteth these expences, ye shall die.

9 But if ye can certify me that Bel devouteth them, then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word.

10 Now the priests of Bel were hath sovereignty over all flesh. The LXX. has: "And Daniel said unto the king, None worship I save Jehovah (εὐρών anarthrous), the God who created the heaven," &c. Theod. is more antithetical. He contrasts idols which are manufactured, and therefore lifeless objects, with the living God who made all things and is the rightful Lord of all living. Cf. Num. xvi. 22: "El, god of the spirits of all flesh." This is, of course, written from the Jewish standpoint. We may remember that the Bel of the first triad was called the "Creator" (βασιλική); and Merodach, to whose worship the great Nebuchadnezzar was especially devoted, is styled by him and others "king of heaven and earth," "exalted ruler," "the god my Maker," "the god of gods," &c.

6. Thinkest thou not that Bel? LXX.: "This one, then, is he not a god? Seest thou not how much is spent upon him (vid. v. 3 supra) every day?" The second question in Theod. is ἡ σοφὸς ὁ πράσος τοῦ θεοῦ, "Or (if thou dost not) seest thou not," &c. There is something intensely ironical in the proof alleged for Bel's real existence—no other or higher function of life than "eating and drinking," the almost mechanical process of nutrition (τὸ ὑνεκτόνη) which man shares with the brute creation. Cf. Ps. l. 7-11. The stress laid on the quantity of food consumed shews that the god is regarded merely as a sort of giant or magnified man. A necessity of eating is a proof not of divinity but of mortality; it is a contradiction of the autarkēia of deity (Arnald).

8. smiled—γελάσω— is added by Theod. For the compound of "clay and brass," cf. Dan. ii. 33, 34.

9. do not deceive. Daniel is told not to go on deceiving thyself. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14; Wisd. ii. 21. The LXX. is more emphatic: "By no means let any man mislead thee by false argument" (μηδένιος μηθείς σε παρα-Απο. Vol. II.

10. Now the priests of Bel. The number assigned looks small beside that of Ahab and Jezebel's Baal-priests (1 Kings xiii. 19, 22). After this statement of the sum of the priests, LXX., Syr. H. proceed as follows: "But they led the king into the idol's chamber (εἰδέλωτρον, I Macc. i. 47; 1 Cor. viii. 10), and the meats were set on in the presence of the king and Daniel, and wine mingled was brought.
threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went
with Daniel into the temple of Bel.
11 So Bel’s priests said, Lo, we go
out: but thou, O king, set on the
meat, and make ready the wine, and
shut the door fast, and seal it with thine own signet;

12 And to morrow when thou comest in, if thou findest not that
Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh
falsely against us.

13 And they little regarded it: for
under the table they had made a
privy entrance, whereby they entered

in and set on for Bel. And Daniel said, Thou
thyselv seest that these things are here (ἐκεῖνοι,)
O king. Thou, then, shalt seal the bolts (τὰς
κλείδας = κλείδια here) of the temple, when
it shall be shut. But the saying pleased the
king. But Daniel ordered his people (τοὺς
παρὰ αὐτῷ) to put all men out (ἐξεθάλαυνον,
Mark v. 40) of the temple, and sprinkle all
the temple with ashes, without the knowledge of
any of those who were outside of it. And
then having sealed the temple, he bade seal it
with the king’s seal and with the seals of
certain honoured priests. And it was done
so.” The word “sprinkle”—καταρεύω—is
Fritzsch’s emendation of κατασφέρεω (Cod.
Chisian.): cf. 2 Macc. x. 25. He also sug-
gests κατασφέρωμαι and κατασφεύτω (see note

“Temple” is “house,” ιάκως, Ἱᾶς (1 Kings
vi. 1; 2 Kings xix. 37). The specific Heb.
term for “temple” or “palace,” βεθαλ (בֵית),
Assyr. ḫalla”, is said to be of pre-Semitic
origin, and is referred to the Accadian 𒉗𒊁, “great house.” At Babylon the chief temple
city of Bel crowned a pyramid built of brick in
eight stages, now represented by the mound
called Bēbīl.

11. we go out.] Gk. ἀπορρίχωμεν ἑω. See
note on Susanna 7.

set on the meat.] παράδεισε τὰ βρώματα.
Παραγινθὴν is the usual expression for “set-
ing food before” guests, from the Homeric
poems downwards. Cf. Gen. xviii. 8; Luke
x. 8; 2 Kings ii. 22.

make ready the wine.] Gk. τῶν ὀνόμων κεράσας
θῆς, “mingle the wine and set it (on):” cf.
John ii. 10, πάντα διέρρηξε πρῶτον τὴν καλὰ
ὀνομα κείμεν. Fritzsch observes that it was
a Greek and Roman, but hardly an Oriental,
and least of all an old Jewish custom, to
mingle wine with water, as here represented.
But such passages as Prov. ix. 2, 5; Isa. i. 22,
may be alleged in favour of a contrary
opinion; and Gesenius (‘Thesaur.,’ p. 808,
s. v. ἕπω) declares that the Hebrews and
Arabs sometimes followed this practice.
Moreover, the red wine of the Passover cups
was tempered with water—usually in the pro-
portion of two parts of water to one of wine;
whence was derived the custom of the early
Church in the matter of mixing the Eucha-
ristic chalice. It appears to have been also
an Oriental practice to flavour wines with
spices, honey, and other condiments; and
some understand the passages Prov. ix. 2, 5
in this sense: cf. Isa. v. 22; Mark xv. 23;
and the Talmudic Abôd. Zâr. 58 b; Maaser
stemî, 2 A; Pesach. 108 b (where wine is dis-
tinguished as ἑαυτή, vivum, i.e. purum, and ἄγους,
mixtum. The same root in Arab. means “to
mix wine with water,” and is used here in the
Arab. and Syriac versions). Gesenius explains
the word מִית in Cant. vii. 3: thus: “vivum idque poculo infusum ibique aqua
temperaturum.”

In an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar no
fewer than eight kinds of “costly” wines—
one that of Helbon, so highly prized by the
Persian kings afterwards—are mentioned as

shut the door fast.] ἀπόθελεν. Vid. Susanna 18.

seal it with thine own signet.] According
to the LXX. (vind. supr.) the door was sealed
also with the signets of some of the principal
priests. In like manner the lions’ den was
sealed with the signet of the king, and with
that of his lords (Dan. vii. 17). Seals were
of peculiar importance in Babylonian business
of all kinds; and great numbers of royal
and other seals, made of carnelian, agate, jasper,
labaster, &c., have been found in Assyrian
and Babylonian mounds, inscribed with
mythological subjects and sometimes inscriptions
in cuneiform.

12. that speaketh falsely against us.] ὁ
ψευδῶνος καθ ἡμῶν: cf. James iii. 14. The
sense involves “shall die,” which Syr. W.
adds.

13. they little regarded it.] That is, the
danger. So De Wette: “they were careless.”
The Gk. is αὐτόν δὲ κατερρίπτων, “but they,
on their part, were disdainful,” or “behaved
scornfully.” Vulg.: contemnabat autem.
The verb is used absolutely, as in Thucyd. ii.
11. It hardly means “reflecting,” either here
or in Hdt. viii. 10, as Fritzsch suggests; vid.
also Dan. iii. 12, xi. 37. “Continually”
is διήλθεν; vid. Ezek. xxxvii. 8. The verbs
are imperfect: “they used to enter and con-
sume” (ἀνήλθον). Syr. W.: “But they, be-
in continually, and consumed those things.

14. So when they were gone forth, the king set meats before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and those they strewed throughout all the temple in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king’s signet, and so departed.

15. Now in the night came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drink up all.

16. In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him.

17. And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yes, O king, they be whole.

18. And as soon as he had opened the door, the king looked upon the cause they were confident—for there was made for them an entry,” &c.; an anacoluthon. Ad fin. “they would eat everything that was set on for Bel, and carry off anything that was left.”

14. So . . . the king set.] Lit., “and it came to pass . . . and the king set”—a common Hebrew: מֶשֶׁכָּה נֶשֶׁכָּה. “The meats,” i.e. the customary viands, which had been prepared. Syr. W. is again fuller, and looks more original: “When, then, the priests of Bel had gone forth, the king brought meats, and filled the table, and set it before Bel; and he filled the vessels with wine, after their custom, and went forth.” What follows is literally: “and Daniel commanded his young men (αἰδωλοῖς) and they brought ashes (καταστασιμα) and he shut down all the temple” (καταστασιμα δόλος τῶν ναῶν, a singular and isolated use of καταστασιμα. Vid. 1 Macc. ii. 38). Syr. W., “and he sifted it in a sieve before the king, in all the house of Bel;” Vulg., cribrescit per totum templum. A. V. follows the reading of Codd. 34, 49, al.: καταστασαν. Another reading is καταστασαν, “be sprinkled” (Cod. 148); cf. LXX, καταστασαν, and Arist., Clouds, 177.

with the king’s signet.] Syr. W. adds, “and with the seal of Daniel.” Vid. note on v. 12 supra.


17. abole.] “Intact,” “untampered with,” integer, incolumis; σωτὸς = δήσω.

The narrative in the LXX. is again considerably different: “And it came to pass on the morrow they came unto the place, but the priests of Bel through secret doors (ψυκτορίδων, v. 20 τα ψυχτορίδων, semel dicta = Theod. ἕκκριτα θύρα. Cf. ψυχτορίδων; Cic. in Verr. ii. 2, 30) had entered and eaten up all the things which lay before Bel (τα παρακείμενα τῷ Β. vid. Ecclus. xxxiv. 16; Polyb. iii. 57. 8) and the wine. (Syr. H. gets rid of the zeugma by supplying “drunk” before “the wine.”) And Daniel said, Look on (ἐπείδη, Exod. ii. 25; 1 Macc. iii. 59) your seals, whether they remain (unchanged), O ye priests; and then, O king, consider whether aught hath taken place not according to thy will (σχέτων μὴ τι σοι αὐτόματον γενέσθαι, Wisd. xviii. 10; Acts xxiii. 25). A covert allusion to what had really happened in the temple). And they found that the seal had lasted” (ἐσφαλοὶ ἡς ἡ [3 Fr.] ἐφφαρις; cf. Dan. i. 21). The words cannot mean: “they found it as it was yesterday,” for “yesterday” is not in the Greek. They might be rendered: “They found how the seal (really) was;” or if ἐφφαρις be struck out, as Fr. suggests, “they found how it was.” But Syr. H. has the word. “And they cast away the seal, and on opening the doors saw all things consumed (v. 3, δεσπαραμένα) that had been set on, and the tables empty; and the king was glad and said to Daniel, Great is Bel, and there is not with him deceit (cf. John i. 48). And Daniel laughed much, and said to the king: ‘Hither behold the deceit of the priests. And Daniel said, O king, these footsteps—whom are they? And the king said, Of men and women and children. And he came unto the house wherein the priests were abiding (ἰς καταγίνομενα), and found (Syr. H., “they found”) the meats of Bel and the wine; and Daniel shewed the king the secret doors, whereby the priests used to enter and consume (ἐδισερέων) the things set on for Bel. And the king brought them forth from the Belium (Βηλίαν, “temple of Bel;” here only. Cf. Πνῖσιον, Thucyd. ii. 15), and delivered them to Daniel, and that which was expended (τὴν δεσπαραμένα, v. 8) upon him (i.e. upon the god) he gave to Daniel, but Bel he overthrew.’ With the king’s cry of “Great is Bel,” cf. Acts xix. 28. In the words “Hither, behold the deceit (δεσπαραμένα) of the priests,” there is an intentional antithesis to the king’s exclamation, “Great is Bel, and there is not with him deceit,” which Theod. has eliminated (v. 19).

20. And then the king was angry.] This clause—it is not a sentence in the Greek—belongs to the next verse. "And in a rage (ἐγκάθνησε) the king then seized (συνωλήσας) the priests and their wives, &c. and they (the priests, in fear of their lives) shewed him the secret doory whereby they used to enter, and consume (ἐφάναν, Judith xi. 13; xii. 4) the things upon the table" (τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. Codd. III., XII., 26, al. τῇ τραπέζῃ. Fritzche compares 2 Sam. ix. 7, 10, 11, 13; Luke xxii. 30; but those passages speak of persons eating at a table. The dative, or the reading of Codd. 34, 49, al. ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, seems better). For a parallel to the doings of the priests, see Aristoph. "Plutus," iii. 2. The scene is the temple of Asclepius. "At length the sacrisian, having put out the lights, ordered us to go to sleep; and charged us, if we heard any noise, not to cry out. We then lay down all of us in a very orderly manner; but I could not sleep. . . . Then looking up, I saw the priest greedily snatching away the cakes and figs from the sacred table; after which, he took his rounds about the altars, to see if there was any loaf left, and consecrated all he found—in a wallet which he carried for that purpose." (Fielding and Young’s translation, p. 214.)

22. delivered Bel into Daniel’s power.] ἰδοὺ τὸν βῆθα ἐκδόσω τὸν Δ. For the Gk. phrase, see Demosth. 648. 25; and cf. Acts ii. 23. The present passage is the only reference in Trommius. Syr. W., Arab.: "gave Bel as a gift to Daniel."

who destroyed.] "And he overthrew." "Temple" is τὸ ἱερὸν, which sometimes denotes the edifice as distinct from the ἱεροῖς or sacred enclosure; and sometimes the group of sacred buildings as contrasted with the ναός or temple proper. Here the word is used as equivalent to ναός (which Codd. XII., 26, 34, read). Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 18, xlv. 19; 1 Macc. x. 43, 84; xi. 4. Of course the assertion that Daniel was thus permitted to destroy Bel and his temple is merely part of the Haggada. According to Hlk. (i. 183), Xerxes plundered the temple; according to Strabo (xvi. 1) and Arrian ("Exp. Alex." viii. 17), he destroyed it. Alexander intended to restore it. We know also from authentic inscriptions of the period that the historical Cyrus assumed a very different attitude towards the gods of Babylon from that here supposed in the interest of the legend. The slaughter of the priests may be compared with that of the "wise men of Babylon" (Dan. ii. 12), and that of Daniel’s accusers (Dan. vi. 24).

23. (great dragon.) Homer uses δράκων = ἄγας, "II." ii. 200—208; and this appears to be the fundamental conception, which becomes so greatly distorted in the fabulous dragon. The serpent is a very ancient figure in mythology. Thus Egyptian myth tells of a great dragon Apepi ("he who mounts up"), who has no eyes, nose, or ears, but roarri as he comes along. Apepi is the storm-cloud, and he is overcome by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone "of forty cubits," while the devouing flame preys upon his bones. (Vid. a learned and interesting article by Mr. Le Page Renouf in ‘Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.’ vol. viii. pt. 2.) We find traces of similar ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures, where they are apparently used consciously as mere poetic imagery, e.g. Job xxvi. 13; "By his breath (wind) the skies are beauty; his hand pierceth the fugitive serpent." Isa. li. 9, xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14; Ezek. xxix. 3. Among the Babylonian inscriptions preserved in the British Museum there is a fragmentary account of a fight between Bel and the monster Tiāmat (the sea—اجتماع—personified); and Berossus (Ἱερεύς Euseb. ‘Chron.’ i.) describes how Belus cut Ὠμιρίκα θαλάσσιόν in two, and formed heaven and earth out of the two halves, destroyed the sea-monsters who were the offsprings of the union of the primeval waters of Apsu and Tiāmat, and then struck off his own head. The other gods mixed the blood that flowed from Bel with earth, and so fashioned man.
And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god: therefore worship him.

Then said Daniel unto the king, I will worship the Lord my God: for he is the living God.

But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff. The king said, I give thee leave.

Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder: and Daniel said, 'Lo, these are the gods ye worship.'

When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and

The "dragon" of our text is not described, but is obviously intended to be understood of a living creature, probably a large sacred serpent. It is true that such worship is not known to have been practised at Babylon; but the purpose of our Haggada is to ridicule idolatry and to magnify Daniel, not to teach history. (Cf. Wisdom xv. 18.) At the same time, we know from the footnotes that the Babylonians had a snake-deity, whom they called iùu Chir, "the Serpent-god" (1 R. 70, col. 1, 13, 31); and that, side by side with the winged man-headed bulls, at the gates of cities, temples, and palaces, huge serpents of stone and bronze were erected as protecting powers. (Nebuch. India House Inscr. vi. 5, 16, 17; Phillips Cyl. ii. 44; Nerigl. ii. 21 sqq.; Diod. Soc. ii. 9.) Living serpents, like crocodiles, cats, and other animals, were worshipped in Egypt (Aelian, 'De Animal.' xi. 17); and a sacred serpent was kept in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus (Val. Max. i. 8), which the Romans sent to fetch on occasion of a plague. It will be noticed that both in East and West the serpent symbolised a beneficent, not a malignant power.

24. *Ibou canst not say...god.* Added by Theod. Cf. note on v. 6 supra. Verse 25 is also wanting in the LXX. Cf. Deut. vi. 13; Matt. iv. 10; Dan. vi. 20, 26 ("living god"); 1 Thess. i. 9.

26. *Give me leave.* "Leave" is ἵκοννα, "delegated authority," as in N. T. of the authority Christ received from His Father. For "slay" (ἀεκτένο) the LXX. has "take off," "get rid of" (ἀκλαστος); and for "sword" (μαχαίρα), "iron" (σιδήρα), which in Job v. 20 renders μαχαίρα, "sword;" cf. ferrum. For the combination "sword or staff," cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 40, 43, 45, 47; Matt. xxvi. 47, 55.

I give thee leave.] Διὰ δὲ τοῦ σοι, τιλ. ἰκονναίον. LXX., "And the king yielded to him (ὡς ἐκφερόμεν αὐτῷ), and said to him, It is given thee." (βιοφερει σοι).

27. *Pitch.* LXX., "of pitch thirty minas." The μᾶς was originally a Babylonian weight—the mana of the inscriptions, and the μᾶς, mânîch, of the Bible. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 24. Theod. omits the weight, probably because it seemed too large a dose; but then the "dragon" is conceived as large.

lumps.] μᾶςας. Cod. Chis. μᾶςαυ; Vulg., massae. The Gk. term means "cakes" (Arist., 'Knights,' 55). Trommius cites the present passage only. The Syr. texts have a Syriacized form of σφαιρα, i.e. "round cakes." Syr. W. adds: "and the dragon swallowed them." According to Josippon ben Gorion, Daniel fastened a number of iron combs together, back to back, and bailed the teeth with lumps of flesh and fat, smearign the parts of them that remained visible with pitch and sulphur, to hide them. This mass he threw into the mouth of the dragon, which swallowed it; and when the bait had dissolved, the iron teeth pierced its stomach, and the creature died miserably on the following day. This may represent an older, as it certainly is a more reasonable, form of the story. "Lumps of pitch and fat and hair" would not make an animal "burst," though they might perhaps choke it.

Lo, these are the gods ye worship.] *Θερε να σφαιραια ιτων, "behold ye your deities!"* (objects of reverence and worship); cf. Acts xvii. 23; Wisdom xiv. 20, xv. 17. The LXX. has: "And he shewed him to the king, saying, Is it not these things (such helpless, crazy objects) that ye worship, O king?" A striking question (οὐ ταύτα αἰδεῖθε; nonne haece veneramini?). The plural generalizes the term; and this remark applies to Theodotion's *θερε. Or we may explain, "Behold, thou and thy people!" "*Ιδε, δειον are therefore needless corrections. Syr. W.: "O Babylonians!"

28. *When they of Babylon.* "And it came to pass, when the Babylonians heard, they were sore displeased (συνεττοραγον Ναυς: cf. Wisdom xii. 27), and they conspired..." (συνεστραφησαν, "united," "clapped together," 2 Kings ix. 14, xx. 23; Thucyd. iv. 68, viii. 54) and said. LXX.: "and they of the country (οι δημος της γαργος) came together all against Daniel and said."
BEL AND THE DRAGON. [v. 29—32.

31 Who cast him into the lions' den: where he was six days.

32 And in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day two carcasses, and two

Or, two slaves.

The king is become a Jew.] So Syr. The context is against Grotius' rendering, "A Jew has become king" (he strikes out the article). The saying put into the mouth of the people is perfectly just and suited to the supposed circumstances. For "Jew," cf. Dan. iii. 12; 2 Kings xxv. 25; Esth. viii. 17 (Ioudaios, Judaioi, Ἰουδαῖος). "Destroyed" is καταστράφης, "dragged down" (2 Kings x. 27; 2 Chron. xxiii. 17). The LXX. has καταστρέψας, as in v. 22.

and put the priests to death.] καταστρέψας, "slaughtered" them. The clause is suitably added by Theod.

29. destroy thee and thine house.] "Kill thee and thy family." The LXX. text of the verse is: "And the king seeing that the mob (δῆμος) of the country had come together against him (ἐν αὐτῷ), against Daniel), called his fellow-livers and said, I give Daniel unto destruction" (καταστρέψας τοῦ Δ. οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Ezek. xxix. 10, xxxii. 15; cf. Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29). We have to think of a popular rising; but even so, the menace addressed to the Great King hardly appears probable when we remember the strength of Oriental despotism. The Haggadist is profoundly unconscious of the absurdity of supposing that the recently subjugated Babylonians could venture thus to threaten their conqueror.

30. Now when the king.] With the king's unwillingness to sacrifice Daniel, cf. Dan. vi. 14, 15. The verse is added by Theod. The LXX. continues: "Now there was a den (λισσός, "pit;" 23, Dan. vi. 8, &c.) in which seven lions were kept (Dan. iv. 12), unto which they that plotted against the king (οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα) used to be delivered up, and there were provided (τρίφωμα, Judith xii. 2) for them day by day of the condemned (τῶν ἐπιθυμωτῶν, Dionys. Hal. vii. 35) two bodies" (σώματα. "The term need not denote "corpses." It is used for the "living body," "person," "human being," and in later usage for "slave." Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 6; Tob. x. 10; Rev. xviii. 13; Polyb. xii. 16. 53.)

The number seven is noticeable, as also the reference to "plotters against the king." Here as elsewhere it would be easy to decide in favour of the priority and higher originality of the LXX. text, even in the absence of external evidence.

31. Who... where.] "But they... and he was there." As to the lions' "den," Fritzschke observes that in Dan. vi. it is a mere cistern, whereas here it is a proper den or vivarium, into which people looked down from above. We fail to see the difference he suggests. Both accounts seem to indicate a partly subterranean chamber; and it is certainly difficult to understand how lions could live for any length of time under such cramped conditions as Dan. vi. 17 implies. LXX.: "And the thrones (οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες) cast Daniel into that pit, in order that he might be devoured, and might not even meet with burial." The last particular, omitted by Theod., is important in several respects. The ancients generally considered the lack of customary obsequies to be the greatest calamity and dishonour. (Cf. the plot of Sophocles' 'Antigone'; and Horace, 'Carm.' i. xxviii. See also 2 Macc. xiii. 7; ix. 15.) In the latter place it is said of Antiochus Epiphanes that he had not judged the Jews worthy of burial, but "to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts." Dr. Neubauer, in the preface to his 'Book of Tobit,' mentions "the frequent and strange allusion to a secret burial of dead men, the special demand of Tobit to bury him and his wife in honour, the lamentation of Sarah that she had no one to bury her parents," as special phenomena of that beautiful story, whence he concludes that it belongs to a time when the Jews were prohibited from practising their peculiar rites of burial. We agree with this, though we cannot accept the date which, after Grätz, he assigns to the work in question. But we think that we may in like manner conclude from the present indication, taken along with 2 Macc. ix. 15, that this story of Bel and the Dragon belongs to the times following upon the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.

six days.] On the occasion Dan. vi. 19, he "continued not in the pit save one night," as the Midrash remarks. (See Introd.)

33. every day.] τῶν ἅμα, an unusual expression. Properly "during the day," i.e., during each day, the article being distributive in sense.
BEL AND THE DRAGON.

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sheep: which then were not given to
them, to the intent they might devour
Daniel.

33 Now there was in Jewry a
prophet, called Habbacuc, who had
made pottage, and had broken bread
in a bowl, and was going into the
field, for to bring it to the reapers.

34 But the angel of the Lord said
unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner
that thou hast into Babylon unto
Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

35 And Habbacuc said, Lord, I
never saw Babylon; neither do I
know where the den is.

36 Then the angel of the Lord
took him by the crown, and bare
him by the hair of his head, and
through the vehemency of his spirit
set him in Babylon over the den.

37 And Habbacuc cried, saying,
O Daniel, Daniel, take the dinner a Kings
which God hath sent thee.

38 And Daniel said, Thou hast
remembered me, O God: neither
hast thou forsaken them that seek
thee and love thee.

39 So Daniel arose, and did eat:
and the angel of the Lord set Hab-
bacuc in his own place again imme-
diately.

40 Upon the seventh day the king
went to bewail Daniel: and when he
came to the den, he looked in, and,
behold, Daniel was sitting.

41 Then cried the king with a

**two carcasses.** “Bodies,” “persons;” perhaps condemned criminals or slaves: cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

*which then were not given.* This aggravation of the lion’s natural ferocity reminds us of the sevenfold heating of the furnace above what was requisite (Dan. iii. 19).

33. **Now there was...** Lit. “and Habbacuk (Gk. Ambakoum) the prophet was in Juda, and he had seethed a seething” (γρηγορεῖ ἐφεμα, Gen. xxv. 29; 2 Kings iv. 38; Hagg. ii. 12). LXX., Syr. H.: “And it came to pass on the sixth day that Habakkuk had loaves (so Theod. ἱπpod) broken (ιππει
θεμοῦ’, “crumbled,” the proper word for making sop) in a bowl, in a seething (ἐν θυμοί), and a jar (στραγος, Astarte, 1 Kings xiv. 3) of wine mingled, and was going into the field unto the reapers.”

34. **the angel of the Lord.** This is right, though the Gk. is ἀγγελος κυριου, for that expression = εν θεος σωτηρια. Susanna 42. As to “dinner”—ἱππον—see Susanna 13, note. LXX.: “And the angel of the Lord spake unto Habakkuk, saying, Thus saith the Lord God unto thee,” &c.; and in the next verse Habakkuk replies, “Lord God.”

36. **through the vehemency of his spirit.** ἐν τοι ρουτου του πνευματος αυτου. Cf. Ezek. xliii. 5; Wisdom v. 11; for ρουτος, which may mean any wheezing or rushing sound, as of arrows, wings, winds, &c.; and (a) a rushing motion, rush. Syr. W. and Midrash Bereshith Rabba: “in the might of the Holy Ghost;” but the Vulg. comes nearer, in impeti spiritus sui. The reference is to the swiftness of the angel’s panting flight. Cf. Dan. ix. 21; Ezek. viii. 3: “And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and a spirit (or a wind) lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem.” LXX.: “And the angel of the Lord having laid hold of him, to wit, of Habakkuk, by the hair of his head, set him over the den in Babylon.”

37, 38. LXX., Syr. H.: “And Habakkuk said unto Daniel, Arise and eat the dinner which the Lord God hath sent thee. And Daniel said, Yea, for the Lord God, who forsaketh not them that love him, hath remembered me” (ιπποσθη γαρ. So Theod. ἱπποσθη γαρ. Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 20).

39. LXX., Syr. H.: “And Daniel did eat. But the angel of the Lord conducted (κατηστησα) Habakkuk (to the place) whence he took him, on the same day: but the Lord God remembered Daniel.”

set...again.] ἀντικατεστησα, “restored,” “carried back” (Jer. xvi. 15; Gen. xxix. 3; Judith vi. 10).

40, 41. LXX.: “But the king went forth after these things, bewailing Daniel, and having stooped down to peep into the pit (ἐν θυμοις...he seeth him sitting.” Cf. Dan. vi. 26. Syr. W. omits the last clause of v. 41.
loud voice, saying, Great art thou, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other beside thee.

42 "And he drew him out, and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face.

42. drew him out.] "up."—ἀνασώκησεν. So Syr. W.; but LXX., Syr. H.: "And the king brought Daniel forth out of the pit."

before his face.] I.e. Daniel’s. See LXX.: "And those that were the cause of his destruction he cast into the pit before Daniel, and they were devoured." Cf. Dan. vi. 24. The Vulgate adds: Tunæ rex ait: Parscent omnes habitantes in universa terra Deniæ: quia ipse est salvator, faciens signa et miracula in terra; qui liberavit Danielem de lacu leonum. This conclusion, borrowed from Dan. vi. 26, 27, fitly expresses the moral of both stories—a moral of which the sterling value is not sensibly diminished by the historical improbability of a Median or Persian monarch decreeing universal homage to the God of Israel.
THE

PRAYER OF MANASSEH.

"Said R. Johanan: Whoso saith, 'Manasseh hath no part in the world to come,' discourageth the penitent."—Sanhadr. 103 A, line 1.

In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 seq. we are told that Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah, king of Judah, zealously restored the polytheism abolished by his father, even setting up "the graven image of the idol which he made in the house of God" at Jerusalem (v. 7).

"And the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people [by prophets]; but they would not hearken. Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh with the hooks [Amos iv. 2; Isa. xxxvii. 29], and bound him with the double chain of copper, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, and prayed unto him: and he vouchsafed him grace, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God" (vv. 10–13). The narrative then describes the amends made by the restored sovereign, and concludes with an explicit reference to the sources of the story: "Now the rest of the history of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the Lord God of Israel, behold, they are written in the History of the Kings of Israel. And his prayer, and the grace vouchsafed him, and all his sin and his treachery (to God), and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Ashārim and the graven images, before he was humbled: behold, they are written in the History of the Seers" [or Hozai = Hoziah; a particular seer. In any case a section of the great History of the Kings of Israel].

Eminent scholars and critics, like De Wette, Graf, and Nöldeke,1 have thrown suspicion upon this account, basing their objections partly on the silence of the Book of Kings, and partly upon supposed internal evidence. The former argument is hardly worth noticing. As to the latter, it was asserted that history was against the implied supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia at the period in question (the first half of the 7th cent. B.C.); exception was taken to the statement that the officers of an Assyrian king had carried their captive to Babylon, and not to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital; and, apart from these supposed errors of fact, it was declared to be wholly improbable that Manasseh should first have been loaded with chains and treated with such indignity as the text represents, and then restored to his former kingly state. But these difficulties, which used to be asserted with such confidence by assailants of the Chronicler's historical veracity, have disappeared in the light unexpectedly contributed by cuneiform discovery. We now know that Ashur-hiddin (Esarhaddon), the son of Sana-ahrib or Sennacherib, king of Assyria (681–668 B.C.), rebuilt Babylon, which his father had razed to the ground (B.C. 691), and held his court there during six months of the year.2 Further than this, "Manasseh, king of the land (or city) of Judah"—Menāṣé (Minšt) šār māt (or dəl) Yašūd—"is actually mentioned in a list of twenty-two kings of Phœnicia-Palestine and Cyprus, who, as vassals of Esar-

1 See Schenkel's 'Bibellexicon,' s. v. Manass.

According to Nöldeke, the story is an edifying fiction, intended to moderate the impression produced by the otherwise unbroken prosperity of so wicked a king.

haddan, contributed materials for the building of his palace at Nineveh. 1 Professor Sayce thinks that it was Esarhaddon who had Manasseh conveyed as a prisoner to Babylon, after crushing his revolt. 2 But the inscription referred to, as Schrader observes, says nothing of any rebellion in Palestine; and, upon the whole, it appears more probable that Manasseh either participated, or was suspected of participating, in the general rising of Shamash-shum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon and brother of Ashurbanapli (Assurbanipal), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, circ. 648 B.C. Assurbanipal himself informs us that not only Elam, Gutu, and Meluhhe (Meroe or Ethiopia), but also mat Aharri, "the land of the west," or Phoenicia-Palestine, was implicated in this revolt. 3 After the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukin (Gk. Saosduchinos or Sammughes), and the assumption by Ashurbanapli of the Babylonian sceptre, it is natural to suppose that the Great King sometimes resided at his second capital, and that on one of these occasions Manasseh was brought in chains before him, to answer the charges laid against him. The inscriptions expressly state that Ashurbanapli received a Cypriote embassy at Babylon after his victory.

The last objection of the critics is met by an exactly parallel case. In Smith's 'Abp.' 43, 45, we read: "Shar-ludari (and) Nikâ they seized; with bands of iron, (and) fetters of iron, they made fast (their) hands and feet." Afterward, when Nikâ (Necho) had been carried thus to Nineveh, Ashurbanapli "granted him grace," and allowed him to return to his vassal-kingdom of Saïs and Memphis in Egypt. Schrader supposes that Manasseh was taken to Babylon in the year 647 B.C. 4

Assuming, then, as we are fully entitled to do, the good faith of the Chronicler, it is evident from the references in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, that a Prayer of Manasseh, written in Hebrew, lay before that writer; and we may perhaps venture to add that there is nothing in the form or substance of the prayer before us which can fairly be alleged against the possibility of its having been ultimately derived from that lost Hebrew original. The ancient Church believed the prayer to be authentic, and read it with other Scriptures. Fritzschte, however, declares that though the Greek style of the piece is Hebraizing (hebraisierend), it is evidently not a translation. He considers the prayer to be a later production based upon the story in Chronicles, and in this respect to be classed in the same category with the Additions to Esther, ch. ii.—iv. 6, and the Addition to Dan. iii. 23 (Prayer of Azarias and Song of the Three Children). We hesitate to accept Fritzschte's dictum on this point without reserve: for although the Greek proves the writer to have possessed a fair command of that language, such proficiency as it evinces was not impossible to an Hellenistic Jew; and the writer may have taken pains to soften down the harshness of a baldly literal version. Besides, it seems unlikely that so short a piece should have survived for so long a period as Fritzschte allows, if it had from the first stood isolated, as it stands at present, from any historical context. We incline to think that the Greek is a free translation from some lost Haggadic narrative, which was itself perhaps founded upon the older document from which the Chronicler derived his peculiar details of the history of Manasseh. Fritzschte himself has given certain references to Jewish and Christian sources, to which we may add one or two others from the Talmud, which seem to indicate the former existence of a more copious and in part legendary account of Manasseh's captivity and deliverance. In the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' ii. 22—the earliest known citation of the Prayer—it is given with the addition: "And the Lord hearkened to his voice, and there became about him a flame of fire, and all the irons about him melted." In S. John Damascene 1 we read: "Scholion. It is related in [Julius] Africanus that while Manasseh was saying a psalm [φοινίκιον, Parali.] ii. 15 (Opp. ii. p. 463).
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\textit{i.e.} his Prayer], his bonds, though of iron, burst asunder, and he escaped." Anastasius in Ps. vi. writes: "The ancient historiographers affirm that Manasseh, the king of Israel, when carried away by the Chaldeans, in Babylon of Persis was confined in a brazen figure \textit{κατεκλειδω\theta\iota \iota \varepsilon \zeta \delta \iota \iota \omega \varsigma \chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \omega \omicron \nu}—like the Bull of Phalaris], by the king of the Persians, and being within, in such a figure, he prayed with tears." 1 Suidas (from Cedrenus), \textit{s. v. Μανασσῆς}: "Wherefore... by Merodach [Marduk, the tutelar god of Babylon] he was carried away captive in bonds to the city of Nineveh [the Assyrian capital: \textit{vid. supra}], and was shut into the Brazen Statue [x. \varepsilon \tau ο \chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \omega \omicron \alpha \gamma \alpha \mu \alpha καθερ\rho\iota\rho\a]... he besought the Lord... and the statue by divine power burst asunder, &c. ... But to him bound, being in prison in brazen fetters in Babylon, they used to give scant bread made of bran, and a little water with poor wine measured out (σφι \\delta\iota \iota \mu\epsilon \tau\iota \rho\iota\omicron\nu), to keep him alive, and no more. [This last sentence occurs also in the 'Apot. Const.'] And then he prayed to the Lord, 'O Lord Almighty, ...' &c. (See Targum, 2 Chron. xxxii. 11). 2

In the Talmud, Manasseh is adduced as a gross example of the scoffer, the idolater, the unclean person, and as an extreme case of the value of penitence. \textit{Sanhedrin}, 99 b: "Our Rabbis have taught (Num. xv. 30), 'And the soul that dealeth with a high hand'—This is Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, who was sitting and delivering offensive expositions. He said: 'What! had Moses nothing else to write but (Gen. xxxvi. 22) 'And the sister of Lotan was Timna, and Timna was concubine to Elishaph'; (or Gen. xxx. 14) 'And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field'? Came forth the \textit{Beth Qol}, and said unto him: 'Thou sittest, against thy brother thou speakest; against thy mother's son thou utterest offence. These things thou hast done,' &c. (Ps. l. 20, 21). And of him is interpreted by tradition, 'Woe unto them that draw ini-

\footnote{1 Canisius, 'Thesaur. Monum.' ed. Bannage, l. 495, date 1725.}

\footnote{2 Translated at the end of the commentary. See also Fabricius, 'Bibliotheca Graeca,' ed. Harless, iii. p. 733, \textit{Ah}.}

\textit{quity with cords of vanity,'} &c. (Isa. v. 18)." See also \textit{Sanh.} 103 b: "Our Rabbis have taught that Manasseh made fifty and five changes in the Law of the Priests, according to the years of his reign." [Rashi explains: 'He innovated in the Book of Leviticus every year, and expounded it capiously']—

A few lines below, 2 Kings xxi. 16 is quoted, with the remark, "This they interpret of his having killed Isaiah." Further on it is said that Rabbi Johanan explained the "graven image" and "graven images" of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 19, in this wise: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face, and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shekhina might see and be provoked." "Manasseh erased the \textit{Askaroth} [the Divine Name, הוהי, wherever it was written], and overturned the Altar." "Manasseh went in unto his own sister."

The manner of Isaiah's death is described, \textit{Jedamoth}, 49 b.

According to Rabbi Aha bar Am"e, the fire that came down from heaven in Solomon's days was not withdrawn from the Brazen Altar until Manasseh came. Then it departed.

In \textit{Sanhedr.} 103 a, line 3, it is gathered from comparison of 2 Kings xxi. 1, 3, with 1 Kings xvi. 29, that "Manasseh wrought repentance thirty-three years." It is added that, according to R. Johanan, the Lord "made a kind of aperture [תִּשְׂכְּר אָדָמָי] in the firmament, in order to receive him in repentance, because of the Property of Justice" [תִּשְׂכְּר אָדָמָי]: in other words, the Property of Mercy could only be indulged surreptitiously, in the case of so flagrant a sinner. The argument turns on the substitution of \textit{זָכָה, "and he made a hole for him," for \textit{זָכָה, "and he vouchsafed him grace"} (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13).}

Lastly, in \textit{Sanhedr.} 101 a, we read the following story: "Our Rabbis have taught that when R. Eliezer was sick, four Elders went in to visit him, viz. R. Tarphôn and R. Joshua and R. Eliezer ben Azariah and R. Aqiba. Answered R. Tarphôn and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than a drop of rain, which is a drop of rain in this world; but Rabbi
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This passage contradicts others, in that it implies that Manasseh did not really repent, but prevailed upon God by challenging His superiority to idols.

Some of the added details in these passages (Manasseh's incest, his cavilling at Scripture, murder of Isaiah, &c.), taken along with those from the Greek writers cited above, appear to strengthen the supposition of the former existence of a Haggadic legend or group of legends about Manasseh, with which the Prayer before us may have been connected. However this may be, the Prayer is certainly the work of a Jew, and belongs, not as Bertholdt supposed, to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., but to a much earlier period. The ideas throughout are Jewish, and the same may be said of the distinctive form, which is that of a Hebrew Tephillah. As a psalm of penitence, it might perhaps have been composed in the stirring times of the Maccabean revolt, to which other portions of the so-called Apocrypha belong. In those trying times the Prayer would obviously suggest that the sincere penitence and trust in Jehovah which had been so effectual for Manasseh's deliverance might again prove similarly effectual to the deliverance of the nation. Fritzche refers the Prayer to about this period. Dr. Bissell follows him, asserting that "there are no traces whatever of its being a translation." Perhaps not, if we conclude thus from the absence of awkward and clumsy expressions, and obvious misunderstandings of Hebrew terms and phrases, such as may be pointed out in other Apocryphal texts; and from the presence of participial constructions, and the use of certain particles, which are not common in highly Hebraized Greek. But all this, as we have said, may only prove that the possible translator knew both languages well. Fürst believes the Prayer to be a version of the lost Hebrew original; and Ewald thinks it not impossible that it is a survival from the ירמיהו הנביא (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19). Bertholdt, on the other hand, found proof of its late origin in the exaggerated idea it expresses of the merits of the Three Patriarchs, and in such non-biblical phrases as אֵלֶּה אִישָׁי and אֵלֶּה אִישֵׁי. It is true that the first of
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these conceptions is peculiarly characteristic of Rabbinism. Yet the later Jewish theology, in laying such stress upon the merits of the Fathers, built at least upon a biblical foundation. Such a passage as Exod. xxxii. 13, where Moses prays, "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants," might easily suggest, taken along with its context, that the merits of the Patriarchs could avail for their posterity. Even the self-revelation of God as "the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham," &c. (Exod. iii. 6) might be so understood; and the conception would be further strengthened by such passages as Gen. xviii. 26 sqq., xix. 29; 1 Kings xi. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 1, 2; Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; Ps. cxxxii. 1, 10; 2 Chron. xxvii. 7.

Anyone who remembers the frequent and emphatic assertions of personal integrity made in the Psalms, and such passages as Gen. vi. 9, xvii. 1 (cited in the Talmud Nedarim, 32 A; Sanhedr. 158 A; Erubin, 18 B), will hardly be much surprised at the Rabbinical inference of the sinlessness of the three patriarchs, and other great personages of antiquity, such as Moses and Aaron (Shabbath, 55 B), David and Solomon, and even others of less worthy fame (Shabbath, 55 B, 56).

Cf. also Baba Bathra, 17 A, where it is declared that the איש עני, or innate inclination to evil, had no power over Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

As for the other two phrases, although neither occurs in the O. T., it would be easy to shew that each merely formulates O. T. ideas. The Psalmists constantly base their appeals for Divine help on the ground that the righteous God cannot but favour the righteous, and frown upon the wicked. In their thought, and almost in their words, Jehovah is emphatically "the God of the righteous."

Similar remarks would apply to the second phrase; a fact which was fully perceived by Rabbi Johanan when he said (Berach. 34 b): "לָהּ הַמִּשְׁפָּהָהּ לְמָלֶא נָא הָאֹהֶל, כָּלָהּ נָא לָעֲבֹרָה הַסְּבָדָה. "All the prophets prophesied not but with reference to penitents." Cf. the Penitential Psalms, and Isa. livi. 15, lxvi. 2, among a host of other passages.

Clearly, then, the internal evidence of the Prayer does not necessitate the late origin supposed by Berthold. The fact that 'Apost. Constit.' ii. 22 contains the earliest citation of it led J. A. Fabricius to conjecture that the author of that work was the author of the Prayer. But, as already observed, the writer of the Prayer was a Jew, not a Christian; and the text as given in the 'Apost. Constit.,' though mostly coinciding with that of the biblical MSS., is inferior in one or two places (ed. P. A. Delagarde, Lipsiae—Londinii 1862).

A Hebrew version from the Greek may be seen in Wolf's 'Bibl. Hebr.' i. 778.

The usual position of the Prayer in Greek MSS. is among the Hymns appended to the Book of Psalms; it is so, for instance, in the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Zürich Psalter, and in the Ethiopic version of the Psalms edited by J. Ludolf (Frankfort, 1701, 4to). The Prayer is also given in the Ethiopic version of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' which was made from the Greek (ed. Thomas Pell Platt. London, 1834). Its genuine worth, as being no mere cento of scriptural phrases, but an original composition in the manner of the Penitential and Supplicatory Psalms, would naturally lead to its adoption into liturgical use, and its transference from the original setting to the appendix to the Psalter. Since the Council of Trent, it has been relegated along with 3 and 4 Esdras to the end of the Vulgate. In my copy (Paris, 1860) it is given after some indexes, with a prefatory note that, though excluded from the Canon by the Council of Trent, it and the two Books of Esdras are here added, "lest they should become altogether lost; inasmuch as they are occasionally cited by some Fathers, and are found in some Latin MSS. of the Bible, as well as printed copies."

The common Greek text is good, and is supported by the well-executed Latin version, which, as not due to S. Jerome, may be designated Old Lat., though it is later than and superior to that version elsewhere. There are, besides, Arabic MSS. of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' containing the Prayer. Vid. the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.
THE

PRAYER OF MANASSES

KING OF JUDAH,

When he was held captive in Babylon.

B.C.
cir. 676.

O LORD, Almighty God of our
fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and
Jacob, and of their righteous seed;
who hast made heaven and earth,
with all the ornament thereof; who
hast bound the sea by the word of
thy commandment; who hast shut
up the deep, and sealed it by thy

In the Greek the heading is “Prayer of
Manasses, son of Ezekias.”

O Lord, Almighty God, &c.] The stop-
ing is wrong. The comma should follow
the word “Almighty.” The words “O
Lord, Almighty, &c. . . . importable” con-
stitute the opening address or invocation of
the prayer. (The following “but” should be
cancelled.) “Lord Almighty” is the Gk.
equivalent of IABwvb 5aβαβαβ. Cod. III. adds
23. The term renders “Shaddai,” Ps. lxviii.
14; cf. also Matt. xviii. 35. The “fathers”
are named, because their merits were and
are supposed by Jews to be efficacious for
their descendants.

and of their righteous seed.] An advanced
theological idea, according to which Jehovah
is not the God of the Jews in general, but
only of the righteous remnant. Below, He is
addressed as “God of the just” or “righte-
ous.” Cf. also Rom. ix. 6–8; Ecclus. x. 19.

with all the ornament thereof.] Gk. σειν
πάντα τον κόσμον αιωνίων, “with all the order
of them;” an equivalent of the Heb. “with all
the host of them” (Gen. ii. 1). Κόσμος re-
presents מָיִם, the ordered host of heaven
(i.e. the stars) in Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; Isa.
xxiv. 21, xl. 26. The Ethiopic has “world,”
which indicates a Greek original.

who hast bound the sea.] Or, “fettered,”
Job xxxvi. 8 (.velo). It was done with a
mere word: Job xxxviii. 8–11; Gen. i. 9
(Ps. civ. 9). Ethiopic: “rebuked.”

the deep.] τον ἄβυσσον = מים (Gen. i. 2,
vii. 11, viii. 2). The Gk. term seems to
answer to the Assyrian ἀπίς, as מים to Assy
Tάμμων or Tάματα. According to
the Heb. conception, the earth rests on the
fathomless deep: see Ps. xxiv. 2, xxvii. 7,
cxxxvi. 6; Job xxxviii. 6. The “sealing” of
the deep signifies that its bounds are firmly
secured, or inviolable. Cf. Rev. xx. 3, “Cast
him into the bottomless pit (τον ἄβυσσον) and
shut him up, and set a seal upon him;” Dan.
vi. 17; Matt. xxxvii. 66; Bel 14; Job ix. 7,
“which commandeth the sun, and it riseth
not; and sealeth up the stars.” God sealed
up the deep “with his terrible and glorious
name;” in connexion with which, it may be
remembered that a magical efficacy was at-
tributed by the later Jews to the Divine
Name or Tetragrammaton (גניב). Solomon
especially was credited with working many
wonders by means of it. His seal was graven
with the Ineffable Name. In the Talmud
(Gittin, 68 A) it is said that Ashmidai (Zend.
Aeshmadaeva), the king of the demons (יִשְׂר),
lived on a mountain, where was a well full of
water, which was covered with a stone and
sealed with his seal. “And every day he
goeth up to the firmament. And the session
(school) of the firmament endeth, and he
cometh down to the earth. And the session
of the earth endeth, and he cometh in-
specteth his seal, and uncovereth it, and
drinketh, and covereth it, and sealeth it, and
departeth.” Solomon having obtained this
information from demons, “sent Beniaia ben
Jehoiada, having given him a chain whereon
was graven the Name, and a seal-ring
(מִנְנִי) wherein was graven the Name, and
fleeces of wool, and skins of wine. He went
and digged a cistern below, poured into it
water, and concealed it with the fleeces of
wool; and he dug a cistern above, and poured
into it wine, and hid it. Then he went up
and sat in the tree. When he (the demon)
came, he inspected the seal, removed it, found
the wine, said: It is written, ‘Wine is a
mocker,’ &c., and it is written, ‘Whoredom,
wine, and new wine take away the heart’: I
will not drink, for my thirst is not great. He
drank, became drunk, and fell asleep. Beniah
came down (from the tree), and went and
threw upon him the chain and sealed it.
When he woke, he was in irons. Said Beniah to him, 'The name of thy Lord is upon thee! The name of thy Lord is upon thee!'

"Sub omni alio mero."

Rather, "all things" (πάντα). "Fear" is φόβος, turor, Job iv. 5, which takes an acc. pers. vel Rei, in the sense of "to shudder at." (Il. xi. 383; Judith xvi. 10.)

"Tremble before thy power." Τρόμεω also, like φόβος, may take an acc. Rei (Isa. lix. 2, 5), so that Fritzsche may be wrong in his remark, "Zu trōme ist ob nicht mehr zu beizeihen;" and Schleusner right in explaining ἀν' ἄροντος = προτέρη, in which sense the Heb. γάνον sometimes occurs (Gen. vi. 13; Judg. vi. 6; Isa. x. 27). As however verbs of fearing are usually joined with γάνον = ἀν' ἄροντος τινος, perhaps, after all, Fritzsche is right (so A.V.): see Judg. v. 5; 1 Sam. vii. 7.

"The majesty . . . cannot be borne." ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια (Ps. cxlv. 5, 12, where the term is associated with "glory," Ps. viii. 1, lxii. 7). It represents other but synonymous Heb. terms. Cf. Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iv. 2, 5; "Aρτέρεσος, "insufferable;" Old Lat. importabilis. The word is rare. Trommius does not give it. Ethiopic: "For there is no end of the greatness of thy glory."

"The anger threatening." Lit., "the anger of thy threatening against sinners," a Hebraism. Αργίλῳ = άγον Εχής, ἱμα; Hab. iii. 11; Prov. xix. 12. Also τως, incipitato; Prov. xiii. 8; πτωχός δε ἀργίλῳ ἐπισταται ἰσηλην; compare ἰσηλην, "importable," i.e. "insupportable," insustentabilis; a Mac. i. 13; Ps. cxlv. 5; το ἰσηλαιντάκτων (Heb. "the proud waters"). Ethiopic: "Fearful is the chastisement of thy wrath against sinners."

"But thy merciful promise." The "but" (δὲ) is due to the later editions. The MSS. have τε. The reading δὲ was, no doubt, suggested by the apparent need of a clause contrasting formally with ἤ, but immeasurable and unsearchable the mercy of thy promise" (so lit.). The Old Lat. thus has vero et. The reading τε implies the beginning of a direct sentence, after the manifold invocation of God by His different attributes: "O Lord Almighty, &c. Who madest, &c. Of whom all things are in awe, &c. Because the splendour of thy glory is intolerable, &c.

Both immeasurable and unsearchable is the mercy of thy promise. For," &c. However, we cannot help thinking that the mention of mercy is really co-ordinate with that of "anger" in the former clause; and besides, God's mercy, as well as His wrath, may be properly alleged as a ground of the fear of Him: Ps. cxxxiv. 4. We may, therefore, assume that ν.ν. 5-7 are subordinate to ν. 4; and that the invocation really concludes with ν. 7.

"Unmeasurable and unsearchable." See Eccles. xvii. 15; Rom. xi. 33; Isa. xxiii. 18; Job v. 9, ix. 10.

"For thou art the most high Lord." Cf. Ps. xliv. 2; xvii. 15. Instead of σιγαρ, Cod. III. 1η σιγα; Old Lat. quoniam tu; Heb. רַעַל אֶחְזָא יְם נֶפֶשׁ; Old Lat. altissimus super omnem terram (as Ps. xcvii. 9).

"Of great compassion." ἐυπλαγγύμονα, a term of which Trommius gives no instance. See Eph. iv. 32; 1 Pet. iii. 9. For the next two epithets, μακρόθυμος κ. πολύλεως, see Ps. lxxvi. 15; Exod. xxxv. 6; and the passages from Joel and Jonah infra. Ethiopic, "merciful."

"And repentest of the evils of men." Fritzsche omits καὶ ("duce T."), But the words are really a quotation either from Joel ii. 13, μακρόθυμος κ. πολύλεως καὶ ματαίων ἐπὶ τοὺς κακίας, or from Jonah iv. 2, where the same expressions recur. The meaning is, "reformoseful at the calamities of men," which He inflicts on them for their sins (Amos vii. 3, 6; 1 Chron. xxi. 15). The opening invocation ends here.

"Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness." Lit., "the multitude of thy goodness." Cf. Neh. xiii. 22; Ps. cxlv. 7. As to promises of repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned," the expression does not take away the moral initiative from the sinners themselves, but as the next clause makes evident, it simply means to say that God's gracious promise has coupled forgiveness with repentance, making the one consequent upon the other: cf. Isa. i. 16 sqq.; Ezek. xviii. 21 sqq.; Hos. i. 10; ii.; vi. 1; xiv. From another point of view, of course it is true that God gives the impulse to repentance, as well as the ensuing pardon. And in the present instance, as in that ideal one contemplated in Hos. ii., it was God's chastise-
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ment which gave it. See Wisdom xii. 19: “Thou givest repentance for sins.” Perhaps, however, “repentance” in this line refers to God, in the sense of “relenting.” The participle was so used in the line before: “Thou hast promised that thou wilt relent and pardon.” Then, in the next line, we have repentance on man’s part: “And in the multitude of thy tender mercies”—an expression occurring in Ps. li. 1, lxix. 16. “Thou hast appointed [or “did appoint,” “appointed.”] The Heb. perfect = Gk. aor. and perfect repentance to sinners for salvation” (eis σωτηρίαν. Rom. x. 1, to; Exod. xv. 2; Job xxiii. 16). Cf. our Lord’s word: “I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.” The two lines: “Thou, O Lord . . . may be saved,” are omitted in Codd. III., T. The text of the ‘Apostle Const.’ is here confused, and the Ethiopic version omits.

Thou therefore.] αὐτῷ ὁμοίως. The particle is equivalent to ἃνα (Exod. iii. 18, x. 17).

appointed.] Or “ordained”—προέβαλεν; Old Lat. posuiti; ἤτοι (Job xxviii. 3; 2 Sam. vii. 10). In the former verse, the term was ἀρνότας (Rom. i. 4). With the idea, compare our Lord’s words just quoted, and Luke xvi. 7, “ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.” But our Lord obviously used the term “righteous” or “just” in a relative sense; whereas here the mention of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the qualification τοίς οἷς ἤμαρτηκόντωσιν σοι, plainly indicates something more. The truth is that, although the failings of the Patriarchs are not concealed in their histories (Gen. xii. 13, &c.), the Jewish mind of later times idealised them as perfect characters, whose merits were sufficient, not for themselves only, but also for their entire posterity. According to the Talmud, all Israel has part in the world to come (Moad Qaton, 9 A; Ketub. 111 A; Sanhedr. 10 A, &c.); and “everything comes to Israel on account of the merits of the Fathers” (Siphri on Deut., p. 108 b). The Jews appear, in fact, to have felt secure of the future, on the ground of their descent from Abraham (Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 3, 39). He sits at the gate of hell, to save any Israelite from entering it; for his merit avails even for the wicked (Ber. Rabh, 48; Shabbath, 55 A). The merits of the Fathers, however, do not avail outside the land of Israel (Baba Batra, 81 A). The language of this verse, therefore, proves the Jewish origin of the prayer.

unto me.] εἴπερ ἐμοί, as if “put repentance upon me.” But Cod. III. omits εἴπερ.

Ethiopic: “but turn thou (unto) the repentance of me a sinner.”

that am a sinner.] Rather, “the sinner,” above all others, καὶ ἐξοθρήσκου. Luke xviii. 13: “God be merciful to me the sinner.”

for I have sinned.] Or, “I sinned” (ἁμαρτον). For what follows, cf. Ps. xl. 5, 13; Job vi. 3. Instead of ψυφος, the more classical form, the LXX. usually has ἄμωμος. See Wisd. vii. 9 (Eccles. xxii. 15) for the former.

The clause amplifies the expression τῷ ἁμαρτανοῦ, with which the preceding clause terminates.

My transgressions.] Gk. ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν καὶ κόμμα, ἐγκλήματα. (Fr. omits αὐτῶν. καὶ the second time, after Cod. Tur. Cod. III. and Apost. Const. omit κόμμα ἐγκλήμα as well. The Ethiopic has only: “and many are my sins,” which it connects immediately with the preceding clause.) The verb πληθύνω is generally transitive in LXX., as in classical usage. But later writers confuse it with πληθοῦ, which is intrans. Cf. Acts vi. 1. In τ. ιον infra, “multiplied offences” (πληθύνω) occurs in its usual sense. With the emotional and emphatic repetition, comp. ν. 12, 13 infra; Ps. lxxv. 1, lxxvii. 1, cxviii. 3. For the thought, see Isa. lxxv. 12.

to behold and see the height of heaven.] The first verb—ἀνεφώτισα—means “to gaze earnestly.” Luke iv. 20. Trommius refers to 3 Esdr. vi. 28 only. Aristotle has the term constructed with εἰς τό (‘Meteor.’ 1. 6, 12) and πρός τό. “The height of heaven” (Eccles. xviii. 32; Ps. ciii. 11) is mentioned as God’s abode: Isa. xxxviii. 14 (“My eyes failed to see the throne εἰς τό ὁμοῦ τοὺς ὁμοίους τοῦ κόσμου”). Cf. also Luke xviii. 13; Susanna 9; Ps. cxviii. 1; and the proper name Elioenai, “unto Jah are mine eyes.”

for the multitude.] ἀνεῖλε τὰ πλήθος. See Job xxxv. 9; ἀνεῖλε τοῦ, “from,” i.e. owing to, because of. Gen. xxxvi. 7, ἀνεῖλε: see note on
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with many iron bands, that I cannot lift up mine head; neither have any release: for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee: I did not thy will, neither kept I thy commandments: I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences. Now therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned,

vv. 4 supra. “Iniquities,” δικαιον, ἁμαρτήματα (Jer. xi. 10); or the sing. ἁμαρτία (Jer. ii. 22; Hos. iv. 8).

I am bowed down with many iron bands.] Lit., “being bowed down with many an iron band, so that,” &c. The words are wrongly divided from what precedes by the English punctuation. There should be a comma only after “iniquities.” For στήριξις (adj.), Cod. III. and ‘Apost. Const.’ have στήρα, “of iron.” Cf. Dan. iv. 15, 23. According to the narrative in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, Manasseh was bound with a double chain of copper by his captors. Here he is represented as loaded with chains of iron, as a captive in a dungeon. But the sense is perhaps rather metaphorical, and refers to the chain of sin and misery: Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 14; Lam. i. 14; and the Ethiopic version: “I have laboured in fetters of iron, that I might get rest from sin for my soul: and by this also I have not gotten rest.”

that I cannot lift up.] εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνανεόσα. The word usually means “to throw the head back in token of denial,” as we shake the head. Then sometimes “to throw the head up,” whence ἀνανεωφθαλλεῖν, “upright,” “with the head erect;” Polibv. xviii. 13, 3; cf. bk. i. 23, 5; Lucian, ‘Necyum.’ 4. Old Lat. well: et non possim attollere caput meum. Cf. Ps. xl. 13; cx. 7. The reading of Cod. III. is remarkable: εἰς τὸ ἀνανεύεσαι με ὑπὲρ δαιμονίων τῶν μου, “so that I throw back (my head) over my sins,” as if “shake my head over them.” But this reading probably rests on misapprehension.

neither have any release.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστω μοι ἄφες, “and I have no remission or reprieve;” Old Lat. respiratio. Cf. 3 Esdr. iv. 63; Ecclus. xv. 20; 2 Cor. vii. 5. The next clauses are closely connected with this one, and a comma would be better than a colon after “release;” “Because I provoked thy wrath, and did that which was evil before thee” (Ps. li. 4; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2), by not doing (μη δοῦνα) thy will, and not keeping thy commandments, by setting up abominations, and multiplying objects of offense” (στήρας βασιλείαμα κ. πληθύνασιν προσοχήματα). The words are an expansion of what is said of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 6): ἐπάθη καὶ τοῦ ποίματος ποιμένων ἐναπόκειν πολλά τοῦ παροργίασαι αὐτοῦ. Cod. III. and the ‘Apost. Const.’ (Gk. and Ethiop.) omit μη δοῦνα... προσοχήματα, and Tur. omits στήρας... προσοχήματα. Fritzsche pronounces against Αρος.—Vol. II.

the former clause as needless and almost disturbing; and further, because it is also omitted in the Latin MSS., and because, if it were genuine, we should expect καὶ before στήρας. But καὶ before στήρας would destroy the symmetry of the two compound clauses; and both are suitable as defining Manasseh’s provocation of God on the negative and positive side—his sins of omission and commission. Cf. Dan. ix. 5, 6, 11; and the General Confirmation, “We have left undone those things which we ought to have done,” &c. For the second clause, the Ethiopic has: “While I observed vanities, and multiplied that which profited me not.” The phrase “done (the) evil before thee” refers especially to idolatry; see Deut. iv. 25; and the use of the phrase as a fixed formula in the annalistic epitome of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 17, &c.). Idols and idolatrous rites are called βδελύγματα, “abominations,” ἀγάνη (Deut. xxiii. 16; 2 Kings xvi. 3; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2, and elsewhere often). Cf. Dan. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 15. Προσοχήματα, offendi- culum, is similarly used (2 Kings xxiii. 13; Ezek. vii. 20).

Now therefore.] “And now”—καὶ νῦν = ἄφες; a common concluding formula in Heb. prayers (Dan. ix. 15, 17;—2 Chron. xx. 10; vi. 16, 17, 40, 41); and in other addresses (1 Chron. xxviii. 8, xxix. 13;—2 Chron. ii. 13, 15).

I bow the knee of mine heart.] The Greek κέντρον καρδίας μου (Cod. III. omits μου) is peculiar. The usual phrase is καρδίας μου γιὰ νάσομαι (2 Kings i. 13). Κάρδιακς is intras. (τὸν τρόπον) in Ecclus. vii. 23. Κέντρον τὸ ὀφείλεται common. Manasseh means, of course, that his prayer is sincere; that his inward and outward postures correspond. Cf. “Rend your heart and not your garments” (Joel ii. 13). A similar metaphor is “the calves of our lips” (Hos. xiv. 2; cf. Ps. li. 17); and St. Paul’s phrase “circumcision of the heart” (Rom. ii. 29).

beseeching thee of grace.] δεύομαι τὸν παρὰ σου χριστότητος, “craving, begging for the goodness that cometh from thee.” “Goodness,” v. 7 supra; ἀγάνη, Ps. xxv. 7; or ἐκάρδιος, Ps. xxxi. 19. “Beseeching goodness from thee” would require gen. pers. et rei, or gen. pers. et accus. rei (Thucyd. i. 32). The Old Lat. precans a te bonitatem fails for want of a Latin article.
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and I acknowledge mine iniquities: therefore, I humbly beseech thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by

reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower parts of the earth. For thou art the God, even the God of them that repent; and in me thou wilt shew all thy goodness:

I acknowledge.] Fritzschel, ἔγα γνώσκω, from Codd. III. and T. The common reading is ὀνειδισκόμενος, ἀγνωστός (Hdt. ii. 91). In LXX. this verb generally means “to read” (ὡς): Dan. v. 7, 8; i Macc. v. 14; Exod. xxvii. 7. See Ps. li. 3: “I acknowledge my transgressions,” &c., τοῦ ἀνομιαί μου ἐγγυωσκόμε. Ethiop.: “my sin I confess.”

therefore, I humbly beseech thee.] Old Lat. quaere. But the Gk. is ἀλλ' ἀφοφαίμα δεδεμένος σου, “but I ask” (ἕως, Ps. xxi. 4, xxvii. 4), craving of thee.” Cod. III. omits ἀλλ'.

give me.] ἄνει μοι (Ps. xxxix. 13). Cf. ἄνει supra. There is an ellipsis of τὰ ἀπαντηρέα μου: cf. Josh. xxiv. 19; Isa. i. 13. Old Lat. remitte mihi. The verb is joined with an accus. pers. (Gen. xvii. 24; Isa. ii. 9).

and (Cod. III. omits) destroy me not with mine iniquities.] Old Lat. ne simul perdas me cum, &c. Ethiopic: “deliver me not over to my sin.” Schleusner is wrong in rendering ne prorsus perdas (ἀφοφαίμα) ὠ (ταῖς) ἀπαντηρέαις, as Fritzschel observes. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23, xix. 15; Numb. xvi. 26; and especially Wisd. x. 3, Ecclus. viii. 15. What follows is more closely connected with this than the full stop in our version suggests: “neither, cherishing wrath (μυρισασθε, 11. i. 222, v. 178, &c.; poet. word) for ever, lay up the evils for (μαρτυρομεν, see ci. 9; Jer. iii. 12, “keep anger for ever.” For τηρηηηηης) (Cant. vii. 13) = ἔρως (Ps. xxxix. 19), “how great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee.” Old Lat. reserves mala mihi.] Cf. also Exod. xxxiv. 7.

The evils—τα κακα—are the unknown evils which a guilty conscience dreads; or the article may be generic; or there may be a reference to penalties in the world to come. See next line.

neither condemn me into.] μὴδε καταδικάζης με (Ps. xxxvii. 33; Dan. i. 10. The classical construction is γινομαι, the later τιμω) ἐν τοῖς κατοδίκαις τῆς γῆς, “Neither sentence me in the lowest parts of the earth,” as if “mult me in” (punish me with) the penalty of Hades; or, “treat me as one condemned in Hades.” Ps. Deut. xxxii. 22; Ps. cxxxix. 15, lxxvii. 15; Isa. xlvi. 23; Ezek. xxvi. 20, for the conception of Hades as το κατοδίκας τῆς γῆς, the Underworld. See also Isa. xiv. 9, 14, 15; Ezek. xxxii. 18, 21 sqq.; Job x. 21, 22; xxvi. 5 sqq. “The Rephaim (i.e. ghosts, spirits in Hades) tremble, whose dwelling is beneath the waters. Sheol (Hades) is naked before him, and Abaddon (the place of destruction) hath no covering.” (Heb.). A vast subterranean and sub-oceanic cavern, void of light and utterly cheerless, peopled by feeble shadows of the departed, appears to have been the ancient Hebrew conception of Hades. This accords with the old Assyrian myth of Ishtar’s Descent into Hell (Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia, iv. 13, where it is called “the land of no return,” “the region of darkness,” “the house of darkness, the seat of (the god) Irkalla” (i.e. Plutus), “the house which they that enter go not forth from” (therefore), “the room in which one course returneth not.” “the house which they that enter long for light,” “a place where much dust is their food, and their victorious clay,” “the light they see not, in darkness they sit; they are clad also, like birds, with apparel of wings; on the door and the bar dust is spread.” Similar, too, is the Homeric conception of the nether world, and the Norse notion of Hela’s realm is not very different.

It is not quite clear whether Manasseh prays merely against death, like Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10, 11, 18), and the Psalmists (Ps. vi. 5; xxx. 9; lxxvii. 10, 11; xxxix. 13); or whether he prays for deliverance from the penalties of the after-life. The Targums often speak of Gehinnom or Gehenna, i.e. hell in our sense, as “the house of woe and pain” reserved for the wretched; and the Book of Enoch describes two places of torment,—one, that of the fallen angels, under the mountains at the ends of the earth; the other, for human offenders, in the valley of Hinnom. But this belongs to the time of the Last Things; and we prefer the former, as the simpler and more natural view. Compare, however, the Ethiopic: “and remember not against me my evil for ever, and take not vengeance upon me in the depths of the earth.”

For thou art the God.] Rather, “Because thou art God, (the) God of them that repent.” The article is omitted before the second Θεος, as in Heb. ἐν τοῖς θεοίς. This clause, too, should be taken with what precedes, as alluding the ground of those entreaties.

and in me thou wilt shew.] The result, “So—if thou hear my prayer—in me thou wilt shew,” &c. (Exod. ix. 16). “My case is so heinous, that mercy to me would be a conspicuous revelation of Divine goodness;
PRAYER OF MANASSES.

for thou wilt save me, that am un-
worthy, according to thy great mercy.
Therefore I will praise thee for ever
all the days of my life: for all the
powers of the heavens do praise thee,
and thine is the glory for ever and
ever. Amen.

because, though unworthy, thou wilt save me,
according to thy great mercy." The wonder
always is, not that God should love the good,
but that He should save the guilty. ΄Εϊς
(Codd. III. and T.) joins on with the fore-
going construction μηδε καταδικαση.

[goodness.] ὁγαθωσόνη, αὐτῶν (2 Chron. xxiv.
16; Rom. xv. 14). The next clause develops
the result, as it respects Manasseh's own
conduct. "And I will praise thee alway (διὰ
παντοτι) in the days of my life (Codd. III. and
T.) [ὡς, πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας, "all the days"];

for thee hymneth all the might of heaven, and
thine is the glory for ever and ever (unto the
age). Amen." Comp. the close of Heze-
kiah's psalm (Isa. xxxviii. 19, 20).

thy great mercy.] τὸ πολὺ ἔλεος σου (Ecclus.
xvi. 12). Elsewhere, τὸ μέγα ἔλ.

the powers of the heavens.] ἦ δύναμις τῶν
οὐρανῶν means "the host of heaven" (so
Ethiop.); i.e. the angels: Isa. xxxiv. 4; 2
Chron. xviii. 18; Matt. xxiv. 29. For the
praise of the angels, see Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 5;
clii. 20, 21.

ADDENDUM TO INTRODUCTION, p. 363 supra.

The Targum of Chronicles adds, after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a
copper mule, and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein, and kindled
fire all around him. And when he was in straits, he besought help of all the idols which he
had made, and was not helped, because they were worthless. And he turned, and prayed
before the Lord his God, and humbled himself exceedingly before Jehovah, the God of his
fathers; and he prayed before Him. Forthwith went all the angels, that are set over the
entrances of the gates of prayer in heaven, and closed on his account all the entrances of the
gates of prayer in heaven, and all the windows and lattices of heaven, that his prayer might
not be received. And forthwith rolled round the pity of the Lord of the World, whose right
hand is stretched out to receive the sinners that return to the fear of Him, and break the
disposition of their heart by penitence. And He made a lattice, and an aperture in heaven,
beneath His glorious throne, and heard his prayer, and received his petition. And He shook
the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder, and he went forth therefrom. And
the Spirit from between the wings of the Cherubim went forth and breathed upon him by
decree of the Word of the Lord, and he returned unto his kingdom, unto Jerusalem. And
Manasseh knew that the Lord He was God, Who had worked with him these signs and
wonders; and he turned with all his heart before the Lord, and forsook all the idols, and
served them not." (Targum of Chronicles, ed. M. F. Beck: August. Vindel. 1680; with
corrections of the text from P. de Lagarde's 'Hagiographa Chaldaica,' Lipsiae, 1873.)
Compare the fragmentary accounts at p. 363 supra; and the Introduction to the Song of the
Three Children.
THE FIRST BOOK
OF THE
MACCABEES.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. SUBJECT OF THE BOOK AND ITS
DIVISIONS

§ II. STYLE AND DICTION

§ III. AUTHENTICITY OF THE NARRATIVE

§ IV. UNITY OF THE WORK

§ V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND
AUTHOR

§ VI. DATE OF COMPOSITION

§ VII. SOURCES OF THE WORK

§ VIII. RELIGIOUS TONE AND CHARACTER

The main narrative of the Book divides itself into five portions:—1. An account of the proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Hellenizing party which supported him, for the abolition of the Jewish religion and the desecration of the Temple (chap. i. 10–64). 2. The revolt of a certain number of Jews under Mattathias, and the commencement of the war of independence under his guidance and management (chap. ii. 1–79). 3. The conduct of the war by his son, Judas Maccabaeus, from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161 (chaps. iii.–ix. 22). 4. The conduct of the war and of affairs generally by Jonathan, brother of Judas, from B.C. 161 to B.C. 143. And 5. The conduct of affairs by Simon, brother of Judas and Jonathan, from B.C. 143 to B.C. 135.

§ II. STYLE AND DICTION.

The style of the Book is varied. By far the greater part is written in a plain and simple narrative style, very similar to that of Judges, Samuel, and the two Books of Kings. There is the same brevity, the same lack of ornament, the same absence of what are commonly regarded as the graces of composition. But, on occasions, this style passes into a higher one. Under the influence of excited feeling the writer warms into
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elegance, and expresses himself with rhetorical emphasis and amplification. Examples of this style are the following:—Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were, so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of wisdom was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion” (chap. i. 25–29). “Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning” (chap. i. 37–40). “Upon this the host assembled themselves together, and went up into Mount Sion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the court as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests’ chambers pulled down, they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, and fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven” (chap. iv. 37–40). Further instances will be found in chaps. vi. 39, ix. 10, xiv. 8–15. Finally, there are places where the style is not so much rhetorical as poetical, actual poems being worked into the narrative, which have all the excellences of the highest Hebrew art. Of these, the most remarkable is the “Lament of Mattathias,” in chap. ii. 7–13; but further specimens will be found in the dying utterance of Mattathias (chap. ii. 49–68), in the eulogium on Judas (chap. iii. 3–9), in his prayers (chaps. iii. 18–22; iv. 8–11, 30–33; vii. 41, 42), in the prayer of the Jews on the height over against Jerusalem (chap. iii. 50–53), and in the last words of Epiphanes (chap. vi. 10–13). It is remarkable that the poetical passages are contained, all of them, in the first seven chapters; and even of the highly rhetorical passages there is one only (chap. xiv. 8–15) which belongs to a later portion of the treatise. This will be seen to be a matter of some importance, when we come to consider the probable “sources” of the narrative.

The work, as we have it, is written in Hellenistic Greek, like the Septuagint and the New Testament. It is, however, even more full than most Hellenistic Greek, of marked and sometimes harsh Hebraisms. This point will be further considered in a later section. The peculiar words (απαξ λεγόμενα) are not many in number. The following are all that have been noticed:—εξονόμησε (chap. i. 39), φονοκτονία (ib. 24), δειλόμαι (iv. 8, 21, &c.), ἀπιστία (iv. 57), ὑμηρα for ὑμηροί (viii. 7, &c.), δειλόμαι (viii. 15), εὖνατάζομαι (x. 79), παγείον for πέγειον (xi. 5, 11), τελωνεία (xiii. 39), ἀποσκοπέται (xi. 55), υπλόδοιον (xiv. 32), εὐφυστρέφει (ib. 44), and δεισάμενο (xv. 5). Besides these, a certain number of words are employed in new and strange senses, as διαστολή in chap. viii. 7, ἀδύνα in chap. viii. 14, and παράστασις in chap. xv. 32.

§ III. AUTHENTICITY OF THE NARRATIVE.

Serious attempts to impugn the authenticity of the history contained in the First Book of Maccabees were made in the last century. E. T. Wernsdorf in the year 1746, and his brother Gottfried in 1747, subjected the work to a rigid examination, and believed that they had discovered in it historical errors so numerous and important as to deprive it of all authority. But the discussion which these attacks raised terminated in favour of the work impugned, and among modern critics of the literature of the period there

1 See the comment on the passage, where an attempt has been made to give the rhythmic effect of the original.

2 See § V.

3 See E. H. Wernsdorf’s De fontibus historie Syriac, Lipsia, 1746; and Gottf. Wernsdorf’s Comment. hist. crit. de fide librorum Maccab., Vratisl., 1747.
FIRST BOOK OF THE MACCABEES.

is scarcely one who does not, expressly or by implication, allow the Book to be of the highest value, trustworthy in the main, and an authority for the history of the period second to no other. De Wette says of it, that it is "im Ganzen sehr glaubwürdig, genau chronologisch, und sich vor den andern historischen Erzeugnisser dieser Zeit vortheilhaft auszeichnend." 1 Ewald remarks: "The author was probably one of the first who embraced the whole compass of these thirty or forty years in a popular narrative, and his work still breathes the freshest inspiration of the peculiar elevation and glory of the time. In simple language it reproduces the clearest recollection of the full and many-sided truth of this great age, and its various development." 2 Both he and Dean Stanley base their narrative of the period mainly upon the statements of the writer of the Book, whose means of information they regard as good, and his honesty as unimpeachable.

The evidence of authenticity may be summed up under the two heads of external and internal evidence. The external evidence is somewhat scanty, owing to the fact that the remains of classical antiquity which bear upon the period and country are less copious than might have been desired. Still, the history recorded has many points of agreement with Polybius, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, and Porphyry (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can."); and also some with the epitomes of Livy's later books, with Justin, and with Granius Libanius; while it nowhere contradicts any statements of these writers, except where they are at variance one with another. It is, moreover, in complete harmony with the coins of the Syrian kings belonging to the period, and with the evidence—slight, no doubt, but not unimportant—furnished by the coins of Judæa.

Internal evidence of authenticity is furnished, first, by the general air of probability in the narrative, and especially by the entire absence from it of the miraculous element. Considering the circumstances of the time, the prevalent exaltation of spirit and strength of faith, it might have been expected that a similar tone would have pervaded the narrative to that which we find in the Second Book, where miraculous appearances are of frequent occurrence, and the continual active interposition of God in human affairs is a fundamental idea. In the First Book this idea finds no place, or at any rate no further place than is involved in the belief that "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (James v. 16. Comp. 1 Macc. iv. 10–14, 30–34; vii. 41–43; xi. 71, 72). The successes of the Jews are the result of faith in God, and of earnest appeals to Him for protection and assistance, but are not accomplished by any visible supernatural agency. Secondly, the writer shews his candour and love of truth by an unsparring exposure of all the shortcomings of his own people—of their sinfulness, their half-heartedness, their defeats, their frequent despondency. On the other hand, he does not unduly disparage his people's adversaries. Having once designated Epiphanes as "a wicked root" (μικρός ἀμαρτωλός, chap. i. 10), he abstinents from any further word of dispraise. He bestows no abusive epithet on any Syrian general, neither on Lysias, nor Bacchides, nor Nicanor, nor Cendebeus. 3 Again, there is a moderation in his estimates of numbers which is remarkable, 4 indicating, as it does, a clear intention of not overstepping the truth. Finally, there is a particularity and exactness in his geographical notices, such as belongs commonly to authentic narratives, while it rarely characterises those which are fictitious, mainly or wholly.

Still, though the work is to be regarded as, in the main, a thoroughly credible

1 Einleitung in das Alt. Test., § 399, p. 398.
2 History of Israel, 1 vol. v. p. 465, E. 7.
3 The largest Syrian force mentioned in 1 Macc. consists of 120,000 foot and 8,000 horse (ch. xv. 13)—not an extravagant estimate, considering that Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (App. "Syria", § 32). The greatest number of Syriains slain in any one battle is 5,000 (ch. iv. 34; vii. 32); the entire number of Syriains slain, 26,800. The author of the Second Book, on the other hand, makes the slain twice 20,000, twice a little over 20,000, twice 25,000, once 30,000, and once 35,000 (ch. xv. 27); while his total of slain mounts up to 221,100! 6
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history, it must be confessed that it contains a considerable number of mistakes. These belong especially to the portions of the history which treat of foreign nations, and of times somewhat remote from the writer's own day. In his sketch of the rise and progress of the Macedonian power, the writer wrongly states, 1. That Alexander the Great " slew the kings of the earth" (chap. i. 2); 2. That on his death-bed he made a partition of his kingdom among his friends (ib. 6); and 3. That these friends "all put crowns upon their heads" (ib. 9). His longer and more elaborate account of the growth and character of the Roman Republic contains the following errors:—1. That the Romans had, in B.C. 161, "brought the Galatians under tribute" (chap. viii. 2); 2. That, by the same time, they had conquered the whole of Spain (ib. 4); 3. That the elephants brought into the field by Antiochus the Great at the battle of Magnesia amounted to 120, whereas the real number was 54 (ib. 6); 4. That Antiochus was taken prisoner in the engagement (ib. 7); 5. That India formed a portion of his dominions at the time (ib. 8); 6. That India and Media were ceded by Antiochus to Rome and made over by Rome to Eumenes (ib.); 7. That the Greeks aimed at invading Italy and destroying Rome (ib. 9); 8. That the Romans had conquered Greece before B.C. 161 (ib. 10); 9. That the number of the Roman Senate was 320 (ib. 15); 10. That the Senate sat daily (ib.); 11. That the Romans were governed by a single annual magistrate (ib. 16); and 12. That "there was neither envy nor emulation among them" (ib.). The number and character of these errors detract seriously from the authority of the writer as a general historian, but leave his credibility in respect of his own nation and times untouched. He may not indeed be always absolutely correct on these subjects; but his testimony is not to be set aside without very strong counter-evidence.

§ IV. UNITY OF THE WORK.

The unity of the work has not, so far as we are aware, been called in question. The unity of its plan is evident; and though a greater elevation of style characterises the portion anterior to the death of Judas (chaps. i.—ix. 18), yet the difference is not very marked, and there is one passage in a later chapter (chap. xiv. 4—15) where the author takes almost as high a flight as in any section of the earlier narrative. The diction is throughout uniform; and there are one or two peculiarities of the writer which may be traced through the whole Book from first to last. The most striking of these is his reticence with respect to the Holy Name, which occurs, according to the best manuscripts, once only in the entire history (chap. iv. 24). The usual mode of avoidance is a substitution of the word "Heaven" for "God" or "Lord," while sometimes there is a mere awkward omission, which our translators have thought it necessary to supply. Another peculiarity is exactness with respect to dates; and this is a feature equally conspicuous throughout.

§ V. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND AUTHOR.

That the First Book of Maccabees abounds in Hebraisms of a marked and somewhat harsh character is generally admitted. Such phrases as "recovering the Law out of the hand of the Gentiles" (chap. ii. 48), "walking according to a man's sayings" (chap. vi. 23), "finding favour in men's sight" (x. 60), "the book of the days of his priesthood" (chap. xvi. 24), are unmistakable, and betray a familiarity with Semitic turns of expression which sufficiently indicates the ethnic type whereto the writer belonged. But it has been questioned whether this would by itself prove that the original work was written in Hebrew, since "the Hebraisms which exist are," it is said, "such as might have been naturalised in the Hebrew-Greek of Palestine." The writer

1 See above, § II.
2 See ch. iii. 50, 60; iv. 10, 40; ix. 46; xvi. 3.
3 As in ch. i. 62; ii. 21, 26; iii. 22, 53, 60; iv. 10, 55; xvi. 3. In ch. iii. 18, vii. 27, and vii. 41, the MSS. have two readings, one suppressing, the other expressing, the Holy Name.
4 See ch. i. 54; ii. 70; iii. 37; iv. 52; vi. 16, 20; vii. 1, 49; ix. 3, 54; x. 1, 57, 67; xi. 19; xii. 41, 54; xiv. 1, 27; xv. 10; xvi. 14.
might have been a Semite, a native of Palestine, a Jew, and yet have written in Greek, as did James and John, Peter, Mark, and Jude. If this had been the case, his Greek would no doubt have been deeply tinged with a Hebraistic character. Is it more deeply tinged than would be accounted for by this hypothesis? It is difficult to give a decided answer to this question; but our own impression is that, even apart from any external testimony, sound criticism would have pronounced the work a translation from a Semitic original.¹

¹ It is impossible fully to exhibit the evidence on which our impression rests, but the following list of Hebraisms in the first half of the first chapter may be taken as a sample of it:—

Ch. i. 1. Ἐγένοντο, as an opening phrase, corresponds to the Heb. יִנַּה (Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 11; Nehem. i. 1; Esth. i. 1, &c.). ἐπατέων for “to defeat” corresponds to the Hebrew use of נתן, יֶתֶן literally renders the Heb. יִנַּה יְנָנָה.

Ch. i. 3. ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν literally renders ἔν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτῶν.

Ch. i. 4. Ἐγένοντο εἰς φόρον literally renders מִשְׁךָ (Gen. xliv. 15).

Ch. i. 10. ἐν ἡμείς ἐν τῇ γῇ literally renders ἐν ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ γῇ.

Ch. i. 11. Πίσιν (of a man) literally renders ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἰδίου.

Ch. i. 12. Διαβιβάσθη διαφύλαξιν literally renders ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Κύριος (ἡμῶν) literally renders θύμια.

Ch. i. 13. Ἐχοῦσα δόξαν εἰς ἀργυροῦς literally renders ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ.

Ch. i. 14. Καὶ ἐπραβέσθη τοῦ πονηροῦ literally renders ἔπραχθη τῷ πονηρῷ (2 Kings xvii. 17).

Ch. i. 17. Πολυάγους εἰρήνην literally renders πολύν ἐπιεύγητον.

Ch. i. 18. Ἐν Χαλεπ Βαρείον literally renders ἐν τῷ Χαλεπ Βαρείῳ.

Ch. i. 19. Καὶ ἐπέστη τραχύτατος polloi literally renders ἔπεσεν πολλοῖς, ἐπεί τοὺς προσώπους αὐτῶν literally renders ἔπεσεν πολλοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσώπους αὐτῶν.

Ch. i. 23. Τῇ πράξει τῆς προβάσεως literally renders τῇ πράξει τῆς προβάσεως.

Ch. i. 24. Ἐν εἰσβολῆ ἐν τῇ ἐπίθυμητά literally renders ἐν εἰσβολῆς ἐν τῇ ἐπίθυμητᾶ.

Ch. i. 29. Καὶ ἐπέτηκεν ἡ γῇ ἐπιτύχων ἀποκάλυπτα

The matter, however, is one which we need not call in the aid of criticism to determine. The positive testimony of antiquity is such as to leave no doubt on the subject. Origen informs us that the title under which the work was known in his day was ‘Sarbeth Sarbæneel,’ which is a Hebrew and not a Greek description of its contents,¹ while Jerome states that he was acquainted with a Hebrew text which he evidently regarded as the original.² As Origen and Jerome are at once the most critical of the Fathers, and the best acquainted with the Hebrew language and literature, their testimony must be looked upon as entirely decisive of the point here under discussion.

Concerning the author, tradition is wholly silent. The internal evidence shews him to have been a Palestinian Jew, an earnest patriot, and a devout member of the orthodox party. He is deeply impressed with the heroism of the national leaders, and bent on glorifying them, yet not to the extent of concealing their errors or reverses. There is no appearance of his having actually taken part in the events which he relates; but his sympathy with those who were at the head of affairs is so keen that it is difficult to suppose him unacquainted with them. He is a man, however, of the pen rather than of the sword, and probably belonged to the literary class which sprang into being under the stimulating

1 Sarbeth sarbæneel is thought to be put for ἑδρία ραθανα, “History of the princes of the Sons of God” (De Wette, Grimm); but is, in any case, a Semitic, and not a Greek title.

2 Prolog. Galate.
influence of the great national movement and development of the Maccabean times.

§ VI. Date of Composition.

The statement in chap. xiii. 30, that the splendid monument which Simon erected to the memory of his father and brothers was still standing in the writer's day, at once removes him by a not inconsiderable interval from the period of Simon's accession, B.C. 143. It does not, however, remove him from it by such an interval as the ordinary reader might suppose, since the disturbed state of Palestine must be taken into account, and the likelihood that some of the enemies of the Asmonæan dynasty might have destroyed any monument of their glory before it had stood very long. Grimm's estimate of "thirty years" as the shortest period that can be supposed to be intended is a tolerably fair one; and we might therefore conclude from this passage alone that the Book before us was probably not written earlier than about B.C. 113.

It has been generally concluded from the closing words of the Book (ch. xvi. 23, 24), that a still later date must be assigned to it. The writer, it is said, speaks of the reign of John Hyrcanus as if it were over, thereby implying that he outlived him, and wrote after his death. Now John Hyrcanus died in B.C. 106. It is impossible, however, to prove from the words of the writer in the passage adduced, that John Hyrcanus was not still living when he penned them. He merely says that his deeds, from the time that he became high-priest, were written in the high-priestly chronicles. He says nothing of his death or burial. No doubt his words are modelled upon those with which the writers of Kings and Chronicles wind up their account of each monarch upon his demise; but they differ in containing no mention of a funeral or of a successor. Those critics seem to have reason on their side who have concluded that the First Book of Maccabees may have been written in the time of John Hyrcanus, but at an advanced period of his reign (say B.C. 116-106).

We thus obtain the earliest probable date for the composition. The latest probable date is more difficult to determine. The grounds of argument are here, comparatively speaking, intangible and matters of opinion. The consideration of style is thought to indicate a date at least a century earlier than any portion of the New Testament. The simple faith which runs through the account given of Roman disinterestedness (chap. viii. 12-16) could not possibly have outlived the proceedings of Pompey, when in B.C. 63 he took Jerusalem, and is likely to have come to an end much earlier. The jubilant and triumphant tone of the narrative is unsuitable to any time later than the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus, since troubles then set in, which continued, at any rate, till the accession of Herod the Great. The life and spirit of the narrative, and the minuteness of the geographical and local details, are also in favour of a comparatively early composition. Altogether B.C. 105—the year after the death of Hyrcanus—seems to be the latest date that is at all probable, though a date later than this by thirty or forty years cannot be said to be altogether impossible.

§ VII. Sources of the Work.

The writer clearly possesses a number of state-documents, which he regards as authentic, and inserts, either in full or else in an abbreviated form, in his narrative. Such are: i. The letter of the Romans to the Jewish people (chap. viii. 23-32), sent by Eupolemus and Jason, 1 Hengstenberg, "Authentie des Daniel," p. 293; Bertheau, "De Secundo Maccabearum libro," p. 27; Westcott in Dr. W. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 173.

2 See the arguments of Grimm, in his "Introduction," § 7, p. xxv., who assigns for the date the interval between B.C. 105 and B.C. 64; and compare, on the other side, Ewald (L. & c.), who suggests B.C. 105 definitely, and Westcott in Smith's "Dictionary," who places the composition between B.C. 120 and B.C. 100.
the ambassadors dispatched to Rome by Judas Maccabaeus; 2. The letter of Alexander Balas to Jonathan (chap. x. 18–20), granting him the office of High Priest; 3. The letter of Demetrius I. to the Jewish people, offering terms of peace and alliance (chap. x. 25–45); 4. The letter of Demetrius II. to Jonathan, which was to be “set in a conspicuous place” (chap. xi. 30–37); 5. The letter of Jonathan to the Lacedaemonians, proposing a renewal of friendship and brotherhood (ch. xii. 6–18); 6. The previous letter of Areus, king of Sparta, to Onias I., the High Priest (ch. xii. 20–23); 7. The letter of Demetrius II. to Simon the High Priest, renewing friendship and granting privileges (chap. xiii. 36–40); 8. The letter of the Lacedaemonians to Simon renewing friendship (ch. xiv. 20–23); 9. The decree of the Jewish people establishing the high priesthood in Simon’s family and conferring various privileges upon him (chap. xiv. 27–45); 10. The letter of Antiochus Sidetes to Simon proposing alliance and extending Simon’s privileges (chap. xv. 3–9); and 11. The circular letter of the Romans, addressed to states and kingdoms under their influence, on behalf of the Jews (ch. xv. 16–21). These documents have a general air of authenticity about them; but it has to be borne in mind that they are, at the best, translations of translations, having been written originally either in Latin or Greek, then translated by the author of the Book into the later Hebrew, and from this again rendered into Greek by the Greek translator of the Book, who is not likely to have had access to the original documents.

It has sometimes been supposed that, besides these written authorities—authorities of great value, but scattered and discontinuous—our author may have had access to a set of state papers, which contained something like an unbroken history of his nation from the time of the completion of the Second Temple, B.C. 516. Ewald supposes that “the high-priestly journals were kept up continually after the foundation of the new temple,” and that “after the Asmonaeans became high-priests and national princes, they were elevated to the rank of the previous annals of the kingdom.” He even quotes 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24 as favouring this view. But though that passage distinctly proves the keeping of such journals from the accession of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135), it furnishes an argument against, rather than for, their composition during the preceding period. For it is difficult to conceive of any reason having determined the writer of the Book on concluding his own narrative with the accession of John, other than the fact that he considered the existence of the high-priestly chronicles from that date to render the continuance of his history unnecessary. In fact, the troubles of the time were so great from the beginning of the oppression of Epiphanes, B.C. 170, to the accession of Simon, B.C. 143, that we can scarcely imagine any records kept, so that the question seems to narrow itself to this: Did or did not Simon leave an official record of his high-priesthood? The answer would seem to be, that, however probable it may appear that he would have done so, there is no evidence that he did. In any case, the high-priestly journals must have failed our author for the greater portion of the time whereof he treats, and it becomes necessary to consider whether we cannot trace his main narrative, certainly or probably, to a different source.

It has been suggested that he took his account of the origin of the insurrection and of the exploits of Judas from an earlier literary work treating expressly of that period. His own words in chap. ix. 22 have been supposed to imply that such a work existed; and the peculiarly poetical character of the portion of the Book dealing with the history of Judas has been thought to be best accounted

1. 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 462, E. T.
2. See note 4 ad loc.
3. See the remarks of Grimm ('Einleitung,' § 6, p. xxiii.), “Da der Berichtsteller unter Verweisung auf Johan. Hyrcan's Jahrbücher den Faden der Erzählung gerade da fallen lässt, wo ihn diese Jahrbücher aufnehmen, so scheinen über die Thaten und Schicksale der drei Vor-gänger Hyrcan’s keine derartigen Jahrbücher vorhanden gewesen zu seyn, indem in solchem Falle der Verfasser sein Unternehmen für überflüssig erachtet haben würde.”
for by the view that he there transcribed from a work cast in a poetic mould. But this argument, though ingenious, is weak. It is certainly not said in ch. ix. 22, that any written account existed of the exploits of Judas except that of our author; and the difference of tone between the earlier and later chapters of his treatise is sufficiently explained by the superior grandeur and pathos of the events related in the former. The most heroic deeds contained in his history were those of Mattathias and Judas; the latter phases of the war were, comparatively, commonplace. Thus the style merely varies with the subject-matter.

If then the writer is not to be viewed as having derived the general facts of his history either from a chronicle kept by the High Priests and deposited in the archives of the kingdom, or from any work of an earlier historian, what other source is there which can be regarded as open to him? The answer to this question is twofold. In the first place, it is quite possible that he may have written largely from his own recollections. If he wrote, as Ewald supposes, in B.C. 105, and was seventy years old at the time, which cannot be regarded as improbable, his boyhood would have synchronised with the time of Mattathias and Judas, his early manhood with that of Jonathan, and his middle age with the pontificate of Simon, so that the bulk of his history would be an account of the events of his own day. If, on the other hand, he was a comparatively young man when he wrote, he would have had to obtain his facts from those among his elder contemporaries who had witnessed and shared in the transactions. As there are now (1887) living many Waterloo heroes, so in B.C. 105 there would have existed in the Jewish community persons who had seen the “abomination of desolation” on the altar of burnt sacrifice, who had fled into the wilderness with Mattathias, and fought in the early battles of Judas. In default of personal experience the writer would naturally have recourse to these veterans, and would receive at their mouth the graphic descriptions, so minute, so exact, so full of geographical detail, which charm us in his narrative. On the whole, it may be said that the work is most probably based in part upon the writer’s personal knowledge of the facts which he records, more largely upon inquiries which he had made of persons present at events which he did not himself witness, and partly also, but to a comparatively small extent, on documents laid up in the Jewish archives or inscribed on bronze tablets and set up in some public place in Jerusalem (chap. xi. 37; xiv. 18, 27).

§ VIII. RELIGIOUS TONE AND CHARACTER.

The strong religious feeling of the writer, his deep regard for the Law, the Temple, and the Temple worship, his horror at the profanities of Epiphanes and the blasphemies of Nicanor, and his earnest belief in a superintending Providence, are very apparent. But he is careful not to obtrude the religious element into his narrative unnecessarily. His nature is particularly reverent and reticent. He declines, as a general rule, to introduce into his treatise the Holy Names of “God” and “Lord,” whereby the Supreme Being was commonly designated. He does not even express the triumphant successes of the Maccabean princes to the Divine protection and assistance. It would not, perhaps, be remarkable that he mentions no miraculous occurrence as taking place during the war, but for the fact that the authors of the Second and Third Books relate so many. It is clear that he himself believed the successes of the Asmoneans to have been achieved, without miraculous interference, by the ordinary action of those causes and laws which govern the world. Among these causes, however, he assigned an important place to the action of God upon men’s minds, whereby courage is infused or a panic fear produced, so that “the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host” (chap. iii. 19), but “many are shut up into the hands of a few” (ib. 18).

The principle of reticence on sacred subjects may also have caused the absence from his writings of any clear notice of the Messianic hopes which prevailed in his day, and which appear from

1 See above, § IV., sub fin.
the 'Psalms of Solomon' and the 'Book of Enoch,' works of the same age, to have been raised to a high pitch by the successes of the Maccabean princes in their struggle after independence. He has indeed, in one place, a regretful reference to the suspension of prophecy in the past (chap. ix. 27), and twice he "anticipates the future coming of a Prophet as of one who should make a direct revelation of the will of God (chap. iv. 46), and supersede the temporary arrangements of a merely civil dynasty (chap. xiv. 41)." 1 But the Messianic idea occupies no prominent place in his Book, which is narrative, not didactic; and, which, so far as it teaches at all, teaches by example, not by inculcation of belief or even definite statements of doctrine.

CHAPTER I.

14 Antiochus gave leave to set up the fashions of the Gentiles in Jerusalem, 32 and spoiled it, and the temple in it, 57 and set up therein the abomination of desolation, 63, and slew those that did circumcise their children.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Preliminary Historical Sketch.

1–9. The author introduces his narrative by a brief summary of the events which had placed the Jews under Greek rule—to wit, the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the continued power of his successors. These events covered a space of a hundred and fifty-six years (B.C. 331–175), counting from the battle of Arbela. It is remarkable that he makes no mention of the circumstances, that, in the original division of Alexander’s empire, Judea fell to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and that its transfer to Syria did not take place till B.C. 203, when it voluntarily placed itself under the Seleucidae.

1. And it happened.] The Greek words, ἦν ἑγέτης, so frequently used by the Old Testament writers at the commencement of their narratives (Josh. i. 1; Judg. i. 1; Ruth 1. 1; 1 Sam. i. 1; Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 1; Jonah i. 1), the original intention of the phrase was to connect the narrative which it introduced with some previous history; but at the time at which this book was written it had lost this special force, and was a mere archaism. It would be best translated in this place "Now it happened."

Alexander son of Philip.] Alexander the Great is thus distinguished from the Seleucid Alexanders (Balas and Zabinas), with whom the author and his readers would be familiar. They were known respectively as the sons of Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas.

the Macedonian.] The epithet belongs to Alexander, not to Philip. It further distinguishes him from other Alexanders.

the land of Chettim.] Chettim, or Chittim (Num. xxiv. 14; Dan. xi. 30), seems primarily to have designated Cyprus (Joseph. 'A. J.', i. 6, § 1), whose chief town in the more ancient times was Cition; but a later usage extended the term to the islands off the coast of Asia Minor generally, and even to the European coast that lay beyond them. Here "the land of Chettim" can only be Greece or Macedon. Grimm well compares the loose employment of the word "Frank" by Turks and Arabs.

smitten.] I.e. "defeated." The writer uses the verb παιρασσω in this sense constantly (see ch. iii. 11; iv. 2; v. 7, &c.). It is a Hebraism, common in the Septuagint (Num. xxii. 24; Deut. ii. 33, vii. 2; Josh. viii. 22, 24, &c.).

Darius king of the Persians.] This is Darius III., or Darius Codomannus, the same king whose name occurs in Nehem. xii. 22. Alexander defeated Darius III. twice—at Issus in B.C. 333, and two years later at Arbela, in the ancient Assyria. As it was this last victory which gave him the empire of the East, it is no doubt the one here intended.

and Medes.] It is curious to find "the Medes" still obtaining such honourable mention. No doubt they were always regarded as the chief of the subject nations; but it is in the earlier times of the Persian empire that their rank is most apparent. In Daniel Media even has precedence over Persia (Dan. v. 28; vi. 8, 12, 15). In Esther the position is reversed (Esth. i. 3, 14, 18, 19), except in one place (ch. x. 2). In Ezra and Nehemiah the Medes drop wholly out of sight. It would seem, however, that their honourable position was, in point of fact, maintained until the close of the Empire (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.', iv. 7, § 2; xii. 4, § 11).
he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece,

And made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth,

be reigned in his stead, the first over Greece.] There is probably some corruption here, or some mistranslation of the Hebrew original. The Syriac version has—"he reigned in his stead, but previously he had reigned over Greece," and this may give us a clue to the real intention of the writer. It is absurd to suppose, with Eichhorn and Hengstenberg, that he was so ignorant of history as to imagine that Darius Codomannus had been King of Greece.

2. And made many wars.] Some of these were in Europe, before he crossed into Asia, as those with the Triballi and Gete, and with the Illyrians. The remainder were in Asia, and included his war with Darius and his conquests, after Darius’s death, in Bactria, Sogdiana, Arachosia, and India. Alexander’s career of victory covered the space between B.C. 335 and B.C. 324.

and won many strong holds.] As Thebes, in B.C. 335; Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Celaenae, in B.C. 334; Tyre and Gaza, in B.C. 332; Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, in B.C. 331; Ecbatana and Ragge in B.C. 330; Bactra and Maracanda, in B.C. 329; Chorienne and the rock of Aornus, in B.C. 327. Alexander made it a point of honour to take every stronghold which refused to submit to him (Arrian, ‘Exp. Alex.’ iii. 30; iv. 17, 18, 22, &c.).

and slew the kings of the earth.] This is scarcely a correct statement, since Alexander’s clemency was remarkable. Probably the writer was not intimately acquainted with the great conqueror’s history, and moreover expressed himself rhetorically, meaning simply that he prevailed over all his adversaries. It is quite inadmissible to regard him as alluding, in such a connection as the present, to the murder of Clitus, or the execution of suspected officers.

3. And went through to the ends of the earth,] Samarcand, the Sutlej, and the Indian Ocean were “ends of the earth” to all but a select few in the first and second centuries B.C. Alexander’s soldiers had themselves complained, by the mouth of Curtius, that he had led them to the extreme limit of the habitable world (“Pene in ultimo mundi fine consistimus.” Q. Curt. ‘Hist. Al.’ ix. 3).

and took spoils.] The booty which Alexander acquired in the course of his conquests was, according to all accounts, immense. At Issus the Persian camp was found full of gold and silver plate, the royal tent exceeding all others in magnificence. A large treasure was captured, soon after the battle, at Damascus (Arr. ‘Exp. Alex.’ ii. 11, § 13; Parmen. ap. Athen. ‘Deipn.’ xiii. p. 607). Another considerable gain was made at Arbela, after the great fight (Q. Curt. ‘Hist. Al.’ v. 1). But all these were small matters compared with the enormous captures made at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. The spoils of Babylon enabled the victor to give to every man in his army sums varying from six pounds sterling to eighteen; at Susa the treasury contained 50,000 talents, or above 12,000,000l. of our money; while at Persepolis the value of the precious metals captured is reckoned at above 27,000,000l. (See Grote, ‘History of Greece,’ vol. viii. p. 394.) When Alexander reached Ecbatana, he deposited there the almost incredible sum of 180,000 talents, or above 43,000,000l. (Ibid. p. 400.)

insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.] Literally, “And the earth was quiet before him.” No one, i.e., ventured to oppose him (compare ch. xi. 38)—his will was law to all.

be was exalted.] Rather, as in the margin, “his heart was exalted.” (Compare Hosea xiii. 6.) The effect produced on Alexander by the intoxication of success is abundantly noted by profane historians. “Here,” says Curtius (i.e. in Parthia), “he openly gave the rein to his desires, and exchanged restraint and moderation, the highest excellences of exalted fortune, for pride and licence. He laid aside the customs of his ancestors, as unsuited to his own greatness, and, adopting those of the Persian court, aspired to equal the lofty grandeur of the gods. He began to allow himself to be worshipped by prostrate crowds, and aimed at making his victorious companions in arms as base and servile as their vanquished foes. He assumed the diadem of purple spotted with white which Darius had worn, and took the Persian habit, regardless of the evil omen involved in replacing the ensigns of conquest by those of defeat. He boasted that thus he bore the spoils of Asia on his person; but in reality with the spoils he donned Asiatic manners, and added to pride of array an insolent and overbearing spirit” (Q. Curt. ‘Hist. Al.’ vi. 6, § 1; compare Arrian, ‘Exp. Al.’ iv. 8, § 7).
4. And he gathered a mighty strong host, and ruled over countries, and nations, and kings, who became tributaries unto him.

5 And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die.

6 Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.

7 So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died.

8 And his servants bare rule every one in his place.

4. be gathered a mighty strong host.] The army with which Alexander invaded Asia amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 4,500 horse (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. vii. p. 395); but the reinforcements which he received from time to time were large, and at Arbela his troops did not fall far short of 50,000 (Arr. 'Exp. Al.' iii. 12). It is not probable that he ever collected together a much larger force than this. The "strength" of his army was in its quality rather than its numbers.

and ruled over . . . kings.] The marginal "kingdoms" is certainly wrong. By τιματοι, the writer probably means "satraps," or "rulers of provinces." Compare Esther ix. 5, where ἀκμασάσαρπινιμ, "satraps," is rendered by τιματοι. Alexander for the most part kept up the Persian satrapal system. In some places, however, he allowed petty kings to retain their titles (Arrian, ii. 13, 20; iii. 2, &c.; Justin, xi. 10).

6. became tributaries unto him.] It was among the main duties of the satraps under the Persian governmental system to collect the tribute of the several provinces and remit it to the Court. Hence had arisen the immense accumulations already mentioned. (See the comment on v. 3.) It was Alexander's intention to continue the same system (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. vii. p. 469); but he had scarcely time to establish it fully before his premature death.

5. fell sick.] Literally, "he fell upon his bed," or, as we say, "took to his bed." (Compare Judith viii. 5, where nearly the same expression is used.) Alexander's illness lasted nine days (Arrian, vii. 25, 26; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 76); but it was only for the last two days that he remained in bed without rising.

and perceived that he should die.] Alexander seems scarcely to have realised the fact that he was dying until very shortly before he became speechless. Had he done so, he would probably have taken more decided steps with regard to the succession than he did.

6. called his servants.] By "his servants" the writer means "his courtiers." Compare I Kings xi. 26, xvi. 9; 2 Kings xxii. 23; Matt. xiv. 2, &c.
9 And after his death they all put
crowns upon themselves; so did their
sons after them many years: and evils
were multiplied in the earth.

place.] Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt;
Pithon in Media; Antigonus in Phrygia,
Lydia, and Pamphylia; Eumenes the Car
dian in Cappadocia; Leonnatus in Mysia;
Lysimachus in Thrace; Menander in Lydia;
Asander in Caria; Philotas in Cilicia; La
omedon in Syria; Antipater and Craterus, as
guardians and regents for Philip Arrhidaeus,
in Macedonia.

9. after his death they all put crowns upon
themselves.] The author does not state that
the crowns were assumed immediately after
Alexander's death, nor does he, in all proba
bility, intend his expression, "they all put
crowns upon themselves," to be taken lite
rally. The greater part of the chiefs above
named did assume the diadem; and ulti
mately all the fragments of Alexander's
empire became kingdoms under crowned
rulers. It is the latter fact which the author
has specially in his mind.

their sons after them.] All the monarchies
formed out of Alexander's empire were heri
ditary, the right of succession belonging to
the eldest son. Naturally, each such prince
assumed the diadem on his father's demise.

many years.] From Alexander's death, in
B.C. 323, to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes,
in B.C. 175, was a hundred and forty
eight years—nearly a century and a half.
During the whole of this time "evils were
multiplied upon the earth." Ewald says of
"the Greek age," as he calls it: "The first
decades of this period passed away amid the
continuous wars of Alexander, and the still
more devastating campaigns of his successors,
which were little favourable to the fusion of
the two nationalities. Beneath the tinsel
of Greek culture the times were exceedingly
disordered; and all the nations of Asia had
much to suffer from the craving for new do
minions and the perpetual wars of the suc
cessors of Alexander, whose own thirst for
conquest was only quenched by death" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 225, E.T.).
Palestine was, during the whole period, the
battle-ground between the rival powers of
Egypt and Syria, whose armies were con
tinually traversing the territory, and carrying
fire and sword into its most sequestered
districts and hamlets.

§ 2. Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes,
and Commencement of Hellenizing
Practices.

10-15. From his brief introductory sketch
the writer passes at a bound to the special
subject of his narrative—the tyranny of Antio
chus Epiphanes, and the events which grew
out of it. After noting the accession of the
hated monarch, he gives an account of the
proceedings soon after taken by a Hellenizing
party among the Jews themselves, who were
opposed to the ordinary Hebrew exclusive
ness, and desired a fusion with the heathen.
This party had grown up by degrees under
the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule, and
embraced a considerable portion of the upper
and middle classes, who were attracted by
the culture of the Greeks, by their light
heartedness, by the splendour of their cities,
and the pleasurable character of their amuse
ments. The Greeks had built numerous
towns in Palestine; had introduced their lan
guage, literature, and art; had given the Jews
privileges at Alexandria and elsewhere, and
studied and appreciated to some extent the
Jewish sacred writings. Without any vio
lent efforts, such as those made by Epiphanes
('v. 41-61), there was serious danger of the
Jews relinquishing all their peculiar tenets
and usages, and becoming amalgamated with
Greco-Macedonians.

10. a wicked root.] The word šḥôresh
in Hebrew, and its correspondent, πίτθα, in
Greek, though properly meaning "root," are
used also to denote a sprout or sapling which
springs up from an old stem or stock. (Cf.
I.s. x. 10, lxxii. 17; Rev. v. 5, xii. 16.) And
this seems to be its sense here. On the
"wickedness" of Antiochus Epiphanes, see
Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 288-9:
"Antiochus IV. was one of those strange
characters in whom an eccentricity, touching
insanity on the left and genius on the right,
combined with absolute power and lawless
passion to produce a portentous result. . . .
There was an extravagance, a littleness, in
all his demeanour, which agrees with the un
intelligible madman of the Gentile writers,
and 'the vile person' of the Hebrew poets
and historians."

Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes.] Or "illu
srious." Appian ridiculously connects the
epithet with the sudden appearance ('προ
gêvas) of the monarch on his return from
his Roman captivity ('Syriaca,' § 45). But
it had been previously borne by Ptolemy V.
in Egypt, and is evidently on a par with the
other flattering titles of the time, Euergetes,
Philadephos, Eupator, Callinicus, and the
like. The coins of the king bear the title very
commonly.

son of Antiochus.] Epiphanes succeeded
B.C. 175. Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them, we have had much sorrow.

So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them his brother, Seleucus IV., Philopator (2 Macc. iv. 7); but he was the son of Antiochus III., commonly called "Antiochus the Great." Antiochus III. reigned from B.C. 223 to B.C. 187; Seleucus IV. from that date to B.C. 175.

Who had been an hostage at Rome.] The relative "who" refers to Epiphanes, and not to his father. When the Romans quarrelled with Antiochus the Great, and, having invaded Asia in force, defeated him at Magnesia (B.C. 190), they required him, as one of the terms of peace, to give hostages for his good behaviour. These were twenty in number; and among them was his younger son, Antiochus (Appian, 'Syriaica,' § 38). Shortly before his death (B.C. 176) Seleucus, the elder son and successor of Antiochus the Great, exchanged his own son, Demetrius, for his brother, Antiochus; and the latter was on his way home when Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, his treasurer ('ibid., § 45).

The hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.] The "era of the Greeks" commenced in October, B.C. 312, when Seleucus Nicator assumed the diadem. The 137th year of the Greeks would consequently commence in October, B.C. 175, and terminate in October, B.C. 174. Epiphanes probably became king early in this interval. The Seleucid era was not only employed by the Syrians, and therefore, naturally, by their subjects the Jews, but was even adopted by the independent nation of the Parthians, and is found upon their coins down to the very close of the empire, A.D. 226. (See the author's 'Sixth Monarchy,' p. 367.)

In those days.] A common note of time in Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek. (See Ex. ii. 11; Judg. xviii. 1, xix. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 1; 2 Kings xx. 1; Matt. iii. 1, &c.) It always implies a certain vagueness, meaning, not "at that time," but "about that time."

Went there out of Israel wicked men.] Grimm compares Deut. xiii. 13, where the LXX. have εἰς κληρον ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πατρεῖανοι. "Wicked men" was probably in the original "sons of Belial." The writer, it will be observed, does Epiphanes the justice to allow that the first steps in the Hellenizing movement, to which he is so much opposed, were taken by an irreligious party among the Jews themselves, who courted the change which Epiphanes afterwards strove to bring about. Such a latitudinarian spirit first shewed itself among the Jews in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, by whom it was sternly, and (as it would seem) for a time successfully, repressed (Ezra ix. and x.; Nehem. xiii. 1-28). Now it had once more broken out, and come to a head. The chief patron of the Hellenizing party was Joshua, a brother of the high-priest Onias, who Grecoized his name into Jason, and, betaking himself to Antioch, entered into negotiations with Epiphanes, which had the results indicated in v. 13-15.

Let us . . . make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us.] The author does not mean "with the surrounding heathen generally" — the Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines, Arabsians, Egyptians, &c.,—but only with the Greeks. The Greeks had planted so many cities in every part of Palestine, that they might well be said to dwell "round about" Judaea. That a definite "covenant," or agreement, was made between Jason and Epiphanes appears from 2 Macc. iv. 7-10.

Since we departed from them.] Lit. "since we separated ourselves off from the rest of the world by our peculiar customs," or, in other words, "since we accepted the law of Moses as the law of the state."

We have bad much sorrow.] Literally, as in the margin, "many evils have found us." No doubt certain inconveniences followed on the maintenance by the Jews of their exclusive position as "the people of God," separated from and exalted above all the nations of the earth. The heathen resented their exclusiveness, and were led to hamper their commerce, to inflict on them petty annoyances, and to make them the object of their ridicule. These inconveniences were magnified into "evils" by the Hellenizing party, who proposed to escape them by throwing down every barrier, and effecting a fusion of two incompatible religions and nationalities.

This device pleased them well.] Literally, "the saying was good in their eyes"—i.e. "what was said pleased them."

They went to the king.] Compare 2 Macc. iv. 7-10, where we learn that Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, led the embassy.
licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen:

14 Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen:

15 And made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief.

16 Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he

...who gave them licence.] It would seem (from 2 Macc. vii. 9) that a royal licence was needed for the opening of a palaestra, or gymnasium, at Jerusalem. Possibly such a licence was required everywhere, since the gymnasias were centres of attraction, and too many provincial gymnasias would be viewed with jealousy by the metropolis. But perhaps the need arose from the peculiar circumstances of Jerusalem, where it may have been thought that the event might produce an outbreak, and that therefore the express authorization of the king was necessary.

14. Whereupon they built a place of exercise.] Or "gymnasium." Gymnasia were courts surrounded by walls, and containing exercise-grounds, rooms, and porticoes, intended for the bodily training of both youths and adults. Their most essential features were an open space, usually either square or oblong, surrounded by colonnades, in which most of the exercises—e.g. wrestling, leaping, throwing the quoit, boxing, and throwing the javelin—were performed; a stadium, or course for the foot-race; and a xystus, or quiet recreation-ground, usually planted with trees. Among the rooms were one for dressing and undressing, a cold-bath room, a hot-bath room, a room where oil was rubbed in, a perspiring-room (sudatorium), a cooling-room (frigidarium), and others. The rooms and exercise-grounds were continually thronged by those who frequented the gymnasia for gymnastic purposes; the porticoes furnished agreeable lounges for philosophers, rhetoricians, artists, and spectators, who wished to while away a leisure hour. Dean Stanley says with much force, in speaking of the erection of this first gymnasiuin Jerusalem, "it is startling to think of the sudden influx of Grecian manners into the very centre of Palestine. The modesty of the sons and daughters of Abraham was shocked by the establishment of the Greek palaestra under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12), where, in defiance of some of the most sensitive feelings of their countrymen, the most active of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves, and ran, wrestled, leaped in the public sports, like the Grecian athletes, wearing only the broad-brimmed hat, in imitation of the head-gear of the god Hermes, guardian of the gymnastic festivals. Even the priests in the Temple caught the infection (2 Macc. iv. 14), left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle, as soon as they heard the signal for throwing the discus, which was to lead off the games." (Jewish Church, vol. iii. p. 291.)

15. And made themselves uncircumcised.] LXX. sought to conceal their circumcision by means of a further surgical operation. (See Celsius, 'De Medic. vii. 18; and compare 1 Cor. vii. 18.)

forsook the holy covenant.] "The holy covenant" is not so much the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 10), as that far broader covenant made between God and His people at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 3-8). The expression seems to be adopted from Dan. xi. 28-30, where it is used three times in connection with the wicked doings of Epiphanes.

joined themselves to the heathen.] Literally, "they yoked themselves." (Compare 2 Cor. vi. 14.)

were sold to do mischief.] Compare 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17.

§ 3. THE WAR OF EPIPHANES WITH EGYPT.

16. The war of Antiochus Epiphanes with Egypt was not a pure war of aggression. It was provoked by the Egyptian king, Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who claimed Cæsarya and Palestine as the dowry of his mother, Cleopatra, and, when Epiphanes refused to yield them, flew to arms and actually invaded the Syrian territory (B.C. 172). Antiochus in B.C. 171, having collected a considerable army, undertook the recovery of the places occupied by the Egyptians, and, having succeeded in his object so far, pressed forward into Egypt, defeated the forces of Ptolemy at Pelusium, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole country. He would probably have succeeded, had not the Romans interposed, and required him to relinquish his conquests.

16. when the kingdom was established.] Compare 1 Kings ii. 12, 46; 2 Chr. i. 1; 2 Kings xiv. 5. There was usually a time of trouble at the commencement of an Oriental monarch's reign, at the end of which his power became "established." Epiphanes' troubles lasted from B.C. 175 to B.C. 171.
thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms.

17 Wherefore he entered into Egypt, with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,

18 And made war against Ptoleme king of Egypt: but Ptoleme was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death.

19 Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.

20 And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and went up against Israel.

be thought to reign over Egypt.] Antiochus can scarcely have begun the war with this expectation; but after the battle of Pelusium he no doubt entertained the idea. Had it not been for the Romans, he would probably have effected his purpose.

of two realms.] Rather, "of the two realms"—i.e. Syria and Egypt.

17. be entered into Egypt with a great multitude.] Rather, "with a strong force." Compare Dan. xi. 25. The number of his forces is nowhere recorded.

chariots, and elephants, and horsemen.] The employment of war-chariots by the Seleucids is noticed by Appian ('Syria,' § 52), Livy (xxxvii. 40), and others. They are said to have been armed with spears projecting from the pole, and scythes (or rather sickles) attached to the naves of the wheels and the ends of the yokes (Livy, xxxvii. 41; compare 2 Macc. xiii. 3). Elephants were also employed by the Syrian kings in large numbers (Livy, xxxvii. 40, xxxvii. 38; Polyb. xxxii. 26, xxxi. 5, &c.). Eighty are said to have been brought by Lyons against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4).

and a great navy.] The march of armies from Syria into Egypt, or from Egypt into Syria, is much facilitated by the support of a "navy." The great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties made Syrian expeditions both by land and sea (Brugsch, 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. i. pp. 371-3, &c.). So did the Ptolemies (Herod. ii. 159, 161). When Cambyses invaded Egypt, he took care to be accompanied by Greek and Phoenician ships (ib. iii. 13, 19). Alexander's long delay at Tyre when on his way to Egypt was to secure a naval force. A navy is especially needed when the attack is made from Syria, since not only is it serviceable for conveying supplies, but necessary in order to command the Egyptian waters. The fleet of Epiphanes is mentioned by Livy (xlv. 19; xlv. 11). It proved stronger than the Egyptian fleet.

18. Ptoleme king of Egypt.] This king was Ptolemy VI, called Philometor, the son of Ptolemy Epiphanes and of Cleopatra, Antiochus's sister. He was a weak prince, and no more than seventeen years of age at the time of Antiochus's invasion.

Ptoleme was afraid of him, and fled.] This is scarcely in accordance with the history as it has come down to us from other writers. At the first great battle near Pelusium Ptolemy appears not to have been present (Diod. Sic. p. 579, ed. Wesseling). Afterwards, fearing perhaps the consequences of further resistance, he submitted to his uncle, and became his tool; but he never fled from any show of force, much less from any actual engagement.

19. they got the strong cities.] As Pelusium, Memphis, and others. Alexandria still held out under Ptolemy Physon, the brother of Philometor, whom the Egyptians had placed at their head when Philometor submitted to Antiochus.

§ 4. THE RETURN OF ANTIQUOS FROM EGYPT, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS AT JERUSALEM.

20. be returned again.] The return of Antiochus to Syria in the winter of B.C. 170-169 was partly in consequence of his inability to capture Alexandria, partly on account of the interference of the Romans (Polyb. xxviii. 15, ad fin.), whom he did not dare to defy. His proud spirit must have been deeply hurt at the issue of his two years' war; and he was consequently prepared to vent his pent-up anger on the first victim that offered itself.

and went up against Israel and Jerusalem.] A pretext was found in the series of events related in 2 Macc. iv. 23-43; v. 5-7. Jason, outbid and deprived of the high-priesthood by Menelaus, had raised a rebellion, and obtained certain successes. Various other troubles had occurred. But the real ground of the attack was cupidity. The Syrian treasury was exhausted, and needed to be replenished. The wealth of the Temple was well known, and had already provoked one attempt (2 Macc. iii. 6-40). Now another was to be made with greater success. The angry king,smarting under disappointments incurred in Egypt, leads his army against Jerusalem, and, though resisted, treats it as a captured city.
21. entered proudly into the sanctuary. The assault and capture of the city, enlarged upon in 2 Macc. v. 11–14, are omitted by the present writer, who cares for nothing in comparison with the profanation of the Holy Place, and the other sacrilegious acts of the misguided king. Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, served as guide to Epiphanes on the occasion (2 Macc. v. 15), and led him into the inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 1, 48).

the golden altar.] I.e. the altar of incense, which stood inside the Temple, just in front of the veil. (Compare Ex. xxxv. 1–6; 1 Kings vii. 48.) Solomon’s altar was no doubt carried off by Nebuchadnezzar; but a similar one had been made and placed within the Temple by Zerubbabel or Ezra.

the candlestick of light.] The seven-branched lampstand, which stood against the south wall of the Holy Place (Ex. xxv. 31–37; xxvi. 24), and was an essential part of the Temple furniture (2 Chr. xiii. 11). Such a “candlestick,” however often carried off, was always restored; and the Arch of Titus shows us that the Romans found one in the Temple when they finally captured and destroyed it.

the vessels thereof.] The “lamps,” “tongs,” and “snuff-dishes” of Ex. xxv. 37, 38, which were all “of pure gold.”

22. And the table of the shewbread. See Ex. xxv. 23–30; 1 Kings vii. 48.

the pouring vessels and the vials.] In the original συρωδια καὶ φαλαξα—“flagons and chalices”—vessels to contain the wine for the drink-offerings, and cups or goblets out of which to pour them. Compare Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16; where, however, the φαλαξα are called κοβαλα.

the censers of gold.] Incense-pots, in which incense was offered on the table of shewbread, together with the loaves (Lev. xxvii. 5). They are mentioned in Ex. xxv. 29 and xxxvii. 16 (where the A.V. translates by “spoons”), and are represented on the Arch of Titus.

23. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels: also the hidden treasures which he found.

24. And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly.

25. Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were;

26. So that the princes and elders, the veil.] See Ex. xxvi. 31, xl. 31; 2 Chron. iii. 14.

the crowns.] Compare below, ch. iv. 57. Whether these “crowns” were votive offerings hung in front of the Temple, or the capitals of the pillars of the porch, is uncertain.

the golden ornaments that were before the temple...be pulled off.] Much of the ornamentation consisted of woodwork plated with gold (Ex. xxvi. 29; 1 Kings vi. 30–32; 2 Kings xviii. 16). This Epiphanes stripped off.

28. the silver and the gold and the precious vessels.] I.e. all the gold and silver vessels that he found in the Temple—an example of bennidays.

also...the hidden treasures.] I.e. the contents of the various treasuries, whether public or private. (See Joseph. ‘Bell. Jud.’ ii. 9, § 4; 2 Macc. iii. 10–12.) The value of the precious metals carried off was estimated at 1800 silver talents, or nearly 350,000/. (See 2 Macc. v. 21.)

24. having made a great massacre.] At his entry, not at his departure (2 Macc. v. 13–14). The slain were estimated at 80,000; but this was probably an exaggeration.

§ 5. The Mourning of the Jews after his Departure.

25–28. Words are poor to tell of the effect on the Jewish mind of these terrible calamities. Nothing like them had occurred since the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. The fact that Heliodorus had been so recently baffled in a somewhat similar attempt (2 Macc. iii. 14–29) must have made them the more unexpected. The writer graphically describes in four short verses the general consternation.

26. the princes and elders.] Probably the same as the “council” or “senate” of 2 Macc. xii. 6, and of 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27—a body corresponding to the later Sanhedrin,
mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed.

27 Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness.

28 The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.

29 And after two years fully expired the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Judah, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude,

which was composed of chief priests (heads of courses), elders, and scribes.

§ 6. SECOND ATTACK UPON JERUSALEM, BY APOLLONIUS, CHIEF COLLECTOR OF TRIBUTE.

29–32. The circumstances of this attack are given with some particularity in 2 Macc. v. 24–27. We find there the name of the leader, Apollonius; the number of his army, 22,000 men; and the fact that the attack was made on the sabbath day, suddenly and without a pretext, by the armed soldiers, who had been received peaceably into the town, upon the unarmed Judeans. The intention must have been the same as that of certain faussiers in a neighbouring capital in our own day—to strike terror into the inhabitants and reduce them into a state of abject subservience.

29. after two years.] In December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167 (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 321).

fully expired.] Literally, "years of days"—2 Hebr. sm. Compare Gen. xli. 1; Lev. xxv. 29; 2 Sam. xiii. 25, &c.

with a great multitude.] Rather, "with a strong force"—an army of 22,000 men (2 Macc. v. 24).

30. and spake peaceable words.] Compare 2 Macc. v. 25; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii, 5, § 4. Had he come as an open enemy, the inhabitants might have shut the gates, and stood on their defence with a good prospect of success.

but all was deceit.] Rather, "deceitfully," "he fell suddenly upon the city." Waiting for the sabbath, he gave his soldiers orders to arm themselves, and, sallying forth into the streets, to kill all the men whom they met in any part of the town. The women and children they were to seize and sell for slaves. (See 2 Macc. v. 24–26.) The sale of these numerous captives (as Ewald notes) "helped to fill the empty treasury of the king."

31. be set it on fire.] There can scarcely have been any intention to burn the city, or the intention would have been carried out. Probably, in the confusion of the plundering, various houses were set on fire accidentally.

pulled down the houses and walls.] I.e. demolished the fortifications, or at any rate broke large breaches in them, and destroyed such houses as abutted on the demolished portions of the walls.

32. and possessed the cattle.] On the keeping of cattle within the precincts of cities in ancient times, see Jonah iv. 11. The word employed (ṣērāḥ) will, in its Hellenistic use, include horses.

§ 7. PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF A PART OF JERUSALEM BY THE SYRIANS.

33–37. The object of the occupation of the "city of David" was clearly to molest such Jews as wished to visit the Temple from the "upper city" by crossing the Tyropoëon, and at the same time to make into a special Syrian stronghold the most commanding position in the whole town. It is to be remembered that the "acra," or "citadel," as it was called, overlooked the Temple (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, 7).

33. the city of David.] It is generally agreed that this means the special hill on which had stood the palace of David. But the position of this hill is questioned. Most writers regard it as a portion of the high ground north, or rather north-west, of the Temple. But Colonel Warren, with the most complete local knowledge, has recently argued that it was a portion of the western hill, opposite the Temple ('Transactions of Society of
34 And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein.

35 They stored it also with armour and victuals, and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare:

36 For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.

37 Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it:

38 Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon the city was made an habituation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her.

39 Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt.

40 As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning.


a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers.] All the early fortifications consisted of projecting towers, square or round, with a curtain between them (Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 405; vol. iii. pp. 76, 82; 'History of Egypt,' vol. i. p. 465; Herod. i. 179, &c.), Numerous towers in the wall of Jerusalem are mentioned by Nehemiah (ch. iii. 1, 11, 25, 26, 27).

a strong hold.] In the original, ἡκτα, a "citadel," or "acropolis." The word became the proper name of this fortress.

34. a sinful nation.] Compare Tobit xiii. 6. The Jews divide the world into Jews and Gentiles—"the righteous" and "sinners." Here, however, something more is meant. The Syrian Greeks, as the aiders and abettors of Epiphanes, were considered to be sinners in an especial sense. See the words which follow—"wicked men"—and compare ch. ii. 48, 62; iii. 15, 20, &c.

35. they became a sore snare.] We should read ἐγένετο here, rather than ἐγενέτο, and translate—"It became a sore snare." Dean Stanley says: "It was regarded as a perpetual templer, an adversary or devil in stone—as a personal enemy." ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295). Compare v. 36. Hence the joy and rejoicing when ultimately it was captured (infra, xiii. 51).


38-53. Unable to frequent the Temple by reason of the perpetual sallies made upon them from the Acra, the religious Jews quitted Jerusalem and gave it up to the Hellenizing party. Antiochus hereupon, regarding all opposition as over, launched his Edict of Intolerance—"That all should be one people, and that every one should leave his laws" (xxii. 41, 42). A special commissioner was sent down from Antioch to enforce the king's orders (2 Macc. vi. 1). Not only was the practice of the Jewish religion or the observance of any of its ceremonies forbidden under penalty of death (v. 50), but active participation in the abominations of idol worship was required of all (v. 47; compare 2 Macc. vi. 7). The possession of the sacred writings was also made a capital offence (v. 57). Under the chief commissioner were appointed "overseers," whose business it was to carry out the king's orders in all the various cities and towns throughout the whole of Judæa. The determination was to stamp out the Jewish religion absolutely and utterly, and to establish the sensual idolatry of the Greeks in its place.

38. the city was made an habituation of strangers.] This must not be understood too broadly. Menelaus, the high-priest, remained at Jerusalem with his partisans, and gave the support of his authority to all the measures of Antiochus. It was among the most bitter trials of the faithful, that many of their own countrymen took part with the heathen against them. (See xxi. 43 and 52.)

39. Her sanctuary was laid waste.] Rather "was empty" or "desolate." It was no part of the policy of Epiphanes to destroy, or even to injure, the Temple building. He proposed to retain it as the centre of the new religious worship which he was about to set up. (See 2 Macc. vi. 2-4.)

her feasts were turned into mourning.] As prophesied by Amos (viii. 10), whose words,
41 Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people.

42 And every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king.

43 Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath.

44 For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they should follow the strange laws of the land.

45 And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days:

as rendered by the LXX., are here closely followed.

41. king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom.] The special edict directed against the Jews (vv. 44-50) seems to have been preceded by a general proclamation of uniformity in religion throughout the whole kingdom. This was a sort of blind, there being no very clear intention of forcing changes on any people except the Jews. Hence the heathen nations generally "agreed" to the edict. (See v. 42, and compare ch. ii. 19; but, on the other hand, see ch. iii. 29.)

43. many . . . of the Israelites consented.] See note on v. 38.

44. letters . . . unto Jerusalem.] By the hand of the special commissioner deputed to see the royal commands carried out (2 Macc. vi. 1).

the strange laws of the land.] Rather, as in the margin, "the laws (or customs) of the strangers of the land"—i.e. the Syrian Greeks.

45. burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings.] I.e. offerings of any kind.

46. And pollute . . . holy people.] I.e. the godly, the faithful. The readiest mode of pollution was forcing them to eat swine's flesh. (See 2 Macc. vi. 18-11; vii. 1.)

47. groves.] Rather, "precincts." The "groves" of the Old Testament are certainly not intended. These were idolatrous emblems in wood or metal, resembling probably the "sacred tree" of the Assyrians. (See the author's Ancient Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 236.) "Precincts" (τριμενία) were sacred enclosures, surrounded by walls, and generally containing within them a temple or shrine.

46 And pollute the sanctuary and holy people:

47 Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts:

48 That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation:

49 To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.

50 And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die.

51 In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and aπ-συλλογίζονται. Or "idol temples." (See 1 Cor. viii. 10.) The word ἱδωλολεία is used of the heathen temples generally, ραβδός or ραβδεῖος being reserved for the temples of the true God.

unclean beasts.] Literally, "common." Compare Acts x. 14, 15, 28; and for an account of the animals which were "unclean" to the Jews, see Lev. xi. 3-30. The swine was the only animal offered commonly in sacrifice by heathen nations, which the Jews might not offer.

48. That they should . . . leave their children uncircumcised.] Could circumcision have been abolished, the whole distinction between Jew and Gentile would very shortly have been done away. Circumcision admitted into covenant; and without it a Jew would have felt that he was not a Jew, but a mere uncovenanted heathen. Hence the strenuous efforts made to stop circumcision (vv. 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, vii. 4, &c.).

50. be should die.] Like other thoroughgoing persecutors—Diocletian, Galerius, Ildiger II., the Inquisition—Epiphanes enforced conformity under the penalty of death. This heroic remedy necessarily results in either submission or insurrection.

51. In the selfsame manner wrote be to his whole kingdom.] i.e. mutatis mutandis. But it may be questioned whether any religions but the Jewish and Samaritan were seriously threatened. The various forms of polytheism were too nearly allied to quarrel, and readily understood one another. The Phænician, Syrian, and Babylonian deities had all of them their Greek counterparts; and a syncretic spirit was so generally prevalent, that we need stronger evidence than is anywhere forth-
pointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Judah to sacrifice, city by city.

52 Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land;

53 'And drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour.

54 Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Judah on every side;

55 And burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets.

56 And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.

coming to convince us that Epiphanes contemplated imposing on all his subjects complete religious uniformity.

and appointed overseers.] Ewald views these " overseers " as " an army of spies and wardens, accusers and watchmen " ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 299); but Dean Stanley is probably right in regarding them as local commissioners, acting under the chief commissioner, and carrying out the king's behests in the provinces ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295).

52. many of the people were gathered unto them.] A Hellenizing faction shewed itself in all parts of the land, not in Judaea only, but also in Samaria (2 Macc. vi. 2) and Galilee (1 Macc. v. 15).

53. drove the Israelites into secret places.] To escape the persecution of the " overseers," the Israelites were compelled to betake themselves to hiding-places—caves, deserts, and hill fastnesses (2 Macc. v. 27)—just as had been done of old by David and his companions (1 Sam. xx.-xxvi.) when they fled from Saul.

§ 9. THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION SET UP IN THE TEMPLE, AND THE PERSECUTION CARRIED ON RELENTLESSLY.

54-64. The finishing touch was now to be put to the whole scheme of persecution. The daily sacrifice had been already abolished (v. 45); but, to prevent any pious Jew from surreptitiously offering it, the altar itself was to be polluted by a permanent erection. On the 15th of Chislev (December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167) an altar to the Olympian Jupiter was set up on the top of the brazen altar of burnt sacrifice erected by Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2, 3); and ten days afterwards the profanation was completed by the offering of sacrifice to Jupiter upon the new altar. At the same time images of heathen gods were set up at the doors of houses and in the streets, and incense burnt to them. The Books of the Law were searched for, and, when found, were burnt. A vigorous persever-

ation of all who disobeyed the royal edicts was commenced. The mothers of children who had been recently circumcised were put to death with the children, and the dead bodies of the latter were hung about the mothers' necks. Those by whom the operation had been performed were likewise executed. Attempts were made to compel men to eat unclean meats, and their refusal to do so was also punished with death. The author of the Second Book of Maccabees goes into considerable detail on these subjects, relating at length some particular instances of cruel punishments (2 Macc. vi. 10-31; vii. 1-42).

54. they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar.] That " the abomination of desolation " was an altar appears from v. 59. The phrase is not previously used in the Septuagint, though nearly allied to one in Daniel ix. 27, where an " abomination of desolations " is mentioned. The expression in Dan. xi. 31, which refers to the event here recorded, is different. It had been customary from the time of Moses to call idolatrous objects " abominations." The present writer goes further, and marks his hatred of this particular object by attaching to it a further epithet of abhorrence.

and builded idol altars.] " Idol altars " (βυτοι) are contrasted with the altar of God (θυσιαστήριον). It was common among the Greeks to erect such altars in the streets of towns before images of gods and goddesses, especially Hermes, Dionysus, Apollo, and Artemis. Hence these deities were sometimes spoken of as θεοί ὧν τυποῦσιν—" deities of the street."

55. burnt incense at the doors of their houses.] It was usual in Greek towns to place images of the household gods in the vestibules or porches of houses (Dollinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. p. 242, E. T.), and to offer to them incense, cakes, and other sacrificial dainties. Artemis was sometimes honoured in this way, and was then called πολυποιαία (Orph. Hymn. B. 4).

56. when they had rent in pieces the books
57 And wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, the king’s commandment was, that they should put him to death.

58 Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities.

59 Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.

60 At which time according to the commandment they put to death certain women, that had caused their children to be circumcised.

61 And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses and slew them that had circumcised them.

62 Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.

63 Wherefore they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.

64 And there was very great wrath upon Israel.

CHAPTER II.

6 Mattathias lamenteth the case of Jerusalem.

24 He slayeth a Jew that did sacrifice to idols in his presence, and the king’s messenger also.

34 He and his are arrayed upon the sabbath, and make no resistance. He dieth, and instructeth his sons; 66 and maketh their brother Judas Maccabæus general.

61. they hanged the infants about their necks.] Partly to aggravate the sufferings of the mothers; but also to ensure the death of the children, who were precipitated with their mothers from the roof of the city wall.

62. they slew them that had circumcised them.] We gave them up to pillage.

63. they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats.] On the modes of compulsion used, and the noble resistance made, see 2 Macc. vi. 18-31 and vii. 1-41.

64. there was very great wrath upon Israel.] The persecution of Epiphanes was looked upon as a judgment sent upon the nation by God on account of its sins. The very martyrs themselves took this view, and acknowledged God’s justice in the chastisement (2 Macc. vi. 18, 33). It may be concluded from this that Ps. lxxxiv. does not belong to the period, since it contains no confessions of national ill-desert.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. THE FAMILY OF MATTATHIAS.

1-5. The desperate strait in which the Jewish nation was placed having been sufficiently set forth in ch. i., the writer proceeds in ch. ii. to a theme that is more congenial to him—the mode of the national deliverance; and as this was the special work of a single family, he commences this portion of his history with an account of the family, so far
IN those days arose Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Simon, a priest of the sons of A Joharib, from Jerusalem, and dwelt in Modin.

2 And he had five sons, Joannah, called Caddis:

3 Simon, called Thassi:

4 Judas, who was called Maccabeus:

5 Eleazar, called Avaran: and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.

as it was known to him. Mattathias, its chief at the time when the sanctuary was profaned, he traces back through two progenitors, his father and his grandfather, to the great priestly clan or course of Joarib (or Jehoiarib), to which David and Solomon had assigned the first place among the attendants on the altar (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). He represents him as having been, at the time when the persecution began, a dweller in Jerusalem, but as having fled thence and taken refuge in his ancestral city, Modein, where he was “an honourable man” and “a ruler” (v. 8). He was accompanied by his five sons (three of whom became personages of importance)— Joannah or John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Each of these youths enjoyed the distinction of a second name.

1. Mattathias. The name is not wholly new. A “Mattathiah” had supported Ezra when he came forward to read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). Two others appear in St. Luke’s genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 25, 26).

2. A priest of the sons of Joarib. That descendants of Joarib, or Jehoiarib, returned from the Captivity is declared in 1 Chr. ix. 10 and Neh. xi. 10, xii. 6, 19.

3. Modin. More properly “Modeim” or “Modein.” The place has not been mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and occurs only in connection with Maccabean history (ch. ii. 70; ix. 19; xii. 25, 30; xvi. 4; 2 Macc. xii. 14). It appears by 1 Macc. xvi. to have lain on the edge of the hill-country overlooking the Philistine plain; and here Jerome places it (“Onomast.” ad voc. MODIM), near Diospolis, or Lydda (now Ludd). The exact site is disputed.

4. Joannah. The name is identical with the Jehohanan or Jehohanan of the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Chr. iii. 15, 24; vi. 9, 10; Jer. vi. 8–16, &c.). It means “Jehovah gave.” On the after-career of Joannah see ch. ix. 36–38, and 2 Macc. viii. 22 (where he is by mistake called “Joseph”).

5. Caddis. There is no traditional interpretation of this surname. It may perhaps represent the Hebrew “Gaddi” (Num. xiii. 11), which seems to be a denominative formed from “Gad,” “fortune,” and to mean “fortunate.” Compare the Roman “Felix.”

Or, possibly, it is a transliteration of the Chaldee ܡ❓ument, “holy.”

3. Simon. The career of Simon occupies chaps. xiii.–xv. and ch. xvi. 1–16. He was the fourth Maccabean leader.

4. Judas, who was called Maccabeus. Judas was selected by his father to succeed him as leader (ch. ii. 16). His exploits occupy chaps. iii.–ix. 1–17. He is the great hero of the Second Book of Maccabees. His surname of Maccabeus has been variously derived: 1, from the Hebrew macaddub, “a hammer”; 2, from esbabad, “to extinguish”; 3, from נו, in the sense of “to track” or “trace out” (See the Introduction to Judith, § IV.)

5. Eleazar, called Avaran. The surname of Eleazar is given as “Savaran” in ch. vi. 43. The true form, however, is probably Avaran, which may be connected with the Chaldee and Syriac ܡ❓, “to be pale.” For the exploit from which Eleazar got his name, see ch. vi. 43–46.

Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus. On the exploits of Jonathan, see chs. ix.–xii. His surname, Apphus, is thought to mean “the Dissembler,” and to have been given him on account of his first exploit against the Beni-Jambri, who had slain his brother John (ch. ix. 37–41).

§ 2. The Lament of Mattathias over Jerusalem.

6–14. This genuine outpour of natural grief has all the appearance of being a contemporary document, and may well have been the composition of the aged priest on the occasion in question. It is composed on the model of the Davie Psalms, but with somewhat less of exact balance in the clauses than is customary. The rhythmic effect is wholly spoiled by the arrangement into verses which our translators have followed; the true arrangement is as follows:—

“My soul is sad! Wherefore did I behold the misery of my people, And the misery of the Holy City? And to dwell there when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, And the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?
6 And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem,
7 He said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?
8 Her temple is become as a man without glory.
9 Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy.
10 What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom, and gotten of her spoils?
11 All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bondslave.
12 And, behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it.
13 To what end therefore shall we live any longer?
14 Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore.

Her temple is become as a man of no reputation;
Her glorious vessels are carried away captive;
Her young children are slain in the streets,
Her youths with the sword of the enemy.
What nation has not inherited part of her kingdom,
Nor gotten a portion of her spoils?
All her adornment hath been taken away from her;
Instead of a free woman, she is become a bond slave.
Behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste;
The nations have profaned it. Wherefore do we still live?

when saw.] "He" refers to Mattathias, the chief subject of the first section.
blasphemies.] Impious deeds, rather than impious words, seem to be intended. (Comp. ch. i. 55-63.)
deeds alone could be seen.
in Juda and Jerusalem. I.e. "in Judea, and especially in Jerusalem."
wherefore was I born to see this misery?
Rather, "Wherefore was I born for this, to see the misery," &c.? The sentiment may be compared with that of Job iii. 3-11, and Jeremiah xx. 14-18.
A heathen poet went so far as to say that it would have been better for every man not to have been born (Soph. 'Ed. Col.' l. 1225).
her infants are slain.] See ch. i. 61;
her young men with the sword.] See 2 Macc. vi. 10.

What nation hath not had a part?
The thought of the poet goes back, perhaps, from the present to the past, and shows him Judea as the prey of a long succession of nations—Egyptians (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), Assyrians (2 Kings xvii. 13-16; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 16-13), Babylonians (2 Kings xxiv. 1; xxv. 1-21), Syrians (2 K. xvi. 5, 16), Moabites (2 K. xxiv. 2), Ammonites (2 K.), Persians (Ezra ix. 9), Greek-Macedonian—who had all robbed her, more or less, of her sovereignty, and been partakers of her spoils. Or, perhaps, he only means that the armed force which Antiochus employed to carry out his measures was drawn from all the various nations under his dominion (comp. 2 Macc. viii. 59), and that in this way there was scarcely a people which had not profited by the spolia- tion of Jerusalem (ch. i. 35). In either case, his language is rhetorical, and not to be pressed to the letter.

of a free woman she is become a bondslave.] Judea lost her independence at the time of the Babylonish Captivity, and only recovered it through the efforts of the Maccabee princes. She was subject to Babylon from B.C. 606 to B.C. 538; to Persia from B.C. 338 to B.C. 332; and to the Greek-Macedonians from B.C. 332 to B.C. 168, when Mattathias revolted. But the poet ignores the fact of political subjection, and considers that, so long as she was allowed the free exercise of her religion, she was free.

our sanctuary ... is laid waste.] Rather, "is waste," "is desolate"—i.e. has none to worship in it. There had as yet been no damage done to the Temple building. Compare note on ch. i. 39.
the Gentiles have profaned it.] See ch. l. 54, 59.
rent their clothes and put on sackcloth.] These were usual signs of mourning in the East, and were not peculiar to the Jews.
15 In the mean while the king’s officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice.

16 And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together.

17 Then answered the king’s officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:

18 Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king’s commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king’s friends, and thou and thy

§ 3. The Circumstances under which Mattathias began the Revolt.

15—28. Mattathias and his sons had withdrawn from Jerusalem, when the persecution grew hot there, and retired to their ancestral city, or village, on the verge of the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain, where they may have expected that they would be unmolested. But, after a short pause, the persecutors spread themselves from the capital over the country. The “king’s officers”—probably the “overseers” of ch. i. 51—appeared at Modein, and required submission to the royal edict on the part of its inhabitants. As Mattathias was the chief man of the place, and had attended the first meeting which the officer summoned, he was called upon first and foremost to obey the edict and sacrifice. This, in the name of himself, his sons, and his brethren, he solemnly refused to do. As he ceased speaking, one of the Hellenizing party presented himself before the commissioner, and signified his desire to do what Mattathias would not. Mattathias at once slew him, and followed up his bold act by also killing the commissioner and destroying the idol altar. He then went through the city, and summoned all who were zealous for the law to follow him; after which, with his followers, he quitted the city, and betook himself to the mountains. Thus was open war declared between the small band of faithful Jews and the mighty Antiochus.

16. Mattathias... and his sons came together.] No doubt the inhabitants generally were summoned to appear before the commissioner. Mattathias and his sons came, since it was not for them to anticipate what he was about to say to them. He might have come upon some harmless errand.

17. answered... and said.] Rather, “took the word, and said.” The expression is used by the LXX. of opening speeches, without any reference to anything said, or even thought, by the opposite party. See below, ch. viii. 19.

Thou art a ruler.] In the East every petty town and village has its “head-men,” who represent it with the government, apportion its taxes, collect them, and otherwise act as its chiefs. Mattathias held such a position at Modein, probably from his birth and wealth, not from his priestly character.

an honourable and great man.] Not only a ruler, but one of good repute, and a “great man” compared with the rest of the inhabitants; as Ewald says, “the most important personage of the place.”

18. like as all the beaten have done.] See note on ch. i. 42.

such as remain at Jerusalem.] An acknowledgment that great numbers had refused to remain, and had left the capital. (See ch. i. 38.)

so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king’s friends.] Something more is meant than a promise that they should be accounted loyal subjects. The Persian kings had their “Royal Benefactors,” who formed a distinct class (Herod. iii. 140; viii. 85), were known as Orosangs, and had probably special privileges. Alexander had his “companions,” who were a definite privileged class. The Syro-Macedonian kings seem to have distinguished two classes of persons, one as their “companions,” and another as their “friends” (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 7), and to have permitted to each certain distinctions of dress, precedence, and the like. Mattathias and his sons were offered admission into the class of “friends.” (Comp. ch. x. 65.)
children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.

19 Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments:

20 Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers.

21 God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

22 We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left.

23 Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment.

24 Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar.

25 Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he

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honoured with silver and gold.] Gifts of ornaments in the precious metals had been bestowed upon their courtiers by the Persian kings from time immemorial (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2, §§ 7-12). The practice passed from them to the Syro-Macedonians. (See below, ch. x. 20, 89.)

19. with a loud voice.] To attract attention. Mattathias desired that his fellow-townsmen should hear him.

Though all the nations.] Mattathias does not question the statement made to him (v. 18), that "all the heathen have done according to the king's commandment." True or false, it is the same to him. He will not "follow a multitude to evil" (Ex. xxiii. 3). Though all the world should fall away, yet will he be faithful, and his father's house. His boast was better kept than that of St. Peter (Matt. xxvi. 33).

under the king's dominion.] Literally, "in the house of the king's kingdom."

20. the covenant of our fathers.] I.e. the covenant (or agreement) which God made with our ancestors at Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 8; xxiv. 3-8).

22. either on the right hand, or the left.] Comp. Deut. v. 32; xvii. 20; xxviii. 14.

23. when he had left speaking.] Rather, "as he left speaking."

there came.] Or, "there approached." The man seems to have come up casually, not having been among those assembled at the first (v. 16), and so not having heard the indignant protest of Mattathias. He was no doubt a zealous Hellenizer, anxious to gain favour with the authorities by coming forward among the first. His example, if Mattathias had done nothing, might have had a most demoralising effect.

24. his reins trembled.] Comp. Ps. lxxiii. 21, "I was pricked in my reins:" and see also Job xvi. 13, xix. 27; Ps. vii. 9; Lam. iii. 13. The Hebrew physiology connected inward emotion which stirs men, and forces them to sudden act, as much with the "reins" (i.e. kidneys) as with the heart. Hence the two are constantly joined together (Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 2; Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, xx. 12; Rev. ii. 23).

neither could be forbear to shew his anger.] Rather, "and he poured forth his anger." —did not restrain it—gave it free vent.

according to judgment.] Or, "to condemnation." In his fury he judged and condemned the man, accounting him worthy of death, either from a natural impulse, or perhaps with conscious reference to the command given in the Law (Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6-9, &c.), that idolaters should be killed without pity. Jewish opinion would entirely approve of such an execution without formal trial or sentence, when the sinner was caught in the act and there could be no doubt of his guilt. (Comp. Ex. xxxii. 27, 28; Num. xxv. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 40; 2 Kings x. 25, xxiii. 25, &c.)

be ran.] His haste shewed his zeal.

upon the altar.] In the very act of sacrificing (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 25). Josephus says that Mattathias, and his sons, rushed upon the man, armed with broad knives (comites), and slew him; but probably he draws upon his imagination for these additional facts.

25. the king's commissioner.] Josephus calls him "the king's general," and gives his name as Apelles. The Law did not require this act, since the commissioner was a heathen, engaged in executing the orders of his legitimate sovereign. It must be justified, if justified at all, as an act of warfare, one by
killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down.

26 Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, like as d Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom.

27 And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me.

28 So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city.

29 Then many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness, to 1 dwell there:

30 Both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle, because 2 afflictions increased sore upon them.

which Mattathias consummated, and proclaimed, his rebellion.

the altar be pulled down.] In accordance with the commands given in Ex. xxxiv. 13 and Deut. xii. 3, and after the example of the best kings (2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 13–20). An idolatrous altar was a pollution to the holy land.

26. like as Phinees did unto Zambri.] The reference is to Numb. xxv. 7, 8, where the act of Phinehas (Gk. Phinees) is recorded. Phinehas, like Mattathias, had executed divine vengeance on two persons, an Israelite, and a heathen who was partaker in his offence. His “zeal” received the approval of God (ibid. xxi. 11–13; Ps. cvi. 30, 31).

27. maintaineth the covenant.] Literally, “maintaineth covenant”—i.e. keeps faith with God. The covenant was entered into by circumcision, and involved a keeping of all the commandments. Mattathias’ appeal was intended to rally to him all who were prepared to maintain their religion against the attempt of the king to put it down.

let him follow me.] Mattathias knew that it would be impossible to resist the force that Antiochus had at his command in a petty town like Modein, which was perhaps not even walled. His plan was to withdraw, with such support as he could obtain, into the wildest part of the hill-country of Judaea, where David had so long resisted Saul, and thence to carry on a guerilla warfare against the persecuting king. His success is related in the next section.

§ 4. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, AS CONDUCTED BY MATTATHIAS HIMSELF.

29–48. At first there was a great want of unity and cohesion among the religious party. They fled to the wilderness in small and separate bodies, as persecution pressed upon them, without any one acknowledged leader, without even any generally accepted plan of defence. They were scattered over a wide extent of country, and it was no doubt difficult for the chief men to meet and consult together. When the war began by the forces of Antiochus entering the hill-country and requiring the submission of the fugitives, it had not even been determined what course was to be pursued with respect to the observance of the sabbath, whether or no the rest commanded was to be regarded as involving a complete suspension of military operations on that day. Among the first of the patriots attacked were some who took the strictest possible view, and felt bound to offer no resistance at all to the enemy on the day of rest. The consequence was at least one serious disaster, involving the loss of a thousand lives (v. 38). After this, Mattathias, and those under his immediate command, resolved to take the opposite course, and defend themselves on the sabbath to the utmost of their power, if attacked. Success followed this change of tactics. The scattered bands of fugitives rallied to the leader whose courage and strong sense seemed to promise victory (v. 43). The secret adherents of true religion in Jerusalem and other places held by the Syro-Macedonians came flocking in (v. 42). Mattathias was able to take the offensive. In many places he and his adherents overthrew the idolatrous altars, drove the apostates away, and re-established the old Jewish customs and usages. The Syro-Macedonians seem to have been afraid to meet him in the field, and to have on certain occasions retreated from his pursuit (v. 47).

29. many that sought after justice and judgment.] I.e. many who were not content to live under the detestable rule of the Syro-Macedonians, by whom the principles of justice were daily outraged, to their constant loss and hurt. (See the next verse.)

30. their cattle.] The highlands of Palestine can always afford nourishment to a considerable number of cattle; and all the tribes by whom they have been possessed have always been rich in cattle, as the Midianites (Num. xxxvi. 10), the Amalekites (1 Sam. xvii. 9; xxxv. 20), the Moabites (2 Kings iii. 4), and others. Jerome says that about Tekoa 3 there was no village, not even rustic cottages, nor, on account of the dryness and sandiness, were any crops raised; but 4
31 Now when it was told the king's servants, and the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness,

32 They pursued after them a great number, and having overtaken them, they camped against them, and made war against them on the sabbath day.

33 And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.

34 But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the king's commandment, to profane the sabbath day.

35 So then they gave them the battle with all speed.

36 Howbeit they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid;

37 But said, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth shall testify.

38 But they said.] The terms offered were utterly rejected. "We will not come forth," they said. We refuse to quit our refuge, dry and arid region though it be, since we are not prepared to obey the king's decree. On the contrary, we are resolved to disobey them. Resistance to the civil authority, when its commands are contrary to the law of God, is the duty of every religious man, and is frequently commended in Holy Scripture. (See Dan. iii. 18–30; vi. 10–26; Acts iv. 19, 20, v. 29, 30, &c.)

to profane the sabbath day.] Comp. ch. i. 45. As the text stands, this can only refer to the royal command issued to all Jews, to profane the sabbath. It is suspected, however, that in the original Hebrew the words were—"neither will we profane the sabbath;" i.e. by fighting. There certainly seems to be no reason for the selection of the one point of sabbath profanation out of the many included in the royal decree (ch. i. 44–49).

39. with all speed.] Lest they should change their minds, and resolve to resist.

39. they answered them not.] They made no response to the attack—took no steps to meet it, but remained absolutely inactive.

39. neither cast they a stone at them.] The sling was at all times one of the main weapons employed by the Israelites (Judg. xx. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 40; 2 Kings iii. 25; 1 Chr. xii. 2), and was especially suited for an extemporised army of shepherds (v. 30) and townsmen.

39. nor stopped the places where they lay hid.] They would not even block the passes by which their hiding-places had to be approached.

39. Let us die . . . in our innocency.] Literally, "in our simplicity." heaven and earth shall testify.] Rather, "are witness." The remonstrance had no
testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully.

38 So they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand souls of men.

39 Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore.

40 And one of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth.

41 At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places.

42 Then came there unto him a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law.

43 Also all they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them.

...effect. In spite of it the Syro-Macedonians fell upon them, and slew every soul—men, women, and children. Not even were the cattle spared. (See the next verse.)

39. when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof.] It is evident that the disaster occurred to a body of patriots not under the command of Mattathias. Probably there were many such bodies scattered over the length and breadth of the hill region, fugitives from various parts of Judæa, as yet without concert or even knowledge of each other. Each such band followed its own views of what was right.

40. one of them said to another.] The intelligence received set men thinking what was the proper course to pursue. There was no established practice, since the Jews had remained at peace during the whole period of the Persian dominion (B.C. 536–332), and had submitted to Alexander without offering any resistance (Joseph., ‘Ant. Jud.,’ xi. 8, § 5). What the rule had been in the old wars was forgotten. We can scarcely suppose it to have forbidden resistance to an attack.

41. they decreed.] Or “resolved.” The form used expresses a resolve taken after deliberation. We must suppose a council to have been held among the chiefs, the question to have been debated, and a decision reached. But the decision was scarcely a “decree.”

Whosoever shall come... we will fight against him.] The line taken seems to have been that it was lawful to stand on the defensive and resist attack, but not to take the offensive, upon the sabbath. The same course was pursued in the first Roman war (Joseph., ‘Ant. Jud.,’ xiv. 4, § 5), with the worst results, since the Romans pushed forward their works, drove mines under walls, and in all respects took advantage of their enemies’ inactivity upon the sabbath. The Syro-Macedonian strategy appears to have been inferior, and the Jews to have lost little by their resolution.

that were murdered.] Rather, “killed.” The Syrians are not reproached for the advantage which they took of their adversaries’ scrupulosity.

in the secret places.] Josephus speaks of caves, which certainly abound in the region (1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiv. 3, &c.), and says that the Syro-Macedonians heaped brushwood against the mouths of the caves, and set it on fire, thus burning or suffocating the inmates (‘Ant. Jud.,’ xii. 6, § 2). Such a thing has often been done in savage, and even in civilised warfare; but there would seem to have been no necessity for it on the present occasion, since the Israelites offered no resistance.

42. unto him.] Rather, “unto them.”

a company of Assideans.] This is probably the true reading, instead of the “Judeans” of some MSS. “Assideans” (or rather, “Asideans”—‘Aorobais) is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Ḥăḇāšīm, “pious ones”—a name assumed by a section of the religious Jews at this period. (Comp. ch. vii. 13 and 1 Macc. xiv. 6.) The sect seems to have been formed quite independently of the Maccabee family, and to have held more rigid views. Under the circumstances, however, they agreed to a coalition.

43. all they that fled for persecution.] The Asideans were a religious party, spread throughout the whole land. They sent a contingent of warriors. The persons now spoken of were casual refugees, driven to quit their homes and take refuge in the wilderness by the actual pressure of persecution. They joined Mattathias en masse.
I. MACCABEES. II. [v. 44–49.]

44. So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour.

45. Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars:

46. And what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised valiantly.

47. They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand.

48. So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

49. Now when the time drew near that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation:

44. *they joined their forces.* Rather, "they formed an army." The refugees were now numerous enough, and bold enough, to levy an army out of their number, and with it to assume the offensive. Their first attacks were directed against the "sinful" and "wicked"—i.e. against such of their own nation as had conformed to the state religion. They attacked outlying Jewish communities of this character, and "smote" them with the sword, regarding them as at once their enemies, and deserving of death for their apostasy. Such as escaped on occasion of these attacks fled to places where the Syro-Macedonians were in force, and could protect them.

45. *pulled down the altars.* i.e. the idol-altars which had been set up in the several villages and towns, as at Modein (v. 23).

46. *children . . . uncircumcised.* See above, ch. i. 48.

47. *They pursued also after the proud men.* By the "pride men" (*πολέμου τῆς ἑρεμωσιάς*) the Syro-Macedonians are clearly intended. Not content with punishing their own apostates, and driving them from their homes (v. 44), the party of Mattathias had occasional encounters with the Syro-Macedonian oppressors, put them to flight, and "pursued" them.

48. *they recovered the law.* The Law is regarded as captured and enslaved by the Syro-Macedonians, from whom Mattathias and his followers rescued it.

49. *the time drew near that Mattathias should die.* The form of expression implies a natural death in a ripe old age. (Comp. Gen. xlvi. 29; 1 Kings ii. 1.)

5. THE LAST WORDS OF MATTATHIAS, AND HIS DEATH.

40–70. It appears from v. 70, that Mattathias continued at the head of the patriotic movement only for about a year. He was, no doubt, far advanced in years when the persecution broke out, and the hardships of warfare and of a desert life would tell upon him more than upon younger men. In the course of the first year of the war he found his end approaching, and felt that it devolved on him to make arrangements for the future. Accordingly, he called his sons together, and made them the speech recorded in vv. 49–68, exhorting them to faithfulness by the examples of the men of old time, and appointing his son Simon as chief counsellor and ruler, his son Judas as captain. After this he blessed all his sons, and so died. He was buried by his sons at Modein, which was one of the places already recovered (vv. 45–48), in the sepulchre of his fathers.

49. *when the time drew near that Mattathias should die.* The form of expression implies a natural death in a ripe old age.

50–70. Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength.] The "pride" is that of the Syro-Macedonians, who (in v. 47) are called "sons of pride." The "rebuke" is that to which the people of God were exposed at the hands of scoffers.

The time of destruction and the wrath of...
50 Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers.

51 Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.

52 Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness?

53 Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and was made lord of Egypt.

54 Phinees our father in being zealous and fervent obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.

55 Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge in Israel.

56 Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land.

57 David for being merciful possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.

58 Elias for being zealous and indignation.

Rather, “a time of destruction and a passion of rage.”

50. be ye zealous for the law.] The commendation of “zeal for the law,” which marks the Maccabean period (ch. ii. 24, 26, 27, 54, 58), led ultimately to the formation of the sect of “zealots,” which so greatly distinguished itself in the last siege of Jerusalem, and of which the apostle, Simon Zealotes, was a member (Luke vi. 15).

the covenant of your fathers.] See note on v. 20.

51. in their time.] Literally, “in their generations.”

so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.] Greek ideas had to a considerable extent leavened the whole mass of the Jewish nation, even the most religious. In the old times the Jews did not fight for their own honour, or to “get them a name,” but for God’s glory, that His name might be held in honour, and His might shewn forth to the heathen. But now it was different. The low motive of personal ambition and desire of posthumous fame was allowed to influence conduct, and is continually mentioned as the predominant incentive to great deeds and exploits. (See below, ch. v. 57, vi. 44, ix. 10, xiv. 29; 2 Macc. vi. 23, &c.)

52. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation.] I.e. when tried whether he would be willing to sacrifice Isaac or no. (Gen. xxii. 1-12; Heb. xi. 17; Ecclus. xlv. 20.)

it was imputed unto him for righteousness.] The words are an exact quotation from the Septuagint version of Gen. xv. 6. (So St. James in his epistle, ch. ii. 23; and St. Paul in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6.) “Reckoned,” or “counted,” is, on the whole, a better rendering of the original than “imputed.” (See the Revised Version.)

53. Joseph . . . kept the commandment.] See Gen. xxxix. 7-12.

54. Phinees our father.] Mattathias means to claim descent from Phinehas, who at any rate was of the same tribe with him and his sons. On the great deed which distinguished Phinehas, see note on v. 26. On his obtaining, in reward for his deed, “the covenant of an everlasting priesthood,” see Num. xxv. 13; and comp. Ecclus. xlv. 24.

55. Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge.] Joshua received his appointment on account of his general obedience to God’s word, not on account of any single act. He was “a man in whom was the spirit” (Num. xxvii. 18), and had fulfilled every duty laid upon him up to the time of his appointment. (See Ex. xvii. 10-13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11; Num. xiv. 6-9.)

56. Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation.] Caleb was joined with Joshua in one of his righteous acts. Like Joshua, he gave a true report of the land of Canaan and its inhabitants after being sent to spy it out. This was the “witness” which he bore “before the congregation” (Num. xiv. 6-9), and for bearing it he ran a near risk of being stoned.

recovered the heritage of the land.] I.e. was allowed to enter the holy land (Num. xiv. 30-38), and given a heritage in it (Josh. xiv. 13).

57. David for being merciful.] The mercifulness of David is not elsewhere commended; but it is to be remembered that he twice spared Saul’s life when he might have taken it (1 Sam. xxiv. 4-11; xxvii. 5-12), and also allowed Shimei to live, notwithstanding that he had cursed him (2 Sam. xix. 23; 1 Kings ii. 8).
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fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.

59 v Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame.

60 v Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.

61 And thus consider ye throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome.

62 Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms.

63 To day he shall be lifted up, and to morrow he shall not be found, because he is returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing.

64 Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant, and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory.

65 And, behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you.

66 As for Judas Maccabaeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even when they run counter to the commandments of God.

68. Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law.] Comp. i Kings xviii. 19-40, xix. 10, xx. 20-24; 2 Kings i. 3-12.

was taken up into heaven.] See 2 Kings ii. 11, and comp. Ecles. xlviii. 9.

69. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.] See Dan. i. 6-19; ii. 17, 49; iii. 12-30. The occurrence of these names, and the simplicity and brevity of the statement, that they "were saved out of the flame"—so closely parallel to the antecedent statements with respect to Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah—is strong evidence that the Book of Daniel was received into the Canon at the time when this work was written—nay, at the time of Mattathias' death. His dying words were tolerably sure to have been remembered; and their recorder would have shrank from interpolating into them a passage which, if Daniel were a historical romance, written in the thick of the struggle, his contemporaries would have known that Mattathias could not have uttered.

by believing were saved.] See Dan. iii. 17. They believed that they would be saved; and their faith gave them the strength which carried them through the terrible ordeal.

60. Daniel for his innocency was delivered.] The reference to Dan. vi. 22 is palpable, though the Greek word translated "innocency" is different in the two passages.

61. throughout all ages.] Literally, "from generation to generation."

shall be overcome.] Rather, "shall fail," or "be without strength."

62. the words of a sinful man.] The "sinful man" especially glanced at is Antiochus, and the "words" are those of his decrees; but the warning passes beyond the particular case to all others resembling it. The words of those who can do no more than "kill the body" are at no time to be "feared"

b. A GLORY SHALL BE DUNG AND WORMS.] L. "shall rot and perish." There is no allusion to the "worms" which "rose up out of the body" of Antiochus (2 Macc. ix. 9).

63. his thoughts.] Literally, "his calculations," i.e. the expectations that he formed of the results which he was about to accomplish. Comp. Ps. cxxvi. 4, where the LXX. use the same word—diagonymi.

64. be valiant and shew yourselves men.] Comp. Josh. i. 9; x. 25.

shall ye obtain glory.] See note on v. 51.

65. your brother Simon is a man of counsel.] In the Greek, it is "Simon" here, though elsewhere always "Simon." (ch. ii. 3; xii. 38; xiii.-xvi. passim.) He appears to have been the least warlike of the five brethren, and was not made "captain" till the other four were dead (ch. xiii. 8, 9). We do not hear of his advice being sought by the others during their terms of office; but his own conduct of affairs is remarkable for the preference shown to prudent management over brute force (ch. xiii. 33, 47, 59; xiv. 10, 24; xvi. 16).

a father.] Grimm explains this as "paternal chief," or "head of the family." But it is unnecessary to suppose that John, the eldest son (v. 2), was deposed from this position. "Father" means here, rather, "counsellor and guide."

66. Judas Maccabaeus.] His surname evidently attached to Judas with peculiar closeness (comp. ch. iii. 1, and 2 Macc. v. 27), so that even his father called him by it. On its meaning, see note on v. 4.

mighty and strong.] Literally, "mighty in strength." The author of the Second Book of Maccabees seems to consider that Judas took a prominent part in the original withdrawal of the patriots into the wilderness.
from his youth up: let him be your captain, and fight the battle of the people.
67 Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of your people.
68 Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law.
69 So he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers.
70 And he died in the hundred forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

(2 Macc. v. 27; viii. 1), being the military leader, rather than Mattathias, from the first. But he perhaps over- glorifies his hero.

of the people.] Rather, "of the peoples" 
—the Jews and the Syro-Macedonians.

69. be blessed them.] Compare the acts of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 4-40), Jacob (ibid. xlix. 3-28), and Moses (Deut. xxxviii. 1-29).

w 2. was gathered to his fathers.] An ordinary phrase for dying among the Hebrews (Judg. ii. 10; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 28; Bel and the Dragon, v. 1; Acts xiii. 36), alternating with the still more usual one, "was gathered unto his people" (Gen. xxviii. 8, 17, xxxv. 29; Num. xxxiv. 26; Deut. xxxii. 50, &c.).

70. in the hundred forty and sixth year.] b.C. 167-6, the year after the persecution began (ch. i. 54).

at Modin.] Modein must, therefore, have been among the places recovered from the Syro-Macedonians during the lifetime of Mattathias. (See xxv. 44-47.)

all Israel made great lamentation for him.] By "all Israel" we must understand all those who were in arms for their religion. On the lamentations usual at the deaths of great men, see Gen. i. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 8; 2 Sam. i. 12; 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, 25, &c.

CHAPTER III.
§ 1. General Account of Judas Maccabaeus, his Character and Fame.
1-9. There can be no doubt that Judas was the most popular of the Maccabean heroes. As Dean Stanley says, "he became the Jewish ideal of the 'Happy Warrior.'" His appearance, his gestures, his voice, his character, were equally objects of admiration and of delightful remembrance. We see in the Second Book of Maccabees how entirely by some the whole glory of the revolt and deliverance was ascribed to him. His great fame rested principally on his recovery of Jerusalem and the Temple (ch. iv. 36-54; 2 Macc. v. 1-5); but other circumstances were not without an influence upon it. His commanding stature, like that of a giant of old time (v. 3), challenged the admiring regard of a people which set much store by physical strength. His battle-cry had a ring in it which caused it to be compared to a lion's roar (v. 4), and stirred the hearts of all who heard it. His long career of victory, scarcely chequered by a reverse until his defeat and death at Eleasa (ch. ix. 12-18), added to his reputation, and made the later scenes of the struggle seem tame by comparison. No exploit in the entire war was thought equal to the triumph over Nicanor (ch. vii. 31-49; 2 Macc. xx. 20-57). Hence Judas remained the great national hero so long as Judaean was an independent country: his life was written and re-written; and the name originally peculiar to him (1 Macc. i. 4) prevailed and became the best-known title of the entire family, as the five extant books of 'Maccabees' sufficiently indicate.

2. all they that held with his father.] See ch. ii. 42-44. The union among all the patriots, established by Mattathias after the first disaster (ch. ii. 38), continued under Judas. All accepted him as leader cheerfully.

3. as a giant.] Some allusion to his personal appearance seems to be intended. Dean Stanley says, "His countrymen delighted to remember the stately appearance, as of an ancient giant, when he fastened on his breastplate" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 366).

protecting the host.] Literally, "the camp;" but no doubt the host is intended.

awith his sword.] On the sword of Judas,
In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey.

5 For he pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people.

6 Wherefore the wicked shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled, because salvation prospered in his hand.

7 He grieved also many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever.

Moreover he went through the cities of Judah, destroying the ungodly out of them, and turning away wrath from Israel:

9 So that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he received unto him such as were ready to perish.

10 Then Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria, to fight against Israel.

II Which thing when Judas per-

§ 2. THE FIRST BATTLES OF JUDAS—HE DEFEATS APOLLONIUS AND SERON.

10-26. The force under the command of Judas amounted to six thousand warriors (2 Macc. viii. 1). With this he assumed the offensive, and beginning with night attacks (ib. verse 7), he took town after town from the enemy, enlarging his own borders and narrowing theirs. After a time, Apollonius, the "chief collector of tribute," who had made the assault on Jerusalem in b.c. 167 (supra, i. 29-32; 2 Macc. v. 24-16), and was apparently established as governor of Samaria, thought it incumbent on him to endeavour to put down the rebellion, and, having collected a large army, marched against Judas, who boldly met his attack half-way, defeated and slew him, and took his sword to be his own weapon (vv. 10-12). This futile effort was followed by the attempt of Seron, governor of Cœle-Syria, who seems to have brought a very considerable force against the Jewish leader (vv. 15-19), and to have invaded the hill country in the neighbourhood of Beth-horon. He too was met and defeated, with the loss of 800 men, and his army was driven to take refuge in Philistia (vv. 23, 24). The military talent of Judas was sufficiently established by these two engagements, and his reputation spread far and wide (vv. 25, 26).

10. Apollonius.] Probably the same as the "chief collector of tribute" mentioned in ch. i. 29, whom the author of the Second Book calls "that detestable ringleader" (2 Macc. v. 24). Josephus calls him "commandant of Samaria" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 5); and we may conclude that he exercised satrapal authority over that district.

gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria.] The army which he collected consisted in part of Syro-Macedonians ("Gentiles"), in part of Samaritans, always hostile to the Jews, and now especially estranged from them. For the history of the
received, he went forth to meet him, and
so he smote him, and slew him: many
also fell down slain, but the rest fled.
12 Wherefore Judas took their spoils,
and Apollonius' sword also,
and therewith he fought all his life
long.
13 Now when Seron, a prince of the
army of Syria, heard say that
Judas had gathered unto him a
multitude and company of the faithful
to go out with him to war;

enmity, see Ewald's 'History of Israel,' vol. v.
pp. 213-222, E. T. Its germ may be found
in the refusal of Zerubbabel to let the semi-
heathen nation take part in the rebuilding of
the Temple (Ezra iv. 2-4), its expansion in the
circumstances connected with the establish-
ment of Manasseh at Samaria as Samaritan
high priest (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 7, § 2 et seqq.),
and its full development in the establishment
of a rival Temple, with a rival "Law" and a
rival worship, on Mount Gerizim soon after
the conquest of the Persian empire by Alex-
ander. The bitter feeling of the Jews against
their neighbours shortly after this time is
strongly indicated by the words of the Son of
Siraeh at the close of his book: "There be two
manner of nations which my heart ab-
horreth, and the third is no nation:—they that
sit on the mountain of Samaria, and they that
dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish
people that dwell in Sichem." (Eccles. I. 25,
26).

11. Judas . . . went forth to meet him.] It
was a part of the system of strategy adopted
by Judas to take the offensive as much as
possible. He never retreated before an enemy
or avoided an engagement. Even when sought
out by an aggressive foe, he always met him
half-way. (See vv. 16, 23; and comp. ch. iv.
12, 29, 34; v. 3, 6, 39, &c.)

be slew him.] Not "with his own hand," as
Scholz supposes, or the expression would
have been different. All that is meant is,
that Apollonius fell in the battle.

many fell down slain.] Or "were wounded
to death," as the same phrase is rendered in
ch. i. 18.

12. Judas took . . . Apollonius' sword.]
Dean Stanley well compares David's use of
the sword of Goliath (1 Sam. xxi. 9). It was
one of the main disadvantages of the patriotic
party that they were ill-armed (ch. iv. 6).
The Jewish sword appears to have been a
short straight weapon, like the Persian
('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 114), not
much better than a dagger. The Macce-
donian sword was of the same shape, but
probably longer and better tempered.

13. Seron.] Seron is not known as a Greek
name. Perhaps it represents the Phoenician Hiram, which was sometimes rendered into
Greek by Sciramus or Seirum (Herod. vii.
98).

a prince of the army of Syria.] Rather,
"the commander of the army of Syria." Jo-
sephus calls him "the general of Coele-
syria"—i.e. the commander of the troops
stationed in that province, which adjoined
Palestine on the north. It would be the
duty of such an officer, without special orders,
to undertake the suppression of a rebellion in
Judaea as soon as the governor of Samaria
had made an attempt and failed.

a multitude and company of the faithful.
Le. not an organised army, but a mere mob
of untrained men; in contrast with the
"mighty host" of v. 15.

14. who despise the king's commandment.]
Literally, "who set at nought the word of the
king." (Comp. ch. i. 62; ii. 19-22, 34.)

15. a mighty host of the ungodly.] Le. "a
powerful army of Syro-Macedonians"—prob-
ably all the troops stationed in the province,
who may have amounted to some 10,000 or
12,000 men.

16. he came near to the going up of Beth-
boron.] Rather, "they came near." The
"going up of Beth-horon" was the ascent
from the Philistine plain to the highland of
Judaea, which led from the coast to Jerusa-
lem by way of Lydda, Gimzo, the two Beth-
horons, and Gibeon. Seron, like most in-
vaders, had kept the low ground until he
reached the enemy's country, when he had to
make the ascent from the Shefelah to the
highland. His route must have led him near
Modin. It is thought to have been that
followed by Sennacherib. (See note on
Josh. x. 10 in the 'Speaker's Commentary
on the Old Testament,' vol. ii. p. 49.)

Judas went forth to meet him.] See note
forth to meet him with a small company:

17 Who, when they saw the host coming to meet them, said unto Judas, How shall we be able, being so few, to fight against so great a multitude and so strong, seeing we are ready to faint with fasting all this day?

18 Unto whom Judas answered, It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with the God of heaven it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company:

19 For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host; but strength cometh from heaven.

20 They come against us in much pride and iniquity to destroy us, and our wives and children, and to spoil us:

21 But we fight for our lives and our laws.

22 Wherefore the Lord himself will overthrow them before our face: and as for you, be ye not afraid of them.

23 Now as soon as he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and so Seron and his host was overthrown before him.

24 And they pursued them from the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, where were slain about eight hundred men of them; and

on v. 11. The MSS. vary between “to meet him” and “to meet them.”

with a small company.] Literally, “with a few out of many.” Judas probably regarded the pass of Beth-horon as affording space for only a small number, and therefore occupied it with a small picked force.

17. when they saw the host coming to meet them.] The “little company” with Judas, posted at the head of the pass, would have a clear view of the “mighty host” of Seron as it ascended the long valley from the plain, and may be excused if it misjudged its ability to resist so great a multitude. How it had happened that the men had been allowed to become “faint with fasting” we are not told, and can only conjecture. Perhaps Judas had expected Seron’s troops to arrive earlier at the point where he designed to give them battle, and in this expectation had not encumbered himself with a commissariat.

18. It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few.] Or, “delivered into the hands of a few.” (Comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 12, xxiv. 18; 2 Sam. xviii. 28.) God, that is, can, with the greatest ease deliver many into the hands of a few, to be destroyed by them. This is a lesson constantly taught in the Old Testament (Judg. vii. 2-7; 1 Sam. xiv. 6-15; 2 Chr. xiv. 9-13, xx. 12-24), and is one for all time. Heaven is not always on the side of “big battalions.”

with the God of heaven.] Several MSS. omit τοῦ θεοῦ—bθοῦ; and it is more consonant with the general practice of the author to omit the Holy Name than to express it. (See the Introduction, § 4.)

it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company.] Comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 6, and 2 Chron. xiv. 11, where the sentence is exactly the same, though the expressions slightly differ.

20. They come against us in much pride and iniquity.] Rather, “with great insolence and lawlessness.” The proceedings of Antiochus were altogether contrary to the engagements which Alexander had made with the Jewish nation, and also with the understanding upon which they had transferred their allegiance from the Ptolemies to the Seleucids. This is perhaps the lawlessness (ἀθώω) intended. Or it may be the non-observance by the Syro-Macedonians of the ordinary laws of warfare among civilised nations, as indicated in the remainder of the verse. The Greeks did not commonly make war on “women and children.”

23. the Lord himself will overthrow them.] Our translators supply the nominative, “the Lord,” which is not expressed in the original. The writer of the Book avoids, as much as possible, all mention of the Divine Name. (Compare the practice of the writer of Esther.)

23. be leapt suddenly upon them.] Those who hold a pass line its sides, concealing themselves. At a given signal they rise, and (as it were) “leap upon” the foe.

24. they pursued them from the going down of Beth-horon unto the plain.] Rather, “they pursued him along the going down of Beth-horon.” The Jews hung upon the defeated enemy all along the descent into the Philistine plain, as their ancestors under Joshua had hung upon the defeated Canaanites (Josh. x. 10, 11), and as their descendants
I. MACCABEES. III.

25 Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren, and an exceeding great dread, to fall upon the nations round about them:

26 Insomuch as his fame came unto the king, and all nations talked of the battles of Judas.

27 Now when king Antiochus heard these things, he was full of indignation: wherefore he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, even a very strong army.

28 He opened also his treasure, and gave his soldiers pay for a year, commanding them to be ready whenever he should need them.

29 Nevertheless, when he saw that the money of his treasures failed, and that the tributes in the country were small, because of the dissension named Lysias, to conduct the war against the Jews. Lysias was instructed to invade Judaea in force, and crush the rebellion by killing, or selling for slaves, the entire Jewish nation, after which he was to people the land with foreigners brought from a distance. Having given these commands, Epiphanes quitted Antioch, and proceeded through Mesopotamia to Persia.

27. all the forces of his realm.] According to the numbers assigned in ch. iii. 39, and ch. iv. 28 to the troops collected by Lysias, the entire armed force of the Syrian monarchy at this time should have considerably exceeded 100,000 men, since Lysias was left with only one half of the army (v. 34). The estimate does not seem to be unreasonable, since Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (Appian, ‘Syriaca,’ p. 39), and Sidetes is said to have had 128,000 at Dora (ch. xv. 15).

28. He... gave his soldiers pay for a year.] The exhaustion of the Syrian treasury under Epiphanes has been already mentioned in the notes on ch. i. 20. His expenditure was reckless (see especially Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4); and it may well be that the soldiers were often left without pay, while huge sums were lavished on shows and games. Thus it was necessary, in order to secure the goodwill of the troops, to make them at the beginning of the campaign an advance of a year’s pay.

29. the money of his treasures failed.] Polybius says, “he needed supplies of money” (xxx. 11). It seems certain that the Syrian finances were seriously disordered under Antiochus Epiphanes, and that his policy was largely influenced by the necessity of obtaining supplies from one quarter or another. Hence his original attack upon the Temple of the Jews (ch. i. 21-23); and hence his present expedition into the eastern provinces which may, however, have embraced also other objects.

§ 3. ANTIОCHUS GOES TO PERSIA, LEAVING LYSIAS TO CONDUCT THE WAR AGAINST JUDAS.

27-27. The ill-success of Seron moved Antiochus to increased exertion. He levied his whole military force, consisting probably of above 100,000 men, and gave them a year’s pay in advance, perhaps to quiet apprehensions, which may have existed, that pay would not be forthcoming. He then found his treasury exhausted; and, as the tributes of some provinces were unpaid, he resolved to divide his troops, and proceed with one half of them to the eastern portion of the empire, for the purpose of collecting the arrears due to him there, leaving the other half under the command of a general
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B.C. cir. 166.

and plague, which he had brought upon the land in taking away the laws which had been of old time; 30. He feared that he should not be able to bear the charges any longer, nor to have such gifts to give so liberally as he did before: for he had abounded above the kings that were before him.

31. Wherefore, being greatly perplexed in his mind, he determined to go into Persia, there to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.

32. So he left Lysias, a nobleman, and one of the blood royal, to oversee the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt:

33. And to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again.

34. Moreover he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all things that he would have done, as also concerning them that dwelt in Judaea and Jerusalem:

35. To wit, that he should send an army against them, to destroy and root out the strength of Israel, and are the main collectors of taxes in the East. When a population became disaffected, they would refuse to act. The taxes would remain uncollected, and the result would be as expressed in the text.

because of the dissension and plague.] It would seem, from the expressions here used, that the general proclamation issued by Epi- phanes, commanding uniformity in religion (ch. i. 41, 42), had provoked troubles in some regions besides Judæa, and led to a disorganisation which had told on the revenue. Setting aside Judæa, there was no part of the empire where religious reforms were so likely to be resisted as in Persia (see v. 31, and comp. ch. vi. 1–4), which clung to the religion of Zoroaster, and ultimately re-established it as the religion of the state.

in taking away the laws.] See above, ch. i. 42, "Every one should leave his laws."

30. The charges.] "The charges" are the ordinary expenses of the government, to which Epiphanes added greatly by his reckless liberality to individuals and states—often when they had absolutely no claim upon him. On occupying Naucratis, in Egypt, he went out of his way to present a gold piece to each of its Greek inhabitants (Polyb. xxviii. 17, § 11). On another occasion he sent a golden crown (worth fifty talents) to the Romans, and at the same time he sent a hundred talents to a certain number of the Grecian states (ib. 18, § 3). Polybius praises his "liberality;" but it was rather a culpable profusion that distinguished him.

liberally.] Literally, "with a lavish hand."

31. be determined to go into Persia.] "Persia" seems to be used vaguely in the two books of the Maccabees for the more eastern portion of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom. (Comp. ch. vi. 1, 5, 56; 2 Macc. i. 13, ix. 1, 21.)

to gather much money.] Antiochus did not look to obtain money solely by collection of the tribute due to him, but also by war and plunder, by the robbing of temples, and perhaps by other equivocal means. He led an expedition into Armenia early in B.C. 165, defeated the king, Artaxias, and took him prisoner (Appian, 'Syriae.' p. 117, B), and carried off a large booty (Diod. Sic. in C. Müller's 'Fragm. Hist. Gr.' vol. ii. p. x.; Strab. xi. p. 531, &c.). In the ensuing year, B.C. 164, he made the attempt to plunder the temple of Nanaza, or Anaitis, which is recorded in ch. vi. 1–4, and in 2 Macc. ix. 2.

32. Lysias, a nobleman.] Rather "a man of note." Lysias is mentioned by Polybius, Livy, Appian, and Porphyry, as guardian of Antiochus Eupator, and regent during his minority. He was a man of considerable ability, though of no great military talent.

33. bis son Antiochus.] Lc. Antiochus Eupator, who succeeded his father at the age of nine (Appian) or twelve (Porphyry), and reigned two years—from B.C. 164 to B.C. 162—when he was put to death by Demetrius (ch. vii. 3, 4).

34. the half of bis forces.] On their numbers, see the comment on v. 27.

and the elephants.] On the employment of war-elephants by the Syro-Macedonian kings, see note on ch. i. 17. In B.C. 164 Lysias is said to have brought eighty of these beasts against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4). Epiphanes knew that he could not make use of them in the mountain-region of Armenia, and therefore left the entire force to his officer.

35. to destroy and root out the strength of Israel.] It was not an ordinary war, but a war of extermination, that Lysias was commanded to wage. The Jews were to be utterly rooted out, and their places supplied
the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place;

36 And that he should place strangers in all their quarters, and divide their land by lot.

37 So the king took the half of the forces that remained, and departed from Antioch, his royal city, the hundred forty and seventh year; and having passed the river Euphrates, he went through the high countries.

38 Then Lysias chose Ptoleme the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor,

by strangers. Such a system had often been followed by the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs, and had generally proved successful. One of the best known instances was the deportation of the Israelites to Mesopotamia and Media by Tiglath-pilesar and Sargon, and the re-peopling of their country by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Susiana, Elymais, &c., by Esarhaddon (2 Kings xxvii. 6, 24; Ezra iv. 9, 10). The design of Epiphanes was to effect a similar result, but by means of even greater severity, since the Jews, instead of being deported to a new locality, were to be either slain or sold as slaves. (See v. 41, and comp. 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.)

38. the remnant of Jerusalem. I.e. "the few Jews left at Jerusalem" (ch. i. 38, 53).

36. that he should place strangers. Literally, "that strangers should settle." But perhaps the true reading is καταστησαι, which would give the sense of the text.

37. the half of the forces that remained. Rather, "the half that remained of the forces." The other half, which was assigned to Lysias, must have previously quit Antioch.

Antioch, his royal city. Originally Babylon had been fixed upon as the capital of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom; but Seleucus Nicator transferred the seat of government first to Seleucia, upon the Tigris, and afterwards to Antioch, which he built and called after his son. No doubt there were important interests which were best served by having the seat of government in the west; but Syria was weakened both for attack and defence by having its capital at one extremity of a long straggling territory. Antioch was from the first a flourishing city. Epiphanes had added greatly to its magnificence by carrying a broad colonnaded street through the heart of the place from one end to the other. (See K. O. Müller's 'Antiquitates Antiochena,' Göttingen, 1839.)

38. Lysias chose Ptoleme the son of Dorymenes. "Ptoleme, the son of Dorymenes," seems to be the same person as the "Ptolemy surnamed Macron," of 2 Macc. x. 12. If so, he was quite unconnected with the Egyptian Ptolemies, being the son of an Attian. He had, however, taken service under Ptolemy Philometor, and been by him made governor of Cyprus, but deserted this post, and transferred himself to the service of Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 13, 14), who received him with favour, and gave him the government of Cælesyria and Phœnícia (ib. viii. 6). At this time Ptolemy had been apprised by "Philip the Phrygian," governor of Jerusalem (2 Macc. v. 22), of the perilous state of affairs in Judæa, and had probably made a
and Gorgias, mighty men of the
king’s friends:

39 And with them he sent forty
thousand footmen, and seven thou-
sand horsemen, to go into the land of
Juda, and to destroy it, as the king
commanded.

40 So they went forth with all
their power, and came and pitched by
Emmaus in the plain country.

41 And the merchants of the
country, hearing the fame of them,
took silver and gold very much, with
servants, and came into the camp to
buy the children of Israel for slaves:
a power also of Syria and of the land
of the Philistines joined themselves
to unto them.

42 Now when Judas and his bre-
thren saw that miseries were multi-
report on the subject to Lysias, who there-
upon gave him a command.

Nicanor.] Nicanor is placed at the head
of the expedition by the writer of the Second
Book (ch. viii. 9–24), who gives Ptolemy no
part in it, and barely mentions the name of
Gorgias (ibid. v. 9).

39. forty thousand footmen, and seven thou-
sand horsemen.] These numbers are confirmed
by Josephus, and are not intrinsically im-
probable. The Syriac version has, however,
“ten thousand” in the place of forty thousand,
and the author of the Second Book estimates
the entire force at 20,000 (a Macc. viii. 9).

40. by Emmaus in the plain country.] This
Emmaus is undoubtedly the city known
afterwards as Nicopolis, which was twenty-
two Roman miles distant from Jerusalem and
ten from Lydda. (See Itin. Hieros. p. 600,
Wesseling.) It lay in the Philistine plain, at
the foot of the mountains of Judæa, and is
now represented by the small village of
Amwas (Robinson, ‘Researches in Palestine’,
vol. iii. p. 147). The “Emmaus” of
St. Luke’s Gospel (xxiv. 13) must have been a
different place.

41. the merchants of the country.] The
dealers were probably, in the main, Phoeni-
cians, though the septum towns of Philistia
may have furnished some. According to the
author of the Second Book, Nicanor had
apprised the merchants of his intention to
sell the Jewish captives, and had fixed the
low rate of ninety for a talent (less than 3l.
each) as the price at which they would be
sold (a Macc. viii. 11).

with servants.] It is not very clear why
these “servants” should be mentioned. The
Syrian version has “fetters and chains,”
Josephus “fetters.” We may suspect the
mistake of a copyist, who wrote παιδας for
πεφας. The dealers brought “fetters” to
place upon such of their purchases as they
might deem dangerous.

a power also of Syria.] I.e. native Syrians
not enrolled in the Syro-Macedonian army.
They were attracted probably by the hope of
plunder.

§ 5. Judas takes his forces to Miz-
peh, over against Jerusalem, and
makes appeal to God in sight of
the Holy City.

42–54. On learning the extreme
danger that now threatened the patriots—their
extermination decreed, and nearly 50,000 men
sent to effect the execution of the decree—
Judas took a remarkable resolution. He
resolved, before engaging his new adversaries,
to approach Jerusalem as closely as he could,
and in the sight of the Temple and the
Holy City to “make prayer to God, and ask
mercy and compassion” (v. 44). He ac-
cordingly “led his scanty host over the
mountains to the ridge of Mizpeh—the spot
where Alexander had met Jaddua, and
where, after the Chaldean capture of Jeru-
salem, the pilgrims had come to wait over the
Holy City. It was a mournful scene.
They could see from that high rocky platform
the deserted streets, the walls and gates
closed as if of a besieged town, the silent
precincts of the Temple, the Greek garrison
in the fortress. Before that distant presence
of the Holy Place, to which they could gain
no nearer access, the mourners came wrap-
ted in tatters of black hair-clotth, with ashes on
their heads. They spread out the copies of
the law . . . . . they waved the sacerdotal vestments . . . . . . they shewed the animals and
the vegetables due for firstfruits and tithes,
they passed in long procession the Nazarites
with their flowing tresses, who were unable
to dedicate themselves in the sanctuary.”
(Stanley, ‘Jewish Church,’ vol. iii. pp. 307–8.)
After this, they called on God to be their
helper, and concluded their “sorrowful cere-
mony” with a blast of trumpets, emblematic
of expected triumph.

42. when Judas . . . . . saw that mis-
eries were multiplied.] Rather, “that evil
increased upon them.” Each success
43 Now Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness, there was none of her children that went in or out: the sanctuary also was trodden down, and aliens kept the strong hold; the heathen had their habitation in that place; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased.

44 Then was the congregation gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask mercy and compassion.

45 Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness. speaking of the Israelites, says that “the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, were in their feasts.” (Ch. v. 18.) A similar employment of music at festivals is touched upon by Amos (ch. vi. 5). Under the existing calamities there was an end of feasting, and consequently a cessation of music. (Cf. Is. xiv. 11.)

46. Maspha.] Literally, “Massephah.” The identity of “Maspa,” or “Massephah,” with Mizpah or Mizpeh, is generally allowed. The LXX. express Mizpah by “Maspha” in 2 Chron. xvi. 6 and Neh. iii. 15; in 1 Sam. they use the longer form “Massephath,” which is almost identical with the “Maspha” of the present passage, tb being a mere feminine ending. The exact situation, however, of Mizpeh has been much controverted. Dr. Robinson places it on Nebi-Samwil, five miles from Jerusalem, to the north-west (‘Researches,’ vol. i. p. 460). But this seems too far off to suit the present description. Recent travellers have therefore sought another site for Mizpeh, and have found it on the broad ridge directly north of the city, which is a continuation of the Mount of Olives, whence there is an excellent view of both the city and the temple site. The distance is considerably less than a mile; and the site is undoubtedly that of the “Scopus” of Josephus (‘Bell. Jud.’ v. 2, § 3), which seems to be a Greek translation of the Hebrew Mizpeh, “a watch-tower.” Here is a village called Safat, or Shaft, which seems to be a corruption of the ancient name.

in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.] On the sacred character attaching to Mizpeh in early times, see Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6; x. 17-25. Jerome says that it is one of the places where the ark abode for a time (‘Quest. Heb.’ on 1 Sam. vii. 2).

47. They fasted, &c.] They began with humiliation, accumulating all its various signs
put on sackcloth, and cast ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes,

48 And laid open the book of the law, wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images.

49 They brought also the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and the "Nazareites they stirred up, who had accomplished their days.

50 Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven, saying, What shall we do with these, and whither shall we carry them away?

51 For thy sanctuary is trodden down and profaned, and thy priests are in heaviness, and brought low.

52 And, lo, the heathen are assembled together against us to destroy us: what things they imagine against us, thou knowest.

53 How shall we be able to stand against them, except thou, O God, be our help?

54 Then sounded they with trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.

—sackcloth, clothes rent, ashes on the head, and fasting. (Comp. 1 Kings xxi. 27; Jonah iii. 6.) The intention, no doubt, was to acknowledge their own sinfulness in God's sight, before entreating His favour.

48. And laid open the book of the law.] It would seem by the expression used that they had but one copy, or at any rate that they produced only one. The Syro-Macedonians had torn up and burnt the greater number of the copies at the beginning of the persecution (ch. i. 56). They had been content, however, with disfiguring some by pictures of their own idols, or perhaps rather of their deities. It was to exhibit this profanation before the eye of God that the Book was "laid open." Compare the act of Hezekiah, when he "spread before the Lord" the blasphemous letter of Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 14).

the heathen had sought to paint the likeness.] Only a few of the MSS. preserve the true reading. The majority, and most of the printed texts, omit the mention of "painting."

49. They brought also the priests' garments.] On the holy garments commanded for the Jewish priests, see Ex. xxviii. 4-42. Apparently, they were now exhibited to shew that Judas and his followers were ready and anxious to resume the Temple worship, and only hindered by Jerusalem being in hostile hands. It was recognised that there could be no sacrificial worship outside the Temple.

and the firstfruits, and the tithes.] It had been determined in the time of Nehemiah, that all the firstfruits, and "the tithe of the tithes"—i.e. the priests' portion—should be carried every year to the Temple, and there made over to the sacerdotal authorities, who were thus to be spared the trouble and expense of collection (Neh. x. 35-39). The firstfruits and tithes were now brought as near to the Temple as possible under the circumstances, to indicate the readiness of the people to conform to the law of God in all things, so far as they could.

and the Nazareites they stirred up.] The completion of the ordinary, or limited, Nazarite vow could only take place in the Temple, where certain offerings had to be made, and the hair, which had been left untouched during the term of the vow, had to be cut off and burnt under the sacred altar (Num. vi. 13-18). The Nazareites were now "stirred up" to come and present themselves as near the Temple as possible, to shew their readiness to complete their vows, unless hindered by the heathen.

50. Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven.] "Crying toward heaven" is the ordinary expression of the writer for making an appeal to God. (See ch. iv. 19, 40; v. 31; ix. 46, &c.)

What shall we do with these?] Is. How shall we enable them to complete their vow? Whither shall we take them? We cannot take them to the Temple. Will not God shew us a way out of these difficulties?

53. except thou, O God, be our help.] The first thing is humiliation (v. 47); the next, an exposition of their enemies' impiety (v. 48); the third, a setting forth of their own needs (vv. 49-52); in conclusion, there is an appeal to God for aid (v. 53). This appeal is accompanied by a loud blare of trumpets, and a shout that was heard far and wide (v. 54). The blast of trumpets was not a mere signal for breaking up the camp (Num. x. 1)—united, as it was, with the loud shout, we must understand it as in part a defiance to the garrison in Jerusalem, in part an expression of confidence in the speedy triumph of the good cause.


55-60. It would seem that hitherto the Jews under Judas had fought as an un-
55 And after this Judas ordained captains over the people, even captains over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens.

56 But as for such as were building houses, or had betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful, those he commanded that they should return, every man to his own house, according to the law.

57 So the camp removed, and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.

58 And Judas said, Arm yourselves, and be valiant men, and see that ye be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these nations, that are assembled together against us to destroy us and our sanctuary:

59 For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary.

60 Nevertheless, as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do.

CHAPTER IV.

6 Judas defeateth the plot, 14 and forces of Gorgias, 23 and spoileth their tents, 34 and overcometh Lysias. 45 He pulleth down the altar which the heathen had profaned, and setteth up a new: 60 and maketh a wall about Zion.

disciplined mass, with no officers but Judas and his brothers to guide them. Now that he had to contend with half the might of Syria (v. 34), the leader recognised the necessity of having recourse to something more of system. A decimal organisation seemed the easiest, and was already familiar to the thought of the nation from its adoption in former times. (See Ex. xviii. 21; Judg. xx. 10; 1 Sam. xvii. 12; 2 Kings i. 9; xi. 4; 2 Chr. xxv. 5.) Accordingly, he introduced it in the old familiar shape, which, though not theoretically perfect, had been practically found convenient. A petty officer was appointed to each ten men, a superior one to five such bodies, a captain to each hundred, and a colonel to each thousand. Before, however, this arrangement had been made, the army was weeded of its less willing members—the timorous, the newly-married, and the immersed in worldly business—according to the injunctions laid down in Deuteronomy (ch. xx. 5–8)—and a picked force was thus obtained. The enemy was then sought out, the army returning to the neighbourhood of Emmaus; and in a short spirited harangue Judas bade them prepare to give the Syrians battle on the morrow.

55. Judas ordained captains over the people.] The arrangement is identical with that recommended by Jethro to Moses for judicial purposes (Ex. xviii. 21). It differs from the ordinary Jewish military system by the institution of "captains of tens." 

56. such as were building houses.] These may have been a tolerably numerous class, since the patriots were to a large extent fugitives from Jerusalem and other towns, who, having quitted their houses, would have to build others.

or were fearful.] Compare the action of Gideon (Judg. vii. 3), who, by dismissing the "fearful," reduced his army from 32,000 to 10,000. The reduction may not have been great in the present instance, since few but brave men would have been likely to join the patriots.

57. So the camp removed.] Judas never sought to avoid battle, or stood simply on the defensive. When a force was sent against him, his object was to engage it—in the confident belief that, with God's help, he would overcome it. So, having held his prayer-meeting at Mizpeh, he broke up his camp, and marched westward, a distance of above twenty miles, to meet the enemy, whose position at Emmaus was well known to him.

and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.] Emmaus was at the northern foot of a spur which projected into the Philistine plain from the hill-country of Judea. Judas, while encamping south of Emmaus, still remained on the high ground.

58. Arm yourselves.] Literally, "gird yourselves," but in the general sense of "prepare"—"make ready."

60. as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do.] Absolute resignation to the will of God is nowhere better expressed. Judas was content to succeed or fail, as God chose. Only, he hoped that, if he failed, he might be allowed to die (v. 59).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. Judas and his Men defeat and disperse the Forces under Nicanor and Gorgias.

1–27. The army under Judas is said in 2 Macc. viii. 16 to have numbered six thousand men. As the Syro-Macedonians were more than seven times as numerous (ch. iii. 39), it did
THEN took Gorgias five thousand footmen, and a thousand of the best horsemen, and removed out of the camp by night;

2. To the end he might rush in upon the camp of the Jews, and smite them suddenly. And the men of the fortress were his guides.

3. Now when Judas heard thereof, he himself removed, and the valiant men with him, that he might smite the king’s army which was at Emmaus.

4. While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp.

5. In the mean season came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas: and when he found no man there, he sought them in the mountains: for said he, These fellows flee from us.

6. But as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain with not seem a risk to their commanders to divide their force in two, and send a portion into the mountains to attack the Jewish camp, if a favourable opportunity offered, while the main body still continued in the plain. The command of the attacking force, which just equalled the army of Judas, was taken by Gorgias, the captain of “great experience” (2 Macc. viii. 9), while Nicanor remained at the head of the others, who occupied a fortified camp in the plain. Nothing is heard of Ptolemy, who was apparently absent. Gorgias hoped to surprise Judas, and to this end made a night march from Emmaus into the hill-country; but Judas, learning his intention, frustrated it by a counter-movement, abandoning his camp to Gorgias, while he flung himself on the forces of Nicanor. The result was a complete victory (vv. 14, 15; 2 Macc. viii. 24, 25). Nicanor’s army was routed and dispersed, after which battle was offered to Gorgias, who declined it, and retreated with precipitation (vv. 16–22). The first attempt of Lysias thus completely failed. Out of the 47,000 men engaged in the war, 9000 were slain outright, and probably a still larger number wounded (2 Macc. viii. 24). Lysias was greatly disappointed and discouraged, but still determined to make a further effort to carry out the king’s designs in the ensuing year.

1. Then took Gorgias five thousand footmen.] It is not clear whether Gorgias made his movement at the request of Nicanor, and in concert with him, or whether he had an independent command, and acted on his own responsibility. Dean Stanley supposes him to have been “commander of the forces at Jerusalem” (‘Jewish Church,’ vol. iii, p. 308). But nothing has been said of his having quitted Emmaus (ch. iii. 38–40); and it seems best to suppose that he had remained there till now. Verse 4 makes this almost certain.

removed out of the camp by night.] Rather, “his camp” or “his army removed by night.”

2. the men of the fortress were his guides.] This is generally explained as “apostates from the citadel of Jerusalem.” But the “fortress” intended may be the citadel of Emmaus. Persons belonging to the neighbourhood were likely to be better guides than men who came from a distance.

3. when Judas heard.] Judas had his “intelligence department,” and was quickly apprised of the enemy’s movement. To him the division of the Syro-Macedonian force seemed a strategic mistake, and he resolved at once to take advantage of it. “While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp” (v. 4), he determined to make an onslaught on those who remained to guard it. He may not have known their numbers, but he felt that at any rate it was best to fight before the troops of Gorgias rejoined those of Nicanor. (Cf. Joseph. ‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 7, § 4)

5. came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas.] This was what Judas had intended: he had left his tents standing, and had thus drawn Gorgias on. He may even have left booty in the camp, to occupy the attention of the soldiers. Meanwhile he had himself descended into the plain with 3000 men (v. 6), leaving perhaps 3000 as a reserve on the outlying hills.

be sought them in the mountains.] Gorgias thought that the soldiers of Judas, learning his approach, had fled and concealed themselves in the fastnesses of the mountains, and proceeded inland, in search of them.

6. as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain.] On the Jews’ part the time for night attacks was past (2 Macc. viii. 7). Broad daylight best suits a foe who is confident of victory, either in his own strength, or through trust in a strength that is not his, but vouchsafed to him. Judas descended into the plain by night, but waited for the day to make his dispositions, and proceed to the assault. The exact dispositions which he made are given in the Second Book (2 Macc. viii. 22, 23); which, however, doubles the number of the Jewish army engaged in the struggle.
three thousand men, who nevertheless had neither armour nor swords to their minds.

7 And they saw the camp of the heathen, that it was strong and well harnessed, and compassed round about with horsemen; and these were expert of war.

8 Then said Judas to the men that were with him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their assault.

9 Remember how our fathers were delivered in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with an army.

10 Now therefore let us cry unto heaven, if peradventure the Lord will have mercy upon us, and remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this host before our face this day:

11 *That so all the heathen may know that there is one who delivereth and saveth Israel.*

12 Then the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them.

13 Wherefore they went out of the camp to battle; but they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets.

14 So they joined battle, and the heathen being discomfited fled into the plain.

...bad neither armour nor swords to their minds.] See note on ch. iii. 12.

7. the camp of the heathen.] Some translate, “the host of the heathen,” but probably the camp is intended. (Comp. v. 13.)

well harnessed.] I.e. well guarded with a rampart or breastwork. So θωρήσθη is used by Herodotus (i. 181), and θωρικας by Diodorus (xiv. 44), Philo (ii. 324), and others.

compassed round about with horsemen.] Patroils of horse guarded the camp on every side, so that it was impossible to surprise it.

8. Then said Judas, &c.] This seems to be the place where the fuller account of 2 Macc. viii. 16-23 properly comes in. Judas addressed his men at some length; exhorted them not to be afraid of the enemy (2 Macc. viii. 16); reminded them of the wrongs which they had suffered at their hands (ib. v. 17); spoke of former deliverances—that from Pharaoh at the Red Sea (1 Macc. iv. 9), that from Sennacherib (2 Macc. viii. 19), and that from the Celtic invaders of Asia somewhat recently (ib. v. 20); and finally bade them make an earnest appeal to heaven for help and salvation (1 Macc. iv. 10, 11); after which he made a fresh disposition of his force. Dividing it into four equal bands, he commanded the one of them himself, and assigning the other three to his brothers John, Simon, and Jonathan respectively, he ordered the fifth brother, Eleazar, to recite from the Holy Book (2 Macc. viii. 21-23); and then, while the words sounded in their ears, commanded his army to advance to the attack, himself leading the way.

Fear ye not.] Comp. ch. iii. 22.

their multitude.] Even if Judas advanced Apoc.—Vol. II.

with his entire force of six thousand men (2 Macc. viii. 16, 22), still he was outnumbered at least sevenfold (ch. iii. 39, 41; iv. 1).

11. That so all the heathen may know.] Comp. Ex. xv. 14; Ps. lix. 13, lxxix. 10; lxiii. 18, xciii. 2, &c. The vindication of God’s honour in the sight of the heathen is one of the most legitimate objects of human effort; and the saints of God make it the subject of frequent petition. Moses in the wilderness has no more potent argument either when he requests God’s aid, or when he deprecates the punishments which the people’s sins have deserved. (See Ex xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 15, 16; Deut. ix. 28; xxxii. 27, &c.)

12. the strangers lifted up their eyes.] The enemy, to their surprise, saw the small Jewish force rapidly advancing upon them across the plain. They could not for very shame decline the combat, so they quitted their walled camp (v. 7), and drew themselves up in order of battle (v. 13). The Jews, as they charged, blew their well-known trumpet-blast, an encouragement to themselves, a terror to the adversary.

14. being discomfited.] The expression used in the original is stronger, implying a crushing defeat.

fled into the plain.] There is a slight difficulty here, since Emmaus itself was “in the plain” (ch. iii. 40), and Judas has descended “into the plain” (ch. iv. 6), in order to attack the Syro-Macedonian army. Probably the writer is thinking of the entire broad tract of Philistia, and regarding that as the true plain, rather than the embayed recess about Emmaus, which was a sort of valley connected with the plain.
I. MACCABEES. IV.

[v. 15—20.

15 Howbeit all the hindmost of them were slain with the sword: for they pursued them unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia, so that there were slain of them upon a three thousand men.

16 This done, Judas returned again with his host from pursuing them,
17 And said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us,
18 And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain: but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils.

19 As Judas was yet speaking these words, there appeared a part of them looking out of the mountain:

20 Who when they perceived that the Jews had put their host to flight, and were burning the tents; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done:

18. they pursued them unto Gazera.] The position of "Gazera" (or Gazara), long regarded as uncertain, seems to have been fixed by the discoveries of M. Clermont-Ganneau, who first found a Tel-el-Jezar mentioned by the Arabian geographers in the required locality, then obtained the same name from the present inhabitants, and finally came upon a rock inscription in which the name of Gezer was repeated twice ("Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund," Oct. 1875, pp. 200–1). The position is one three miles W. of Khulda, and about six E. of Akir (Ekron), at a village called Abu-Shooshah, of which the Tel forms a part. The distance from Emmaus (Amwas) is about eight miles.

the plains of Idumea, [Gr. Asotum.] The defeated army, having kept together as far as Gazara, there separated, and fled in three directions, westward to "the plain of Jamnia," marked by the modern Yebeh, in the Sorek valley; south-westward to "the plain of Ashdod," marked by the modern Ezdod; and southward or south-eastward to "the plain of Idumea," the country south of Judaism, between Hebron and Beersheba. The limits of Idumea, vague at all times, are perhaps extended by the writer so as to include the flat country about Tel-el-Safi and Merarah or Mareeshah.

Azotus.] The identity of the ancient Ashdod (or Azotus) with the modern Ezdod is generally allowed. Ezdod is situated about three miles from the coast, a little south of the water-course known as the "valley of Elah." It stands on a slight elevation, which looks down upon the plain, and makes the situation a commanding one. Ashdod was one of the most ancient of the Philistine towns (Josh. xv. 47; 1 Sam. v. 5). It was taken by Sargon in B.C. 711, and by Psamatik I. about B.C. 630, after a long siege (Herod. ii. 157).

Jamnia.] "Jamnia" appears as Jabneel in Joshua (xv. 11), and as Jabneh in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). It was some three or four miles from the sea, but had a port dependent on it, which bore the same name (2 Macc. xii. 9; Plin. 'H. N.' v. 12). Ordinarily, it was a Philistine possession. The site seems to be marked by the modern Yebeh, a small village south of the Sorek, eleven miles from Joppa, and sixteen from Ezdod.

there were slain of them upon a three thousand.] The writer of the Second Book says "nine thousand" (2 Macc. viii. 24), which is more in accord with the strong expression used above, in v. 14. He adds that "the most part of Nicanor's host" was "wounded and maimed" by the patriots.

16. Judas returned again. . . . from pursuing them.] The battle took place upon the sixth day of the week, and by the time that Gazara was reached the sabbath was approaching. Judas therefore withdrew his men, being unwilling to desecrate the sabbath, and contented himself with firing the camp and despoiling the slain of their armour (2 Macc. viii. 27). The other reason here alleged for the recall—the near presence of Gorgias—may also have actuated him.

17. Be not greedy of the spoils.] I.e. "wait for the present—do not attempt to plunder the camp—if you were once engaged in plundering, Gorgias might take you at a disadvantage."

there is a battle before us.] Rather perhaps, "there is war before us," the entire force of the enemy is not accounted for—Gorgias still remains somewhere in our neighbourhood: the war is not over.

18. in the mountain.] Rather, "in the hill-country." (Cf. v. 5.) boldly.] Or "confidently." Without any fear of a hostile attack upon you on the part of Gorgias.

19–23. The detachment under Gorgias, having searched the interior of the hill-country
21. When therefore they perceived these things, they were sore afraid, and seeing also the host of Judas in the plain ready to fight,
22. They fled every one into the land of strangers.
23. Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches.
24. After this they went home, and sung a song of thanksgiving, and praised the Lord in heaven: because it is good, because his mercy endureth for ever.
25. Thus Israel had a great deliverance that day.
26. Now all the strangers that had escaped came and told Lysias what had happened:
27. Who, when he heard thereof, was confounded and discouraged, because neither such things as he would were done unto Israel, nor such things as the king commanded him were come to pass.

near Emmaus and found no trace of Judas or his army, had returned to the outskirts, and "looked out" from some high position upon the plain. The sight revealed to them was that of Nicanor's camp in flames, and his troops dispersed far and wide over the Shefelah (v. 15), while the army of Judas was drawn up in battle array, ready for combat. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, his troops "were sore afraid," and "fled every one" into the Philistine country, seeking to rejoin the troops of Nicanor.

23. Judas returned to spoil the tents.] Rather, "the camp"—no doubt the camp of Nicanor, near Emmaus. The inflammable portions had been burnt; but the flames would have made small impression on the more valuable portion of the spoil. There would remain an abundance of arms and armour (2 Macc. viii. 27), sorely needed by the patriots (1 Macc. iv. 6); there would be silver and gold, in specie, in ornaments, in vases and drinking-cups; there would be precious stuffs and fabrics, damaged, it may be, more or less, but still of considerable value. Judas and his men "got much gold, and silver, and blue (silk), and purple of the sea, and great riches."

blue silk.] There is no word expressive of "silk" in the original; and it is more than doubtful whether "silk" is intended. The blue of the Tabernacle was either a woollen or a linen fabric (Ex. xxv. 25); and the same may be said of the "blue" of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr. ii. 7, 14). There is no distinct reference to silk in the Old Testament; and it is scarcely likely to have been found in the camp of Nicanor. The blue, or rather violet, apparel found, would probably be of wool, as would also be the purple (or crimson) apparel.

purple of the sea.] I.e. apparel dyed with the juice of the Marex truncatus, a shell-fish common in the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly abundant upon the coast of Phoenicia. The hue varied from a deep purple to a light crimson. It was greatly affected by the Eastern nations (Ex. xxi. 4; Judg. viii. 26; 2 Chr. iii. 14; Esther i. 6, viii. 15; Prov. xxxi. 22; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16; Ecclus. xiv. 16; Baruch vi. 12; 1 Macc. x. 20; 2 Macc. iv. 38, &c.).

24. they went home.] Literally, "they returned"—i.e. quitte the plain, and re-occupied the hill-country.

praised the Lord in heaven.] Rather, "they praised the Lord unto the heaven"—i.e., with eyes and voices lifted up to heaven. because it is good, &c.] I.e., they sang the usual hymn of thanksgiving—the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm—"the national anthem" (as it has been called) "of the Jewish race" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church', vol. iii. pp. 308–9). Cf. 1 Chr. xvi. 41; 2 Chr. v. 13, vii. 3, xx. 21; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iii. 11.

26. all the strangers.] The Syro-Macedonian soldiers. (Cf. v. 12.)

§ 2. Attack made on Judas by Lysias in person.

28–35. The defeat of his generals induced Lysias to take the field in person. Having spent the winter in collecting a force almost half as numerous again as the former one—60,000 foot and 5000 horse—he marched early in the ensuing year, B.C. 164, into Idumea, and took up a position at Bethsura, or Beth-zur, on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, about five miles from the former and thirteen from the latter place. Here Judas met him, with an army of 10,000 men. After the Jewish chief had prayed earnestly for a blessing on his arms (vv. 30–33), the two hosts joined battle, and once more the Syro-Macedonians suffered a complete defeat. The slain are estimated at 5000, and the wounded must have been much more numerous. Lysias accepted the trial of arms as decisive, and returned to Antioch without
28 The next year therefore following Lysias gathered together threescore thousand choice men of foot, and five thousand horsemen, that he might subdue them.

29 So they came into Idumea, and pitched their tents at Bethsura, and Judas met them with ten thousand men.

30 And when he saw that mighty army, he prayed and said, Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of 'Jonathan the son of Saul, and his armourbearer;

31 Shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be confounded in their power and horsemen:

32 Make them to be of no courage, and cause the boldness of their strength to fall away, and let them quake at their destruction:

33 Cast them down with the sword making any further effort. His only hope was in his power of collecting a still larger force, and making another expedition (v. 35).

28. threescore thousand choice men.] As large a force as he could easily raise, seeing that Antiochus had left him, one-half only of the military strength of the empire (ch. iii. 34).

five thousand horsemen.] The proportion is unusually small. But it was difficult for cavalry to act in the hill-country of Judea.

that be might subdue them.] Rather, "to the end that he might utterly subdue them." It is implied that Lysias thought the force which he had gathered together would be irresistible, and must shortly bring the rebellion to an end. As Judas was unable to muster more than 10,000 men against 65,000, the expectation was not unreasonable.

29. So they came into Idumea.] This was strategy of a new character. The Syro-Macedonians marched round their enemies' left flank, and effected a lodgment in their rear. The Idumeans, being hostile to the Jews at all times (Num. xx. 21; 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 16; 2 Kings viii. 20; Ps. cxxvii. 7; Ezek. xxv. 12; 2 Chron. xxvii. 17; &c.), would be sure to support the attack, and do their best to make it successful (ch. v. 3). If the attempt succeeded, the Jews would be caught in a trap from which there was no escape, and either slaughtered or made prisoners.

and pitched their tents at Bethsura.] Bethsura appears as Beth-zur, "the House of the Rock," in Josh. xv. 58, where its position is marked as in the mountains reckoned to Judah, between Halhul and Gedor. It was among the towns fortified by Rehoboam in expectation of the attack of Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 7); and was still regarded as belonging to Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 16). It had now passed, however, from the Jews into the hands of the Idumeans, and was a strong fortress on the border of the two countries. (See v. 61, and cf. ch. vi. 7, 26; ix. 52; xiv. 33; &c.) At a later date it was called Bethasora ('Itin. Hieros., p. 599. 15, and is now known as Beit-Sur. The position is commanding, and is well supplied with water ('Quarterly Statement of Pal. Expl. Fund,' April 1875, p. 67).

with ten thousand men.] A larger force than he had ever gathered together before. It was natural that his successes should swell his army.

30. O Saviour of Israel.] The exact expression, "Saviour of Israel," is found only here and in Jer. xiv. 8. But expressions closely akin occur in Judg. iii. 9; 2 Kings xii. 5; Is. xlxi. 26, lx. 26, xliii. 8, &c. The God of the Old Testament was well known as the Saviour of His people from the time of Moses downwards.

who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David.] The allusion is probably to David's victory over Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 38-51).

and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of Jonathan.] Rather, "the host of the Philistines." The occasion intended is that which nearly cost Jonathan his life, when he and his armour-bearer smote the Philistine camp in Michmash, and Jonathan unwittingly contravened the command of Saul, that none should eat food until the evening (1 Sam. xiv. 6-27).

31. Shut up this army in the land.] Or, "deliver this army into the hand." See note on ch. iii. 18.

let them be confounded.] Literally, "let them be brought to shame."
in their power and horsemen.] "Power" (δύναμις) is used by the writer especially of foot-soldiers (see ch. xv. 41).

32. Make them to be of no courage.] Literally, "give them cowardice." cause the boldness of their strength to fail.
of them that love thee, and let all
those that know thy name praise thee
with thanksgiving.
34 So they joined battle; and
there were slain of the host of Lysias
about five thousand men, even before
them were they slain.
35 Now when Lysias saw his army
put to flight, and the manliness of
Judas’ soldiers, and how they were
ready either to live or die valiantly,
he went into Antiochia, and gathered
together a company of strangers, and
having made his army greater than it
was, he purposed to come again into
Judea.
36 Then said Judas and his bre-
thren, Behold, our enemies are dis-
comfited: let us go up to cleanse and
dedicate the sanctuary.

aug.] Rather, “melt the boldness of their
strength,” or “cause it to melt away.”
33. let all those that know thy name praise
thee.] I.e. “let us be victorious, and then we
shall sing to thee a psalm of thanksgiving.”
(Cf. v. 34.)
35. Lysias . . . gathered together a company
of strangers.] Rather, “proceeded to levy
mercenaries.” This is the constant meaning of
erouciva and its cognate terms in Polybius,
Plutarch, Diodorus, and other late Greek
writers. It even occurs in the same sense in
Isocrates and Demosthenes. Lysias having
found the full force of Syria, so far as he had
control over it, insufficient, made up his mind
to enrol an army of mercenary soldiers. Mr.
Grote has some good remarks on the multi-
plication of such soldiers in Greece after the
Peloponnesian War, and the mischievous con-
sequences which followed from it (“History
of Greece,” vol. viii. p. 35). The practice
rather increased than diminished after the
time of Alexander.

having made his army greater than it was.] This
was his purpose. It does not appear
that he effected it. Before the time came
for renewing his attack, the news of Ep-
iphanes’ death reached him, and he became
involved in a civil war, first against Philip,
whom Epiphanes had made regent shortly
before his death (ch. vi. 55–63), and then
against Demetrius (ch. vii. 1–4).

§ 3. JUDAS RECOVERS THE TEMPLE,
purifies and rededicates it, and
re-establishes the Temple Worship.
36–59. The repulse of Lysias at Beth-
zur changed the character of the struggle.
Hitherto the patriots had stood almost en-
tirely on the defensive, maintaining their
independence by vast efforts, continually
attacked, and contenting themselves with
repulsing one attack after another. Now
they felt that, for a time at any rate, they
were safe from molestation, and might in
their turn act on the offensive. The Syrian
army was dispersed; they were masters of
the whole open country; Syria could count
as hers only the few strongholds in which
she had left garrisons. Among these the
most important—that to which the hearts
and minds of all faithful Judeans turned—
was Jerusalem. Though they might not be
powerful enough at present to drive the Syrians
out of the strong fortress which they had
raised upon the western hill (ch. i. 33–36), it
was quite possible that they might be able to
recover and re-occupy the eastern or Temple
eminence. The Temple worship was so
much the centre and kernel of the Jewish
religion, that naturally all hearts and minds
were turned in this direction, and when
Judas, interpreting the general feeling, ex-
claimed, “Our enemies are discomfited—let
us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctu-
ary,” there was a universal acquiescence.
The Temple site was occupied, the defile-
ments removed, the place renovated, and,
while the foreign garrison was kept at bay
(v. 41), the whole area was cleansed, and
the place re-dedicated (vv. 54–56). In the
enthusiasm of the moment it was decreed
that the “Feast of the Dedication” should be
henceforth held each year for seven days,
beginning with the 25th of the month Casleu—
the day of the resumption of the morning
and evening sacrifice (v. 59).
36. let us go up to cleanse . . . the sanctu-
ary.] See ch. i. 46. The sanctuary is said
to have been polluted, not only by the
idolatrous altar erected on the top of the
altar of burnt offering (ib. v. 54), but also by
introducing a herd of swine into the Holy
Place and slaughtering them within its pre-
Sic. xxxiv. 1). The entire sanctuary thus
required cleansing.

and dedicate.] Zerubbabel had “dedicated”
the house of God which he raised on the site of
the Temple of Solomon after the return
from the Captivity (Ezra vi. 16, 17), when
the place had merely lain waste, without any
positive desecration. Still more necessary
was it, after such a pollution as that described
in the preceding note, that the place should
be purified and set apart for God afresh by
a solemn act of re-dedication.
37. **Into mount Sion.** "Mount Sion" here, as generally in the Maccabees, means the eastern hill, on some part of which the Temple was built. The modern Sion is the south-western hill. It is argued by some of the best modern authorities that the Sion of David—the true Sion—was neither of these, but a separate hill, north of the modern Sion, and nearly due west of the Temple. (See Col. Warren's paper in 'Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology' for 1881, pp. 311-315.)

38. **The gates burned up.** The gates had been destroyed to lay the place open and prevent its being defensible. They seem to have been five in number. (See 2 Kings xi. 6, 19; 1 Chr. xxvi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 5, 20.)

39. **The priests' chambers pulled down.** The term used here, παστοφωρία, is a rare one. There was a class of priests in Egypt, called by the Greeks παστοφωρία, whose business it was to carry the images of gods enclosed in small shrines (Diod. Sic. i. 29; Clem. Al. p. 253). The chambers in the Egyptian temples occupied by these priests were called παστοφωρία or παστοφωρία. After the Jews began to have chambers for priests in their temple (Neh. xiii. 5, 7, 9; Esdr. viii. 59), the word was applied to them, not very appropriately.

40. **Fell down flat.** In a sort of ecstasy of horror—not to worship, but to humiliate themselves.

41. **Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary.**

42. **So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law: Who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place.**

Rather, "and **sounded with the signal trumpets.**" The silver trumpets of the Levitical law (Num. x. 2-10) were to be used for signals of all kinds, and were therefore called by the LXX. σαλπιγγίς τῶν σημαίων, "trumpets of signals," or "signal trumpets" (Num. xxxi. 6). The phrase took the place of the Hebrew קַבַּטַּשׁ בְּאֵר תְרָעָה, which, however, meant rather "trumpets of loud sound" than "trumpets of signal." The trumpets were used probably on this occasion to give the signal for a general procession, to be followed by a "cry to heaven." See the comment on ch. iii. 50.

43. **To fight against those that were in the fortress.** The stronghold, called ἄνδος by the author of this book, probably identical with the ἀκρα of Josephus, was still occupied by the Syrian garrison, which had seized and fortified it three years and a half before. (See ch. i. 33, 34.) Whether its position was due north of the Temple, as generally supposed, or due west, as Col. Warren argues, is perhaps doubtful.

44. **Until he had cleansed.** The object of Judas was not to take the fortress, but to occupy the attention of the garrison, and prevent them from making sallies to molest the workmen and others who were engaged in restoring and purifying the Temple. The fortress was not taken till twenty-three years later, under Simon. (See ch. xiii. 51.)

45. **Priests of blameless conversation.** Grimm suggests that the true meaning of ἄμωμος here is "free from legal detilement;" but the rendering of the A. V., which accords with the invariable use of the term in the New Testament (Eph. i. 4; v. 7; Col. i. 22; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 19; Jude 24; Rev. xiv. 5), is greatly preferable.

46. **An unclean place.** Probably the valley of the Kidron, which was regarded as essentially impure. Here Asa had burnt the
44. And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned;  
45. They thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down,  
46. And laid up the stones in the mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.

47. Then they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former;  
48. And made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts.

49. They made also new holy vessels, and into the temple they brought

in a convenient place.] Tradition said that the “place” selected was a room belonging to the high priest at the north-western corner of the Temple (‘Middoth,’ Mishna, iv. 46).

until there should come a prophet.] Comp. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; 1 Macc. xiv. 41. In the interval between the death of Malachi (ab. B.C. 400) and the coming of John the Baptist (ab. A.D. 27), the Jews were continuously expecting a prophet to appear, with authority to settle all matters of religion on which there was any doubt. The general expectation was that Elijah would rise from the dead and “restore all things” (Matt. xvii. 11); but some expected Jeremiah (ib. xiv. 14); while others merely supposed that God would not—could not—long leave his “peculiar people” without an inspired guide to direct them. The expectation did not die away as time went on, but rather grew in force, and became a definite anticipation of the coming of “Messiah the Prince” before the Baptist came forth from his seclusion.

47. they took whole stones according to the law.] By “whole stones” are meant stones in their natural condition, untouched by the saw or the graving-tool, such as are commanded to be used in Ex. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5.

built a new altar.] Literally, “built the altar anew.” Being on the same site, it was still regarded as the same altar.

48. And made up the sanctuary.] Rather, “built up.” The walls had probably suffered wanton injury in places.

and the things that were within the temple.] Rather, “and the inner parts of the temple”—i.e. the walls and other partitions which divided the Temple into portions. These too had suffered damage, and required repairs.

and hallowed the courts.] i.e. removed all defilements from them, and perhaps purified them with “the water of separation” (Num. xix. 9–21), as Grimm supposes.

49. new holy vessels. “Furniture” is intended, rather than “vessels.” The original furniture of the Temple had consisted of
the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense, and the table.

50 And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple.

51 Furthermore they set the loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make.

52 Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called the month Casleu, in the hundredth and forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning.

53 And offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made.

54 Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.

55 Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.

four objects:—1. The ark, with the cherubim and the mercy-seat; 2. The golden candlestick, or lamp-stand; 3. The table for the shewbread; and 4. The altar of incense. The ark and mercy-seat appear to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Esd. x. 23), and the second temple had not even any counterparts of them (Joseph. Bel. Jud. v. 5, § 5; Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 9). Hence the pieces of furniture had been reduced to three. These, having been carried off by the Syro-Macedonians (ch. i. 21, 23), were now replaced by new constructions. According to the Talmud, the candlestick now made was not of gold, but of iron cased with wood (Derenburg, 'History of Palestine,' p. 54).

the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense.

This is the reading of the Aldine edition, and of several MSS. It is, however, manifestly erroneous. The “altar of burnt-offerings” could not be “brought into the Temple,” since it was a solid stone structure built in the outer court (v. 47); nor could there have been any occasion to mention it a second time. Most manuscripts, including the Codex Alexandrinus, read τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῶν θυμαμομάτων, “the altar of incense,” omitting the words διακοσμημένων και. On the “altar of incense,” or the “golden altar,” see note on ch. i. 21.

50. they burned incense, and the lamps . . . they lighted.] Compare Ex. xl. 25, 27. They resumed each of the practices disused during the time of desolation.

51. they set the loaves upon the table.] The twelve loaves of the shewbread, which were the continued thank-offering of the twelve tribes of Israel. (Comp. Ex. xxv. 30; xl. 23; Lev. xxiv. 5-9.)

spread out the veils.] By the “veils” we must understand:—1. The veil proper, which separated between the “Holy Place” and the “Holy of Holies;” and 2. The “hanging” at the door of the “Holy Place,” which divided it from the porch (Ex. xxvi. 36; xxxvi. 37).

52. on the four and twentieth day of the ninth month.] Exactly three years from the date of the first sacrifice on the idol-altar set up by the Syro-Macedonians. (See ch. i. 54, 59; and comp. 2 Macc. x. 5)

they rose up betimes.] They were impatient of delay—eager to witness the rekindling of the flame upon the altar, which was the symbol of the national life, and the renewal of the daily sacrifice, which was the sign of the nation’s self-dedication to God. According to the writer of the Second Book, the sacrificial fire was obtained by striking two stones together for the purpose (2 Macc. x. 3). Light so obtained was reckoned holy, as coming straight from nature, i.e. from God.

53. offered sacrifice according to the law.] I.e. “offered the morning sacrifice, a lamb of the first year, with its appointed meat-offering and drink-offering.” (See Ex. xxix. 38-40.)

54. Look, at what time, &c.] There is no “Look” in the original. The fact is simply narrated, that the dedication took place at the same time, or rather “season”—i.e. in the month Chisleu—and on the same day as the profanation. Judas, no doubt, arranged that so it should be.

with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.] I.e. with the recognised musical service of the sanctuary, where the psalmody was usually accompanied by the harp, the cymbal, and the cithern or psalter. (See 1 Chr. xxv. 6; 2 Chr. v. 12.) The cithern is the German siter, a sort of guitar or viol. (Comp. ch. xiii. 51.)

55. all the people fell upon their faces.] I.e. prostrated themselves in adoration.

praising the God of heaven, who bad given them good success.] Rather, “praising up to heaven” (i.e. lauding to the skies) "him
56 And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.

57 They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they renewed, and hanged doors upon them.

58 Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away.

59 Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness.

60 At that time also they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down, as they had done before.

61 And they set there a garrison to keep it, and fortified Bethsura to

who had given them good success." With his usual reticence, the writer keeps back the name of God, while making his reference to Him sufficiently apparent.

56. they kept the dedication of the altar eight days.] The word translated "dedication" is ἔγκαθησις, which serves to connect this occasion with the permanent ἔγκαινια, or "Feast of the Dedication" of the New Testament (John x. 22). It was this occasion which that feast of the mid-winter commemorated. As Solomon's dedication feast had lasted "eight days" (1 Kings vii. 63-66), so Judas fixed the same term for the duration of his.

and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.] Rather, "and sacrificed a sacrifice of peace-offerings and thanksgiving." Comp. Lev. vii. 11, 12, where the LXX. use the same expression—προσφοράς προσφορίων et alivías.

57. They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold.] There was no direct precedent for this in Jewish practice. It was rather analogous to the heathen ornamentation of temples and public buildings with garlands and festoons at times of public rejoicing.

with shields.] Literally, "small shields"—in imitation, probably, of the golden shields of Solomon (1 Kings x. 17), which Shishak carried off (ib. xiv. 26). Philo tells us that in Alexandria the Jewish synagogues were adorned with shields (cf. Suid., p. 994).

the gates and the chambers they renewed.] Rather, "they consecrated." On the "chambers," see the comment on v. 38.

59. Judas . . . ordained, that the days . . . should be kept.] The festival of the ἔγκαινια maintained its place to the last days of Jewish national existence. It was celebrated nearly in the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with festal processions, in which branches of trees, especially of the palm, green even in mid-winter, were borne, and psalms were sung, by the worshippers (2 Macc. x. 6, 7). Josephus says that in his time its common name was "the Feast of Lights" (τὰ Φώτα); and at a later period there was certainly a custom of illuminating private houses with lamps or candles during its continuance. It is conjectured that the great golden candelabra in the court of the Temple, which were lighted on the first night of the Feast of Tabernacles, were also lighted on the first night of this feast (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 312); but there is no historical evidence of this practice.


60. they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about.] As the Acra, and indeed the whole of Jerusalem except the Temple hill, remained in the hands of the Syrians, who maintained a strong garrison in the place, Judas felt it to be necessary now, for the first time in Jewish history, to fortify with walls and towers the entire Temple circuit. Hitherto, only the eastern side, which coincided with the outer circuit of the city, had been thus guarded from attack. From this time till B.C. 142 the two Jerusalems stood one over against the other, watchful and hostile, like the Latin and the Sabine Romes on the Quirinal and the Palatine.

tread it down.] I.e. "ruin it"—"destroy it." Comp. ch. iii. 45.

61. fortified Bethzura.] A wise measure. The possession of a strong place in the hill-country south of Jerusalem was of the greatest importance, more especially as the Idumeans were hostile (ch. v. 1-3), and
preserve it; that the people might have a defence against Idumea.

CHAPTER V.

3 Judas smiteh the children of Esau, Bean, and Ammon. 17 Simon is sent into Galilee. 25 The exploits of Judas in Galaad. 51 He destroyeth Ephron, for denying him to pass through it. 56 Divers, that in Judas' absence would fight with their enemies, are slain.

NOW when the nations round about heard that the altar was built, and the sanctuary renewed as before, it displeased them very much.

2 Wherefore they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them, and thereupon they began to slay and destroy the people.

3 Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at 'Arabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he gave them a great overthrow, and abated their courage, and took their spoils.

4 Also he remembered the 'injury of the children of 'Bean, who had been a snare and an offence unto the people, in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.

5 He shut them up therefore in the towers, and encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly,

the generation of Jacob that was among them.] "the Israelites who dwelt in their midst." It must be borne in mind, that, amid the general confusion, the tribes mentioned had probably encroached upon Israelite territory.

they began to slay and destroy the people.] Rather, "among the people." They vented their vexation at what had occurred by putting certain Israelites to death.

3. at Arabattine.] Rather, "Acrabatine." The place is reasonably identified with the "Akrabbim" of the Canonical Books (Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Judg. i. 36), which lay south or south-west of the Dead Sea, in the Idumean territory.

they besieged Israel.] Rather, "block'd Israel in."—i.e. cramped her, confined her, were a continual menace to her borders. See note on ch. iv. 19.

4. the injury of the children of Bean.] Rather, "the malice," or "wickedness." It is not any single act, but a continuous state of hostility, that is pointed at. The "Beni Bean" are not elsewhere mentioned under this name; but perhaps they are identical with the Meunim or Maonites (דומת or דומית) of the Canonical Books, since 2 and 3 are constantly confused. The Maonites are mentioned as enemies of Israel in Judg. x. 12; 2 Chr. xxvi. 7; and (perhaps) in 2 Chr. xx. 1.

6. He shut them up in the towers.] "in their towers"—in the strongholds from which they were wont to issue on their raids. destroyed them utterly.] Literally, "devoted them," but in the sense of "devoting to destruction," which is a common meaning of דאַבְּשָׁרִים in the Septuagint version, where it replaces the Hebrew בְּבִּקְבֵּרִים.
and burned the towers of that place with fire, and all that were therein.
6 Afterward he passed over to the children of Ammon, where he found a mighty power, and much people, with Timotheus their captain.

7 So he fought many battles with them, till at length they were discomfited before him; and he smote them.
8 And when he had taken Jazar, with the towns belonging thereto, he returned into Judea.

burned the towers of that place.] As no "place" has been mentioned, it seems impossible that the reading can be sound. Αὐτὴν, instead of αὐτῆς, is what we should have expected; but it seems unlikely that any copyist would have blundered in that case. Perhaps a city was mentioned, the name of which has been corrupted into αὐτῆς.

6. be passed over to the children of Ammon.] I.e. he crossed the Jordan, and proceeded to attack the Ammonites, who held the country east and north-east of the Dead Sea, between the Arnon and the Jabbok. The Ammonites, like the Edomites, had always been enemies of Israel, though not very formidable enemies. They joined with Moab in the attempt to induce Balaam to curse Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4); they invaded the Israelite territory in the time of Jephtha (Jud. xi. 4, 12), and again in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1–3). They brought about the great confederacy against David, which was crushed by Joab (2 Sam. x. 6–19). In conjunction with the Moabites and Amalekites, they made an unprovoked attack upon Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xix. 1–3); they frequently invaded the Transjordanian region under Uzziah (Am. i. 13); they had wars with Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 5). When Nebuchadnezzar was threatening Jerusalem with destruction, they joined his forces (2 Kings xxiv. 2). When Nehemiah received his commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, the Ammonite, Tobiah, was among the most violent of his opponents (Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 3, 7; vi. 1, 12, 17–19).

much people.] Justin Martyr says (Dialogue c. Tryphon. p. 347, c.) that the Ammonites were even in his day a numerous people (πολὺ πληθος). Josephus calls the force which they now brought into the field "multitudinous" (πολυπληθος). We have no exact estimate of the population; but the country is rich and capable of supporting large numbers (see Tristram, ‘Land of Israel,’ p. 541 et seq.).

Timotheus their captain.] This Greek name is a novel feature in Ammonite history. We must suppose Timotheus to have been either a Syro-Macedonian official, exercising an authority under the Syrian crown, to which the Ammonites were subject, or a soldier of fortune whom the Ammonites had invited to take the command of their troops. It is possible, no doubt, but scarcely probable that he was a genuine Ammonite with a Greek name (Grimm).

7. till at length they were discomfited.] Rather, "and they were discomfited in each." The triple use of the aorist implies that, as often as he engaged them, so often were they discomfited and smitten.

8. when he had taken Jazar.] Jazar, Jazer, or Jazer, was a town of the Transjordanic region, in the district assigned to Gad (Josh. xiii. 25). It was taken by Moses from the Amorites in the war with Sihon (Num. xxi. 32), and destroyed, but afterwards rebuilt by the Gadites (ib. xxxii. 35). The country around was "a land for cattle," very rich and fertile (ib. xxxii. 1), and suited for the cultivation of the vine (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). Jazar became a Levitical city, when the Levites received their inheritance (Josh. xiii. 39). It is usually mentioned in conjunction with Heshbon, from which it was about 14 miles distant (Hieronym. ‘Onomast.’). The site is scarcely sufficiently identified at present, but is thought to be at Seir or Seir, near the source of the Wady Seir, which flows into the Jordan. Seir is about 12 miles nearly due north of Heshbon, and 9 west by south of Rabbath-Ammon.

with the towns belonging thereto.] Literally, “with her daughters.” The expression is common in the Hebrew Scriptures (Num. xxii. 35; 32; Josh. xv. 47; 47; Judg. xi. 26; 1 Chr. xviii. 1; Neh. xi. 25–31; &c.); but the Greek translators do not often render it literally. The Complutensian Codex has it, however, several times in Neh. xi. It is exactly analogous to the very widely used expression—“mother city.” The “towns,” or “villages,” dependent on Jazar seem to have been of unusual importance. (See Num. xxxii. 35.)

§ 2. Retaliatory Movements on the part of the Heathen—1. In Gilead.

9–15. Judas, after his three successful attacks upon his neighbours, had “returned into Judea” (v. 8), and dismissed his army, which scattered itself over the territory (v. 16), expecting to enjoy a period of repose. Of this state of things, the enemies of the Jews at once proceeded to take advantage
9 Then the heathen that were at Galaad assembled themselves togeth-er against the Israelites that were in their quarters, to destroy them; but they fled to the fortress of Dathema,

10 And sent letters unto Judas and his brethren. The heathen that are round about us are assembled together against us to destroy us:

11 And they are preparing to come and take the fortress whereunto we are fled, Timotheus being captain of their host.

12 Come now therefore, and deliver us from their hands, for many of us are slain:

13 Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff; and they have destroyed there about a thousand men.

14 While these letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, who reported on this wise,

15 And said, They of Ptolemiais, and of Tyrus, and Sidon, and all

delivered us from their hands, for many of us are slain:

16 Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff; and they have destroyed there about a thousand men.

17 While these letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, who reported on this wise,

18 And said, They of Ptolemiais, and of Tyrus, and Sidon, and all

Galilee of the Gentiles, are assembled together against us to consume us.

16 Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled a great congregation together, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in trouble, and assaulted of them.

17 Then said Judas unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, for I and Jonathan my brother will go into the country of Galaad.

18 So he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the people, with the remnant of the host in Judea to keep it.

19 Unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and see that ye make not war against the heathen until the time that we come again.

mercival town during the Maccabee and Roman periods, but had little military importance, and is seldom mentioned by the historians.

Galilee of the Gentiles.] Comp. Is. ix. 1, where a similar expression is used. Israelites and Gentiles seem to have been always mixed together in Galilee, where "the people dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians" (Judg. xviii. 7). The near neighbourhood of Phcenicia and Syria tended to produce a mixed population. Tiglath-pileser carried off great numbers of the Israelites in the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings xv. 29), and the later Assyrians replaced them by a foreign population. It is more surprising that the Jews, after their return from the Captivity, obtained a certain hold on the remote Galilee, while the nearer Samaria remained separate and hostile, than that the Gentile inhabitants continued numerous.

§ 3. Judas Divides His Forces, and Leaving Some to Defend Judea, Sends His Brother Simon to Help the Galileans, While He Himself Goes to Assist the Jews in Gilead.

16-54. Judas now for the first time felt himself strong enough to divide his forces. Leaving two captains, Joseph and Azarias, in Judea, with strict orders to remain on the defensive, he sent his brother Simon, with 3000 men, to the assistance of the Galilean Jews, while he himself, with 8000 men, marched into Gilead (vv. 16-20). Simon's campaign is not related at any length. He gained several victories, chased the enemy to the gates of Ptolemais, and took advantage of his successes to remove the Galilean Jews into Judea (vv. 21-23). The campaign of Judas is given in greater detail. Assisted by an Arab tribe (v. 25), he relieved the town into which the Jews had been driven, one after another; defeated Timotheus himself before Dathema, and again near Raphon (vv. 37-43); took Ashtoreth-Carnaim (v. 44) and Ephron (vv. 46-51); and returned into Judea with much spoil, and accompanied by the Jews of Gilead, whom he proposed to settle in Judea (v. 45). The return was celebrated by a thanksgiving festival at Jerusalem (v. 54).

16. there assembled a great congregation together.] The word translated "congregation" is ἑκκλησία, which in Greek political science means "an assembly of the people for legislative or deliberative purposes." We must conclude that Judas did not rule autocratically, but called "assemblies" from time to time, to deliberate and determine what should be done. A larger body than the Sanhedrin is certainly intended.

17. Then said Judas unto Simon his brother.] Simon had been nominated by Mattathias to the second position among the five brethren (ch. ii. 65, 66), but as counsellor rather than as general. Still, Judas thought it befitting, as soon as the command was to be divided, that Simon should occupy the post next in importance to his own.

Choose thee out men.] As Simon was to have the smaller force (v. 20), he was allowed to select the troops which he thought the best.

I and Jonathan.] The selection of Jonathan by Judas as joint commander with himself shews the confidence felt in his military ability. Hence, on the death of Judas, Jonathan was appointed to succeed him (ch. ix. 28-30).

18. he left Joseph ... and Azarias, captains of the people.] Rather, "he left Joseph and Azarias to be rulers of the people," i.e. to have the chief authority. They would, of course, combine the chief military with the chief civil power. Hence, in v. 56, they are called "captains of the host" (ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων). Neither Joseph nor Azarias obtain mention elsewhere than in this chapter to keep it.] Or, "to guard it.

19. see that ye make not war against the
20 Now unto Simon were given three thousand men to go into Galilee, and unto Judas eight thousand men for the country of Galaad.

21 Then went Simon into Galilee, where he fought many battles with the heathen, so that the heathen were discomfited by him.

22 And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemaïs; and there were slain of the heathen about three thousand men, whose spoils he took.

23 And those that were in Galilee, and in Arbattis, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, took he away with him, and brought them into Judaea with great joy.

24 Judas Maccabeus also and his brother Jonathan went over Jordan, and travelled three days' journey in the wilderness,

25 Where they met with the Nabathites, who came unto them in a peaceable manner, and told them every thing that had happened to their brethren in the land of Galaad:

26 And how that many of them were shut up in 'Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, "Casphor, Maked, and

beaten.] For their transgression of this command, see v. 55-62.

20. three thousand ... eight thousand.] The continually increasing strength of the patriots is here seen. At Emmaus the fighting men were but 3000 (ch. iv. 6); at Bethsura they were 10,000 (ib. v. 29); they must now have considerably exceeded 13,000. (Compare v. 60.)

21. the beaten were discomfited by him.] Literally, "before his face"—a common HEBRAISM.

22. the gate of Ptolemaïs.] Ptolemaïs had, no doubt, more than one gate. "The gate" here is that to which the enemy fled, probably the eastern gate. There is no sufficient reason for adopting the reading of a few MSS., τῶν πολεμῶν, instead of τῆς πόλεως.

23. in Arbattis.] Rather, "in Arbatta" (τῆς Ἀρβάτας). The readings vary greatly, including Ἀρβάταιος (Cod. Alex.), Ἀρβάταρος and Ἀρβαταρός. It has been suggested that the region intended is probably that called Abaratine by Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 3, § 4, &c.), which lay between Neapolis and Jericho ("Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 101); but this is much too far to the south. "Arbatta" must have adjoined on Galilee. Ewald's conjecture that it was the low land through which the Jordan flows into the Sea of Tiberias ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 314, note, E. T.) is not improbable.

25. they met with the Nabathites.] Rather, "the Nabateans" (τοῖς Naβαṭαίοις). The Nabateans, or Nabathæans, are a well-known Semitic tribe; whether Syrians or Aramians is disputed. Alexander Polyhistor mentions them as included among the desert tribes conquered by David (Fr. 18); but they first shew themselves in contemporary history when they are reduced to subjection by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 430). About 40 years later they appear as independent, and assist an Arabian monarch in his war with Sennacherib's grandson, Asshur-bani-pal (Smith, 'Annals of Asshur-bani-pal,' pp. 264-295). Diodorus tells us that they were attacked by Antigonus, about B.C. 311, and again a few years later, but defended themselves successfully (Diod. Sic. xix. 44-48). At that time, and later also, their head-quarters were the neighbourhood of Petra. Judas appears to have fallen in with them in Gilead, which may be accounted for by their nomadic habits. The whole of Northern Arabia seems to have been at all times traversed by their swarms, which passed from the Lower Euphrates to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea without fear of meeting a superior. The readiness of the Nabathæans to assist the Israelites (compare ch. ix. 35) may have arisen mainly from the hope of plunder; but it may have rested in part on the tradition of relationship, since the supposed progenitor of the Nabathæans was Nebaioth, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13).

26. Bosora and Bosor.] These are evidently two different places. Bosor is reasonably identified with the Hebrew Bozrah (Is. liii. 1), the modern El-Busireb. Bosor is perhaps the Bezor of Josh. xx. 8, which was a Levitical city on the east side of Jordan in the Misbor or down country.

Alema.] "Alema" is conjectured to be the Be'er-Elim of Is. xvi. 8—"the fount of the terebinth-trees." Of its position nothing is known.

Caspbor.] Josephus has "Caspophon;" the Vulgate, "Casbon;" several MSS., "Chascor." In v. 36 of the present chapter, the name is given as Casphon, which is a possible representation of the Hebrew "Heshbon." The site cannot be fixed, unless Heshbon is intended.
and took all their spoils, and burned the city with fire.

29 From whence he removed by night, and went till he came to the fortress.

30 And betimes in the morning they looked up, and behold, there was an innumerable people bearing ladders and other engines of war, to take the fortress: for they assaulted them.

31 When Judas therefore saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets, and a great sound,

Maked.] For “Maked” we have “Maged” in v. 36; but the MSS. have Maked in both places. The town is wholly unknown.

Carnaim.] This is probably the place called Ashtoreth-Karnaim (“Venus of the Two Horns”) in Genesis xiv. 5. It must have been an old Phcenician, or, at any rate, Syrian settlement, dedicated to the “Dea Syra,” who was called Ashtoreth (Astarte, Ishtar) by some of the Semitic races, Atargatis or Derketo by others. The epithet “Karnaim” probably refers to the mode in which the goddess was represented in her temple at the place in question (v. 44), the crescent moon being placed on her head, and thus giving it the appearance of being “horned.” The site is uncertain, but may perhaps be identified with the El-Kurnein of Robinson (‘Researches in Palestine,’ vol. iii. App. ii. p. 168).

27. against the forts.] The “forts” are evidently the towns previously mentioned—viz. Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Caphsor, Makid, Carnaim (v. 26), and Dathema (v. 9). The design “to destroy them all in one day” was probably connected with the notion of a surprise.

28. unto Bosora. The MSS. vary between “Bosor,” “Bosora,” and “Bosor.” The “Bosora” of v. 26 is probably intended, since “Bosor” is mentioned as captured in v. 36.

be slew all the males.] We must understand all those who were not Jews. The cities of Gilead appear to have had at this time a mixed population—in part, Jewish, in part heathen. (See also v. 35.) The Jews were threatened by an armed force outside the cities, and also by the heathen population within them. Judas, after all his successes, felt it safest to withdraw the Jews from Gilead into Judaea (v. 45).
32. He said unto his host, Fight this day for your brethren.

33. So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets, and cried with prayer.

34. Then the host of Timotheus, knowing that it was Macabeus, fled from him: wherefore he smote them with a great slaughter; so that there were killed of them that day about eight thousand men.

35. This done, Judas turned aside to Maspha; and after he had assaulted it, he took it, and slew all the males therein, and received the spoils thereof, and burnt it with fire.

36. From thence went he, and took *Casphon, Maged, Bosor, and the other cities of the country of Galaad.

37. After these things gathered Timotheus another host, and encamped against Raphon beyond the brook.

38. So Judas sent men to espie the host, who brought him word, saying, All the heathen that be round about us are assembled unto them, even a very great host.

39. He hath also hired the Arabsians to help them, and they have pitched their tents beyond the brook, ready to come and fight against thee. Upon this Judas went to meet them.

40. Then Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, When Judas and his host come near the brook, if he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will mightily prevail against us:

41. But if he be afraid, and camp beyond the river, we shall go over unto him, and prevail against him.

very early date. Their most common employment was in war, either for giving signals or for cheering men on to the attack. (See Hom. *Il.* xvi. 219, xxi. 388; Dionys. Hal. iv. 17, &c.)

38. *be went forth behind them.* Rather, "after them"—i.e. in pursuit of the assailants, following upon their footsteps.

39. *in three companies.* After the example of Gideon (Judg. vii. 16).

35. *Maspha.* "Maspha" is probably "Mizpah of Gilead" (Judg. xi. 19), the city of Jephthah the Gileadite (ib. 34). It is curious that Josephus should give the name as Mallé, an utterly unknown place ("Ant. Jud." xii. 8, § 3). Mizpeh of Gilead is still an undiscovered site.

be slew all the males. See note on v. 28.


Maged. No doubt the "Maked" of v. 26—an unknown, and apparently an unimportant place, the capture of which is not mentioned by Josephus.

Bosor. See the first note on v. 26.

37. *Raphon.* Pliny mentions a "Raphana" as one of the ten cities included in the "Decapolis" of his day, which lay south of the Sea of Galilee, and east of the Jordan. The site has still to be discovered.

beyond the brook. Literally, "the ravine" or "water-course." The streams of Gilead are for the most part perennial (Tristram, 'Bible Places,' p. 322); but this one, near Raphon, is characterised as a χερσόποπος, or stream running only in the winter. Ewald supposes that at the time it not only carried water, but was "a good deal swollen" ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 314); but there is no statement to this effect, either in the First Book of the Macabees or in Josephus.

39. He hath also hired the Arabsians to help them.] Arab tribes will join any standard under which they have a good hope of success, and of the booty that follows success. They are quite willing to be subsidized. Arabsians had joined with Ammonites in opposing the efforts of Nehemiah to raise Jerusalem from a humble to a high position (Neh. iv. 7). They now once more took service under an Ammonite leader (v. 6) with the same object.

Upon this Judas went to meet them.] Upon the report of his spies, Judas broke up his quarters, and marched at once to meet the new danger. It is characteristic of him to take the initiative.

40, 41. *Then Timotheus said,* &c.] Timotheus regarded it as a dangerous thing to fight a battle with such an obstacle as the watercourse immediately in pass's rear. He was therefore disinclined to pass it himself, and determined to leave it to Judas to cross or not, as he pleased. He felt, however, that, if Judas crossed, the act was one of such boldness as to foreshadow victory; while, if he shrank from so doing, his timidity would give courage to the other side, who
42 Now when Judas came near the brook, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook: unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Suffer no man to remain in the camp, but let all come to the battle.

43 So he went first over unto them, and all the people after him: then all the heathen, being discomfited before him, cast away their weapons, and fled unto the temple that was at Carmaim.

44 But 'they took the city, and burned the temple with all that were therein. Thus was Carnaim subdued, neither could they stand any longer before Judas.

45 Then Judas gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Galaad, from the least unto the greatest, even their wives, and their children, and their stuff, a very great host, to the end they might come into the land of Judea.

46 Now when they came unto Ephron, (this was a great city in the way as they should go, very well might then proceed to the attack with confidence, as against an enemy who distrusted his own strength, and would probably offer no very stout resistance. No doubt he hoped that Judas would adopt the more timid course.

42. the scribes of the people.] Ewald regards these "scribes" as identical with the "officers" of Deut. xx. 5-9, who (he says) "kept the lists of the troops, assigned the place of encampment, and looked after the order of the march" ("Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 314, note). Grimm notes that there were persons exercising, apparently, the same office in the later times of the monarchy (see 2 Chron. xxvi. 11). The Maccabean leaders had fallen back upon the military system of ancient times.

Suffer no man to remain in the camp.] Rather, "Suffer no man to encamp" i.e. do not allow any tents to be pitched on the near side of the stream, make the whole host pass over. Judas had need of his entire force against the vast numbers of the enemy (see v. 38).

43. the heathen . . . cast away their weapons.] Rather, "their arms." The shield, as the greatest encumbrance, was usually cast away first of all (comp. Hor. 'Od.' ii. 7, l. 10: "Relicta non bene parumula").

and fled unto the temple that was at Carmaim.] Rather, "the sacred precinct that was at Carmaim." Temples were surrounded with walled inclosures, which were sometimes of sufficient size to allow of a large force encamping in them. The flight may have been directed to this place on some idea that it was sacred, and so inviolable, for the right of asylum was widely recognised in ancient times. But if so, the heathen had failed to apprehend the peculiar religious sentiments of the Jews, who saw nothing sacred in places of worship where idols were honoured and false gods received the adoration of their votaries. (See below, ch. x. 83, and cf. Ex. xxiii. 24, xxiv. 13; Judg. vi. 25-27; 2 Kings x. 25-27, &c.)

44. they . . . burned the temple.] The temple was known as the "Atarateum," or temple of Atargatis (2 Macc. xii. 26), who was the Syrian Venus, worshipped with rites of unmentionable lewdness by the soft and sensuous Aramaeans. (See Dillinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. pp. 428-431.) Judas cannot be blamed for the destruction of such a sink of iniquity.

with all that were therein.] The "laws of war" have always been held to justify the destruction of enemies by fire, cruel as such destruction may be. Joshua "burnt Jericho with fire and all that was therein" (Josh. vi. 24). An Egyptian king took Gezer, and "burnt it with fire and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city" (1 Kings ix. 16). Cleomenes of Sparta acted exactly as Judas, when, having defeated the Argives, he shut up the remnant of their army in the sacred grove of Argus, and "ordered the helots to bring brushwood and heap it around the grove; which was done accordingly; and Cleomenes set the grove on fire" (Herod. vi. 80). Even in modern times red-hot shot are fired into besieged towns and forts, and foes who take refuge in caves are destroyed by blocking their mouths with brushwood and setting it alight. Humanity protests; but international law is silent.

neither could they stand any longer.] This last massacre brought the armed resistance to a close. Judas, however, did not venture to leave his fellow-countrymen in the district which he had overrun, and, in a certain sense, subjugated. Had he done so, his withdrawal would, he knew, have been the signal for terrible reprisals. Hence the "exodus" recorded in v. 45.

46. they came unto Ephron.] Ephron is well identified by Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. 2 F
fortified) they could not turn from it, either on the right hand or the left, but must needs pass through the midst of it.

47 Then they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates with stones.

48 Whereupon Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner, saying, Let us pass through your land to go into our own country, and none shall do you any hurt; we will only pass through on foot: howbeit they would not open unto him.

49 Wherefore Judas commanded a proclamation to be made throughout the host, that every man should pitch his tent in the place where he was.

50 So the soldiers pitched, and assaulted the city all that day and all that night, till at the length the city was delivered into his hands:

51 Who then slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and raised the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were slain.

52 After this went they over Jordan into the great plain before Bethsan.

53 And Judas gathered together those that came behind, and 1exorted the people all the way through, till they came into the land of Judea.

54 So they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness, where they offered burnt offerings, because not one of them were slain until they had returned in peace.

v., p. 315, note) with the Gephrun, which was taken by Antiochus the Great in his war with Ptolemy Philopator (Polyb. v. 70), the sin of Ephron being represented (as so often) by the Greek y. The site has not yet been fixed, but it must lie on the direct route between Ashsharoth-Karnaim and Beth-shan, at no great distance E. of the Jordan.

48. Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner.] Literally, "with peaceable words." The city was strong, and had not as yet been actively hostile. Judas was therefore willing to abstain from active measures against it. His proposals resemble those which Moses made to the Edomites (Num. xx. 14-17), the Amorites (ib. xxi. 21), and others on approaching the borders of the Holy Land.

we will only pass through on foot.] Cf. Num. xx. 19; Deut. ii. 38. The meaning is: "We will take nothing, damage nothing, but simply pass through the territory."

50. the city was delivered into his hands.] Not "surrendered," or "betrayed," but by God's providence given into his power.

51. raised the city.] This may account for there being no later mention of it by historians or geographers.

52. went they over Jordan into the great plain before Beth-san.] The Jordan can be forded in three places nearly opposite Beth-san (now Beisan). Its width is about fifty yards (Robinson, 'Later Researches,' p. 325). The "great plain before Beth-san" is probably not the valley-plain in which Beth-shan stands, which is only "from two to three miles broad between the mountains of Gilboa and the northern hills" (ib. p. 326), but rather the Gilbr itself, or Jordan valley, into which the Beth-shan valley opens. This is a "broad and fertile plain" traversed by numerous streams, and extending not less than twelve miles between the Jalud and the Wady Malik, with a width of seven or eight miles. (Robinson, p. 334.)

53. Judas gathered together those that came behind.] Rather, "those that lagged behind." Judas employed himself in keeping the host together, and hastening the laggards all down the Jordan valley, till he turned westward, probably by the Jericho route, into Judea Proper. The whole of the Jordan valley seems to have been hostile territory.

54. they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness.] A thanksgiving service after such signal victories was most appropriate. If really not a single Israelite was slain in a campaign wherein above six cities were stormed, and two great battles fought, with a loss to the enemy in one of them of "about eight thousand men" (v. 34), there was indeed occasion for the expression of national gratitude. It can scarcely, however, be supposed that such absolute impunity was enjoyed. The writer, no doubt, reports the tradition which he had heard; but it must be remembered that he probably wrote his history after the death of John Hyrcanus (ch. xvi. 24), which was in B.C. 106, or nearly sixty years from the date of this campaign of Judas. In sixty years' time "with small loss" easily becomes "without the loss of a man."
55 Now what time as Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Galaad, and Simon his brother in Galilee before Ptolemais,

56 Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the garrisons, heard of the valiant acts and warlike deeds which they had done.

57 Wherefore they said, Let us also get us a name, and go fight against the heathen that are round about us.

58 So when they had given charge unto the garrison that was with them, they went toward Jamnia.

59 Then came Gorgias and his men out of the city to fight against them.

60 And so it was, that Joseph and Azarias were put to flight, and pursued unto the borders of Judea: and there were slain that day of the people of Israel about two thousand men.

61 Thus was there a great overthrow among the children of Israel, because they were not obedient unto Judas and his brethren, but thought to do some valiant act.

62 Moreover these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.

63 Howbeit the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and of all the heathen, wheresoever their name was heard of;

64 Insomuch as the people assembled unto them with joyful acclamations.

65 Afterward went Judas forth with his brethren, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south, where he smote matters of war had great experience." He was evidently a general not to be trifled with.

62. these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given.] The author evidently regards the Maccabee family as chosen by God to work His people's deliverance, though no external call had designated them for their post. He thinks it was a presumption on the part of Joseph and Azarias to undertake of themselves to help in freeing the Jews, since they were not of the right blood. Moderns will scarcely sympathise with this view, though they may be ready to blame the unsuccessful captains for their disobedience to the orders given them.

63. the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned.] The ill-success of Joseph and Azarias added to the renown of the Maccabee brothers, since it showed that the enemy, against whom they were engaged, was far from contemptible, and also that the Jews were formidable foes only under their leadership. The expression—"the man Judas"—seems an imitation of that in Ex. xi. 3: "moreover the man Moses was very great." (Compare Num. xii. 3.)

§ 5. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMEA AND PHILISTIA.

65–68. It was not till nearly Pentecost in the year B.C. 163 that Judas returned to Jerusalem from his Gilead expedition (2 Macc. xii. 31, 32). After a very short delay, he again took the field, and made a raid into Idumea.
Hebron, and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burned the towers thereof round about.

66 From thence he removed to go into the land of the Philistines, and passed through Samaria.

67 At that time certain priests, desirous to shew their valour, were slain in battle, for that they went out to fight unadvisedly.

68 So Judas turned to Azotus in the land of the Philistines, and when he had pulled down their altars, and burned their carved images with fire, and spoiled their cities, he returned into the land of Judea.

CHAPTER VI.

8 Antiochus died, 12 and confessed that he is plagued for the wrong done to Jerusalem.

20 Judas besieged those in the tower at Jerusalem. 28 They procure Antiochus the younger to come into Judea. 51 He besiegh Sion, 60 and maketh peace with Israël; 62 yet overcometh the walls of Sion.

where he destroyed Hebron (v. 65). Thence he marched, through Mareshah into Philistia, where he captured the strong city of Ashdod, destroyed its idol shrines, and ravaged its territory. Having so done, he returned into Judea.

65. Hebron.] This well-known city was situated in the hill-country originally assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 54.), at the distance of about twenty miles from Jerusalem towards the south. Its original name was Kirjath-Arba. After having been the capital of David for seven years (2 Sam. v. 5), it sank into a position of very secondary importance, and is seldom mentioned in the history of the kings. Rehoboam fortified it against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 19). It was re-occupied by the returned Judeans after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25). We hear of it in the last war with Rome as captured by an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. ‘Bell. Jud.’ iv. 9, § 9). The Crusaders captured it in the twelfth century, and made it the seat of a bishopric. Soon afterwards it was recovered by the Mohammedans, and has remained in their hands. The mosque is supposed to contain the tombs of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, and also of Joseph; and is reckoned a place of great sanctity. The modern Arab name is El Khalil—"the friend"—a term by which Abraham is intended, who was "the friend of God" (2 Chr. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; James ii. 23).

66. and passed through Samaria.] "Samaria" is palpably a wrong reading. The direct route between Hebron and Ashdod or Azotus, would not pass within seventy miles of Samaria, which is further removed from both Hebron and Ashdod than they are from each other. Josephus substitutes Marissa—i.e., Mareshah—for Samaria; and no doubt this is the true reading. Mareshah lay on the natural line of march from Hebron to Ashdod. It was situated on a gently swelling hill that sinks down into the great Philistine plain, and commanded one of the best approaches to the high country. Fortified by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 8), it was soon afterwards threatened by Zerah (ib. xiv. 9), but witnessed his defeat by Asa and the complete destruction of his army. After this we hear nothing of Mareshah until the present occasion, when it appears to have been the scene of a struggle in which Judas was not so successful as usual. (See v. 67, and cd. par 2 Mass. xii. 34, 35.) We hear of Mareshah again in the later wars. It was taken and destroyed by John Hyrcanus about B.C. 120, restored by Pompey about B.C. 63, and once more taken and plundered by the Parthians in B.C. 39. The site is marked by the modern village of Marash on the route between Hebron and Beit-Jibrin.

67. they went out to fight unadvisedly.] The writer of the Second Book says, that those who were slain were semi-idolaters, upon whose bodies were found things that had been consecrated to idols (2 Mass. xii. 40).

68. Azotus.] See note on ch. iv. 15.

their carved images.] That the Philistines had images of their gods appears from 1 Sam. v. 3, 4, where the destruction of the image of Dagon, at this very town of Ashdod, is recorded. Derceto or Atargatis seems to have been worshipped by the Philistines of Ascalon. Their other deities, if they had any, are unknown to us. A more complete destruction of Azotus, with its idol temple, was effected at a later date by Jonathan (ch. x. 84).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND ACCESSION OF HIS SON, ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.

1-17. That Antiochus Epiphanes died in the distant East, after an abortive attempt to plunder a temple of Nanae or Anaitis, the Persian Venus (or Diana), must be regarded as historically certain, on the concurrent and uncontradicted testimony of Polybius (xxxiii. 3). Appian (‘Syriae.’ 66), Josephus (‘Ant. Jud.’ xiii. 9, § 1), and our author. That his death
A BOUT that time king Antiocbus travelling through the high countries heard say, that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold; 2 And that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Grecians, had left there.

3 Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil it; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had warning thereof, 4 Rose up against him in battle: so he fled, and departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to Babylon.

was the consequence of mental suffering, and not of violence, or bodily disease, though not allowed on all hands, may be considered as in a high degree probable. It was natural that various stories should be told about an event so strange, so unexpected, and so removed from the general cognizance; and so we find a violent death in the temple which he was plundering reported in one place (2 Macc. i. 13-16), and a death by a lingering and dreadful disease recorded in another (ib. ix. 5-28). Polybius, however, and our author agree, that the monarch's sufferings were mental; and further, that they arose, at any rate in part, from religious qualms connected with his desecration of temples. No confidence can be placed in the historical truth of the death-bed speech ascribed to him in verses 10-13; though it is quite possible that Philip, or some other person who was with him when he died, may have reported a change in his sentiments respecting the Jews. Little, however, in the present narrative can be accepted as certainly true beyond the attack on the temple (v. 1-5), its failure (v. 4), the king's intense grief (v. 8, 15), his appointment of Philip as guardian of his son's rights (v. 14, 15), and his decease soon after (v. 16).

1. the high countries.] See note on ch. iii. 37, where the same expression occurs.

Elymais in the country of Persia was a city. This seems to be a mistake. No mention is made of such a city by any writer, except our author, and Josephus, who simply follows him (Ant. Jud. xii. 9, § 1). Elymais was a country, properly a portion of Susiana, lying towards the north in the Zagros mountain-region (Strab. xi. pp. 759-62; xvi. p. 1056); but as Susiana itself was reckoned a part of Persia (ib. xv. 3, § 2), Elymais would be "in the country of Persia" (compare 2 Macc. i. 13). The city attacked by Antiocbus is called (in 2 Macc. ix. 2) "Persepolis;" but this important place was never reckoned to Elymais.

greatly renowned for riches.] Polybius agrees in viewing the attack of Antiocbus on the temple in question as arising entirely from cupidity (xxxi. 2). He does not mention the name of the city, but agrees that it was in Elymais. So also Appian (Syria, § 66).

2. a very rich temple.] Polybius calls it "a temple of Artemis"—Appian, "a temple of Aphrodite,"—the author of the Second Book "a temple of Nanza" (ii. 13). According to some accounts, Antiocbus put forward as a pretext for his designs upon the temple-treasures, that he wished to espouse the goddess, and would take the gold and silver as her dowry (2 Macc. i. 14; Granius Licin. quoted by Ewald, Hist. of Israel, vol. v. p. 316, note 2). On the true character of Nanza, see note on 2 Macc. i. 13.

coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields.] Rather, "coverings of gold, both breastplates and shields." The "coverings" are the chief species of defensive arms. (See ch. iv. 6.)

Alexander, son of Philip.] Cf. ch. i. 1-7.

There had been so many Alexanders—Alexander, son of Alexander the Great; Alexander, son of Polysperchon; Alexander Balas, &c. —when the author wrote, that some distinctive title or description was necessary.

had left there.] Not "had left untouched," but "had himself left as presents." Alexander's habit was to acknowledge the gods of all the countries which he conquered, and to make offerings to their temples. It was customary to offer arms in temples as thank-offerings on account of victories (Herod. ii. 159; iii. 47, &c.).

3, 4. they of the city...rose up against him.] So Polybius, l. i. c. It is curious that Antiocbus should have made this attempt, when his father had failed in a similar one on a temple of Belus in this same region, and had actually lost his life. (See Strab. xvi. 1, § 18; Justin. xxxii. 2.) His Cupidity seems to have blinded him.

returned to Babylon.] Polybius says that he "retired to Tyre in Persia," but that place may have been on the way to Babylon. Our author does not really say that he "returned to Babylon," but that he quitted Elymais with the intention of returning thither (ἀπελήφθεν ἐκείθεν...ἀποστρέφας εἰς
5 Moreover there came one who brought him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judea, were put to flight:
6 And that Lysias, who went forth first with a great power, was driven away of the Jews; and that they were made strong by the armour, and power, and store of spoils, which they had gotten of the armies, whom they had destroyed:
7 Also that they had pulled down the abomination, which he had set up upon the altar in Jerusalem, and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and his city Bethsura.
8 Now when the king heard these words, he was astonished and sore moved: whereupon he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for.

9 And there he continued many days: for his grief was ever more and more, and he made account that he should die.
10 Wherefore he called for all his friends, and said unto them, The sleep is gone from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for very care.
11 And I thought with myself, Into what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood of misery is it, wherein now I am! for I was bountiful and beloved in my power.
12 But now I remember the evils that I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all the vessels of gold and silver that were therein, and sent to destroy them.

Bασιλαίονα. He places his death in Persia (vv. 5, 9, 56).
6. that Lysias... was driven away.] See ch. iv. 34, 35.
they were made strong by the armour... which they had gotten.] The great want of the patriots at first had been arms and armour (ch.iv.6). Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and “therewith fought all his life long” (ch. iii. 12). His followers no doubt imitated him, and armed themselves with the weapons and armour of the Syrians whom they slew in battle.
7. they had pulled down the abomination.] See above, ch. iv. 43.
compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before.] See ch. iv. 60. It may be questioned whether the Temple area had ever previously been completely fortified. No doubt there had always been fortifications on the east, and the south-east, where the line of the Temple area coincided with the outer limits of the town. But until the occupation by Judas, it had not been necessary to fortify, as against an enemy, the northern or western parts, which abutted on the city itself.
and his city Bethsura.] Jerusalem might perhaps be justly claimed by them as their city, but Bethsura at least belonged to Antiochus; yet they had fortified that also! (See ch. iv. 41.)
8. be... fell sick for grief.] Polybius (I. s. c.) connects the death of Antiochus, not with any intelligence that reached him from Syria, but with the attack upon the temple of Nanaea and its failure. There had, he says, been certain supernatural appearances on the occasion of that misdeed; and Antiochus was smitten thereby with a superstitious dread, which led to his demise. Josephus catches at the alleged cause, and asks, with some force, “Is it not more likely that his remorse and despair were caused by the desecration of the Temple at Jerusalem, which he actually carried into effect, than by a contemplated sacrifice, in which he was foiled?” (‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 9, § 1.)
9. there be continued.] By “there” is meant the place in Persia where he was when the bad news reached him (vv. 5)—i.e. Tabze, as we learn from Polybius. (See the comment on vv. 3, 4.)
10. be... said unto them.] The speech here given differs wholly from that sketched in 2 Macc. ix. 13–17, and is probably equally unhistorical. The writer follows the example of the principal historians who had preceded him, and gives, in the form of speeches, the feelings which he supposes his chief personages to have entertained.
11. I was bountiful and beloved in my power.] The liberality of Epiphanes has been already noticed (see the comment on ch. iii. 30). That he was generally popular with his heathen subjects, and especially with those of the capital, whom he delighted with shows and festivals (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 1–10), is highly probable. Even his edict of intolerance (ch. i. 41, 42) seems to have provoked no hostility among any people excepting the Jews (ch. i. 42; ii. 18, 19).
12. I took all the vessels of gold and silver.] See ch. i. 21–23.
the inhabitants of Judea without a cause.

13 I perceive therefore that for this cause these troubles are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land.

14 Then called he for Philip, one of his friends, whom he made ruler over all his realm,

15 And gave him the crown, and his robe, and his signet, to the end he should bring up his son Antiochus, and nourish him up for the kingdom.

I . . . sent to destroy the inhabitants of Judea.] See ch. iii. 35, 36.

14. Philip, one of his friends.] The author of the Second Book says (ch. ix. 29) that Philip was the σωροφος of Epiphanes, i.e. his foster-brother. He is thought by some to be identical with the Philip who was made governor of Jerusalem immediately after the plunder of the Temple by Antiochus (2 Macc. v. 22), who was “a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous” even than his master. It is a further conjecture that he was “the master of the elephants” at the battle of Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 41). But these guesses are of little value.

womb be made ruler.] I.e. “regent.” His intention was, that Philip should have the custody of his son’s person, the direction of his education, and the supreme authority during his minority. Probably he regarded Lysias as having forfeited the post by the proofs which he had given of military incapacity.

15. his signet.] The signet-ring was the special mark of royal authority. (See Gen. xii. 47; Esther iii. 10, viii. 2.) Alexander the Great gave his to Perdiccas, and thereby marked him out as next inheritor of his power (Arrian, ‘Exp. Al.’ vii. 26, § 5).

to the end be should bring up his son.] The Greek will not bear this translation. As the text stands (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀντιοχοῦ τοῦ θιόν αὐτοῦ), it can only mean “to the end that he should take Antiochus his son.” Josephus, however, appears to have had in his copies ἀντιοχοῦ τοῦ θιόν αὐτοῦ—a reading which would give the sense, “to take them (i.e. the crown, signet, &c.) to Antiochus.” (See Joseph. ‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 9, § 2.)

16. in the hundred forty and ninth year.] Towards the close of B.C. 164, or in the earlier part of B.C. 163.


being young.] Appian makes Antiochus Eupator no more than nine years old at his father’s death (‘Syriaic.’ § 45 and § 66). But Porphyry (ap. Euseb. ‘Chron.’ Can. i. 40, § 15) makes him twelve. This latter account agrees better than the other with the part said to have been taken by Eupator in the Jewish war (2 M. 28–47).

his name be called Eupator.] Appian says that “the Syrians” gave him the name (‘Syriaic.’ § 46) on account of the good qualities of his father.

§ 2. JUDAS BESIEGES THE SYRIAN GARRISON IN THE TOWER AT JERUSALEM—APPEAL MADE TO EUPATOR FOR ASSISTANCE.

18–27. The position of the two garrisons, Judean and Syrian, in the Temple mount and the “tower,” built by Epiphanes over against it (ch. i. 33–36), must have been intolerable to both parties. The tower was an ἐπιστευμόνα of the most annoying kind; and we cannot be surprised that the Maccabean leader, flushed with the victories that he had gained on all sides, should have determined on making a strenuous effort to capture it. It would seem that his attack promised to be successful, and that the defenders felt their only hope of safety to lie in the approach of an army of relief. Hence their appeal to Eupator.

18. they that were in the tower.] See ch. i. 33 and iv. 41.

shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary.] The writer does not mean that the Israelites were formally besieged or blockaded, but that their movements were cramped, and that it was not safe for them to go beyond their walls. (Compare ch. i. 36 and 37; and Josephus, ‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 9, § 3: τοὺς ἀνδρασιν τοὺς τον ἑαυτὸν ὅθεν
destroy them, called all the people together to besiege them.

20 So they came together, and besieged them in the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounts for shot against them, and other engines.

21 Howbeit certain of them that were besieged got forth, unto whom some ungodly men of Israel joined themselves:

22 And they went unto the king, and said, How long will it be ere thou execute judgment, and avenge our brethren?

23 We have been willing to serve thy father, and to do as he would have us, and to obey his commandments;

24 For which cause they of our nation besiege the tower, and are alienated from us: moreover as we could light on them they slew, and spoiled our inheritance.

25 Neither have they stretched out their hand against us only, but also against all their borders.

26 And, behold, this day are they besieging the tower at Jerusalem, to take it: the sanctuary also and Bethsura have they fortified.

27 Wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them.

βουλομένους, ἡσαῖφος ἐπικροὺς οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθιναν.)

20. the hundred and fiftieth year.] The year commencing in the autumn of B.C. 163, and terminating in that of B.C. 162.

be made mounts for shot against them.] Rather, "towers for shooting at them." The στολοστάσεις of the text seem to have been moveable towers, such as were used both by the Assyrians and the Greeks, which were brought near to the walls, and enabled the assailants to attack the defenders on the same level. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 470-2.) The word is used by the LXX. in Ezek. xvii. 17, xxi. 22, where our translators have "forts," "a fort."

and other engines.] Rather, "and engines." The "towers" were not regarded as "engines," which term applied especially to catapults, ballistae, and battering-rams. It is rightly observed (Stanley) that Judas here for the first time brought into use a battering-train.

21. ungodly men.] I.e. "men of the Hellenizing party." (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 18, &c.)

22. they went unto the king.] The writer does not seem to realize the fact of Eupator's immature age. He has called him ἰατρής (v. 17), but apparently is not aware that he was a mere child, twelve years old at the most.

23. We have been willing to serve thy father.] Rather, "we were of those who willed to serve," &c. i.e. we belonged to the conforming party, and obeyed the edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes (ch. i. 41-50), which a part of our nation refused to obey, and now we are brought into trouble on that very account (v. 24).

24. for which cause they of our nation besiege the tower, and are alienated from us: moreover as we could light on them they slew, and spoiled our inheritance.

25. Neither have they stretched out their hand against us only, but also against all their borders.

26. And, behold, this day are they besieging the tower at Jerusalem, to take it: the sanctuary also and Bethsura have they fortified.

27. Wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them.
28 Now when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his friends, and the captains of his army, and those that had charge of the horse.

29 There came also unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers.

30 So that the number of his army was an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants exercised in battle.

31 These went through Idumea, and pitched against Bethsura, which they assaulted many days, making engines of war; but they of Bethsura came out, and burned them with fire, and fought valiantly.

32 Upon this Judas removed from the tower, and pitched in Bathzacharias, over against the king's camp.

33 Then the king rising very early marched fiercely with his host toward Bathzacharias, where his ar-

28. when the king heard this, he was angry.] The representations were probably made, not to the boy king, but to Lysias, who may well have been "angry," or at any rate greatly vexed, at what he heard. It must certainly have been Lysias who gave the orders for the collection of the forces of the kingdom.

those that had charge of the horse.] Literally, "those that were over the reins"—an expression which seems to point to a chariot force. According to the author of the Second Book (2 Macc. xiii. 3), Lysias brought with him on this occasion 5300 horsemen, and "three hundred chariots armed with hooks."

29. from other kingdoms.] As Pergamus and Bithynia, perhaps also Paphlagonia and Pontus.

from isles of the sea.] Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus were always willing to furnish mercenary troops in the wars of this period. They usually served as slingers and archers. (See Appian, 'Syria.' § 32; 'Bell. Civ.' ii. § 70, &c.)

30. the number of his army.] The numbers here given are confirmed by one passage of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3), but contradicted by another, where they are said to have been 50,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 80 elephants ('Bell. Jud.' l. i. § 5). The author of the Second Book (2 Macc. l. i. c.) makes the horse 5300, which may be accepted as probably the true number. He makes the foot 110,000, which is not improbable; the elephants twenty-two, which may also be correct. By the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian king was bound to keep no war-elephants. Polybius tells us that Eupator had broken the engagement ('Hist.' xi. 12, § 11); but it is scarcely likely that he had collected a very large corps. We may safely reject the "eighty elephants" of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' l. i. c.).

31. These went through Idumea.] The Syrians considered that the best mode of attacking Judaea was to proceed along the coast of the Mediterranean from Carmel southwards, and then make the assault upon the west, or upon the south. They had attacked twice from the west, first under Seron (ch. iii. 14-16), and again under Nicanor and Gorgias (ch. iii. 38-41; ch. iv. 1-23). Later, under Lysias himself, they had attacked from the south (ch. iv. 28-34). Lysias now repeated this movement.

32. Judas removed from the tower.] The first result of the attack on Bethsura was to raise the siege of "the tower." Judas felt that his presence was required to meet and check the enemy in the south, and accordingly gave up the siege, struck his camp, and marched to Beth-Zacharias, which Josephus says ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 4) was 70 stades, or eight miles, from Bethsura. It commanded a narrow pass, and has been almost certainly identified with the modern Beit-Sakariyeh, which lies nearly due north of Beit-sur, at a distance by the road of about nine Roman miles (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 284).

33. the king ... marched fiercely.] In the
mies made them ready to battle, and sounded the trumpets.

34. And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.

35. Moreover they divided the beasts among the armies, and for every elephant they appointed a thousand men, armed with coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads; and beside this, for every beast were ordained five hundred horsemen of the best.

36. These were ready at every occasion: wheresoever the beast was, and whithersoever the beast went, they went also, neither departed they from him.

37. And upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: there were also upon every one two and thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him.

38. As for the remnant of the original, the "fierceness," or "eagerness to attack the foe," is ascribed, not to the king, but to the host. Translate—"Then the king, rising very early, marched his host, which was eager for the fight, toward Beth-Zacharias."

sounded the trumpets.] Rather, "sounded with trumpets." On the use of trumpets in war by the Greeks and Romans, see note on ch. v. 31.

34. to the end they might provoke the elephants, &c.] It has been supposed that the elephants were "provoked" by the sight of red wine and of a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries, both being beverages of which they were fond (Grimm); but wine is not called "the blood of grapes" except in highly wrought poetry (Gen. xxxii. 11; Deut. xxiv. 14; Ecclus. i. 15); nor is a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries a thing known to antiquity. Probably the two liquids were the expressed juice of the two fruits, unfermented, and were intended to represent blood to the animals, and so to remind them of battle and prepare them for it.

35. they divided the beasts among the armies.] Rather, "among the legions" or "companies." It was more usual to draw up the elephants in a separate body, generally in front of the other troops, and to make them advance first upon the enemy. Antiochus the Great had, however, at Magnesia interposed his elephants in pairs between the divisions of his phalanx (Liv. xxxviii. 40; App. 'Syr. 9 § 32), and thus set the example of separating them. A new disposition was now tried.

armed with coats of mail.] Rather, "wearing corslets of chain armour." Chain armour was known to the Assyrians, but appears to have been used by them only as an appendage to the helmet ("Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 441, plates). Corslets were in the early times generally of leather, protected by metal scales. In Roman times, however, the corslets here mentioned became common. (See Polyb. vi. 21; Arrian, 'Tact.' pp. 13, 14, &c.)

36. These were ready at every occasion, &c.] Rather, "these were with the beast, wherever he was, even before the fight began." (II[-p] Καυσοὺ cannot possibly mean "on every occasion"). The object was to accustom the elephants to the men and horses of their own side, and to accustom the horses to them. In default of such mutual acquaintance, elephants were apt to inflict more damage on the army to which they belonged than on the enemy.

37. upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood.] In the Indian war of Alexander the Great, where elephants first made their appearance in Greek warfare, we do not hear of "towers" being placed on them. Apparently, the practice commenced with the Syrians, whose "beasts" were thus armed at Magnesia in B.C. 190, nearly thirty years before the present engagement. (See Liv. xxxvii. 40.) The "towers" cannot really have been of any great size, or have contained more than three or four soldiers.

with devices.] "Girths" seem to be intended. So heavy a fabric as a "tower" could not otherwise have been kept in place.

2o and thirty strong men.] This is quite impossible. Livy ('I. c.) makes the number of soldiers to each elephant in the army of Antiochus the Great four; Elian gives, as the ordinary Indian equipment, three; some moderns say that in recent times towers on elephants have held a garrison of three. Probably, either no number was given here in the original text; or else the text ran, τους δ' Καυσοὺς ος Καυσοὺς ἐπισκέπτουσιν διος ἡ ἑπικ—"on each of them strong men to the number of two or three."

beside the Indian that ruled him.] Lite-
horsemen, they set them on this side and that side at the two parts of the host, giving them signs what to do, and being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.

39 Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistened therewith, and shined like lamps of fire.

40 So part of the king's army being spread upon the high mountains, and part on the valleys below, they marched on safely and in order.

41 Wherefore all that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of the company, and the rattling of the harness, were moved: for the army was very great and mighty.

42 Then Judas and his host drew near, and entered into battle, and rally, "beside his Indian." It is assumed that, as a matter of course, each elephant would have an Indian driver. The elephants employed by the Seleucidae were originally derived from India, and, though bred in part at Apamea, no doubt required to be kept up by frequent importations from the region where they were indigenous. Expert Hindoo drivers would accompany each such importation.

38. the remnant of the horsemen.] Those that remained over, after the thirty-two troops attached to the elephants had been deducted. They would have amounted, according to the numbers previously given, to four thousand.

they set them on this side and that side.] Compare the arrangement at Magnesia (Arian, 'Syria.' § 33: ἵνα οἱ ἑκάραπαθεὶς ἔκανεν τὰ πόλεμος ὅρμους).

giving them signs what to do.] The meaning of the text is very uncertain. Karacwē is properly "to shake down," and is used primarily of shaking down fruit from trees. It also means "to shake up and down," as "the hand," or "a stick;" and hence signifies sometimes "to make a sign with the hand," as in Acts xii. 17, xiii. 16, xix. 35, and xx. 40, where, however, ἕν χειρὶ is always added. It has further the meanings "to disturb," "to throw down," "to make a man unsteady through drink," and "to affright." None of these significations seems particularly appropriate here; and hence the reading is with reason suspected.

being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.] This clause is even more difficult than the preceding. There are two readings, ἐν τοῖς φίλολαγγεὶς and ἐν τοῖς φίλορεγεῖς, of which the latter, being the most difficult, should, according to the ordinary laws of criticism, be preferred. "Being harnessed all over" is a possible meaning of καρακαὶρατορώμοις, but grammatically the word does not refer to the horsemen, but to the generals who set them their places, whose wearing of complete armour would scarcely be mentioned. Schleusener explains καρακαὶρατορώμοις here as "guarding" or "covering their flanks with them." ἐν τοῖς φίλορεγεῖς would mean "among the precipices," where extra precaution would have no doubt be necessary.

39. the shields of gold and brass.] It is not probable that "shields of gold" were ever employed in warfare. They were used as the ornaments of temples (1 Kings x. 16) or sent as presents to the authorities of foreign states (1 Macc. xiv. 24; xv. 18, &c.). Silver shields were, however, actually borne by troops in the field, notably by those of Alexander the Great (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' vii. 11) and his successors (Polyb. v. 79, § 4; Liv. xxxvii. 40; App. 'Syria.' § 32, &c.). These may have been mistaken by the Jews for golden shields, when the sun shone upon them, or the writer may only mean that the shields were partly of brass and partly of gold, which is quite possible.

40. the high mountains . . . the valleys.] Rather, "the high hills—the low ground." The hills of southern Judea do not attain the dignity of "mountains," nor are the wadys, which separate them, exactly "valleys." The army of Antiochus advancing from the south upon Beth-Zacharias probably proceeded up the Wady Shukheit, which is "straight and shallow" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 283), its flanks crowning the hills on either side, which are quite practicable, even for cavalry. The country presents no remarkable difficulties, though Beth-Zacharias is strongly posted.

41. the army was very great and mighty.] It was the utmost force that Syria could raise under the circumstances, larger (according to one account, Liv. xxxvii. 40) than that which had met the Romans at Magnesia, and very much the largest army with which Judas had as yet contended.

42. Judas and his host drew near.] Judas followed his usual tactics. He did not shut himself up within Beth-Zacharias, or even stand on the defensive, but advanced to meet the foe. (See ch. iii. 11, 16, 13; iv. 12, 29; v. 43, &c.)
there were slain of the king’s army six hundred men.

43 ¶ Eleazar also, surnamed Sera
van, perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him,

44. Put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name:

45 Wherefore he ran upon him courageously through the midst of the battle, slaying on the right hand and on the left, so that they were divided from him on both sides.

46. Which done, he crept under the elephant, and thrust him under, and slew him: whereupon the ele
phant fell down upon him, and there he died.

47 Howbeit the rest of the Jews seeing the strength of the king, and the violence of his forces, turned away from them.

48 ¶ Then the king’s army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king pitched his tents against Judea, and against mount Sion.

49 But with them that were in Bethsura he made peace: for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land.

50 So the king took Bethsura, and set a garrison there to keep it.

51 As for the sanctuary, he be

after ἰμιθησας. It is impossible to supply ἠμιθη

47. The author is both to acknowledge the complete defeat of the Jews, and seeks to throw a veil over it; but nevertheless he makes it sufficiently apparent by the facts of his narrative. The Jews, he admits, “turned away” from their foes—i.e. retired before them—retreated (as Josephus tells us, ‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 9, § 5) to Jerusalem. The Syrians felt strong enough to divide their forces. While a part besieged Beth-zur (v. 49), the bulk marched on Jerusalem, and commenced the siege of the Temple fortress (vss. 48, 51).

49. with them that were in Bethsura be made peace. Again a softening of the facts. We see from what follows that Bethsura was besieged, reduced to extremity, and “taken” (v. 50). The garrison may have been allowed terms, but what they were is not stated. Josephus (l. s.) says that they surrendered themselves on the condition that their persons should be safe.

50. it being a year of rest to the land. Is. it was a sabbatical year, and the granaries were exhausted. (Compare v. 53.) It may seem strange that greater precautions had not been taken; but Judas’s long career of success had probably blinded him to the danger which might impend in case of a reverse. Evidently, neither Beth-zur nor Jerusalem had been properly provisioned against the chance of a siege.

51. As for the sanctuary, be besieged it many days. The Temple had now become a fortress. Judas had fortified it “with high walls and strong towers round about” (ch. iv.
sieg'd it many days: and they also made engines against their engines, and held them battle a long season.

53 Yet at the last, their vessels being without victuals, (for that it was the seventh year, and they in Judea, that were delivered from the Gentiles, had eaten up the residue of the store;)

54 There were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine did so prevail against them, that they were fain to disperse themselves, every man to his own place.

55 At that time Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whilst he lived, had appointed to bring up his son Antiochus, that he might be king,

56 Was returned out of Persia and Media, and the king's host also that went with him, and that he sought to take unto him the ruling of the affairs.

57 Wherefore he went in all haste, and said to the king and the captains

§ 4. LYSIAS, CALLED OFF TO ANTIOCH BY THE PROCEEDINGS OF PHILIP, MAKES PEACE WITH THE JEWS, BUT DOES NOT OBSERVE ITS TERMS.

58-63. Jerusalem was at the last gasp. The revolt seemed about to be crushed. Judas can have had no hope of relief, and must have been contemplating surrender, or death amid the enemy's ranks, when an unexpected event saved him, and with him his nation. Philip, the regent appointed by Epiphanes just before his decease, arrived at Antioch with the army which had accompanied Epiphanes to the Eastern provinces, was admitted into the town, and assumed the government of the kingdom. It was necessary to march against this new foe at once; and Lysias, without a moment's hesitation, resolved to make peace with the Jews. The terms he granted them were all that they could desire—they were to return to their allegiance, but were to be allowed the free observance of all their own laws and usages, as before the edict of Epiphanes (v. 59). Their fortifications were also to remain untouched. This last stipulation was, however, not kept (v. 63). Eupator (or rather Lysias), who must have been the real director of everything, when he saw the strength of the defences, "commanded to pull down the wall." This done, he marched his army off to Antioch (v. 63).

58. Philip.] See v. 14; and compare 2 Macc. ix. 29.

59. WAS returned out of Persia and Media.] i.e. from the eastern provinces, into which Epiphanes had marched for the purpose of collecting money (ch. iii. 31, 37).

60. The king's host also that went with him.] Half the forces of the empire, according to ch. iii. 37.

61. He went in all haste, and said.] Rather, "he hastened to depart, and to say," His special haste was to depart, and set out
of the host and the company, we
decay daily, and our victuals are but
small, and the place we lay siege unto
is strong, and the affairs of the king-
dom lie upon us:

58 Now therefore let us be friends
with these men, and make peace with
them, and with all their nation:
59 And covenant with them, that
they shall live after their laws, as
they did before: for they are there-
fore displeased, and have done all
these things, because we abolished
their laws.
60 So the king and the princes
were content: wherefore he sent
unto them to make peace; and they
accepted thereof.
61 Also the king and the princes
made an oath unto them: whereupon
they went out of the strong hold.

for Antioch; but to effect this, he had to
persuade the king and the commanders. So
he "hasted" also to speak to them. The
power of a regent would seem not to have
been absolute.

We decay daily, and our victuals are but
small.] The besiegers, it would seem, suf-
f ered almost as much as the besieged. They
also were ill-provisioned, and could obtain
but little from the adjacent country, which
had no crops on account of the sabbatical
year. They, too, " decayed," or lost men," daily "by casualties.

the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us.] Rather, "press upon us." The situation is
pressing; and brooks no delay.

60. be sent unto them to make peace.] The author of the Second Book professes
to give the letters which passed on the occasion
(1) between Lysias and the Jews; (2) be-
tween Antiochus and Lysias; and (3) between
Antiochus and the Jews (ch. xi. 16-33). But
his documents seem to be forgeries. (See
Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 318, note 6,
E. T.)

61. the king and the princes made an oath.] The treaty was concluded with all the cus-
tomy forms. Oaths were interchanged.
As the king was a minor, "the princes"—
Lysias and the other generals—took the oath
also.

they went out.] This may have been a
condition, for the honour of the royal arms.

62. be brake his oath that he had made.] We must not impute the perjury to the king,
who was a mere boy. The orders to destroy
the wall were, no doubt, given by Lysias.

63. where be found Philip.] According to
the writer of the Second Book, Philip, fear-
ing Eupator, fled into Egypt, and found
a refuge with Ptolemy Philometor (2 Mac.
ix. 29). It is possible that he escaped after
the siege of the city was begun.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS ASSUMES THE SYRIAN
CROWN, AND KILLS EUPATOR AND
LYSIAS.

1-5. Demetrius, first cousin of Eupator,
and the son of the elder brother, had an
undoubted claim to the Syrian throne, espe-
cially as he was grown up, while Eupator
was a minor. His father had sent him, when
a child, to Rome as a hostage; and he had
been retained there ever since, despite his
many remonstrances. At last, despairing of
getting the Senate's permission to quit Rome,
he secretly made his escape, sailed to Syria,
was received with favour by the mass of the
inhabitants, and having got Lysias and Eupa-
tor into his power, caused them to be put to
death (Appian, 'Syria,' § 47). He then
reigned for some years without a rival, but
was ultimately dispossessed by Alexander
Balas, Eupator's half-brother.

1. In the hundred and one and fiftieth year.] The year B.C. 162-1.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus.] Demetrius
was the only son, so far as appears, of Seleu-
cus IV. (Philopator), who succeeded his
Seleucus departed from Rome, and came up with a few men unto a city of the sea coast, and reigned there.

And as he entered into the palace of his ancestors, so it was, that his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him.

Wherefore, when he knew it, he said, Let me not see their faces.

So his host slew them. Now when Demetrius was set upon the throne of his kingdom,

There came unto him all the wicked and ungodly men of Israel, having Alcimus, who was desirous to be high priest, for their captain:

And they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have slain all thy friends, and driven us out of our own land.

Now therefore send some man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see what havock he hath made among us, and in the king's land, and let him punish them with all them that aid them.

Then the king chose Bacchides, a friend of the king, who ruled

father, Antiochus the Great, in b.c. 187-6, and was himself succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes in b.c. 176-5. According to the strict law of primogeniture, as understood in modern times, he was the rightful king; but, as the crown had, on account of his minority at his father's death, passed to a brother, by the Macedonian law his title was disputable.

departed from Rome.] Made his escape secretly, as we learn from Polybius (xxxii. 19-23) and Appian (L. C. C.). The Senate preferred that Syria should be under the rule of a boy, and lent no encouragement to the claims of Demetrius.

After consultation with Polybius, who was his private friend, and with others, he determined to depart clandestinely, and succeeded in effecting his purpose.

a city of the sea coast.] Demetrius landed at Tripolis in Phoenicia, according to the author of the Second Book (ch. xiv. 1), who is followed by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 1).

reigned there.] I.e. "was proclaimed king." He does not appear to have remained at Tripolis more than a very short time.

2. be entered into the palace of his ancestors.] The royal palace of the Syrian kings was at Antioch. It was situated in the northern part of the city, close to the Orontes.

his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias.] Demetrius landed in Syria with but "a few men" (v. 1); but the Syrian army almost immediately declared in his favour. Eupator and Lysias were arrested by their own guards, who would have delivered them alive to the new monarch, but, on the intimation of his pleasure recorded in v. 3, put them to death.

Demetrius makes Alcimus High Priest, and sends Bacchides to arrange affairs in Judea.

On quitting Jerusalem with Eupator, Lysias had carried off the High Priest, Onias or Menelaus, and had caused him to be put to death, thus leaving the high priesthood vacant. The rightful successor to the office was Menelaus' son, Onias; but another claimant arose in the person of Alcimus, who was of a different family from Menelaus, but claimed to be descended from Aaron, and had had ancestors among the High Priests (2 Macc. xiv. 7). According to Josephus, Lysias invested Alcimus with the office ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7); but our author evidently supposes him to have first received the appointment from Demetrius. Demetrius, at any rate, acknowledged him, and at his instigation sent Bacchides with a large army into Judea, with orders to crush Judas and his party, and to instal Alcimus as governor of the country.

5. the wicked and ungodly men of Israel.] I.e. the men of the Hellenizing party. (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 44; iii. 8, &c.)

Alcimus.] Ewald identifies the name with the Hebrew "Eliakim" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 319, note 5, E. T.); but Josephus says that the original name of Alcimus was not Eliakim, but Jakim or Jehoiakim. In meaning the words are equivalents, but, as names, they were considered to be distinct and different (2 Kings xxxii. 34). Alcimus was a good Greek name, meaning "valiant." was ... their captain.] Rather, "their leader"—the chief man of the embassy, not a military commander.

6. they accused the people to the king.] By "the people" here, we must understand the patriots—that part of the nation which clung to the Law, and accepted Judas for their leader. It was true that Judas and his followers had pursued to the death those of their nation who took the opposite view and sided with the Syrians. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 8.)

Bacchides, a friend of the king.] Josephus calls him "a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2). He is not mentioned by the classical writers.
beyond the flood, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king.

And him he sent with that wicked Alcimus, whom he made high priest, and commanded that he should take vengeance of the children of Israel.

So they departed, and came with a great power into the land of Judea, where they sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with peaceable words deceitfully.

But they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great power.

Then did there assemble unto Alcimus and Baccidges a company of scribes, to require justice.

Now the Assideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them:

For said they, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army, and he will do us no wrong.

So he spake unto them peaceably, and spake unto them, saying, We will procure the harm neither of you nor your friends.

Whereupon they believed him: howbeit he took of them threescore men, and slew them in one day, according to the words which he wrote,

The flesh of thy saints have they cast out, and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.

Wherefore the fear and dread of them fell upon all the people, who

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The title of the phrase "scribes" of this verse are probably to be connected with the "Assideans" (Kasidim) of the next. Though Judas had been too wary to be deceived, a portion of the "party of the Pious" (see note on ch. ii. 42) suffered themselves to be entrapped. From their secure position, either in the Temple fortress, or in some other fortified place, they sent a strong deputation of scribes to confer with Baccidges and Alcimus, and to adjust equitable terms of peace. It seemed to them impossible that one of their own nation, more especially one of the seed of Aaron, should act treacherously towards them.

The mask was not thrown off at once. Alcimus bound himself by an oath in no respect to injure the deputies, and then suddenly arrested sixty of them, and put them to death. Josephus throws the blame of the proceeding on Baccidges (Ant. Jud. xii. 10, § 2): but no doubt he and Alcimus were equally in fault.

10. They sent messengers to Judas, &c.] To invite to a conference and there seize the persons of obnoxious leaders has been a favourite device of Orientals in all ages. So Tissaphernes seized the Greek generals after Cunaxa; so the Parthians got possession of Crassus after Carrhae; so the Affghans entrapped MacNaughten and his staff at the beginning of the great outbreak. Judas was more prudent and cautious than most commanders. He declined all offers of a parley, and maintained a vigilant defensive attitude, probably in the Temple fortress.

11. Whereas the fear and dread of them fell upon all the people,
said, There is neither truth nor righteousness in them; for they have broken the covenant and oath that they made.

19 After this removed Bacchides from Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Be泽th, where he sent and took many of the men that had forsaken him, and certain of the people also, and when he had slain them, he cast them into the great pit.

20 Then committed he the country to Alcimus, and left with him a power to aid him: so Bacchides went to the king.

21 But Alcimus contended for the high priesthood.

22 And unto him resorted all such as troubled the people, who, after they had gotten the land of Judah into their power, did much hurt in Israel.

23 Now when Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the Israelites, even above the heathen,

24 He went out into all the coasts of Judea round about, and took vengeance of them that had revolted from him, so that they durst no more go forth into the country.

mon Hebrew pleonasm. (See Gen. ix. 2; Ex. xv. 16; Deut. ii. 25, xi. 25; Isa. viii. 13.)

19. pitched his tents in Be泽th.] Be泽th is probably the same as the Be泽tha of later times, which was the name of the hill due north of the Temple-mount, on which a portion of the later city was built. We learn from Josephus that the word is a contraction of Beth-Zeth, which would mean “the house of the olive,” and would imply that the hill was originally devoted to the cultivation of that tree. As it is a sort of continuation of the Mount of Olives, this may well have been so.

19. the men that had forsaken him.] Rather, “that had deserted from him.” After the massacre related in v. 16, many of the Jews who had ranged themselves on his side, naturally enough, deserted the standard of Bacchides, and fled to strongholds. Of these we must suppose “the village of Beth-Zeth” (Joseph. ‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 10, § 2) to have been one.

20. certain of the people also.] I.e. “of the original inhabitants of Beth-Zeth,” who had offended him by harbouring the fugitives.

20. the great pit.] ὃθιασ is properly “a well,” and may have the meaning in this place. The massacre of Cawnpore has made moderns familiar with such a disposal of the bodies of victims.

20. Then committed he the country to Alcimus.] Alcimus was left to be civil ruler, as well as High Priest. Indeed, as he was excluded from the Temple, his functions would be chiefly civil.

§ 3. Alcimus, being in difficulties, applies for aid a second time to Demetrius, who sends Nicanor with an army.

21. Alcimus contended for the high priesthood.] Until he could obtain possession of the Temple, Alcimus felt his high priesthood insecure—a mere name, not a reality. Hence the need of his “contention.”

22. all such as troubled the people.] Compare 1 Kings xviii. 18. The irreligious and idolatrous are always the true “troublers of Israel,” even when authority is on their side, and their opponents may seem to be those who cause disturbance.

24. all the coasts of Judea.] All parts of the country. (Compare Deut. xvi. 4; Judg. xix. 29, &c.)

25. said all the worst of them that he could.] Literally, “accused them of evil deeds.” In the eyes of Alcimus, and of Demetrius no less, all the gallant actions of Judas and his followers were “evil deeds”—acts of rebellion against lawful authority.
25 On the other side, when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company had gotten the upper hand, and knew that he was not able to abide their force, he went again to the king, and said all the worst of them that he could.

26 "Then the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel, with commandment to destroy the people.

27 So Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great force; and sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully with friendly words, saying,

28 Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may see you in peace.

29 He came therefore to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. Howbeit the enemies were prepared to take away Judas by violence.

30 Which thing after it was known to Judas, to wit, that he came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more.

31 Nicanor also, when he saw that his counsel was discovered, went out to fight against Judas beside Capharsalama:

26. the king sent Nicanor.] It is uncertain if this was the "Nicanor" of ch. iii. 36, who was selected to command in the Jewish war by Lysias. He was undoubtedly the person mentioned by Polybius (xxx. 22, § 4) as among the friends of Demetrius at Rome, and as having accompanied him in his flight. (Cf. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4.) Josephus calls him the "best-affectation and most faithful of Demetrius's friends." The author of the Second Book says, that he had been "master of the elephants" (2 Macc. xiv. 12).

a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel.] These words are curiously at variance with the representations of the writer of the Second Book, who makes Nicanor studiously mild towards the Jews at first (ch. xiv. 23-28), and says that he "loved Judas from his heart" (ib. v. 24). It has been supposed that his hatred arose from his having been defeated at Emmaus (ch. iv. 14, 15).

with commandment to destroy the people.] Compare above, ch. iii. 35, 36.

§ 4. The Expedition of Nicanor and its Results—The Battles of Capharsalama and Adasa.

27-50. Nicanor, like Bacchides, seems to have thought at first, that he might effect the object of his expedition by craft and guile. He entered into negotiations with Judas, and even persuaded him to come to a conference, at which he intended to seize his person (v. 29). Judas, however, had guarded against the treachery by having soldiers at hand (2 Macc. xiv. 22), who would have repelled force with force; and the attempt therefore was not actually made. Failing here, the Greek general commenced hostilities, and engaged the forces of Judas at Capharsalama on the samaritan frontier, but was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (v. 31).

27. with a great force.] The amount is nowhere stated. According to the author of the Second Book, thirty-five thousand were slain in the battle of Adasa (2 Macc. xv. 27); but the numbers of this writer cannot be trusted.

28. that I may see you.] Literally, "that I may see your faces." A common Hebraism.

29. the enemies were prepared to take away Judas.] Josephus says that Nicanor in the middle of the interview gave a signal to his subordinates to seize Judas (Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4). Judas, however, perceiving his danger, jumped up and flew to his friends. The writer of the Second Book notes that he had prepared his friends for the emergency (ch. xiv. 22).

31. beside Capharsalama.] This place is unknown to the Hebrew Scriptures. The first element of the word may compare with the "Caper" in Capernaum, which means "village," and the second with the "salem" in Jerusalem, which means "peace." In the Middle Ages we find a "Carvasalim" near Ramleh, on the Samaritan frontier, N.W. of Jerusalem, which is probably the same place. From 2 Macc. xv. 1 we learn that, about this time, "Judas and his brethren were in the strong places about Samaria."
32. Where there were slain of Nicand's side about five thousand men, and the rest fled into the city of David.

33. After this went Nicander up to mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests and certain of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.

34. But he mocked them, and laughed at them, and abused them shamefully, and spake proudly,

35. And sware in his wrath, saying, Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands, if ever I come again in safety, I will burn up this house: and with that he went out in a great rage.

36. Then the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping, and saying,

37. Thou, O Lord, didst choose this house to be called by thy name, and to be a house of prayer and petition for thy people:

38. Be avenged of this man and his
host, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to continue any longer.

39 So Nicanor went out of Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bethhoron, where an host out of Syria met him.

40 But Judas pitched in Adasa with three thousand men, and there he prayed, saying,

41 "O Lord, when they that were sent from the king of the Assyrians blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote an hundred fourscore and five thousand of them.

42 Even so destroy thou this host before us this day, that the rest may know that he hath spoken blasphemously against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness.

43 So the thirteenth day of the month Adar the hosts joined battle: but Nicanor's host was discomfited, and he himself was first slain in the battle.

44 Now when Nicanor's host saw that he was slain, they cast away their weapons, and fled.

45 Then they pursued after them a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera, sounding an alarm after them with their trumpets.

46 Whereupon they came forth out of all the towns of Judaea round about, and closed them in; so that they, turning back upon them that pursued them, were all slain with the sword, and not one of them was left.

28-52), and compare Is. xxi. 7, Matt. xxi. 13, &c.

39. in Beth-boron.] On the situation of Beth-boron, see note on ch. iii. 16.

40. in Adasa.] According to Josephus, Adasa was 30 stades (31 miles) distant from Beth-horon. Eusebius places it near Gophna (Jifna). Recent research has shown that it lay at the junction of the two main lines of advance on Jerusalem from the north, not far from El-Jib (Gibeon).

with three thousand men.] This is a surprisingly small number, since we have found Judas previously at the head of a body of 10,000 (ch. iv. 29), and on one occasion, when he divided his forces into three parts, they exceeded 13,000 (ch. v. 10, 60). Small as the number is, however, Josephus reduces it still further, making it no more than 1000 ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5). The forces on the other side he estimates (l. c.) at 9000. The author of the Second Book makes them 35,000 (2 Macc. xv. 27).

41. O Lord.] Here, again, as in v. 37, most MSS. omit Kopw, which was probably not expressed by the original writer. (See note on v. 37.)

the king of the Assyrians.] i.e. Sennacherib. It has been observed already that Nicanor's menaces recalled to the minds of those who heard them the threats of Rabshakeh. It may be added, that Jewish tradition makes the destruction of Sennacherib's host to have taken place in the same region where Judas was at the present time encamped.

This view, however, is not borne out by Scripture.

an hundred fourscore and five thousand.] See 2 Kings xix. 35.

42. the rest.] Is. "our other enemies"—Syrians, apostate Jews, Edomites, Ammonites, &c.

43. the thirteenth day of the month Adar.] "Adar" corresponded to the latter part of February and the first three weeks of March. The thirteenth day of Adar was the day immediately preceding the two days' Feast of Purim, which was kept on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar (Esther viii. 21-32), the fourteenth day being known as "the day of Mordecai" (2 Macc. xv. 36). Henceforth three days were observed, the first of them being called "Nicanor's day."

45. a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera.] On the position of Gazera and its identity with the modern Tel-Jezar, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. The direct distance from Adasa is about 15 miles, which the turns and twists of the passes would increase to about 20—a good "day's journey."

sounding an alarm, &c.] Literally, "and they trumpeted after them with their signal trumpets." The notes of the trumpets announced victory, and gave a signal to the villagers and others to intercept the passes and cut off the retreat. (See the next verse.)

46. they came forth out of all the towns.] Rather, "villages" (κωμαί). closed them in.] Literally, "out-flanked them." (See Polyb. xi. 23, § 5; Plutarch, 'Vit. Brut.' § 23.)
I. MACCABEES. VII. VIII.

47 Afterwards they took the spoils, and the prey, and smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so proudly, and brought them away, and hanged them up toward Jerusalem.

48 For this cause the people rejoiced greatly, and they kept that day a day of great gladness.

49 Moreover they ordained to keep yearly this day, being the thirteenth of Adar.

50 Thus the land of Judah was in rest a little while.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 Judas is informed of the power and policy of the Romans, 20 and maketh a league with them. 24 The articles of that league.

NOW Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them, and his right hand. This was unusual. Right hands were sometimes cut off as a means of counting the slain; but the present instance does not come under this category. It must be ascribed wholly to the action of Nicanor in threatening the Temple with a gesture of his right hand (2 Macc. xvi. 33). The guilty right hand was cut off in the way of punishment.

banged them up toward Jerusalem.] They were probably hung up on one of the Temple gates looking westward, toward the fortress and city occupied by the Syrians. The later traditions, and even the details of 2 Macc. xv. 32-35), are scarcely trustworthy. Such exposures naturally followed on the barbarities practised upon the corpses of enemies in the ancient world generally. (See the author's 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. ii. p. 255; 1 Sam. xxxix. 12; 'Behist. Inscri.' coll. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14; § 16; &c.)

50. the land of Judah was in rest a little while.] A few weeks only. The second expedition of Bacchides followed on the defeat of Nicanor within a month at the utmost. (Compare ch. vii. 1, 43 with ch. ix. 1-3.)

CHAPTER VIII.

§ I. JUDAS RECEIVES INFORMATION CONCERNING THE POWER AND GREATNESS OF THE ROMANS.

1-16. The account of the Romans contained in this passage is interesting, as shewing, not so much the amount of knowledge which Judas Maccabees possessed of them, as the amount possessed by the writer of the Book, some thirty or forty years after the death of Judas. The picture is graphic, and, despite its inaccuracies (vv. 8, 15, 16), not unfaithful, presenting to us fairly enough the general outlines, at once of their national character, of their military history, and of their institutions. The writer evidently holds the nation in high respect and esteem. He recognises all its good qualities; he is apparently not aware of its bad ones. The policy of Judas in opening communications with the Romans has his approval. He expects nothing but good to result from it; he sees no peril as threatening either the religious life or the political independence of his people. Yet the facts stated in v. 13 might well have stirred some feelings of distrust and suspicion.

2. Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans.] The Romans first became known in the East as a great military power at the beginning of the second century B.C., by the war which they waged with Antiochus the Great. The battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190, established their reputation. The treaty which followed gave them a right, which they were not slow to use, of perpetual interference in the affairs of Asia. Their "commissioners" (legati) were constantly visiting the different courts, making demands and imposing conditions. It was a part of their policy to support all the weak states against the stronger ones, in order that no one power might swallow up the rest.
I. MACCABEES. VIII. [v. 2-4.

and make a league of amity with all that came unto them;

2 And that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them, and brought them under tribute;

3 And what they had done in the country of Spain, for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold which is there;

4 And that by their policy and patience they had conquered all the place, though it were very far from them; and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, till they had discomfited them, and given them a great overthrow, so that the rest did give them tribute every year:

mighty and valiant men.] Literally, "mighty in strength," a phrase equivalent to the "mighty men of valour" of the Canonical Books (Judg. vi. 12, xi. 1; 1 Kings xi. 28; 2 Chr. xvii. 17, &c.).

such as would lovingly accept, &c.] The Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians. They were on such terms with Demetrius Soter as made it probable that they would accept an offer of friendship from any state that was hostile to him.

2. they were men of great valour.] This clause is repeated from v. 1, either by accident, or for the sake of emphasizing it.

their wars. . . among the Galatians.] The Galatians of Asia Minor were the remnant of that vast body of emigrants which entered Macedonia from the valley of the Danube in B.C. 279, and for a time threatened to overwhelm Macedonian and Greek civilization. Repulsed at last, they made their way into Thrace, and thence passed over into Asia Minor, some of them on the invitation of Nicomedes (B.C. 277), others of their own accord. Here they settled in Northern Phrygia (which became "Galatia") and continued for nearly a century an annoyance and a terror to their neighbours. At last, in B.C. 189, the year after Magnesia, Cn. Manlius Vulso undertook an expedition against them, which was completely successful, and in a great measure put a stop to their ravages. (See Liv. xxxviii. 37; Polyb. xxi. 38, &c.)

brought them under tribute.] This is, probably, an inaccuracy. The Romans withdrew from Asia altogether after the campaign of B.C. 189, and left the Galatians to themselves, merely enjoining upon them the discontinuance of their constant raids (Liv. xxxviii. 40).

3. what they had done in the country of Spain.] The conquest of Spain was effected, nominally, in the course of the Second Punic War (B.C. 218-201); and its cession was one of the conditions enforced on the Carthaginians in the last-named year. But the Celtic and Iberian tribes were not really subdued till much later, resistance being only terminated by the campaigns of Agrippa and Carusius in B.C. 27-19.

for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold.] The wealth of Spain in the precious metals was no doubt the main reason of its possession being coveted, alike by the Romans and the Carthaginians. Silver was especially plentiful (Polyb. xxxiv. 9, § 8); and the silver-mines of New Carthage (Cartagena) formed the great attraction which originally drew the Carthaginians to the Spanish shores. Gold was also obtained in considerable quantities; and Pliny goes so far as to say, that "almost the subsoil of Spain abounds with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold" (H. N. xxxii. 21). The influx of the precious metals into Italy, chiefly from Spain, after the close of the Second Punic War, was very great, and caused a marked decline in their value.

4. by their policy and patience they had conquered all the place.] This was certainly not true at the time when Judas sent his embassy. The name "Spain" applied to the whole of the peninsula, which was not entirely reduced, as already observed, until B.C. 19. But the reduction of the Lusitani in B.C. 140, and of Numantia in B.C. 133, had produced a cessation of open resistance at the time when our author wrote.

though it were very far from them.] It is remarkable that the distant Spain was conquered, while the nearer Gaul remained independent, and indeed unattacked, the Roman armies being sent to Spain by sea.

kings. . . from the uttermost part of the earth.] The author has perhaps in his mind the invasions of Italy by Pyrrhus (B.C. 280) and Hannibal (B.C. 218), whom he may regard as a king, though, strictly speaking, he was only a general. But he has evidently no more than a vague acquaintance with the Roman military history.

a great overthrow.] No particular battle is intended, but rather the whole course of
5 Beside this, how they had discomfited in battle Philip, and Perseus, king of the Citim, with others that lifted up themselves against them, and had overcome them:

6 How also Antiochus the great king of Asia, that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants, with horsemen, and chariots, and a very great army, was discomfited by them;

7 And how they took him alive, and covenanted that he and such as reign'd after him should pay a great tribute, and give hostages, and that which was agreed upon,

Roman victory, the word ληγῇ being used "distributively" (Grimm).

5. how they had discomfited in battle Philip.] Philip III., king of Macedon, made alliance with Hannibal in the year B.C. 215, and went to war with the Romans in the year following. After seven years of not very successful warfare, he was glad to conclude a separate peace in B.C. 207. In B.C. 200, however, he voluntarily renewed the war, but after a short struggle was completely defeated by the Roman general, Flamininus, at Cynocephale, in Thessaly, B.C. 197. This is no doubt the "discomfiture" whereof our author alludes.

and Perseus.] Perseus, son and successor of Philip III., and last king of Macedon, was forced into a war with Rome against his will in B.C. 171, and, after three years of desultory fighting, suffered complete defeat at the hands of L. Emílius Paullus in the great battle of Pydna, which extinguished the Macedonian monarchy. (Polyb. xxix. 17; Liv. xli. 49, et seqq.)

king of the Citims.] The Citim, Chittim, or Citizens, were, properly, the inhabitants of the town called Citium (Κίτιος), in Cyprus; but the Hebrew writers had from the time of Moses (Gen. x. 4; Num. xxiv. 24) been accustomed to use the term in a wider sense, either for the Cyprians, or even for the inhabitants of the isles and coasts of Greece generally (Isa. xxiii. 1-12; Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' i. 6, § 1, &c.). Compare above ch. i. 1, and the comment ad loc.

6. Antiochus, the great king of Asia.] Antiochus III., son of Seleucus Callinicus, ascended the Syrian throne in B.C. 223, and reigned thirty-six years, dying B.C. 187. He is called "the Great King of Asia," as representing in the extent and geographical position of his dominions the old Persian monarchs, to whom the title of "Great King" had attached for more than two centuries. He assumed as his distinctive epithet the term Μέγας—"the Great," and is generally so designated by the classical historians (Polyb. xx. 8; Appian, 'Syria.' § 66; Gic. 'Orat. pro Sextio,' § 27, &c.).

that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants.] Antiochus III. first engaged the Romans with a small force at Thermopylae in B.C. 192 (Appian, 'Syria.' § 18-20), and suffered a severe defeat; but the present reference is not to this conflict, where only a few elephants were present, but to the far more important battle of Magnesia—one of the "decisive battles of the world"—in which the whole strength of the Syrian kingdom was pitted against Rome, and proved unequal to the encounter. The elephants brought into the field on this occasion were probably all that were available, and formed a conspicuous feature of the engagement (Liv. xxxviii. 39; Appian, 'Syria.' § 32); but their number, according to Livy, did not exceed fifty-four.

with horsemen, and chariots.] The "horsemen" in the army of Antiochus are said by Livy (xxxix. 40) to have exceeded 11,700, of whom 6000 were clothed in heavy armour, and mounted on armoured horses. The chariots carried scythes at their axles, and were greatly feared by the adversaries of the Syrians, but actually caused most damage to their own side (App. 'Syria.' § 33).

a very great army.] Amounting to 170,000 men, according to Appian ('Syria.' § 32, ad init.).

7. they took him alive.] This is contrary to the fact. Antiochus fled from the field of battle to Sardis, thence to Celene, and thence to Antioch (ib. § 36). His ambassadors concluded peace with Rome in the course of the same year (B.C. 190).

and covenanted that be ... should pay a great tribute.] Antiochus agreed to pay down 500 Eubotic talents, to pay 2500 more on the ratification of the treaty by the senate, and further to send to Rome 1000 talents yearly for the next twelve years (Liv. xxxviiii. 39; Appian, § 38). This annual payment might be viewed as a (temporary) "tribute."

such as reign'd after him.] Antiochus the Great outlived the battle of Magnesia by only three years. His obligations, consequently, had to be discharged by his successors, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. The payments were not made with regularity, and we find them running on into the reign of Epiphanes, who made the last remittance under the treaty in B.C. 173, seventeen years after Magnesia (Liv. xiii. 6).
8 And the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest countries, which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes:

9 Moreover how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them; and that they, having knowledge thereof, sent against them a certain captain, and fighting with them slew many of them, and carried away captives their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and took possession of their lands, and pulled down their strong holds, and brought them to be their servants unto this day:

and give hostages.] Twenty hostages were required, with liberty to the Romans to select whom they pleased (Appian, § 38). Among those chosen was Epiphanes, the younger son of Antiochus the Great, who was afterwards exchanged for Demetrius, his nephew.

and that which was agreed upon.] The word thus translated (διαστολὴ) is rare in Hellenistic, and not very common in classical, Greek. In Ex. viii. 23, it signifies "division," or "difference;" but that sense will not suit here. Some suppose the meaning here to be "exchange," since the hostages might be exchanged for fresh ones from time to time (Appian, l. s. c.). Others suggest the rendering, "a portion of his kingdom." But the word has nowhere else either of these senses.

8. India, and Media, and Lydia.] India proper was at no time included within the dominions of Antiochus the Great, and therefore could not have been ceded to him by Rome. His furthest eastern possession was Arachosia, a portion of Afghanistan. Media and Lydia were under his rule, the former permanently, the latter from B.C. 221 to 214. But Media is not mentioned as ceded by any other writer, and lay too far to the east to have been made over to Eumenes. Attempts have been made to get our author's credit by turning "India" into "Ionia," and "Media" into "Mysia;" but the simple fact seems to be that he had no accurate knowledge of any history which was not immediately connected with that of the Jews. He is correct in saying that the Romans compelled Antiochus to cede to them a portion of his dominions, and that the countries ceded were attached by Rome to the kingdom of Eumenes; he is mistaken as to the territories which thus changed masters. What Antiochus ceded was all Asia north of the Taurus (Liv. xxxvii. 44). The greater part of this tract Rome gave to Eumenes (ib. 56). of the goodliest countries.] Literally, "of their goodliest countries" (ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων χωρῶν αὐτῶν). It is proposed to read αὐτῶν ("his") for αὐτῶν; but the change is unnecessary. "Their" refers to the Syrians. On the goodliness of the countries yielded, see Herod. i. 142; and compare Sir C. Fellows's 'Asia Minor,' pp. 16, 22, 27, &c.

king Eumenes.] This was Eumenes II, the eldest son and successor of Attalus I, fourth king of Pergamus, one of the lesser kingdoms formed out of the dominions of Alexander the Great. From a small principality this kingdom became under Eumenes II, the principal power in Asia Minor, Rome rewarding his services at Magnesia and elsewhere with the gift of all the territory that she had taken from Antiochus the Great, except Lycia and part of Caria, which were assigned to the Rhodians.

9. how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them.] This representation of the grounds of quarrel between the Romans and the Greeks breathes the spirit of a thoroughgoing partisan of the former. In reality, it was Rome which aimed at destroying Greece, not Greece which even dared to think of destroying Rome. The Aetolians indeed, on one occasion, threatened to invade Italy, and give an answer to the Roman demands on the banks of the Tiber (Liv. xxxv. 33); but the real aggressor in the contest was Rome, and it was Rome which insisted on carrying matters to the last extremity.

10. a certain captain.] Manius Aelius Glabrio, who was sent against the Aetolians in B.C. 191, has been looked upon as the "captain" here spoken of: but the rest of the verse points, not to the Aetolian war of B.C. 194-190, but to the final struggle of the Achaeans in B.C. 146. If we understand the passage in this sense, the "captain" will have to be regarded as L. Mummius, who crushed Greek independence at Leucopetra; and the author will have been guilty of an anachronism.

carried away captives their wives and their children.] On the capture of Corinth, all the full-grown men were put to death, while the women and children were sold to be slaves (Justin, xxxiv. 2). Achaea was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and the last remnant of Greek independence was swept away.

pulled down their strong holds.] The fortifications of Thebes and Chalcis were destroyed in the last Achaean war; Corinth was burnt; and the other strongholds generally were dismantled.
It was told him besides, how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them;

But with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity: and that they had conquered kingdoms both far and nigh, insomuch as all that heard of their name were afraid of them:

Also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would, they displace: finally, that they were greatly exalted:

Yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby:

Moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, where- in three hundred and twenty men sat

11. all other kingdoms.] As that of Demetrius of Pharos, conquered in B.C. 219; Cis-Alpine Gaul, conquered in B.C. 191; Liguria, conquered in B.C. 154; Lusitania, conquered in B.C. 140, &c.

and allies.] Sicily was ceded to Rome by the Carthaginians at the close of the First Punic War. B.C. 241. Sardinia was seized in B.C. 238, and ceded the next year. Corsica was annexed in B.C. 236. Corcyra became Roman about B.C. 228.

12. with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity.] This, again, is the estimate of a partisan. Rome's principle was to favour her friends, so long as she needed them; to cast them aside, so soon as she could dispense with their services. Each friend in turn becomes an enemy, when he has ceased to be valuable, and is swallowed up as Ulysses would have been by Polyphemus, if he had not made his escape. But at the time when our author wrote, this was not generally recognised. The aggrandizement of Eumenes and the Rhodians after Magnesia placed the conduct of Rome towards her allies in a very favourable light.

All that heard of their name were afraid of them.] Signal indications of the alarm felt, even by the most powerful kings, are seen in the submission of Epiphanes to the dictation of Popilius (Liv. xiv. 12) and the murder of Hannibal by Prusias at the first hint that Rome was displeased at his harbouring her enemy (ib. xxxix. 51).

13. whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign.] From about the year B.C. 169 Rome acted as arbiter among the rival claimants of the Egyptian throne. In Asia Minor, from the date of the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) her influence was frequently employed to establish or displace monarchs. Alexander Balas owed his throne in a great measure to the hostility of Rome towards Demetrius. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia, Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, and others, succeeded in establishing themselves, because Rome favoured their claims.

14. Yet for all this none of them wore a crown.] To an Oriental this seemed the most extraordinary fact of all—royal power exercised, yet the insignia of royalty carefully eschewed—the State everything, the individual nothing. Crowns of gold were continually sent to Rome as acknowledgments of sovereignty by the Eastern communities (Polyb. xxii. 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7; xxviii. 18, § 3, &c.). These, however, were not appropriated by any individuals, but went into the public treasury.

or was clothed in purple.] Purple first appears as a specially royal colour in the Book of Judges, where we hear of the “purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian” whom Gideon slew (Judg. viii. 26). It does not appear to have been worn by the Assyrian monarchs, but was first brought into general repute by being selected for their wear by the Median kings (Xen. ‘Cyrop.’ i. 3, § 2). From the Medes the Persians adopted it (ibid. viii. 3, § 13); and from them it passed to the Greco-Macedonians (Q. Curt. ‘Vit. Alex. Magn.’ vi. 6), and ultimately to the Romans. Though no Roman of the times of the republic clothed himself in purple habitually, it was an ordinary colour of the paludamentum or general’s cloak, the emblem of supreme command.

15. a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat.] The number of the Roman Senate was at no time legally fixed at three hundred and twenty members. The original number was 100 (Liv. i. 8)—the complete number under the monarchy, 300 (Dionys. Hal. iii. 67; Liv. ii. 1). No further augmentation was formally made until the dictatorship of Sulla, when he arbitrarily increased the Senate to between 500 and 600. Our author’s estimate of 320 may be a simple mistake, or it may have arisen from the fact that in his time the actual number, including the two classes of full senators and persons having a right to a seat from their having served certain offices, was commonly about 320. (See Dr. W. Smith’s ‘Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.’ p. 1018; 2nd edit.)
in council daily, consulting always for the people, to the end they might be well ordered:

16 And that they committed their government to one man every year, who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them.

17 In consideration of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them,

18 And to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of

daily.] This statement is also inaccurate. The Senate sat regularly, only on the Calends, Nones, and Ides of each month (Cic. 'Ad Q. Fratrem,' ii. 13); though extraordinary meetings might be convoked, on any day that was not nefastus, by the proper magistrate. Continuous sittings occurred only in the month of February, when audience was given to foreign ambassadors de die in diem; but this practice belongs only to the last period of the Republic. It may, however, have misled the writer.

16. they committed their government to one man every year.] Another mistake, but one which foreigners were not unlikely to make. The two consuls were ordinarily required sortiri provincias, "to cast lots for their respective provinces;" and their spheres were for the most part not only distinct, but distant one from the other. The Orientals would never be brought into contact with more than one consul at a time. It is unnecessary to suppose a reference to the temporary and occasional dictatorship.

there was neither envy nor emulation among them.] This view of the Roman polity is far too rose-coloured. In addition to the old rivalry of patrician and plebeian, and the constant struggle between consuls and tribunes, there was not infrequently a jealousy felt by the consuls one towards the other, which seriously interfered with the right conduct of affairs. In the early part of the Second Punic War, the rivalry between Servilius and Flamininus, Aemilius Paullus and Terentius Varro, had very disastrous consequences. Even a "Master of the Knights" was occasionally a thorn in the side of a dictator (Liv. xxi. 14, 27-29).

§ 2. EMBASSY SENT BY JUDAS TO THE ROMANS, AND TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

17-30. The determination of Judas to ask the aid of Rome was a piece of worldly policy which seemed prudent at the time, and which for many years had no ill consequences, but which implied a lack of simple earnest faith, and which ultimately led to the destruction of the Jewish state. 'Humanly speaking, and apart from a miraculous deliverance, Rome must no doubt have in the end absorbed the Israelite community: but it is to be regretted, for the sake of Judas himself, with his general nobility of character, that he was not above "trusting to an arm of flesh," and calling in a foreign power to give the help which could only have been given effectually by Jehovah. The history of his own nation might have warned him how fatal was the step he took. The appeals of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvi. 7), and of Hezekiah to Merodach-baladan (Is. xx. 13), had produced the most unfortunate results. A protector naturally becomes a sovereign. Had Judas known a little more of the real history of the Roman State, he would have recognised the fact, that he was calling in the wolf to mount guard over the sheep. As it was, he appears to have been deceived by the conduct of Rome towards Eunenes, which seemed disinterested, and which had vastly aggrandised the kingdom of Pergamus. (See v. 8.)

17. In consideration of these things.] These words are interpolated by our translators. The Greek has simply xai—the original had doubtless the mere vaau connective.

Judas chose Eupolemus... and Jason.] It has been remarked (Stanley) that these names are Greek, and inferred that "Judas, with his usual sagacity, chose his envoys, not from the stricter, but from the free-minded section of his nation."

the son of John.] This John is mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11, as having been the intermediary by means of whom special privileges had been obtained for the Jews from Antiochus the Great. His son, Eupolemus, is identified by some with the writer on Jewish history, so largely quoted by Alexander Polyhistor. (See the fragments of Polyhistor in C. Müller's 'Fr. Hist. Graec.' vol. iii.)

Accos.] This is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Hakkoz, or Hakkots, a common priestly name (1 Chr. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21).

19. to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them.] The embassy was probably sent before the defeat of Nicanor,
the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude.  

19 They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey, and came into the senate, where they spake and said,

20 Judas Maccabees with his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

21 So that matter pleased the Romans well.

22 And this is the copy of the epistle which the senate wrote back again in tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy:

23 Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and enemy be far from them.

24 If there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates throughout all their dominion,
25. The people of the Jews shall help them, as the time shall be appointed, with all their heart:

26. Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon them, or aid them with victuals, weapons, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants without taking any thing therefore.

27. In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them:

28. Neither shall victuals be given to them that take part against them, or weapons, or money, or ships, as it hath seemed good to the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants, and that without deceit.

29. According to these articles did the Romans make a covenant with the people of the Jews.

30. Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified.

31. And as touching the evils that Demetrius doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews?

32. If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

§ 3. Threatening Message sent by Rome to Demetrius.

31–32. If the treaty was to give any immediate relief to the Jews, it was necessary that the fact of its conclusion should be notified to Demetrius. Rome gave the notification in the rudest and blustest way. Ever since Magnesia, she had dominated over the Syrian kings; and Demetrius was especially odious to her, since he had assumed the crown without her authorisation, and against her wishes (Polyb. xxxi. 19–23).

31. we have written unto him, saying.] Here again we are not to suppose that the writer gives the entire rescript. Though the forms of ancient diplomacy were simpler and more direct than those which prevail at the present day, still for the most part proposals, and even commands, were wrapped up in a number of meaningless phrases, which softened them to the recipient. Here, the main thing was to intimate that the status of the Jews was changed—they had become “friends and confederates” of the Romans. Rome therefore could not suffer them to be oppressed. But the question, “Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy?” &c., can scarcely have been put so barely as it is expressed in the text.

32. If therefore they complain any more.] Rather, “if they apply to us any more.” The application would, of course, involve a complaint.

we will ... fight with thee by sea and by land.] “Terra marique pugnamus contra te.” This was at least explicit. Demetrius was
CHAPTER IX.

1 Alcimus and Bacchides come again with new forces into Judea. 7 The army of Judea fled from him, 17 and he slew slain. 30 Jonathan slain in his place, 40 and revenge his brother John's quarter. 55 Alcimus is plagued, and death. 70 Bacchides makes peace with Jonathan.

FURTHERMORE when Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his host were slain in battle, he told what he had to expect. Rome, however, was in no hurry to carry out her threats. She had numerous wars on her hands, and waited with more prudence than boldness until the appearance of a pretender to the Syrian crown enabled her to wreak her vengeance on Demetrius without risking too much. (See ch. x. 10, &c.) Meanwhile the Jews suffered as the hands of the Syrians as much as ever, or even more grievously (ch. ix. 1-66).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. RENEWED ATTACK UPON JUDEA BY BACCHIDES AND ALCIMUS—DEFEAT OF JUDAS AT ELEASA—HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.

1-23. The application to Rome was made too late to be of any service to Judea. While his ambassadors were on their way to Italy, Demetrius made a fresh effort. Nicanor being dead, Bacchides was a second time intrusted with the command, and Alcimus, whom the Hellenizing party among the Jews acknowledged as High Priest, accompanied him. The "strength" of the Syrian army (v. 1) — twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse (v. 4) — was sent into Palestine, Masaloth was taken (v. 3), and Judas challenged to an engagement. As at Adasa against Nicanor (ch. vii. 40), so now, Judas was unable to muster more than 3000 men (v. 5); and these were so faint-hearted that their number continually diminished by deserts, until not more than 800 were left. The inclination of these 800 was to retire (v. 9), and probably to disperse; but Judas would not hear of such an end to all his efforts, and preferred to resist to the last. With his small band he engaged the hosts of Syria at Eleasa, not far from Jerusalem, and, after a battle which lasted all day, and which seemed at one time about to terminate in his favour (v. 15), he suffered complete defeat, and with the greater part of his troops was slain (v. 18). His two most famous brothers, Jonathan and Simon, obtained possession of his body, and buried him in his ancestral sepulchre at Modin, with a funeral ceremony which lasted "many days" (v. 20). Such was the heroic end of the first and greatest of the Maccabees, the life and soul of the insurrection during the space of seven years.

1. Nicanor and his host were slain in battle.] Compare ch. vii. 43, 44, where we learn that the greater part of the host escaped.

be sent Bacchides and Alcimus . . . the second time.] On the previous sending of Bacchides and Alcimus, and their respective positions, see ch. vii. 8, 9, and the comment ad loc.

the chief strength of his host.] Literally, "the right wing." This is explained to mean the half of the Syrian army which guarded the countries on the right bank of the Euphrates. (Compare ch. iii. 32-37.) The strength of that division had, however, been seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot a few years previously (ch. iii. 39).

2. by the way that ledeth to Galgala.] "Galgala" seems to be the same as "Gallilee" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 11); and the meaning is, that the expedition was sent by land, and entered Palestine on the north, not as former ones) by sea to the western coast. (See ch. iii. 40; vi. 31; &c.)

Masaloth.] It is conjectured that "Masaloth" represents the cave-region only to be reached by steps (m'illath) on the north side of the Wady-el-Humam, near Iribil (Arbel), which was anciently used as a sort of fortress, and which in the time of Herod stood a long siege (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 16, § 4). See Stanley's ' Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 324, note 2. Certainly the campaign described in this verse, which must have belonged to the close of the 151st year, appears to have been quite distinct from that of the 152nd year, which was in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

in Arbel.] Arbel is usually spoken of as a village, or town; but here the name must designate a tract. (Compare the double use of the word "Samaria.") The tract would seem to be that immediately south of the Wady-el-Humam, on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee, where the name Arbela still lingers in the modern "Irbid" or "Iribil."
dreaded fifty and second year they encamped before Jerusalem:

4. From whence they removed, and went to Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.

5. Now Judas had pitched his tents at Eleasa, and three thousand chosen men with him:

6. Who seeing the multitude of the other army to be so great were sore afraid; whereupon many conveyed themselves out of the host, insomuch as there abode of them no more but eight hundred men.

7. When Judas therefore saw that his host slit away, and that the battle pressed upon him, he was sore troubled in mind, and much distressed, for that he had no time to gather them together.

8. Nevertheless unto them that remained he said, Let us arise and go up against our enemies, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them.

9. But they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able: let us now rather save our lives, and hereafter we will return with our brethren, and fight against them: for we are but few.

3. the first month of the hundred fifty and second year.] The 152nd year of the Seleucidæ began in October B.C. 162, according to Clinton. The "first month" is, however, in all probability, the first month of the Jews—April B.C. 160.

they encamped before Jerusalem.] Without, it would seem, encountering any resistance. Ewald supposes that the Jews were surprised as they were keeping the Passover (Hist. of Israel, vol. p. 233); but Grimm points out that chronological considerations (ch. vii. 49) make it impossible that the appearance before Jerusalem can have taken place until the later part of the month Nisan, when the Passover would have been completed some weeks. Judas seems certainly to have been taken off his guard. Perhaps he supposed that the defeat and death of Nicanor had secured for Israel a time of quiet.

4. From hence they removed, and went to Berea.] Berea is probably the modern Birz, which is the ancient Beeroth, situated about ten miles north of Jerusalem on the road to Samaria. The removal of Bacchides, from the near vicinity of Jerusalem to a place ten miles distant, must have been the result of intelligence that Judas was collecting a relieving army, which might threaten the communications of the Syrians, and place them between two dangers. Bacchides must have felt it necessary to deal with Judas first.

with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.] A moderate number, compared with others previously mentioned (ch. iii. 39; iv. 28; vi. 30). It may well be accepted as authentic.

5. Judas had pitched... at Eleasa.] A site called "Iliaa" has been found in the near vicinity of Bir-cz-zeit: and this is now thought to be "Eleasa." (See the Quarterly Statement' of the Palestine Exploration Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 45.) It commands "the narrow pass through which the road from Samaria to Jerusalem leads in the vicinity of Ain-el-Haramiyeh.

three thousand chosen men with him.] The same number as at Adasa (ch. vii. 40) against Nicanor—perhaps as many as the nature of the ground permitted—certainly not as many as he was able to collect in the time (Ewald), since they were "picked men"—i.e. carefully selected out of a greater number.

6. Who seeing the multitude... were sore afraid.] It is not clear why this was so, since the soldiers of Judas were accustomed to contend against greater odds than were now arrayed against them. Perhaps the presence of Alcimus with the enemy exercised a paralyzing influence—perhaps they experienced one of those unreasonable panics to which all troops are from time to time subject. Had the 3000 firmly stood their ground, there is no reason why the same successful result should not have been achieved at Eleasa as at Adasa.

7. His host slit away.] Little by little his soldiers drew off, dispersed themselves, and retired to their homes. Had Judas acted with his usual promptness, this would scarcely have occurred.

the battle pressed upon him.] The enemy, that is, allowed him no respite, but sought by all means to force on a general engagement.

8. Let us arise and go up.] Here the old spirit of the hero shews itself. (Compare ch. iii. 16–23; iv. 8–12, 29–34, &c.) It was his general system to take the offensive, however small his forces might be.

9. They dehort bim.] Not for the first time. Compare ch. iii. 17.
10. Then Judas said, God forbid that I should do this thing, and flee away from them: if our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour.

11. With that the host of Baccchides removed out of their tents, and stood over against them, their horsemen being divided into two troops, and their slingers and archers going before the host, and they that marched in the forefront were all mighty men.

12. As for Baccchides, he was in the right wing; so the host drew near on the two parts, and sounded their trumpets.

13. They also of Judas' side, even they sounded their trumpets also, so that the earth shook at the noise of the armies, and the battle continued from morning till night.

14. Now when Judas perceived that Baccchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, he took with him all the hardy men,

15. Who discomfited the right wing, and pursued them unto the mount Azotus.

16. But when they of the left

10. *if our time be come, let us die manfully.*] Judas, it would seem, had a presentiment of his defeat and death. Never before had he been deserted by his troops; never, probably, before had he fought at the head of so small a company. Eight hundred to twenty-two thousand was a disproportion of numbers against which even his valour and strategic skill could not hope to obtain success. So, like Leonidas at Thermopylae, he made up his mind to die.

11. *the host of Baccchides removed out of their tents.*] Rather, "the host of Judas." (So Grimm.) At the stirring words of Judas, his host marched forth; whereupon "they," i.e. the Syrians, went out to meet them: with their horse (v. 4) divided, as was usual, into two bodies, and placed no doubt at the extremity of either wing. The light-armed, archers and slingers, marched first, like the Roman bastati; behind them came the πορταγωνιατι, the strength of the army, like the Roman principes. (See Liv. viii. 8.)

12. *Baccchides ... was in the right wing.*] An Oriental leader usually placed himself in the centre of his army (Herod. vii. 121; Xen. 'Anab.' i. 3, § 6, 12; Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 11); but a Greek frequently preferred to command one wing. Alexander the Great led the right wing in each of his three battles against the Persians (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' i. 14, § 10; ii. 9; iii. 12).

13. *the host drew near.*] Literally, "the phalanx," i.e. the main army of the Syrians, advanced against the enemy.
wing saw that they of the right wing were discomfited, they followed upon Judas and those that were with him hard at the heels from behind:

17 Whereupon there was a sore battle, insomuch as many were slain on both parts.

18 Judas also was killed, and the remnant fled.

19 Then Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers in Modin.

20 Moreover they bewailed him, and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, B.C. 162.

saying,

21 How is the valiant man fallen, that delivered Israel!

22 As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatness, they are not written: for they were very many.

23 ¶ Now after the death of Judas the wicked began to put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and there arose up all such as wrought iniquity.

few men whom Judas had not taken with him to make his attack, wheeled round in the rear of the Israelites, and fell on them from behind while they were still engaged with the right wing in front. The result was that they were crushed between the two masses.

18. the remnant fled.] Very few indeed can have escaped, and they, probably, only under cover of the darkness, which by this time must have set in. (See v. 13.)

19. Jonathan and Simon took Judas.] Apparently they had been in the fight, and seeing their brother fall they gave up resistance, contenting themselves with carrying off his body to Modein, which lay at no great distance from the battle-field. On the sepulchre of the Maccabee family at Modein, see ch. xiii. 25-30, and the comment ad loc.

20. all Israel made great lamentation for him.] Compare 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, and infra, ch. xiii. 26. Great public lamentations for their dead kings were not very usual among the Jews. They seem to have been reserved for such as were slain by a public enemy.

and mourned many days.] The mourning for Jacob lasted seventy days (Gen. i. 3), that for Aaron (Num. xx. 29) and for Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8) thirty. Thirty days are also mentioned as the period for a solemn mourning by Josephus (Bell. Jud. iii. 9, § 5).

21. How is the valiant man fallen.] Compare the refrain in David’s lament for Saul and Jonathan—“How are the mighty fallen!” (2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27.)

that delivered Israel. Rather, “that was wont to deliver Israel.” The present participle has a frequentative force.

22. the other things concerning Judas.] Or “the rest of the acts of Judas.” Compare 1 Kings xi. 41; xiv. 29; xv. 23, &c. The author has evidently these and similar passages in his mind; but, instead of referring us to other sources of information for the remainder of Judas’ acts, as do the writers of Kings and Chronicles for those of their heroes, he simply declares, that they have not been written (by himself), since they were (too) many. He gives us no indication of acquaintance with any other historian who had written concerning Judas.

§ 2. INTERREGNUM AND APPOINTMENT OF JONATHAN TO BE GOVERNOR.

23-30. The sudden death of Judas had left the patriotic party without a head. Three sons of Mattathias still survived: John, the eldest, who was comparatively speaking undistinguished; Simon, the second, whom his father had recommended to be his brethren’s counsellor (ch. ii. 65); and Jonathan, the youngest, whom Judas had made his special companion in war (ch. v. 17, 24). No one of these could assert any clear right of precedence over the others, and it would seem that no one of them preferred any claim at all. The leadership was the post of danger, and the post of danger was perhaps not coveted by any. Thus the death of Judas was followed by an interregnum, during which the patriots suffered grievously (v. 23-27). The scourge of famine was added to the horrors of persecution; and the affliction was such as seemed almost unparalleled (v. 27). Under these circumstances the need of a leader became palpable, and the chief friends and counsellors of Judas assembled together to select one. Jonathan, though the youngest, was chosen, as the greatest captain, and, unanimously as it would seem, appointed to succeed his brother (vv. 28-30).

23. the wicked began to put forth their heads.] “The wicked” are, not the heathen, but the idolatrous Jews, whom Judas had kept in check (ch. vii. 24, 25). They began now to raise their heads and “peep forth,” which is the exact meaning of ἀρπάζειν.

all such as wrought iniquity.] These are
24. In those days also was there a very great famine, by reason whereof the country revolted, and went with them.

25. Then the Bacchides chose the wicked men, and made them lords of the country.

26. And they made enquiry and search for Judas' friends, and brought them unto Bacchides, who took vengeance of them, and used them despitefully.

27. So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen among them.

28. For this cause all Judas' friends came together, and said unto Jonathan,

the same persons. The second clause repeats and intensifies the first, but adds no new fact.

24. was there a very great famine] On the liability of Palestine to famine, see Gen. xii. 10, xlii. 5, xlvii. 13; Ruth i. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 1, &c. If the spring rains fail, there is no possibility of a crop; irrigation, except in the valley of the Jordan, being impracticable.

the country revolted, and went with them] Ewald takes this to mean, that the land itself deserted the holy cause, and was as false and faithless as its children (Hist. of Israel, vol. v. p. 334); but it may be doubted whether the prosaic paraphrase of Josephus—"so that many through lack of provisions deserted to the Syro-Macedonians"—does not better express the writer's meaning. By "the country" he intends "its inhabitants."

25. Bacchides chose the wicked men. Bacchides put idolatrous Jews in positions of authority all over the country.

26. Judas' friends] "The early friends of Judas were," as Ewald says, "sought out, betrayed, mocked, and punished." 'Εκείνα ηενεχμύνεν is "mocked," rather than "used despitefully."

27. since the time that a prophet was not seen] Malachi was regarded as "the last of the Prophets." His date is not altogether certain; but upon the whole it appears most probable that he was contemporary with Nehemiah during the later portion of his governorship (B.C. 431-430). The expression used would thus mean, "for the last 270 years."

30. to be our prince and captain] Rather, "our ruler and captain." Jonathan, like Judas (ch. ii. 66), is called ἀρχων, "ruler;"

A. p. c. — Vol. II.

29. Since thy brother Judas died, B. C. 162.

we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies, and Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are adversaries to us.

30. Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and captain in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.

31. Upon this Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up instead of his brother Judas.

32. But when Bacchides got knowledge thereof, he sought for to slay him.

33. Then Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with him, perceiving that, fled into the wilder-

Simon is the first who bears the formal title of ἐπιφόρης, "prince" (ch. xv. 1, 2).

§ 3. WAR OF JONATHAN WITH BACCHIDES—HE AVENGES THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER JOHN, AND DEFEATS THE SYRIANS AT THE JORDAN.

31-40. The news of Jonathan's appointment moved Bacchides to fresh efforts. He had slain Judas; could he slay the remaining sons of Mattathias, he hoped that the insur-rection would come to an end. He therefore once more took the field. Jonathan retreated before him into "the wilderness of Thecoi," or the wild district south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea. Here, encumbered with baggage and non-combatants, he sent these under the conduct of his brother John to be cared for by his friends (ch. v. 25), the Nabatheans, in their remote country near Petra. The line of their march is not clear; but it appears that they were attacked on their way by a tribe of roving Arabs, called the Beni Jambri, who killed John, and took the convoy. Jonathan, to revenge his brother's slaughter, crossed the Jordan into the Beni Jambri territory, surprised a wedding party by an ambush, and was returning laden with booty, when he found his retreat cut off by Bacchides on the left bank of the river. Forced to risk an engagement, he was so far successful as to inflict on Bacchides the loss of a thousand men, and to make good the return of his own men to the right bank by means of their swimming the river.

31. Jonathan . . . rose up instead of his brother Judas.] Compare ch. iii. 1, where the same expression occurs.

2 II
ness of Thecoe, and pitched their tents by the water of the pool Asphar.

34. 'Which when Bacchides understood, he came near to Jordan with all his host upon the sabbath day he came near.

35. Now Jonathan had sent his brother 'John, a captain of the people, to pray his friends the Nabathites, that they might leave with them their carriage, which was B. C, 166.

36. But the children of 'Jambri 'Gr. Ἰνδρίς came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it.

37. After this came word to Jonathan and Simon his brother, that the children of Jambri made a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from 'Nadabatha with a great

33. the wilderness of Thecoe.] Thecoē is the same as "Tekoah" or "Tekoa" (2 Sam. xiv, 2, xxiii. 26; Neh. iii. 5, 27, &c.). It was a small town in Southern Judaea, six miles south of Bethlehem. The site is reasonably identified with the modern Teku'a. "The wilderness of Thecoe" is the broad tract of high ground lying east and south-east of the city, which is at first a table-land, but breaks up into rugged and desolate mountains as it descends to the level of the Dead Sea (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. i. p. 486). Compare 2 Chr. xx. 20.

34. "the pool Asphar." Λάκκος is not a natural pool, but a "cistern" or "reservoir." It is probable that there were many such in the Judæan hill-country, besides the well-known ones near Jerusalem. The rain-water was stored in them. No other author mentions the Λάκκος 'Ασφάρ.

35. This verse appears to be an anticipation of v. 43. The author was about to hasten from the account of Jonathan's encampment at "the pool Asphar" to his engagement east of the Jordan with Bacchides; but, on second thoughts, perceived that his narrative would scarcely be intelligible unless he explained the circumstances which had brought Jonathan to that locality. He therefore interposed at this point the narrative of John's death and the vengeance taken for it (vv. 35-42), which is a sort of long parenthesis.

36. the children of Jambri.] A tribe not otherwise known—unless we suppose the Amorites to be meant. Josephus has oi Ἰουραπαίοι ῥείδες ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 2), and several MSS. read Ἰουραπός or Ἰουράπος for Ἰουραπί. At an early date the Amorites certainly held portions of the Moabite country (Num. xxii. 31); and they may never have been wholly dispossessed.

Medaba.] "Medaba" appears as a Moabite town as early as the time of Moses (Num. xxii. 36). On the Moabite Stone it is said to have been taken by the Israelites under Omri, and held for forty years, after which the Moabites recovered it ('Records of the Past,' vol. xi. p. 166). Isaiah mentions it among the towns of Moab (Is. xv. 2). The place retains its name almost unchanged, and has been visited by many modern travellers. It is in the Belka, or down county, of Moab, about four miles S.E. of Heshbon.

37. from Nadabatha.] "Nadabatha" (Nadabatha) is known to us only from this passage. It was probably a small town, or village, in the Moabite country, or at any rate in the region east of Jordan. Josephus has "Gabatha" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 4)—a name equally obscure.

with a great train.] The custom of escorting a bride from her own home to the bridegroom's house, is one practised commonly in the East, and often involves the passage of "a great train." The bridegroom is accompanied by a larger or smaller number of his intimate friends ('Judg. xiv. 11), and frequently by a band of musicians ('Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9). The bride has her own atten-
train, as being the daughter of one of
the great princes of Chanaan.

38 Therefore they remembered
John their brother, and went up, and
hid themselves under the covert of
the mountain:

39 Where they lifted up their
eyes, and looked, and, behold, there
was much ado and great carriage:
and the bridegroom came forth, and
his friends and brethren, to meet
them with drums, and instruments
of musick, and many weapons.

40 Then Jonathan and they that
were with him rose up against them
from the place where they lay in
ambush, and made a slaughter of
them in such sort, as many fell down
dead, and the remnant fled into the
mountain, and they took all their
spoils.

41 Thus was the marriage turned
into mourning, and the noise of their
melody into lamentation.

42 So when they had avenged
fully the blood of their brother, they
turned again to the marsh of Jordan.

43 Now when Bacchides heard
hereof, he came on the sabbath day
unto the banks of Jordan with a
great power.

44 Then Jonathan said to his
company, Let us go up now and
fight for our lives, for it standeth not
with us to day, as in time past:

45 For, behold, the battle is be-
dants; and when the two parties unite, the
entire procession is sometimes very numerous.
The more wealthy and important the fami-
lies to which the bride and bridegroom be-
long, the larger the accompanying train. In
the present instance, both families were evi-
dently of high rank, the bride especially, who
was "the daughter of one of the great princes
of Chanaan."

Chanaan.] The term is large enough to
cover the Moabites (Judith v. 3), to whom
the bride's family probably belonged. By
"great princes" we must understand leading
men in the city to which the bride belonged.

38. hid themselves under the covert of
the mountain.] The mountain region east of
Jordan is in many places richly clothed
with wood, and is very suitable for ambuscades.
"The traveller," says Canon Tristram, "rides
up and down deep concealed glens; sometimes
by a track meandering along the banks of a
brook, with a dense fringe of oleanders. . . .
Lovely knolls and dells open out at every
turn, gently rising to the wooded plateau
above. Then we rise to higher ground, and
ride through noble forests of oak" ('Bible
Places,' p. 332).

39. there was much ado and great car-
rriage.] Rather, "much noise and great
convoy of baggage."

to meet them.] I.e. to meet the bride and
her attendants.

switb drums.] Drums, shaped like a kettle-
drum, were in use among the Syrians and
other Oriental nations, and were much em-
ployed in religious orgies of a wild and en-
thusiastic character, such as those of Bacchus
and Cybele. It is possible that they may
have been also used on such an occasion as
the bringing home of a bride. Or the word
translated "drums" may here mean "tam-
bourines," which would almost certainly have
been among the "instruments of music"
employed.

many weapons.] The Easterns always go
armed, and would think it especially necessary
to carry arms when they were about to serve
as escort for a bride. "Or lau will include both
defensive and offensive arms, but scarcely
"torches," as Grimm supposes.

40. fell down dead.] Literally, "fell
wounded." Compare ch. iii. 11. Josephus
says that the number of the slain was 400
('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 4).

42. the marsh of Jordan.] "Jordan over-
floweth all his banks all the time of harvest" (Jos.
iii. 15); and this overflow leaves a marshy tract on either side of the river for
several weeks, more especially in the lower
part of its course, near its entrance into the
Dead Sea (Lynch, 'Expedition to Jordan and
Dead Sea,' p. 171; Robinson, 'Researches.'
vol. ii. p. 503). Jonathan had to encamp in this
marshy district.

43. Bacchides . . . came . . . unto the banks
of Jordan.] Bacchides, who had already
crossed the river (v. 34)—probably by a ford
higher up—interposed his army between the
Jordan and the place where Jonathan was
encamped, thus cutting off his retreat.

on the sabbath day.] Under the notion,
apparently, that the Jews would not fight on
the sabbath (ch. ii. 32-38), or at any rate
would not interfere with his troops taking up
their position.

45. the battle is before us and behind us.]
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1. Maccabees. IX. [v. 46—50.

B. C. 160.

fore us and behind us, and the water of Jordan on this side and that side, the marsh likewise and wood, neither is there place for us to turn aside. 46 Wherefore cry ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered from the hand of your enemies. 47 With that they joined battle, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, but he turned back from him. 48 Then Jonathan and they that were with him leapt into Jordan, and swam over unto the farther bank: howbeit the other passed not over Jordan unto them. 49 So there were slain of Bacchides’ side that day about 1,000 men. 50 Afterward returned Bacchides to Jerusalem, and repaired the strong cities in Judaea; the fort in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Thannatha,

The Syrians were in front, the Beni Jambri, burning for revenge, behind. The Jordan barred their progress both to the right and left, if they should attempt to avoid the host of Bacchides by making a circuit. In their rear lay marsh and jungle. The situation might well have seemed almost desperate.

46. cry ye now unto heaven.] Compare ch. iii. 18, 50; iv. 10. The author avoids, as usual, the introduction of the name of God.

47. be turned back from him.] Bacchides did not altogether decline an engagement. It would have been scarcely possible for him to do so, with the river directly at his back. But after a resistance in which he lost a thousand men (v. 49), he drew off his forces, probably towards the north, and left the passage of the river clear. Jonathan immediately took advantage of the movement, and with his men swam the river. None of the Syrian host attempted to follow.

§ 4. Bacchides establishes Garrisons in all the chief Towns of Judaea, and takes the Sons of the chief Men as Hostages—attempt of Alcimus to dismantle the Temple, and his Death—Bacchides returns to Antioch.

50—57. Despite the slight success obtained by Jonathan over Bacchides at the Jordan, the fortunes of the insurrection were now at their lowest ebb. Bacchides was master of Jerusalem, and of all the more important of the Jewish cities. Alcimus, his creature, lorded it in the Temple. For the better repression of patriotic effort, the Syrian garrisons were spread over the land. All men of note, suspected of disaffection, were compelled to give their sons as hostages for their good behaviour. Alcimus, the Hellenizing High Priest, began alterations in the Temple, which were probably intended to weaken it as a fortress, and perhaps to assimilate it to the Grecian model. The patriots made no head; they were weak and scattered; they appeared to have almost ceased to exist; and when, upon the death of Alcimus, tranquillity continued undisturbed, Bacchides, regarding the insurrection as put down, returned to Antioch, and left Judaea to itself for two years.

50. the fort in Jericho.] Jericho, one of the chief strongholds of the Cananites, was a place of little importance under the independent Jewish monarchy, but rose to eminence after the return from the Captivity, and became a favourite residence of Herod the Great. When Pompey took it, two forts, called “Threse” and “Taurus,” commanded its approaches (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40). Whether it was one of these that Bacchides now built is uncertain.

Emmaus.] This is probably the place mentioned in ch. iii. 40, which afterwards became Nicopolis, and is now ‘Amwas, about 20 miles west by north of Jerusalem.

Bethhoron.] On the site of Beth-horon, see the comment on ch. iii. 16.

Bethel.] Bethel, the southern seat of the idolatrous calf-worship instituted by Jeroboam, was attached to the kingdom of Judah by Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 15) and re-occupied by some of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 28), continuing thenceforward to be recognised as a Jewish city (Neh. xi. 31). It was, however, of small importance, and obtains no mention in the later Jewish history, except in the present passage.

Thannatha, Pharrathon.] No comma should separate these words. The “Thannatha” here mentioned is distinguished from other cities of the same name by the epithet of “Pharrathon.” There was a Timnath-heres (Judg. ii. 9) or Timnath-serah (Josh. xix. 52) in Mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (ib. xxiv. 30), and a Timnath in the Philistine country, from which Samson took his wife (Judg. xiv. 1—5). The latter is mentioned, under the form of Tannai, in Sennacherib’s inscriptions. Timnatha-Pharrathoni was probably distinct from both.
Pharathonii, and 'Taphon, these did he strengthen with high walls, with gates, and with bars.

51 And in them he set a garrison, that they might work malice upon Israel.

52 He fortified also 'the city Bethsura, and Gazara, and the tower, and put forces in them, and provision of victuals.

53 Besides, he took the chief men's sons in the country for hostages, and put them into the tower at Jerusalem to be kept.

54 Moreover in the hundred fifty and third year, in the second month, Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down; he pulled down also the works of the prophets.

55 And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued, and his enterprizes hindered: for his mouth was stopped, and he was taken with a palsy, so that he could no more speak any thing, nor give order concerning his house.

56 So Alcimus died at that time with great torment.

57 Now when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king: whereupon 'the land of Judea was in rest two years.
58 Then all the ungodly men held a council, saying, Behold, Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care: now therefore we will bring Bacchides hither, who shall take them all in one night.

59 So they went and consulted with him.

60 Then removed he, and came with a great host, and sent letters privily to his adherents in Judea, that they should take Jonathan and those that were with him: howbeit they could not, because their counsel was known unto them.

61 Wherefore they took of the men of the country, that were authors of that mischief, about fifty persons, and slew them.

62 Afterward Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with him, got them away to Bethbasi, which is

joined himself. He had, it would seem, stimulated the lukewarm zeal of Bacchides, and held him to the work of persecution. No sooner, therefore, was Alcimus dead, than the Syrian chief changed his policy, left the religious Jews in peace, and returned to Antioch. The result was a respite from suffering. "The land of Judea was in rest two years."

§ 5. LAST EFFORTS OF BACCHIDES AND THEIR FAILURE.—PEACE MADE BETWEEN BACCHIDES AND JONATHAN.—JONATHAN RULES JUDEA FROM MICHAMSH.

58–73. In Judea, left to itself, the patriotic party speedily revived, and obtained the upper hand. "Jonathan and his company were at ease and dwell without care" (v. 58). All that they needed was to be let alone, and the nation would be sure to rally to them. But, in the space of two years (v. 57), this became fully evident to the opposite party, who saw that without external aid they were lost. Once more, therefore, they had recourse to Bacchides, and induced him, in B.C. 158, to make a fresh invasion, under promise that they would deliver Jonathan into his hands. But they were unable to redeem their pledge, and Bacchides, enraged at his failure, put fifty of them to death (v. 61). Still, he did not desist, but made a further attack, probably in B.C. 157–6, when he besieged the stronghold of Beth-basi, which the patriots had made their headquarters. Defeated here by a combined movement, skilfully executed by Jonathan and Simon (vv. 65–68), he again vented his wrath on his supporters, by fresh executions (v. 69); and determined to give up the struggle. Though Bacchides alone is mentioned, we must suppose Demetrius cognizant of all, and a party to the change of policy. It is a reasonable conjecture that Roman influence was the main factor in producing the change, and that the agreement between Jonathan and Bacchides (vv. 70–72) was the direct consequence of the treaty made by Judas with Rome (ch. viii. 17–30), and of the message sent to Demetrius, warning him against interference with Rome’s allies (ibid. 31, 32). The new policy was probably inaugurated about B.C. 156, and for four years Jonathan governed Israel quietly from the ancient city at Michmash.

58. The ungodly men.] Ir. the Hellenizing party. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 5, 8, &c.)

Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care.] Literally, "dwell at case and are trustful." They had confidence in the good faith of Bacchides, and were, therefore, quite easy in their minds, expecting nothing hostile.

who shall take them all in one night.] Apparently the design was to bring Bacchides with an army into the country secretly, and to make a night attack on Jonathan and his friends, whom it was expected to surprise and capture.

60. Then removed he, and came.] Rather. "Then removed he, to come." The intention, not its execution, is stated.

and sent letters.] On starting from Antioch, Bacchides wrote to his partisans in Judea, throwing on them the duty of seizing Jonathan and his friends, which they had assigned to him (v. 58). This duty they were unable to execute, since their designs had got wind, and Jonathan was upon his guard.

their counsel was known unto them.] Ir. the counsel of the Hellenizers was known to Jonathan and his friends.

61. they took.] A new subject is to be supplied by the common sense of the reader, viz. "the Syrians." The Syrians, disappointed at the failure of an enterprise, which had been represented as so easy, took vengeance on those who had declined them by putting fifty of them to death. So Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 5). Grimm, however, and Ewald suppose that the executions were the work of Jonathan.

62. Bethbasi.] This is a wholly unknown site, and receives no light from the alternative reading of "Beth-alaga" in Josephus (l.c.).
in the wilderness, and they repaired the decays thereof, and made it strong. 63 Which thing when Bacchides knew, he gathered together all his host, and sent word to them that were of Judea. 64 Then went he and laid siege against Bethbasi; and they fought against it a long season, and made engines of war. 65 But Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth himself into the country, and with a certain number went he forth. 66 And he smote Odonarkes and his brethren, and the children of Phasiron in their tent. 67 And when he began to smite them, and came up with his forces, Simon and his company went out of the city, and burned up the engines of war. 68 And fought against Bacchides, who was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore: for his counsel and travail was in vain. 69 Wherefore he was very wroth at the wicked men that gave him counsel to come into the country, insomuch as he slew many of them, and purposed to return into his own country. 70 Whereof when Jonathan had knowledge, he sent ambassadors unto him, to the end he should make peace with him, and deliver them the prisoners. 71 Which thing he accepted, and did according to his demands, and sware unto him that he would never do him harm all the days of his life. 72 When therefore he had restored unto him the prisoners that he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judea, he returned and went his way into his own land, neither came he any more into their borders. 73 Thus the sword ceased from Israel: but Jonathan dwelt at Machmas, and began to govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel.

The place was probably in some part of "the wilderness of Tekoa" (v. 33). It had been fortified, but had fallen into decay. 63. all his host.] i.e. the "great host" of v. 60, which had brought with him from Antioch. sent sword to them that were of Judea.] To his partisans among the Jews—the Hellenizers.

64. and made engines of war.] Bacchides had not expected a severe struggle, and had, therefore, not brought with him a siege train. He was consequently compelled to set to work and make his own military engines. This delay afforded an opportunity to Jonathan.

65. Jonathan left his brother Simon. [v. 65.] Jonathan divided his forces. Leaving Simon in the city under the protection of walls, he took the post of danger, and "went out," with the object of collecting a relieving army and so saving the place. The operation was completely successful (vv. 66-68).

66. he smote Odonarkes.] The MSS. have either "Odoarrhes" or "Odomera." Neither form of the name is otherwise known; nor can it be determined whether an independent chief, or an officer in the service of Bacchides, is intended.

children of Phasiron.] One of the many desert tribes that are not otherwise known to us.

69. he slew many of them.] Compare v. 61, and for the readiness of Bacchides to massacre men in cold blood, see ch. vii. 19, 24; ch. ix. 26.

70. the prisoners.] i.e. those of the patriotic party whom he had previously arrested and held as prisoners. See vv. 26 and 72.

73. Jonathan dwelt at Machmas.] "Machmas" is undoubtedly the "Michmash" of i Sam. xiii. and xiv., where Saul and Jonathan defeated the Philistines. It lay about seven miles north of Jerusalem, in a very strong position, on the northern edge of the great Wady Suweinit. Semachereb occupied it on his first expedition against Hezekiah (Is. x. 28); and it was among the places where the Jews re-established themselves on their return from the Captivity (Ezra ii. 27; Neh.
CHAPTER X.

§ 1. ALEXANDER BALAS SETS HIMSELF UP AS A RIVAL TO DEMETRIUS—BOTH PRINCES COURT THE FAVOUR OF THE JEWS, WHO DETERMINE TO SIDE WITH ALEXANDER.

1–47. Rome had never cordially forgiven Demetrius his escape from her custody and seizure of the Syrian crown without her permission. She had actually acknowledged him as king, but she was glad of any opportunity to do him an injury. In this spirit she had promised the Jews her protection (ch. viii. 22–32) about the year B.C. 160, and now in B.C. 153–2 she openly supported the pretensions of a Syrian, who assumed the name of Alexander, and claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Syro-Macedonian throne (Polyb. xxxii. 16). Under her sanction he enrolled troops, allied himself with Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and Ptolemy Philometer, and landing at Ptolemais, on the coast of Palestine, assumed the title of king. Demetrius had rendered himself odious to a large number of his subjects; he had become a habitual drinker, and was intoxicated during the greater part of each day (ibid. xxxiii. 14, § 1). Alexander’s pretensions were consequently received with a considerable degree of favour; the Syrians were divided into two parties, and a civil war of some duration ensued. Under these circumstances, it was natural that both parties should desire the friendship of the Jews, and should endeavour to outbid each other in the offers which they made to Jonathan. The first offers of Demetrius are contained in vv. 3–6, those of Alexander in vv. 18–20, the second offers of Demetrius in vv. 25–45. These last were very tempting: but it was felt that no dependence could be placed upon the king’s adherence to them, if he were successful. The Jews therefore threw in their lot with Alexander, and continued his firm adherents throughout the struggle (v. 47).

1. In the hundred and sixtieth year.] The 160th Seleucid year commenced in October, B.C. 153, and terminated in October B.C. 152. The seizure of Ptolemais is thought to have taken place in the first half of the latter year (Clinton, ‘F. H.’ vol. iii. p. 325). 

Alexander, the son of Antiochus.] It was natural that the Jews should accept this view of the matter, which even the Roman Senate did not shrink from endorsing with their authority (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 9). But it is generally maintained by the classical writers, that there was in reality no such relationship between Alexander Balas and Epiphanes (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 10; Appian, ‘Syria,’ § 67; Justin, xxxv. 1). Justus goes so far as to say that Balas was a man of low birth.

and took Ptolemais.] On the situation of Ptolemais, see the comment on ch. v. 22. It was at this time, next to Seleucia, the most important city on the Syrian coast.

the people had received him.] Ir. the people of Ptolemais.

2. Demetrius... went forth against him to fight.] Justin (l. c.) tells us that Demetrius shewed much courage and spirit in defending his crown. In the first battle which he fought with his antagonist he was successful; and it was only when the forces of Egypt, Cappadocia, and Pergamus were brought into the field against him that he succumbed. Nearly two years elapsed between the landing of Alexander at Ptolemais and the defeat and death of his adversary.

3. with loving words.] Literally, ‘with peaceful words.’

so as be magnified him.] Rather, ‘so as to magnify him.’ That proposals of peace and alliance should have been made to him by the great Syrian king was for the honour of...
peace with him, before he join with Alexander against us:
5 Else he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and against his brethren and his people.
6 Wherefore he gave him authority to gather together an host, and to provide weapons, that he might aid him in battle: he commanded also that the hostages that were in the tower should be delivered him.
7 Then came Jonathan to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in the tower:
8 Who were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together an host.
9 Whereupon they of the tower delivered their hostages unto Jonathan, and he delivered them unto their parents.

Jonathan, and raised him in the opinion of his neighbours.

6. he gave him authority to gather together an host.] Even in seeking their alliance, Demetrius did not fail to maintain his sovereign rights as lord paramount over the Jews. His permission implied that they might not levy an army, or forge weapons, unless he gave them leave.

the hostages that were in the tower.] See above, ch. ix. 53.

7. Jonathan ... read the letters.] Jonathan summoned an assembly of the people, and invited the Syrian authorities who held “the tower” to attend it. He then read aloud before them the letters which he had received from Demetrius. Their genuineness was at once admitted, and acted on. The hostages were given up.

9. their hostages.] Rather, “the hostages.”

10. Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem.] i.e. removed from Michmash, and made Jerusalem the seat of his government.

gained to build and repair the city.] Instead of collecting troops and forging arms, as Demetrius had suggested, in order to come to his help against Balas, Jonathan considered primarily his own interests and those of his nation. These required the immediate renovation of the Temple fortress, which had been much weakened by Lysias (ch. vi. 62) and Alcimus (ch. ix. 54).

11. the mount Sion.] i.e. the Temple mount. (See the comment on ch. iv. 37.) with square stones.] Rather, “squared stones” — stones hewn into a rectangular form. Ordinary fortifications were often constructed of stones that were unhewn and of irregular shapes.

12. the strangers.] The foreign garrisons, placed by Bacchides in the various strongholds which he fortified in different parts of the country (ch. ix. 50-52).

15. king Alexander ... heard.] The importance of an alliance with the Jews had not occurred to Alexander at first. It was only when he heard of the offers made by his rival, that he woke up to an appreciation of the aid which it was in their power to render to the side whose cause they espoused. He was thus somewhat tardy in his application. He had it, however, in his favour,—1. That no bitter memories overshadowed his past—2. That there was no reason to doubt his good faith. It may also have been an important circumstance in his favour that he was known to have the support of Rome, and that an alliance with him would certainly not injure the Jews with their Western protectors.

the battles and noble acts which he and...
16 He said, Shall we find such another man? now therefore we will make him our friend and confederate.

17 Upon this he wrote a letter, and sent it unto him, according to these words, saying,

18 King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting:

19 We have heard of thee, that thou art a man of great power, and meet to be our friend.

20 Wherefore now this day we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend; (and therewithal he sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold:)

and require thee to take our part, and keep friendship with us.

21 So in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of the tabernacles, Jonathan put on the holy robe, and gathered together forces, and provided much armour.

22 Whereof when Demetrius heard, he was very sorry, and said,

23 What have we done, that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?

24 I also will write unto them words of encouragement, and promise them dignities and gifts, that I may have their aid.

bis brethren bad done.] See above, ch. iii.—vii. and ch. ix.

18. King Alexander to his brother Jonathan.] The expression "brother" was a full acknowledgment of Jonathan's independence and actual sovereignty. Demetrius had not gone nearly so far. We may fairly conclude that the concession, which was not a mere flattery (Grimm), had considerable weight in determining Jonathan to accept the alliance of Balas.

19. We have heard.] The plural of dignity was commonly affected by the Oriental kings, from an early, though not from the very earliest, date. Traces of its use are found in Herodotus (i. 32, 35). But it scarcely seems to have become the ordinary form of speech until the time of which our author treats. (Compare ch. xi. 31—35, xiii. 37—40, xv. 9; 2 Macc. xi. 23—26, 28, 29, &c.) Even then it was frequently superseded by the first person singular. (See below, xv. 29—40, 52—56; xi. 9, 10; xv. 3—6, &c.)

20. we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation.] The Syrian kings, from the time of Epiphanes, had claimed the right of appointing the Jewish High Priests from among the qualified persons, i.e. from among the descendants of Aaron. Epiphanes had appointed successively as High Priests Jason and Menelaus, deposing Onias to make room for Jason, and Jason to make room for Menelaus (2 Macc. iv. 7—26). Demetrius had given the office to Alcimus (supra, vii. 9). Since the death of Alcimus in B.C. 159 (ix. 56) it had remained vacant, neither Jonathan nor any other person having ventured to assume the position, and Demetrius having made no fresh appointment. It now occurred to Balas, or his advisers, that it would be an excellent way of securing the favour of Jonathan to confer the office on him, since he could not but covet it, and his accepting it at the hands of Balas would be an acknowledgment of him as Syrian king.

and to be called the king's friend.] See the comment on ch. ii. 18.

a purple robe and a crown of gold.] The symbols of sovereignty. Compare ch. viii. 14, and the comment ad loc.

21. in the seventh month.] The seventh (Jewish) month, Ethanim or Tisri, corresponding with the latter part of September and the earlier of October, would be the twelfth Syrian month of the year. The Feast of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 34).

the holy robe.] Not the "purple robe" which Balas had sent him (v. 20), but the entire priestly dress (στολή), as described in Ex. xxviii. 4—39.

22. Demetrius...was very sorry.] Literally, "was grieved." He saw that he had been outbid—he had missed a great opportunity by not offering terms sufficiently liberal at once. Still, he hoped that it might not be too late to retrieve his error; and certainly the terms that he now submitted for the consideration of the people were sufficiently liberal. As Ewald observes, "there seems every reason to regard the document contained in xv. 25—45 of this chapter as genuine, and of high historical importance" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 328, note 3). It throws a large amount of light on the ordinary fiscal relations subsisting between the Syrian monarchs and their Jewish subjects.

24. promise them dignities.] Rather, "promise them exaltation." It was a general
v. 25—30.]

I. MACCABEES. X.

25 He sent unto them therefore to this effect: King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:
26 Whereas ye have kept covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, not joining yourselves with our enemies, we have heard hereof, and are glad.
27 Wherefore now continue ye still to be faithful unto us, and we will well recompense you for the things ye do in our behalf,
28 And will grant you many immunities, and give you rewards.
29 And now do I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews, from tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from crown taxes,
30 And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed, and the half of the fruit of the trees, I release it from this day forth, so that they shall not be taken of the land of Judea, nor of the three governments which is formed naturally. Private persons were allowed to collect it, but had to pay a duty, of the nature of an excise, to the government before removing what they had collected. The effect was to raise the price of salt to the consumer generally.

and from crown taxes.] Rather, "from the payment in lieu of crowns." It had been customary for the subject-nations to make presents of crowns of gold to the reigning monarch on various occasions, as when he gained a victory, or recovered from an illness, or when they had any petition to ask of him. In course of time it was thought convenient to commute this irregular and voluntary payment into a fixed sum due to the government annually, and known as φορός στεφάνιτης (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 3, § 3) or στεφάνων τέλευτα (Suidas), corresponding to the Roman aurum coronarium (Cic. 'Leg. Agr.' ii. 22). This is the payment of which Demetrius offered the remission.

30. And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed.] Rather, "for the third part of the crop." Στροχός is used here for the "crop" or "produce," as στροχός is more commonly (Herod. iv. 53; Soph. 'Philoct.' i. 706, &c.). In Oriental countries, as much as one-half of the produce is said to have been sometimes claimed by the state (Mirkhond, 'Histoire des Sassanides,' p. 372); and the same proportion was required of the Spartan helots (Tyrt. Fr. 5; Pausan. iv. 14, § 3). The payment in kind had, under the Seleucidus, been commuted for a payment in money.

and the half of the fruit of the trees.] Rather, "and for the half," &c. The tree-tax had been commuted, like the corn-tax. A tax on fruit-trees has been common in the East in all ages. (See Tabari, 'Chronique,' vol. ii. p. 236; Maçoudi, 'Prairies d'Or,' vol. ii. p. 204.)

the three governments which are added thereunto.] Compare v. 38, and see also ch. xi.
are added thereunto out of the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth for evermore.

31 Let Jerusalem also be holy and free, with the borders thereof, both from tenths and tributes.

32 And as for the tower which is at Jerusalem, I yield up my authority over it, and give it to the high priest, that he may set in it such men as he shall choose to keep it.

33 Moreover I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews, that were carried captives out of the land of Judea into any part of my kingdom, and I will that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.

34 Furthermore I will that all the feasts, and sabbaths, and new moons, and solemn days, and the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast, shall be all days of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in my realm.

28, 34. It appears from ch. xi. 34, that these "governments" were named respectively Aphiæroma, Lydda, and Ramathem (= Ramathaim). "Aphiæroma" is thought to be a Greek corruption of the Hebrew word "Ephraim," and to designate the most southern part of the Samaritan territory. Lydda must be the tract about that town, which lay on the edge of the plain of Sharon, north-west of Jerusalem. Ramathem is probably the tract about Ramathaim, the city of Samuel's father (1 Sam. i. 1), the exact position of which is unknown. Under what circumstances these three districts had been detached from Samaria and added to Judea, we have no record; but the transfer had probably been made to punish some Samaritan rebellion. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 227, 228.)

and Galilee.] These words seem superfluous, and are quite out of place here. Elsewhere the three districts are uniformly represented as Samaritan; and Galilee was too far off to be a portion of it to have been attached to Judea at this period. If not the error of a scribe, accustomed to couple Galilee with Samaria, the words must be ascribed to an error on the part of the author.

31. both from tenths and tributes.] Rather, "and the tithes, and the taxes." Jerusalem was to be free of all payments to the crown, and so were to be the tithes collected for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and the taxes levied on the Jews by the native authorities for the support of the fabric and service of the Temple (Neh. x. 32-37). No deduction was to be made from either of these two sources of revenue for the benefit of the Syrian exchequer.

32. as for the tower.] Compare ch. i. 33-36; and see, in the present chapter, vv. 6-9.

I . . . give it to the high priest.] Demetrius speaks as though he were ignorant who had assumed the office of High Priest, but concluded that the nation, under the circumstances, would set one up. There can be little doubt that he knew of Jonathan's elevation, and purposely ignored it.

33. I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews that were carried captives.] This is a new point. In the wars between the Syrians and the patriotic party in Judea a large number of captives must have been made. These languished in confinement in various parts of the Syrian dominions. It was a tempting offer to the friends of the captives, that they should, all of them, be at once set free.

I will that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.] This is obscure. By the context, the remission should concern especially the captive Israelites; but it is not likely that they would possess cattle. If the concession was to be general, perhaps Josephus may not have been far wrong in explaining it as an exemption of the Jewish animals from compulsory employment in the service of the Syrian state. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 3.)

34. all the feasts . . . and solemn days.] A distinction seems to be intended between the recognised feasts, whether commanded in the Law, or established by ecclesiastical authority, and occasional days appointed (ἀπο-δεσμημένοι) from time to time to be kept holy by those to whom the right of such appointment belonged. Both classes of days were to be equally days of state exemption for the Jewish community. The exemption was to consist of ἀφελεία, "freedom from tax"—the advantage of which, when limited to certain days, is at once apparent, and ἀφελεία, "remission of state claims on their time," which would clearly have been a considerable boon to certain classes—e.g. soldiers, state officials, and other employed.
35. no man shall have authority to meddle with them.] We must understand, "at such times." Demetrius could not mean that no one should under any circumstances arrest, or take legal proceedings against, a Jew.

36. I will further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, unto whom pay shall be given, as belongeth to all the king's forces.

37. And of them some shall be placed in the king's strong holds, of whom also some shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and I will that their overseers and governors be of themselves, and that they live after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded in the land of Judea.

38. And concerning the three governments that are added to Judea from the country of Samaria, let them be joined with Judea, that they may be reckoned to be under one, nor bound to obey other authority than the high priest's.

39. As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I give it as a free gift to the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the necessary expences of the sanctuary.

40. Moreover I give every year

of renegades and Hellenizers, such as Menelaus and Alcimus, and that they live after their own laws.

An entire revocation of the edict of Epiphanes (ch. i. 41-50), by which the Jews were required to "leave their laws," and "follow the strange laws" which he made the "law of the land" (ib. v. 44).

38. concerning the three governments.] See the comment on v. 30. It is probable that these districts had hitherto had separate governors, or a separate governor. Now they were to be subjected to the sole authority of the High Priest. The ungrammatical construction of the Greek, which follows a Hebrew idiom, does not introduce any ambiguity into the meaning of the stipulation.

39. As for Ptolemais, ... I give it as a free gift.] It is pertinently remarked, that Ptolemais was not now in the possession of Demetrius, so that he could give it away. Ptolemais was exactly the place where the rival king had established his court, and fixed his government. It was, no doubt, selected to be made over to the Jews on this account. The appeal made to them was to this effect—"If you will lend your assistance to crush Balas and recover Ptolemais, which has proclaimed him king, the city and its territory shall be ceded to you as a permanent possession." To have greater weight with the religious Jews, the ceded territory was made part of the endowment of the Temple.

40. Moreover I give every year fifteen thousand shekels.] Rather, "I for my part," or "I, in my own person, give," &c. This is put in contrast with the gift—given once for all—of the revenues of Ptolemais. The context shows that it was to be a contribution on the part of the king to the Temple service. Fifteen thousand shekels of the Maccabee period would be worth from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds sterling.
fifteen thousand shekels of silver out of the king's accounts from the places appertaining.

41. And all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time, from henceforth shall be given toward the works of the temple.

42. And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, which they took from the uses of the temple out of the accounts year by year, even those things shall be released, because they appertain to the priests that minister.

43. And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties thereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.

44. For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary expences shall be given of the king's accounts.

45. Yea, and for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, expences shall be given out of the king's accounts, as also for the building of the walls in Judea.

46. Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them, nor received them, because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel; for he had afflicted them very sore.

47. But with Alexander they were well pleased, because he was the first that entreated of true peace with out of the king's accounts.] To be deducted, that is, from the balance due to the king, and to be kept back by the Jewish authorities.

from the places appertaining.] Rather, "from the (most) convenient places."

41. all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time.] The intention of this is obscure. It would most naturally point to the outstanding debts due to the treasury from the collectors of taxes; but it is difficult, in that case, to understand the expression "as in former time"—literally "as in the first years"—since under any system of taxation there will always be such arrears. Perhaps in the first years of the Syrian rule the practice had been that these arrears of the king's taxes went to the Temple treasury, and Demetrius proposed a restoration of the system. "As in the first years" must then be connected with what follows, not with what precedes it.

42. beside this, the five thousand shekels, &c.] A temple tax of 5000 shekels a year had, apparently, been exacted by the Syrian monarchs. This Demetrius proposed to remit.

43. whosoever they be that flee unto the temple.] The right of asylum, which the Greeks regarded as attaching, in some degree or other, to all their own temples, was to be recognised as belonging in a high degree to the Temple at Jerusalem. It was to be possessed, not only by the main building, but by all its parliaments and precincts (πόλεις), and was to cover, not only criminals, but debtors —or at any rate, crown debtors. Even the goods of such debtors were to be safe from attachment, during their abode in the Temple.

44. For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary.] See above, vv. 10, 11.

45. of the king's accounts.] Rather, "out of the king's accounts."

46. for the building of the walls in Judea.] Rather, "for the building of the forts," or "strongholds." Compare above, ch. ix. 50—52. Demetrius was ready to undertake all these expenses, but of course on the implied condition that Jerusalem and the "strongholds" should be held for him, and against his adversary.

46. when Jonathan and the people heard these words.] Demetrius failed to stir up any jealousy or dissension between the people and their leader. Liberal as his offers were, and tempting as they might have been, if regarded as an honest expression of his intentions with respect to the Jewish nation, they had no or the circumstances no weight or power of attraction. They were regarded as extorted from him by his needs, and no confidence was felt that he would consider himself bound to their observance, if he should succeed in crushing Balas.

be had afflicted them very sore.] Through Alcimus, Baccides, and Nicanor. See especially ch. vii. 16, 19, 22, 34; ch. ix. 2, 25—27, &c.

47. he was the first that entreated of true peace with them.] Our translators have in-
48 Then gathered king Alexander great forces, and camped over against Demetrius. 49 And after the two kings had joined battle, Demetrius' host fled: but Alexander followed after him, and prevailed against them.

50 And he continued the battle very sore until the sun went down: and that day was Demetrius slain.

51 Afterward Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemeus king of Egypt with a message to this effect:

52 Forasmuch as I am come again to my realm, and am set in the throne of my progenitors, and have

sidered the epithet "true" before "peace," without any warrant from the original, in order to overcome the difficulty which arises from the fact, recorded earlier in the chapter (vv. 3-6), that Demetrius, and not Balas, began the negotiations. In point of fact, there is a contradiction between vv. 3 and 47, which cannot be got over. As Homer "nods" sometimes, so does our author.

§ 3. THE MARRIAGE OF BALAS WITH CLEOPATRA, DAUGHTER OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETER—HONOURS PAID TO JONATHAN AT THE TIME OF THE WEDDING.

51-66. It was natural that Balas should wish to strengthen himself by a matrimonial alliance. Upstarts are always eager to obtain admittance into the family circle of kings; and Balas was an upstart of an exceedingly weak character, who could feel no confidence in himself. The Syrian monarchs had already intermarried with the Ptolemies, so that there would be nothing strange or unusual in the proposal of another such alliance. Ptolemy Philometor readily accepted it, expecting no doubt to gain something for himself by the transaction. The author relates the affair of the marriage mainly on account of the honours paid to Jonathan at the time of its celebration (vv. 59-65).

51. Ptolemeus king of Egypt.] The Ptolemy contemporary with Balas was Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who ascended the Egyptian throne in B.C. 181 and reigned till B.C. 146. He became king at the age of seven, and was consequently at this time about 38 or 39 years of age. Demetrius had angered him by an attempt to obtain possession of Cyprus, which was an appanage of the Egyptian crown; and, though the attempt failed, Philometor never forgave it. His support of Balas, even to the extent of accepting him for a son-in-law, was, in fact, a mode of avenging his wrongs. But it may also have been dictated by policy. Balas was so weak that Philometor may have expected to wrest from him Cæle-Syria and Palestine—the desire of Egypt at this time—without much difficulty. (See ch. xi. 1.)

with a message.] He was probably sent off almost immediately after the battle. Balas at once assumed all the airs of a great king. He takes to himself the whole credit of the victory, without any mention of the aid lent him by Ptolemy and the other kings. He, of course, assumes his legitimacy,
gotten the dominion, and overthrown Demetrius, and recovered our country;

53 For after I had joined battle with him, both he and his host was discomfited by us, so that we sit in the throne of his kingdom:

54 Now therefore let us make a league of amity together, and give me now thy daughter to wife: and I will be thy son in law, and will give both thee and her gifts according to thy dignity.

55 Then Ptolemees the king gave answer, saying, Happy be the day wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and satest in the throne of their kingdom.

56 And now will I do to thee, as thou hast written: meet me therefore at Ptolemais, that we may see one another; for I will marry my daughter to thee according to thy desire.

57 So Ptolemees went out of Egypt with his daughter Cleopatra, and they came unto Ptolemais in the hundred threescore and second year:

58 Where king Alexander meeting him, he gave unto him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great glory, as the manner of kings is.

59 Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan, that he should come and meet him.

60 Who thereupon went honourably to Ptolemais, where he met the two kings, and gave them and their friends silver and gold, and many presents, and found favour in their sight.

61 At that time certain pestilent fellows of Israel, men of a wicked

and claims descent from the old line of the Syrian monarchs. He addresses Ptolemy as altogether his equal, if not his superior, and demands, rather than requests, his daughter in marriage.

54. I . . . will give both thee and her gifts.] Presents to the bride and her father (ἰδω, ἵδω) were usually made before marriage by the Greeks. The bride's portion was called φερα, and became part of her dower; the father's represented the actual purchase-money of primitive times. The character of the gifts varied according to the rank of the parties.

56. now will I do to thee, as thou hast written.] Ptolemy's ready acceptance of the proposal of Balas is not, perhaps, surprising. He may have believed him to be a son of Epiphanes, in which case the match would have been an equal one; and he may have expected to derive advantage of some kind or other from the connection, although the exact nature of the advantage could scarcely have been as yet apparent. It would depend on circumstances and the character of Balas.

meet me therefore at Ptolemais.] The message of Balas had probably been sent from Antioch, whither he no doubt proceeded after his victory. But Ptolemais, halfway between Egypt and Antioch, seemed to Philometor a more convenient place for the wedding. He proposed, therefore, to bring his daughter thither.

57. in the hundred threescore and second year.] The 162nd Seleucid year would commence in October B.C. 151, and terminate in October B.C. 150. It was probably towards the close of the year that the wedding took place.

59. Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan.] Here we have the first hint of the writer's purpose in dwelling so long upon the wedding. It is Maccabees, not Syrian, history that he is writing; and, but for Jonathan being a guest at the wedding, he might scarcely have noticed it. He regards the occasion, however, as having greatly re-advanced to Jonathan's glory; since, 1, he went there on special invitation: 2, he stayed there as an equal and companion of two of the greatest kings of the East; 3, he received special honours while there, which are described in vv. 63-65.

60. went honourably to Ptolemais.] Rather, "went magnificently." A large train and much display of wealth are implied in the expression, μετὰ δόξης.

be . . . gave them and their friends . . . many presents.] According to the usual Eastern custom. It was especially incumbent on a king to be lavish of gifts (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2); and Jonathan, having been raised to the kingly rank ( supra, vv. 18-20), contrived by some means or other to obtain sufficient wealth to play the part of king nobly.

61. certain pestilent fellows.] Literally, "men (who were) pests." The expression, rare in Greek (Demosth. in Reisk. ' Orat.
I. MACCABEES. X.

64 Now when his accusers saw that he was honoured according to the proclamation, and clothed in purple, they fled all way.

65 So the king honoured him, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a duke, and partaker of his dominion.

66 Afterward Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

67 Furthermore in the hundred three-score and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers:

made him a duke.] Rather, “a general”—i.e. gave him the rank of general in his army. The Latin dux did not come to have a mere titular force till after the time of Constantine.

partaker of his dominion.] Rather, “provincial ruler,” or “governor of a district.” The word used is rare, being only found in this place and in Josephus (Ant. Jud.’ xii. 5, § 5).

§ 4. DEMETRIUS II. CLAIMS THE SYRIAN CROWN—WAR BETWEEN HIS GENERAL, APOLLONIUS, AND JONATHAN—SUCCESS OF JONATHAN, AND FRESH HONOURS GRANTED TO HIM.

67–89. Balas was scarcely settled on the throne when he shewed himself quite unfit for sovereignty. He committed the affairs of the kingdom to a certain Ammonius, who robbed and murdered at his pleasure, while his master gave himself up to all kinds of vicious indulgences. He thus alienated the affections of his subjects, and gave an opportunity to the son of the late king, of which he was not slow to take advantage. In B.C. 148–7, when Balas had been king about two years, this prince left Crete, where he had been staying, accompanied by a body of Cretan mercenaries, and, landing on the coast of Cilicia, assumed the title of king. Alexander, on hearing the intelligence, quitted Ptolemais, his favourite residence, and went first to Antioch (v. 68) and thence into Cilicia (ch. xi. 14), where he endeavoured to crush the revolt. Meanwhile Jonathan maintained his cause in Palestine against the general Apollonius, who held Cæcelsyria for Demetrius, and obtained the important successes which are related in v. 74–86. Balas shewed his gratitude by conferring on the victorious Maccabee a new dignity and an increase of dominion (v. 83, 89).

67. in the hundred three-score and fifth year.] The 165th Seleucid year began in

Att. 794. 5), is common enough in Latin, and is well rendered in our Version.

men of a wicked life.] Literally, “men who were transgressors of the law.” Probably no more is meant than by the customary ἄντικες (ch. ii. 44; iii. 6; viii. 5; ix. 23, 58, &c.), men who had given up the observance of the Jewish law, and regarded it as no longer binding. Such persons did not necessarily lead an immoral life. On the contrary, they often sought to recommend their views by strictness and purity of living. It was natural that the leaders of the Hellenizing party, finding that Jonathan was in such favour, should make a last effort to discredit him with the Syrian king.

63. the king commanded to . . . clothe him in purple.] Jonathan had, apparently, not yet assumed the royal apparel which had been conceded to him (v. 20). At this time the efforts of his enemies resulted in his open and manifest exaltation to the royal dignity.

63. Also be made him sit by himself.] I.e., “he (Balas) made him (Jonathan) take the seat by his side”—perhaps on the same throne—thus publically exhibiting him as his equal.

63. Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation.] Compare Gen. xii. 43; Esther vi. 9–11. The main object was to make Jonathan’s royal dignity known as widely as possible.

65. the king . . . wrote him among his chief friends.] It is implied that there was a catalogue in which the names of the “king’s friends” were inscribed, as there was of “royal benefactors” among the Achaemenid Persians (Herod. viii. 85; Esther ii. 23, vi. 1). It appears further that there were gradations of rank among the “friends,” the bulk of them forming an “ordinary” class, while a certain number were recognised as “chief friends.” (See the comment on ch. ii. 18.)

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68 Whereof when king Alexander heard tell, he was right sorry, and returned into Antioch.

69 Then Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celsyria his general, who gathered together a great host, and camped in Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,

70 Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, and I am laughed to scorn for thy sake, and reproached: and why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?

71 Now therefore, if thou trustest in thine own strength, come down to us into the plain field, and there let us try the matter together: for with me is the power of the cities.

72 Ask and learn who I am, and the rest that take our part, and they shall tell thee that thy foot is not able to stand before our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.

73 Wherefore now thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen and so rouse passions strong enough to overpower reason, and lead men to fight at a disadvantage.

70. Thou alone.] The expression in the original is stronger—συν πόρρωτος—thou altogether by thyself.

72. why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?] The character of the hill-country of Judea no doubt gave its defenders a certain advantage, though the elevation of the hills is not great, in no case exceeding 4000 feet. There was no call upon Jonathan, either of duty or of honour, to forego this advantage.

71. with me is the power of the cities.] The force of this argument is not quite clear. Perhaps Apollonius means that he might shut himself up in his walled cities, if he liked, as Jonathan shut himself up in his fastnesses, and that thus there was no unfairness in his asking the Jewish leader to come down and fight him in the open plain. Each side would be making a sacrifice.

72. thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.] By "thy fathers" we are probably to understand "thy predecessors"—those who have headed this revolt before thee"—Apollonius not caring to be accurate about the relationship. What two occasions are intended is uncertain; but probably one of them is the battle in which Judas was slain (ch. ix. 14-18), while the other may be either the defeat of Joseph and Azarias (ch. v. 60), or that of Judas near Beth-Zacharias, which was partially redeemed by the exploit of Eleazar (ch. vi. 43-47). It is surprising that Apollonius did not enlarge his taunt, since there were more occasions of defeat than these. (See ch. ii. 38; v. 67; vii. 19; ix. 2, 36, &c.)

73. thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen.] Cavalry was the arm in which the Syrians placed their principal trust. In B.C. 175-174 Niciafa and Gortias brought into the field 7000 horse (ch. iii. 39); and Lysias, in the ensuing year, had 5000 (ch. iv. 28).
great a power in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

74 So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing ten thousand men he went out of Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him.

75 And he pitched his tents against Joppa: but they of Joppa shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there.

76 Then Jonathan laid siege unto it; whereupon they of the city let him in for fear: and so Jonathan won Joppa.

77 Whereof when Apollonius heard, he took three thousand horsemen, with a great host of footmen, and went to Azotus as one that journeyed, and therewithal drew him forth into the plain, because he had a great number of horsemen, in whom he put his trust.

78 Then Jonathan followed after him to Azotus, where the armies joined battle.

The horsemen of the same commander in b.c. 163-2 are reckoned at 20,000 (ch. vi. 30). Cavalry, however, was of little service among the Judean hills, which were unsuitable for its movements; and an army, the chief strength of which was in its horse, would naturally desire to meet its enemy "in the plain."

"where is neither stone nor flint." Rather, "where is neither stone nor flint." The statement is an exaggeration, but expresses in a graphic way the general contrast that exists between the hill-country of Judea and the low Philistine plain at its base.

"nor place to flee unto." Rather, "nor place for flight." In the plain there was no place where flight would not be disastrous, and consequently no situation that tempted to it.

74. when Jonathan heard these words, . . . he was moved in his mind." The taunts used had their intended effect. Unlike the great Fabius (Liv. xxii. 12), Jonathan allowed himself to be "moved" by them, and descended from the high ground to the level plain, there to meet his rival. Better fortune than he deserved awaited him (vv. 78-84).

choosing ten thousand men." Judas, as we have seen (v. 36), had at one time brought into the field more than 13,000. Jonathan seems now to have at his command not fewer than 20,000. (See Grimm, ad loc.)

"where Simon his brother met him." Rather, "and Simon, his brother, met him." The place of meeting is not indicated.

76. he pitched his tents against Joppa." Joppa, or Joppa (now Jaffa), is generally spoken of as "the port of Jerusalem." It was the principal harbour on the sea-board belonging to Judea, which was of restricted dimensions, shut in by Philistia on the one hand and Phecencia on the other. Allotted to Dan at the time of Joshua's conquest of Palestine (Josh. xix. 45), and apparently re-occupied at the return from the Captivity (Ezra iii. 7), it had at all times a Jewish population, which may have encouraged Jonathan to select it as the object of his first attempt against Apollonius. It would seem to be implied, in the latter part of the verse, that the population would have admitted him within the walls at once, had they not been overawed by the foreign garrison which Apollonius had put there.

76. they of the city." I.e. "the native inhabitants." They took heart after a while, and admitted Jonathan despite the Syrian garrison.

77. he took three thousand horsemen." Literally, "he put under arms," or "formed an expedition of three thousand horsemen, &c. These evidently constituted his main force, and were his chief dependence (v. 73). It might well have seemed that in the smooth Philistine plain they would be irresistible.

and went to Azotus as one that journeyed." Instead of marching northwards from Jannia (v. 69) against Joppa, Apollonius, as though unconscious or careless of Jonathan's movement, proceeded southwards, as if he were making a mere tour of inspection, towards Azotus, spreading his troops over the plain, and thus tempting Jonathan to make an attack upon him.

and therewithal drew him forth into the plain." Rather, "and therewithal kept advancing into the plain." ἐπορεύομαι is imperfect, not aorist, and intransitive, not transitive. The action of Apollonius in spreading his troops is described.

78. Jonathan followed after him to Azotus." Thus, once more, taking the exact course which Apollonius desired, and for which his plans had been laid. Apollonius must have been delighted to see that his enemy fell, as it seemed, blindly into the trap laid for him.

where the armies joined battle." This is said with some vagueness. The armies joined
79 Now Apollonius had left a thousand horsemen in ambush.
80 And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment behind him; for they had compassed in his host, and cast darts at the people, from morning till evening.
81 But the people stood still, as Jonathan had commanded them: and so the enemies' horses were tired.
82 Then brought Simon forth his host, and set them against the footmen, (for the horsemen were spent,) who were discomfited by him, and fled.

Battle in the neighbourhood of Azotus, not directly under the walls of the town. When the horsemen of Apollonius were "scattered in the field", they "fled to Azotus" (v. 83).

79. in ambush.] Josephus says that they were concealed in the channel of a winter torrent, which is highly probable.

80. Jonathan knew.] How Jonathan discovered the ambush, we are not told. He can scarcely have conjectured its existence from the mere fact, that he was surrounded and harassed with darts from morning till evening. Probably he had information from his scouts, or through deserters from the enemy.

81. the people stood still.] If a retreat had been ordered, the ambush would have risen up in the path of the retreating army, and would most probably have completed its discomfiture. By remaining in the position where he was attacked, and stoutly maintaining his ground, Jonathan rendered the ambush wholly useless.

the enemies' horses were tired.] The horse of Apollonius did not charge, but hovered about the force of Jonathan, and, galloping hither and thither, discharged its arrows at them. Jonathan's troops remaining absolutely on the defensive, in course of time the assailants grew weary. Both horses and men were tired out by their long-continued exertions.

82. Then brought Simon forth his host.] The troops of Simon had, apparently, not been as yet engaged. When the horse of Apollonius, exhausted by its efforts, desisted from the assault, and retired, Simon's force attacked the infantry of the Syrians, which was defeated with ease.

83. The horsemen... went into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple.] A temple, as the Greeks understood the term, was a consecrated space, walled round, within which, and occupying only a small part of it, was a sacred building, constituting the sanctuary or shrine. In the open space between the outer wall and the temple sanctuary, a beaten force not unfrequently took refuge. (See Thucyd. iv. 96, 97; and cf. above, ch. v. 43.) Beth-Dagon, "the house of Dagon," was the native name of the entire consecrated space which was sacred to that deity. Dagon's temple at Ashdod (Azotus) is mentioned in I Sam. v. 2-5. (On the position of Dagon in the mythology of Phoenicia, see note in "Speaker's Commentary" on Judg. xvi. 23; and cf. Rawlinson's "Ancient Religions," pp. 162-164.)

84. the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, be burned with fire.] As Judas had done with the temple of Asheroth-Karnaim, and those who sought refuge in it (supra, ch. v. 44. See the comment on the passage).

85. Jonathan... camped against Ascalon.] Ascalon, or Askelon, one of the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh. xiii. 3; I Sam. v. 16-18), appears as a place of importance in the Syrian wars of Kameses II.—the probable Pharaoh of the Israelsitc opposition—about B.C. 1350. It lay in the tract assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 45-47), and was conquered by the men of that tribe soon after Joshua's death (Judg. i. 18), but soon regained its independence (ib. xiv. 19). About the year B.C. 700, it was taken by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 431). In the great Scythian invasion of B.C. 630-620, it was occupied by the hordes, who plundered its temple of Astarte, or Atargatis (Herod. i. 105), but otherwise did it no injury. On the return of the Jews from the Captivity, we find it still spoken of as powerful (Zech. ix. 5), and threatened with destruction. It now appears for the first time in the Maccabean wars, and seems to have been a place of no great strength, since it submits at once. The
came forth, and met him with great pomp.

87 After this returned Jonathan and his host unto Jerusalem, having many spoils.

88 Now when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured Jonathan yet more,

89 And sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood: he gave him also Accaron with the borders thereof in possession.

position of Ascalon, half-way between Ashdod and Gaza, on the Philistine coast, is well ascertained, a small village, which occupies the site, still retaining the name.

89. a buckle of gold.] A buckle or rather a broach (גּפּוֹלָה, ἑβάλα), was commonly used to fasten the cloak, or shawl, which formed the chief outer garment of both Greeks and Orientals, and prevent it from falling off the wearer. The most ordinary place for it was above the right shoulder. Several shapes were employed; but the most common was a flat circular ring with a pin passing across its centre.

as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood.] Cf. ch. xi. 58; xiv. 44. The usage here mentioned seems to have been peculiar to the Syrian kings. At least it is not recorded of any others.

be gave him also Accaron.] “Accaron” is the ordinary form used in the Septuagint to express the Hebrew Ekron. This was, like Ascalon, one of the five associated cities of the Philistines. It was the most northern of the five, and the nearest to the Hebrew border. The site is probably identified with that of the modern “Akir,” a small village about five miles south-west of Ramleh, and three miles east of Yebna.

in possession.] Grimm suggests that the gift was not a transfer of jurisdiction, but a mere assignment to Jonathan individually, during his lifetime, of the crown revenues of Ekron. He compares Thucyd. i. 138; Corn. Nep. 'Vit. Themist.' § 10; 2 Macc. iv. 30. But the term used—ἐλπιδοροσία—seems to imply a more complete and absolute cession.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. EXPEDITION OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR INTO SYRIA—HIS CRAFTY PROCEEDINGS, AND DEFEAT OF ALEXANDER—HIS DEATH. DEMETRIUS II. MOUNTS THE THRONE.

1-17. The issue of the war between Alexander Balas and the younger Demetrius was decided by the defection of Ptolemy. The cause of his defection is uncertain. Josephus says that Balas had formed designs against his life (Ant. Jud. xii. 4, § 6), and that, on discovering them, Ptolemy changed sides and went over to Demetrius. But our author takes an entirely different view (vv. 10, 11), and he is supported to some extent by Diodorus (Müller's 'Fragmenta Hist. Gr.' vol. ii. Fr. 19, p. xvi.). Diodorus regards Ptolemy as having entered Syria with the intention of assisting Balas, and as changing his mind on finding that his son-in-law was wholly weak and incapable. Our author thinks that he was false and treacherous from the first (v. 1). But both agree that he invented the charge against Balas as a mere pretext for deserting him. And probability leans this way. Ptolemy seems to have been moved wholly by ambition. He thought that he saw in the weakness of Balas and the distressed state of Syria, an opportunity for his own aggrandizement, and he resolved to take advantage of it. Whether he aimed at annexing all Syria, or only Cœle-Syria and Palestine, is perhaps uncertain. He may have aimed originally at the greater design and have ultimately acquiesced in the lesser. But his ambitious schemes, whatever dimensions they may have had, were cut short by his death, which was caused by the wounds received in the great battle in which Balas lost his crown (vv. 15-18). His removal, and that of Balas, by the treachery of an Arab sheikh, left the throne vacant for Demetrius II., who was generally recognized as Syrian king in the year B.C. 146-5.

1. the king of Egypt.] Ptolemy Philometor, who had assisted Balas previously, and given him his daughter in marriage (ch. x. 56-58).

gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore.] The author is here poetical beyond his wont. But the phrase was too familiar to the Jews to seem forced or out of place. (See Gen. xxii. 17;
and many ships, and went about through deceit to get Alexander’s kingdom, and join it to his own.

2 Whereupon he took his journey into Syria in peaceable manner, so as they of the cities opened unto him, and met him: for king Alexander had commanded them so to do, because he was his father in law.

3 Now as Ptolemeem entered into the cities, he set in every one of them a garrison of soldiers to keep it.

4 And when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple of Dagon that was burnt, and Azotus and the suburbs thereof that were destroyed, and the bodies that were cast abroad, and them that he had burnt in the battle; for they had made heaps of them by the way where he should pass.

5 Also they told the king whatsoever Jonathan had done, to the intent he might blame him: but the king held his peace.

6 Then Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppae, where they saluted one another, and lodged. [Gr. αἰχμή.]

7 Afterward Jonathan, when he had gone with the king to the river called Eleutherus, returned again to Jerusalem.

8 King Ptolemeem therefore, having gotten the dominion of the cities by

See above, ch. x. 84. Jonathan’s proceedings had been high-handed and harsh, but not beyond what the usages of war were held to justify. The Ashdodites hoped that Ptolemy would regard them as not warranted under the circumstances; but either he thought differently, or else he wished to avoid a rupture with the Jewish leader, who had shewn himself at once an able general and a faithful subject. Hence he took no notice of the Ashdodite complaints (v. 5).

6. Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppae.] After reducing Ascalon, Jonathan had returned to Jerusalem (ch. x. 87). It was open to him to have remained there; but no doubt the recognised etiquette of the time and country pointed out as proper the course which he took, namely, that of meeting the Egyptian king, and escorting him, as far as he conveniently could. He met him “at Joppae,” as the first city towards the south which he could claim as his own, Gaza, Ascalon, and Ashdod being Philistine, and not Judaean.

7. the river called Eleutherus.] The Eleutherus is made by Strabo the boundary between Syria and Palestine (xvi. p. 753). It is mentioned also by Pliny (H. N. v. 17) and Ptolemy (v. 15). The former says that it flows from Lebanon and empties itself into the sea between Tripolis and Orthosia. These notices are sufficient to identify it with the modern Nahr-el-Kebir, which has “its highest source at the north-east base of Lebanon,” and “sweeps round the northern end of the range,” falling into the sea about twenty-five miles north of Tarabulus (Tripolis). “During summer and autumn the Eleutherus is but a small stream, easily forded; but in winter it swells into a large and rapid river” (Porter, in Smith’s ‘Dict. of the Bible,’ vol. i. p. 519).
the sea unto Seleucia upon the sea coast, imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.

9. Whereupon he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a league betwixt us, and I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign in thy father's kingdom:

10. For I repent that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.

Thus did he slander him, because he was desirous of his kingdom.

12. Wherefore he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius, and forsook Alexander, so that their hatred was openly known.

13. Then Ptolemeus entered into Antioch, where he set two crowns upon his head, the crown of Asia, and of Egypt.

14. In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia, because those

8. Seleucia upon the sea coast.] There were numerous Seleucias. The most important was that built by Seleucus Nicator on the right bank of the Lower Tigris, opposite to which arose the city of Ctesiphon in Parthian times. This was an inland city. There was also an inland Seleucia in Syria on the course of the Orontes. From this the maritime Seleucia—the port of Antioch—is distinguished, as ἡ παραβαλανσία, or ἡ ἐκ βαλαντοῦ (Polyb. v. 59). It lay some seven or eight miles north of the mouth of the Orontes, at the foot of a lofty mountain known as Mount Corypheus, and was the second city of Syria Proper during the Seleucid period. The site, which is still known as Seleukiya, is marked by some considerable ruins (Chesney, 'Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society,' vol. viii. p. 228 et seqq.).

imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.] It may have been when he was at Seleucia that Ptolemy became convinced of the utter incapacity of Balas (Diod. Sic. Fr. 19), and resolved on a "new departure." Relinquishing the idea of supporting his son-in-law against Demetrius, he made up his mind to come to terms with the latter. To justify his change of sides, he professed to have discovered a plot laid by Balas against his life (infra, v. 10; Diod. Sic. l. c.); but of the existence of this plot there is no evidence.

9. be sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius.] Demetrius was probably still in Cilicia, where Balas was confronting him with the chief forces of the empire (see v. 14). Ptolemy could easily communicate with him by sea.

I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath.] Divorce for political reasons was common at the time among all the Oriental princes. Ptolemy evidently regarded his daughter as a mere pawn to be played in the political game—to be married, divorced, remarried, perhaps divorced anew, at his pleasure. It is not clear how or when he obtained possession of her—whether at Ptolemais, or when he was received into Antioch.

10. be sought to slay me.] It is certain that Ptolemy made this charge against Balas (Diod. Sic. l. c.; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 6); whether justly or not is disputed. Diodorus considered the charge to have been unjust; Josephus admits its truth.

11. Thus did he slander him.] ἐγκίνησεν is not "slandered," but simply "blamed"—"found fault with." Our author does not distinctly state whether he believed the accusation or not.

12. be took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius.] So Livy ('Epit. III.) and Diodorus (Fr. xix.).

13. Then Ptolemeus entered into Antioch.] Diodorus (l. c.) enters into some detail. On quitting Antioch and marching into Cilicia to meet Demetrius, Balas had entrusted affairs to two men, Hierax and Diodotus. These persons, regarding his cause as desperate when Ptolemy declared against him, and being afraid of Demetrius because they had taken part against his father, made the city over to Ptolemy, in the hope that he would accept the government and protect them against both the Syrian princes. Outwardly he acquiesced in their plans, entered the city as Syrian king, and assumed the diadem; but secretly he came to an agreement with Demetrius to resign the crown in his favour, and retain only Coele Syria and Palestine.

be set two crowns upon his head.] We must not understand this literally. The meaning is, that he accepted a second crown. Being already king of Egypt, he allowed himself to be crowned also as king of Syria. Hence, Polybius gives him the title (xl. 12).

the crown of Asia.] Syria was reckoned the great Asiatic monarchy at this time, the successor of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. The Seleucidae, like the Achaemenidae (Herod. i. 4; iv. 1, 118, 119), claimed to be "lords of Asia." (Compare above, ch. viii. 6.)

14. In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia.] Demetrius set himself up for king in Cilicia (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4,
that dwelt in those parts had revolted from him.

15 But when Alexander heard of this, he came to war against him; whereupon king Ptolemy brought forth his host, and met him with a mighty power, and put him to flight.

16 So Alexander fled into Arabia, there to be defended; but king Ptolemy was exalted:

17 For Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander’s head, and sent it unto B.C. B.C. cir. 146.

18 King Ptolemy also died the third day after, and they that were in the strongholds were slain one of another.

19 By this means Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.

20 At the same time Jonathan gathered together them that were in the strongholds were slain by those who were in the strongholds.” The meaning seems to be, that the garrisons which Ptolemy had left in the walled cities along the Syrian coast (v. v. 3, 9) were massacred by the native inhabitants of the cities.

19. Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year. The year beginning in October B.C. 146, and terminating in October B.C. 145.

§ 2. JONATHAN, HAVING LAID SIEGE TO THE SYRIAN FORTRESS AT JERUSALEM, IS SUMMONED TO MEET DEMETRIUS AT PTOLEMAIS—FAVOURABLE RESULT OF THE INTERVIEW.

20—37. On the death of Balas and accession of Demetrius II., who could not but have his hands full under the troubled circumstances of the time, Jonathan thought that he saw an opportunity of quietly relieving Jerusalem of an ever-impending danger, by reducing the fortress which Epiphanes had set up (ch. i. 33—36), and which had sheltered a foreign garrison ever since. He accordingly collected siege artillery, and set himself down before the place (ch. xii. 20). But his enemies were too watchful to allow such an important matter to be carried through without opposition. They at once made representations to Demetrius (v. 21) on the subject, and prevailed on him to summon Jonathan to a conference, where he should give account of his proceedings (v. 22). Jonathan, who trusted much to his address and personal influence, obeyed the summons, and met Demetrius at Ptolemais, probably in B.C. 145. Terms of peace were agreed upon. Demetrius confirmed Jonathan in the High Priest’s office, “gave him pre-eminence among his chief friends” (v. 27), and consented to most of the remissions previously offered by his father (ch. x. 29—43); but, in return, he required a payment of 500 talents (v. 28), and the continuance of the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem (implied in the subsequent history). The letter containing the terms, after delivery to Jonathan, was to
in Judea, to take the tower that was in Jerusalem: and he made many engines of war against it.

21 Then certain ungodly persons, who hated their own people, went unto the king, and told him that Jonathan besieged the tower.

22 Whereof when he heard, he was angry, and immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not lay siege to the tower, but come and speak with him at Ptolemais in great haste.

23 Nevertheless Jonathan, when he heard this, commanded to besiege it still: and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and the priests, and put himself in peril;

24 And took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides, and went to Ptolemais unto the king, where he found favour in his sight.

25 And *though certain ungodly* people, the men of the people had made complaints against him,

26 Yet the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before, and promoted him in the sight of all his friends,

27 And confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in all the honour.

be “set in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount” (v. 37).

20. the tower that was in Jerusalem.] See ch. i. 35; iv. 41; vi. 19-26, 32; ix. 53; x. 6-9 and 32.

be made many engines.] “Engines” were commonly made for the occasion of a siege, and probably broken up when the siege was over. They were too cumbersome to be generally kept in store and conveyed from place to place. (See ch. vi. 31, 52; ix. 64; xv. 25.) Still, we hear occasionally of “great provision” of them being laid up in a fortified town (2 Macc. xii. 27).

21. certain ungodly persons.] Literally, “transgressors of the law”—men who had cast off its authority, and desired to Hellenize the nation. (Compare above, ch. ii. 44; iii. 6, &c.; and see the comment on ch. x. 61.)

who hated their own people.] No doubt the feelings of the Hellenizers towards their orthodox brethren were very bitter; but so were those of the orthodox towards them (ch. ii. 44; iii. 5-8; viii. 24, &c.). Neither party “hated their own people.” Both sought its advancement, but in different ways.

22. he was angry.] Demetrius I. had “yielded up his authority over the tower,” and “given it to the High Priest, that he might set in it such as he should choose to keep it” (ch. x. 32). But this gift had been cancelled by the determination of the Jews to support Balas. Demetrius II., the present king, naturally regarded the citadel of Jerusalem as a part of his dominions, and resented the attack upon it as an act of war against himself.

immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais.] Probably from Antioch. His rapid movement would shew Jonathan that he was in earnest; and his presence at Ptolemais, within a hundred miles of Jerusalem, would be something of a menace. At the same time it might be viewed as an act of polite consideration, relieving Jonathan from the necessity of making a longer journey.

23. Jonathan... put himself in peril.] No doubt he incurred a considerable risk by going to Ptolemais, especially as he had declined to desist from the siege of “the tower.” He had confidence, however, in his own adroitness, and in his power of purchasing impunity, and even favour. He may have also calculated that Demetrius would be afraid to exasperate the entire Jewish nation by treacherously arresting their High Priest and king.

24. took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides.] Intending evidently to procure the favour of others besides the king. Jonathan felt that if he could dispose favourably towards himself the minds of the royal attendants, officers, and ministers, he would be tolerably sure of gaining their master also. Gifts of “raiment” have always been common in the East (Gen. xxiv. 53; xliv. 22; 2 Kings v. 5; 2 Chr. ix. 24, &c.).

26. the king... his predecessors had done before.] The reference is especially to the treatment which Jonathan had received at the hands of Balas (ch. x. 59-65), but may include also some allusion to the “loving words” of Demetrius I. recorded in ch. x. 3-6. Ptolemy Philometor would scarcely be recognised by Demetrius II. among his “predecessors.”

promoted him.] Rather, “exalted him”—i.e. paid him marked respect and honour.

27. confirmed him in the high priesthood.] The same expression is used with respect to Alcimus in ch. vii. 9, where it seems to mean
nours that he had before, and gave him preeminence among his chief friends.

28 Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute, as also the three governments, with the country of Samaria; and he promised him three hundred talents.

29 So the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan of all these things after this manner:

"conferred on him the high priesthood," but here confirmation in the office, rather than appointment to it, is clearly intended. (See the next clause.) Jonathan had been appointed High Priest by Balas (ch. x. 20).

all the honours that be had before.] As the right to wear a crown of gold (ch. x. 20), a buckle of gold (ib. 89), and a purple robe (ib. 20), together with the official titles of "general" and "provincial governor" (ib. 65).

gave him preeminence among his chief friends.] Grimm translates "made (men) regard him as among his chief friends," which is a possible rendering of the original; but the meaning suggested by our translators is a more natural one. The "preeminence" was perhaps confined to the occasion.

28. Then Jonathan desired the king, that be would make Judea free from tribute.] This was a bold proposal. Sovereignty over a subject nation in the East is chiefly marked by payment of tribute, and dominion over foreign races is chiefly sought as a means of increasing the revenue. To ask exemption from tribute was almost equivalent to asking independence. It is true that the king's father, Demetrius I., had promised such exemption (ch. x. 29, 30); but only in an emergency, when the Jews had shown a preference for his rival, and with the object of outbidding him. Demetrius II. was as yet in no such difficulties. The boldness of Jonathan at this time is thus scarcely diminished by the fact of the elder Demetrius's offer. He had to persuade the Syrian king that the friendship of the Jewish nation was worth a large pecuniary sacrifice. It may be questioned whether he would have succeeded had he not been prepared to offer a considerable immediate payment for the help of the king's necessities.

as also the three governments.] Compare above, ch. x. 30, 38; and below, v. 34.

with the country of Samaria.] A corruption of the text is here suspected. Jonathan would scarcely have stipulated for the exemption from tribute of Samaria, a hostile country, in whose welfare he had no interest. The true reading is probably ἀρχή Σαμαρίεως, or ἀρχή Χαρακός Σαμαριωτὶς. (See v. 34, and compare ch. x. 38.)

three hundred talents.] About 77,000 of our money.

30. King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan. Compare ch. x. 18. The term "brother" corresponded in the diplomacy of the time to the "moo cousin" of modern Europe. It marked admission into the privileged circle of royal personages.

and unto the nation of the Jews.] Compare ch. x. 25. Alexander had addressed Jonathan only; Demetrius I. the Jewish nation only; Demetrius II. addressed the two in combination.

31. our cousin Lasthenes.] It is a reasonable conjecture that this "Lasthenes" is the Cretan who (according to Josephus, Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 5) collected the troops with which Demetrius II. effected his landing in Cilicia. His services had probably been rewarded by the governorship of Cæsarea, on which Judea was to a certain extent dependent. The terms granted to Jonathan had therefore to be communicated to him, and it was sufficient to send the Jews a copy of the communication. The term "cousin" of our version is somewhat too definite; the true correspondent of the Greek ἀδελφὸς is "kinsman."

that ye might see it.] Rather, "that ye may see it." The clause depends, not on "we did write," but on "we send you here."

32. his father Lasthenes.] Like "kinsman," this is a title of honour. Its application to Lasthenes implies that he was a man of some considerable age. (Compare 2 Kings ii. 12; v. 13; xiii. 14, &c.)

33. keep covenants with us.] Rather, "observe their duties towards us."
us, because of their good will toward us.

34 Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the payments which the king received of them yearly aforetime out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.

35 And as for other things that belong unto us, of the tithes and customs pertaining unto us, as also the saltpits, and the crown taxes, which are due unto us, we discharge them of them all for their relief.

36 And nothing hereof shall be revoked from this time forth for ever.

37 Now therefore see that thou make a copy of these things, and let it be delivered unto Jonathan, and set upon the holy mount in a conspicuous place.

38 After this, when king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet be-

There had not as yet been any "covenant" between the Jews and Demetrius II.

because of their good will.] The good will had been shown by the professions, gifts, and especially the promises of Jonathan (v. 28), whom Demetrius was willing to regard as representing the feelings of his nation.

34. the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem.] See the comment on ch. x. 30.

that are added.] Rather, "that were added." The aorist expresses a definite point of past time. (Compare ch. x. 38.)

for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem.] A distinction is drawn between those Jews who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem and those who had laid aside the practice. Only the former were to be exempt from the payments commonly exacted by the Syrian kings from their subjects. A strong inducement was thus held out for members of the Hellenizing party to go over to the side of the orthodox, since otherwise they would enjoy none of the new privileges.

instead of the payments, &c.] The syntax is difficult, and Grimm suggests that some word or words must have fallen out. But the general meaning is tolerably clear. Instead of the customary payments to the Syrian crown on account of each of the attached provinces and of Judea itself, the provinces with their taxation were wholly made over to the Jews themselves, who were no longer to pay anything to their nominal sovereign, the Syrian monarch.

out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.] Compare ch. x. 30, and the comment ad loc.

35. And as for other things.] Rather, "as for the other things"—i.e. all the other heads of revenue.

of the tithes and customs.] See ch. x. 31, which shews that the Syrian crown levied a tax upon the tenths paid by the Jews for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and also upon other "dues" paid to the priestly authorities, e.g. the half shekel for the service of the sanctuary (Neh. x. 32; Matt. xvii. 24-27). Henceforth no claim was to be made by the Syrian crown on either of these two accounts.

the saltpits.] See the comment on ch. x. 29. Shallow ponds, connected with the Dead Sea, into which its water was admitted, and the salt then allowed to form itself by evaporation, are intended. (See Ezek. xlvi. 11; Zeph. ii. 9.)

37. see that thou make a copy of these things.] The copy here spoken of is not that which Demetrius sent to Jonathan (v. 31) in the form of a letter, written probably on parchment or paper, but one which Lasthenes was to have made, as a permanent memorial, and which was to be set up in a conspicuous place on the Temple mountain. It was probably inscribed, like other "memorials" of the kind (ch. viii. 22), on a bronze tablet.

§ 3. Demetrius offends his native soldiers—Trypho prepares to bring forward Antiochus, son of Balas—Demetrius promises Jonathan to recall the Syrian garrisons from Judea, if the Jews will help him against his enemies, but, though helped, breaks his promise.

38-53. Demetrius II., after he had reigned a very short time, became unpopular. He is accused by Justin of laziness, by Livy of cruelty (Justin, xxxvi. 1; Liv. 'Epit.' lii). According to our author, he gave offence by disbanding his Syrian troops, and maintaining an army of foreign mercenaries. The charges may, one and all, be true. That of
fore him, and that no resistance was made against him, he sent away all his forces, every one to his own place, except certain bands of strangers, whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen: wherefore all the forces of his fathers hated him.

39 Moreover there was one Tryphon, that had been of Alexander's part afore, who, seeing that all the host murmured against Demetrius, went to Simalcue the Arabian, that brought up Antiochus the young son of Alexander,

40 And lay sore upon him to deliver him this young Antiochus, that he might reign in his father's stead: he told him therefore all that Demetrius had done, and how his men of war were at enmity with him, and there he remained a long season.

41 In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he cruelty is to some extent confirmed by Diodorus, who says he was hated for his lawlessness (Fr. xxi.). The result was a rebellion, which for a time drove Demetrius from his throne (vv. 55, 56). It was while this rebellion was preparing that Jonathan, probably knowing the difficulties that beset Demetrius, made a request for the withdrawal from Judaea of the Syrian garrisons, which was favourably entertained by the Syrian king (v. 43). The king, however, required first to be helped against his enemies, whereupon Jonathan lent him a body of troops, which put down a rising in his capital. Regarding himself as now safe, the king flung his promise to the winds, did not withdraw the garrisons, and "estranged himself" from his recent ally (vv. 43-53).

38. he sent away all his forces . . . except certain bands of strangers.] Josephus is the only writer who confirms this (Ant. Jud. xiii. 5, § 1); but it is, intrinsically, not improbable. Demetrius had gained his first successes by the swords of his mercenaries (see note on ch. x. 67), and had been opposed by the Syrian levies. He therefore naturally distrusted the latter.

whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen.] Certainly from Crete (ch. x. 67); possibly from Rhodes, Cyprus, and the islands of the Archipelago.

the forces of his fathers.] I.e. of his predecessors on the Syrian throne.

39. there was one Tryphon.] Tryphon is mentioned by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.), by Appian (Syria, § 68), by Livy (Epit. liv.), and by Strabo (xvi. p. 753). His real name was Diodotus, Tryphon being a surname which he adopted after he had made himself king. He was a native of Casiana, a fortified place in the district belonging to the Apamea of Syria. Alexander Balas distinguished him with his favour, and appointed him, conjointly with Hierax, to take the direction of affairs at Antioch, when he marched into Cilicia to meet Demetrius (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 73).

This trust he abused by admitting Ptolemy Philometor into the city after he had declared against Balas (see the comment on ch. xi. 11). We now find him playing a still bolder game. He conceives the design of bringing forward a pretender to dispute the crown with Demetrius, and ultimately murders his brother, and makes himself king in his place.

Simalcue the Arabian.] Rather, "imalc" He is called "Malchus" by Josephus (Ant. Jud. l. c.), and "Jamblichus" by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Grimm conjectures that he was the son of the "Dioeces," with whom Balas placed Antiochus, when danger first threatened him (Diod. Sic. Fr. xx.). But this is very uncertain. The name is probably a formation from the root melēk (Arab. malik), "king."

Antiochus, the young son of Alexander.] Antiochus is said by Diodorus (Fr. xx.) to have been "an infant" (infans) when placed with Dioeces. If he was the son of Alexander by Cleopatra (Appian, Syriaca, § 68), who became his wife in B.C. 151, he could not, when Tryphon went to seek him in Arabia (B.C. 145), have been more than five years old. Livy (according to the extant reading) makes him as little as two (Epit. li.); but the reading is with reason questioned, and a probable emendation ("puero" for "bimulo") makes Livy merely say that he was "quite a boy." This is perhaps as much as can be affirmed with certainty.

40. And lay sore upon him.] I.e. "importuned him"—kept urging him continually.

there be remained a long season.] Literally, "many days." Probably not more is intended than a stay of some weeks.

41. In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius.] Demetrius's difficulty was Jonathan's opportunity. Affairs in Syria having reached the condition described in vv. 38-40, Jonathan thought the time was come when the Syrian king would be prepared to pay a considerable price for the Jewish alliance. He therefore made the proposal.
would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem, and those also in the fortresses: for they fought against Israel.

42 So Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy people, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if opportunity serve.

43 Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men to help me; for all my forces are gone from me.

44 Upon this Jonathan sent him three thousand strong men unto Antioch: and when they came to the king, the king was very glad of their coming.

45 Howbeit they that were of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and would have slain the king.

46 Wherefore the king fled into the court, but they of the city kept the passages of the city, and began to fight.

47 Then the king called to the Jews for help, who came unto him recorded in this verse. No doubt, he gave it to be understood that, if his request were granted, Demetrius would receive a quid pro quo.

that be would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem. Cause, that is, the Syrian fortress in Jerusalem (Acra) to be evacuated.

and those also in the fortresses. Bacchides had established Syrian garrisons in Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-horon, Bethel, Thamnatha-Pharathoni, Tephon, Beth-shur, and Gazarra (ch. ix. 50–54). At the commencement of the war between Balas and Demetrius I., most of these places were evacuated (ch. x. 12, 13). Beth-shur, however, was not yielded (ib. v. 14), and probably others of the cities named were re-occupied. Jonathan asked that the garrisons should, one and all, be withdrawn.

they fought against Israel. The main object of garrisoning the Jewish town was to afford a support to the Hellenizing Jews. It is not probable that the garrisons came often into collision with the patriots; but they were felt to be a hostile force ranged on the side of the opposite party.

45. I will not only do this for thee, &c. Demetrius was prompt to promise, since he did not regard any promise as binding. He “dissembled in all that ever he spake” (v. 53). His short-sighted policy led him to tide over each difficulty, as it arose, by giving pledges which it was not his intention to redeem. The result was that his difficulties continually increased upon him. Probably a real honest alliance with Jonathan would have been more for his true interest than any other course. But he was not clear-sighted enough to see this. He supposed that political advantage was only to be gained by treachery and intrigue.

I will greatly honour thee and thy nation. Literally, “Glorifying I will glorify thee.”

Cf. ch. xiv. 39, 39; xv. 9. The idiom is a common one in Hebrew (Gen. iii. 16; xxii. 17, &c.).

44. three thousand strong men. This seems a weak contingent under the circumstances, and one from which no very important service could be expected. But even a small body of trained soldiers is of value against a city rabble, which was what Demetrius had chiefly to fear. His troops had been disbandet, and sent away to their homes (v. 38). It was the populace of Antioch that especially threatened disturbances—a populace very fickle, very unruly, and very cowardly. By “strong men” is meant “good soldiers, brave and experienced.”

45. they that were of the city gathered themselves together. This revolt, or riot, is not mentioned by the classical writers, whose notices of the reign of Demetrius II. are few and scanty. It is, however, quite in accord with the general character of the Antiochene populace.

to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men. The population of Antioch is said to have amounted to 400,000; so that a riot in which 100,000 men took part would be quite possible.

46. the king fled into the court. I.e. “into the palace.” The rioters chose a time when he was outside the palace walls, hoping no doubt to seize his person; but in this intention they were baulked. Demetrius succeeded in escaping from them, and shutting himself up within the royal residence, which was a defensible position.

47. the king called to the Jews for help. The main “thoroughfares” of the city seem to be intended—those especially which led from the palace to the city gates. The object was to prevent the escape of the king.
all at once, and dispersing themselves through the city slew that day in the city to the number of an hundred thousand.

48 Also they set fire on the city, and gat many spoils that day, and delivered the king.

49 So when they of the city saw that the Jews had got the city as they would, their courage was abated: wherefore they made supplication to the king, and cried, saying, 50 'Grant us peace, and let the Jews cease from assaulting us and the city.'

Josephus says, that Demetrius called to his aid "the Jews sent by Jonathan, and bis own mercenaries" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 3), which is probable. The latter, no doubt, amounted to some thousands (see v. 38). Together, they effected a great slaughter of the rioters; but we may be excused from believing that the slain were really 100,000. The estimate is manifestly one of the roughest kind; and we may detect in it the usual Oriental exaggeration.

48. Also they set fire on the city.] Perhaps not intentionally. In every great disturbance within an Oriental town, where the buildings are chiefly of wood, there is much danger of an accidental conflagration.

51 With that they cast away their weapons, and made peace; and the Jews were honoured in the sight of the king, and in the sight of all that were in his realm; and they returned to Jerusalem, having great spoils.

52 So king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him.

53 Nevertheless he disseminated in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore.

52. the land was quiet before him.] Cf. the opening clause of v. 38. Again, it must be understood that the tranquillity was of very short duration. Tryphon came forward as the champion of the young Antiochus before the close of the 168th Seleucid year, which began in October B.C. 145, and ended in October B.C. 144. Probably he was only absent a few months in Arabia, and proclaimed his protectorate before the year B.C. 145 was ended. (See Clinton, 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. iii. p. 327.)

53. be disssembled in all that ever he spake.] Rather, "he gave the lies to all his professions"—that is, all those that he had made to Jonathan (vv. 44, 45).

but troubled him very sore.] Josephus says that Demetrius threatened Jonathan with war, unless all the payments were made regularly, which had been customary under the early Syrian kings. This, if true, was a revocation of the terms granted by his letter (vv. 32-36), which had been set up by his orders in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount (v. 37). Nothing could be a more palpable breach of faith.

§ 4. Tryphon brings forward Antiochus, Son of Balas, and seats him upon the throne—Friendly Relations established between the new king and the Jews.

54-59. Tryphon found some difficulty in persuading the Arab chief (v. 39) to entrust Antiochus to his care; but his importunity prevailed after a time. Antiochus was proclaimed king in B.C. 145-4, and given the names of "Epiphanes" and "Dionysus." He could not have been more than five or six years old at the time. The disbanded sol-
After this returned Tryphon, and with him the young child Antiochus, who reigned, and was crowned.

Then there gathered unto him all the men of war, whom Demetrius had put away, and they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.

Moreover Tryphon took the elephants, and won Antioch.

At that time young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm thee in the high priesthood, and appoint thee ruler over the four governments, and to be one of the king’s friends.

Upon this he sent him golden vessels to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle.

diers of Demetrius embraced his cause with ardour, and flocked to the standard of Tryphon, who marched upon Antioch, met Demetrius in the field and defeated him, captured his elephants, and became master of the capital (vv. 55, 56). Tryphon, upon this, caused letters to be written to Jonathan in the name of the boy-king, confirming him in the High Priesthood, and granting him various privileges (vv. 57, 58). At the same time, he conferred on Simon, Jonathan’s brother, a military command extending from the ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt (v. 59).

The young child Antiochus. See the comment on v. 39.

a who reigned and was crowned. Literally, “who reigned and assumed the diadem.” The fact of the reign is proved by coins, which extend from the 168th Seleucid year to the 170th. It is allowed by Appian (‘Syriae,’ § 68) and Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Porphyry, on the other hand, omits it (ap. Euseb. ‘Chron. Can.’ i. 40, p. 194). Of course the boy-king was a mere puppet in the hands of Tryphon, as Eupator was in those of Lydias (supra, ch. vi. 17, 63).

There gathered unto him all the men of war whom Demetrius had put away. See above, v. 38. Diodorus tells us that Tryphon had at first only a small force, with which he took up a position near Chalcis, on the borders of Arabia. Demetrius despaired him as a mere robber-chief, and ordered his arrest, but sent no expedition against him. Tryphon, thus left to himself, largely increased his troops, the discontented flocking to him from all quarters, so that Demetrius was compelled to regard him as a serious rival (Fr. xxi.).

The defeat of Demetrius by Tryphon is confirmed by Livy (‘Epit.’ iii.), who says that after the battle he fled to Seleucia. No description of the battle has come down to us.

Tryphon took the elephants. Literally, “the beasts;” but no doubt elephants are meant. Though by the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian monarchs were to cease to maintain any war-elephants, they undoubtedly continued to do so. Antiochus Eupator had at least twenty-two (see the comment on ch. vi. 30). Demetrius is likely to have maintained at least as large a number.

and won Antioch. The occupation of Antioch by Tryphon follows naturally from the retreat of Demetrius to Seleucia, attested by Livy (‘Epit.’ iii.). It has also the witness of Porphyry (ap. Euseb. ‘Chron. Can.’ i. 40, § 17).

The young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan. The letter was, no doubt, written in the name of the young prince, but really emanated from Tryphon. (Compare ch. vi. 57–61.) I confirm thee in the high priesthood. Compare ch. x. 20; xi. 27.

and appoint thee ruler over the four governments. The “four governments” are Judea, Aphaera, Lydda, and Ramathaim. See v. 34.

one of the king’s friends. See above, ch. x. 20, 65; ch. xi. 27.

Be sent him golden vessels to be served in. Literally, “golden vessels and service”—an instance of beniadus. Our translation gives the true sense. Gifts of golden vessels, or ornaments, by kings to those to whom they delighted to honour were common in the East from very ancient times. An Egyptian of the age of Thothmes III. (b.c. 1600) boasts that Amenophis I. had given him “two golden armlets, a bracelet, a sword, and a crown inlaid with gems;” Thothmes I., “two golden armlets, four collars, a bracelet, a sword, and two golden war-axes;” and Thothmes II., “two gold armlets, six collars, three bracelets, and a war axe of silver” (‘Records of the Past,’ vol. iv. p. 8). The Persian practice is abundantly witnessed to by Xenophon (‘Cyrop.’ viii. 3, § 35; ‘Anab.’ i. 2, § 27, &c.) and others. The Syro-Macedonians adopted the usage from the Persians.

gave him leave to drink in gold. Com-
59 His brother Simon also made captain from the place called The ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt.

60 Then Jonathan went forth, and passed through the cities beyond the river, and passed beyond the river and through the cities, Gr.

61 From whence he went to Gaza,
I. MACCABEES. XI.

63 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Cades, which is in Galilee, with a great power, purposing to remove him out of the country, he made supplication unto Jonathan, and made peace with them, and took the sons of their chief men for hostages, and sent them to Jerusalem, and passed through the country unto Damascus. 

Cades, which is in Galilee.] There were at least four cities of the name of Kadesh (= "Holy"), or Kedesh, one at the extreme south of Judah, known as Kadesh-Barnea (Num. xxxii. 81; Josh. x. 41); another in Issachar (Josh. xii. 22; 1 Chron. vi. 72); a third in Naphtali (Josh. xix. 37; Judg. iv. 6); and a fourth in the Oronetes valley, the scene of the famous battle between Rehob and the Hittites ("Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 67-78). The only one of these that was "in Galilee" is the Naphtalite town, which was in the hilly region north-west of the Lake of Merom, not far from Hazor (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud." xiii. 5, § 6; 'Bell. Jud." ii. 18, § 1; iv. 2, § 3). It was the home of Barak, the son of Abinoam (Judg. i. 1-31), in the early days of the Judges, and was taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first campaign against Israel (2 Kings xv. 29). The site is almost certainly that occupied by the modern "Kedesh," four miles from the north-west corner of Lake Merom in a north-westerly direction (Robinson, 'Researches," vol. iii. p. 366).

purposing to remove him out of the country.] Rather, "purposing to remove him from his office." As Ewald remarks ('Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 331, note b), "office" or "public occupation" is a common meaning of "yeria" (Ch. xiii. 15, 37). Polybius has almost the exact phrase here used for "removing from office" ('Hist." iv. 87, § 9).

64. He went to meet them, and left Simon.] Jonathan had probably returned from Damascus to Jerusalem before he heard of the attack on his northern frontier. Resolving to go in person and fight his antagonists, he "left Simon" as his representative, in Judaea.

65. Simon encamped against Bethsura.] Bethsura (Beth-zur) was taken by the Syrians in the reign of Eupator (ch. vi. 50), and strongly garrisoned. The fortifications were strengthened by the elder Demetrius (ch. ix. 52). When the fortresses generally were evacuated by the Syrian garrisons at the commencement of the war between Demetrius and Balas (ch. x. 12), Bethsura formed an exception (ib. v. 13). It was no doubt one
66 But they desired to have peace with him, which he granted them, and then put them out from thence, and took the city, and set a garrison in it.

67 As for Jonathan and his host, they pitched at the water of Gennesar, from whence betimes in the morning they got them to the plain of Nasor.

68 And, behold, the host of strangers met them in the plain, who, having laid men in ambush for him in the mountains, came themselves over against him.

69 So when they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle, all that were of Jonathan's side fled;

70 Insomuch as there was not one of them left, except Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Calphi, the captains of the host.

of the places from which Jonathan had requested the younger Demetrius to withdraw his forces (ch. xi. 41), and which he had promised to defend, but his promise had remained a dead letter (v. 53). Under these circumstances it was resolved that an effort should be made by Simon to expel the garrison by force.

But it up.] I.e. strictly blockaded it. The defences were, probably, so strong that it could only be reduced in this way.

67. the water of Gennesar.] Undoubtedly the "Sea of Galilee" or "Lake of Gennesaroth." We have here for the first time, the name in a form from which "Gennesaret" would be an easy derivation. In the earlier Scriptures the lake has been called "the Sea of Chinnereth" (Num. xxxiv. 11; Deut. iii. 17), from a town in its neighbourhood (Josh. xix. 35). Etymological laws do not allow of Chinnereth having become Gennesar, and it is therefore best to suppose an entirely distinct origin for the latter name. It appears to have belonged primarily to the fertile tract at the north-western angle of the lake, which was called "the land of Gennesaret" (Matt. xiv. 34), and was a "garden" (gannath), perhaps a "garden of princes" (gannath sarim) at some ancient date. Or, sar may be the residuum of a proper name. The water of Gennesaret, so seldom mentioned in the Old Scriptures, obtains a position of high honour in the New, and to the Christian is inseparably associated with the life, teaching, and miracles of his Lord.

they got them to the plain of Nasor.] Several MSS. have "Asor" for "Nasor," and so Josephus, and the Syriac and Vulgate translations. The initial v has probably been repeated from the terminal v of the preceding word (πειθόνυ). "Asor" is, in all probability, Hazor, for which it stands throughout the Septuagint Version. Hazor was one of the most ancient cities of Palestine. It is first found as the capital of the elder Jabin (Josh. xi. 1), and after Jabin's defeat by Joshua it fell into the hands of the latter (ib. v. 10), who destroyed it by fire (ib. v. 11). It seems, however, to have been soon rebuilt, for it is mentioned among the "fenced cities" assigned to Naphsi (ib. xix. 36). Early in the period of the Judges it is once more Canaanite, and a second Jabin reigns there (Judg. iv. 2), who oppresses Israel, and contends with Deborah and Barak. Solomon made it one of his fortified posts (1 Kings ix. 15); and Tiglath-Pileser seized it on his first expedition against Israel (2 Kings xvi. 29). The site of Hazor is not yet satisfactorily identified. Capt. Conder places it at Hadireh (Map, Sheet IV.), fourteen miles west of Merom; but the position suggested by Robinson ("Researches," vol. iii. pp. 364-5), on a hill, immediately above the lake, seems preferable. "The plain of Asor" would in that case be the tract lying north-west of the site, between Tel-el-Kharaibeh and Kedes.

68. the host of strangers.] Grimm supposes the "strangers" of v. 38 to be meant, but the word in the original is different. Probably θαλάσσειν is merely used, as in ch. iv. 12, 26, 30, for the more common ἄλλος, in the sense of "foreigners."

69. all that were of Jonathan's side fled.] This is an evident exaggeration. Josephus softens the tale, and reduces it to the level of the possible, by saying ("Ant. Jud." xiii. 5, § 4) that "all fled except about fifty men," who remained with Mattathias and Judas; but it may be doubted whether he had any authority for his statement.

70. Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Calphi.] That these chiefs especially distinguished themselves in the battle cannot be doubted. Otherwise their names would not have been placed on record with such particularity. Probably they restrained their immediate followers from flight, when the panic seized the rest of the army, and so enabled Jonathan to restore the battle. Our author does not say (as
Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head, and prayed. 

Afterwards turning again to battle, he put them to flight, and so they ran away. 

Now when his own men that were fled saw this, they turned again unto him, and with him pursued them to Cades, even unto their own tents, and there they camped. 

So there were slain of the heathen that day about three thousand men: but Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

Josephus does) that they were "the captains of the host," but only that they were "captains" (διορειτε, not of διορειτε). 

Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head.) Possible actions in an Oriental under such circumstances, though so contrary to the manner of the West. (Compare above, ch. iv. 39; and see Herod. iii. 66, viii. 99, ix. 34, &c.)

and prayed.] Compare the prayers of Judas (ch. iv. 10, 30-33). 

pursued them to Cades.] Kedes is about 2½ miles north-west of the supposed site of Hazor (see the comment on ε. 67), and would naturally serve as a refuge to the fugitives.

even unto their own tents.] Rather, "their own camp." See ε. 63.

there were slain of the heathen ... about three thousand men.] Josephus, with unusual moderation, reduces the number of the slain to two thousand.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. JONATHAN SENDS EMBASSIES TO ROME AND SPARTA—REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY HIS AMBASSADORS.

1-23. It is not very clear what advantage Jonathan expected to derive from an interchange of compliments with Rome and Sparta. Perhaps the object was merely to assert his own rank and dignity as a sovereign prince, semi-independent at any rate. Possibly, however, his recognition as an ally by the Romans may have helped to encourage those who were disposed to be friendly to him, and have tended to alarm his enemies. It seems certain that he sought no material aid in either quarter. His ambassadors were sent with complimentary messages only. They started in the winter of B.C. 145-144, but did not return until after his death in the last-named year. The embassy to Rome was in continuation of the friendly relations established by Judas (ch. viii. 1-32); that to Sparta stood connected with an earlier effort of the same kind made in the reign of the Spartan king Areus, who ascended the throne in B.C. 309, and held it till B.C. 265.

1. when Jonathan saw that the time served him. ] Ia. "was convenient," either because there was nothing more important to occupy his attention, or because the situation of affairs seemed to favour some fresh diplomatic efforts.

be chose certain men.] For the names of the men selected see ε. 16, and compare ch. xiv. 22.

for to confirm and renew the friendship that they bad with them.] See ch. viii. 1-32. Judas in his last days had been induced to seek the moral support of the Roman alliance. It no doubt added to his prestige, and may even have been of some material value, by determining the attitude of powers which took an active part in the contest for political predominance that was going on at the time.

2. He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians.] Literally, "to the Spartans;" and so throughout the chapter. The Spartans, or people of the capital, Sparta, had alone in the ancient times exercised political power. Hence, even in the later times, when a tyranny had been established, the entire people were as often called Spartans as Lacedemonians.

to other places.] As, perhaps, Pergamus, between which and Judæa there were friendly relations (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 10, § 22).

3. they ... entered into the senate.] See the comment on ch. viii. 19.
entered into the senate, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the people of the Jews, sent us unto you, to the end ye should renew the friendship, which ye had with them, and league, as in former time.

4. Upon this the Romans gave them letters unto the governors of every place, that they should bring them into the land of Judea peaceably.

5. And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Lacedemonians:

6. Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting:

7. There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius, who reigned then among you, to signify that ye are our brethren, as the copy here underwritten doth specify.

8. At which time Onias entreated the ambassador that was sent honourably, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship.

9. Therefore we also, albeit we need none of these things, for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us,

10. Have nevertheless attempted to send unto you for the renewing of brotherhood and friendship, lest

to the end ye should renew the friendship.] Such "renewals" were frequent in antiquity, even where there had been no rupture of friendship. They were regarded as specially appropriate when a new sovereign had ascended the throne (see Polyb. iv. 26, § 8; vii. 3, § 1; xi. 34, § 11; xxii. 1, § 5; xxvii. 1, § 9; xxxiiii. 16, § 2).

as in former time.] Compare ch. viii. 21–32.

4. the Romans gave them letters.] Apparently Rome hesitated to commit herself, perhaps doubting how the contest would go between Tryphon and Demetrius. She could not do less than what she did—i.e. grant the ambassadors a safe conduct through her dominions on their return.

5. this is the copy of the letters.] Rather, "of the letter." The plural εὐρωπαλ was used for a single letter in Greek (Thucyd. i. 132), as litterae in Latin. Cf. ch. x. 17; xi. 29; xii. 19; xiv. 20; xv. 1. Our version gives the correct translation in ch. x. 17.

6. the elders of the nation.] Literally, "the senate." According to the author of the Second Book, the Jews had a recognized "senate" in the time of Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. xi. 27) and even in that of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 44); but this is the first mention of such an institution by the author of the First Book. Grimm conjectures that the institution really originated in the time of Jonathan; but of this there can scarcely be said to be any evidence. Probably the "senate" of Maccabean times was the same body with the Herodian "sandehrin" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 9, § 4).

their brethren.] See below, v. 21, where the supposed connection, and the grounds of it, will be considered.

7. There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius.] For "Darius" we must certainly read "Areus," as in v. 20. Areus, grandson of Cleomenes II., succeeded his grandfather as King of Sparta in B.C. 309, and had a reign of forty-four years (Diod. Sic. xx. 29), dying B.C. 265. He was contemporary with the Jewish High Priest, Onias I., successor of Jaddua, for nine years—from B.C. 309 to B.C. 300. Sparta was greatly depressed at this time, crushed under the yoke of Alexander's "successors," and may well have sought to strengthen herself even by so humble an alliance as one with the Jews, who were dependants upon Egypt.

8. the letters.] Rather, "the letter." See the comment on v. 5.

wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship.] Rather, "of alliance and friendship." For the "declaration" itself, see v. 23.

9. albeit ye need none of these things.] I.e. "neither alliance nor friendship." The boast is strange, since "alliance and friendship" were being sought; but the very strangeness is in favour of the genuineness of the passage.

The Jews always felt themselves to be a favoured nation, and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries, as it were, under protest, and with the feeling that they were conferring, not receiving, a benefit.

for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands.] The words "of scripture" are added by our translators, and should be in italics.

10. for the renewing of brotherhood.] I.e. "of the acknowledgment of brotherhood." (See vv. 6, 7, 21.) The brotherhood itself
we should become strangers unto you altogether: for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.

11 We therefore at all times without ceasing, both in our feasts, and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as reason is, and as it becometh us to think upon our brethren:

12 And we are right glad of your honour.

13 As for ourselves, we have had great troubles and wars on every side, forsomuch as the kings that are round about us have fought against us.

14 Howbeit we would not be troublesome unto you, nor to others of our confederates and friends, in these wars:

15 For we have help from heaven that succoureth us, so as we are delivered from our enemies, and our enemies are brought under foot.

16 For this cause we chose Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, and sent them unto the Romans, to renew the amity that we had with them, and the former league.

17 We commanded them also to go unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters concerning the renewing of our brotherhood.

18 Wherefore now ye shall do well to give us an answer thereto.

19 And this is the copy of the letters which Onias sent.

20 Areus king of the Lacedemo-

was a (supposed) fact, which might be acknowledged or disputed, but which it was impossible to "renew."

there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us. No less a time than 155 years, or from that to 164 years. If the alliance was to be kept up, it was certainly high time that some further demonstration should be made. The advantage, however, of a sentimental friendship with men states so distant, and so isolated one from the other, as Sparta and Judea, is more than doubtful.

11. our feasts.] The Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Dedication, and Purim.

other convenient days.] Such as Sabbaths, and "new moons."

do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer.] The Jews prayed for the prosperity of any kingdom or state whereto they were subject (Ezra vi. 10; Jer. xxix. 7) so long as they were subject to it; and this practice continues to the present day. But prayer and sacrifice on behalf of allies is not elsewhere mentioned. Probably Jonathan means to say, not that the Spartans were specially named in the Jewish public worship, but that, as prayer was made for the "brethren" generally, and the Spartans were "brethren," they were included.

13. the kings that are round about us have fought against us.] Exact accuracy is not to be expected in a diplomatic paper transmitted to a distant state. Probably Jonathan had especially in his mind the wars with the Syrian kings, Epiphanes, Eupator, Demetrius I., and Demetrius II. He may also have intended to glance at the attacks which had been made on the Jews by the Edomites (ch. v. 3), the people of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon (ib. v. 15), and those of the Transjordanic heathen (ib. v. 9-51).

14. we would not be troublesome unto you.] We have therefore not asked you, nor any of our allies, for material help; but have carried on all the wars in which we have been engaged, without even seeking to obtain the aid of foreign troops.

15. we have help from heaven.] See above, ch. iii. 18-23; iv. 8-14, 30-34, &c. Though not miraculously helped, the Jews of Maccabean times believed, as firmly as their forefathers of any previous age, that success in war was granted them from God. The great odds against which they contended and their almost unbroken series of victories deepened and strengthened the impression.

16. we chose Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason.] Hellenistic Jews, or at any rate Jews with Greek names, and belonging therefore to Hellenizing families, are again chosen (see above, ch. viii. 17) as channels of communication with the heathen, to whom they would be more acceptable than the more strictly orthodox. Antipater was perhaps a son of the Jason sent on the former occasion.

17. our letters.] Rather, "our letter." See the comment on v. 5.

19. Onias.] This word is manifestly composed of the two names, Onias and Areus. Probably the original reading was as follows:—τοῦτο τὸ ἀντιμαθίων τῶν ἐπιστο-
nians to Onias the high priest, greeting:

21 It is found in writing, that the Lacedaemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham:

22 Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity.

23 We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are ours, and our's are your's. We do command therefore our ambassadors to make report unto you on this wise.

24 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to fight against him with a greater host than aforesaid,

25 He removed from Jerusalem,

The genuineness of this letter (vss. 20–23) has been called in question, and the very fact of any diplomatic intercourse between the Jews and Spartans denied; but the best authorities, even within the sceptical school, regard the intercourse as distinctly made out (Ewald, "Hist. of Israel," vol. v. pp. 245, 332); and the letter, though not an actual transcript of the original, but the translation back into Greek of a Hebrew translation of it, probably gives the real purport of the communication addressed by Areus I. to Onias, between B.C. 309 and B.C. 300.

§ 2. SECOND CAMPAIGN OF DEMETRIUS' GENERALS AGAINST JONATHAN—ITS FAILURE—JONATHAN ATTACKS THE ZABDEANS; AFTER WHICH HE AND SIMON STRENGTHEN THE JEWISH FORTRESSES.

24–38. The defeat at Kadesh (ch. xi. 73, 74) was not accepted by the Demetrian generals as decisive. They still hoped to get the better of Jonathan. Accordingly, in B.C. 144, having collected a large force, they again advanced upon Palestine by the Orontes Valley, intending to repeat their invasion. Jonathan, however, was not inclined to allow his own territory to be the seat of war, but crossed the frontier and met the invaders in the old "land of Hamath," known at the time as "Amathis." The two armies encamped opposite each other; and Jonathan learned by his spies that he was to be attacked by night; but his preparations so derailed the enemy's plans that, instead of carrying them out, they fled hastily, leaving their camp-fires burning. He pursued as far as the river Eleutherus, but was unable to come up with them. The retreat, however, set him free to act on the offensive, and he at once fell on a hostile Arab tribe, the Zabdeans, whom he defeated, after which he took possession of Damascus. Simon, meanwhile, was active in the south, where he occupied Ascalon and Joppa, securing the latter by a strong garrison. Efforts were then made to isolate the Acra of Jerusalem, which the Syrians still occupied; the wall of Jerusalem was repaired; and a
and met them in the land of Amathis: for he gave them no respite to enter his country.

26 He sent spies also unto their tents, who came again, and told him that they were appointed to come upon them in the night season.

27 Wherefore so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready to fight: also he sent forth centinels round about the host.

28 But when the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their camp.

29 Howbeit Jonathan and his company knew it not till the morning: for they saw the lights burning.

30 Then Jonathan pursued after them, but overtook them not: for they were gone over the river Eleutherus.

31 Wherefore Jonathan turned to the Arabians, who were called Ζαβαθεάναι, and smote them, and took their spoils.

32 And removing thence, he came to Damascus, and so passed through all the country.

33 Simon also went forth, and

fortified post established between Jerusalem and Joppa, at Adida. The Demetrians were thoroughly worsted; but it was perhaps not quite clear to the opposite party, that they were much anticipated—the Jewish chiefman may have appeared to them bent on making his principality altogether independent.

25. the land of Amathis.] The gentle elevation which, midway in the Cœlesyrian valley, forms the watershed separating the stream of the Orontes from that of the Litany, was known in ancient times as “the entering in of Hamath” (Num. xxxiv. 8, &c.), and the valley beyond the “entering in” was the “land of Hamath” (Ἀμαθίας χώρα). Hamath itself was situated at the distance of above 70 miles from the watershed, but the whole of the upper valley was considered to belong to it, and (as the present passage shews) retained its name, though the town had become Epiphanea.

26. He sent spies also unto their tents.] Rather, “into their camp.”

27. be sent forth centinels.] Rather “outposts” or “pickets” (μνησθομασίας). This was an ordinary practice in the East, or even among the Romans. The gates and walls of camps were guarded; but detached bodies of troops, in front of the walls or lines, were uncommon. Their employment on this occasion marks Jonathan’s military capacity.

28. trembled in their hearts.] Literally, “covered.” An access of panic fear seems to be spoken of. It had been expected that the Jews would be taken unawares, and easily defeated and dispersed. When they were found on their guard, ready to resist an attack, not only did the attack seem hopeless, but the assailants despaired of success altogether, and determined on a hasty retreat.

they kindled fires in their camp.] As a means of concealing their retreat. The stratagem has been largely employed, both in ancient and in modern times. (See 2 Kings vii. 7; Herod. iv. 135; Polyb. ii. 25, § 5; iii. 50, § 9; ix. 5, § 7, &c.)

30. they were gone over the river Eleutherus.] The boundary between Palestine and Syria, as already mentioned. (See the comment on ch. xi. 7.)

31. the Arabians who were called Zabaθεάναι.] This tribe is not elsewhere mentioned. It probably held possession of that portion of the Antilibanus range where we still find existing the names Zebdeni and Zebad. The former is a village of nearly 3000 inhabitants, situated in a plain, known as the “Ard Zebdeni,” on the course of the upper Barada, and upon the direct route from Half be to Damascus. A rivulet which rises behind the village is called the “Moiet Zebdeni,” and the mountains of the district are known as the Jebel Zebdeni. (See Burckhardt, ‘Syria,’ p. 3.) Kefr Zabad is a village not far from Zebdeni, on the western slopes of the Antilibanus. Josephus has wrongly substituted the well-known “Nabataeans,” who are never found so far north, and who were friendly to the Jews (ch. v. 25), for the obscure Zabaθεάναι.

32. he came to Damascus.] Compare ch. xi. 62. From the two passages combined we gather that Jonathan now regarded Damascus as within the limits of his principality, and exercised authority over it. Damascus had sunk into comparative insignificance on the rise of Antioch, but was still a large and populous town.

33. Simon also went forth.] Simon’s new rank and position (ch. xi. 59), though not rendering him independent of Jonathan,
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passed through the country unto Ascalon, and the holds there adjoining, from whence he turned aside to Joppa, and won it.

34 For he had heard that they would deliver the hold unto them that took Demetrius’ part; wherefore he set a garrison there to keep it.

35 After this came Jonathan home again, and calling the elders of the people together, he consulted with them about building strong holds in Judea,

36 And making the walls of Jeru-

selem higher, and raising a great mount between the tower and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be alone, that men might neither sell nor buy in it.

37 Upon this they came together to build up the city, forasmuch as they came over to the wall, and then they repaired that which was called Capthenatha.

38 Simon also set up Adida in Sephela, and made it strong with gates and bars.

seemed to call upon him for some correspondent exertion. Accordingly, during Jonathan’s absence in the Coele叙利亚 and Damascus regions, he busied himself in obtaining a firmer grasp of the south.

[Passed through the country unto Ascalon.] Ascalon had submitted to Jonathan in B.C. 147 (Ch. x. 86). On its situation and history, see the comment ad loc.

[Turned aside to Joppa, and won it.] Rather, “occupied it.” Joppa had been “won” by Jonathan in the same year as Ascalon (Ch. x. 76), and had remained in his possession; but there was a danger, as we learn from v. 34, of the inhabitants, or a portion of them, admitting the soldiers of Demetrius into the citadel, and so handing the place over to the Demetrian party. To frustrate this scheme, Simon anticipated the movement, by suddenly occupying the citadel with his own troops and leaving a sufficient garrison there.

35. Jonathan . . . calling the elders of the people together.] See the comment on v. 6. Ewald regards this as the calling together of a “popular assembly” (Hist. of Israel, vol. v. p. 332), but a consultation of the yepovia of v. 6 is probably intended.

36. Raising a great mount between the tower and the city.] No remnant of any such “mount” are now to be seen. Indeed, the design seems never to have been executed, since when Simon obtained possession of the Acra, it still overlooked the Temple, and was such a menace that he not only destroyed it, but cut down the hill on which it stood (Joseph. Ant. Jud. xiii. 6, § 7).

That men might neither sell nor buy in it.] The words “in it” are added by our translators, and give a wrong sense. Evidently, the erection of a mound between the citadel and the Temple could be no hindrance to traffic among those who were inside the citadel itself. Jonathan’s object was to impede the traffic which went on between the garrison of the Acra and the Jews without, especially those of his own portion of Jerusalem, that situated on the Temple hill. He wished, as Josephus says (Ant. Jud. xiii. 5, § 1), to restrict their marketing, and diminish their supply of provisions.

37. Part of the wall . . . was fallen down.] “Exere is undoubtedly the true reading, and not ἐκκατέρων.”

The brook on the east side.] I.e. the brook Kidron, or Cedron, the deep ravine on the eastern side of Jerusalem, which carries off the heavy rains that sometimes fall, but is dry during by far the greater part of the year. A portion of the wall along the brow of the hill overhanging the ravine had “fallen,” apparently by natural decay.

That which was called Capthenatha.] “Capthenatha” is not otherwise known to us. It is conjectured to have been a small fortification on the eastern side of the city (Ewald, Hist. of Israel, vol. v. p. 332, note 6). Perhaps it was “the tower that lay out” (Neh. iii. 26).

38. Adida in Sephela.] Adida is probably the Hadid of the Canonical Books (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 33, xi. 34). According to Josephus (Ant. Jud. xiii. 6, § 6), it was situated on a hill, at the edge of the low plain of Shefelah, on which it looked down. Eusebius places it three miles east of Lydda (Ludd): and in this position is found a village, called “El-Haditeh,” which occupies the summit of a round hill, and answers perfectly to all the notices of Adida. The place lay on the direct route between Joppa and Jerusalem. We must regard its occupation and fortification as intended to check the march of any Syrian force which might be landed at Joppa, and attempt to seize Jerusalem.
39 Now Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia, and to kill Antiochus the king, that he might set the crown upon his own head.

40 Howbeit he was afraid that Jonathan would not suffer him, and that he would fight against him; wherefore he sought a way how to take Jonathan, that he might kill him. So he removed, and came to Bethsan.

41 Then Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men chosen for the battle, and came to Bethsan.

42 Now when Tryphon saw that Jonathan came with so great a force, he durst not stretch his hand against him;

43 But received him honourably, and commended him unto all his friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his men of war to be as obedient unto him, as to himself.

44 Unto Jonathan also he said, Why hast thou put all this people to so great trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us?

45 Therefore send them now home again, and choose a few men to wait on thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee, and

Bethsan was in the Jordan valley, on the right bank of the stream, at the point where the valley of Jezreel opens into the Jordan vale from the west. It was a place of great antiquity, having belonged to the Canaanites before the entrance of Israel into Palestine, and it remained in their possession till long after (Judg. i. 27). A probable etymology of the word is “the house of San,” or “of the Sun,” San being the Babylonian Sun-God. In Roman times the place was undoubtedly called “Scythopolis” (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40: Plin. ‘H. N.’ v. 18; Polyb. v. 70, § 4, &c.); but under what circumstances the change of name took place, or what exactly was intended to be signified by it, is uncertain. At present the old name has recovered itself, and the village which marks the site is known as “Beisan.” Tryphon’s coming so far south unopposed is an indication that Jonathan was taken by surprise.

41. Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men.] This number is very much larger than had as yet been brought into the field by any Maccabean leader, and marks the great increase of power and territory which had been effected under Jonathan, whose rule extended from Damascus to the borders of Egypt. The force was not the greatest that he could have raised, but one consisting of “picked men.”

43. commended him unto all his friends.] Rather, “introduced him”—“brought him into their company.”

gave him gifts.] Compare ch. x. 20, 69; xi. 58, &c.

45. come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee.] At first sight, the device by which Tryphon got Jonathan into his power seems too transparent to have imposed on any one who was not greatly wanting in

§ 3. The Design of Tryphon to make himself King—He succeeds in entrapping Jonathan—The Remnant of Jonathan’s Army makes good its Retreat.

39-53. It is probable that Tryphon had had his own interests in view from the first moment that he came forward as the champion of Antiochus. But hitherto he had masked his personal ambition under the pretence of advocating a particular cause. The time, however, had now come when he thought he might venture to throw off the mask. A boy king would naturally stir little enthusiasm; and the cause of Antiochus had sunk low, before Tryphon initiated the new movement. He might hope, in striking for the crown, to rally to his standard all the more ambitious spirits, and the bulk of those who were discontented with the Seleucid rule. But he felt that Jonathan could not be counted on to support his enterprise. He therefore resolved to remove him before proceeding to the last extreme against the titular king. The author relates, in vv. 40-48, the attempt of Tryphon against Jonathan, and its successful issue. In vv. 49-53, he gives the sequel of the attempt—(1) the escape of the 2000 men whom Jonathan had left in Galilee; and (2) the consternation of the Jews and satisfaction of their enemies at what had befallen Jonathan. 39. Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia.] Tryphon’s ambitious views are attested by Josephus, Appian, Justin, Strabo, and others. His actual assumption of kingly power is proved by his coins.

and to kill Antiochus.] See ch. xiii. 31, and comment ad loc.

40. So be removed, and came to Bethsan.]
the rest of the strong holds and forces, and all that have any charge: as for me, I will return and depart: for this is the cause of my coming.

46 So Jonathan believing him did as he bade him, and sent away his host, who went into the land of Judea.

47 And with himself he retained but three thousand men, of whom he sent two thousand into Galilee, and one thousand went with him.

48 Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and took him, and all them that came with him they slew with the sword.

49 Then sent Tryphon an host of footmen and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's company.

50 But when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain, they encouraged one another, and went close together, prepared to fight.

51 They therefore that followed upon them, perceiving that they were ready to fight for their lives, turned back again.

and the rest of the strong holds. "The strong holds" are the places in Judea still occupied by Syrian garrisons, among which by far the most important was the Acra, or "citadel" of Jerusalem (see v. 36). The prospect of having these surrendered to him must have been very tempting to Jonathan; but the greater the value of the thing promised, the less likely was it that the promise was a sincere one.

It was unlikely that the strongholds would be voluntarily surrendered. It was still more unlikely that they would be surrendered, with their garrisons, and with the civil officers who resided in them. Yet this was what Tryphon's words imported. It is strange that Jonathan did not share the feelings expressed by the familiar words—"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

46. sube went into the land of Judea.] Bethsan was reckoned to Galilee at this time, and was at a considerable distance from Judea proper. Jonathan, by sending his troops back to Judea, put it out of his power to recall them.

47. three thousand men, of whom he sent two thousand into Galilee.] Three thousand men were too many for a body-guard, too few for an army. Jonathan did well to reduce his three thousand to one, since he thereby endangered fewer lives, without really lessening his own chance of safety. When he had once consented to dismiss his army, he had put himself into Tryphon's power; and it was his best policy to appear to feel perfect confidence in the Syrian's pledged word.

49. into the great plain.] "The great plain" of this place is regarded by some as identical with "the great plain before Bethsan," mentioned in ch. v. 52. But, in the absence of any qualifying phrase, it is more natural to understand the really "great plain" of Palestine, reckoned at this time to Galilee, the "plain of Esdraelon." This was the level tract lying north-east of the Carmel range and watered by the Kishon river, which extended nearly twenty miles from the roots of Mount Gilboa to the pass into the plain of Akko, and was from five to ten miles broad. Here were the important towns of Megiddo, Jokneam, Taanach, En-gannim, Jezreel and Japhia, which Jonathan would be anxious to secure in case of any accident happening to himself, and hither would he most readily have sent the 2000 men, whom he probably dismissed on entering the Akko plain by the pass above mentioned. (See Joseph. "Ant. Jud." xiii. 6, § 2.)

The report exaggerated the disaster. The men had been slain (v. 48); but Jonathan had merely been arrested, and was a prisoner in the hands of Tryphon. (See ch. xiii. 15-19.)

50. when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain.] Or "marched in close array," like the Ten Thousand on their return from Cunaxa (Xen. "Anab." iii. 3, § 6, &c.).
Whereupon they all came into the land of Judea peaceably, and there they bewailed Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; wherefore all Israel made great lamentation.

Then all the heathen that were round about them sought to destroy them: for said they, They have no captain, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away their memorial from among men.

CHAPTER XIII.

8 Simon is made captain in his brother Jonathan's room. 19 Tryphon gather two of Jonathan's sons into his hands, and slayeth their father. 27 The tomb of Jonathan. 36 Simon is favour'd by Demetrius, 40 and winneth Gasa, and the lower at Jerusalem.

Now when Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered toge-
ther a great host to invade the land of Judea, and destroy it.

2 And saw that the people was in great trembling and fear, he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together,

3 And gave them exhortation, saying, Ye yourselves know what great things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, the battles also and troubles which we have seen,

4 By reason whereof all my brethren are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone.

5 Now therefore be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of trouble: for I am no better than my brethren.

6 Doubtless I will avenge my nation, and the sanctuary, and our wives, and our children: for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of very malice.

7 Now as soon as the people heard these words, their spirit revived.

8 And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou shalt be our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother.

9 Fight thou our battles, and whatsoever thou commandest us, that will we do.

10 So then he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about.

11 Also he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, and with him a great power, to Joppa: who casting out

of Judea. The "great host" was held in readiness, and no sooner was Jonathan a prisoner than it commenced its march. Simon found himself confronted with a great danger upon the frontier, and almost unsupported at home.

2. the people was in great trembling and fear.] Compare ch. xii. 52.

be. . . gathered the people together.] Something more than a meeting of the council (ch. xii. 35) seems to be here intended. Simon meant to suggest his elevation to the post of leader; and this position could only be conferred by the nation at large, or some popular gathering sufficiently representing it.

(Compare ch. ix. 28-31.)

3. my father's house.] Compare ch. xiv. 26; xvi. 2. Grimm concludes from this, that the brothers and other relatives of Mattathias had taken part in the struggle; but it may be questioned whether the expression is not simply pleonastic. We never hear of any relatives of Mattathias, except his sons, assisting him.

4. all my brethren are slain.] Simon, like the Jews generally (ch. xii. 50-52), believed Jonathan to be dead. His three other brothers had actually fallen in fight (ch. vi. 46; ix. 18, 36-38).

6. Doubtless I will avenge my nation.] In offering himself as an "avenger," Simon suggested his appointment to be leader. It was a post of honour certainly, but still more a post of danger. Simon's courage is to be commended; a more timid man would have shrunk from the peril.

all the heathen are gathered to destroy us.] Compare ch. xii. 53. Simon may well have expected a general rising, though apparently none took place.

8. Thou shalt be our leader.] Compare the appointment of Jonathan (ch. ix. 30). It is not clear whether the "leadership" carried with it the high priesthood, or whether that office remained for a time in abeyance. Simon is first addressed as "High Priest" in the letter sent him by Demetrius (infra, v. 36).

10. be . . . made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem.] The strengthening and, in part, rebuilding of the walls had been commenced by Jonathan while he was on friendly terms with Tryphon and at war with Demetrius (ch. xii. 36, 37). Simon had therefore only to "finish" what was already begun.

be fortified it round about.] I.e. "strengthened the defences round the entire circuit of the wall."

11. Jonathan the son of Absalom.] This individual has not been previously mentioned. He may, not improbably, have been the son of the "Absalom" mentioned in ch. xi. 70, as the father of a "Mattathias" who was one of the "captains of the host." Absalom, a devoted adherent of the Maccabees, had named his sons after the most distinguished members of the patriotic family.

to Joppa.] As the port from which Jerusalem was most accessible, Joppa had a quite peculiar importance. We see traces of this in ch. x. 76 and xii. 33; as also in the fortification of Adida (ch. xii. 38), which lay on the direct route between the two cities.
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them that were therein remained there in it.

12 So Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea, and Jonathan was with him in ward.

13 But Simon pitched his tents at Adida, over against the plain.

14 Now when Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, he sent messengers unto him, saying,

15 Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold, it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure, concerning the business that was committed unto him.

16 Wherefore now send an hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will let him go.

17 Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him, yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people:

18 Who might have said, Because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is Jonathan dead.

19 So he sent them the children and the hundred talents: howbeit Tryphon disbanded, neither would he let Jonathan go.

20 And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and

Simon, distrustful of the native inhabitants, determined on their expulsion at this time, in order to secure his own hold upon the place. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 3.)

12. Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea.] Tryphon's march was probably along the coast, through the plain of Akko, and round the base of Carmel into the tract known as Sharon. Thence he struck inland towards Jerusalem.

Jonathan was with him in ward.] He took Jonathan with him, to convince the Jews that he was still alive, and to make some profit out of his captive.

13. Simon pitched his tents at Adida.] Adida had been occupied and fortified (ch. xii. 58), as commanding the approaches to Jerusalem from the coast. It looked down on the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' i. 15. c.) No invader could venture to march past it, and proceed along the direct road to Jerusalem, while it lay unconquered in his rear. Tryphon had to choose between delivering an attack on the position, in which he would probably have suffered a repulse, and advancing by some other line of route. Having determined on the latter course, he set himself to utilise the possession of his captive by proposing terms of redemption, which he had no intention to observe, as related in the three following verses.

14. Simon was risen up.] I.e. "was at the head of affairs." Compare ch. ix. 31.

15. Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold.] Apparently this was the first intimation that Simon, or any of the Jews, had of Jonathan's being still alive.

16. now send an hundred talents of silver.] If Attic talents are intended, as is probable, the sum demanded was considerable, exceeding 24,000. Simon felt compelled to pay it, lest he should seem to interfere, for his own advantage, with his brother's being set at liberty. But he was not deceived by Tryphon's artifices. (See v. 17.)

17. Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him, yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people:

18. Who might have said, Because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is Jonathan dead.

19. So he sent them the children and the hundred talents: howbeit Tryphon disbanded, neither would he let Jonathan go.

20. And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and
his host marched against him in every place, wheresoever he went.
21 Now they that were in the tower sent messengers unto Tryphon, to the end that he should hasten his coming unto them by the wilderness, and send them victuals.
22 Wherefore Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night: but there fell a very great snow, by reason whereof he came not. So he
departed, and came into the country of Galaad.
23 And when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, who was buried there.
24 Afterward Tryphon returned and went into his own land.
25 Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers.

fied by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 9), and which lay on the southern border of Judæa, between Lachish and Hebron. The MSS. of Josephus shorten the name into Dora, which corresponds closely to the modern "Dura," a village in the required position (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 215). The Syrians seem to have regarded the approach to Jerusalem as easier from the side of Idumea than from any other quarter.

(See ch. iv. 29; vi. 31-54.)

Simon and his host marched against him.] As Tryphon made his circuitous march, Simon, acting on an inner circle, always opposed his troops between the army of Tryphon and Jerusalem. Meanwhile he was strenuously pushing the siege of the Acre at that place, and had almost brought the Syrian garrison to extremities. (See the next verse.)

21. they that were in the tower.] See above, ch. xii. 36. It is clear that Simon had continued the policy of Jonathan with respect to the Acre, and had so far succeeded in cutting off its supplies as greatly to distress the garrison, which was therefore urgent on Tryphon to come or send to its relief.

by the wilderness.] The tract south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea, was known as "the wilderness of Judæa." The garrison suggested a march through this tract, which was undefended by any fortress.

22. Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night.] A night march of the cavalry for the relief of the fortress was arranged, the intention being no doubt to traverse the whole distance—about twenty miles—before dawn. "But there fell a very great snow." The somewhat unusual occurrence of a heavy fall of snow frustrated the enterprise, and induced Tryphon to break up from his quarters, and return through the Trans-Jordanic region to his own country. Snow falls in Palestine occasionally between October and March. It rarely lies more than a day; but sometimes it is deep, and remains on the ground several days, or even as much as a fortnight. Heavy falls occurred in the winters of 1723, 1754, 1818, and 1854-5. (See Grove, in Dr. Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 692.)

be departed, and came into the country of Galaad. Grimm conjectures that he marched round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, thus reaching Gilead through the Moabite territory.

23. when he came near to Bascama.] Bascama, shortened by Josephus into Basca (Ant. Jud. xiii. 6, § 5), is an unknown site in the Trans-Jordanic region. No mention of it occurs anywhere excepting as the scene of Jonathan's murder.

§ 2. Simon removes the body of Jonathan to Modein, and erects a magnificent monument there over the graves of his father, his mother, and his four brothers.

25-30. On learning his brother's death and burial at Bascama, Simon sent persons to obtain the body and convey it to Modein, the native place of the Maccabæan family (ch. ii. 1-18), where Mattathias (ch. ii. 70) and the three sons previously deceased were already buried (ch. ix. 19; xiii. 27). It was probably not until after he had captured the Acre (v. 50) and settled himself in his kingdom that Simon undertook the architectural works mentioned in chv. 27-29, which are noticed at this point of the narrative, from the connection of subject-matter, and not of time.

25. Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan.] By a well-known Hebrew idiom, the dead body of a man is called "his bones," whatever condition it is in. Thus the mummy of Joseph is spoken of as his "bones" in Gen. I. 25, and Ex. xiii. 19; and the bodies of Saul and his sons, when taken from the wall of Bethshan, are called "their bones," in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

in Modin, the city of his fathers.] Compare ch. ii. 70; and on the site of Modin, or Modein, see the comment on ch. ii. 1.
26 And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days.

27 Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before.

28 Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren.

29 And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.

30 This is the sepulchre which he

28. all Israel made great lamentation.] This seems to have been a second mourning, additional to the premature one mentioned in ch. x. 52. It is described in almost the same words as the mourning for Judas (ch. ix. 20), a fact which would seem to shew that the Jews held the two brothers in equal, or nearly equal, honour.

27. Simon also built a monument.] Compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 5. It had been customary for the Jews to bury in rock-cut graves, with little or no external display. The Greeks and Romans, on the contrary, like the Egyptians, Lydians, Lycians, and other Orientals, erected conspicuous monuments over their dead, which were often costly and magnificent. The vast monument raised by Artemisia in honour of her husband, Mausolus, at Halicarnassus, shortly before the time of Alexander, was greatly admired by the ancients, and was even reckoned one of the wonders of the world. The example thus set spread, and many tombs of much architectural pretension exist in Asia and Africa which follow the type of the mausoleum, and appear to have been reproductions, to a greater or less extent, of its principal features. The monument erected by Simon at Modein is no exception to the general rule. It was "of hewn stone behind and before;" it was "raised aloft to the sight;" it had "great pillars" set about it, which, according to Josephus, formed porticoes (praoi). Mr. Fergusson's restoration of the Mausoleum ("Hist. of Architecture," vol. i. p. 249) furnishes probably a good idea of the general character of Simon's monument; which was, however, different from all similar structures by the combination of the pyramid with the pillared tomb, of the old sepulchral architecture of Egypt with the comparatively recent style of Asia Minor. Simon's "seven pyramids" can only have been adjuncts to his main structure, from which they were probably separated by some little distance.

28. seven pyramids.] So also Josephus. As six would have been the proper number for his parents and brothers, we must suppose that Simon looked forward to the time when he too would be gathered to his fathers, and erected one pyramid for himself. It was common in the East for monarchs to prepare their own tombs.

29. in these be made cunning devices.] Rather, "on these," or "for these." The pyramids were built, it would seem, in two rows, so that each had its fellow opposite to it. This arrangement could only extend to six pyramids out of the seven. The seventh must have stood by itself, without a companion.

about the which be set great pillars.] The pillars appear to have been set "about" the pyramids, in a manner quite unknown in Egypt, but probably with the object of marking out a temenos, or "sacred enclosure," within which no one might intrude. A set of pillars, which seem, like these, to have been unconnected, mark out the temenos attached to the Tomb of Cyrus. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 295.)

upon the pillars be made all their armour.] Rather, "he represented panoplies." Imitations, probably, of the ordinary Greek trophy, which consisted of a helmet and coat of mail, supported by a post or trunk of a tree.

ships carved.] The "ships" probably commemorated the capture of Joppa (ch. x. 76), and the impulse thereby given to the commercial activity of the Jews. Cf. ch. xiv. 5.

that they might be seen.] It is impossible that the details of the sculptures can have been visible from the Mediterranean, which was at least twelve miles off; but the main monument, and even the pyramids, may, in the clear Syrian atmosphere, have been discernible from that distance.
made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day.
31 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him.
32 And he reigned in his stead, and crowned himself king of Asia, and brought a great calamity upon the land.
33 Then Simon built up the strongholds in Judea, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals therein.
34 Moreover Simon chose men and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because all that Tryphon did was to spoil.

30. it standeth yet unto this day.] Josephus says that it still remained when he wrote (about A.D. 70). So also Eusebius ("Onomasticon," ad voc. Modim), writing about A.D. 320. Modern researches are thought to have discovered some trace of it in the remains of large sepulchral vaults and broken columns near the modern village of Medieh; but the traces are few, and perhaps not altogether certain. (See the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund" for April 1873, p. 93).

§ 3. TRYPHON MURDERS THE YOUNG ANTIOCHUS, AND BECOMES KING—SIMON MAKES A TREATY WITH DEMETRIUS.
31-42. After three years and a half of hesitation Tryphon (in B.C. 142) threw off the mask, murdered the puppet king, whose cause he had professed to espouse, and assumed the crown himself. Simon, upon this, broke off all relations with his brother's murderer, and entered into negotiations with Demetrius, who still maintained the struggle with Tryphon from Seleucia, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Naturally Demetrius received his overtures favourably, and proposed the terms which are given in vv. 36-40. These terms involved the practical independence of Judea. So important was the new agreement considered, that in connection with it a new era was set up, which thenceforth prevailed in legal instruments and contracts, though the Seleucid era was not wholly disused.

31. Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus.] According to Livy ("Epit." lv. ad fin.), he gave out that Antiochus suffered from calculus, and required an operation for his relief, which the physicians were instructed to render fatal. The unfortunate boy was but ten years of age at his decease.

32. be . . . crowned himself king of Asia.] The actual reign of Tryphon is attested by a coin, which has the inscription Βασιλεὺς Τριφώνος ἀυτοκράτορος (Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1573). According to Clinton ("F. H." vol. iii. pp. 327-8), he held the throne from early in B.C. 142 to late in B.C. 135—something short of four years. On the title "King of Asia," see the comment on ch. vii. 6.

brought a great calamity upon the land.] Josephus says that he shewed himself "a thorough lover of luxury," and thereby alienated the soldiery, who went over to the party of Demetrius. Diodorus speaks of his having carried on wars with various "satraps" in Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and the vicinity of Antioch (Fr. xxv.). His reign was undoubtedly a time of continuous warfare and disturbance, in which "the land," i.e. Syria, suffered greatly.

33. Then Simon built up the strongholds in Judea.] Simon was the most prudent of the sons of Mattathias (ch. ii. 65). He never let slip an opportunity. Tryphon's difficulty was his opportunity. While the civil war raged in his neighbourhood he held aloof from it, and devoted his energies to strengthening the defences of his own country. The chief "strongholds" of Judea are enumerated in ch. ix. 50-52. Simon not only put them in a state to resist a sudden assault, but provisioned one and all against a siege.

high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars.] These were, in the time of Simon, and for many centuries afterwards, the main defences of every fortified city. Walls were carried to a height which (it was thought) scaling-ladders could not equal; the towers which flanked them, or dominated them, were strengthened in every possible way; gates were made of the most solid and least combustible materials; bars were multiplied and augmented in thickness. Simon included in his scheme of defence all that the art of the time had elaborated with respect to the fortification of strongholds.


to the end be should give the land an immunity.] Simon required the renunciation, on the part of the Syrian king, of all claim to tribute or tax of any sort or kind. Demetrius granted the demand (v. 39).
35 Unto whom king Demetrius answered and wrote after this manner:

36 King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting:

37 The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted.

38 And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strong holds, which ye have builded, shall be your own.

39 As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also, which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid.

40 And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

41 Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the hundred and seventieth year.

42 Then the people of Israel

all that Tryphon did was to spoil.] Literally, "all the acts of Tryphon were robberies." It is not quite clear that this charge had any other foundation besides the exaction of the hundred talents (v. 19) as ransom. Tryphon had scarcely sufficient power to compel Simon to pay him tribute.

36. King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest.] Simon had become "High Priest" at the death of his brother Jonathan, if not even earlier. (See the comment on v. 8.) It is to be noted that Demetrius does not even claim to confer the title on him.

and friend of kings.] Compare ch. x. 16, 19, 20, 65; xi. 27, &c.

the elders.] Probably the members of the council or senate. (See ch. xii. 6, and comment ad loc.)

37. The golden crown and the scarlet robe.] On the practice of sending crowns of gold as presents to states or sovereigns about this period, see the comment on ch. viii. 14, and compare ch. x. 20. The word translated "scarlet robe" seems to mean really "a splendid over-robe embroidered with golden palm-twigs, as symbols of victory." (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 334, note 1). Compare the Roman palmata.

to confirm the immunities which we have granted.] Rather, "to grant you immunities." The immunities intended may be those promised in ch. xi. 34, 35; but it is not so stated in the text, which is vague.

38. whatsoever covenants we have made with you.] This is a distinct reference to the treaty made with Jonathan in B.C. 146-5 (ch. xi. 29-37), and revived all its conditions.

the strong holds.] See v. 33.

39. As for any oversight or fault committed...we forgive it.] In these words there would seem to have been granted a general amnesty for all offences committed against the Syrian crown, and therefore for all the recent acts of rebellion of which the Jews had been guilty since they forsook the cause of Demetrius and espoused that of Tryphon (ch. xi. 54-59).

the crown tax also.] See the comment on ch. x. 29.

if there were any other tribute.] On the various dues claimed by the Syrian monarchs before the time of the Maccabean princes, and paid by the Jews, see ch. x. 29, 30. All these were to cease, and Judea to be exempt from any payment whatever to the Syrian crown.

40. look who are meet among you to be in our court.] The invitation is not to furnish courtiers to the Syrian court, but soldiers towards the royal body-guard. Compare ch. x. 36. The value of a contingent of Jewish troops in his capital had been already experienced by Demetrius (ch. xi. 47-51). For "be in our court," translate, "be enrolled in our guard."

41. Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away.] Ewald remarks with truth, that "the concessions and engagements of the kings and other potentates of this period generally lasted so long as they were destitute of the power to elude or repudiate them" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 335); and Judea was certainly still far from having secured absolute independence. Still it would seem that, on the whole, there was no time at which a greater step was made towards independence than the present, and thus it was quite reasonable that the year of the agreement with Demetrius (B.C. 142) should be made an era, and called "the first year of freedom." The "yoke of the heathen," if not now absolutely "taken away," was, at any rate, made considerably lighter.
began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.

43 In those days Simon camped against Gaza, and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it.

44 And they that were in the engine leaped into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city:

45 Insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon to grant them peace.

46 And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy.

47 So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with songs and thanksgiving.

48 Yea, he put all uncleanness out wheels, which was brought up close to the walls of the besieged town, and which operated both on the wall itself and on the defenders. Demetrius Poliorcetes had a single engine of this kind at Salamis in Cyprus, and was indebted to it for his successful siege of that place (Diod. Sic. xx. 48). He had also another at the siege of Rhodes, which was an engine of even greater power. As one "iron-clad" of the first rank decides a modern sea-fight, so one of these "helpeoleis" often determined the fate of a siege in ancient times.

44. there was a great uproar in the city. Rather, "a great commotion."

45. climbed upon the wall. Rather, "went up upon the walls."

46. Deal not with us according to our wickedness. The "wickedness" which the Gazarites confessed was probably that sin of religious apostasy which the Maccabees princes always so sternly denounced and sometimes so severely punished (ch. ii. 24, 44; iii. 8; vii. 34, &c.). They seem to have feared lest Simon should put them all to the sword.

47. So Simon was appeased toward them. Simon accepted their submission and spared their lives, but forced them to quit the city, and re-peopled it with persons whom he could trust (v. 48).

48. cleansed the houses wherein the idols were. We see by this that the "Hellenizing" of the time was not a mere preference for Greco-Roman manners and amusements (ch. i. 14), but an actual lapse into idolatry. Images of heathen gods were set up in the private houses of the Hellenizers, and the customary offerings made to them. (Cf. ch. i. 55.)

49. be put all uncleanness out of it. Le, all the traces of idolatry—altars, images, emblems, sacrificial vessels and dresses, unclean beasts for sacrifice. &c.
of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling-place for himself.

49 They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished through famine.

50 Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him to be at one with them: which thing he granted them; and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions:

51 And entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgivings, and branches of palm trees, and with harps, and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs: because

placed such men there as would keep the law.] Not specially pious men, but men of the party of the orthodox, who could be trusted to allow no Hellenizing practices.

and built therein a dwelling-place for himself.] This furnishes a strong argument against the city intending being Gaza, since it would be quite out of the question that Simon should ever reside so far south. It is also a positive argument for the city being Gazaran, since we find by verse 53 (cf. ch. xvi. i. 19, 21) that John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, had his ordinary residence in that town.

§ 5. Simon obtains possession of the Acra or citadel of Jerusalem, and makes his son John captain of the host.

49-53. At length the time was come when the defenders of the Acra at Jerusalem could no longer maintain themselves. They had been the object of frequent attacks on the part of the Maccabean princes for above twenty years. (See ch. vii. 20, and cf. ch. xi. 20, 23, 41: xii. 36: xiii. 21.) Hitherto they had successfully held their most important position, and had been a thorn in the side of each successive Jewish ruler. From time to time the Syrian kings had relieved them, re-inforced them, and no doubt re-victualled them. But, as the power of Syria declined and that of Judea increased, this ceased to be possible. Tryphon's hands were at this time too full for him to repeat the effort which had been baffled by the snow-storm (ch. xiii. 20-22). Demetrius had allied himself with Simon, and could not venture to offend him. The garrison was thus left to its fate. Simon, with the prudence which distinguished him (ch. ii. 65), resolved to waste no lives on an assault, but to trust to famine for the achievement of his purpose. The event was as he expected. In the spring of B.C. 141 the garrison of the Acra was starved out and surrendered itself (ch. v. 45, 50). Simon granted them their lives, and took possession of the vacant stronghold with every demonstration of joy and thankfulness (v. 51). He ordered an annual commemoration of the happy event (v. 52), demolished the Acra and (according to Josephus) cut down the hill on which it stood, while he made the Temple still stronger than it had been previously. Shortly afterwards, feeling the decay of his own physical strength, he made over the command of the army to his son John (v. 53), who afterwards became his successor (ch. xvi. 24).

49. They . . . of the tower . . . were kept so strait.] Cf. ch. xii. 36, where we find the policy of "straitening" the place and cutting off its supplies first adopted. No doubt, after getting rid of Tryphon, Simon was able to make his blockade of the place more effective.

nor buy, nor sell.] See the comment on ch. xii. 36.

50. be cleansed the tower from pollutions.] Here, too, idolatry had been practised, and purification was necessary before the place could be a fit dwelling for Jews. (Comp. v. 48.)

51. the three and twentieth day, &c.] The three and twenty day of the second (Jewish) month, Zif or Iyar, of the 171st (Seleucid) year, would correspond with May B.C. 141.

with thanksgivings, and branches of palm trees.] The use of palm-branches had belonged originally to the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40; Num. viii. 15), in the celebration of which it had been customary, not only to wave them into booths, but also to carry them in the hand. (See Smith’s ‘Dict. of the Bible,’ vol. iii. p. 1421.) From this festive employment of it, the palm-branche came to be a general sign of rejoicing, and was used in triumphal processions of all kinds (2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13).

harps, and cymbals, and with viols.] Compare ch. iv. 54; where, however, the cithern (κύθαρος) takes the place of the viol (νωτήκα) of this passage. Both words are probably translations of the same Hebrew original, נָבֶל. 212
CHAPTER XIV.

3 Demetrius is taken by the king of Persia.
4. The good deeds of Simon to his country.
18. The Lacedemonians and Romans renew
their league with him. 26 A memorial of
his acts is set up in Sion.

NOW in the hundred threescore
and twelfth year king Demetrius
gathered his forces together,
and went into Media, to get him help
to fight against Tryphon.

2 But when Arsaces, the king of

§ 1. THE MARCH OF DEMETRIUS INTO
MEDIA, AND HIS CAPTURE BY ARSACES.

1-3. The alliance which he had made with
Simon, and the success of Simon against
Tryphon (ch. xiii. 20-24, 43-50), encouraged
Demetrius (in the year B.C. 141-0) to attempt
an enterprise of extreme importance. This
was no less a thing than the recovery of his
eastern provinces out of the hands of the
Parians, who, in the space between B.C. 163
and B.C. 141, had overrun the entire country
between Parthia proper and the Euphrates,
thus reducing the kingdom of the Seleucids
to less than half its previous dimensions. No
effort had been as yet made to reclaim the
lost territory. Demetrius seems now to have
thought that he might safely leave Tryphon
to be kept in check by his wife, Cleopatra,
and his generals, while he marched eastward
and drove the Parthians beyond his borders.
He intended then to come back to Syria with
an army levied from among his eastern sub-
jects, and hoped by their aid speedily
to reduce Tryphon to submission (v. 1). Jus-
tin tells us that he was at first very successful,
gaining several victories over the Parthian
monarch (Hist. Phil. xxxvi. 1); but after a
while he fell a victim to Asiatic treachery, was
entrapped at a conference, seized, and made
a prisoner, while his army was at the same
time surprised and defeated. (Compare App.
'Syraca,' § 67; Porphyry. ap. Euseb. 'Chron.
Can.' i. 40, § 17; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 5, § 64,
where, however, the expedition is misdated.)

1. in the hundred threescore and twelfth
year.] The 172nd Seleucid year began in
October B.C. 141, and ended in October B.C.
140. The expedition of Demetrius seems
to not to have been made till late in this year.

2. to get him help to fight against Tryphon.]
The Parthian rule over the newly-conquered
countries was distasteful (Justin. I. 1, t.), and
Demetrius had therefore reason to believe
that the native inhabitants would flock to his
standard as soon as they had the opportunity.
4 As for the land of Judea, "that was quiet all the days of Simon; for he sought the good of his nation in such wise, as that evermore his authority and honour pleased them well.

5 And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppa his own seizure, and the result was its complete defeat (Justin, xxxviii. 9).

be was put in ward.] At first Demetrius was put in fetters of iron (Porphyry. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17), and carried about through the provinces which had embraced his cause, to excite ridicule (Justin, xxxvi. 1); but afterwards he received courteous and even kindly treatment. He was assigned a residence in Hyrcania, where he was maintained as a prince, and given a wife in the person of Rhodocunia, Mithridates' daughter (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 67).

§ 2. THE PROSPERITY OF JUDEA UNDER SIMON.

4—15. A short period of tranquility followed the recovery of the Acra, and the departure of Demetrius on his eastern expedition. Tryphon was sufficiently occupied in Syria proper to make no further attempt against Judea. The Hellenizing party among the Jews was paralysed by the loss of the Acra and of Gazara, and by the firmness with which Simon governed the land. Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, had not yet quitted his obscure retreat at Sida, and when he did so was for some time engaged in contest with Tryphon. Thus "the land was quiet in the days of Simon." From B.C. 141, when the Acra was recovered, to B.C. 138-7, when Cendebeus made his invasion (ch. xv. 40), the land rested. It is this period especially which the author here describes.

4. The land . . . was quiet all the days of Simon.] This is contradicted by the later narrative (ch. xv. 38-41; ch. xvi. 1-19), and must be viewed as a rhetorical exaggeration. Simon's reign was on the whole quiet, compared with those of Judas and Jonathan, and again of John Hyrcanus; but it was not a time of uninterrupted tranquillity.

for he sought.] Rather, "And he sought."
Simon turned himself to the works of peace, which were most congenial to his temperament, and determined on the encouragement of trade and commerce. He has been called the "Solomon" of the Asmonean kingdom (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363); and certainly in this respect he imitated the example of his great predecessor and prototype (1 Kings ix. 26-28; 2 Chr. viii. 17, 18; ix. 10, 21).

Note.—In Hebrew, the "isles of the sea" (Heb. ḫiyyey ha-yayyám) we must understand the islands and sea-coasts of Europe generally (compare ch. vi. 29; xv. 11)—by "making an entrance to them," allowing them freely to import their commodities into his country.

6. enlarged the bounds of his nation.] The reference is probably to the recovery of Gaza and the Acra (ch. xiii. 43-51) and to the occupation of Joppa by Judeans (ib. 11). Otherwise Simon does not appear to have made any conquests.

7. And gathered together a great number of captives.] "He redeemed from slavery many Jewish captives—probably, prisoners of war—and restored them to their native country. Compare the boast of Nehemiah (Neh. vi. 8).

8. the isles of the sea.] Rather, "made himself master of Gazara." (Cf. ch. xiii. 43-7.)

9. and Bethsura.] Compare v. 33, and see also ch. xi. 65-66. From the latter passage it appears that the capture of Beth-sura was effected by Simon during Jonathan's lifetime.

10. and the tower.] The Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem. (See ch. xiii. 49-51.)

11. and the tower.] The Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem (See ch. xiii. 49-51.)

12. neither was there any that resisted him.] This is another exaggeration (see the comment on v. 4). Antiochus of Sida resisted him (ch. xv. 27-39); Cendebeus resisted him (ib. vv. 40, 41; ch. xvi. 1-10), and his own son-in-law, Ptolemy the son of Abibus, not only resisted him but murdered him at a banquet (ch. xvi. 11-16).

8. They did till their ground in peace.] Agriculture, neglected during the time of war and disturbance, once more flourished; the earth brought forth abundance both of grain and fruit.

9. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things; and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.

11. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: For every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them:

12. Ptolemy the son of Abibus, not only resisted him but murdered him at a banquet (ch. xvi. 11-16).

8. They did till their ground in peace.] Agriculture, neglected during the time of war and disturbance, once more flourished; the earth brought forth abundance both of grain and fruit.

9. The ancient men sat all in the streets.] The prophecy of Zechariah was fulfilled, which said: "There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age" (Zech. viii. 4). Grimm rightly observes that the author has this text in his mind.

10. The young men sat all in the streets.] The young men wore for display "the accoutrements in which they had won their country's freedom" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 364).
MACCABEES. XIV.

Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.

Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.

He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple.

Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry.

But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein:

It was always regarded as an act of piety to "multiply" them.

§ 3. SIMON HAS FRIENDLY COMMUNICATION WITH SPARTA AND ROME.

From his general sketch of the prosperity of Judea under Simon, in which "the prosaic historical of fifty (!) years later warms almost into poetry" (Stanley, ‘Jewish Church,’ vol. iii. p. 363), the author proceeds to other points which reflected credit and glory upon his hero. In the present section he tells of two embassies which he received—the sequel of the steps taken by his brother, Jonathan (ch. xii. 1-18)—one from Sparta and the other from Rome, unequal no doubt in value, but both of them giving him dignity in the eyes of surrounding nations. The respective ambassadors brought with them documents renewing the leagues which were recognised as subsisting between the nations which they represented and the Jews.

Though Sparta was geographically so much nearer to Judea than Rome, it was practically more remote. Rome was in constant communication with Syria and Palestine. Her agents were everywhere. The little state of Sparta had, on the contrary, no agents, and but rare communication with any foreign country.

A diplomatic sorrow is intended. They expressed themselves as deeply grieved.

As soon as they heard.] Grammatically, both the Romans and the Spartans should be spoken of; but there is a difficulty in supposing that the Romans really acted in the manner here stated. It was not their practice to volunteer communications with new rulers of countries in alliance with them. Their diplomacy was more reserved. They waited till the new ruler made overtures to them and asked for a renewal of alliance (Polyb. xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 16; Liv. xiii. 6, &c.). Perhaps the writer has misplaced the conclusion of the Roman treaty, which in point of fact did not precede, but followed, the embassy of Numemonius (v. 24).
18. They wrote unto him in tables of brass, to renew the friendship and league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan his brethren:

19 Which writings were read before the congregation at Jerusalem.

20 And this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent; The rulers of the Lacedemonians, with the city, unto Simon the high priest, and the elders, and priests, and residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, send greeting:

21 The ambassadors that were sent unto our people certified us of your glory and honour: wherefore we were glad of their coming,

22 And did register the things that they spake in the council of the people in this manner; Numenius son of Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.

23 And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their ambassage in publick records, to the end the people of the Lacedemonians might have a memorial thereof: furthermore we have written a copy thereof unto Simon the high priest.

24 After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, to confirm the league with them.

18. They wrote unto him in tables of brass.] Compare ch. viii. 22, and comment ad loc.

the... league... made with Judas.] See ch. viii. 23–30.

and Jonathan.] The Senate had perhaps received Jonathan's ambassadors (ch. xii. 16) before his death, and consented to a renewal of the treaty of alliance with him.

20. This is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent.] Rather, "of the letter." (See comment on ch. xii. 5.) Here again we have not a copy of the actual Greek original, but a Greek translation of the Hebrew version of that original. With this qualification, the document would seem to be an authentic one. It may, perhaps, be abbreviated.

The rulers of the Lacedemonians.] In the time of Onias the Spartans had still their two kings of the two ancient royal houses, Areus (ch. xii. 20) belonging to the house of the Agideæ. After the old hereditary monarchy came to an end (B.C. 220), the state was ruled for a time by "tyrants"—e.g. Lycurgus, Machanides, Nabas. After the death of Nabas in B.C. 192, the "rulers" of the state were the Ephors.

with the city.] I.e. "the people." Excepting when she was under tyrants, Sparta had always an assembly of the people, which exercised a large, though undefined, authority. (Compare v. 23.)

unto Simon the high priest, and the elders.] The "elders" of this passage correspond to the "senate of the people" mentioned in ch. xii. 6.

our brethren.] This is emphatic. (Compare ch. xii. 7, 21.) The Spartans continue to claim a close kinship with the Jews, notwithstanding the entire absence of any foundation for the claim. (See the comment on ch. xii. 21.)

21. The ambassadors that were sent.] I.e. Numenius and Antipater, who were sent to Sparta and Rome by Jonathan in B.C. 144 (ch. xii. 16, 17).

certified us of your glory and honour.] I.e. told of the flourishing condition of Judæa under Jonathan at the time when he sent the embassy. (See ch. xi. 60–74; ch. xii. 1, 2.)

22. And did register the things that they spake in the council of the people.] Rather, "And registered among the decrees of the people the things that they spake." For δικαιούμενος in the sense of "decree," see Andoc. p. 9. 4; p. 23, l. 15, &c. The sense of "council" is not suitable here, more especially as the word is in the plural.

Numenius, &c.] See ch. xii. 16, and the comment ad loc.

23. The copy of their ambassage.] Literally, "the copy of their words." In publick records.] Rather, "in the public records" (literally, "in the appointed books of the people").

24. With a great shield of gold.] The practice of courting the favour of the Roman state by rich gifts was very common at the time whereof our author treats. The usual form which the gifts took was that of a crown of gold, as mentioned in the comment on ch. viii. 14; but occasionally this form was varied, and a golden shield, or some other article of value, substituted. The golden shields, often presented to the Roman emperors as gifts of honour, formed a sort of continuance of the ancient practice (Suet. 'Vit. Calig.' § 16;
25 Whereof when the people heard, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons? 26 For he and his brethren and the house of his father have established Israel, and chased away in fight their enemies from them, and confirmed their liberty.

§ 4. The Jews Set up a Memorial of Simon’s Acts and Honours in the Temple.

25-49. The culminating honour paid to Simon proceeded from his own nation. Roused to an unwonted enthusiasm by his important successes (ch. xiii. 43-50; ch. xiv. 33) and by the acknowledgments of his power and greatness which they saw made by foreign countries (ch. xiv. 16-23; 38-40), they gathered themselves together, and held a great assembly (v. 28), in which it was resolved that there should be set up within the precincts of the sanctuary a document, engraved on a brazen tablet, containing a record of his glorious deeds and honours, recognising him as their prince and leader, conferring on him absolute power (vov. 42-45), and making the high priesthood hereditary in his family (vov. 25, 41, 49). So far as we know, such an honour had never been paid by the Jews to any of their rulers before; it was in its conception rather Greek than Hebrew, and shewed how Hellenic civilisation affected even those most opposed to it; but it fitly crowned the edifice of Simon’s fame, indicating to after generations the exalted, and indeed unique, position which this particular Maccabee prince held in the estimation of his countrymen.

25. What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons? The important fact, that now for the second time only in the life of the nation a hereditary monarchy was set up, is just hinted at in these first words—by the mention of Simon’s “sons”—as it is again in the closing words of the narrative (v. 49).

27 So then they wrote it in tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in mount Sion: and this is the copy of the writing: The eighteenth day of the month Elul, in the hundred threescore and twelfth year, being the third year of Simon the high priest, 28 At Saramel in the great common hall where they met to consult of matters of estate.


26. be and his brethren and the house of his father.] Compare ch. xiii. 3; xvi. 2.

27. they wrote it in tables of brass.] The Romans had familiarised the Jews with inscriptions on bronze tablets (ch. vii. 23; xiv. 18), and they now set up such an inscription themselves. In Assyria the material had been used, both for sculptures and for inscriptions, at a much earlier date (‘Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology,’ vol. vii. pp. 84-88). The Greeks employed it for inscriptions, at any rate from the time of the Persian War (Herod. ix. 82; Pausan. v. 23, § 1). The Romans inscribed their treaties upon bronze tablets from the first year of the Republic (Polyb. iii. 22, § 1; 26, § 1).

upon pillars.] The στῆμα of the original are scarcely “pillars.” They represent rather those upright flat stones which the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to erect, either as funeral monuments, or as memorials of various other kinds.

in mount Sion.] I.e. the Temple hill, as constantly in this Book (ch. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vii. 33). Compare v. 48.

The eighteenth day of . . . Elul.] Elul, the sixth month of the Jewish sacred year, corresponded with the latter part of August and the earlier portion of September. It was the last month of the Jewish civil year. The Elul of Az. Seleuc. 172 would fall in the autumn of B.C. 140.

the third year of Simon.] Compare ch. xiii. 42.

28. At Saramel.] The word “Saramel” occurs here only. It is supported by some to be the name of a place in Jerusalem where popular assemblies were held; but it scarcely seems possible that, if this were the case, we should find no other notice of it, either in the Bible, or in Josephus, or in the Talmud. Most commentators suppose a corruption, or rather a failure to understand the original Hebrew text on the part of the Greek translator. The original words are generally thought to have been either ba-batsar ‘am
gregation of the priests, and people, and rulers of the nation, and elders of the country, were these things notified unto us.

29 Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, wherein for the maintenance of their sanctuary, and the law, Simon the son of Mattathias, of the posterity of Jarib, together with his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and resisting the enemies of their nation did their nation great honour:

30 (For after that Jonathan, having gathered his nation together, and been their high priest, was added to his people, his)

31 Their enemies purposed to invade their country, that they might destroy it, and lay hands on the sanctuary:

32 At which time Simon rose up, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own substance, and armed the valiant men of his nation, and gave them wages,

33 And fortified the cities of Judea, together with Bethsura, that lieth upon the borders of Judea, where the armour of the enemies

Or, the men of war.

El, "in the court of the people of God," or ḫaṣṣ-ḥabār 'am El, "at the gate of the people of God."—i.e. "in the great court of the temple," or "at the great gate of the temple." Grimm, however, proposes a different explanation. The word belongs, he thinks, to the preceding verse, and represents the Hebrew ḫaṣṣ-ḥabār 'am 'El, "the prince of the people of God," which is no doubt a possible title of Simon. The preposition ḫw he supposes to have been inserted by a transcriber who thought ḫaṣṣ-ḥabār 'am 'El was the name of a place. On the whole, the explanation of Saramel (Asaramel in some MSS. as ṭaṣṣ-ḥabār 'am El, which is Ewald's "Hist. of Israel," vol. v. p. 336, note 8), seems to be the best.

in the great congregation.] Rather, "in a great assembly." There is no article; and a political, rather than a religious, gathering is intended.

of the priests, and people, &c.] "Priests," "people," "rulers," "elders," do not form a very correct logical division; but it is easy to see that an enumeration which shall comprise the whole nation is meant. Had the order been, "the priests, the rulers, the elders, and the people," i.e. the rest of the people—the laws of logic would have been fairly satisfied.

were these things notified unto us.] This meaning cannot be got out of the existing text; but it is likely to have been that of the original Hebrew, which the Greek translator misunderstood. (See Grimm's note on the passage.)

29. of the posterity of Jarib.] "Jarib" is a contracted form of "Jehoiarib" (ch. ii. 1), which is itself a contraction of "Jehoiarib" (1 Chr. ix. 10). Jehoiarib was the head of the first out of the twenty-four "courses" of priests according to the arrangement of the priests made by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). The return of some priests of this "course" from the Babylonian captivity is attested, both by the author of Chronicles (1 Chr. ix. 10) and by Nehemiah (Neh. vi. 10; xii. 6, 19).

30. Jonathan . . . gathered his nation together.] The "gathering" is said to have been voluntary on the part of Jonathan's friends in ch. ix. 28. But he was no doubt cognizant of it and gave it his sanction.

and been his high priest.] Rather, "and been made his high priest." was added to his people.] i.e. "died." Compare the expression in ch. ii. 69—"So he (Mattathias) died, and was gathered to his fathers." The verb is the same in both places.

31. Their enemies purposed to invade their country.] Compare ch. xiii. 1-20.

32. Simon . . . spent much of his own substance.] This had not been stated previously; but it is quite in accordance with the general spirit of liberality which pervades Simon's acts. (See ch. xiii. 17, 27-29; xiv. 7, &c.) We are not to suppose that he raised armies, like Crassus, from his private means, but that he used them to supplement the public funds which were at his disposal: supplying his troops with better arms, and higher pay, than would otherwise have been possible.

33. fortified the cities of Judea.] Compare ch. xiii. 33.

together with Bethsura.] See ch. xi. 65, 66; where Simon's capture of Bethsura, during his brother Jonathan's lifetime, is related.

that lieth upon the borders of Judea.] On the position of Bethsura (Beth-zur) in the border country of Judah and Edom, see the comment on ch. iv. 29. It would seem to have been recently made into an arsenal by the Syrians. Simon took it, garrisoned it with Jews, and strengthened its defences.
34. Moreover he fortified Joppa, which lieth upon the sea, and Gaza, that bordereth upon Azotus, where the enemies had dwelt before: but he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for the reparation thereof.

35. The people therefore, seeing the acts of Simon, and unto what glory he thought to bring his nation, made him their governor and chief priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people.

36 For in his time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place:

37 But he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city, and raised up the walls of Jerusalem.

38 King Demetrius also confirmed him in the high priesthood according to those things,

39 And made him one of his

had been before; but he set a garrison of Jews there:

the place which lieth upon the sea, and Gaza, that bordereth upon Azotus, where the enemies had dwelt before: but he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for the reparation thereof.)

35. The people therefore, seeing the acts of Simon, and unto what glory he thought to bring his nation, made him their governor and chief priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people.

36 For in his time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place:

37 But he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city, and raised up the walls of Jerusalem.

38 King Demetrius also confirmed him in the high priesthood according to those things,

39 And made him one of his

For the situation of Gaza, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. Its “bordering on Azotus” must be understood somewhat vaguely. Azotus was distant from it at least seventeen miles in a south-westerly direction. But it is possible that the territory of Azotus extended to a considerable distance inland, and that the land dependent on Azotus and that which belonged to Gaza were contiguous. Simon’s conquest of Gaza is related in ch. xiii. 43–47. His fortification of it in ch. xiii. 48.

where the enemies had dwelt before. Gaza appears in ch. iv. 15 (B.C. 165) as a place in the possession of the Syrians. It was fortified by Bacchides at the time (B.C. 169) when he was at war with Jonathan (ch. ix. 52). The Jews do not seem to have made any serious attempt to wrest it out of the hands of the Syrians until the siege by Simon in B.C. 142. It had then been in the hands of the Syrians for at least twenty-three years.

be placed Jews there. Compare ch. xiii. 48—“He placed there such men as would keep the law.”

35. The people . . . made him their governor and chief priest. See ch. xiii. 8. Simon is first called “high priest” in the letter of Demetrius to him (ch. xiii. 36), but he seems to have been “appointed” by the people, and only “confirmed” in office by the Syrian monarch (see below, v. 38).

the . . . faith which be kept to his nation. Fidelity to the promises which he made on the capture of Jonathan (ch. xiii. 5, 6).

36. the heathen were taken out of their country. See ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 33.) The Syrian garrisons were entirely cleared out from the whole of Judea.

they also that were in the city of David. See ch. xiii. 48–51.

who . . . did much hurt in the holy place. Rather, “did much hurt to its purity.” The vicinity of idols and idol-altars, the sights and sounds connected with the idol-worship, such as music, dancing, and the smoke of idol-sacrifices, were felt to be a pollution to the purity of the Temple itself, from which it was impossible to shut them out.

37. be placed Jews therein and fortified it.] If Josephus is correct in his statement, that Simon destroyed the Acra and cut down the hill on which it stood (see the comment on ch. xiii. 52), we must regard that proceeding as an afterthought. It is evident that his first intention was to maintain the Acra for the better defence of the city.

38. Demetrius . . . confirmed him in the high priesthood. Perhaps by the simple act of acknowledging him as High Priest in the formal letter which he addressed to him in B.C. 142 (ch. xiii. 36); perhaps in some more ceremonious way.

according to those things. Or, “in conformity with those things.” The rank and place of High Priest were suitable to one who had so greatly distinguished himself.
friends, and honoured him with great honour.

40 For he had heard say, that the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren; and that they had entertained the ambassadors of Simon honorably;

41 Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet;

42 Moreover that he should be their captain, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the armour, and over the fortresses, that, I say, he should take charge of the sanctuary;

43 Beside this, that he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the writings in the country should be made in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold:

44 Also that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to

Arrangements for the civil government had to be made in the interval, and to be varied from time to time; but they were regarded as provisional, to be confirmed or altered by the next prophet, when he should arise. That a prophet would arise—a true prophet (śerôr)—was regarded as certain on account of Mal. iv. 5.

42. Moreover that he should be their captain.] Literally, "their general"—the commander of their armies. They placed the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the military authority in the same hands. Simon afterwards transferred the military authority to his sons (ch. xvi. 2, 3).

43. That all the writings in the country should be made in his name.] Rather, "all the contracts," or "all the legal instruments" (see ch. xiii. 42). It appears by the Babylonian contract tablets, that agreements, in order to be valid, had to be dated, and the only known mode of dating was by the regnal years of the kings. In Judea the practice had been to date by the Seleucid era (as in 1 Macc. i. 19, 54, ii. 70, &c.; 2 Macc. i. 7, xi. 33, &c.); but, from the first year of Simon, that system of a double date was introduced, of which we have a specimen in this chapter (v. 27). Henceforth all Jewish contracts mentioned both the Seleucid year and also the year of the High Priest. The regulation was a mark of sovereignty.

that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold.] Compare ch. viii. 14; x. 20, 62; xi. 58
break any of these things, or to gain-
say his words, or to gather an as-
sembly in the country without him,
or to be clothed in purple, or wear a
buckle of gold:

45 And whosoever should do other-
wise, or break any of these things, he
should be punished.

46 Thus it liked all the people to
deal with Simon, and to do as hath
been said.

47 Then Simon accepted hereof,
and was well pleased to be high
priest, and captain and governor of
the Jews and priests, and to defend
them all.

48 So they commanded that this
writing should be put in tables of
brass, and that they should be set up
within the compass of the sanctuary
in a conspicuous place;

49 Also that the copies thereof
should be laid up in the treasury,
to the end that Simon and his sons
might have them.

CHAPTER XV.

4 Antiochus desireth leave to pass through
Judea, and granteth great honours to Simon
and the Jews. 16 The Romans write to
divers kings and nations to favour the Jews.
27 Antiochus quarrellith with Simon, 38 and
sendeth some to annoy Judea.

M O R E O V E R Antiochus son
cir. 139.
of Demetrius the king sent

44. wear a buckle of gold.] See the com-
ment on ch. x. 89.

45. be should be punished.] Literally, "he
should be liable to punishment."

47. Simon . . . was well pleased to be high
priest, and captain and governor of the Jews.] Literally, "high priest, and general, and
ethnarch of the Jews." The word "eth-
narch" is unusual. Etymologically it means
the "ruler of a nation." Practically, it was
applied only to petty sovereigns, as to Simon
on this occasion (comp. Joseph. 'A J. xiii. 6,
§ 6), to Archelaus, the son of Herod the
Great (ib. xvii. 13, § 4), to Aretas (2 Cor.
t. 14. 32), and a few others. Though not
necessarily implying independent sovereignty,
it was an advance beyond the 
which had been the title of the earlier Maccabée
princes (ch. ii. 66; ix. 30). The head of the
Jews in Alexandria had long borne the title
(Joseph. 'A J. xiv. 7, § 2; xix. 5, § 2, &c.).
and to defend them all.] Rather, "and to
be over them all."

48. they commanded that this writing
should be put in tables of brass.] Compare v. 27,
and comment ad loc.

within the compass of the sanctuary.] I.e.
within the wall that enclosed the sanctuary.
Compare ch. iv. 60, vi. 62, x. 11; 2 Macc.
vi. 4, &c.

in a conspicuous place.] It is impossible to
say what this place was; but clearly one is
intended which every priest might have
examined at the time when our author wrote.
This is a strong argument in favour of the
authenticity of the document. (See Ewald,
'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note 4.)

49. Also that the copies . . . should be laid
up in the treasury.] Rather, "a copy." The
plural is used on account of the antecedent
( "tables") being in the plural. Τά ἀντίγραφα
is literally "their counterparts."

to the end that Simon and his sons might have
them.] See the comment on v. 25. Simon's
sons were as much interested as himself in a
decree which made the monarchy, and the
high priesthood, hereditary (v. 41).

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. Antiochus Sidetes claims the
Syrian crown, and seeks the sup-
port of Simon.

1-9. During the absence of Demetrius in
the eastern provinces the civil war in Syria
had slumbered. Tryphon held Antioch and
most of Syria proper; but Cleopatra main-
tained her husband's cause from Seleucia, and
was still unsubdued. She felt herself, how-
ever, insecure; and after a time invited her
husband's brother, Antiochus of Sida (Sidetes),
to her aid. Antiochus readily embraced her
overtures, and Tryphon having become un-
popular through his luxury and tyranny, he was
able to take the offensive, and drive Tryphon
out of Syria (v. 11). First, however, he sent
an embassy to Simon with the proposals
contained in vv. 2-9.

1. Antiochus son of Demetrius the king.] It is
not quite clear whether the author
rightly comprehended the relationship of this
new Antiochus to his predecessors. He was
not the son of Demetrius II., as we should
naturally have imagined from the present
passage; but his brother (App. 'Syriae.' § 68 ;
Justin, xxxvi. 1; Porphyry. ap. Euseb. 'Chron.
Can.' i. 40, § 18, &c.), and the son of the
former Demetrius, of whom our author
speaks in chs. viii.-x. He is distinguished
letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and prince of the Jews, and to all the people;
2. The contents whereof were these: King Antiochus to Simon the high priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting:
3. Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war;
4. My meaning also being to go through the country, that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate:
5. Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted.
6. I give thee leave also to coin from the other Antiochi by the epithet Sidetes, which probably meant "of Sida," a Pamphylian town where he was brought up (Porphyry). On his coins he takes the title of Euergetes, "the Benefactor." He seems to have held the throne from B.C. 139 to B.C. 128, when he was defeated and slain by the Parthians.

sent letters.] Rather, "a letter." See note on ch. xii. 5.

from the isles of the sea.] Antiochus seems to have been at Rhodes when Cleopatra's invitation reached him (Appian, 'Syria,' § 68). It is probable that among the first steps which he took was the dispatch of an embassy to Simon.

Simon the... prince of the Jews.] Literally, "the ethnarch." (See the comment on ch. xiv. 47.)

2. King Antiochus.] If we may accept this letter of Sidetes as genuine, it would seem that he took the royal title from the first (cf. v. 3), thus setting himself up as a rival, not only to Tryphon, but also to Demetrius, who was not taken captive by the Parthians until at least a year later (see Clinton's 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 346). Our information is very scanty with respect to the Seleucid monarchs, and to some extent contradictory.

3. certain pestilent men.] Compare ch. x. 61. The phrase seems to be used here as a periphrasis for the usurper, Tryphon. Compare the ordinary Greek idiom, ol peri Σωκράτους for Σωκράτης.

the kingdom of our fathers.] Sidetes could trace his descent through six ancestors, who had all been kings, up to Seleucus Nicator, the companion of Alexander. He had a clear hereditary right to the throne, in succession to his elder brother, Demetrius. Tryphon had no claim of this kind, being a mere upstart.

1. have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together.] Any one with a name and a sufficient supply of the "sinews of war," could at this time easily collect a strong force of mercenaries, chiefly Greeks, prepared to shed their blood in his cause. Sidetes, probably supplied with money by Cleopatra, had succeeded in gathering together, while still at Rhodes, a considerable force of this kind.

and prepared ships of war.] "Ships of war" were a matter of absolute necessity to a pretender who started from Rhodes (see the comment on v. 1), and had to convey his troops from that island to the mainland. The first object of Sidetes was to join his forces to those of Cleopatra at Seleucia.

4. My meaning... being to go through the country.] Rather, "to disembark in the country," i.e. to invade it from the sea. No other course was open to the young prince. Like Demetrius I., he had to throw himself upon the coast of Syria, with such forces as he could muster, and to risk the result. The port of Seleucia was open to him; and it is probable that he made his landing there.

5. I confirm unto thee all the oblations.] The reading is doubtful. The Alexandrian Codex has ἀφωμαται for ἀφωματα; and ἀφωμαται is the word used in the previous passages to which this verse seems to refer (ch. x. 28; xiii. 37). If we adopt this reading, we must translate, "all the exemptions" or "immunities." 'Ἀφωμαται may, however, be correct; but it can scarcely mean "oblations" in this connection. Translate rather "deductions." they granted.] Rather, "they remitted." Former kings had "remitted," or excused, the payment of certain fixed charges which were of the nature of a tribute, and also certain customary "gifts." Antiochus confirms both remissions.

6. I give thee leave also to coin money.] Critics are divided on the question, whether Simon was the first of the Maccabees princes who struck coins, some extant specimens being referred by some to Judas Maccabaeus, and others to Jonathan. But, on the whole,
it appears most probable that the archaic types, with which the entire series of Jewish coins confessedly commences, belong to the time of Simon, and were issued by him. These consist of shekels and half-shekels in silver, and of corresponding copper coins, bearing upon them such emblems as a pot or vase, a lily, a wheat-sheaf, a palm-tree, a fruit or fruits, with short legends in the archaic Hebrew character, which in the case of the silver coins read "shelik of Israel," or "half-shekel," and "Jerusalem the Holy"—in the case of the copper ones, "Year 4 of the redemption of Israel." The silver coins belong to three distinct years, and are marked as those of "Year 1," "Year 2," and "Year 3;" after which they cease and the copper begin, all of these belonging to "Year 4." It is remarkable that Simon did not put his name upon his coins, as did the later princes of the family, and it is to be noticed that his emblems were all of one class—"indications of the peace and plenty which he had ushered in" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363). The right of striking coins was regarded in the ancient world as essentially attaching to independent sovereignty.

7. the armour . . . and fortresses.] Compare ch. xiv. 10, 42.

8. if any thing be . . . owing.] If there be any outstanding claim for arrears due to the Syrian crown before the immunity of the land from taxation and tribute was formally granted.

§ 2. WAR OF ANTIOCHUS WITH TRYPHON.

10-14. The struggle between Antiochus Sidetes and Tryphon was but brief. Tryphon had alienated his subjects, and even his troops, by his excessive luxury and his caprices. Antiochus was no sooner landed on the Syrian coast than deserters from his rival's army flocked to his standard (v. 10). He was able at once to assume the offensive, and to challenge Tryphon to a trial of strength. According to Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2), the two armies met in a pitched battle, and Sidetes was victorious. Tryphon fled to Dor, or Dora, a maritime town situated south of Carmel, where he was besieged by Sidetes, who blockaded the place both by land and sea (v. 14). The end was not long in arriving. Tryphon broke the blockade and escaped to Orthosias (v. 37), whence he made his way to Apameia (Joseph. 'A. J.' 1. c.), where he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2) or was put to death (Appian, 'Syria.' § 68).

10. In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year.] The 174th Seleucid year commenced in October B.C. 139, and terminated in October B.C. 138. Tryphon's death is placed by Clinton in November B.C. 139.

11. Dora, which lieth by the sea side.] Dora, "which lieth by the sea side," is almost certainly Dor, an old Phoenician settlement (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 17; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), on the coast of Palestine, between Caesarea and the foot of Carmel. Dor had its own king in the time of Joshua (Josh. xii. 23), who was one of those "smitten" by him. In the partition of the territory it was assigned to Manasseh (ib. xvii. 11), but remained in the possession of the old inhabitants, paying a tribute (Judg. i. 27, 28). Solomon placed one of his "purveyors" in the "region of Dor" (1 Kings iv. 11). Tiglath-Pileser conquered the city about B.C. 730 (Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 398). Dora is reasonably identified with the modern Tanagara, a village of about thirty houses, wholly constructed of ancient materials, and occupying the position indicated, about nine miles north of Caesarea, and fifteen from the southern foot of Carmel. In the latter part of the modern name we have probably a corruption of Dora. Frontinussays (Stratagam. ii. 13) that Tryphon, as he fled from Antiochus, scattered money along his line of route, and thus succeeded in delaying the horsemen who had been sent to pursue and capture him.
12 For he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him.
13 Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen.
14 And when he hadcompassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in.
15 In the mean season came Numenius and his company from Rome, having letters to the kings and countries; wherein were written these things:

B.C. cir. 190.

16 Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemeec, greeting:
17 The Jews' ambassadors, our friends and confederates, came unto us to renew the old friendship and league, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from the people of the Jews:
18 And they brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound.
19 We thought it good therefore to write unto the kings and countries, that they should do them no harm, nor fight against them, their

12. his forces had forsaken him.] Justin says that the favour which had greeted him when his power was new, soon passed away (xxxvi. 1).
13. an hundred and twenty thousand ... eight thousand.] These numbers are probably exaggerated. They exceed all that have occurred previously, and are far greater than would have been needed for the blockade of a small town like Dor.
14. and joined ships close to the town on the sea side.] Rather, "and his ships had completed the circuit on the sea side." The object was to invest the place completely.

§ 3. Return of Numenius from Rome, and Result of his Embassy.

15-24. The valuable gift which Numenius took to Rome not only obtained him an early audience, but secured the complete success of his mission. The Jews were distinctly acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans; and at the same time a circular letter was written and sent to all the states and monarchs regarded as friendly to Rome in Greece, Western Asia, and East Africa, requiring them to abstain from all acts of hostility towards Simon. and further, to surrender to him all Jewish refugees whom he might require to be given up. A copy of the letter was entrusted to Numenius, to be placed in Simon's hands, that he might take action accordingly.
16. came Numenius . . . from Rome.] Compare ch. xiv. 24, where the embassy of Numenius is mentioned.
17. having letters to the kings.] The writer probably does not mean that the Romans entrusted the twenty-four copies of their circular letter to Numenius, to be delivered by him, or dispatched by Simon to their various destinations, but only that they sent by him "a letter" (ἐπιστολὰς), which was addressed to Numerous kings and countries. The "kings and countries" are enumerated in verses 22, 23.
18. Lucius, consul of the Romans.] The "Lucius" intended is probably L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul, together with M. Popillius Lænas, in B.C. 139. The ordinary lists, it is true, give his praenomen as "Cneius," but incorrectly, as has been shewn by Dr. Westcott ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 148). It is curious, however, to find a Roman consul designated by his praenomen only, as also to find a document running in the name of one consul alone; and the conclusion is forced upon us that we have not an exact transcript of the circular letter sent, or even a correct translation of it. Still, there is no reason to doubt that the matter of the letter is correctly given.
19. unto king Ptolemeec.] The letter addressed to the King of Egypt is taken as a specimen, sufficiently representing the remainder. The Ptolemy of the time was Ptolemy VIII.—known as Ptolemy Physcon, and also as Ptolemy Euergetes II.—who had been joint-king with his brother, Philometor, from B.C. 169 to 165, and reigned as sole king from B.C. 165 to B.C. 117.
20. to renew the old friendship and league.] The friendship and league made with Judas Maccabees in B.C. 161–0. (See ch. viii. 17-30.)
22. that they should do them no harm.] Literally, "that they should not seek their hurt."
23. their cities or countries.] Rather, "their cities or country."
cities, or countries, nor yet aid their enemies against them.

20. It seemed also good to us to receive the shield of them.

21. If therefore there be any pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high priest, that he may punish them according to their own law.

22. The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius the king, and Attalus, to *Ariarathes, and Arsaces, and all to the countries, and to Sampsames, and the Lacedemonians, and to Delus, and Myndus, and Sicyon.

Nor yet aid their enemies against them.] Literally, "nor yet aid those who make war upon them."

20. It seemed . . . good to us to receive the shield.] Reception of the present brought by envoys was considered to bind the recipient to give a favourable answer to their requests. Rome, in the great majority of cases, kept to this understanding, but with an occasional departure from it. Very recently she had accepted a golden figure of Victory from Tryphon, and had melted it into a figure of the murdered Antiochus, placing his name upon it as though he had been the giver, and declining to acknowledge any obligation to Tryphon (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 88; Ed. Bipont.).

21. pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you.] The severe measures of Simon against the Hellenizing faction (ch. xiv. 14) had evidently caused many Jews to betake themselves to voluntary exile. Numerius must have requested an exertion of the influence of Rome to force these exiles back upon their own country. Such an extradition of political offenders, though not unprecedented, was very unusual. It may be doubted whether many of the "kings and countries" addressed by the Romans acted upon the instructions here given to them.

22. The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius.] One of the circular letters was addressed to Demetrius II., who was regarded as the legitimate king of Syria, and whose capture by the Parthians had either not taken place, or at any rate was not known at Rome, when the circular letters were written. According to Clinton ("F. H. vol. iii. p. 316) Demetrius was not made prisoner till Nov. B.C. 138. The letters were written in B.C. 139. (See comment on v. 16.)

and Attalus.] Attalus II. is no doubt intended. He was still king of Pergamus when the letters were written, not having been succeeded by his nephew, Attalus III., till B.C. 138. The Pergamene dynasty was connected with Rome by peculiar close terms of alliance.

Ariarathes.] Ariarathes V. (Philopator) was king of Cappadocia from B.C. 162 to B.C. 151. He "maintained the alliance between Cappadocia and Rome with great fidelity" (Manual of Ancient History, p. 300), and was a man of pure and blameless character. The Romans could count with a near approach to certainty on his compliance with their wishes.

and Arsaces.] It is surprising to find it stated that a letter was addressed at this time to Arsaces, the Parthian monarch, who was absolutely and entirely independent of the Romans, and was scarcely likely to pay the very slightest attention to their requests. As Grimm observes, the letter, if really written, must have been wholly different in tone from those addressed to the other monarchs. But our author's testimony, entirely unsupported as it is, can scarcely be regarded as sufficient to establish the fact—anteceidently most improbable—that Arsaces was addressed upon the subject. The Arsaces intended would be Mithridates I., the opponent of Demetrius. (Cf. ch. xiv. 2, 3.)

23. to Sampsames.] It is quite uncertain what country is intended here. The Vulgate gives "Lampasus;" but Lampasus was not at this time an independent state, much less one that would be likely to be given the foremost place in such a list as the present. Grimm's conjecture of "Samsoun" —a name which first appears in the geography of Abulfeda (A.D. 1330)—is in the highest degree improbable.

Delus, and Myndus.] Delus, or rather Delos, the smallest of the Cyclades, had been given to Athens by the Romans in B.C. 167 (Polyb. xxx. 18, § 7). After the fall of Corinth, in B.C. 146, it became the centre of an extensive commerce, and (seemingly) regained its independence. Myndus was a small town in Caria, not far from Halicarnassus.

Sicyon.] Sicyon was one of the most important towns of the Peloponnesse. It had been the place of meeting for the Council of the Achæan League (Polyb. v. 1, § 7; xxv. 1, § 5, &c.), and was a town of great strength (ib. xxx. 15, § 1). After the dissolution of the League, Sicyon, though really subject to Rome, was allowed the shadow of independence. (See Mommsen, 'Hist. of Rome,' vol. iii. p. 50, E. T.)
and Caria, and Samos, and Pamphyilia, and Lycia, and Halicarnassus, and Rhodes, and Phaselis, and Cos, and Side, and Arados, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene. 24. And the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest. 25. So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day, as assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in. 26. At that time Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to aid him; silver also, and gold, and much armour. 27. Nevertheless he would not re-

Caria, ... and Pamphyilia, and Lycia.] After a period of subjection to Rhodes, Caria and Lycia had regained their freedom by a decree of the Senate in B.C. 168 (Polyb. xxx. 5, § 12). Pamphyilia, after its conquest by Achaeus in B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 77, § 1), was recovered to the Seleucid kingdom, but in the recent troubles may have become free. Phaselis.] Phaselis was a city on the coast of Lycia, with an excellent port and a considerable trade, more especially in the early times (Herod. ii. 178). It was independent until B.C. 75; when the Romans deprived it of freedom as a punishment for the share which it had taken in the organised piracy of the time. Side, and Arados, and Gortyna.] Side, the city in which Antiochus Sideotes was brought up (see note on v. 1), was a Greek town belonging to Pamphyilia, situated upon the coast between the Eurymedon and the Melas rivers. Like so many of the Hellenic maritime towns, it seems to have enjoyed a practical independence (Polyb. v. 73, § 4). Arados was a Phoenician town, situated on the island now called Rubad, which lies off the Syrian coast, in lat. 34° 51'. It appears as independent in the war between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Philopator, B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 68, § 7). Gortyna was one of the chief cities of Crete. Cnidus, Cyprus, and Cyrene are too well known to need identification or description. 24. the copy hereof.] The exact counterpart of the circular letter addressed to the Roman allies was sent to Simon, that he might know what injunctions had been laid upon them.

§ 4. Antiochus Sidetes continues his war with Tryphon—he picks a quarrel with Simon. 26–27. The siege of Dor continued, and Simon (according to Josephus) was of great service to Antiochus, by supplying him with money and provisions during the earlier part of the siege (A. J. xiii. 7, § 3). During this period he was in high favour with the Syrian king. But later on, in what seems to be called "the second siege" (v. 25), when success appeared to be certain, Sidetes changed his tone. The supplies of men and money which Simon sent him were rudely rejected (v. 27), and a demand was made on him for the payment of a thousand talents (more than 240,000l.), under the threat of immediate hostilities. The only alternative suggested was the surrender of Joppa, Gaza, and the Acra of Jerusalem, which Antiochus declared to be "cities of his realm" (v. 28). Simon was probably quite unable to pay the sum demanded, and he was quite determined not to surrender the fortresses, but, with the moderation which characterised him, he proposed a middle course—he would give a hundred talents (24,000l.) for the two conquered cities, albeit they belonged of right to Judea, but he would give no more. The reply infuriated Sidetes, from whom Tryphon had recently escaped, having fled from Dor to Orthosias, a Phoenician city further to the north.

26. Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day.] Rather, "for the second time," or "in the second siege"—ἐν τῇ δεύτερῃ και τῇ τρίτῃ (κοιτασμα). Ewald has shown that an interval of time is required between the events related in vv. 13, 14, and those now spoken of ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 338, note 4). assaulting it continually, and making engines.] The original intention was to reduce the place by blockade (v. 14); but this plan seems to have been found too tedious. In the "second siege" continual attacks were made upon the walls by military engines, which were supported by troops. 26. Simon sent him two thousand chosen men.] A small contingent, but nearly as many as had enabled Demetrius to quell the great insurrection in Antioch (ch. xi. 44–51), and exactly the number that had defied the entire "host" of Tryphon in Galilee (ch. xii. 47–51). much armour.] Literally, "many vessels." The original no doubt had ἰλί, which is a word of very wide significance. 27. Nevertheless he would not receive them.] There is not necessarily any contradiction between this statement and that of Josephus,
ceive them, but brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him.

28 Furthermore he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his friends, to commune with him, and say, Ye withhold Joppa and Gazara, with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm.

29 The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places within my kingdom.

30 Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places, whereof ye have gotten dominion without the borders of Judea:

31 Or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: if not, we will come and fight against you.

32 So Athenobius the king's friend came to Jerusalem: and when he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver plate, and his great attendance, he was astonished, and told him the king's message.

33 Then answered Simon, and said unto him, We have neither taken other men's land, nor holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time.

34 Wherefore we, having oppor-

that Simon supplied the troops of Antiochus with provisions and pay (A. J. xiii. 7, § 2), if we regard Josephus as speaking of the earlier, and our author of the later siege.

brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore.] Compare vv. 3-9. It is impossible to assign any other ground for Sidetes' change of policy, except his conviction that he was strong enough to hold his own without the help of the Jews, and his determination to bring Judea back to the position of weakness and dependence which she had occupied in the more flourishing times of the Seleucid monarchy. This policy he pursued steadily during the remainder of his reign (ch. xv. 38-41, xvi. 5-10; Joseph. A. J. xiii. 8).

became strange unto him.] Compare ch. xi. 53, where the same expression is used with respect to Demetrius II. and Jonathan.

28. Ye withhold Joppa.] Rather, "Ye hold." On the occupation of Joppa by Simon, see ch. xii. 33; xiv. 5-34.

and Gazara.] Compare ch. xiii. 43-48; xiv. 34.

wth the tower that is in Jerusalem.] Le. the Acra, which Simon had taken after it had been held by the Syrians for twenty-six years. (See ch. xiii. 49-51.) Antiochus calls it a "city of his realm," since, though originally a mere fort, it had in course of time collected a cluster of houses around it.

29. The borders thereof ye have wasted.] Rather, "ye have made solitary." The expulsion of the Syrian garrisons, with their sympathizers, from Joppa (ch. xii. 34) and Gazara (ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 34), seems to be intended.

got the dominion of many places.] This is rhetorical amplification. The only other place that can be named is Ekron, which had been voluntarily ceded by Balas (ch. x. 89).

30. the tributes of the places.] Le. the sums that would have been paid to the royal treasury as tribute by the cities occupied, if they had remained in the possession of the Syrians. The amount due is estimated later on (vv. 31) at 500 talents!

32. the cupboard of gold and silver plate.] A "beauet," or "sideboard," on which the gold and silver plate was displayed, is meant. An ostentatious display of magnificent drinking-vessels had been common in the East from Persian times (Xen. Cyrop. viii. 8, § 18; Herod. ix. 80; Strab. xv. 3, § 19, &c.), and probably even from an earlier date. The practice spread from the Persians to the Greco-Macedonians, and seems to have passed from them to the Jews.

his great attendance.] Compare 2 Chr. ix. 4. Simon had evidently adopted a pomp and magnificence unknown to previous Maccabean princes, and unusual in a mere vassal king.

39. We have neither taken other men's land.] Simon means to say that Joppa and Gazara, and still more the Acra, were ancient possessions of the Jewish nation, withheld from them for a time by force, but always really theirs. Consequently, they had but taken that which was their own. (See Josh. xvi. 3, xix. 46; 2 Chr. ii. 16, &c.)
I. MACCABEES. XV.

35 And whereas thou demandest Joppæ and Gazara, albeit they did great harm unto the people in our country, yet will we give an hundred talents for them. Hereunto Athenobius answered him not a word;

36 But returned in a rage to the king, and made report unto him of these speeches, and of the glory of Simon, and of all that he had seen: whereupon the king was exceeding wroth.

37 In the mean time fled Tryphon by ship unto Orthosias.

38 Then the king made Cendebeus captain of the sea coast, and gave him an host of footmen and horsemen, and to fortify the gates, and to war against the people; but as for the king himself, he pursued Tryphon.

39 So Cendebeus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people, and to invade Judea, and to take the people prisoners, and slay them.

35. will we give an hundred talents for them.] Simon was always ready to avert war by a moderate pecuniary sacrifice (ch. xiii. 19); but the demand for 1000 talents was preposterous. It is doubtful whether by any exertions he could have raised such a sum.

36. the king was exceeding wroth.] He had probably expected a submissive answer—the arrival of ambassadors with presents to deprecate his displeasure—the surrender, perhaps, of Joppa or Gazara, or both. He could certainly not have expected the restoration of the Acra. The boldness, however, and uncompromising plainness of Simon’s reply offended him, and roused a feeling of anger, which led him to declare war at once against his recent ally.

37. Tryphon fled by ship unto Orthosias.] It is extremely difficult to keep up a blockade by sea. Rough weather deranges it, causing the blockading vessels to put to sea, or else to seek shelter in harbours. Again, a small boat easily slips past the vessels under cover of darkness. Thus Tryphon was able to elude his enemy, and remove from Dor to Orthosias. This latter city lay about 140 miles north of Dor, on the coast of Phœnicia, between Tripolis and the river Eleutherus (Plin. ‘H. N.’ v. 17). The exact position is uncertain. Tryphon, on making his escape from Dor, appears to have fled first to Ptolemais (Charax, Fr. 14), whence he proceeded to Orthosias, and thence to Apamea in the valley of the Orontes. At Apamea, he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2), or was put to death (‘Joseph. A. J.’ xiii. 7, § 2).

§ 5. WAR OF ANTIQUISCHUS SIDETES WITH SIMON—JUDÆA INVADED BY CENDEBEUS.

38–41. On the escape of Tryphon, Antiochus resolved to divide his forces, and, while pursuing Tryphon with a portion, to send the remainder, under a general named Cendebeus, to invade Judea. He was sagacious enough to perceive that Tryphon had ceased to be formidable, and must soon be taken or surrender himself, while Simon was far more to be dreaded. Cendebeus had orders to move southwards towards Judæa, and occupy a strong post, known as Cedron, in the vicinity of Jamnia, whence he would be able to make inroads into the Jewish territory. The present passage describes his execution of these orders, and establishment at Jamnia and Cedron, to the great detriment of Simon’s subjects in that quarter.

38. captain of the sea coast.] The tract from Carmel to Gaza is probably intended. It was a long tract of lowland, known as Sharon in the more northern, and as Philistia in the more southern portion. The chief maritime towns, besides Dor and Gaza, were Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon.

39. commanded him to remove his host toward Judæa.] Literally, “to encamp over against Judæa,” i.e. to take up a position outside the Jewish territory, but near it, and opposite to it, so to speak.

to build up Cedron.] Literally, “to build Cedron.” Cedron has not been previously mentioned. It must have been within a short distance of Jamnia (Jabneh) and Azotus (Esdrael), and must have had a watercourse eastward of it. These conditions are fulfilled by the modern Katra or Kutrah, which lies in the flat country a little below the river Rubin and three miles S.W. of Akir or Ekron, and which is therefore thought to be “Cedron.”

40. Cendebeus came to Jamnia.] Jamnia, when last mentioned (ch. x. 69), was in the possession of Demetrius II. It now readily acknowledged the authority of Sidetes.

began to provoke the people.] I.e. the Jews.
I. MACCABEES. XV. XVI.

41. And when he had built up Cedron, he set horsemen there, and an host of footmen, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea, as the king had commanded him.

CHAPTER XVI.

3 Judas and John prevail against the forces sent by Antiochus. 11 The captain of Jericho inveighed Simon and two of his sons into his castle, and there treacherously murdered them. 19 John is sought for, 22 and escaped, and killed those that sought for him.

THEN came up John from Gaza, and told Simon his father what Cendebeus had done.

41. they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea.] The word "outroad," which does not occur elsewhere in the A. V., is scarcely English. Translate—"they might make expeditions along the roads of Judea." It is clear that the position of Cedron commanded several lines of route from the low country into Judea, and thus afforded facilities for invasion.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. SEQUEL OF THE WAR OF SIDETES AGAINST SIMON—CENDEBEUS DEFEATED BY JOHN HYRCANUS.

1–10. The war of petty inroad, now on one line of route, now on another, which Cendebeus was carrying on by the directions of Sidetes (ch. xv. 41.), was an annoyance rather than a danger, yet seemed to need to be met by prompt action. John, therefore, the son of Simon, who commanded in these parts, having his head-quarters at Gaza (ch. xiii. 54; xvi. 1), proceeded to Jerusalem to consult his father on the emergency. Hereupon Simon, who had already designated his son John for captain of the host (ch. xiii. 54.), formally moved the command on him and his brother Judas, whom he directed to march against Cendebeus at the head of an army of 20,000 men, composed both of horse and foot. His commands were executed, and in a pitched battle, fought with Cendebeus near Cedron, the two brothers gained a great victory, completely routing the Syrian host, which fled from the field to Cedron, and from Cedron to the watch-towers of Ashdod. Judas being wounded, John conducted the pursuit, and pressed it to Ashdod itself, which he took and burnt. He then returned to Judasa in peace.

1. Then came up John from Gaza.] Compare ch. xiii. 54, where we are told that John's residence was fixed at Gaza, which lay but a short distance from Cedron.

2 Wherefore Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have ever from our youth unto this day fought against the enemies of Israel; and things have prospered so well in our hands, that we have delivered Israel oftentimes.

3 But now I am old, and ye, by God's mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go and fight for our nation, and the help from heaven be with you.

and told Simon . . . what Cendebeus had done.] Rather, what "Cendebeus was accomplishing." He was continually making inroads, ravaging the territory, killing such as resisted, and carrying off numerous prisoners (ch. xv. 40.). These were no doubt sold to the slave-merchants. (Compare ch. iii. 41.)

2. his two eldest sons.] Literally, "his two elder sons." He seems to have had, in all, three sons: Judas, the eldest; Johanan or John, the second; and a third, whose name was Mattathias. The eldest and youngest sons were involved in the fate of their father, being murdered by Ptolemy the son of Abubus at a banquet (infra, v. 16). John alone escaped, and thus, though only the second son, succeeded his father (vv. 22, 23).

I, and my brethren, and my father's house.] See note on ch. xiii. 3.

have delivered Israel oftentimes.] I.e. "have repulsed and defeated an invader." Compare ch. iii. 11, 23; iv. 14, 34; vii. 43; ix. 66-68; x. 82.

3. now I am old.] On the probable age of Simon, see the comment on ch. xiii. 53.

by God's mercy.] Literally, "through mercy." With his usual extreme reverence and reticence, the author abstains from introducing the name of God. Compare ch. iii. 18, 32, 33; iv. 10, 55; v. 37, 47, &c.

be ye instead of me and my brother.] Simon is thinking of the time, when, all the brothers being dead but himself and Jonathan, the cause of national independence and religious purity was upheld by the two jointly, both being at the head of armies, and lending valuable aid the one to the other. (See ch. ix. 63-67; x. 74-84; xi. 60-74; xii. 24-38.) He intends Judas and John to act similarly, and anticipates a long and prosperous career for both.

the help from heaven.] I.e. God's help; but again the Holy Name is suppressed.
4 So he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war with horsemen, who went out against Cendebus, and rested that night at Modin.

5 And when as they rose in the morning, and went into the plain, behold, a mighty great host both of footmen and horsemen came against them: howbeit there was a water brook betwixt them.

6 So he and his people pitched over against them: and when he saw that the people were afraid to go over the water brook, he went first over himself, and then the men seeing him passed through after him.

7 That done, he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: for the enemies' horsemen were very many.

8 Then sounded they with the holy trumpets: whereupon Cendebus and his host were put to flight, so that many of them were slain, and the remnant gat them to the strong hold.

9 At that time was Judas John's brother wounded; but John still followed after them, until he came to Cedron, which Cendebus had built.

10 So they fled even unto the towers in the fields of Azotus; wherefore he burned it with fire: so there were slain, &c.

4. be chose out . . twenty thousand men.] He could now bring into the field 40,000 men, if necessary (ch. xii. 41); but the occasion did not seem to require so many. He preferred a smaller picked army.

(with horsemen.) Cavalry are here for the first time mentioned as employed by the Maccabee princes. The force was probably a small one (see v. 7).

at Modin.] Modin, or Modein, was not very far from Cedron, and lay on the direct route between that place and Jerusalem. (See the comment on ch. ii. 1, and ch. xiii. 25-30.) It commanded the view over the maritime plain far and wide. Posted at Modein, Judas and John would be able to see the entire disposition of the enemy's forces.

5. there was a water brook betwixt them.] Rather, "a water-course"—i.e. the dry stream of a winter torrent. This is supposed to have been the modern Wady Rubin, which runs a little to the east of Kutrah, the supposed site of Cedron. (See the comment on ch. xv. 39.)

6. be and his people.] It is questioned, which of the brothers is intended, Judas or John. As Judas has certainly been assigned the most prominent place in v. 2, it might so far be supposed that the reference was to him. But on the other hand, we have to remember (1) That John was designated as "captain of all the hosts" in b.c. 141, without any mention of Judas (ch. xiii. 53); (2) That it was John who took the important step of consulting Simon on the emergency; and (3) That John is so much the foremost figure on the Jewish side in the eye of the writer, that, to identify Judas, he speaks of him as "John's brother" (v. 9). These facts give a prominence to John, which makes it almost cer-
tain that the actions recorded in v. 6 and 7 are his.

the people were afraid to go over the water brook.] They would be at a disadvantage if attacked while they were crossing; and they would fight at a disadvantage with such an obstacle in their rear.

7. be divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen.] The meaning seems to be, that, instead of placing the cavalry on the wings, according to ordinary practice, or drawing them up in a body, to watch events and make a charge when necessary, John intermixed the two arms of the service, blending cavalry and infantry together into a mixed mass. The arrangement is not one likely to commend itself to modern tacticians. It was, however, adopted upon occasions by the Romans (Val. Max. i. 3, § 3; Denison's 'History of Cavalry,' p. 73). John had recourse to it, because his cavalry was scanty, and, if it had acted alone, might easily have been annihilated by the numerous cavalry of the enemy.

8. Then sounded they with the holy trumpets.] Compare ch. iv. 13; v. 33; ix. 12, &c. The epithet "holy" is omitted in several MSS. many of them were slain.] Literally, "many of them fell wounded." (Compare ch. iii. 11.) the remnant gat them to the strong hold.] Lc. to Cedron (ch. xv. 39, 41).

10. the towers in the fields of Azotus.] Watch-towers were common, both in Palestine, and in the adjacent countries, which were liable to sudden incursions of the wandering tribes, Arabs, Edomites, Amalekites, &c. Hence the expression "from the tower of the watchman unto the fenced city" (2 Kings xvii. 9, xviii. 8).

be burned it with fire.] The Vulgate has
that there were slain of them about
two thousand men. Afterward he re-
turned into the land of Judea in peace.

11 Moreover in the plain of Jer-
icho was Ptolemeus the son of
Abubus made captain, and he had
abundance of silver and gold:
12 For he was the high priest's
son in law.

13 Wherefore his heart being lift-
ed up, he thought to get the country
to himself, and thereupon consulted
deceitfully against Simon and his
sons to destroy them.

14 Now Simon was visiting the
cities that were in the country, and
taking care for the good ordering of
them; at which time he came down
himself to Jericho with his sons,
Mattathias and Judas, in the hun-

"them" for "it," as though there had been
a reading of αὐτοὺς for αὐτῷ, but this read-
ing is not found in the MSS. If αὐτῷ be
preferred, we must regard the antecedent as
Azotus, which was probably at this antecedent not
a place of much strength. (Compare ch. x.
84; xi. 4.)

two thousand men.] The MSS. vary be-
tween 1000, 2000, and 3000. The Syrian
Version has 3000. We should have expected
a greater destruction from the terms in which
the host of Cendebeus is described in v. 5.

§ 2. MURDER OF SIMON, AND TWO OF HIS
SONS, BY PTOLEMY THE SON OF ABUBUS.

11-17. If the war with Cendebeus was in
B.C. 138, as seems probable, there must have
been an interval of about three years between
its termination and the death of Simon. It
was probably now that Simon found time for
the accomplishment of his works of peace
(ch. xiii. 27-30; xiv. 5-15). After the failure
of the expedition of Cendebeus, Sidetes left
Simon to himself, waiting for a favourable op-
opportunity to renew his attack. Simon's ad-
ministration of the government continued to
be active and energetic, the old man personally
visiting the various cities of his kingdom, and
inquiring into their condition. It was while
he was engaged in one of these tours of
inspection that he laid himself open to a
treachery onslaught. He had married a
daughter to a certain "Ptolemy, son of
Abubus," and had intrusted to his govern-
ment the rich district about Jericho.
Ptolemy had grown wealthy in this office,
and aspired to the supreme power. If he
could remove Simon and his sons, he thought
Sidetes might be prevailed on to accept him
as vassal monarch. Accordingly he arranged
matters so that when it was his turn to be
visited, Simon should fall into a trap and lose
his life. Had all Simon's sons accompanied
him, the plot might have had a complete
success. As it was, Mattathias and Judas
shared the fate of their father; but John, who
was at Gaza, escaped.

11. in the plain of Jericho.] The "Arboth-
Jericho," or "plain of Jericho," was the rich
tract towards the mouth of the Jordan de-
scribed by Josephus ('B. J.' iv. 8, § 3) as
seventy stades (eight miles) long by twenty
stades (2½ miles) broad. It was well watered
by a "most exuberant fountain." The "fer-
tility of the soil was unexampled. Palms of
various names and properties—some that
produced honey scarcely inferior to that of that
neighbourhood: opobalsamum, the choicest
of indigenous fruits; cypris and myrobala-
num, throve there beautifully, and were
thickly dotted about in pleasure grounds"
('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 769).

was Ptolemeus...made captain.] The
office assigned him was, probably, at once
civil and military. Jericho had to be held
as an outpost against the Trans-Jordanic
nomades. At the same time its governor
was expected to remit to the treasury a con-
siderable revenue.

be had abundance of silver and gold.] His
wealth, as Grimm thinks, may have been
derived, in part at least, from the dowry
which he had received with his wife, Simon's
daughter (see the next verse); but it is likely
to have resulted as much from the opulence
and fertility of the province which he admin-
istered. (Compare Joseph. i. s.c.)

13. be thought to get the country to himself.]
The success of such upstarts as Balas and
Tryphon, who, born in a private station,
nevertheless placed the Syrian crown on their
heads, must have been exceedingly demoral-
ising at this period, and have lit up the flame
of ambition in many a heart. The relation
of Judea to Syria still further favoured ille-
gitimate attempts, since the Syrian monarchs
were at once open to bribes and to cajolery.

against Simon and his sons.] Ptolemy
seems to have been quite aware that his work
would be but half done, if he allowed any
son of Simon to escape. It was a part of
his scheme to remove John (v. 19) no less
than Judas and Mattathias.

14. Mattathias and Judas.] The order of
the names is curious, since Judas was cer-
tainly the elder brother (see v. 2). We
cannot conclude from it, however, that the
dred threescore and seventeenth
year, in the eleventh month, called
Sabat:

15 Where the son of Abubus re-
ceiving them deceitfully into a little
hold, called Docus, which he had
built, made them a great banquet:
howbeit he had hid men there.
16 So when Simon and his sons
had drunk largely, Ptoleme and
his men rose up, and took their
weapons, and came upon Simon into
the banqueting place, and slew him,
and his two sons, and certain of his
servants.
17 In which doing he committed
a great treachery, and recompensed
evil for good.

author does not, as a general rule, mention
brothers in the order of their seniority.

in the hundred threescore and seventeenth
year.] The 177th Seleucid year began in
As the month Sabat corresponded nearly to
February, we may place the death of Simon
in Feb. B.C. 155.

the eleventh month, called Sabat.] Com-
pare Zech. i. 7.

15. a little hold, called Docus.] Rather,
"called Dök." The Syriac version has
"Doak," the Greek Δόκ. Josephus gives
the name as "Dagon," which is not likely to
have been the name of a place. The word
Dök seems to remain in the modern An-
Dök, a set of "copious and excellent springs
which burst forth in the Wady Nawāmeh
at the foot of the mountain of Quarantania,
about four miles north-west of Jericho" ('Dict.
of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 445). Above
the springs are traces of ancient foundations,
which may be the remains of Ptolemy's
"little hold."

16. had drunk largely.] The original goes
further than this. It says that they "were
drunken." Intemperance, though not a
characteristic national vice, was far from
being unknown among the Jews. (See
Deut. xxxi. 20; 1 Sam. xxi. 36; 2 Sam. xi.
13; 1 Kings xvi. 9, &c.) It may lower our
estimate of this Maccabean hero, to find that,
when tempted, he gave way to this vice;
but there is really no ground for surprise,
that, in a rough age, even Jewish princes
indulged in the habits common to royal
personages of the period. The Maccabean
princes were not saints.

Ptolemy and his men rose up.] The ex-
pression used seems to imply that Ptolemy
took an active part in the murders. Royal
murderers usually depute the actual execution
of their schemes to others; but Ptolemy was
not averse from sharing in the scene of
blood himself.

dis two sons.] In the two who had ac-
accompanied him to Jericho, Judas and Matta-
thias. (See v. 14.) The account in Jose-
phus ('A.J.' xiii. 8, § 1), that these princes
were made prisoners, and only put to
death after a long delay, is contradictory
to the narrative of our author, and deserves
no credit. The pathetic history of their
mother is, to some extent, discredited by its
connection with false statements; but it may
nevertheless be true, since it is compatible
with all that related by our author. (Cf
Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 365.)

17. be committed a great treachery.] 'Athenia
is from δέχεσθαι, and properly means a rightful
or wrongful repudiation of engagements.
But in the later Greek, it is always employed
in a bad sense, of engagements that have been
perfidiously broken. (Polyb. ii. 33, § 8; ii.
49, § 2; 70, § 4; 78, § 2, &c.)

§ 3. SEQUEL TO THE BOLD ATTEMPT OF
PTOLEMY. HE DESIGNS TO KILL JOHN
HYRCANUS, BUT FAILS.

18-22. It must be supposed that Ptolemy
had belonged to the patriotic party; otherwise
he would certainly not have been accepted as
a son-in-law by the High Priest (v. 12).
Still, under the existing circumstances, he
had to throw himself on the support of the
opposite side. Accordingly, he at once sent
off envoys to Sidetes, offering to restore the
whole country to its former condition of
submission to Syria, on condition of receiving
the support of a Syrian army. At the
same time he dispatched emissaries to Gaza, with
orders to kill John (v. 19). Nor did he
neglect the capital, but sent such a force as
he could spare, to seize both the city of Jeru-
salem and the Temple hill (v. 20). His plans
were exceedingly well laid, if only he had had
sufficient force to carry them out. But John
received timely warning of what was intended,
and frustrated all Ptolemy's projects. He
seized and executed the emissaries who had
accepted the mission to put him to death
(v. 22), and, as we learn from Josephus
('A.J.' xiii. 8, § 1), at once took the offensive
against his adversary, shut him up in Dök,
and after a little time drove him to seek a
refuge in the Trans-Jordanic territory, after
which nothing more is heard of him. John
succeeded to his father's double office of civil
governor and High Priest of the nation.
Then Ptolemy wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him an host to aid him, and he would deliver him the country and cities.

He sent others also to Gazara to kill John: and unto the tribunes he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give them silver, and gold, and rewards.

And others he sent to take Jerusalem, and the mountain of the temple.

Now one had run afore to Gazara, and told John that his father and brethren were slain, and quoth he, Ptolemy hath sent to slay thee also.

Hereof when he heard, he was sore astonished: so he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away.

As concerning the rest of the acts of John, and his wars, and worthy deeds which he did, and the building of the walls which he made, and his doings,

Behold, these are written in the chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high priest after his father.
§ I. PLAN OF THE WORK, AND ITS DIVISIONS

§ II. STYLE AND DICTION

§ III. HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE BOOK

§ IV. SOURCES OF THE BOOK


TO HIS MAIN NARRATIVE THE WRITER PREFIXES AN INTRODUCTION, WHICH DIVIDES ITSELF INTO TWO PARTS. THE Former PART CONSISTS OF TWO DETACHED DOCUMENTS, PURPORTING TO BE LETTERS THAT HAD BEEN ADDRESSED BY THE JEWS OF JERUSALEM TO THEIR BRETHREN IN EGYPT, ON THE SUBJECT OF KEEPING THE DEDICATION FESTIVAL INSTITUTED BY JUDAS MACCABEUS ON HIS RECOVERY OF THE TEMPLE. THE FIRST OF THESE LETTERS OCCUPIES NINE Verses AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE WORK; THE SECOND EXTENDS FROM CHAP. I. 10 TO CHAP. II. 18. THE LETTERS ARE CURIOUS, BUT OF SCARCELY ANY HISTORICAL VALUE, BEING THE PRODUCTION OF SOME FORGER OR FORGERS, WHO IMPONED UPON THE SIMPLICITY OF OUR AUTHOR. THEY HAVE SCARCELY ANY CONNECTION WITH THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE TO WHICH THEY ARE PREFIXED; AND THE SUPPOSED FACTS RELATED IN THE SECOND ARE WHOLLY UNWORTHY OF CREDIT. THE SECOND PORTION OF THE INTRODUCTION Extends FROM CHAP. II. 19 TO 32, AND IS OF...
INTRODUCTION TO THE

the nature of a modern "preface," containing a brief summary of contents, a statement of the source from which the writer derived his materials, and an explanation of the mode in which he proposed to deal with them. Thus the scheme of the work may be exhibited as follows:

Introduction (chaps. i.-ii.)
Detached documents (First Letter (chap. i. 1-9).
(chaps. i.-ii. 18). Second Letter (chap. i. 10 to chap. ii. 18).
Preface (chap. ii. 19-32).

Main narrative (ch. iii.-xv.),
The troubles anterior to the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. iii.-vii).
The pollution and the persecution which followed it (chaps. vi., vii).
The insurrection of the Jews and the war of Judas with Epiphanes (chaps. viii.-x. 9).
The war of Judas with Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 10 to chap. xiii. 26).
The war of Judas with Demetrius I. up to the death of Nicorax (chaps. xiv., xv.).

§ II. STYLE AND DICTION.
The diction of the Second Book of Maccabees offers a remarkable contrast to that of the First Book. Whereas in the First Book Hebraisms are almost continual, in the Second they are of exceedingly rare occurrence. Only two or three have been pointed out: and they are not of a very marked character. On the other hand, the use of idiomatic Greek phrases is constant; and the Greek generally is almost as good as that of Polybius or Appian. Novel words are, however, frequent, and many words are used in strange and unusual senses.

1 See chap. viii. 15; ix. 5; xiv. 24.
2 The following have been noticed by Prof. Westcott: ἀποκαλέσαντα (chap. iii. 9); ἐλλογισμὸς (iv. 13; vi. 24); διεισδοχὴ (iv. 20); τοιούτως (v. 3); δυσσώσῃ (v. 20); συναγεῖσθαι (v. 20); ἑλλογισμὸς (vi. 7, 21; vii. 42); ἀνακολοθεῖον (vi. 28); ἔτιαμα (vii. 37); προσπεματισθήσει (vii. 19); ἐναλλοθία (viii. 27, 31); ἔξεσθαι (viii. 35); πολυπρότερον (x. 14, 15); ἀνθρωπογένεια (xii. 43); διάστασις (xii. 25); προτεστοῦν (xiv. 11); ἐπισκειθᾶται (xiv. 18); κατευθυνές (xiv. 43); and προσπομομφήσεως (xiv. 9). To these may be added ἡθομαχία (chap. vili. 18); προτεστοῦν (xiv. 11); ἐπισκειθᾶται (xiv. 18); προτεστοῦν (xiv. 20); ἐναλλοθία (xii. 13); ἔναθεν (xi. 11); ἐναλλοθία (xiv. 9); ἐπιφοβηθῆς (xiv. 46); and ἀλλών (xiv. 41).

3 As the following: ἑιδοκολεον (chap. ii. 24); "to engage oneself in a subject," usually "to be ruled in" or "to bring in;" ἡδοικολογεῖ (iii. 23); "to conceive;" generally "to have a discussion" or "to be reputed;" ψυχεῖ (iv. 37; xiv. 24); "heartily, ex animo"—in ordinary Greek, "spiritually;" φρονοῦμαι (v. 34); "to be elated, commonly "to fret, rage, be insolent;" ἀναγνωρίζω (ix. 2); "return, retreat," ordinarily "journey, moving of a camp;" ἀναστᾶται (ix. 4); "to arrange, retaliate," properly "to strike, blow on;" or "to drive a sting in;" τοιχοκέρατος (xi. 4).

Still, the meaning is, for the most part, sufficiently clear, the novel words being mostly derivatives from well-known roots.

There is a great variety in the style of writing. Sometimes, though not often, it is simple and natural; but more commonly it is stilted and artificial, deformed by a straining after rhetorical effect, by the affectation of unnecessarily long words and ponderous sentences, by an excessive use of ornament, and the employment of far-fetched images and false antithesis. Occasionally it falls into the very opposite faults, is rude and broken, awkward from its brevity, more resembling the first rough notes of a tyrant which it intends to work out his narrative, than the completed composition of a literary adept. Altogether the style is unpleasant and unsatisfactory, giving the idea of effort and display, of affectation and bad taste, of over-embellishment and over-colouring, and producing a certain distrust of the writer's strict adherence to truth.

§ III. HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE BOOK.

In estimating the value of the Second Book of Maccabees as an historical authority, we must begin with drawing a
SECOND BOOK OF THE MACCABEES.

marked line between the "Introductory Documents" and the "Main Narrative." The introductory documents are almost certainly forgeries. It is highly improbable that the Jews of Jerusalem should, amid the troubles of the year B.C. 144-3, have addressed a letter to their brethren at Alexandria desiring them to keep the festival of the Dedication. It is quite impossible that, either in B.C. 165 or B.C. 125, they should have written the farce of false history and trashy legend which constitutes the second letter, and is said to have been sent by Judas Maccabeus to Aristobulus, Ptolemy Philometer's teacher (chap. i. 10). The author of the Book is, however, not necessarily to be charged with the fabrication of the two documents which he prefixes to his narrative, and with one of which his narrative is in direct contradiction. It is far more probable that he found the documents already in existence at the time when he wrote, but had not the critical acumen to discover their worthlessness. Alexandria was, in the second century B.C., a workshop where letters, decrees, and public communications of all kinds from one government to another were freely produced by the facile pens of literary adventurers. Historical criticism was ill developed at the time when our author wrote, and he was certainly not a person of sound judgment. It is easy to understand his being imposed upon by works the tone of which was agreeable to him, though no great ingenuity had been shewn in their concoction.

The main narrative is not to be condemned unheard on account of its poor and somewhat tawdry frontispiece. It proceeds, as will appear hereafter, from an entirely different source. It admits faults and sins on the part of the writer's countrymen, which a dishonest man would have concealed. Though in general excessive in its numerical statements, it is occasionally more moderate than even the First Book, and it is confirmed in some important particulars by classical writers and classical remains.

On the other hand, it must be admitted, first, that the work contains numerous historical mistakes; and, secondly, that the writer has certain prejudices and prepossessions which render him in some matters untrustworthy as an historian. Among historical errors of an obvious character may be mentioned the following:—1. The presence of Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem at the time of the great persecution, and his actual superintendence of the tortures inflicted on the martyrs (chap. vii. 3-39); 2. The circumstances of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. ix. 4-28); 3. The time of the first expedition of Lysias into Judæa (chap. xi. 1-15); 4. The relations between Lysias and Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 11); 5. The period of time during which the Temple lay waste before its purification and re-dedication by Judas (chap. x. 3); 6. The date of the recovery of the Acra (chap. xv. 31, 35); 7. The landing of Demetrius I. on the coast of Syria "with a great power and navy" (chap. xiv. 1). Among the writer's prejudices and prepossessions two are especially noticeable:—1. His bitter hatred of the Syrians, which is manifested at every turn (chap. v. 11-24; vii. 3, 4, 9, 27, 34; viii. 32, 34; ix. 7, 13, 28; xii. 23; xiii. 9; xiv. 27, 39; xv. 3, 6, 32, 33), and which cannot but make him an unfair judge of their conduct and intentions; and 2. His predilection for the marvellous, which causes him to accept as true, and put forward with the

1 The MSS. vary between these two dates in chap. i. 10.
2 Compare chap. i. 13-16 with chap. ix. 1-4.
4 See § 4, on the Sources of the Book.
5 See chap. iv. 3, 7-17; vi. 15, 23; vi. 12-17; viii. 13; x. 20; xii. 40; xiii. 21; xiv. 3.

1 The highest estimate of the Syrian forces made by the author of the Second Book is 115,300 (chap. xii. 2), whereas the author of the First Book gives the number on one occasion as 128,000 (chap. xv. 13), and on another (chap. vi. 30) as 120,000. Nicanor's force in B.C. 166-5 is reckoned at 54,000 men in 1 Macc. iii. 39, at no more than 20,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 9.
2 The position of Heliodorus in the court of Seleucus (chap. iii. 7, 37, is confirmed by Appian, Syriaca, 645); the conferring of an Antiochian citizenship on inhabitants of other towns (chap. iv. 9, 19) by coins of Ptolemaïs (Mionnet, Description de Médailles, vol. v. Nos. 333, 472, 522-534; vol. viii. No. 159).
utmost force of which he is capable,¹ the "manifestations" of Divine Power (τινοφαλείας) which were said to have occurred in the course of the struggle between the Jews and their oppressors, and by means of which, principally, the Jews achieved their independence. Considering the fact that the author of the First Book, certainly a writer nearer to the events, knows of no such "manifestations," we may assume that the period was not one in which miracles were really wrought. The τινοφαλείαι of the Maccabees are thus later additions to the real history, either invented by literary men as embellishments, or beliefs that gradually grew up among a credulous and marvel-loving people. Our present author may not have been the first to introduce them into a written history, but his full acceptance of them cannot but detract from our estimate of his critical judgment.

Yet the value of the Book is considerable. For a certain period of Jewish history—the four or five years preceding the accession of Epiphanes (chap. iii.–iv. 6)—it is our sole authority. For the succeeding period—from B.C. 176 to B.C. 166—it runs parallel with 1 Macc. i. 10–64, but is much more full and exact in details (chap. iv. 7 to end of chap. vii.), and therefore very serviceable. For the closing period of which it treats—from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161—it is of greatly inferior value, being on about the same scale as the First Book, and of much weaker authority. Still, even in this last portion (chaps. viii.–xv.), its historical value is not absolutely nil, since it occasionally furnishes trustworthy details on points on which the writer of the First Book has omitted to touch. Instances of this are the account of Ptolemy Macron in chap. x. 12, 13; the story of the covetousness of Simon (chap. x. 19–22); the wicked deed of the men of Joppa (chap. xii. 3–5); Judas's victory over a body of Arabs (chap. xii. 10–12); the fate of Menelaus (chap. xiii. 3–8); the treachery of Rhodocus (chap. xiii. 21); the landing of Demetrius I. at Tripolis (chap. xiv. 1); the negotiations between Judas and Nicanor (chap. xiv. 19–26); and the suicide of Razis (chap. xiv. 37–46). Where the writer of the Second Book is at variance with the author of the First, his authority must be set aside as worthless; but where his narrative is additional, compatible, and not in itself improbable, it may be fairly used to eke out the somewhat meagre sketch which the writer of the First Book has thought sufficient for his purposes. A delicate discrimination is no doubt needed for the separation of the false from the true in the writer's statements, the genuine from the fabricated; but the truly critical historian will, we believe, find it feasible to obtain from the Second Book of the Maccabees a not inconsiderable amount of valuable historical material.¹

§ IV. SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

According to the express statement of the writer (chap. ii. 19–23), his main narrative is drawn entirely from a single source, being simply an epitome of a work written by a certain "Jason of Cyrene," of whom we have no other notice. Jason's work, he says, was one in five "Books," which he proposed to concentrate into a single treatise. It comprised an account of the deeds of Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, of the purification of the Temple, the dedication of the altar, the wars of the Jews with Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator, and the manifestations of Divine power (τινοφαλείας) which had enabled the Jews to overcome their enemies, and bring the struggle to a successful issue. It was a laborious history, teeming with facts, and bristling with numerical statements (chap. ii. 24), afford-

¹ Ewald says: "A closer acquaintance with the style and method of the Book, and the discernment of those portions in which the mere form of the historical elements predominates, enable us, in the deficiency of other and older sources, to derive from it much genuine historical material, especially for the earlier part of the history" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 467, E. T.). Professor Westcott considers the work "not a connected and complete history, but a series of special incidents from the point of view illustrating the providential interference of God in behalf of His people, true in substance, but embellished in form" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 177).
ing interesting but somewhat dry reading to students, but not calculated to attract the regard or attention of those who read books, not to increase their stock of knowledge, but as an agreeable occupation. The object of our author was to popularise this work, which he proposed to do by condensing its facts and abridging its narratives, at the same time adorning them with elegant phrases and other graces of composition (chap. ii. 26–31).

Nothing is known of "Jason of Cyrene," or his work, beyond what may be gathered from these statements of our author. A native of Cyrene, though a Jew, would almost certainly write in Greek; and it may perhaps be assumed from the general character of the style and diction of the work, as we have it, that he wrote in good Greek. How he obtained his knowledge of the Maccabean struggle we have no means of determining, nor is it altogether clear to what public he addressed himself. Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that, though born at Cyrene, he yet, like Callimachus, and other Cyrenæans, resided at Alexandria, and composed his treatise for the benefit of the Jewish community in that city. It is plain from chap. ii. 22, that the marvellous portions of the history, as we have it, are due to him, and not to the Epitomator, and we may therefore presume that to him too is owing the didactic and admonitory character of the entire treatise (chaps. iii. 28, 29; iv. 16, 17, 38; v. 9, 10, 19, 20; vi. 12–17, 31; viii. 35, 36; ix. 5–10, 28; xii. 41–45; xiii. 7, 8, &c.). The date at which Jason lived and wrote is even more uncertain than most other points respecting him. It is conceivable that his book may have been composed within a few years of the latest event that he notices, which is the embassy of Eupolemus to Rome (ch. iv. 11) in B.C. 161; it is, on the other hand, possible that he may not have written till shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Conjecture has placed the composition about the year B.C. 100.¹

The work of Jason is to be viewed as the sole historical source of the Book

¹ Westcott, L. &c.; Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church,* vol. iii. p. 370.

from chap. iii. 1 to chap. xv. 37. Two short passages—chap. ii. 19–32 and chap. xv. 38, 39—are the mere expression of the thoughts of the writer. The remaining passage (chap. i. together with chap. ii. 1–18) is a transcript of documents which had fallen into the writer's hands, and which he appears to have set forth verbatim. The source of these documents would seem to have been the prolific imagination of certain Alexandrian littérateurs of little ability and less judgment.

§ V. TREATMENT OF HIS MAIN SOURCE BY THE WRITER.

It has been observed in the preceding section, that the object of the author of the present work was to popularise the History of Jason of Cyrene, partly by abridging it, and partly by decking it out with supposed graces of composition. To what extent the abridgment proceeded, not having Jason's work, we cannot tell. Jason's work was "in five books" (chap. ii. 23), our author's is in one; but this does not prove that he has compressed Jason's narrative into one-fifth of the original space. There is only one place in the entire treatise (chap. xiii. 22–26) where the style of an abbreviator is very evident. There a narrative which may have occupied several pages is compressed into a dozen lines; but elsewhere there is no appearance of brevity having been especially studied. If it be allowable to make a conjecture, we should say that the "abridgment" (chap. ii. 26–31) was probably effected, rather by omission of considerable portions of the narrative, than by condensation of the parts selected for re-publication.

Less obscurity rests upon the Epitomator's method of adorning the work of his predecessor. His own proper style is sufficiently revealed by the two passages which are wholly from his pen—the "prologue" (as he calls it) in chap. ii. (verses 19–33), and the epilogue in chap. xv. (verses 38, 39). The style of these passages is of a very marked character. It is involved, highly rhetorical, full of long grand-sounding compound words, with an affected balance in the clauses, a labouring after antithesis, and
an unnecessary introduction of similes. It would seem to be almost certain that where these characteristics, or a considerable number of them, are found in the main narrative, there the Epitomator has re-written, instead of merely abbreviating, the history as given by Jason. Such passages as chap. iii. 14-30; iv. 13-17; v. 13-21; vi. 18-31; vii. 1-41; ix. 4-17; xiv. 41-46; xv. 7-16 betray the hand of the rhetorician, and are dressed out in a garb which only an accomplished literateur could have furnished. The letters also which are assigned to Epiphanes, Lysias, and Eupator (chap. ix. 19-27; xi. 18-33) bear traces of having been worked up, and have probably received their present shape rather from the Epitomator than from Jason. On the other hand, we may conclude that we have Jason's writing nearly untouched in the places from which the Epitomator's peculiarities are absent, as is the case in ch. iii. 4, 5, 7-11, 35-40; ch. iv. 3-10, 18, 19, 21-24, 27-36, &c.

§ VI. DATE OF COMPOSITION, AND AUTHOR.

It would follow from the dates contained in the first chapter (verses 7 and 10), if they have not suffered corruption, that the author composed his work subsequently to the accession of Demetrius II. (Nicator), and even (if the second date be allowed) subsequently to that of Alexander II. (Zabinas), who succeeded Demetrius in B.C. 126. If, however, with Ewald 1 and two MSS., we substitute τεσσαρακοστάοι for ὁγδοκοστάοι in chap. i. 10, then the latest date mentioned by the author will be B.C. 144-3, or the third year of Nicator in Syria, and the first of Simon in Judæa; and his work, so far, may have been composed as early as B.C. 142-140. Supposing Jason of Cyrene to have written his history about B.C. 160, which we have shewn to be possible, 2 the Epitomator may well have thought that the time was come for an adaptation of Jason's work to the taste of the general reader about twenty years later. If, however, for any reason, we lower the date of Jason, we must correspondingly lower that of the epitome. Those who assign the composition of Jason's history to about B.C. 100 suggest B.C. 50 for the present work; 3 but this is to allow an unnecessarily long interval between the two writers. B.C. 80 is quite as late a date as it is at all reasonable to assign to the Book, as we have it, even if Jason wrote about B.C. 100.

The author is probably an Alexandrian Jew. His Greek is too good for a native of Palestine at the period (B.C. 140-80). And his rhetoric is exactly what was in vogue at Alexandria under the later Ptolemies. He belongs to the most orthodox school of religious thought among the Jews; and though there is no reason for supposing that he was an actual Pharisee, 4 yet he would doubtless have sympathised with the Pharisees in their contents with the Sadducean faction. He desires a more strict observance of the Palestinian festivals by his countrymen in Egypt (chap. i. 9, 18) than they were inclined to render; and perhaps designs to lessen their reverence for the Temple at Leontopolis, and induce them to carry their offerings to Jerusalem instead, and to deposit them in that most holy sanctuary "renowned all the world over" (chaps. ii. 22; iii. 12), which even kings themselves had delighted to "honour and magnify with their best gifts" (chap. iii. 2).

§ VII. RELIGIOUS TONE OF THE BOOK.

In respect of its religious tone the Book stands in a most remarkable contrast with the First Book of Maccabees. Both writers are indeed pious and God-fearing men; both belong to the strictly orthodox party among their countrymen; both desire to keep to the old ways and avoid all Hellenistic innovations; and both, moreover, have the strongest pos-

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2 Stanley, "Lectures on the Jewish Church," vol. iii. p. 370.
3 Pharisaic teaching has been discovered in the entire concluding section of the work (chaps. xii.-xv.), and especially in chap. xii. 43-45, which is said to have been "plainly levelled against the Sadducees" (Bertholdt, quoted in Grimm's "Introduction," p. xvi.).
sible conviction that God governs the world, and directs the course of mundane affairs by His over-ruling providence. But, in all other respects, their ideas and habits of thought on religious subjects are diametrically opposite. The writer of the First Book is reticent to exceed on matters of religion, and especially chary of mentioning the Divine Name, if he can anyhow avoid it. The writer of the Second Book is wholly devoid of any such scruple; he openly declares his religious views and feelings on all suitable occasions, and freely uses the words "God" and "Lord" whenever his subject-matter leads him to refer to the Supreme Being. Again, the writer of the First Book abstains from introducing into his narrative any account of recent miraculous occurrences—he is either not aware that miracles were believed to have been wrought during the course of the Syro-Macedonian struggle, or, if he knows the stories, he disbelieves them. In the Second Book, on the contrary, the miraculous element is a main feature; and though no doubt the writer was following his authority, Jason, when he gave it a place in his narrative (chap. ii. 21), yet his elaboration of the stories, and the length at which he dwells on them, are a sufficient indication that he accepted their truth, and regarded them as among the most important events of his history. Further, the writer of the First Book is careful not to assume the role of a religious teacher; he withholds all observations on the history which he relates, and leaves the events themselves to make their own impression. The writer of the Second Book acts in an exactly opposite manner. He is pointedly didactic and admonitory. Sometimes he formally addresses religious exhortations to his readers (e.g. vi. 12-17; xii. 43-45); more usually, he appends his observations on the events as if they were forced on him by the strength of his own feelings and were not intended as admonitions (chap. iv. 16, 17, 38 ad fin.; v. 9, 10, 17-20; vi. 31; ix. 8-10, 28; xi. 10; xiii. 7, 8, 17; xv. 27, 35). The result is that the religious aspect of the history is kept continually before the reader's mind, who is taught on every page that impiety and blasphemy receive signal punishment at God's hands; that prayer is heard; that God fights openly on the side of His saints and delivers them; that, if He suffers them to be afflicted, it is for the purpose of chastening and purifying them; and that, even if they suffer the worst that can happen to man in this life, they will be rewarded in the Resurrection.

There is a certain amount of difference also between the tone of the two Books in respect of the stress laid on what is external in religion. The writer of the First Book has the Temple in high regard, but the writer of the Second is never wearied of extolling it. He calls it "the great temple" (chap. ii. 19), "the holy temple" (chap. xv. 18), "the great and holy temple" (chap. xiv. 31), "the temple renowned all the world over" (chap. ii. 22), "the temple honoured over all the world" (chap. iii. 12), and "the most holy temple of all the world" (chap. v. 15). He places the pollution of the Temple in the forefront of his history (chap. i. 8); relates at length the various attempts made, successful and unsuccessful, to plunder its treasures (chap. iii. 6-35; iv. 32, 39; v. 15-21); triumphantly sets forth its recovery (chap. x. i-8), and winds up with an elaborate account of its deliverance when it was threatened with destruction by Nicanor (chap. xiv. 31-36; xv. 17-36). With the Temple he constantly couples the altar (chaps. ii. 19; iv. 14; vi. 4, 5; x. 1-3; xiv. 33), where he represents the priests as serving (chaps. iv. 14; xv. 31) in their "holy vestments" (chap. iii. 15) with a continual "service of sacrifices" (chap. iii. 3). The incense, lights, and showbread of the sanctuary obtain honourable mention from him (chaps. i. 8; x. 3); as do the sabbath (chaps. vi. 11; viii. 26; xii. 38) and the festivals of Pentecost (chap. xii. 32), Tabernacles (chap. x. 6), Purim (chap. xv. 36), and Dedication (chaps. i. 9, 18; ii. 16; x. 5-8). His anxiety that the Feast of the Dedication should be kept by his countrymen in Egypt seems to be the only reason that can be assigned for his prefixing the two letters (chaps. i. 1—ii. 18) to his narrative. He is further especially regardful of the "holy vessels," the conversion of which to profane uses
546 INTRODUCTION TO SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES.

he regards as "sacrilege" (chap. iv. 39), those who are guilty of it (chaps. iv. 42; and as bringing a terrible judgment on v. 16; ix. 16).

CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF THE HISTORY CONTAINED IN THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF MACCABEES.

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THE SECOND BOOK
OF THE
MACCABEES.

CHAPTER I.

1 A letter of the Jews from Jerusalem to them of Egypt, to thank God for the death of Antiochus. 19 Of the fire that was hid in the pit. 24 The prayer of Numias.

The brethren, the Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea, wish unto the brethren, the Jews that are throughout Egypt, health and peace:

2 God be gracious unto you, and remember his covenant that he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants;

3 And give you all an heart to serve him, and to do his will,
with a good courage and a willing mind;
4. And open your hearts in his law and commandments, and send you peace,
5. And hear your prayers, and be at one with you, and never forsake you in time of trouble.
6. And now we be here praying for you.
7. What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred threescore and ninth year, we the Jews wrote unto you in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years, from the time that "Jason and his company" revolted from the holy land and kingdom,
8. And burned the porch, and shed innocent blood: then we prayed unto the Lord, and were heard; we offered also sacrifices and fine flour, and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.

"with a good courage." Literally, "with a large heart"—i.e. "earnestly, heartily, with might and main."

a willing mind.] Rather, "a willing soul."

4. And open your hearts in his law.] This is an unusual phrase. It is best explained as a prayer, that God would open their hearts to attend to his law and commandments. Cf. Acts xvi. 14.

5. and be at one with you.] Rather, "and be reconciled to you." The doctrine of "reconciliation" is one on which the author pointedly and frequently insists. (See ch. v. 20; vii. 33; viii. 39, &c.) According to his view, God, the offended party, requires to be "reconciled" to man, the offender; in the New Testament, it is rather man, the offender, who has to be "reconciled" to the God whom he has offended (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18-20; Col. i. 20, 21, &c.).

and never forsake you.] Compare Ps. xxxviii. 21; lxxi. 9. Sometimes God forsakes His own "for a small moment" (Is. liv. 7), but only to return and have mercy upon them, and "gather them with great mercies" (ibid.).

6. we be here praying for you.] Lk. "Be assured that we, here in Jerusalem, continue always to pray (έσενεν προσευχόμενοι) for you."

7. What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred threescore and ninth year.] Demetrius II. (Nicator) was king of Syria from the 167th Seleucid year (1 Macc. xi. 19) to the 175th, and again from the 186th to the 189th. He would seem to be the king intended. The 167th Seleucid year began in Oct. B.C. 144, and terminated in Oct. B.C. 143. It was the year in which Jonathan was taken prisoner by Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 48) and murdered (ib. xiii. 23).

we the Jews wrote unto you.] Rather, "have written." The use of the perfect tense shows that we have here the professed date of the epistle (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel', vol. v. p. 468, note 3); not, as Grimm supposes, a reference to an earlier communication. In that case the aorist must have been employed.

in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years.] Rather, "in those years."

from the time that Jason and his company revolted.] On Jason and his doings, see ch. iv. 7-16. Josephus says that his real name was Joshua (Josephus), and that he himself changed his name into Jason ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 1).

from the holy land and kingdom.] Rather, "from the holy land, and from the kingdom." The "holy land" is undoubtedly Palestine—the "land of promise"—the ἱερὰ χώρα of Philo ('Leg. ad Cal.' § 42). "The kingdom," κόρ' ἑαυτῆς, is probably "the kingdom of God upon earth," or the Jewish Church, which had become an actual earthly kingdom, before our author wrote.

8. And burned the porch.] The principal porch of the Temple building (1 Kings vi. 3) seems to be intended; but we have not elsewhere any special mention of injury done to this particular part of the edifice. All the outer gates were burnt (1 Macc. iv. 38; 1 Macc. viii. 32), and the main building was made a desolation (1 Macc. i. 19; ii. 8; iii. 45, 51; iv. 18): but it may be doubted if any wanton injury was done to the Great Porch. The Temple, it must be remembered, was, in the designs of Epiphanes, to have become a heathen sanctuary (2 Macc. vi. 2).

and shed innocent blood.] See ch. iv. 34-36; v. 6; vi. 10, 18-31; vii. 1-42, &c.

we offered also sacrifices and fine flour.] The reference is probably to the recovery of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus, and the restoration of sacrifices made by him in the year B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iv. 36-53)—the occasion ever after celebrated by the "Feast of the Dedication" (ἐγερτεύσαν).

and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.] See 1 Macc. 50, 51. The "lamps" were those of the candelabrum which supplied...
And now see that ye keep the feast of tabernacles in the month Casleu.

In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judea, and the council, and Judas, sent greeting and health unto Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master, who was of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews that were in Egypt:

Insomuch as God hath delivered us from great perils, we thank him highly, as having been in battle against a king.

For he cast them out that fought within the holy city.
13. For when the leader was come into Persia, and the army with him that seemed invincible, they were slain in the temple of Nanea by the deceit of Nanea's priests.

14. For Antiochus, as though he would marry her, came into the place, and his friends that were with him, to receive money in name of a dowry.

15. Which when the priests of Nanea had set forth, and he was entered with a small company into the compass of the temple, they shut the temple as soon as Antiochus was come in:

16. And opening a privy door of the roof, they threw stones like thunderbolts, and struck down the captain, hewed them in pieces, smote off their heads, and cast them to those that were without.

17. Blessed be our God in all things, who hath delivered up the ungodly.
II. MACCABEES. I.

18 Therefore whereas we are now purposed "to keep the purification of the temple upon the five and twentieth day of the month Caslu, we thought it necessary to certify you thereof, that ye also might keep it, as the feast of the tabernacles, and of the fire, which was given us when Neemias offered sacrifice, after that he had builded the temple and the altar.

19 For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men.

20 Now after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire: but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water;

21 Then commanded he them to draw it up, and to bring it; and when the sacrifices were laid on, which is entirely unsupported by anything contained in the canonical Books. Had the fire been preserved, it is almost certain that either Jeremiah, or Ezra, or the writer of Kings, or the writer of Chronicles, would have recorded it.

in a hollow place of a pit without water.] A tradition which can be traced back to the tenth century gives to the well at the con-junction of the Kedron with the Hinnom valley—the En-rogel of holy Scripture—the name of "the well of Nehemiah," with allusion to antiquity than can be claimed for this.

where they kept it sure.] Rather, "where they made it sure,"—i.e. concealed it safely.

20. Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia.] The king who "sent" Nehemiah, or rather allowed him to go, to Jerusalem ( Neh. ii. 4-6) was Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes and grandson of Darius Hystaspis, who was known to the Greeks as Macrobeir and to the Romans as Longimannus.

when they told us.] The pronoun of the first person seems very much out of place, the professed date of the letter being nearly three centuries after Nehemiah's time. Gaeb explains it as equivalent to "our countrymen." Grimm supposes the authors of the letter to quote from a document purporting to have been written by eye-witnesses of the events narrated. But in that case the first person would probably have occurred oftener. I should suspect that the ὑπακοη of διάκονος was first repeated by a clumsy scribe, and then turned by a corrector into ἡμῖν. I should omit the ἡμῖν, as is done by both MSS. and the Syriac Version.

21. to draw it up and to bring it.] Rather, "to draw of it (ἀπὸ βραχὺς) and bring it." when the sacrifices were laid on.] I.e. "placed on the altar."
Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water.

22 When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled.

23 And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, I say, both the priests, and all the rest, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did.

24 And the prayer was after this manner; O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful, and the only and gracious King,

25 The only giver of all things, the only just, almighty, and everlasting, thou that deliverest Israel from all trouble, and didst choose the fathers, and sanctify them:

22. there was a great fire kindled.] The acceptance of the entire story of the recovery of the holy fire by Joseph Ben-Gorion ('Hist. Jud.' i. 16, 17) does not add anything to its credibility. Ben-Gorion is aware that the altar was set up, and sacrifice renewed by Zerubbabel and Joshua, and assigns them a place in the transactions; but he spoils his story by introducing into it also the names of Ezra and Nehemiah, who lived nearly a century later. The Rabbinical writers generally ignore the story; and indeed contradict it by their almost unanimous declaration that "the holy fire" was one of the five things possessed by the first Temple which were wanting in the second. (See Buxtorf's treatise 'De igne sacro' in Ugolino's 'Thesaurus,' vol. x. p. 426.)

23. Jonathan beginning.] The "Jonathan" intended is probably the high-priest of that name mentioned in Neh. xii. 11, and called by Josephus "John" ('A. J.' xi. 7, § 1), who was the grandson of Eliasib and the father of Jaddua. The writer of the letter may have supposed that he was contemporary with Nehemiah, whereas his high-priesthood must really have fallen about half a century later. By "beginning" is meant pronouncing each clause of the prayer first, so that the people might hear it and repeat it after him.

24. the prayer was after this manner.] The accumulation of epithets in the address to God (vv. 24, 25) is the most remarkable feature of this prayer. The simplicity of early times was content to address God by one or two titles (Ex. v. 22, xx. 11, xxxii. 11; Num. xvi. 22; 2 Chron. vi. 14, 16, &c.). From the time of Daniel (Dan. ix. 4), three or four are common (Neh. i. 5; Judith ix. 12; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; Ecclus. ii. 1). The prayer ascribed to Manasseh has eleven, and the address of Jonathan in the present passage fifteen. The particular epithets are, for the most part, such as occur separately elsewhere.

O Lord, Lord God.] This is not a mere repetition, such as we find in Ps. xxi. 1; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; 3 Mac. ii. 2; Matt. vii. 21, &c., but a strengthened form of address, like "O Lord, O Lord my God," in the Psalms (xxv. 1, 2; xxxv. 22, 24; xxxi. 1, 4, &c.).

Creator of all things.] Compare 3 Mac. ii. 3, and Prayer of Manasses, v. 2.

Who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful.] Literally, "the fearful, and strong, and righteous, and merciful one"—i.e. the only Being really possessed of those qualities. God is addressed as "fearful" (or "terrible") by Daniel (ch. ix. 4), and Nehemiah (ch. i. 5); as "righteous" by David (Ps. civ. 134 and Ezra (ch. ix. 15); as "strong" by Job (ix. 19) and again by David (Ps. lxxix. 8), and as "very merciful" by Manasseh (Prayer, v. 5). The order of the epithets is that of moral climax.

The only and gracious King.] Rather, "who alone art King and gracious."

25. The only giver of all things.] Or, "the only supplier of things needed." The word used (χορηγός) designates the person who supplied whatever was necessary to put an author's play upon the stage.

The only just, almighty, and everlasting.] Omnipotence and eternal existence (i.e. existence without either beginning or end) are by common consent attributes which belong to God alone. Justice or righteousness is, in a certain qualified sense, predictable of man (Job i. 8; Ps. vii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 9; Matt. i. 15); but in the truest and highest sense of God only. (See Matt. xix. 17: "There is none good but one, that is, God.")

That deliverest Israel from all trouble.] Compare Ps. xxxiv. 17.

And didst choose the fathers.] Literally, "and didst make the fathers [Thy] chosen ones." The true Israelites are called God's "elect" in Is. lxv. 9, 15, 22, in a spiritual, and not merely in a temporal, sense; but here the election intended is probably the choice of Israel out of all the nations of the earth to
26 Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people Israel, and preserve thine own portion, and sanctify it.
27 Gather those together that are scattered from us, deliver them that serve among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God.
28 Punish them that oppress us, and with pride do us wrong;
29 Plant thy people again in thy holy place, "as Moses hath spoken.
30 And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.
31 Now when the sacrifice was consumed, Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.
32 When this was done, there was kindled a flame: but it was consumed by the light that shined from the altar.
33 So when this matter was known, it was told the king of Persia, that in the place, where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared water, and that Neemias had purified the sacrifices therewith.
34 Then the king, inclosing the place, made it holy, after he had tried the matter.
II. MACCABEES. I. II.  

35 And the king took many gifts, and bestowed thereof on those whom he would gratify.

36 And Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing: but many men call it Nephi.

CHAPTER II.

1 What Jeremy the prophet did. 5 How he hid the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar. 13 What Neemias and Judas wrote. 20 What Jason wrote in five books: 25 and how those were abridged by the author of this book.

It is also found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet com-
manded them that were carried away to take of the fire, "as it hath been signified:

2 And how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them not to forget the commandments of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, when they see images of silver and gold, with their ornaments.

3 And with other such speeches exorted he them, that the law should not depart from their hearts.

4 It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being

grew rapidly and dangerously" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 460); and, among the many apocryphal writings of the period, there may have been some which pretended to be "records" kept during the Captivity; but the unlikelihood of such records having been kept in such a time of trouble is patent, and their presumed contents do not lend them any credit.

'Jeremy the prophet commanded.' Jeremiah at the time of the Captivity was in no position to "command" anyone. He was shut up in the court of the prison (Jer. xxxviii. 28), and was not released until after the Temple had been destroyed and the prisoners carried off (ib. xxxix. 8-14).

"as it hath been signified." In ch. i. 19.

2. how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them, &c.] Some formal delivery of a copy of the law by Jeremiah to the captives, and some set address, seem to be intended. But the prophet himself tells us nothing of either. Nebuzar-adan, he says, took him in chains with the other prisoners to Ramah, and there struck off his chains; after which he sent him to Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer. xl. 1-6), while the remainder of the captives proceeded on their way to Babylon.

"when they see." Rather, "when they should see."

"images of silver and gold." Literally, "of gold and silver." The Babylonian images were mainly of the former material. (See Dan. iii. 1, v. 4; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5, &c.)

"with their ornaments." The Babylonian idols had in some instances gold crowns on their heads (Baruch vi. 9). They were also clothed in rich garments (ibid. xi. 33, 58).

4. It was also contained in the same writing.] The past tense—"it was"—is to be explained as a reference to the time when
warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God.

5 And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door.

6 And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it.

7 Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy.

8 Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also, as it was shewed under Moses, and as when Solomon desired that the place might be honourably sanctified.

the pretended writers of the letter consulted the supposed writing.

being warned of God.] Compare Matt. ii. 12. The actual word used for "warning" ('γνωρίζω) occurs in the Greek Scriptures only here and in Rom. xi. 4. It is, however, common in classical Greek. (See Polyb. xxviii. 14, § 10; 16, § 4; Lucian, "Gall." 25; Diod. Sic. l. 70, 73, &c.)

the tabernacle.] The "tabernacle" made by Moses, or its representative at the time, was removed from Gibeon to Jerusalem by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 42; 2 Chr. v. 5) on the occasion of his dedicating the Temple; but what was then done with it is not mentioned in Scripture. The forger of the letter evidently imagines that it was placed inside the Temple, and remained there until the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. But the silence of Scripture makes this very improbable.

to go with him.] Literally, "to follow him"—i.e. "to be carried after him." So Aelian says that the Choaspes water "followed" Xerxes ("Var. Hist." xii. 45). By what right or power Jeremiah gave these orders, and got them executed, the author does not explain.

the mountain where Moses climbed up.] See Deut. xxxiv. 1. This mount was probably the hiding-place with some reference to the hidden sepulchre of Moses, which was in the vicinity (ib. v. 6).

the heritage of God.] I.e. the land of Canaan, which God had given to Israel for its inheritance (Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 7, &c.).

an hollow cave.] Literally, "a cave-like dwelling." The place is so much a "dwelling" that it has a "door."

the altar of incense.] See Ex. xxx. 1-10. It seems strange that this had not been mentioned as carried forth from Jerusalem in v. 4. Probably the legend grew gradually. First, the tabernacle and the ark only were supposed to have been hidden; then, the golden altar, the most sacred thing in the Temple next to the ark, was added; finally, the list was increased by the addition of the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick, and the sacred utensils generally, as we find it in Syncellus ("Chronograph." p. 409).

stopped the door.] I.e. "blocked it up," so that it was no longer visible.

6. to mark the way. I.e. to set up some permanent marks by which it might be possible to find the cavern again and recover the treasures.

7. perceived.] Rather, "learned."

be blamed them.] Not, as Scholz supposes, for carelessness in neglecting to put up the marks earlier, but for over-care in supposing them needed. God would bring the deposit to light without human aid, when the fitting time came.

until the time that God gather his people again together.] After the return from the Captivity, the Israelites still looked forward to a further gathering in of their brethren from distant countries, and to a great increase in the population of Judea and Jerusalem. (See Zech. viii. 7, 8; x. 10; and compare the comment on ch. i. 27.)

8. the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also.] The expectation was of some such visible manifestation of the Divine Presence as is recorded in Ex. xii. 34, 35, and 2 Chr. v. 13, 14; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11, when a luminous cloud, dazzling to beholders, filled the Holy Place, and "the glory of the Lord" was, in a certain sense, revealed to the eyes of men. The expectation rested on passages in the prophets where "the glory of God" was promised to the second Temple in a spiritual sense (Is. lx. 1, 19; Hag. ii. 9; Zech. ii. 5).

FOURTH PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (v. 9-12). The records said to have been consulted by the pretended writers of the letter are now declared to have contained
II. Maccabees. II.

v. 9—13.

It was also declared, that he being wise offered the sacrifice of dedication, and of the finishing of the temple.

As when Moses prayed unto the Lord, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices; even so prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offerings.

13 The same things were also reported in the writings and commentaries of Neemias; and how he founding a library gathered together the writers in this section is directly practical. They make an offer, and they repeat their previous request. Judas Maccabaeus, following the example of Nehemiah, has collected a number of the sacred writings of former times which had been lost during the recent troubles; if the Egyptian Jews wish, they can have a portion by sending persons to fetch them. In any case they will do well to keep the Dedication Festival.

13. The same things were also reported.] Literally, “They related also the same things.” The past tense is used, as in vv. 4 and 9, with reference to the time when the writers of the letter were supposed to have consulted the document which they profess to quote.

12. So Solomon kept those eight days.] Rather, “and also in the commentaries.” The intention is to quote two entirely distinct works. The commentaries of Nehemiah cannot be the Book which has come down to us under his name, or even the original Book whereof that was a part, which comprised our present Book of Ezra, since no such statements as those of ch. ii. 1—12 are made in either of those works. The allusion is probably to an apocryphal book, which did not long survive its composition.
acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.

14. In like manner also Judas gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war we had, and they remain with us.

15. Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them unto you.

16. Whereas we then are about to celebrate the purifications, we have written unto you, and ye shall do well, if ye keep the same days.

17. We hope also, that the God that delivered all his people, and gave them all an heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary,

18. As he promised in the law, he promised in the law: for we hope in God that he will shortly, \\

whatever materials from whatever source might be useful for the future history of his people.” (Stanley, ‘Lectures on the Jewish Church,’ vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.)

the acts of the kings.] Under this designation would be included the Books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, if already written; perhaps even the Books of Joshua and Judges.

and of David.] Rather, “and the writings of David,” or “the writings ascribed to David,” by which the Psalms generally, so far as they extended at the time, but not the entire ‘Hagiographa,’ would be meant.

the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.] The “epistles” intended are probably those of the Persian kings Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, who are known to have made gifts to the Temple (Ezra i. 7–11; vi. 8, 9; vii. 15, 19–22). We have a specimen of the kind of document in the “copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe” (ibid. vii. 11–26). The “letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the king’s forest” (Neh. ii. 8), may have been included in the collection.

14. In like manner also Judas.] “As Nehemiah,” says Dean Stanley, “had agglomerated round the Law the works which had gradually taken form by his time, so Judas Maccabaeus and his companions eagerly gathered round Nehemiah’s group of sacred literature the scattered remains which had escaped, like fragments of a wreck or survivors of a battle, or ‘brands plucked from the fire,’ out of the ruin of the Syrian war.” (‘Lectures on the Jewish Church,’ vol. iii. pp. 338, 339.)

that were lost.] This expression is somewhat too strong. If they had been “lost,” Judas could not have collected them. The word used, διασπερστωσα, means “that had fallen through” or “fallen out of knowledge.” It is no doubt sometimes used of absolutely “lost” books (Phot. ‘Bibliothec.’ p. 120, ed. Bekker), but cannot have that sense here.

by reason of the war.] Or, “in the course of the war.”

15. Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send, &c.] This offer, even if a fact, and not a fiction, does not shew that the Palestinian Jews possessed a much larger number of sacred writings than the Egyptian ones (Grimm), but only that they regarded it as possible that they might possess some of which the Egyptian Jews had no copies.

16. Whereas we then, &c.] Compare ch. i. 18. To impress upon the Egyptian Jews the importance of keeping the Dedication Feast must be regarded as the principal object of this epistle, whether genuine or not.

SIXTH AND LAST PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (vv. 17, 18). The supposed writers conclude with the expression of a pious hope, that, as God has already done so much for them in the way of deliverance and restoration, He will shortly complete His work by bringing the whole nation together out of all lands under the sun into His “holy place,” which is now cleansed from pollution.

17. the God that delivered all his people.] The deliverance is that effected by Judas Maccabaeus, when, after defeating the generals of Epiphanes, he “recovered the Temple” (ch. x. 1) and “cleansed” it, and restored the daily sacrifice and the regular course of worship. We need not perhaps be surprised if, in the first burst of exultation, the deliverance was spoken of as more complete than the course of after events shewed it to be.

and gave them all an heritage.] I.e. restored the Holy Land to them as their inheritance, after it had been taken from them by the Syrians.

and the kingdom.] Though Judas never assumed the title or state of king, his position was that of an independent ruler, and he might be fairly considered to preside over a “kingdom.” He was in fact a king in all but the name.

and the sanctuary.] Rather, “and the cleansing,” i.e. the purifying and sanctifying anew of the Temple. (See ch. x. 3, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 43–51.)

18. As he promised in the law.] The
will shortly have mercy upon us, and gather us together out of every land under heaven into the holy place: for he hath delivered us out of great troubles, and hath purified the place. 

19 Now as concerning Judas Maccabaeus, and his brethren, and the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar,

20 And the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son,

21 And "the manifest signs that came from heaven unto those that behaved themselves manfully to their honour for Judaism: so that, being but a few, they overcame the whole country, and chased barbarous multitudes,

22 And recovered again the temple renowned all the world over, and

reference is probably to such passages as Deut. iv. 29-31, xxx. 3-10, where full restoration to God’s favour is promised upon a national repentance.

into the holy place.] Compare ch. i. 29. The “holy place” is Judea, which Judas is viewed as having cleansed and purified at the same time with the Temple.

§ 1. The Author’s Account of the Source, and Plan, of the Remainder of the Work.

19-32. This “prologue” or “preface,” as it is generally called by commentators, comprises: 1. An enumeration of the main contents (vv. 19-22); 2. A statement of the source from which they are taken (v. 23); and 3. A declaration of the objects in view by the writer, and the plan pursued by him in the arrangement of his work (vv. 24-32). By the way, he notes that his task has been no easy one, but has involved much labour and trouble (vv. 26, 27).

19. as concerning Judas Maccabaeus.] In the preceding letter, the Jewish leader has been “Judas simply; now he is “Judas Maccabaeus” or more literally “Judas the Maccabean.” So also in ch. v. 27, and viii. 1. In the remainder of the Book he is “the Maccabean” or “Judas” indifferently. On the origin of the name, see the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 4.

and his brethren.] Unlike the author of the First Book, the writer assumes a general knowledge of the history on the part of his readers. He gives no formal list of the brothers, corresponding to that in 1 Macc. ii. 2-5, but introduces them casually, when they have to play a part in the history, as well-known personages (ch. x. 23, 25).

the purification of the great temple.] See ch. x. 5-7. The epithet “great” is omitted by most of the MSS., and is scarcely appropriate to the Temple, which was a small building. Elsewhere the writer calls the Temple “renowned” (v. 23), “holy” or “hallowed” (ch. xv. 18), and “most holy” (ch. v. 15), but not “great.” Μεγάς (ch. xiv. 13 and 31) means “most noble,” not “greatest.”

the dedication of the altar.] See ch. i. 14, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 47, 53.

20. the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Eupator.] The former are contained in chs. viii. and ix.; the latter in chs. x.-xii. Chs. xiv. and xv. treat of the war between Judas and Demetrius Soter.

21. the manifest signs that came from heaven.] These “manifest signs” (συνέφατα) are a marked characteristic of 2 Macc., and have been said to “form the staple of the Book.” (Westcott in Smith’s ‘Dict. of the Bible,’ vol. ii. p. 178.) The most remarkable will be found in chs. iii. 24-29, 33, 34; v. 2-4; x. 29, 30; xi. 6-11; xii. 22.

for Judaism.] “Judaism” means here, and in ch. viii. 1, the Jewish religion. It is antithetical to Ἐλληνισμός (“the Greek religion”) and Ἀλλοθρείνομαι (“the Gentile religion”). The word occurs in the same sense in Gal. i. 13; Ignat. ‘Ep. ad Magnes.’ § 10; Justin. Mart. ‘Resp. ad Orthodoxum’ p. 2, and elsewhere. It belongs in this sense only to the later Hellenistic Greek.

they overcame the whole country.] Rather, “they plundered the whole country.” The writer refers in part to those expeditions which Judas made from time to time against the Hellenising Jews, to punish them for their ungodly conduct (1 Macc. iii. 5, 8; vii. 24), in part to those which he conducted against the heathen who possessed much of the land (1 Macc. v. 31-51).

and chased barbarous multitudes.] See below, ch. viii. 6, 24; x. 34; xi. 11; xii. 14, &c. The author retorts on the Greeks the epithet of “barbarous,” habitually applied by them to all nations but their own.

22. the temple renowned all the world over.] Compare ch. iii. 12. Philo calls it τοι ἡτοιμασθασαν καὶ ἐμφασισθασαν πόλις (‘Leg. ad Cal.’ § 29). It does not appear to have really attracted very much attention on the
freed the city, and upheld the laws which were going down, the Lord being gracious unto them with all favour:

23 All these things, I say, being declared by Jason of Cyrene in five books, we will assay to abridge in one volume.

24 For considering the infinite number, and the difficulty which they find that desire to look into the narrations of the story, for the variety of the matter,

25 We have been careful, that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit.

26 Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching;

27 Even as it is no ease unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others: yet for the pleasuring of many we will undertake gladly this great pains;

28 Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgement.

part of the heathen nations, at any rate until its rebuilding by Herod the Great. The dimensions were small (Ezra vi. 3), and the ornamentation not very rich (Ewald, Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 113).

freed the city.] Compare ch. x. I. Some portion of the city was no doubt situated on the Temple hill, and passed into the hands of Judas with the Temple itself. But the "city of David," as it was called (1 Macc. i. 33) on the western hill, being commanded by the Acra, remained in the possession of the Syrians until it was taken by Simon (ib. xiii. 49-51; xiv. 36).

the laws which were going down.] Rather, "which were about to be abolished" (1 Macc. vi. 1-9). If Epiphanes had been allowed to have his way, the observance of the Mosaic Law would have wholly ceased.

23. these things . . . being declared by Jason of Cyrene.] Jason of Cyrene is not otherwise known to us. He has been thought to be the same with the "Jason, son of Eleazar," mentioned in 1 Macc. viii. 17; but it is not at all probable that that Jason was a Cyrenian. Cyrene under the Ptolemies belonged to Egypt, and the Cyrenian Jews were a sort of offset from those of Alexandria, with whom they had constant intercourse. Professor Westcott regards the work of Jason as written at Alexandria ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 175).

in five books.] The "five books" of Jason's work are thought to have corresponded to five marked divisions in the epimrador's narrative—the first at the end of ch. iii., the next at the close of ch. vii., the third between v. 9 and 10 of ch. x., the fourth at the close of ch. xii., and the fifth at the end of the first clause of v. 37 in ch. xv.

24. considering the infinite number.] Rather, "considering the multiplicity of the numbers." The writer alludes to the numerous dates, estimates of the numbers of armies, of the slain, and of prisoners taken, which are to be found in ordinary histories. These he regards as dull and uninteresting, and considers it to be the epimrador's duty to eliminate.

that desire to look into the narrations of the story.] Rather, "that desire to employ themselves in historical narratives."

for the variety of the matter.] Rather, "the superabundance of the matter."

25. We have been careful.] Or, "it has been our aim." Three things have been specially considered—1. The gratification of the ordinary reader; 2. The ease and convenience of those who might wish not merely to read, but to commit to memory; and 3. The general benefit of all into whose hands the book might come. The rarity and high price of manuscripts caused the practice of committing whole treatises to memory to be common in the ancient world.

26. Therefore.] Rather, "And truly" (καὶ μὲν).

a matter of . . . watching.] Literally, "of sleeplessness"—i.e. of sitting up at night.

27. him that prepared a banquet.] The ἄρχωτηριστός or "governor of a feast," who had the preparation and direction of it, but was not the giver. (See John ii. 10; Ecclus. xxxii. 1, 2.)

28. Leaving to the author.] Rather, "to the historian." It is the part of a historian to give all the facts (ἐκαρτο), and to set them forth with completeness and accuracy. An abbreviator must leave out many particulars, and be content, even with respect to such as he selects, to set them forth less fully and exactly.
II. MACCABEES. II. III.

29 For as the master builder of a new house must care for the whole building: but he that undertaketh to set it out, and paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning thereof: even so I think it is with us.

30 To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story:

31 But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.

32 Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself.

CHAPTER III.

1 Of the honour done to the temple by the kings of the Gentiles. 4 Simon uttereth what treasures are in the temple. 7 Heliodorus is sent to take them away. 24 He is stricken of God, and healed at the prayer of Onias.

NOW when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and...
the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness,

2 It came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnify the temple with their best gifts;

3 Insomuch that Seleucus king of Asia of his own revenues bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices.

4 But one Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple, fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city.

5 And when he could not overcome Onias, he got him to Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who then was governor of Cyzicus and Phenice,

Jerusalem, which Simon desired to shield and Onias to punish. As Onias would not yield, Simon, in revenge, suggested to Apollonius, governor of Cyzicus and Phenice, the advantage that it would be to the king to seize the Temple treasures. Apollonius communicated the suggestion to Seleucus, with the result that Heliodorus was selected to effect the seizure.

4. governor of the temple.] The exact nature of this office is uncertain. Ewald says that Simon, "under the honourable designation of overseer, was charged with providing the various supplies for the Temple, and hence had great influence on the prices of corn and other necessaries of life in Jerusalem." ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 292.) Others suppose him to have been the Temple treasurer (γεωργος, Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xx. 5, § 11), or the "captain of the Temple" (Acts iv. 1, v. 24): but this last-named office did not exist till Roman times. Possibly, as Calmet thinks, he was the surveyor who had charge of the Temple buildings.

7. fell out with the high priest about disorder.] Rather, "about transgressions of the Law" (παρανομια). The Hellenising spirit was just beginning to shew itself, and the opposition between the Hellenists and the Chasidim or "pious" to break forth. Onias, naturally, was on the side of the latter; Simon undertook the patronage of the former.

5. Apollonius the son of Thraseas.] Rather, "the son of Thraseas." It has been proposed to identify this person either with the Apollonius of 1 Macc. iii. 10-12, Judas Maccabeus' first antagonist, who was commandant of Samaria about nine years later, according to Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 7, § 1), or with the Apollonius of Polybius (xxxii. 21, § 2), who is said to have had great influence with Seleucus IV., and who after the accession of Epiphanes betook himself to Miletus (Grimm). But there are no sufficient grounds for either identification.

governor of Cyzicus and Phenice.] "Cyzicus" is a wrong form, and should be corrected into "Cesarea," wherever it is found. Ἡ κοιλΗ Σωμία was (strictly speaking)
And told him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches, which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices, was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.

Now when Apollonius came to the king, and had shewed him of the money whereof he was told, the king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and sent him with a commandment to bring him the foresaid money.

So forthwith Heliodorus took his journey, under a colour of visiting the cities of Celosyria and Phe Nicè, but indeed to fulfil the king's purpose.

And when he was come to Jerusalem, and had been courteously received of the high priest of the city, he told him what intelligence was given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed.

Then the high priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children:

And that some of it belonged to Hircanus son of Tobias, a man of

the deep valley between Libanus and Anti libanus, which formed the bulk of the Syrian territory. The term was used, however, more generally, of the whole of Southern Syria.

6. The treasury in Jerusalem.] The Temple treasury seems to have grown up out of the "chambers for the treasures" (Ne 12.44), in which were stored the tithes and offerings of the faithful (2 Chr 31.12; Neh 13.5, 12, 13), which were chiefly paid in kind. As time went on, the gifts of princes and of private individuals, in gold and silver vessels and in specie, were added to the other deposits; and ultimately private individuals, such as widows and orphans, or even wealthy men, who wanted to put their money in a sure place, were allowed to lay it up in the Temple treasury, as in a bank, from which they could draw it in their need. It was thus especially that the vast quantity of wealth in the treasury of the Temple at Jerusalem had been accumulated, and that it had reached an amount which naturally attracted the cupidity of public personages.

full of infinite sums of money.] Literally, "of untold sums."

which did not pertain, &c.] I.e. "besides what had reference to the Temple service, the support of the priests, and other similar objects."

was innumerable.] The reading of most MSS. is the opposite of this—"was numerable;" but it is absolutely necessary to make the correction (of ἐναριθμηθώραν into ἐναριθμηθήραν) which produces the sense given by our translators. The Alexandrian and nine other MSS. have the true reading.

it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.] Literally, "it was possible that all this should fall into the king's power."

7. Heliodorus his treasurer.] Rather, "his chief minister" (τὸν ἐν τοῖς πρεσβυτάριοις). Heliodorus is mentioned as one of the courtiers of Seleucus by Appian ("Syriae," § 45). He ultimately murdered his master, and seized the throne, which he occupied for a short space.

8-23. Heliodorus at first cloaks his design, but, in a conference with the High Priest, reveals it and appoints a day for carrying it out. The grief and horror of all classes, and their appeals to God to prevent the sacrilege, are graphically described.

9. what intelligence was given of the money.] I.e. what information concerning it had been given by Simon to Apollonius (supra, v. 6).

10. Then the high priest told him.] Rather, "shewed him."

that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows, &c.] Literally, "that the money consisted of the deposits of widows and orphans." It had been laid up in the Temple treasury for better security by them or their guardians. In the absence of secure banks of deposit, temples were not unfrequently made a substitute for them in ancient times. Of course, no interest was allowed; but the depositors were entitled to withdraw their deposits at any moment.

11. Hircanus son of Tobias.] Rather, "Hyrcanus." Josephus makes Hyrcanus the grandson of Tobias, and the son of a certain Joseph, who grew rich by farming the revenues of Palestine under the Egyptian
great dignity, and not as that wicked Simon had misinformed: the sum whereof in all was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold:

12 And that it was altogether impossible that such wrongs should be done unto them, that had committed it to the holiness of the place, and to the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world.

13 But Heliodorus, because of the king's commandment given him, said, That in any wise it must be brought into the king's treasury.

14 So at the day which he appointed he entered in to order this matter: wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city.

15 But the priests, prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests' vestments, called unto heaven upon him that made a law concerning things given to be kept, that they should safely be preserved for the temple honoured over all the world.] See the comment on ch. ii. 22.

16. at the day . . . appointed be entered in.] Rather, "he was about to enter in." The imperfect tense is used here, and again in verse 23, in the sense from which it derives its name, of an act contemplated but not accomplished. (Compare Herod. i. 68: 'Ερωμενόντα παρ' οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος τῆς αὐθείας.)

there was no small agony throughout the whole city.] Dean Stanley calls the description which follows "a complete representation of what must have been the general aspect of a panic in Jerusalem" ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 287). "The priests," he continues, "in their official costume are prostrate before the altar. The High Priest is in such an inward agony of mind that whose had looked at his countenance and changing colour, it would have wounded his heart." The Temple courts are crowded with suppliants; the matrons, with bare bosoms, running frantically through the streets; the maidens, unable to break their seclusion, yet peering over walls, and through windows, and at every door to catch the news; the pitiless officer bent on discharging his mission."

15. before the altar.] Probably, the altar of burnt offering in the court directly in front of the Temple, where they would be conspicuous to all.

in their priests' vestments.] See Ex. xxvii. 40. Vestments of fine white linen, with embroidered girdles, and white linen caps or turbans upon their heads.

called unto heaven.] Compare i Macc. iii. 50; ix. 46.

that they should be safely preserved.] Rather, "that he would safely preserve them." The clause expresses the matter of the priests' prayer, not the object of the law which God had given.
such as had committed them to be kept.

16 Then whoso had looked the high priest in the face, it would have wounded his heart: for his countenance and the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind.

17 For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him, what sorrow he had now in his heart.

18 Others ran flocking out of their houses to the general supplication, because the place was like to come into contempt.

19 And the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, abound-
ed in the streets, and the virgins that were kept in ran, some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows.

20 And all, holding their hands toward heaven, made supplication.

21 Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the fear of the high priest, being in such an agony.

22 They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them.

23 Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed.

24 Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the

18. Others ran flocking... to the general supplication. Rather, "to a general supplication." It is not implied that any order had been issued for the people to assemble; rather, there was a general instinctive rush of all classes from their houses to the Temple for the purpose of supplicating God. By the universality of the instinct, the supplication became a "general" one.

the place. I.e. "the temple." Compare v. 2.

19. the women (i.e. the married women) girt with sackcloth under their breasts. I.e. with breasts bare, and clad below the breast with a robe or gown of sackcloth. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 14; iii. 47.)

the virgins that were kept in. Compare 3 Macc. i. 18. The old freedom had been laid aside, and the Jewish maidens, reduced to the general Asiatic level, were kept within doors, and, as much as possible, in the female apartments. (See Philo, De spec. Leg., § 31.)

to the gates. I.e. the doors of their respective mansions.

the walls. Scarcely the town walls. Rather, the walls of gardens; or, perhaps, the parapets round the roofs of houses.

the windows. See Judg. v. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 16; 2 Kings ix. 30. Windows, guarded by a lattice, often gave upon the street, and furnished convenient posts of observation for those who wished to see without being seen.

21. the falling down of the multitude. I.e. their prostration in prayer.

the fear of the high priest. Rather, "the suspense," or "strained expectation."
27 And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter.

28 Thus him, that lately came with a great train and with all his guard into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable to help himself with his weapons: and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God:

29 For he by the hand of God was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life.

30 But they praised the Lord, that had miraculously honoured his own place: for the temple, which a little afore was full of fear and trouble, when the Almighty Lord appeared, was filled with joy and gladness.

about the treasury.] Rather, “at the treasury”—probably at the door, about to enter.

the Lord of spirits.] So the Alexandrian Septuagint, the Syriac, and several MSS.; but the Vatican Codex and the MSS. generally have “the Lord of our fathers.” The ordinary expression is “the Lord God of our fathers” (Ex. ii. 15, 16; iv. 5; Deut. i. 11; iv. 1; xii. 1, &c.).

caused a great appariotion.] On the fondness of the author for “apparitions” see the comment on ch. ii. 21.

that presumed.] Rather, “that had presumed.”

25. be... smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet.] Herodotus tells of a horse which was trained, on approaching an enemy, to rear up and attack him with his fore feet and teeth (v. 111). The owner of the animal was a Persian.

be that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.] So the angelic horseman in ch. xi. 8. Those in ch. x. 29 have “golden bridles.” Masiutis, the commander of the Persian cavalry at the battle of Platea, wore a cuirass which was made of golden scales (Herod. ix. 22).

26. two other young men appeared before him.] I.e. “were seen in front of the rider.”

27. Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground.] It is not said that he was cast on the ground by the horseman, much less that he was “trampled under foot” (Stanley); but rather that he fell fainting under the blows of the scourgers, and lost consciousness.

put him into a litter.] Litters were used by the Egyptians from a very early date, and are represented in the painted ornamentation of the tombs (Rosellini, ‘Mon. Civili,’ pl. xxiii. 3). They were slung on poles, and carried on the shoulders of slaves. From the Egyptians they passed to their Persian conquerors, who used them even in their warlike expeditions (Herod. vii. 41).

28. with a great train.] Rather, “with many horsemen.”

unable to help himself with his weapons.] There is no mention of “weapons.” The statement is that he was “quite unable to help himself”—“altogether helpless,” as we should now say.

manifestly they acknowledged the power of God.] His bearers, some of his own heathen attendants, were so impressed by what they had seen that they openly acknowledged what had been done to have been effected by the power of God.

29. by the hand of God.] Rather, “by the might of God.”

30. when the Almighty Lord appeared.] It is not meant to identify the angelic apparition of v. 25 with God himself, as some have supposed. Any surprising occurrence was regarded by the later Jews as a Divine manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) or revelation of the presence of God—even a timely and unexpected shower of rain. (See Joseph. ‘A. J.’ xviii. 8, § 6: ὁ θεὸς παροσοφαίαν ἑδικεῖτο.
Then straightways certain of Heliodorus' friends prayed Onias, that he would call upon the most High to grant him his life, who lay ready to give up the ghost.

32. So the high priest, suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus by the Jews, offered a sacrifice for the health of the man.

33. Now as the high priest was making an atonement, the same young men in the same clothing appeared and stood beside Heliodorus, saying, Give Onias the high priest great thanks, insomuch as for his sake the Lord hath granted thee life:

34. And seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mighty power of God. And when they had spoken these words, they appeared no more.

35. So Heliodorus, after he had
II. MACCABEES. III. IV.

offered sacrifice unto the Lord, and made great vows unto him that had saved his life, and saluted Onias, returned with his host to the king.

36 Then testified he to all men the works of the great God, which he had seen with his eyes.

37 And when the king asked Heliodorus, who might be a fit man to be sent yet once again to Jerusalem, he said,

38 If thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubt, there is an especial power of God.

39 For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it; and he beateth and destroys them that come to hurt it.

40 And the things concerning Heliodorus, and the keeping of the treasury, fell out on this sort.

CHAPTER IV.

1 Simon slangeth Onias. 7 Jason, by corrupting the king, obtaineth the office of the high priest. 24 Menelaus getteth the same from Jason by the like corruption. 34 Andronicus traitorously murdereth Onias. 36 The king being informed thereof, causeth Andronicus to be put to death. 39 The wickedness of Lysimachus, by the instigation of Menelaus.

THis Simon now, "of whom we spake afore, having been a beswayer of the money, and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils.

--

himself with his offering. Originally he slew it (Lev. i. 5, 11; iii. 2, 8, 24, &c.); but ultimately the Levites undertook that office (2 Chr. xxx. 17; xxxv. 6). The blood was then taken by the priests and poured upon the altar. Either the whole victim, or certain parts of it, were also burnt by the priests upon the altar. Thus both the layman and the priest might be said, in different senses, to "offer" the sacrifice.

made great voces.] The words εὐχεσθαι and εὐναί are used indifferently of prayer, praise, vows proper, and thanksgiving. Here the offering of praise and thanksgiving would seem to be intended.

saluted Onias.] Rather, "held friendly converse with Onias." Compare ch. xiii. 24.

with his host.] See the comment on v. 24.

36. the works ... which he had seen with his eyes.] Heliodorus did not consider that he had had a vision. The beings whom he regarded as supernatural had yet been seen by his natural eyes.

37. who might be a fit man.] Rather, "what sort of a man would be a fitting one to send." Seleucus did not ask him to designate the individual.

38. traitor.] Literally, "plotter against thy government." This was what Heliodorus himself became soon afterwards (Appian, "Syriae.") § 46.

if he escape.] Rather, "even if he escape" (εἰ δὲ πέφυγεν).

40. the keeping of the treasury.] I.e. the watch and ward kept over the Temple treasury by angelic beings, which the story illustrates.

CHAPTER IV.

PART II.

§ 1. FURTHER TROUBLES CAUSED BY SIMON IN JERUSALEM.

1-6. On the return of Heliodorus to Antioch empty-handed, Simon was not slow to suggest that Onias had been at the bottom of the pretended miracles by which Heliodorus had allowed himself to be terrified. Onias was, he said, a "plotter against the government," and ought to be punished as such. At the same time his faction committed murders in Jerusalem, and he was known to be upheld in his opposition to Onias by the Apollonius to whom he had applied in the first instance (ch. iii. 5), the governor of Cæsarea and Phænicia. Under these circumstances the High Priest felt it incumbent on him to proceed to the Court, to defend his own conduct and induce Seleucus to put a stop to Simon's insolence.

1. a beswayer of the money and of his country.] See ch. iii. 4-7. In betraying the secret of the richness of the Temple treasury, he had been a beswayer of the interests of his country.

slandered Onias.] Literally, "spake evil of Onias."

as if he had terrified Heliodorus.] Rather, "that it was he who had terrified Heliodorus." (See the comment on ch. iii. 32.)
2 Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation, and was so zealous of the laws.

3 But when their hatred went so far, that by one of Simon's faction murders were committed,

4 Onias seeing the danger of this contention, and that Apollonius, as being the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, did rage, and increase Simon's malice,

The accusation, no doubt, was that Onias had contrived the whole business.

3. Thus was he bold to call him a traitor.] Literally, "a plotter against the government." The words are the same as those used by Heliodorus in ch. iii. 38.

zealous of the laws.] Compare ch. iii. 4, 5. Onias was the head of the orthodox, Simon of the Hellenizing party. The antagonism which broke out openly soon afterwards (vv. 7-17) was already shewing itself. (See the comment on ch. iii. 4.)

3. their hatred.] i.e. the feud between Onias and Simon.

4. Apollonius.] Compare ch. iii. 5.

did rage.] Apollonius was as angry as Simon that the attempt to seize the Temple treasures had failed. He had probably looked to rise high in the favour of the king by being instrumental in obtaining him such a windfall. The failure of Heliodorus had disappointed this hope.

5. not to be an accuser of his countrymen.] Compare Acts xxviii. 19: "Not that I had ought to accuse my nation of." No act could be worse in the eyes of Jews than that of their own number should lay a complaint against his nation before a heathen tribunal. The author, who is very jealous of the honour of Onias (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), wishes to clear him of any such charge. It was not his nation, but a few individuals of his nation, that he accused, and this he did only because it was required for the general good of the whole community.

both publick and private.] Or, "both collectively and individually."

6. unless the king did look thereunto.] It does not appear that Seleucus took any active steps in consequence of the visit of Onias. Perhaps he might have done so had it not been for his untimely death. Or perhaps he may have sympathised rather with Simon the Hellenist, than with the strict Jew who wanted Simon to be suppressed.

§ 2. ON THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS AND ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. [JASON IS MADE HIGH PRIEST. RAPID ADVANCE OF THE HELLENIZING MOVEMENT.

II. MACCABEES. IV.

5 He went to the king, not to be an accuser of his countrymen, but seeking the good of all, both publick and private:

6 For he saw that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet, and Simon leave his folly, unless the king did look thereunto.

7 But after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the bro-

§ 2. The sudden death of Seleucus and accession of his younger brother, Antiochus IV., known as Epiphanes, introduced a new element of discord into Jewish affairs. Jason, or rather Joshua, the brother of Onias, regarded the accession of a new king as favourable to his own ambition, and, having purchased the high-priestly office of Epiphanes, threw himself heart and soul into the Hellenistic movement. He began by erecting a gymnasium after the Grecian fashion in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem (v. 13); after which he discontinued the Temple service (v. 14), aped in all respects Grecian manners, and sent envoys to Tyre, who were to take part in a sacrifice to Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules (v. 19). He also obtained for the inhabitants of Jerusalem the citizenship of Antioch, and taught them to call themselves Antiochians (vv. 9, 19).

7. after the death of Seleucus.] Nothing is known of the death of Seleucus beyond the bare fact that he was plotted against and slain by Heliodorus, one of his courtiers (App. 'Syria.' § 46), who is probably identical with the "treasurer" or "minister" of ch. iii. 7-40. Heliodorus seized the throne, but was in a little time driven from it by Eumenes of Pergamus, who had espoused the cause of Antiochus, Seleucus' brother.

when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom.] On the name "Epiphanes," see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 10. Epiphanes received the kingdom from Eumenes in B.C. 176. He reigned till B.C. 164.

Jason the brother of Onias.] The original name of Jason was Joshua (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 5, § 1). In connection with his general Hellenizing policy, he changed his name into Jason, the Greek appellation which most nearly approached to it.
II. MACCABEES. IV.

8 Promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents:

9 Beside this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians.

10 Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule, he forthwith brought his own nation to the Greekish fashion.

11 And the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews by the means of John the father of Eupolemus, who went ambassador to Rome 17.

12 For he built gladly a place of exercise under the tower itself, and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat.

laboured underhand to be high priest.] Josephus knows nothing of Jason having supplanting his brother in the high priesthood, or bought the dignity of Epiphanes. On the contrary, he regards him as having succeeded regularly to the office at his brother's death, the only son left behind him by Onias being still a child, and therefore ineligible ('A. J. I. s. e.').

8. by intercession.] Rather, "at an interview." The present equivalent of 440 talents would be above 75,000l. sterling. It appears by the later narrative (v. 23) that the money was not paid till three years afterwards.

9. he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more.] Rather, "he promised to give a written undertaking for a hundred and fifty more." To set him up a place for exercise. See 1 Mac. I. 14, and the comment ad loc.

for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen.] Nothing is said in the original about "the fashions of the heathen," nor was the place intended to be one of general education. A "gymnasium" and "ephebia" was an exercise-ground for the bodily training and recreation of young men, whose mental and moral training was otherwise provided for. Still the institution was so thoroughly Greek, and so much at variance with staid Hebrew habits, that it could not but exert a very great influence over the general tone of morals and manners. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 294; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291.)

and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians.] Rather, "and to register as Antiochians all those who dwelt in Jerusalem." There was, it would seem, a "citizenship of Antioch," as there was a citizenship of Rome, which could be freely imparted to non-residents. There are coins which mention such a class of persons at Ptolemais (Mionnet, 'Description des Médailles,' tom. v. pp. 37, 88, 216; tom. vii. p. 30, &c.). Jason obtained this citizenship for the people of Jerusalem. What rights it conferred is uncertain.

10. when . . . he had gotten into his hand the rule.] I.e. the high-priestly office, with the civil power which at this time belonged to it.

11. the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews.] Those given by Antiochus the Great (Joseph, 'A. J.' xii. 3, § 3) are, it is probable, especially meant. The most important of these was the right of being governed by their own laws (πολιτεῖαν εστίωσαν πάνες οί εκ τούτων κατά τούς πατρίδων νόμους).

by the means of John the father of Eupolemus.] Compare 1 Mac. vii. 17. We have no further knowledge of this "John," or of the part which he played in obtaining the privileges from Antiochus. He was evidently a less famous man than his son.

who went ambassador to Rome.] In B.C. 162-1. For an account of the embassy, see 1 Mac. viii. 17-32.

putting down the governments.] Rather, "the modes of government.

12. under the tower itself.] Rather, "under the citadel." The particular "tower" (ἀκρι), of which we hear so much in the First Book, was not yet built (see 1 Mac. i. 33). What is here intended would seem to be the southern or south-western hill, the loftiest part of the entire site. The writer regards it as aggravation of Jason's offence, that he built the gymnasium so near the city.

made them wear a hat.] To moderns this
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13 Now such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest; 14. That the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of Discus called them forth; 15. Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all. does not appear a great offence. But the particular hat mentioned—the broad-brimmed hat or petasus—was discredited in Jewish eyes by its association with figures of Mercury, the presiding god of gymnasia, and so seemed almost an idolatrous emblem.

13. Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest.] Unworthy, i.e., to be counted among the real High Priests. (Compare St. Paul, of himself, "that am not meet to be called an apostle.")

14. the priests had no courage.] Rather, "no readiness," or "no inclination." As Dean Stanley says, "The priests in the Temple caught the infection, left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle as soon as they heard the signal... which was to lead off the games" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291).

the unlawful allowance.] Rather, "the unlawful shows" or "exhibitions." A large outlay was made by the authorities to render the gymnasia attractive. They were a kind of "People’s parks," which it cost a good deal to keep up. Athletes contended in them; rhetoricians declared; jugglers probably exhibited their tricks. The office of γυμνασιακής, or provider of the gymnasia with whatever was required to make them attractive, was reckoned a very expensive one.

after the game of Discus called them forth.] Rather, "after the proclamation of the disk-throwing had been made." The exercises opened with disk, or quoit, throwing, which was itself preceded by a ἑνδεκάτικον—an invitation to all who wished to take part in it.

15. Not setting by the honours of their fathers &c.] This is scarcely intelligible. Translate—"not setting store by the honours which their sires esteemed, but deeming those glories the highest which were approved by the Greeks."

16. By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things.

17 For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things.

18 Now when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus, the king being present,

19 This ungracious Jason sent special messengers from Jerusalem,
who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice, because it was not convenient, but to be reserved for other charges.

20 This money then, in regard of the sender, was appointed to Hercules’ sacrifice; but because of the bearers thereof, it was employed to the making of galleys.

21 Now when Apollonius the son of Menestheus was sent into Egypt for the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor, Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs, provided for his own safety: whereupon he came to Joppe, and from thence to Jerusalem:

22 Where he was honourably received of Jason, and of the city, and was brought in with torch light, and with great shoutings: and so afterward went with his host unto Phenice.

who were Antiochians.] See the comment on v. 9.

three hundred drachms of silver.] This is so small a sum—less than 10l. sterling—that the reading is with reason suspected. Several MSS. and the Syriac Version have 3,300, which is a far more likely amount.

the sacrifice of Hercules.] The Tyrian Melkarth was identified by the Greeks with their own Hercules, though on no very sufficient grounds. He was more properly an aspect of Baal, the Sun-god—Baal viewed as “the king of the city,” the special guardian and protector of Tyre. (See ‘Ancient Religions,’ pp. 161, 162.)

which even the bearers . . . thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice.] The bearers were more scrupulous than their master. They shrank from making an offering to a heathen god, regarding it as “not convenient,” or rather as “unfitting.” They applied the money therefore to a different purpose. (See v. 20.)

20. This money . . . was appointed.] Our translators read ἕξενεν for ἥξενεν, with three or four MSS., which certainly gives a better sense.

it was employed to the making of galleys.] The bearers gave it to the Syrian king, as a contribution towards the expenses of his navy.

21. Apollonius the son of Menestheus.] “Son of Menestheus” is added, to distinguish him from the “son of Thraces,” of whom we have heard in ch. iii. 5–7; iv. 4. Grimm conjectures that he may be the Apollonius who headed an embassy sent to Rome by Epiphanes, mentioned in Livy (xii. 6).

for the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor.] The meaning of the word πρωτεχως is very obscure; but of all the significations suggested “coronation,” or rather “intronisation,” is perhaps the best—the word being equivalent to prima sessio in solo. This event took place in B.C. 173, eight years after his accession, on the death of his mother, when he had attained the age of fifteen. Antiochus Epiphanes had then been king three years.

Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs.] The alienation of Philometor from Antiochus was the work of his ministers Euleaus and Lenseus, in whose hands the weak boy was a mere tool. Deeming Epiphanes half a madman, they thought it would be easy to deprive him of Cœlebyria and Palestine, and recover them to the Ptolemæan kingdom. They therefore made demands which could not be acceded to, and plunged Egypt into war.

be came to Joppe.] By sea, probably, from Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

22. Where be was honourably received.] Rather, “magnificently received.”

was brought in with torch light.] Processions where torches were held in the hand are mentioned among the religious ceremonies of the Greeks; but a torch-light reception of a great man by a town seems to have been an illumination of the town by means of torches placed along the roofs of the houses. (See Athen. ‘Delfinosoph.’ iv. 29.)

§ 3. MENELAUS OBTAINS THE HIGH PRIESTHOOD FROM ANTONIOCH. FLIGHT OF JASON.

23–28. Three years after his purchase of the high-priestly office, Jason sent the sum of money which he had undertaken to pay to Antiochus, by the hands of a certain Menelaus, whom Josephus makes his brother, but whom our author calls the brother of Simon the Benjamite (ch. iii. 4). Arrived at the Court, Menelaus took the opportunity to undermine Jason, and, by the promise of a much larger sum than he had paid, induced Antiochus to depose Jason, and transfer the high priesthood to himself. Jason, upon receiving the intelligence, fled into the country of the Ammonites. Not long afterwards, Menelaus, having failed
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23 Three years afterward Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to bear the money unto the king, and to put him in mind of certain necessary matters.

24. But he being brought to the presence of the king, when he had magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, got the priesthood to himself, offering more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver.

25. So he came with the king's mandate, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast.

26. Then Jason, who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.

27. So Menelaus got the principality: but as for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it, albeit Sostratus the ruler of the castle required it:

28. For unto him appertained the gathering of the customs. Wherefore they were both called before the king.

to pay the sum which he had promised, was summoned to Antioch.

23. Three years afterward.] Probably in B.C. 171.

Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother.] According to Josephus, Simon, the son of Onias II., had three sons—Onias III., Jason, and a second Onias, who took the name of Menelaus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 10; 5, § 1). After Jason had supplanted Onias III., a civil war broke out between him and his brother, Menelaus, in which the latter was worsted; whereupon he appealed to Antiochus, who made him High Priest and deprived Jason. It is impossible to reconcile this account with our author's. We must necessarily choose between them. The primary objection to our author's statement is, that Menelaus, if a Benjamite, could not be a priest, much less High Priest. It is a sufficient reply to this, that the Syrian kings had no regard for the Jewish Law, and that Antiochus was at this time aiming at its entire abolition. It is also noticeable that when Alcimus was appointed High Priest by Eupator, confidence was felt in him because, as was said, "one that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army" (1 Macc. vii. 14), implying previous irregularity. Josephus's statement that two brothers, who both grew up, had the same name, is moreover suspicious.

24. offering more than Jason by three hundred talents.] Three hundred talents would be equal to 72,000 of our money. It is not clear whether the payment was to be made once for all, or annually.

25. So he came.] "Returned," i.e. "to Jerusalem."

having the fury of a cruel tyrant.] See below, vv. 34, 39; ch. v. 15, 16.

26. Jason . . . was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.] As persistent enemies of Israel (see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 6), the Ammonites would be ready enough to give an asylum to powerful Jewish refugees, who might be counted upon to injure and harass their own countrymen, as Jason afterwards did (ch. v. 5-7).

27. the money that be had promised.] See v. 24.

the ruler of the castle.] Rather, "the commandant of the citadel." On the position of the "citadel," see the comment on v. 12. Sostratus is not elsewhere mentioned.

28. the customs.] Rather, "the taxes." The Syrian commandant in Jerusalem had the duty of collecting all the taxes of the city and province, and of remitting them to the king's treasury. Sostratus claimed that his right extended to the sum which the High Priest had agreed to pay for his office. Menelaus disputed this claim, which seems to have been a novel one, since Jason sent his money by his own special messenger (v. 23).

§ 4. MENELAUS, HAVING LEFT HIS BROTHER LYSIMACHUS IN CHARGE AT JERUSALEM, GOES TO ANTIOCH, BUT FINDS THE KING ABSENT, AND ANDRONICUS REGENT. HAVING bribed Andronicus with some of the Temple Treasures, he is rebuked by Onias, whereupon he procures Onias's death.

29-35. In obedience to the king's summons both Menelaus and Sostratus quitted Jerusalem and went to Antioch, leaving deputies to take their place. On their arrival, they found that the king had quitted the city, in order to put down an insurrection in Cilicia, and had left a certain Andronicus as regent till his return. Menelaus, to ingratiate him-
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29 Now Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead in the priesthood; and Sostratus left Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.

30 While those things were in doing, they of Tarsus and Mallos made insurrection, because they were given to the king's concubine, called Antiochis.

31 Then came the king in all haste to appease matters, leaving Andronicus, a man in authority, for his deputy.

32 Now Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold into Tyrus and the cities round about.

33 Which when Onias knew of a surety, he reproved him, and withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne, that lieth by Antiochia.

Greek cities to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138); Mnemon gave those of several villages in Syria to Parysatis (Xen. ‘Anab.’ i. 4, § 9). According to Herodotus, Anthylla, a city of Egypt, was permanently assigned under the Achaemenians, as pin-money, to the wife of the satrap of Egypt for the time being (Herod. ii. 98). The practice is mentioned as a general one by Cicero (‘Orat. in Verrem,’ iii. 33). It is also noticed by Plato, Athenaeus, Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, and Philostratus.

31. Then came the king.] I.e. Epiphanes departed from Antioch, and went with all speed into Cilicia, to put down the insurrection.

leaving Andronicus.] This Andronicus is not otherwise known. The name is a common one.

32. Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time.] It is not clear why the time should have seemed particularly “convenient.” Menelaus, being at Antioch, could only have obtained the vessels by requiring his deputy, Lysimachus, to send them, which would have given the affair unnecessary publicity. Probably he had brought the vessels with him from Jerusalem.

stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple.] Literally, “appropriated to himself some of the golden vessels of the temple.”

and some be sold into Tyrus.] Rather, “and others he had previously sold.”

33. he reproved him, and withdrew himself.] This translation inverts the order of the events. The Greek text states that Onias, “having first withdrawn himself into sanctuary at Daphne, then proceeded to reprove Menelaus.”

a sanctuary at Daphne.] Daphné, often spoken of as a “suburb” of Antioch (Dio Cass. li. 7; Am. Marc. xix. 12, § 19), was really situated about five miles to the southwest. It was a sacred precinct, nearly ten miles in circumference, on the northern slope of the hills which shut in the Orontes valley.
34 Wherefore Menelaus, taking Andronicus apart, prayed him to get Onias into his hands; who being persuaded thereunto, and coming to Onias in deceit, gave him his right hand with oaths; and though he were suspected by him, yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary: whom forthwith he shut up without regard of justice.

35 For the which cause not only the Jews, but many also of other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder of the man.

36 And when the king was come again from the places about Cilicia, the Jews that were in the city, and certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also, complained because Onias was slain without cause.

37 Therefore Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and upon the south. Naturally a place of extreme beauty, with an abundance of perennial springs and frequent groves of bay and cypress trees (Liban. 'Antioch.' p. 356), it was adorned also by art with several temples and shrines, as well as with numerous statues and fountains. The main temple was one of Apollo and Diana, built by the first Seleucus. That the right of asylum belonged to the place is mentioned by Polyzenus ('Strateg.' viii. 50).

that lieb by Antiochia.] The Syrian capital was distinguished from other cities of the same name by the suffix en Δαφνης, "near Daphne." It has been questioned whether, under any circumstances, a religious Jew, such as Onias is represented to have been (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), would have consented to take sanctuary in a heathen precinct, especially in one so notorious for licentiousness and debauchery as that of Daphne. But our author, at any rate, did not think such a thing impossible.

38. to get Onias into his bands.] Or, "to put Onias to death." The verb used (χειροφθορός) has this sense (Xen. 'Cyrop.' vi. 5, § 30; Αιλιαν. 'Var. Hist.' iv. 5; 3 Macc. vii. 15).

yet persuaded be him to come forth of the sanctuary.] This was a common proceeding. The Greeks had a strong objection to violating the right of sanctuary by actual slaughter of the refugee within the place of asylum, though in hot blood they would do this sometimes (Plutarch, 'Vit. Solon.' § 19); but they thought little of eradicating the right, and reducing it to a nullity. Sometimes they would surround the asylum, prevent the entrance of food, and, having reduced their victim to the last gasp, remove him without violence, and let him perish just outside the sacred place (Thucyd. i. 134); sometimes they would make the most solemn promises to spare the victim's life, yet cut him down the moment he had left the asylum. It was universally allowed that such conduct was wrong, and the guilt of it attached not merely to the individual, but to his descendants (Herod. v. 70; Thucyd. i. 126-135); but the sin was reckoned less than that of actually violating a sanctuary, and admitted of expiation.

subem fortibus be silent.] The Vulgate and Syriac versions translate, "he put to death;" and so Wahl and Grimm. But it is admitted that τυφλείας has nowhere else this meaning. Still, the next verse shows that, in point of fact, Andronicus did put Onias to death.

§ 5. Antiochus avenges the murder of Onias by the execution of Andronicus.

38-38. On his return from Cilicia to Antioch, after the suppression of the revolt, Antiochus found the inhabitants generally, both Jews and Gentiles, in a state of indignation at the murder of Onias. Participating in this feeling himself, since he had greatly respected Onias, he first degraded Andronicus by stripping off his purple robe, and tearing his under garments, and then put him to death on the spot where he had killed the ex-High Priest.

39. the places about Cilicia.] I.e. Tarsus and Mallos. (See v. 30, and the comment ad loc.)

the Jews that were in the city.] I.e. in Antioch. The Jewish colony in Antioch was very large, though its numbers cannot be exactly estimated. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 337, 339, 341.)

and certain of the Greeks . . . complained.] The Greek text rather implies that the Jews alone "complained," but that the Greeks generally sympathised with them.

37. Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept.] The character of Antiochus Epiphanes was extraordinary. Dean Stanley's estimate of it has been already quoted. (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 16.) It was remarkable for its strange inconsistencies and curious combination of opposites. Here we have one of the softer and more pleasing traits. The "Great King" yields to
modest behaviour of him that was dead.

38 And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus his purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very place, where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer. Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment, as he had deserved.

39 Now when many sacrileges had been committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, and the bruít thereof was spread abroad, the multitude gathered themselves together against Lysimachus, many vessels of gold being already carried away.

40 Whereupon the common people rising, and being filled with rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men, and began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the

his feelings, and "weeps" on account of the untimely end of one whom he had admired and respected. 

the sober and modest behaviour. Or, "the sobriety and great modesty." The same two qualities are ascribed to Scipio Amilanus by Polybius (xxxii. 11, § 8).

38. being kindled with anger. Rather, "infamed with anger."

be took away Andronicus his purple. We have seen in the First Book of the Maccabees that the privilege of wearing purple was confined to a few. (See 1 Mac. viii. 14; x. 20, 62.) Andronicus, as regent (v. 31), had naturally been entitled to the distinction. Stripping his purple off him was like striking a knight’s spurs from his heels before executing him.

rent off his clothes. Rather, "rent his clothes"—i.e. tore them so that they looked like the clothes of a mean person.

leading him through the whole city. That his disgrace might be seen by all. The proceeding was the converse of that enviable display of such as a king "delighted to honour" in the sight of a whole town, whereof we read in Gen. xlii. 43; Esther vi. 11; and 1 Mac. vi. 63.

there slew be the cursed murderer. It has been questioned whether the passage has this meaning. The verb translated "he slew" means ordinarily "he stript off his ornaments"—an impossible signification here: (1) as his ornaments were already taken from him; (2) as such a punishment could not have been regarded by a Jew as equal to his deserts. Ewald would give the word here the meaning of "he banished;" but this is wholly without authority. The Syriac and Vulgate render, "he killed" or "he deprived of life;" and this meaning is etymologically possible, since ἀπὸκοςμῆσθαι might conceivably mean, "he removed from the world." The writer affects strange words and strange meanings for his words, and especially en-deavours to vary those which express the taking of life. (See above, v. 34, and below, v. 43.)

Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment. It is characteristic of the writer to see everywhere the hand of Divine Providence. (Compare ch. iii. 24, 28, 29, 33; v. 20; vi. 12-16, &c.)

§ 6. THE SACRILEGIOUS AND VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF LYSIMACHUS CAUSE A TUMULT AT JERUSALEM, WHEREIN HE IS SLAIN. 39-42. In the absence of Menelaus, Lysimachus followed the bad example which he had set, and continued to steal the gold vessels belonging to the Temple. After a time his doings became generally known, and roused public feeling to such an extent that gatherings took place, and insurrection seemed imminent. Hereupon Lysimachus took the initiative, and, arming 3,000 men, let them loose upon the people. A bloody tumult followed, in which Lysimachus himself and many of his partisans were slain.

39. when many sacrileges had been committed. Literally, "when the temple had been many times robbed."

with the consent of Menelaus. It is not clear whether Menelaus had returned to Jerusalem from Antioch, or whether he was detained there by Antiochus, either on account of his debt (v. 27), or of the part which he had taken with respect to Onias (v. 34). On the whole it seems most probable that he had been placed under arrest. (See the comment on v. 45.)

40. Lysimachus armed about three thousand men. Literally, "armed men up to the number of three thousand." It is implied that he gave them the regular offensive and defensive arms of soldiers.

one Auranus being the leader. Some MSS
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41. They then seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones, some clubs, others taking handfuls of dust, that was next at hand, cast them all altogether upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.

42. Thus many of them they wounded, and some they struck to the ground, and all of them they forced to flee; but as for the church-robber himself, him they killed beside the treasury.

43. Of these matters therefore there was an accusation laid against Menelaus.

44. Now when the king came to Tyrus, three men that were sent from the senate pleaded the cause before him:

45. But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised Ptolemy the sum of Dorymenes to give him much money, if he would pacify the king toward him.

46. Whereupon Ptolemy taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air, brought him to be of another mind:

47. Inasmuch that he discharged have "one Tyrannus;" but it is unlikely that so familiar a name (Acts xix. 9; Apollod. ii. 4, § 5; Bockh, ‘Corp. Inscri.’ No. 1732) should have been changed into the otherwise unknown "Auranus." Procli lectionis praestat ardua.

41. seeing the attempt of Lysimachus.] Rather, "the attack of Lysimachus."

42. the church-robber.] Lysimachus. Their killing him "beside the treasury" may have been accidental, but looks more like a designed act of retribution, like the execution of Andronicus on the very spot where his great crime had been committed (v. 38).

§ 7. MENElaus, ACCUSED TO ANTIoCHUS AS THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE DISORdAnCEs, BRIDES PTOLeMy, SON OF DORYMEnES, TO INTERCEDE FOR HIM. BY THIS DEVICE HE ESCAPES, AND HIS ACCUSERS ARE EXECUTED.

43-50. Antiochus, being at Tyre, and having Menelaus with him, as a prisoner whose fate was not yet decided, the Jewish senate sent three commissioners to accuse him to the king as the "fons et origo mali,"—the real originator of all the troubles, both as having begun the plunder of the Temple treasures, and as having set over the city so execrable a governor as Lysimachus. Menelaus upon this, aware of his danger, promised a sum of money to Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, one of Antiochus's courtiers, if he succeeded in getting him pardoned. This Ptolemy did; and Antiochus not only found him innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, but punished his accusers with death. The flagrant injustice of this sentence aroused the indignation of the Tyrians, who, to mark their disapproval, gave the commissioners a magnificent funeral.

43. there was an accusation laid against Menelaus.] Literally, "a trial was impending over Menelaus."

44. three men . . . sent from the senate.] The number may have been chosen with reference to Deut. xix. 15: "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established." On the existence of a Jewish senate, or council, at this time, see the comment on ch. i. 10.

45. Menelaus, being now convicted.] It is difficult to see how this meaning is to be obtained from the Greek. The ordinary reading, λευκόμενος, has usually the sense of "being left behind," or "still surviving." Ελθώντας, a conjectural reading of Ewald's, would mean "being taken," "being held in fetters." Νεκροθεσις has sometimes the meaning of "being defeated," but scarcely when the matter in contention is a lawsuit. Perhaps Ewald's reading and rendering should be accepted.

Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes.] See l Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 8, 12, 13. He seems to have succeeded Apollonius in the government of Cœle-Syria and Phoenicia.

46. taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air.] If we could accept these details as fact, we should have to suppose that the original author, Jason, had a very exact knowledge of all the particular circumstances of the history, and was either an eye-witness, or wrote from the reports of eye-witnesses. As it is, we cannot but suspect that the epitomator is here introducing some of his "painting" and "encaustic." (See ch. ii. 29.)
Menelaus from the accusations, who notwithstanding was cause of all the mischief: and those poor men, who, if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, should have been judged innocent, them he condemned to death.

48 Thus they that followed the matter for the city, and for the people, and for the holy vessels, did soon suffer unjust punishment.

49 Wherefore even they of Tyrus, moved with hatred of that wicked deed, caused them to be honourably buried.

50 And so through the covetousness of them that were of power Menelaus remained still in authority, increasing in malice, and being a great traitor to the citizens.

CHAPTER V.

1. Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt. [Literally, "his second journey;" but the meaning is, "his second expedition." On the circumstances of the first expedition, see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 16-19. In the second expedition, Antiochus took Pselusium and Memphis, and obtained possession of the person of Ptolemy Philometor; but Philometor's brother, Physcon, still maintained himself at Alexandria. (See Polyb. xxviii. 20-22; Appian, "Syria." § 66.)

2. Through all the city.] The city is here Jerusalem, as generally with our author (ch. iii. 14; iv. 19; v. 15, 17; vii. 3, &c.), though not always (ch. iv. 36).

3. For the space almost of forty days.] Forty is not only a "sacred" number with the Hebrews, but it has always been a common "round" number with Orientals, who will use it whenever the actual number exceeds twenty and falls short of a hundred. Thus the ruined palace at Persepolis is called that of "the forty pillars;" a generation is "forty years;" Abdon has "forty sons" who ride on "forty ass colts" (Judg. xii. 14); a numerous band of robbers is spoken of as "the Forty Thieves," &c. Here there is an (unusual) admission, that the number is not exact.

4. There were seen horsemen running in the air.] Such sights have frequently been reported, and seem to be quite possible, through a peculiar state of atmosphere, which intensifies refraction and reflection. Tacitus says, in speaking of the last Jewish war: "Vise per cælum concurret aæcis, rutilantia arma" ("Hist." vi. 13). Josephus gives it as the statement of many eye-witnesses, that at this time chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the air throughout the length and breadth of the land.
3 And troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts.

4 Wherfore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.

5 Now when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead, Jason took at the least a thousand men, and suddenly made an assault upon the city; and they that were upon the walls being put back, and the city at length taken, Menelaus fled into the castle:

6 But Jason slew his own citizens without mercy, not considering that
to the east of the Jordan. There he could easily watch the course of events, and be ready to take advantage of any turn in affairs that might seem to give him a chance of re-establishing himself. The report that Epiphanes had died in Egypt seemed to him just the opportunity which he needed. Though he could hastily raise no more than about a thousand men, he swooped on Jerusalem, took the town all but the citadel, whither Menelaus retired, and proceeded to revenge himself upon his nation by numerous cruelties. He was, however, compelled after a short time to evacuate the city and retreat across the Jordan. Here he was attacked by Aretas, an Arab chief, who drove him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take refuge in Egypt with the Ptolemies. Eventually he retired to Lacedaemon, where he claimed protection as being of a kindred race, but lived and died unhonoured.

5. when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead.] It is impossible to say how this report arose. Antiochus does not appear to have run any risk of his life in Egypt. He was successful from first to last, and would have completed the conquest of the country, but for the Romans.

the cit[y ... taken.] Rather, "on the point of being taken." That Jason should so nearly have succeeded in his attempt when he was at the head of only a thousand men, must be accounted for, first, by the suddenness of his attack; and, secondly, by his having many partisans within the walls. It must be borne in mind that he was the legitimate High Priest. Menelaus fled into the castle.] Rather, "into the citadel." See the comment on ch. iv. 12.

6. Jason slew his own citizens without mercy.] The original is still stronger. It implies that the ex-High Priest, during the time that he held the city, made repeated massacres of the unresisting citizens.

not considering, &c.] Literally, "not considering that to gain the day over his own kinsmen was the greatest possible loss of the day for himself; but imagining that he was
II. MACCABEES. V.

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10. RETURN OF ANTICHUS FROM HIS SECOND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN. HE VENTS HIS FURY UPON THE JEWS BY MASSACRES IN THE CITY, AND BY THE PLUNDERING OF THE TEMPLE. MENELAUS ABETS HIS PROCEEDINGS.

11-21. Antiocbus was disappointed with the results of the Egyptian war. Though he
II. MACCABEES. V.

11 Now when this that was done came to the king's ear, he thought that Judea had revolted: whereupon removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms, and commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses. Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants.

13. The point of this verse is the praiseworthy character of the slaughter. Neither age nor sex was spared. Young and old, men and women, even infants, were ruthlessly massacred.

14. three whole days.] Rather, "three days altogether." The massacre was continued on into the third day.

15. fourscore thousand.] It may be suspected that this number is exaggerated. The writer's numbers are frequently suspicious (ch. viii. 20, 30; ch. x. 17, 31; ch. xi. 11, &c.); and here he seems greatly to over-estimate the population of Jerusalem, which he makes considerably more than 160,000. Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 5) does not say how many were killed on this occasion, but gives the number of the prisoners as "about ten thousand." The slain are not likely to have much exceeded this amount.

16. the holy vessels.] Cyrus had made over to Zerubbabel a number of the original vessels of Solomon, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried off. These consisted of 5,400 vessels in all (Ezra i. 11). Artaxerxes Longimanus had subsequently made a present of further vessels to the Temple by the hand of Ezra (ibid. vii. 19). Others may have been added by successive high priests. These "holy vessels" had, it would appear, until the high-priesthood of Menelaus, remained intact. Menelaus, first of all, laid his profane hands upon them (ch. iv. 32, 39, 42). Epiphanes now, at one fell swoop, carried off the remainder. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 21-23.)

B.C. ch. 17.

14. And there were destroyed within the space of three whole days fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict; and no fewer sold than slain.

15. Yet was he not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple of all the world; Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, being his guide:

16. And taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with pro-

had been generally successful, yet Alexandria had escaped him, and the representations of foreign powers had induced him to forego almost all the advantages which he had gained. The disturbances in Jerusalem during his absence (v. 5-7) had also displeased him, and he needed a scapegoat on which he might vent his fury. He was likewise terribly in want of money; and recent events had made it clear, 1. That there was a vast accumulation of treasure at Jerusalem; and 2. That there was a strong party among the Jews themselves which would connive at the conversion of these treasures to secular purposes. Epiphanes therefore resolved to treat Jerusalem as a revolted city—to assault it, take it, and plunder it. Our author says that 80,000 of the inhabitants were slain in the assault and massacre, and an equal number sold as slaves. Menelaus served Epiphanes as guide to the Temple treasures, which were plundered and carried off, to the amount of 1800 talents (432,000l.).

11. be thought that Judea had revolted.] This might naturally be the first impression that the tidings made; but it is impossible that Epiphanes should not have been better informed before he gave the order for the assault. He must have become aware that, whatever Jason's intentions may have been—and it is improbable that even he had aimed at shaking off the Syro-Macedonian yoke—Jason had been foiled, and the authority of Menelaus re-established. The assault can only be looked on as a wanton outrage, for which the motive was cupidity. The Syrian treasury needed replenishing. No easier mode of filling it offered than the seizure of half a million of money and the sale of 80,000 (or even 10,000) captives.

12. such as went up upon the houses.] They were to kill all whom they found in the streets, and all who took post upon the house-roofs in what might be viewed as a threatening attitude.
And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not that the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place.

18 For had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins, this man, as soon as he had come, had forthwith been scourged, and put back from his presumption, as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury.

19 Nevertheless God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake.

20 And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord: and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory.

21 So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot: such was the haughtiness of his mind.
II. MACCABEES. V. [v. 22—27.

22 And he left governors to vex the nation: at Jerusalem, Philip, for his country a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous than he that set him there;

23 And at Garizim, Andronicus; and besides, Menelaus, who worse than all the rest bare an heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen the Jews.

24 He sent also that detestable ringleader Apollonius with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort:

25 Who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath, when taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves.

26 And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons slew great multitudes.

27 But Judas Maccabeus with nine others, or thereabout, with

women and children, sold them as slaves. Upon this, Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, withdrew from the city into the wilderness, and lived on the wild fruits of the earth, becoming the nucleus of the rebellion which followed.

22. Philip ... a Phrygian.] "Philip the Phrygian" must have continued to be governor of Jerusalem through all the time of the severe persecution (chs. vi.—vii.), since we find him still at the head of affairs in B.C. 166—5, when he sends to the governor of Coele Syria to help him against the rebels under Judas (ch. viii. 8).

23. And at Garizim, Andronicus.] "Garizim" seems to be used here as an equivalent of Samaria. Properly it was the name of the hill on which the Samaritans had built their temple (John iv. 20: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain"). The Syro-Macedonians seem at this time to have confounded the Samaritans with the Jews, and to have looked on both with equal suspicion. Samaria had therefore to be garrisoned, and to receive a Syro-Macedonian governor. He has been supposed to be the Andronicus of ch. iv. 31—38; but we have shown reasons for believing that that individual suffered death before this. (See the comment on ch. iv. 38.)

24. That detestable ringleader.] Rather, "that ringleader of corruption." The article (τὸν μωρόφραγμόν) implies that Apollonius is already known to the reader, whence it may be concluded that he is the "governor of Coele Syria" mentioned in ch. iii. 5; iv. 4. He may have exchanged that office recently for the chief collectorship of revenue which is assigned to him in 1 Macc. i. 29. A Ptolemy is found as governor of Coele Syria in B.C. 166—5 (2 Macc. viii. 8).

Rather, "all those of the military age"—i.e. all those between 17 and 47, or whatever were the limits of military service recognised by the Syro-Macedonians.

"to sell the women and the younger sort.] Compare above, v. 14.

25. did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath.] The Sabbatarian feeling was, we know, strong among those of the religious and patriotic party. At a later date than that to which the narrative has brought us, they still refused to resist attack upon the Sabbath, and allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep (1 Macc. ii. 36—38). Apollonius must have calculated upon this feeling.

keeping holy day. Literally, "resting"—or "observing rest."

26. And so to slew all them that were gone.] Rather, "that were gone forth"—i.e. that had quitted the city, and gone across to the Temple hill, to attend the Temple worship.

and running through the city.] Rather, "into the city." Besides his attack on the worshippers in the Temple, he sent his bands into the city on the western hill, and there killed "great multitudes."

27. Judas Maccabeus with nine others.] It is remarkable that the author ignores Mattathias wholly, and makes Judas the leader of the revolt. In this there can be no doubt that he is unhistorical. The authority of the First of Maccabees and of Josephus must override his. Judas, however, it is clear, remained, in the eyes of his countrymen, the great hero of the war of independence—the chief to whom all others were secondary. It was he who first defeated armies; who first made success seem possible; above all, who first recovered and
drew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution.

CHAPTER VI.

1 The Jews are compelled to leave the law of God. 4 The temple is defiled. 8 Cruelly purified the Temple, and re-established the daily sacrifices.

withdrawn himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains.] Compare 1 Macc. ii. 26, 27. The place chosen seems to have been "the wilderness of Judea," or the tract south and south-east of Jerusalem, between the great southern road and the Dead Sea.

after the manner of beasts.] This is rhetorical exaggeration. Neither in the time of Judas, nor even in that of Mattathias, were the patriots brought so low as is here asserted. They had always "cattle" (1 Macc. ii. 30), and the spoil of cities (ibid. 44–47; iii. 8), and consequently the ordinary means of sustaining life.

lest they should be partakers of the pollution.] We learn from 1 Macc. ii. 1–28, that Mattathias and his sons did not withdraw into the wilderness until an attempt had been made, at their own village of Modein, to force them to offer sacrifice on a heathen altar to heathen gods. It was this "pollution" in which they refused to partake. Compare the conduct of the early Christians (Plin. 'Epist.' x. 97).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. A ROYAL COMMISSIONER SENT TO JERUSALEM WITH ORDERS TO EXTINGUISH THE JEWISH RELIGION. HIS PROCEEDINGS WITH THIS OBJECT.

1–9. Epiphanes now thought that the time was come when he might be able wholly to obliterate the Jewish religion; and accordingly he sent a commissioner—an Athenian, according to our author—with full powers, and strict orders to put down all Jewish usages. "The Temple was to be re-dedicated to Jupiter Olympus; heathen festivals with licentious rites were to be celebrated in it; the altar was to be polluted by the sacrifice of swine upon it; the observance of the Jewish feasts and even of the Sabbath was to be prohibited; circumcision was to be forbidden; the copies of the Law were to be destroyed (1 Macc. i. 56); and the Jews were to be compelled to join in the heathen feasts and sacrifices. Finally, the commands and prohibitions were extended beyond Judea to the neighbouring Grecian cities; and the Jews of all parts of the Empire were forced under the penalty of death to adopt Gentile customs.

1. Not long after this.] In the same year with the attack of Apollonius (B.C. 168), towards its close—in November or December.

the king sent an old man of Athens.] The Vulgate has "an old man of Antioch"—a reading of which Ewold approves ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 298, note k). But, as Antiochus was at the time engaged in building the magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens (Polyb. xxxvi. 1, § 10), of which the ruins are still to be seen on the banks of the Ilissus, it is quite likely that he may have selected an Athenian to introduce the worship of the same god at Jerusalem. The worship would thus, as Dean Stanley observes ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295) have seemed to be "introduced from its most genuine seat."

to depart from the laws of their fathers.] Compare 1 Macc. i. 42–50; Joseph. 'A.J.' xii. 5, § 4. Josephus says: "He compelled them to lay aside the ceremonial observances of their own God, and to worship the gods whom he acknowledged; to build temples and erect altars in every city and village, and to offer upon them every day a sacrifice of swine. He also forbade them to circumcise their children, and threatened all who should be caught so doing with punishment."

2. to pollute also the temple.] "It was the 23rd of the month Marchesvan (November)," says Dean Stanley ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 297), "that the enclosure was broken between the outer and inner court; in after days the breaches were pointed out in thirteen places. On the 15th of the next month (Chislev—December) a small Grecian altar was planted on the huge platform of the altar of Zerubbabel in honour of the Olympian Jupiter. On the 25th the profanation was consummated by introducing a herd of swine and slaughtering them in the sacred precincts. One huge sow was chosen from the rest. Her blood was poured on the altar before the Temple and on the Holy of Holies
in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Garizim, of Jupiter the Defender of strangers, as they did desire that dwelt in the place.

3 The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people:

4 For the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles, who dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the circuit of the holy places, and besides that brought in things that were not lawful.

within. A mess of broth was prepared from the flesh, and sprinkled on the copies of the Law. This was the 'abomination of desolation'—the horror which made the whole place a desert.'

the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Jupiter (Zeus) was worshipped as 'Olympian' chiefly at Olympia in Elis (Herod. ii. 7); but Antiochus had recently begun to build a temple to him under the same title at Athens (see the comment on v. 1). He perhaps identified the Greek 'Zeus Olympios' with the Roman 'Jupiter Capitolinus,' to whom he had built a splendid temple at Antioch (Liv. xli. 20).

of Jupiter the Defender of strangers. Zeus is mentioned as worshipped under this title (Xenius) very frequently by the classical writers (Hom. 'Il.' xiii. 625; 'Od.' i. 270; Aesch. 'Agam.' ll. 61, 362, 748; Pind. 'Ol.' viii. 38; Eurip. 'Cycl.' l. 357; Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 2, § 4; Plat. 'De Leg.' v. 730; Arist. 'De Mundo,' § 7; Pausan. iii. 11, § 11; Athen. 'Deipn.' xv. p. 696, D, &c.). He was regarded as careful to avenge any wrongs suffered either by strangers or by guests or hosts.

as they did desire that dwelt in the place. Rather, "as they were that dwelt in the place." The writer means that the title was selected in reference to the character of the Samaritans, who were "protectors of strangers" themselves. It is remarkable that a Jew should give this testimony.

3. grievous to the people. Rather, "grievous even to the multitude." I.e. not only was it disliked by the upper orders, or the more strictly religious, but it was felt as a grievance by the common people generally.

4. revelling. Literally, "bands of revelers."

'ab ovo dallied with harlots. On the licentious character of the Gentile worship at this period, and the indecent orgies permissible in heathen temples, see Döllinger's 'Judenthum und Heidenthum' passim. The Syro-Macedonians were especially addicted to these unspeakable abominations, and Antioch with its notorious suburb of Daphne was the head-quarters of religious profligacy. Hence we may well believe that the charges here made were not without a foundation in fact.

brought in things that were not lawful. As swine, and broth made from the flesh of swine. (See the comment on v. 2.)

5. The altar . . . was filled with profane things. It was permanently surmounted by a heathen altar, on which heathen sacrifices were offered. It was trampled on by the feet of the heathen sacrificing priests, and was also on at least one occasion purposely polluted by the pouring upon it of swine's blood (Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1).

6. Neither was it lawful . . . to keep sabbath days. Compare 1 Macc. i. 45.

or ancient feasts. Literally, "ancestral feasts."—those which had come down to the Jews of the day from their forefathers—the Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Purim, &c.

7. in the day of the king's birth every month. Rather, "on the day." It is questioned whether this statement is worthy of belief. No other instance has been as yet found of a king's birthday being kept monthly, and it is thought improbable that even Ephiphanius would have introduced such a custom. Grimm suggests that the author has confused the annual royal birthday with the monthly sacrifice mentioned in 1 Macc. i. 59.

when the feast of Bacchus was kept. In every Greek state "Dionysia" were celebrated at least once a year; in some, as at Athens, they were celebrated twice. Autumn was the usual time for them, the feast being specially connected with the vintage, and its celebration being accompanied with wild dances, coarse gestures and songs, uproar, tumult, and revelry. A "pomp" or "pro-
II. MACCABEES. VI.

8 Moreover there went out a decree to the neighbour cities of the heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemees, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their sacrifices:

9 And whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery.

to the manners of the Gentiles.] Rather, "to the customs of the Grecians" (ἐν τιν Ελληνικά).

Then might a man have seen, ὡς τ. This is a transition clause from the general to the particular. It concludes the writer's survey of the general position of his countrymen under the edicts issued by Epiphanes, and introduces the graphic account which he proceeds to give in the remainder of the chapter and in ch. vii., of the practical results which followed from the edicts.

§ 13. SPECIAL INSTANCES OF PERSECUTION. CASE OF THE TWO WOMEN. CASE OF THOSE BURNT FOR KEEPING THE SABBATH.

10, 11. The writer proceeds now to adduce special instances of persecution. He begins with the case, noted also by the writer of the First Book (I Macc. i. 60, 61), of two mothers, who, contrary to the king's edict, had had their children circumcised, who were led round the city, with their children hung around their necks, and then cast headlong from the city wall into the ditch. He next notes a case where persons who had met secretly for worship on the Sabbath day in some of the caves near Jerusalem, were burnt to death in them unresistingly, as their conscience would not allow them to defend themselves on the Sabbath.

10. there were two women brought.] Rather, "brought up," or "brought before the court!"

11. others that had run together into caves near by.] Literally, "into the caves." The limestone rocks of Palestine are everywhere perforated with caves, some natural, some arti-
II. MACCABEES. VI.

12. Now I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation.

13. For it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished.

14. For not as with other nations, whom the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us,

15. Lest that, being come to the height of sin, afterwards he should take vengeance of us.

16. And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people.

17. But let this that we have spoken be for a warning unto us. And now will we come to the declaring of the matter in few words.

ficial, and often capable of containing a considerable assemblage of persons. The "cave of Adullam" (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13) is notorious. Other scriptural notices of caves in Palestine are Gen. xxii. 17; Josh. x. 16; 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; 1 Kings xviii. 4; Heb. xii. 38.

being discovered to Philip.] I.e. to "Philip the Phrygian," the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22).

were all burnt together.] Perhaps rather suffocated than burnt. When brushwood is piled at the mouth of caves and set on fire, the inmates are mostly suffocated. The operation is among the recognised ones even of modern warfare. It was practised by the French in the subjection of Algeria.

they made a conscience to help themselves.] I.e. they had a conscientious scruple against defending themselves on the Sabbath. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 32-38.)

§ 14. Remarks of the Author on the Purpose of God in Suffering His People to be Thus Persecuted.

12-17. The writer here interrupts his narrative, and interposes certain remarks on the method of God's government, in order to prevent his readers from being depressed and disheartened by his history. God, he says, allows other nations to persist in their iniquities, until they have filled up the measure of them and are the proper objects of His vengeance. With Israel He acts differently. Their transgressions He constantly corrects and chastens, before they come to a head; and so He brings them back to himself, and is never driven to destroy them, or forsake them utterly. The persecutions which he is relating were Divine chastisements with a merciful object.

12. I beseech those that read this book.] Literally, "those that happen upon this book" or "chance to meet with it.

that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction.] Rather, "that they take into account that those punishments were not for our destruction." The persecutions did not destroy Israel, but purified the nation, and raised it up to a height of glory and prosperity which it had not enjoyed for centuries.

13. wicked doers.] The "wicked doers" intended are not Epiphanes and his advisers, but the irreverent Israelites—Jason, Menelaus, and their partisans—whose impurities are viewed as having brought a general judgment upon the nation.

14. other nations... the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins.] Compare Gen. xv. 16; Dan. viii. 23. The principle was not, however, as the writer thinks, one from the operation of which the Jews were exempt. They too, ultimately, "filled up the measure of their iniquities" (Matt. xxiii. 32; 1 Thess. ii. 16), and, having exhausted the patience and long-suffering of God, were dealt with penalty, cast off, and "forsaken." God, however, having once chosen them to be His "peculiar people," did watch over them, chastise them, check their wanderings, recall them to the right path, with especial patience, especial tenderness. (See 2 Kings xii. 9-31; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14-16; Is. i. 27.)

17. But let this... be for a warning unto us.] Rather, "for a reminding." Men are apt to forget the method of God's dealings with them. They no longer have their hearts stirred up "by way of remembrance." This is the object which the writer has proposed to himself in his digression.

in few words.] Rather, "after brief divergence." The writer does not pretend
18. Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh.

19. But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own accord to the torment.

20. As it behoved them to come, that are resolute to stand out against such things, as are not lawful for love of life to be tasted.

21. But they that had the charge of that wicked feast, for the old acquaintance they had with the man, taking him aside, besought him to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king;

22. That in so doing he might be delivered from death, and for the old friendship with them find favour.

23. But he began to consider discreetly, and as became his age, and the excellency of his ancient years, and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come, and his most honest education from a child, or rather the holy law made and given by God: therefore he an-

that he is about to use brevity in his coming narrative, which is remarkably diffuse.

§ 15. ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ELEAZAR.

19–31. One of the simplest modes of compelling Israelites to transgress the Law, was to make them swallow unclean food; and of unclean foods the readiest at hand was the flesh of swine, which were largely used by the heathen for sacrifice and for the food of the common people. In carrying out their system of persecution, the authorities at Jerusalem required one Eleazar, an old man of ninety and one of the chief scribes, to thus pollute himself; but when the flesh was forced into his mouth, Eleazar spat it out. They then suggested privately, that he might provide himself with clean meat, and pretend to eat the swine's flesh offered him; but Eleazar rejected this proposal as an unworthy hypocrisy and as the setting of a bad example. He was accordingly martyred, being cruelly beaten to death.

18. Eleazar.] A common name among the Jews; and one certainly in use at the time, since it was borne by one of the sons of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 5)—not, as some have supposed, a fancy name, ascribed to an ideal personage. In the Hellenistic Greek "Eleazar" became "Lazarus.

one of the principal scribes.] Therefore, probably, a member of the Sanhedrin—perhaps also a priest, as stated in 4 Macc. v. 3, 34; vii. 6, 12, but certainly not "high priest," as called by Josephus Gorionides (iii. 4). A man of high station, however, on terms of intimacy with the authorities, as appears from v. 21, 22.

an aged man.] Ninety years old (see v. 24).

of a well-favoured countenance.] The original is stronger. Translate, "of a most beautiful countenance." The face of the first Christian martyr, when he addressed the Jewish council, is said to have been "as the face of an angel" (Acts vi. 15).

19. came of his own accord to the torment.] Literally, "to the instrument of torture." What exactly was the nature and construction of the tympanum is uncertain. By v. 30 it would seem that the machine was not one which caused death, since Eleazar was killed by repeated blows of a whip or scourge.

21. they that had the charge of that wicked feast.] It would seem that, in order to carry on the persecution, a special sacrifice of swine was made, after which the Jews at hand were brought in to take part in the customary "feast upon the visera" (σφαγχαρυσων, visceratio). The mouths of those who resisted were forced open, and the unclean meat put into them. All was done in the presence, and with the sanction, of the civil authorities. At a little distance was the "torture-instrument," on which those were placed who would not swallow the unclean food.

23. the excellency of his ancient years.] So Grimm, who quotes ch. xv. 13. But ἰεροχώρατος more naturally means "extreme advance in years," and should be so taken here; the clause καὶ τῆς τοῦ γ. ἰεροχώρατος being exegetical of the preceding τῆς ζήλειας.

and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come.] This is a somewhat loose paraphrase. Nothing is said in the original about "honour." Translate "and the conspicuous gray head whereto he had come." or rather the holy law.] Rather, "and still more the holy legislation."
II. MACCABEES. VI. 

24. For it becometh not our age, said he, in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion;

25. And so they through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time and a moment longer, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to mine old age, and make it abominable.

26. For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men: yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.

27. Wherefore now, manfully changing this life, I will shew myself such an one as mine age requireth,

28. And leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws. And when he had said these words, immediately he went to the torment:

29. They that led him changing the good will they bare him a little before into hatred, because theforesaid speeches proceeded, as they thought, from a desperate mind.

30. But when he was ready to die with stripes, he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I now endure sore pains in body by being beaten: but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him.

31. And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage, and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.
CHAPTER VII.

The constancy and cruel death of seven brethren and their mother in one day, because they would not eat swine's flesh at the king's commandment.

It came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips.

But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.

3. Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot:

4. Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on.

5. Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him being yet alive to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus,

9. What wouldest thou ask? "Why," i.e., "this mockery of an inquiry? What is there to learn? Habeas contertus rest. We are Jews; we admit it; and we are resolved not to transgress the Law. Put us to death at once."

3. The king . . . commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot.] The "caldrons" (λιθότες) of the present passage seem to have been the vessels that contained the fire, on the top of which were placed the "pans" (τρύγα), that these latter might be heated to a glow. The victims were placed in the "pans" (v. 5). Burning to death was a recognised Assyrian and Babylonian practice ('Records of the Past,' vol. i. p. 77; vol. ii. p. 56, &c.; Dan. iii. 6-27; Jer. xxix. 22), but seems to have been effected ordinarily by means of a furnace.

4. To cut off the utmost parts of his body.] On this punishment, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9, § 13; 'Beh. Inscr.' col. ii. par. 13, 14; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 152; Herod. vi. 5, § 6; viii. 4, § 29, &c.

Our translators, like the Syriac, have omitted wholly to attempt any rendering of the participle περιμεινέωσε, which must certainly designate some other distinct cruelty. It probably means "scalping," or "removing the scalp"—a noted Scythian practice (Herod. iv. 64; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 11; Hesych. ad voc. Χεροφοίματον). The Vulgate gives "cute capitis abstracta."

5. As the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed.] The meaning seems to be, that the scent of the roasting flesh extended to a considerable distance, reaching the spot where the mother and her other children stood. So the Syriac Version, and Dean Stanley ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 299, note 1), who parallels the remark with the jests of St. Lawrence in the martyrologies.
II. MACCABEES. VII.

6 The Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as "Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants. 7 So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock: and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body? 8 But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did.

9 And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life.

10 After him was the third made a mocking stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully.

11 And said courageously, These I had from heaven; and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again.

12 Insomuch that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled.

6. The Lord God looketh upon us.] Rather, "the Lord God heareth watch"—has an eye, not only over us, but over all things. The expression is quite general.

bath comfort in us.] Rather, "is compassionate towards us," according to the general meaning of the phrase. (See Deut. xxxii. 36; Ps. xc. 13; cxxxv. 14.)

Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces.] Rather, "which witnessed against them to their faces," (ἵνα διαβουλούοιχι δειπνῆς). The reference is to vv. 15-33 of the "Song," where Moses reproaches the Israelites with their unfaithfulness.

saying, And be shall be comforted in his servants.] Our version of the "Song" gives "he that would rest himself for his servants" (Deut. xxxii. 36).

7. to make him a mocking stock.] Compare Heb. xi. 36, "and others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings," and for the practice of mocking an accused person before executing him, see Matt. xxvii. 29, 30; Mark xv. 20, 31; Luke xxiii. 11, 36.

when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair.] A variant mode of describing the operation of scapling. Compare v. 4, and the comment ad loc.

Wilt thou eat?] Supply "swine's flesh" from v. 1.

before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body.] As the first brother had been punished. (See vv. 4 and 5.)

8. be answered in his own language.] I.e. in the Syriac of the time, which the executioners would understand well enough, though Antiochus, as seems to be implied below (v. 24), might not, as a Greek, be familiar with any other language than his own.

9. Thou like a fury.] Rather, "Thou, 0 wicked one." An ἀδικωτός is a man who does deeds of wickedness that cannot be forgotten (ὁ ἁμαρτωλος). The word is rarely found in prose, but is common with the tragedians. (See Ἀesch. 'Ag.' 1481; 'Eum.' 227; 'Suppl.' 410; 'Pers.' 256:— Soph. 'Œd. Col.' 788; 'Ajax.' 372:—Eurip. 'Hec.' 675, 949; 'Phoc.' 1556, &c.)

shall raise us up . . . unto everlasting life.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26. As that passage alludes to the punishment after death of those who offend God, so the present brings forward with great distinctness the happiness enjoyed after death by those who have remained faithful to Him. Whatever obscurity had hung about the doctrine of a future life and future rewards and punishments, during the earlier period of the Mosaic dispensation, it is clear that at this time there was a firm belief in them among all the religious part of the nation. (See vv. 11, 14, 23, 29, 36; and compare ch. xii. 43-45, xiv. 46.)

10. After him was the third made a mocking stock.] See the comment on v. 7.

11. These I had from heaven.] I.e. they were given to me by God at my birth. His hands "made me and fashioned me." (Job x. 8). "In his book were all my members written; which day by day were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them" (Ps. cxxxix. 16).

from him I hope to receive them again.] Here we have belief in the resurrection of the body expressed. This doctrine is perhaps scarcely taught in Job xix. 25-27, where some have thought to find it; but it appears distinctly in Daniel (xii. 2) and Ezekiel (xxvii. 1-14), and seems to have been the general belief of the Jews after the return from the Captivity.
II. MACCABEES. VII.

at the young man’s courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

13 Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner.

14 So when he was ready to die he said thus: It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life.

15 Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him.

16 Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God.

17 But abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed.

18 After him also they brought the sixth, who being ready to die said, Be not deceived without cause: for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us.

19 But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpunished.

20 But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that she had in the Lord.

21 Yea, she exhaled every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits; and stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them,

12. the king.] Rather, “the king himself.”

14. when he was ready to die.] Or, “at the point of death.”

to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him.] It was distinctly recognised by the Jews that there could be no natural resurrection. The “dead bones” could not “live,” unless through some miraculous exertion of Divine power upon them. Consequently each Jew looked to be raised up to a new life after death by a distinct act of Omnipotence performed for his individual benefit.

as for thee.] The denunciations of their persecutor by the martyrs, here and in xv. 17, 19, 31, 35–37; are such as Christian martyrs have been taught by their Lord not to utter (Matt. v. 44; Luke xxiii. 34). They are, however, such as the brutal conduct of Antiochus well deserved, and such as human nature instinctively utters, unless subdued and perfected by grace. Compare the denunciations of the Psalms (Ps. xxxiv. 4; xl. 14, 15; lv. 15; lix. 10–13; &c.).

16. Thou hast power . . . thou art corruptible . . . thou doest.] The nexus of the clauses is lost by this interpretation. Translate—“Thou that art corruptible, yet hast power over men, doest what thou wilt.” The point of the reproach is, that, being a frail perish ing mortal, entrusted with power over men, he should suppose himself at liberty to treat them according to his mere will and pleasure. Compare John xix. 11, where our Lord suggests to Pilate his responsibility for the use of a “power given to him from above.”

17. abide a while.] Literally, “Be patient;” i.e. “Do not be in a hurry to judge: wait, and see the result.”

how be will torment thee and thy seed.] Compare ch. ix. 5–28; xiv. 2. The speaker does not claim the prophetic gift, but utters his threat upon the general conviction that God will punish evil-doers, and their seed after them. (Compare Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Lev. xxvi. 39, &c.)

18. being ready to die.] Rather, “when he was about to die.”

for ourselves.] Rather, “on our own account”—because we have sinned, and God is punishing us in this life, to purify us and make us fit for the life which is to come in heaven. (See ch. vi. 13.)

20. the mother was marvellous above all.] First, as a woman, whereas the rest were men and might be expected to bear pain and death; secondly, as subjected to worse suffering than the others, since there is no such agony as that felt by a mother who sees her children tortured and slain. But the crowning marvellousness is no doubt that related in xv. 24–29—the mother exhorting her youngest not to accept the offer of his life and of the royal favour, but to die nobly like his brethren.

21. in her own language.] See the comment on v. 8.

stirring up her womanish thoughts with a
II. MACCABEES. VII.

22 I cannot tell how ye came into
my womb; for I neither gave you
breath nor life, neither was it I that
formed the members of every one of
you;

23 But doubtless the Creator of
the world, who formed the generation
of man, and found out the beginning
of all things, will also of his own
mercy give you breath and life again,
as ye now regard not your own selves
for his laws' sake.

24. Now Antiochus, thinking him-
self despised, and suspecting it to
be a reproachful speech, whilst the
youngest was yet alive, did not only
exhort him by words, but also as-

ured him with oaths, that he would
make him both a rich and a happy
man, if he would turn from the laws
of his fathers; and that also he
would take him for his friend, and
trust him with affairs.

25 But when the young man would
in no case hearken unto him, the
king called his mother, and exhorted
her that she would counsel the young
man to save his life.

26 And when he had exhorted her
with many words, she promised him
that she would counsel her son.

27 But she bowing herself toward

manly stomach.] Gregory Nazianzen says
she had the soul of a man in the body of a
woman (Horn. in Macc. p. 399). The
language is perhaps rather conventional, than
in accordance with the facts of human nature,
since in enduring pain women have at all
times exhibited at least equal courage with
men, and the martyrlogies shew as many
female names as male.

22. I cannot tell bow ye came into my womb.] Compare Eccles. xi. 5. Conception, gen-
eration, growth, have always been mysteries,
and remain such, despite of vivisection and
the microscope. The formation of human
beings in the womb is fairly paralleled with
their re-formation after death and dissolution
have taken place. Each is a Divine work, and
requires Divine power and Divine knowledge
for its accomplishment. God's ability to
effect the one may well encourage us to
believe that He can effect the other. This is
the mother's argument.

I neither gave you breath nor life.] The
most earnest wishes, the greatest care, on
the part of the mother will not secure the child's
being born alive. God alone gives the life,
the vital principle, the soul, or whatever we
choose to call it, the germ of personality and
of an undying existence.

nor was it I that formed the members.] Compare Job x. 8–13: “Thine hands have
made me and fashioned me together round about
. . . thou hast made me as the clay . . .
thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and
hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou
hast granted me life and favour,” &c. See
also Ps. cxxix. 13–16.

23. the Creator . . . who formed the gene-
eration of man.] See Gen. i. 26, 27; ii. 7, 18–22.

and found out the beginning of all things.] Lc. who determined after deep thought

the constitution of the universe. Compare
Eph. i. 11, “Who worketh all things after
the counsel of his will.”

of his own mercy.] Rather, “of his mercy.”

There is no epithe to θεος.

24. Antiochus . . . suspecting it to be a re-
proachful speech.] Rather, “suspecting the
tone of reproach in which she spoke.”
Antiochus could not understand what the
woman said, as he did not know Syriac: but
he caught the tone of the speech (τον φωνην),
which sounded like one of reproach; and this
made him suspicious of the tenor of her
words.

be would take him for his friend.] On the
position of “king's friend” at the Syrian
Court, see the comment on vi Macc. ii. 18,
where the offer here made is repeated in
Mattathias.

25. in no case.] Rather, “in no wise.”

the king . . . exhorted her.] Either the
mother is to be regarded as understanding
Greek, or Antiochus as having spoken to her
through an interpreter.

26. she promised him that she would counsel
her son.] Literally, “that she would persuade
her son.” The king, no doubt, understood
this to mean, that she would persuade him to
accept his offer; but the mother only meant
that she would use her influence with him,
and persuade him to do what she thought
right.

27. bowing herself toward him.] Le.
leaning towards him, so as to bring herself
nearer, and to give her words greater effect.
The touch is most graphic and affecting.
She was afraid that her youngest, probably a
mere boy, might yield, and so tarnish the
glory of her race, and at the same timeecome eternally lost to her (v. 29).
him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner; O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education.

28 I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise.

29 Fear not this tormentor, but, of the dust of the ground” (Gen. ii. 7), and formed woman out of man (ib. v. v. 21, 22). But he had previously formed the dust of the ground out of nothing.

29. this tormentor.] Or, “this hangman.” The word employed is the usual one for the common executioner. It is a term, not merely of vituperation, but of insult.

30. While she was yet speaking.] Some MSS. have καταλαγθός, which would mean “as she was leaving off;” and Grimm prefers this reading; but it does not suit the preceding εἰς, “yet.” We can say, “while she was yet speaking,” but not “while she was yet leaving off.” The Vulgate, the Syriac, and Joseph. Gortius. (iii. 6), confirm the received text.

I will not obey.] Literally, “I obey not” —i.e. “I decide not to obey.”

31. the author of all mischief.] Literally, “the inventor of all evil.” Compare Rom. i. 30. Jason, Menelaus, and others had no doubt been the original conceiver of much of the “mischief;” but nothing could have been done except by command of Antiochus. On him therefore the responsibility rested.

32. we suffer because of our sins.] Compare v. 18.
II. MACCABEES. VII. VIII.

33 And though the living God be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants.

34 But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God:

35 For thou hast not yet escaped the judgment of Almighty God, who seeth all things.

36 For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God’s covenant of everlasting life: but thou, through the judgment of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride.

37 But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God.

38 And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon all our nation, may cease.

39 Then the king, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked.

40 So this man died undeased, and put his whole trust in the Lord.

41 Last of all after the sons the mother died.

42 Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 Judas gathereth an host. 9 Nicanor is set against him: who presumeth to make much money of his prisoners. 15 Judas encourageth his men, and putteth Nicanor to flight, is and divideth the spoil. 30 Other enemies are also defeated, 35 and Nicanor fleeth with 900 to Antioch.

34. puffed up with uncertain hopes.] The vain hope of forcing Hellenism on the whole Jewish nation, and their renouncing their own religion.

35. who seeth all things.] Rather, "who keepeth a watch."—i.e. who has an eye on men and their doings (ἐπιστευέται, not παραστευέται).

36. God’s covenant of everlasting life.] It is not easy to see how, anterior to Christianity, God could be said to have entered into covenant with man, to give him "everlasting life." Daniel had declared that, of those who slept in the dust of the earth, some should "awake to eternal life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (ch. xii. 2); but the declaration was in no way a "covenant." David, it is true, had spiritualised the idea of Canaan, and spoken of an entrance into rest as guaranteed to true Israelites, which was still future in his day (Ps. xcv. 8-11; Heb. iii. 7-19, iv. 5-9). But this was far short of a covenant to give eternal life. Perhaps the covenant was regarded as anterior to revelation, and implied in man’s moral nature. Perhaps no very definite account could have been given of it, even by those with whom it was an article of faith.

37. that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that be alone is God.] The "torments and plagues," which the writer believes Antiochus to have suffered, are set forth in ch. ix. 5-11; the confession, which he supposes him to have made, in ch. x. 12-17. Of these, the latter seems to be invention (see 1 Macc. vi. 11-13), while the former are much exaggerated (Ibid. 8-10).

39. and took it grievously.] Rather, "he took it grievously." The author sees this as the reason of his rage, and of his excessive cruelty towards the youngest of his brothers.

40. and put his whole trust, &c.] It would be better to translate—"trusting wholly in the Lord." The trust was before and at the time of death.

42. Let this be enough now to have spoken. Compare the summaries in ch. iii. 40, x. xiii. 26, and xv. 38, 39. It is the author’s habit to end each portion of his work with a sort of summary or recapitulation.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART III.

THE WAR OF JUDAS MACCABEUS WITH ANTIochUS EPIPHANES.

§ 1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MACCABEUS.

1-8. The writer had told us (ch. v. 17) that Judas Maccabæus, with about
THEN Judas Maccabæus, and they that were with him, went privily into the towns, and called their kinsfolks together, and took unto them all such as continued in the Jews' religion, and assembled about six thousand men.

2 And they called upon the Lord, that he would look upon the people that was trodden down of all; and also pity the temple profaned of ungodly men;

3 And that he would have compassion upon the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground; and hear the blood that cried unto him,

4 And remember the wicked slaughter of harmless infants, and the blasphemies committed against his name; and that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.

5 Now when Maccabæus had his company about him, he could not be withheld by the heathen: for the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.

others, withdrew himself from Jerusalem, soon after the cruel massacre of unarmed Jews in the streets of Jerusalem by Apollonius (ibid. v. 26). He now resumes his account of this hero and his marvellous doings, occupying with them the remainder of his treatise, but dividing them into three portions, corresponding to the three reigns of Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter. Here he relates how Judas, having collected about six thousand men, and made solemn prayer to God, began a series of offensive operations, chiefly by night, and thus got into his hands many of the Judæan towns, and gained several victories over the king's troops. At last, Philip, the commandant of Jerusalem, finding himself overmatched, applied to Ptolemy, governor of Cœlesyria and Phænícia, for aid, and begged him to interpose in the war, which was going against the interests of the king.

1. they that were with him.] The little knot of nine or ten friends, who, according to our author, had withdrawn with him from Jerusalem. We know from 1 Macc. ii. 27—48 that the first army was in reality collected, and the first battles fought, by Mattathias, whom the author of the Second Book wholly ignores.

about six thousand men.] According to the author of the first book, Judas had no more than 3000 men in his contest with Gorias and Nicanor (1 Macc. iv. 6). Against Lysias he mustered 10,000 (ibid. v. 29). The estimate of numbers with Orientalis is always vague and uncertain.

2. they called upon the Lord.] On the strong devotional spirit that animated Judas, see 1 Macc. iii. 18–22, 46–60; iv. 8–11, 24, 30–33, 36–59; ix. 10. The present passage (vv. 2–4) is quite in accordance with those above quoted, and adds the further fact, that his army was animated by much the same spirit as himself, and “continued calling upon God” (ἐπεκαλούντο τὸν Κυνὸν) day by day and hour by hour.

that was trodden down of all.] Trampled upon by Syrians, Phrygians (ch. v. 22), and renegade Jews, the last the worst enemies of God's faithful people.

the temple profaned of ungodly men.] See ch. v. 15–21, vi. 2–5; and compare 1 Macc. i. 21–59, iii. 45. If the profanation described in ch. vi. 4 continued, we can well understand the horror of all pious Jews, and their earnest prayers that such pollutions might cease.

3. the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground.] Apollonius had “set the city on fire; and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side” (1 Macc. i. 31).

the blood that cried unto him.] I.e. the blood of the 80,000 slain by Antiochus himself (ch. v. 14), of the 22,000 slaughtered by Apollonius (ibid. v. 24), and of all the later martyrs (ch. vi. 10–37). Innocent blood, shed by man, cries to God for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10; Rev. vi. 10).

4. the wicked slaughter of harmless infants.] See 1 Macc. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

the blasphemies committed.] As calling the temple of Jehovah that of Jupiter Olympus (ch. vi. 2). Impious deeds, however, seem to have been regarded as “blasphemies,” no less than impious words. (See the comment on ch. ii. 6.)

that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.] Literally, “that he would hate wickedness.” But the translation does not ill express the meaning of the writer.

5. his company.] I.e. his army of 6,000 men (see v. 1).

be could not be withstood.] See 1 Macc. iii. 10–26.

the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.] The prayers of the seven brethren had been heard (Grimm). The tide had turned. The fortunes of Israel were once more in the ascendant. Instead of a nation

2 Q 2
6 Therefore he came at unawares, and burnt up towns and cities, and got into his hands the most commodious places, and overcame and put to flight no small number of his enemies.

7 But specially took he advantage of the night for such privy attempts, insomuch that the bruit of his manliness was spread every where.

8 So when Philip saw that this man increased by little and little, and that things prospered with him still more and more, he wrote unto Ptolemeus, the governor of Celsoria and Phenice, to yield more aid to the king's affairs.

9 Then forthwith choosing Nicanor the son of Patroclus, one of his special friends, he sent him with no crushed beneath the heel of the oppressor, there was now to be seen a nucleus of patriots, determined on resisting the tyrant to the uttermost, and on maintaining at once the national religion and the separate national existence. Uninterrupted success attended the early efforts of this party under the leadership of Judas.

6. at unawares.] His first successes were a series of surprises. He suddenly appeared before towns and villages which did not expect him, besieged, stormed, and burnt them. His attacks were chiefly made by night (see v. 7).

and got into his hands... and overcame.] Rather, “and by getting into his hands the most commodious places, he overcame,” &c. The seizure of important posts is represented as the cause of his victories.

7. specially took be advantage of the night.] Night attacks are regarded by the Orientals as especially dangerous, and are very seldom adventured on. A leader whose attacks were systematically made by night would in the East soon acquire a reputation for extraordinary daring.

8. So when Philip saw:] “Philip the Phrygian” was the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem, whom Antiochus had left there when he withdrew to Antioch (ch. v. 22). His continuance in the office is implied in ch. vi. 11.

6c wrote unto Ptolemeus.] The name Ptolemy was very common at the time, and causes much confusion; but the Ptolemy here intended is probably the son of Dorymenes, already mentioned by the author as high in the favour of Antiochus (ch. iv. 45, 46), and coupled with Nicanor and Gorgias by the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 38). For the antecedents of this Ptolemy, see the comment on the last-quoted passage.

the governor of Celsoria and Phenice.] Apollonius had ceased to hold that office (ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, v. 24, compared with 1 Macc. i. 29, iii. 10-12), apparently before his death, and had been replaced by Ptolemy.


9-29. This passage has to be compared with 1 Macc. iii. 38-60, iv. 1-25, which relates to the same occurrences. The chief differences between the two accounts are—

(1.) That in 1 Macc. Lysias is made to conceive the expedition, while Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias are entrusted with its execution; but in 2 Macc. Ptolemy forms the plan and assigns its execution to the two others.

(2.) In 1 Macc. Gorgias appears as the actual commander, while Nicanor is barely mentioned; in 2 Macc. the position of the two is reversed.

(3.) The writer of 1 Macc. estimates the Syro-Macedonian forces at 47,000 (ch. iii. 39); those under Judas at 5,000 (ch. iv. 6), while our author makes the respective numbers 20,000 (v. 9) and 6,000 (v. 16). On the other hand, the number of the slain on the Syro-Macedonian side, which is but 3,000 in 1 Macc. iv. 15, is raised to 9,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 24. (4.) The account in 1 Macc. goes into much greater detail than that in 2 Macc. with respect to the movements on either side, military and other; while 2 Macc. adds an interesting feature in the division of his forces made by Judas (v. 22), and another in the part assigned to Eleazar (v. 23).

(5.) The account of Judas's march on Jerusalem and return to Emmaus is peculiar to 1 Macc. (ch. iii. 46-57), while the accounts of his speech immediately before the battle (2 Macc. viii. 16-20) and his thanksgiving afterwards (ibid. v. 27-29) are given at length only in 2 Macc. Altogether the two accounts have little that is contradictory except the numbers, and help to fill out each other.

9. Then forthwith choosing:] Rather, “And he (i.e. Ptolemy) forthwith choosing,” &c. Ewald says that our author regards Philip as appointing these officers (“Hist. of Israel,” vol. v. p. 310, note 1); but this is incorrect. The pronoun he can only refer to the latest antecedent, Ptolemy.

Nicanor the son of Patroclus.] See 1 Macc.
II. MACCABEES. VIII.

fewer than twenty thousand of all nations under him, to root out the whole generation of the Jews; and with him he joined also Gorgias a captain, who in matters of war had great experience.

10 So Nicanor undertook to make so much money of the captive Jews, that was to follow upon him from the Almighty God.

12 Now when word was brought unto Judas of Nicanor's coming, and he had imparted unto those that were with him that the army was at hand,

13 and distrusted the justice of God, fled, and conveyed themselves away.

14 Others sold all that they had left, and withal besought the Lord to deliver them, being sold by the wicked Nicanor before they met together:

15 And if not for their own sakes, yet for the covenants he had made with their fathers, and for his holy

iii. 38, and Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 3. It is probable, though not quite certain, that this is the same Nicanor who made the expeditions against Judea of which an account is given by our author in chs. xiv. and xv.

no fewer than twenty thousand.] Forty-seven thousand, according to 1 Macc. (iii. 39) and Josephus (I. s. c.). Ewald accepts the larger number.

10. Nicanor undertook.] Rather, "determined." It is represented as his own idea that he should raise the money wanted for the tribute by the sale of Jewish slaves. Note that the writer of the First Book knows nothing of this proposed application of the money, and that Roman history knows nothing of any "tribute" due at this time to Rome from Antiochus. Syria was not tributary to Rome; and the last instalment of the indemnity to which Antiochus the Great became liable after the battle of Magnesia, was paid by Epiphanes in B.C. 173 (Liv. xlii. 6), eight years before this expedition of Nicanor's.

11. the cities upon the sea coast.] The Phoenician cities especially, which profited largely by the sale of slaves (Ezek. xxvii. 13).

fourscore and ten bodies for one talent.] Slaves were called "bodies" in the later Greek, being regarded materially, as mere live implements (ἐπισκύα εὕρω, Arist. 'Pol.' i. 2). Ninety slaves for a talent was an extraordinarily low price, when all classes of slaves were to be included; since it was very little above the lowest current rate. That, according to Xenophon ('Mem.' ii. 5, § 2), was half a mina (3l.). Captives in war were ordinarily redeemable at a mina (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' v. 6, § 1). Strong and capable slaves fetched commonly ten mine (40l); superior ones sometimes fetched a talent (140l). The rate established by Nicanor made the price of a slave two-thirds of a mina (3l. 12s. 4d.). He must have expected to sell 180,000, in order to obtain the 2000 talents which he intended to raise. On the flocking of the slave-merchants to the Syrian camp on the occasion, see 1 Macc. iii. 41.

13. They that were fearful . . . fled.] The author of the First Book says that Judas issued an order that all those who were afraid should disperse to their homes (1 Macc. iii. 56).

14. Others sold all that they had left.] Rather, "the others," or "the remainder." The fact is unnoticed by the writer of the First Book, and may perhaps be doubted. It is not very clear what fugitives like those who formed the army of Judas (1 Macc. iii. 43, 44) would have to sell, or to whom they could sell, unless it were one to another.

before they met together.] Rather, "before he fell in with them," or "before he joined battle with them." Nicanor had as good as sold them; i.e. he had arranged for their price, and invited their purchasers into his camp, before he had even so much as met them in the field.

15. for the covenants be had made with their fathers.] As with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (see ch. i. 2), and again with the whole nation in the wilderness (Ex. xix. 5-8; xxiv. 3-8; xxxiv. 10).

and for his holy and glorious name's sake.
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16 So Maccabeus called his men together unto the number of six thousand, and exhorted them "not to be stricken with terror of the enemy, nor to fear the great multitude of the heathen, who came wrongfully against them; but to fight manfully.

17 And to set before their eyes the injury that they had unjustly done to the holy place, and the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery, and also the taking away of the government of their forefathers:

18 For they, said he, trust in their weapons and boldness; but our confidence is in the Almighty God, who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us, and also all the world.

19 Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found, and "how they were delivered, when under Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand perished.

20 And he told them of the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians, how they came but eight thousand in all to the business, with four thousand Macedonians, and that the Macedonians being perplexed, the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand because of the help that they had from heaven, and so received a great booty.

by which they were called.] Rather, "and because of their being called by his holy and glorious name." Because, i.e., they were known as "the people of God" (Ex. xxxiii. 13; Deut. ix. 26, &c.), and their destruction, at which Nicoran aimed, would have been a sort of dishonour to God himself.

16. unto the number of six thousand.] The writer seems to have forgotten what he had said, of many having "fled and conveyed themselves away" (v. 13). He makes the number of Judas's army, after this detection, exactly the same as before. (See v. 1.) The writer of the First Book, on the contrary, makes the armed men who remained with Judas no more than 3,000 (1 Macc. iv. 6), and Josephus agrees with this estimate ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4).

nor to fear the great multitude.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 8.

17. the injury . . . unjustly done to the holy place.] See above, ch. vi. 2-5.

the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery.] The inhabitants of the city, rather than the city itself, seem to be here intended, and the reference to be to the "cruel handling" and "mocking" of the martyrs. (See ch. vii. 7, 10, 13, &c.)

the taking away of the government of their forefathers.] The appointment of Philip the Physrian as Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22), and the sending of royal commissioners from Antioch with unlimited powers (ch. vi. 1), were infringements of the terms on which the Jews had become subjects of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, and amounted to an abolition (κατακράτος) of their ancestral government. Under the new system, the High Priest was a mere puppet in the hands of the Syro-Macedonian governor.

19. Moreover be recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found.] The writer of the First Book makes his sole historic reference to be to the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptians at the Red Sea (ch. iv. 9). This our present author omits, while bringing forward two other great deliverances.

under Sennacherib.] See 2 Kings xix. 35; and compare 1 Macc. vii. 41.

20. the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians.] Rather, "in Babylonia." Nothing more is known of this engagement. Galatian troops were widely employed as mercenaries by the Asiatic kings for some time after the great Galatian inroad into Asia Minor in the third century B.C. (Justin. xxv. 2, § 10), and are said to have fought on both sides in the war of Antiochus the Great with Molo. As Babylon was in fact the scene of this struggle, it is conjectured that Judas alludes to some episode of the contest, not elsewhere mentioned, in which the Jews who served under Antiochus had gained a victory over a large body of Galatians in the service of Molo (Grimm).

with four thousand Macedonians.] I.e. "Syro-Macedonians."—Greek subjects of the Seleucidae.

the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand.] Here there is probably a great exaggeration. The Galatians, in the height of their prosperity, never brought into the field more than about 20,000 warriors (Liv. xxxvii. 16). Moreover, the number of mercenaries in the service of any single Asiatic king is not found to have exceeded 8,000.

and so received a great booty.] Literally,
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21 Thus when he had made them bold with these words, and ready to die for the laws and the country, he divided his army into four parts;

22 And joined with himself his own brethren, leaders of each band, *to wit*, Simon, and Joseph, and Jonathan, giving each one fifteen hundred men.

23 Also he appointed Eleazar to read the holy book: and when he had given them this watchword, *The help of God; himself leading the first band*, he joined battle with Nicanor.

24 And by the help of the Almighty they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host, and so put all to flight;

25 And took their money that came to buy them, and pursued them far: but lacking time they returned:

26 For it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they would no longer pursue them.

27 So when they had gathered their armour together, and spoiled their enemies, they occupied them—first of the four regiments into which he had divided his army (*v. 21*).

"great advantage." The nature of the advantage is not stated.

21. *be divided his army into four parts.* Literally, "He made a sort of fourfold division of his army." It is not meant that he made an actual separation of his men, and sent some to fight in one place and some in another, as was done by his adversaries (1 Macc. iv. 1-7), but only that he enrolled his soldiers in four regiments, each under its own leader. The leaders were himself and three of his brothers, Simon, John, and Jonathan.

22. Joseph.] This "Joseph" is clearly the brother called John by the author of the First Book (ch. ii. 2; ix. 36, 38). It is not, however, a wrong reading, or even a mere slip of the pen on the part of the writer, but probably an actual mistake. He repeats the error in ch. x. 19.

23. Also be appointed Eleazar to read the holy book.] The existing Greek text is ungrammatical, and cannot be said to have any clear and distinct meaning. It seems necessary to change *παραπρων* into *παραπρωνα*, in order to obtain anything like a satisfactory sense. We may then supply *τρελος* from the ῥαγς at the beginning of v. 22, and translate as in the English Version. The δισε of the second clause probably misled the copyists.

this watchword, The help of God. Compare ch. xiii. 15. On the practice of giving a watchword to an army about to engage in battle, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, § 17; 'Cyrop.' iii. 3, § 36; vii. 1, § 10; Appian, 'Bell. Civ.' ii. 76; Veget. 'De Re Mil.' iii. 3, &c.

*himself leading the first band.* I.e. the first of the four regiments into which he had divided his army (*v. 21*).

24. *be joined battle with Nicanor.* Nicanor, it appears, was in command of the main body of Syro-Macedonian troops encamped at Emmaus, which Judas attacked, after Gorgias had been sent with five thousand men into the hill-country to attack him (1 Macc. iv. 1-14).

25. *they slew above nine thousand.* The slain are reckoned by the writer of the First Book as "upon a three thousand" (ch. iv. 15). So also Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4). The probability is in favour of the smaller number.

and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host.] Another exaggeration. If 3,000 were killed, it is not likely that more than 6,000 were wounded. But Nicanor's host had numbered twenty thousand, according to our author (*v. 9*); forty-seven thousand, according to the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 39).

25. *And took their money that came to buy them.* See above, *v. 11*, and compare 1 Macc. iii. 41. On the richness and abundance of the spoil taken after the battle, see 1 Macc. iv. 23.

26. *and pursued them far.* To Gazara, Azotus, Jamnia, and the borders of Idumea (ibid. *v. 15*).

but lacking time they returned.] The writer of the First Book attributes the short pursuit and speedy return of Judas's army to the fact that Gorgias, with an unbroken body of Syro-Macedonian troops, was in the immediate neighbourhood, and had to be guarded against (1 Macc. iv. 15-18). He says nothing of the approach of the Sabbath.

27. *when they had gathered their armour together.* Here there is an "undesigned coincidence" between the accounts of the two historians. The writer of the First Book notes, that the troops of Judas before the battle
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B.C. cir. 166.

selves about the sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord, who had preserved them unto that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.

28 And after the sabbath, when they had given part of the spoils to the imaimed, and the widows, and orphans, the residue they divided among themselves and their servants.

29 When this was done, and they had made a common supplication, they besought the merciful Lord to be reconciled with his servants for ever.

30 Moreover of those that were with Timotheus and Bacchides, who fought against them, they slew above twenty thousand, and very easily got high and strong holds, and divided among themselves many spoils more, and made the imaimed, orphans, 1

widows, yea, and the aged also, equal in spoils with themselves.

31 And when they had gathered their armour together, they laid them up all carefully in convenient places, and the remnant of the spoils they brought to Jerusalem.

32 They slew also Phylarches, that wicked person, who was with Timotheus, and had annoyed the Jews many ways.

33 Furthermore at such time as they kept the feast for the victory in

"had neither armour nor swords to their mind," but says nothing of their stripping the dead after their victory. The author of the Second supplies this fact, without having previously noted the want of satisfactory arms on the part of the Israelites.

yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 24.

which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.] Our translators preferred the reading ταρακονος or ταρακονα, which is followed also by the Vulgate. But the ordinary reading of the MSS. (ταρακονος or ταρακονα) is more probable, and gives as good a sense. Translate, "and had appointed a beginning of mercy for them." The author, apparently, is not aware of the previous victories of Judas over Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 10-24).

28. the imaimed.] Those who had been injured, without being killed, by the persecutors. Compare ch. vii. 1-4.

29. they ... made a common supplication.] The "supplication" was apparently additional to the thanksgiving of v. 27, and subsequent to it. No mention is made of it by the writer of the First Book.

§ 3. FURTHER SUCCESSES OF JUDAS AGAINST TIMOtheUS AND Bacchides.

30-33. The successes here briefly mentioned seem to be those which the writer of the First Book considers to have been gained over Lysias (1 Macc. iv. 28-34), and which belong to the year B.C. 165-164, the year following the defeat of Nicanor. It is possible that Timotheus and Bacchides were generals under Lysias during the campaign of this year, though they are not mentioned by the writer of the First Book.

30. they slew above twenty thousand.] In the great battle between Judas and Lysias 5,000 only were slain (1 Macc. iv. 34; Joseph. ' Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 5). There may have been other engagements with his generals; but it is not at all likely that the entire loss of the Syro-Macedonians in the campaign can have reached the figure here given. "Twenty thousand" is a favourite number with our author. (See ch. viii. 9; x. 17, 23, 31.)

and ... got high and strong holds.] One of these was certainly Bethesda (Beth-Zur), which fell into the hands of Judas after the defeat of Lysias, according to the writer of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61.)

31. when they had gathered their armour together.] See the comment on v. 27. The Jewish levies were still glad to obtain the superior arms and armour of their enemies. (See 1 Macc. iii. 12; iv. 6.)

32. They slew also Phylarches.] Rather, "the phylarch." Had the word been a proper name, it would not have been accompanied by the article. Moreover, the proper name is "Phylarchus," not "Phylarchi." that wicked person.] Rather, "a most imious person." Nothing more is known of him than what is here stated.

33. at such time as they kept the feast for the victory.] Victories were celebrated by festivals both among the heathen and among the Jews. In the case of a great victory, the day was sometimes observed annually (ch. xv. 36; Joseph. ' Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5).

in their country.] Jerusalem is probably meant rather than Judaea, since there would have been no need to state that Judaea was the scene of a Jewish feast.
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their country they burnt Callisthenes, that had set fire upon the holy gates, who had fled into a little house; and so he received a reward meet for his wickedness.

34 As for that most ungracious Nicanor, who had brought a thousand merchants to buy the Jews,

35 He was through the help of the Lord brought down by them, of whom he made least account; and putting off his glorious apparel, and discharging his company, he came like a fugitive servant through the midland unto Antioch, having very great dishonour, for that his host was destroyed.

36 Thus he, that took upon him to make good to the Romans their tribute by means of the captives in Jerusalem, told abroad, that the Jews had God to fight for them, and therefore they could not be hurt, because they followed the laws that he gave them.

CHAPTER IX.

1 Antiochus is chased from Persopolis. 5 He is stricken with a sore disease, 14 and promises to become a Jew. 28 He dies miserably.

they burnt Callisthenes.] According to the majority of MSS., the passage runs thus:—

"They burnt those who had set fire to the holy gates, namely Callisthenes and certain others, who had all fled into one small house; and so they received a reward meet for their wickedness." Grimm prefers the reading which our translators have followed; but it is a fatal objection to it, that it makes the writer say that "one man fled into one small house" (σις τω άληθων), as if it were possible for a man to fly into several. If it be said that το may be an equivalent of το (Wahl, 'Clavis Lib. Apoc. ad voc. εις), the reply is, that in no other passage does the writer of this Book, whose Greek is (on the whole) good, make this unclassical substitution. The fact of the burning may be compared with what is related in ch. vii. 11, and vii. 5, 8, &c. If the one side employed this horrid mode of execution, the other side was in a manner driven to it.

that had set fire upon the holy gates.] See 1 Macc. iv. 38.

§ 4. NICANOR'S FLIGHT, AND TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE JEWS.

34–36. According to our author, Nicanor, after his defeat, disguised himself, and, dismissing his retinue, returned to Antioch a solitary fugitive. Arrived there, he bore witness to the Providence which kept watch over the Jews, and declared his conviction that under the protection of their resistless God they were invincible. But little trust can be placed in any portion of these statements, which have the appearance of rhetorical embellishments. (See ch. ii. 29.)

34. that most ungracious Nicanor.] Literally, "the threefold sinner." Compare ch. xv. 3. The epithet is applied to Haman in the 'Additions to Esther,' ch. xvi. 15, where our translators render it by "wicked wretch."

35. that had brought a thousand merchants.] Rather, "the man who brought the thousand merchants to buy the Jews." The writer speaks as if he had mentioned the thousand merchants before, which he had certainly not done, either in v. 11 or elsewhere; or else as if the number was a well-known fact. It is probably one of his exaggerations.

36. putting off his glorious apparel.] I.e., his dress as commander of the army.

and discharging his company.] Rather, "his retinue." Literally, the phrase used is, "making himself a solitary."

having very great dishonour.] Rather, "having met with a great misfortune."

36. that took upon him to make good to the Romans their tribute.] See the comment on v. 10. It is there shewn that no tribute was at this time payable by the Syro-Macedonians to the Romans.

the Jews... could not be hurt.] Literally, "could not be wounded," or "were invulnerable;" but the meaning is, that they could not be conquered. Compare the testimony which Heliodorus is said by the writer to have borne, when he returned to Antioch from Jerusalem after the failure of his attempt to plunder the Temple treasury (ch. iii. 36–39).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 5. THE EXPEDITION OF ANTIIOCHUS EPIPHANES INTO PERSIA, AND THE AFFLICTION THAT BEFELL HIM AS HE WAS RETURNING.

1–10. This entire chapter runs parallel with 1 Macc. vi. 1–16. The account agrees (1) with respect to the attack made by Antiochus to plunder a Persian temple, and its frustration by popular resistance; (2) with respect to news reaching him on his way home of the reverses which had befallen his
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ABOUT that time came Antiochus, with dishonour out of the country of Persia.

2 For he had entered the city called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened, that Antiochus being put to flight of the inhabitants returned with shame.

3 Now when he came to Ecbatanæ, news was brought him what had happened unto Nicanor and Timotheus.

arms in the Jewish war; (3) with respect to the fact of his then falling into a severe illness, from the effects of which after a little time he died. They differ (1) in the place where the temple was situated; (2) in the cause and character of the sickness; and (3) in the steps taken by Antiochus when he knew that he was dying. The account in 1 Macc. vi. has more air of truth about it than that of our present author.

1. came Antiochus with dishonour out of . . . Persia.] Rather, "it happened that Antiochus had set off with dishonour on his return." He died at Tarsus, in Persia (Polyb., xxxi. 11, § 3). The "dishonour" is explained in the next verse.

2. he had entered the city called Persepolis.] Polybius (I. 1. c.) and Appian (Syria, § 66) place the temple which Eiphanes tried to plunder in Elymais, and therefore considerably to the north-west of Persepolis, which was in Persia Proper.

the multitude running to defend themselves.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 3, 4: "They of the city, having had warning, rose up against him in battle." Polybius agrees, but Appian says that he succeeded in plundering the temple.

3. when he came to Ecbatanæ.] According to the author of the First Book, Eiphanes after his repulse set out for Babylon (ch. vi. 4), but died, before reaching it, in Persia (v. v., 16). Ecbatanæ would lie very far to the north of this route.

news was brought him what had happened.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 5-7. This writer includes in the news the recovery of the Temple by Maccabeus, which our author seems to place later (ch. x. 1-5).

4. the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee.] I.e. his repulse from the temple which he had tried to plunder (v. 2).

the judgment of God now following him.] Rather, "when the judgment of heaven was now approaching him." The original expresses the idea of the judgment being just on the point of falling. The actual fall is declared in the next verse.

5. the Lord Almighty.] Literally, "the All-supervising," or "All-supertending Lord." The author of the Book aims at strongly impressing upon his readers God's supervising providence and constant watchfulness over the world, and especially over the actions of its inhabitants. He does not view God so much in the light of an Almighty Being (παντοκράτωρ), able to create worlds out of nothing and destroy them by the breath of His mouth, as in the light of an All-watchful Being (παντερρήνωρ), constantly supervising human life and actions, with the special intent of bringing vengeance down on the proud and overbearing, and shewing mercy on the sinner who is self-abased and penitent. (See ch. ii. 22; iii. 24-29, 35, 39; v. 17-20; vi. 12-16; vii. 6, 23, 28, 31-36; viii. 2-4, 18, 29, 35, &c.)

smote him with an incurable and invisible plague.] It is remarkable that Polybius so far agrees with our author as to ascribe the death of Eiphanes to a Divine visitation (δακυνον ἔτολμε τὸν βίον). He connects the visitation, however, with the attempt upon the Elymean temple. Josephus, not without reason, objects to this view, that the accomplished sacrilege at Jerusalem was more calculated to draw down the Divine vengeance than the contemplated profanation in Elymais (Ant. Jud. xii. 9, § 1). The author of the First Book of Maccabees considers the death natural, a pining away through grief and disappointment (ch. vi. 8-13). But it is hard to say where what is natural ends, and what is providential begins.

4 Then swelling with anger, he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee. Therefore commanded he his chariots to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey, the judgment of God now following him. For he had spoken proudly in this sort, That he would come to Jerusalem, and make it a common buryingplace of the Jews.

5 But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague: as soon as he had spoken these words, a pain of the bowels that was remorseless.
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6 And that most justly: for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange tortures.

7 Howbeit he nothing at all ceased from his bragging, but still was filled with pride, breathing out fire in his rage against the Jews, and commanding to haste the journey: but it came to pass that he fell down from his chariot, carried violently; so that having a sore fall, all the members of his body were much pained.

8 And thus he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea, (so proud was he beyond the condition of man) and weigh the high mountains in a balance, was now cast on the ground, and carried in a horse litter, shewing forth unto all the manifest power of God.

9 So that 'the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and whilsts he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army.

10 And the man, that thought a little afore he could reach to the stars of heaven, no man could endure to carry for his intolerable stink.

9. the Worms.] Rather, "worms." The Greek has no article. On this form of malady, see Herod. iv. 205; Plut. 'Vit. Artaxerx.' § 16; Acts xii. 23.

bis flesh fell away.] "Piecemeal," as Grimm observes; one portion of flesh at one time, one at another. The description is graphic, but drawn probably from the imagination of the writer. Polybius gives no hint of any such terrible end, nor is it prophesied in the Book of Daniel.

the filthiness of his smell.] Compare v. 10 and 12. This would be a natural feature of the disease described; but the author’s knowledge of it does not add anything to the credibility of his narrative.

10. the man that thought . . . be could reach to the stars of heaven.] The idealised king of Babylon is declared by Isaiah to have "said in his heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God . . . I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High" (ch. xiv. 13, 14).

§ 6. Antiochus humbles himself, and promises freedom and favour to the Jews.

11–17. Our author regards Antiochus as brought to feel remorse at any rate, if not true repentance, by his sufferings—as acknowledging in them the hand of God, and proceeding from such acknowledgment to make four solemn promises to God on the subject of Jerusalem and the Jews: viz., (a) a promise that he would make Jerusalem a free city; (b) a promise that he would give
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11. Here therefore, being plagued, he began to leave off his great pride, and to come to the knowledge of himself by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.

12. And when he himself could not abide his own smell, he said these words, It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, as if he were God.

13. This wicked person vowed also unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him, saying thus,

all Jews the Athenian (Antiochian?) citizenship; (a) a promise that he would restore the holy vessels to the Temple and re-establish the ancient worship; and (d) a promise that he would himself become a Jew, and go through the world proclaiming the power of the God of the Jews. In these statements, and in the “letter” which follows (vv. 19–27), we have probably exaggerations and embellishments of the fact recorded by the author of the First Book (ch. vi. 12, 13), that in his last illness Epiphanes expressed regret for his cruel treatment of the Jews, and his desecration of the Temple.

11. being plagued.] Rather, “being broken in spirit.”

by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.] Rather, “the pain that he suffered through the scourge of God increasing every moment.” The “scourge of God” is the disease that had fallen upon him. (See v. 5.)

12. when he . . . could not abide his own smell.] Compare v. 9, 10.

13. the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.] It is possible to exhaust the patience and mercy of God. “Esau found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears” (Heb. xii. 17). Wisdom warns men in the Book of Proverbs: “Because I have called, and ye have refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me; for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them” (Prov. l. 24–33). Antiochus had reached this point. He had provoked God beyond endurance. He had “filled up the measure of his iniquity.” Nothing remained for him, but that “fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation whereof the Apostle speaks to the Hebrews (Heb. x. 27).

14. the holy city to the which he was going in haste.] See above, v. 5 and 7.

he would set at liberty.] I.e. restore to the degree of freedom which it had enjoyed under his father Seleucus (ch. iii. 1–3).

15. the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried.] This piece of savagery is not ascribed to Epiphanes by any other author, and cannot be accepted as true on the unsupported authority of the present writer.

he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens.] If the text is sound, we must suppose that (in the view of the author) Antiochus had conferred on all Athenians a certain status, perhaps isopoli, within his dominions, and that he now expressed the intention of conferring a similar privilege on the Jews. Perhaps, however, Epiphanes is a corruption of Αποικίας, and the privilege promised to all Jews is that already granted to the people of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9).

16. the . . . temple . . . be garnish with goodly gifts.] See the comment on ch. iii. 2.

restore all the holy vessels.] See above, ch. v. 16. The vessels had probably long
and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices:

17 Yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God.

18 But for all this his pains would not cease: for the just judgment of God was come upon him: therefore despairing of his health, he wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten, containing the form of a supplication, after this manner:

19 Antiochus, king and governor, to the good Jews his citizens wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity:

20 If ye and your children fare well, and your affairs be to your contentment, I give very great thanks to God, having my hope in heaven.

21 As for me, I was weak, or else I would have remembered kindly your honour and good will. Returning out of Persia, and being taken with a grievous disease, I thought it necessary to care for the common safety of all:

22 Not distrusting mine health,

before this, been melted down at the royal mint, to help the king's necessities. He might, however, have given back others like them; and this is perhaps what is meant.

§ 7. Supposed LETTER OF ANTIOCHUS TO THE JEWISH NATION.

18–27. Jason of Cyrene had apparently an especial liking for documents, and accepted any that came in his way without subjecting them to a very searching criticism. The present "letter" is a manifest forgery; since (a) it is written in slipshod Greek such as no educated Hellene would have put on paper; (b) it gives Epiphanes a title (στρατηγὸς, "general") which he would never have descended to take; (c) it makes Epiphanes say that he had often visited the inland provinces, whereas he only visited them once; (d) it speaks of his having committed the care of his son to the Jews during these frequent absences! (e) it represents Eupator as grown up, whereas he was certainly no more than twelve years old at his father's death.

18. containing the form of a supplication.] Rather, "bearing the character of a supplication"—written, i.e., in the tone, not of a harsh master, but of a timid supplicant. See especially v. 26.

19. Antiochus, king and governor.] Rather, "king and general." It is not likely that any Syro-Macedonian king would have added the poor title of "general" to the grand one of "king." Such an addition is not made in any of the other letters ascribed to the Seleucidæ. (See 1 Macc. x. 18, 25; xi. 30, 32; xiii. 36; 2 Macc. xi. 22, 27, &c.)

to the good Jews.] An improbable piece of flattery.

his citizens.] They were not yet, except the Jews of Jerusalem, "citizens." Antiochus had only promised to make them such. (See v. 15.)

wished much joy, health, and prosperity.] This form is quite unusual. It combines the Greek χαίρειν with the Latin "salutem dat," and adds to them a third good wish, not found elsewhere in salutations of the time and country.

20. If ye . . . fare well.] This Latinism is scarcely likely to have been used by the Syro-Macedonian kings. It is taken from the ordinary "S. V. B. E. E. Q. V." (Compare ch. xi. 28.)

having my hope in heaven.] The use of "Heaven" for "God," common in the Hellenistic Greek of the period (1 Macc. iii. 18, 60; iv. 10, 55, &c.), is not in accordance with the classical Greek idiom.

21. As for me, I was weak, or else.] There is no "or else" in the original, which is absolutely ungrammatical and gives no sense. To produce a sense, either εἰ μὴ must be inserted before ἄρετως, or ἀλλὰς γὰρ before ἴμων.

I would have remembered . . . your honour.] I.e., the honour in which you have held me.

Returning out of Persia.] Literally, "out of the regions about Persia"—the same expression as that used in v. 1.

22. Not distrusting mine health.] Grimm finds a contradiction between this statement and that of v. 18, that Antiochus wrote the letter because he "despaired of his health."
II. MACCABEES. IX. [v. 23—27.]

23. But considering that even my father, at what time he led an army into the high countries, appointed a successor,

24. To the end that, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, or if any tidings were brought that were grievous, they of the land, knowing to whom the state was left, might not be troubled:

25. Again, considering how that the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom wait for opportunities, and expect what shall be the event, I have appointed my son Antiochus king, whom I often committed and commended unto many of you, when I went up into the high provinces; to whom I have written as followeth:

26. Therefore I pray and request you to remember the benefits that I have done unto you generally, and in special, and that every man will be still faithful to me and my son.

27. For I am persuaded that he

But it is conceivable that he might really despair of it, yet wish the Jews to think otherwise.

to escape this sickness. Rather, "to escape from this sickness"—i.e. to survive it, recover from it.

23. my father.] Antiochus III., known as "the Great" (Appian, 'Syria.' § 65). In the year B.C. 187 this monarch made a journey into the eastern provinces for the purpose of collecting treasure, and, having entered Elymais, attempted to plunder a rich temple of Belus, but was met with armed resistance by the natives, who overpowered his attendants, and slew the king himself. (See the comment on ch. i. 17.) It is quite possible that he may have "appointed a successor" before starting on his expedition; but we have no confirmation of our author's statement on this point by any other authority.

the high countries.] Literally, "the upper regions"—i.e. those at a distance from the Syrian sea-coast. (Compare the expression η ἀνω λαόν, so common in Herodotus.)

appointed a successor.] The practice was common in the East, and was followed by Cyrus (Herod. i. 208), by Alyattes (ib. i. 92), by Darius (ib. vii. 5), and many others. A monarch was regarded as entitled to make a selection from among his grown-up sons, and, if no son were grown up, might either name a regent or pass the crown on to a brother. In practice, the law of primogeniture was, for the most part, respected.

24. if anything fell out . . . grievous.] A long periphrasis is preferred to a direct mention of the calamity intended, viz. the king's death, which it was of evil omen to mention. The euphemism is in entire accordance with Oriental practice.

25. Again.] Rather, "And further."

the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom. Rather, "the princes that are borderers, and the other neighbours unto my kingdom." The "princes" intended are probably Ptolemy Philometor, Attalus of Pergamus, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia; the "other neighbours," the Jews themselves, the Arab tribes, the Idumaeans, Moabites, &c. All would be on the look-out for an opportunity to aggrandise themselves, if internal troubles should break out in Syria on the death of the king.

I have appointed my son Antiochus king.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 15. The nomination was necessary in order to give Eupator any title to the throne, since the legitimate heir was Demetrius, son of Seleucus Callinicus, the elder brother of Epiphanes, who was not of age to mount the throne at his father's death, but was now grown to manhood.

whom I often committed and commended unto many of you.] Literally, "to most of you." The "committal" of the young heir to the special guardianship of the Jews, is a fiction of a very barefaced character. The assertion that such a committal had taken place "oftens is a further indication of the recklessness and ignorance of the writer. (See the comment on v. v. 18—27.)

to whom I have written as followeth.] We must suppose that a second letter, addressed to Eupator, was originally appended to the existing document (v. v. 19—27), but that this was omitted, either by Jason of Cyrene, or by our author.

26. I pray . . . you to remember the benefits.] It is perhaps not wholly absurd for Epiphanes to be made to speak of his "benefits" to the Jewish people. He would consider the Antiochene citizenship which he had conferred on the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9), and perhaps even the permission to set up a gymnasion (ibid.), as "benefits."
28 Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.

29 And Philip, that was brought up with him, carried away his body, who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt to Ptolemaeus Philometor.

CHAPTER X.

1 Judas recovereth the city, and purifieth the temple. 14 Gorgias vexeth the Jews. 16 Judas winneth their holds. 29 Timothetus and his men are disembiffed. 35 Gazara is taken, and Timothetus slain.

27. understanding my mind.] Rather, 'carrying out my intention.'

will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.] Literally, "will deal with you graciously and lovingly." The author of the letter would scarcely have made Epiphanes pledge himself so positively as to his son's system of government, had he remembered that Eupator was at his father's death, at most, twelve years of age. Appian says nine ('Syriac') § 45.

§ 8. DEATH OF EPIPHANES AND FLIGHT OF PHILIP TO EGYPT.

28, 29. The death of Epiphanes in Persia is a certain fact. The author of the First Book tells us that, previously to his decease, he appointed Philip, one of his "friends," regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his son Eupator (ch. vi. 14, 15). Philip conducted the Syro-Macedonian army from Tabæ, where Epiphanes died, to Antioch (ibid. 55, 56). He no doubt brought with him the body of the king. At Antioch he was well received and possessed himself of the government (ibid. 63), but was unable to take charge of Eupator, who was absent from the city, with Lysias in Judæa. Lysias, on learning what had happened, patched up a peace with Judas Maccabæus, and marched rapidly against Philip, whom he besieged in Antioch. After a short siege, he took the city by storm; but it is possible that Philip had previously quitted it and escaped to Egypt.

28. the murderer and blasphemer.] Compare ch. v. 12-21; vi. 1-8, &c.

as be entreated other men.] See above, v. 6.

in the mountains.] Here the writer has got hold of a true tradition. Tabæ, where Epiphantes died, was in Elymais, a portion of the mountainous Zagros region, which separates the high plateau of Persia from the Mesopotamian lowland. The writer's object in mentioning the fact is (as Grimm notes) rhetorical rather than geographic. He means to say, "This great king died, not in a royal palace, not in a luxurious city, but in a wild and lonesome tract, far from the haunts of civilised men."

29. Philip.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 14, 55, 63. Some critics regard him as identical with "Philip the Prygian" (2 Macc. v. 22), whom Epiphanes made governor of Jerusalem; but this is scarcely probable. Philip the Prygian was governor of Jerusalem at the time of the expedition of Gorgias and Nicanor (ch. viii. 8); Philip the regent had probably accompanied Epiphanes into Armenia and Persia previously.

 carried away his body.] I.e. "took it with him," to give it honourable burial at Antioch. The meaning, "buried it," or "caused it to be buried," which Grimm suggests, is unsupported by any parallel passage.

who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt.] It is very questionable whether this passage has any historical value. Our author's statements, when unsupported, must be accepted or rejected, according to their internal probability. Now, it is clear that Philip could not have "feared" Eupator, whose legal protector he had been constituted, until he found, on returning to Antioch, that Lysias was in possession of the boy's person, and was prepared to maintain that he, and not Philip, was the rightful regent. Possibly he may then have gone by sea from Antioch to Alexandria, in the hope of obtaining aid from Philometor; but to quit the capital would, under the circumstances, have been a great risk, and one which he is scarcely likely to have incurred on the faint hope of getting Ptolemy to help him. Or, again, he may, after the siege was begun, have escaped from the town and made his way to Egypt, where Ptolemy may have given him refuge. We have to set against this, however, the positive statement of Josephus (' Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7), that he was made prisoner at the capture of the city, and put to death by Lysias.

CHAPTER X.


1-9. The present writer does not fix the exact date of the recovery of the Temple,
NOW Maccabees and his company, the Lord guiding them, recovered the temple and the city:

2 But the altars which the Heathen had built in the open street, and also the chapels, they pulled down.

3 And having cleansed the temple they made another altar, and striking stones they took fire out of them, and offered a sacrifice after two years, and set forth incense, and lights, and shewbread.

4 When that was done, they fell flat down, and besought the Lord that they might come no more into such troubles; but if they sinned any more against him, that he himself would chasten them with mercy, and that they might not be delivered unto the blaspheous and barbarous nations.

5 Now upon the same day that they profaned the temple, on the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of the same month, which is Caslau.

which, however, we know from the First Book (ch. iv. 28) to have occurred in B.C. 164. Antiochus died in B.C. 163. Thus, there is a departure from chronological order in chs. ix. and x., the first section of ch. x. (vv. 1–8) belonging to a time anterior to any of the events related in ch. ix. This dislocation does not arise from ignorance on the part of our author, since he not only (in ch. x. 9) states that the recovery took place within the lifetime of Epiphanes, but (in ch. viii. 31) gives an indication that he knew of Jerusalem, or a part of it, being in possession of the patriots before the illness of Epiphanes began. His object in departing from chronological order seems to have been rhetorical. He wished to conclude the second portion of his narrative with the grand event of Judas's earlier career—the recovery of the Temple from the hands of the heathen, and its re-dedication to the worship of the true God.

1. Maccabees . . . recovered the temple and the city.] This is an over-statement. All that Judas recovered was the Temple and such part of the city as stood upon the Temple hill. The remainder, including all the buildings upon the western hill, which was the main city, continued in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians until the time of Simon, whose great glory it was that he drove out the heathen from it, and completed the recovery of Jerusalem. (See 1 Macc. iv. 41–60; vi. 18–26; xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36.)

2. the altars which the heathen had built in the open street.] Rather, "in the marketplace." It was the custom of the Greeks to have numerous altars to different gods in various parts of their cities. Some of these may have been erected in the agora of the eastern city. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 47, 54.)

and also the chapels.] Rather, "the sacred enclosures." Compare the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.

3. having cleansed the temple.] See 1 Macc. iv. 43.

they made another altar.] The old altar of burnt offering having been polluted by having an idolatrous altar erected on the top of it (1 Macc. i. 54), it was thought best to pull it down, and build a new one with unhewn stones, in accordance with Ex. xx. 25. (See the fuller narrative of the cleansing in 1 Macc. iv. 41–51.)

and striking stones they took fire out of them.] The author of the First Book omits this characteristic feature. It was quite in accordance with the spirit of the command to build the altar of rough natural stones, the idea being that nature was unpolluted, while everything with which man had come into contact had more or less of pollution attaching to it. We may well accept our author's statement in this place, contradictory as it is to the tale told in ch. i. 18–36, as "the simple historical account" of the matter (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 311).

after two years.] This is a mistake. The exact dates of the First Book (1 Macc. i. 54; iv. 52) show three years to have elapsed between the desecration of the Temple by Epiphanes and its purification by Maccabees.

incense, and lights, and shewbread.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 50, 51.

4. they . . . besought the Lord . . . that he himself would chasten them.] So David, when given his choice of punishments (2 Sam. xxiv. 14).

blasphemous and barbarous nations.] See the comment on ch. ii. 21. The cruelties of the Syro-Macedonians might well justify the epithet "barbarous" (ch. v. 12–14, 24–25; vi. 10, 11, 18–31; vii. 5–40, &c.)

5. upon the same day.] Compare 1 Macc. i. 59; iv. 52–54. Judas, no doubt, intentionally arranged this exact correspondence, in order that the sense of national humiliation should be swallowed up in that of joy and triumph, when the fated day came round.
6. they kept eight days.] See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 56.

as in the feast of the tabernacles.] See the next verse, and compare Joseph. "Ant. Jud." xlii. 7; § 7; xliii. 13; § 5.

not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles.] The Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month Tisri, or rather from the fifteenth day to the twenty-second, about three months previously to the twenty-fifth of Casleu, or Chisleu. The similarity in the observances customary at the two feasts led to their being known respectively as "the Tabernacle Feast of the Autumn," and "the Tabernacle Feast of the Winter." (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 59.)

they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.] Compare ch. v. 27. The writer seems to forget that the patriots had long since issued from their fastnesses, and made themselves masters of towns and villages (ch. viii. 6), and become a power in the land (ibid. 16-32).

7. they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also.] Compare Neh. viii. 15. They made the Feast of the Dedication a sort of supplement to that of Tabernacles, which had no doubt been celebrated under difficulties, while the campaign against Gorgias and Nicanor was going on, and had been shorn of some of its customary rites.

8. They ordained also by a common statute and decree.] See 1 Macc. iv. 59. The festival continued to be celebrated in the time of our Lord’s ministry (John x. 22), and indeed was only discontinued when the Temple was finally destroyed.

9. this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.] Rather, "And thus ended the reign of Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes." The writer does not refer to the circumstances of Epiphanes’ death, but simply notes that this is the point in his narrative where the reign of Epiphanes ends and that of Eupator begins. It is also the point where Apoc.—Vol. II.

the Third Portion of his work ends, and the Fourth Portion begins.

PART IV.

THE WAR OF JUDAS WITH ANTIochus EUPATOR.

§ 1. LYSIAS SUCCEEDS PTOLEMY MACRON AS GOVERNOR OF COELE-SYRIA AND PHENICIA.

10-13. In accordance with his idea that Eupator was grown to manhood at his father’s death, and had the actual direction of affairs (see the comment on ch. ix. 18-27), the writer represents him as selecting Lysias for high office, and assigning him a certain command. In reality, Lysias had been left at the head of affairs in Syria by Epiphanes, when he departed for the East (1 Macc. iii. 32-38) and had been made Eupator’s guardian (v. 33). When Epiphanes died, Eupator was at the most twelve years old, and was a mere puppet in the hands of the regent. Lysias proclaimed him, and ruled in his name (1 Macc. vi. 17), but kept all power in his own hands (ibid. 53-60). It is not likely that he held at any time so subordinate an office as that of “governor of Coele-Syria and Phenicia,” and if Ptolemy was at this time superseded, it cannot have been with the object of Lysias taking his place.

10. Antiochus Eupator.] On the name and reign of this prince, see Appian, “Syriaeac,” § 45;—Polyb. xxi. 12, § 7; 19, § 21.—Porphyry. ap. Euseb. ‘Chron. Can.’ Part i. 40, § 15, &c. His age at his father’s death, according to Appian, was nine; according to Porphyry, twelve.

gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.] Compare above, ch. ii. 31, where the author promises “ brevity.”

11. be set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm.] It has been noted above, that Lysias was placed in power, not by Eupator, but by Epiphanes, and that the boy Eupator was a puppet in his hands. Lysias is strangely intro-
him chief governor of Cæle Syria and Phænicia.

12 For Ptolemeus, that was called Macron, choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews for the wrong that had been done unto them, endeavoured to continue peace with them.

13 Whereupon being accused of the king's friends before Eupator, and called traitor at every word, because he had left Cyprus, that Philometor had committed unto him, and departed to Antiochus Epiphanes, and seeing that he was in no honourable place, he was so discouraged, that he poisoned himself and died.

14 But when Gorgias was governor of the holds, he hired soldiers, and nourished war continually with the Jews:

15 And therewithal the Idumeans,

duced in this place as "one Lysias," or "a certain Lysias" (Ἀυτίκος Λυσία), an expression which commonly denotes obscurity of birth and condition. Lysias was in fact, as the writer very well knew (ch. xi. 1), a member of the royal family, and one of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. He was the actual ruler of Cæle Syria for above three years, from the departure of Antiochus for the East in B.C. 166-5, to his own destruction by Demetrius in B.C. 162-1. He is mentioned as regent of Syria by Appian, Polybius, Livy, and Porphyry. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 32.)

12. Ptolemeus, that was called Macron.]

Evidently the same with the Ptolemeus mentioned as "governor of Cæle Syria and Phænicia" in ch. viii. 8, and therefore probably the same as "Ptoleme, son of Dorymenes" (1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. iv. 45, 46).

choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews.]

It has been made an argument against the identification of Ptolemy Macron with Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes (Grimm), that the latter was ill-disposed to the Jews (2 Macc. vi. 8), while the former favoured them. But there is no difficulty in conceiving that a better acquaintance with the nation may have induced the governor of Cæle Syria and Phænicia to change his policy.

for the wrong that had been done unto them.]

The wrong done was such as might well have called forth the pity of a conscientious heathen. (See ch. v. 12-26; vi. 1-11, 18-31; vii. 1-41, &c.)

endeavoured to continue peace with them.]

Rather, "endeavoured to manage his dealings with them peaceably." Ptolemy thought that the policy of war and violence hitherto pursued was wrong, and recommended a complete change. He would have had all the matters in dispute arranged by negotiation and diplomacy.

13. being accused of the king's friends.]

The simplest translation would be—"by his friends;" but as this is unlikely, we may perhaps accept the gloss of our translators, who have regarded "the friends" as "the king's friends"—i.e. the courtiers of the first rank, who bore that title. (See 1 Macc. ii. 18; iii. 38; vi. 18; vii. 8; x. 20, 60, 65, &c.)

14. But when Gorgias was governor of the holds, he hired soldiers; and nourished war continually with the Jews:

15. And therewithal the Idumeans.

because be had left Cyprus, &c. See Polyb. xxvii. 11. Ptolemy Macron had been appointed governor of Cyprus by Philemeros, but in the campaign of B.C. 169 had deserted his cause, and made the island over to Epiphanes. It was hard that he should be taxed with treachery by the side to which he had deserted.

and departed.]

Rather, "and gone over."

§ 2. Gorgias, in conjunction with the Idumeans, makes war upon Judas. Successes of Judas.

14-23. We seem here to have an account, given with some detail, of the Idumean war briefly touched on by the writer of the First Book in ch. v. 2, 3. We learn from the present passage that Gorgias had a share in the operations, which were chiefly in the Idumean country, where Judas were himself master of various strongholds, and put to death their garrisons. It is impossible to accept our author's numbers, in v. 17, 23; but we may gather from his statements that the Maccabee leader acted during the campaign with great severity, both towards the enemy and towards those of his own party who were inclined to leniency. (See v. 20-22.)

14. when Gorgias was governor of the holds.]

Gorgias had been previously mentioned as "a captain of great experience," and as joined with Nicanor in the campaign of B.C. 165 (ch. viii. 9). The active part which he took in that campaign appears from 1 Macc. iv. 1-5, 18-22.

be hired soldiers.]

i.e. "he collected a force of mercenaries." Compare what is said of Lysias in 1 Macc. iv. 35.

15. And therewithal the Idumeans.]

Rather, "And in conjunction with him the Idumeans also."
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having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds, kept the Jews occupied, and receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem, they went about to nourish war.

16 Then they that were with Maccabeus made supplication, and besought God that he would be their helper; and so they ran with violence upon the strong holds of the Idumeans.

17 And assaulting them strongly, they won the holds, and kept off all that fought upon the wall, and slew all that fell into their hands, and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.

18 And because certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled together into two very strong castles, having all manner of things convenient to sustain the siege,

19 Maccabeus left Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus also, and them that were with him, who were enough to besiege them, and departed himself unto those places which more needed his help.

20 Now they that were with Simon, being led with covetousness, were persuaded for money through certain of those that were in the castle, and took seventy thousand drachms, and let some of them escape.

21 But when it was told Maccabeus what was done, he called the

having gotten into their bands the most commodious holds. Rather, "being masters of certain commodious strongholds." It is not implied that they had recently taken these holds, but only that they were in possession of them.

receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem. It was a natural consequence of the recovery of the Temple hill by Judas, that a number of those Jews whom he found established there should be expelled from their homes and driven to seek a refuge elsewhere. They would be necessarily Jews of the Hellenizing party, whose continued presence within the recovered portion of the city would be a danger. Compare the exodus of the inhabitants from the western city, when it was taken by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 50).

16. ran with violence. Rather, "marched hastily."

17. kept off all that fought upon the wall. Rather, "repulsed" them, "drove them back."

slew all that fell into their hands. Rather, "all with whom they fell in." It is not intended that there was a massacre of prisoners in cold blood, but that the soldiers of Judas, when they burst into each town, killed every one whom they found in the streets. Their proceedings were in accordance with the barbarous usage of the time.

and killed no fewer than twenty thousand. This number is quite incredible, and may be confidently regarded as one of our author's many exaggerations. "Twenty thousand" recurs too frequently in his estimates to have any historical value. (See ch. viii. 9, 30; ch. x. 23, 31.)

18. certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled... into two castles. Rather, "into two towers." Nine hundred would be a more probable number than "nine thousand" for "two towers" to receive and shelter.

19. Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus. "Simon" is, no doubt, the elder brother of Judas (1 Macc. ii. 3), whom Judas commonly made his second in command (1 Macc. v. 20, 55; 2 Macc. viii. 22). "Joseph" is probably, as in ch. viii. 22, the eldest son of the family, whose real name was "Joanana," or John (1 Macc. ii. 3). Zaccheus is otherwise unknown.

20. they that were with Simon. The ordinary meaning of the phrase used is "Simon and his friends;" but it would seem to have here a narrower meaning, and to designate strictly "those who were about Simon." i.e. his chief officers. They may have acted without his authority or knowledge.

in the castle. Rather, "in the castles" or "towers."

seventy thousand drachms. About 2840l. At the ordinary rate of a mina for a man, this sum should have ransomed 700 persons.

21. when it was told Maccabeus. Judas, having returned from the expedition glanced at in v. 19, learnt what had been done in his absence. He appears to have been greatly angered. To spare the lives of enemies given by God into his hand he regarded as inexusable, since it was an endangering of the lives of Israelites, whom the escaped enemies might afterwards kill in battle. He therefore determined to visit the offence with exemplary punishment.

be called the governors of the people to-
II. MACCABEES. X. 

But when he drew near, they

§ 3. Campaign Against Timotheus. His
Supposed Death.

§ 24. Timotheus, whom the Jews had
overcome before. See above, ch. viii. 30. The
author of the First Book makes no mention of
this earlier defeat.

§ 25. But when he drew near, they

Foreign forces. By “foreign forces” the
writer means “hired mercenaries.” On the
employment of such troops by the Syro-
Macedonians, see i Macc. iv. 35; 2 Macc.
X. 14.

§ 26. And fell down at the foot of
the altar, and besought him to be
merciful to them, and to be
an enemy to their enemies, and an
adversary to their adversaries, as the
law declareth.

§ 27. So after the prayer they took
their weapons, and went on further
from the city: and when they drew
near to their enemies, they kept by
themselves.
28 Now the sun being newly risen, they joined both together; the one part having together with their virtue their refuge also unto the Lord for a pledge of their success and victory: the other side making their rage leader of their battle.

29 But when the battle waxed strong, there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men upon horses, with bridles of gold, and two of them led the Jews.

30 And took Maccabeus betwixt them, and covered him on every side with their weapons, and kept him safe, but shot arrows and lightnings against the enemies: so that being confounded with blindness, and full of trouble, they were killed.

31 And there were slain of footmen twenty thousand and five hundred, and six hundred horsemen.

32 As for Timotheus himself, he fled into a very strong hold, called Gazara, where Chereas was governor.
II. MACCABEES. X. XI.

But they that were with Mac-
cabeus laid siege against the fortress
courageously four days.

And they that were within,
trusting to the strength of the place,
blasphemed exceedingly, and uttered
wicked words.

Nevertheless upon the fifth
day early twenty young men of
Maccabees' company, inflamed with
anger because of the blasphemies,
assaulted the wall manly, and with a
fierce courage killed all that they met
within.

Others likewise ascending after
them, while they were busied with
them that were within, burnt the
towers, and kindling fires burnt the
blasphemers alive; and others broke
open the gates, and, having receiv-
ed in the rest of the army, took the
city,

And killed Timotheus, that
was hid in a certain pit, and Chereas
his brother, with Apollonius.

When this was done, they
praised the Lord with psalms and
thanksgiving, who had done so great
things for Israel, and given them the
victory.

CHAPTER XI.

3. Lysias, thinking to get Jerusalem, 8 is put to
flight. 16. The letters of Lysias to the Jews:
22 of the king unto Lysias, 27 and to the
Jews: 34 of the Romans to the Jews.

NOT long after this, Lysias the
king's protector and cousin, 10.
who also managed the affairs, took
later.

§ 4. First Campaign of Lysias against
Judas.

1-12. The author of the First Book places
this campaign in the reign of Antiochus
Epiphanes, during the absence of the monarch
in the eastern provinces (ch. v. 28-35); and
with this agree the dates in vv. 21, 33, and
38 of the present chapter. We must there-
fore regard the writer of the Second Book as
having misplaced the campaign by one or two
years. It belongs to B.C. 165-4, Epiphanes
not having died till B.C. 164-3. The two
writers agree as to the locality of the cam-
paign—Idumaea, and especially the region
about Beth-zur; as to the great disproportion
between the forces brought into the field on
either side; and as to the complete discom-
fiture of the Syro-Macedonians. They differ
chiefly in the details of the numbers engaged
and slain. The author of the Second Book,
or his authority, Jason of Cyrene, embellishes
his narrative with an apparition (επισημαίνει),
and attaches to it an account of negotiations
and treaties, whereof the author of the First
Book knows nothing. This writer, on the
other hand, professes to give (ch. iv. 30-31)
the exact words of the prayer offered by
Maccabees before the battle.

1. Lysias the king's protector and cousin.
The true position and rank of Lysias is here
for the first time acknowledged. He is no
longer λουσίας τις, "a certain Lysias" (ch. v.
11), but "the king's cousin"—no longer a
"governor whom the king has "set up,"
but his "protector" or "guardian." Unfor-
unately these acknowledgments are made at

rather Chereas, is said in v. 37 to have been
a brother of Timotheus. He is known to us
only through the present writer.

33. courageously.] Rather, "gladly," "joy-
fully"—confident, as it would seem, that the
siege would not be a long one.

34. they that were within . . . blasphemed
exceedingly.] Le. defied the Jews and their
God. (See 1 Macc. vii. 35, 38, 42.)

35. with a fierce courage.] Literally, "with
a courage like that of wild beasts." The
"blasphemies" of the besieged had lashed
them into a fury, and made them more like
wild beasts than men.

36. and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers
alive.] Compare 1 Macc. v. 5, 44; x. 84, 85;
and see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 44.

37. And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a
certain pit.] Timotheus reappears as alive in
ch. xii. 2, 18-24, and certainly survived the
capture of Gazara. (See 1 Macc. v. 11-40.)
He may have been found hid in a cistern—a
usual place of concealment (2 Sam. xvii. 18;
Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 8, § 1)—when the city
fell, and have been made a prisoner; but he
must have contrived to obtain his release, as
he did also at a later period (2 Macc.
xii. 25).

Chereas . . . Apollonius.] Unknown
persons, but for the present narrative. Chereas
was the commandant of the town (v. 32).

38. they praised the Lord.] Compare ch.
viii. 27; ix. 7; xi. 9, &c. A formal service
of thanksgiving, like a modern Te Deum after
a victory, seems to be intended.
sore displeasure for the things that were done.

2 "And when he had gathered about fourscore thousand with all the horsemen, he came against the Jews, thinking to make the city an habitation of the Gentiles,

3 And to make a gain of the temple, as of the other chapels of the heathen, and to set the high priesthood to sale every year:

4 Not at all considering the power of God, but puffed up with his ten thousands of footmen, and his thousands of horsemen, and his fourscore elephants.

5 So he came to Judea, and drew near to Bethsura, which was a strong town, but distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs, and he laid sore siege unto it.

6 Now when they that were with Maccabees heard that he besieged the holds, they and all the people with lamentation and tears besought the Lord that he would send a good angel to deliver Israel.

a wrong date, before Lysias had entered on his office of "guardian." took sore displeasure for the things that were done.] At the results of the Idumæan and Ammonite wars (ch. x. 14–37), according to the mind of the writer; at the failures of Nicana and Gorgias in the campaign of B.C. 166–5, according to the author of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 26, 27.)

2. when he had gathered about fourscore thousand.] This is intended as an estimate of the footmen, whom the writer of the First Book reckons at 60,000 (1 Macc. iv. 28).

all the horsemen.] Five thousand, according to the same authority.

thinking to make the city an habitation of the Gentiles.] Literally, "of the Greeks." The campaign really fell at a time when the whole city was in possession of the Syro-Macedonians, before Judas had recovered any part of it. (See 1 Macc. iv. 28–59.) But our author imagined that it took place after the recovery, which, according to him, was a recovery of both "the temple and the city" (ch. x. 1). He could thus view Lysias as designing to put "the Greeks" once more in possession.

3. to make a gain of the temple.] In what way, is not clear. Perhaps by requiring an annual payment from those who worshipped in it.

as of the other chapels of the heathen.] Tēsion should be translated "sacred precincts," not "chapels." (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.)

to set the high priesthood to sale every year.] Jason had bought the high-priestly office of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 7, 8); and Menelaus had three years later done the same, outbidding Jason (ib. τον 24–27). Lysias now, according to our author, conceived the design of holding an annual sale of the office. Fortunately for the Jewish nation, this extreme degradation was never reached.

4. his fourscore elephants.] This is a very improbable number. Antiochus the Great had but fifty-four elephants (Liv. xxxvii. 39) at Magnesia. Lysias, in his second expedition, had only twenty-two (2 Macc. xiii. 2), or at most thirty-two (1 Macc. vi. 32). Josephus, however, in one passage (Bell. Jud. i. 1, § 5), makes the elephants in the second expedition "eighty."

5. be . . . drew near to Bethsura.] Bethsura, or Beth-Zur, was at this time reckoned to Idumæa (1 Macc. iv. 29). It was a strong place, occupying a commanding position, in the border country of Judea and Edom. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 29.) distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs.] This is a mistake. The distance of Beit-Sur from Jerusalem is, at least, 160 furlongs. Two MSS. have σχηματικά for ἑρμοῖν, but our author habitually measures distances by stades (ch. xii. 9, 16, 17, 29), never by schœni.

be laid sore siege unto it.] Another mistake. Bethsura, at the time of Lysias's first expedition, was in the possession of the Idumæans, who were subject allies of the Syro-Macedonians. Lysias occupied it without any resistance (1 Macc. iv. 29).

6. when they that were with Maccabees heard that he besieged the holds.] "He" refers to Lysias, whose (supposed) siege of Bethsura is looked upon as the beginning of a systematic attack upon, and occupation of, all the strongholds.

they . . . besought the Lord that he would send a good angel.] God had promised to "send an angel" before Israel to bring them safely into Canaan (Ex. xxxii. 20, 23; xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 2); and, more generally, to "give his angels charge over the righteous, to keep them in all their ways" (Ps. xcii. 11; comp. Ps. xxxiv. 7). He had also, on various occasions (Josh. v. 13–15; Judg. vi. 12–23, xiii. 3–20; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17; 2 Kings vi. 17), allowed the angels, who are His ministers, visibly to appear to His servants. It was thus natural that pious Israelites should in times
7 Then Maccabeus himself first of all took weapons, exhorting the other that they would jeopard themselves together with him to help their brethren: so they went forth together with a willing mind.

8 And as they were at Jerusalem, there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold.

9 Then they praised the merciful God all together, and took heart, insomuch that they were ready not only to fight with men, but with most cruel beasts, and to pierce through walls of iron.

10 Thus they marched forward in their armour, having an helper from heaven: for the Lord was merciful unto them.

11 And giving a charge upon their enemies like lions, they slew eleven thousand footmen, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the others to flight.

12 Many of them also being wounded escaped naked; and Lysias himself fled away shamefully, and so escaped.

13 Who, as he was a man of understanding, casting with himself what loss he had had, and considering that the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the Almighty of danger put up such a petition as that recorded in the text, not necessarily meaning to ask for a visible angelic manifestation, but only for the promised angelic aid, which might be given either visibly or invisibly. It is the author's belief that, on this occasion, as on many others in the course of the Maccabean struggle, the aid was given visibly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30.)

7. to help their brethren.] Besieged, as the writer supposes, in Bethsura. (See vv. 5, 6.)

8. And as they were at Jerusalem.] Rather, "And there, while they were at Jerusalem." Judas and his army are regarded as having their head-quarters at Jerusalem, which was really not yet recovered. (See the comment on v. 2.)

9. there appeared before them on horseback.] Compare the apparitions in chs. iii. and x.

one in white clothing.] White symbolised purity. Hence the garments of the Levitical priests were almost wholly white (Ex. xxviii. 40-43), even those of the High Priest ordinarily. Angels have white raiment (Ezek. ix. 2; Matt. xxviii. 3; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10, x. 30), and saints in the glorified state (Rev. iii. 4, 5; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14, &c.). So our Lord at His transfiguration (Matt. xviii. 2).

shaking his armour of gold.] Literally, "his panoply." "Panoply" is used by our author, in its etymological sense, for all the arms, both offensive and defensive, that a warrior wears. Here he is thinking especially of the shield and spear (or sword) in the two hands of the angel, which he "shook" as he led the way.

9. to pierce through walls of iron.] I.e. "walls however strong." (Compare Jer. i. 18; xv. 20.) The expression was almost proverbial.

10. they marched forward in their armour.] Rather, "in preparation for battle." having an helper from heaven.] Rather, "having (with them) their helper from heaven."

11. like lions.] Compare 1 Macc. iii. 4, and the comment ad loc.

they slew eleven thousand footmen and sixteen hundred horsemen.] The Syro-Macedonian loss, according to the author of the First Book (1 Macc. iv. 34), was "about five thousand" — a far more probable number.

12. Many of them also being wounded.] Rather, "of these the greater part being wounded."

escaped naked.] I.e. "without their arms," having thrown them away.

§ 5. TERMS OF PEACE AGREED UPON BETWEEN JUDAS AND LYSIAS.

13-15. According to the author of the First Book, Lysias was so far from entertaining thoughts of peace in his heart at this time, that on his return to Antioch he immediately set to work to hire a vast number of mercenaries, with the object of invading Judea as soon as possible with an army more numerous than the defeated one (1 Macc. iv. 35). The present writer has apparently confused the first expedition of Lysias with the second, at the end of which peace was actually concluded (ibid. vi. 55-61); or else he has been misled by the documents which he appends (v. 16-38), which he believed to be genuine and to belong to this year.

13. as he was a man of understanding.] Literally, "as he was not without intelligence" — an instance of metasis. what loss he had bad.] Rather, "the defeat which he had suffered."
II. MACCABEES. XI.

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God helped them, he sent unto them,
14 And persuaded them to agree to all reasonable conditions, and promised that he would persuade the king that he must needs be a friend unto them.

15 Then Maccabeus consented to all that Lysias desired, being careful of the common good; and whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews, the king granted it.

because the Almighty God helped them.] Lysias is scarcely likely to have been actuated by a religious motive. He may have thought that the God of the Hebrews was a protector not to be despised; but it is more probable that he put aside altogether the religious aspect of the matter, and merely viewed the Jews as a brave and determined mountain people, whom it was very difficult to subdue. Still, he looked to succeed, if he could collect a larger and a better army (1 Macc. iv. 35).

14. persuaded them to agree to all reasonable conditions. Rather, “persuaded them to make peace upon perfectly just conditions.”

that he must needs be a friend unto them.] The Greek idiom will not permit of this translation. ἀνομοίζειν is “to compel,” and βασιλεῖα must be its object, not its subject. Lysias promised either to persuade or to compel the king to be their friend. One of the two verbs is redundant, and is probably a gloss, suggested by a scribe, who thought to improve upon his author.

15. whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews.] Maccabeus is supposed to have accepted the proposal of Lysias, and then to have represented to him what he thought must be understood by the phrase “upon perfectly just conditions” (ὡς πιστὶς δικαιος). Eupator, according to our author, accepted the interpretation of Maccabeus.

the king granted it.] Eupator is viewed by our author as in full possession of the kingly power. (See above, ch. x. 11, 13; xi. 18, 22-33.)

§ 6. LETTER OF LYSIAS TO THE JEWS.

16 For there were letters written unto the Jews from Lysias to this effect: Lysias unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:

17 John and Absalon, who were sent from you, delivered me the petition subscribed, and made request for the performance of the contents thereof.

18 Therefore what things soever were meet to be reported to the king, I have declared them, and he hath granted as much as might be.

when Lysias’s career of victory was stopped by intelligence of Philip’s occupation of Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 55), and he patched up a hasty peace with the Jews (ibid. v. 58-61). Its form and language, setting aside the date, are unexceptionable.

16. For there were letters written.] Rather, “For the letter, which was written to the Jews from Lysias, was to this effect.”

Lysias unto the people of the Jews.] Compare 1 Macc. x. 25. The Syro-Macedonians had not yet acknowledged any right or authority as belonging to the Jewish leaders. Alexander Balas was the first to make such recognition, when he addressed Jonathan as “his brother” (ibid. v. 18).

17. John and Absalon.] “John” may have been the brother of Maccabeus, whom the writer has hitherto, by mistake, called Joseph (ch. viii. 22; x. 19). “Absalon” is not elsewhere mentioned. A forger would scarcely have invented, without necessity, two names.

delivered me the petition subscribed.] The “petition” is probably the document which Judas sent to Lysias, summing up what he considered to be the just claims of the Jews. (See the comment on v. 15.) It was “subscribed,” i.e. appended to Lysias’s letter, as sent, though not reported by our author. (Compare ch. ix. 25.)

made request for the performance of the contents thereof.] Rather, “made inquiry concerning the contents thereof;” i.e. asked whether the claims of the Jews, as stated by Judas, were allowed or no.

18. whatsoever soever were meet to be reported to the king.] Some reference to Eupator had, no doubt, to be made, at any rate as a formality. (See 1 Macc. vi. 60, 61.) But it was probably Lysias himself who determined which of the Jews’ demands were, and which were not, admissible.
II. MACCABEES. XI. [v. 19—25.

19 If then ye will keep yourselves loyal to the state, hereafter also will I endeavour to be a means of your good.

20 But of the particulars I have given order both to these, and the other that came from me, to commune with you.

21 Fare ye well. The hundred and eight and fortyieth year, the four and twentieth day of the month Dioscorinthus.

22 Now the king's letter contained these words: King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias sendeth greeting:

23 Since our father is translated unto the gods, our will is, that they that are in our realm live quietly, that every one may attend upon his own affairs.

24 We understand also that the Jews would not consent to our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Gentiles, but had rather keep their own manner of living: for the which cause they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.

25 Wherefore our mind is, that this nation shall be in rest, and we have determined to restore them their temple, that they may live...
II. MACCABEES. XI.

30 Wherefore they that will depart shall have safe conduct till the thirtieth day of Xanthicus with security.

31 And the Jews shall use their own kind of meats and laws, as before; and none of them any manner of ways shall be molested for things ignorantly done.

32 I have sent also Menelaus, that he may comfort you.

33 Fare ye well. In the hundred forty and eighth year, and the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

34 The Romans also sent unto them a letter containing these words: Quintus Memmius and Titus Man-

of their forefathers.] This was, in fact, one of the main conditions of the peace of B.C. 163-2. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

§ 8. SUPPOSED LETTER OF EUPATOR TO THE JEWS.

27-33. Again, the genuineness of the document is suspected. Eupator was not in a position to write letters of any binding authority. He had only to give a formal assent to the terms which Lysias proposed. Suspicious points of detail in the letter are: 1, the employment of Menelaus as their ambassador by the Jews; 2, the Latin character of the opening salutation; 3, the permission to depart under safe conduct during fifteen days; 4, the date, five months after the letter of Lysias to the Jews.

27. unto the council.] Or "the senate." (See 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44.)

28. If ye fare well, &c.] Compare ch. ix. 26, and the comment ad loc.

29. Menelaus declared unto us.] Grimm assumes that this "Menelaus" is not the High Priest of ch. iv. 23-59; v. 5, 15, 23, but some entirely different person, otherwise unknown. But it is far more probable that our author, or the inventor of the letter, whoever he was, intended the High Priest, the only known Menelaus of the day. The Jews, however, can scarcely have in fact employed so bitter an adversary as their ambassador.

30. they that will depart shall have safe conduct.] This permission in no wise suits the circumstances of either expedition of Lysias. In both, the Syro-Macedonians took a hasty departure, leaving the Jews to themselves. The Jews had on neither occasion any reason to wish to "depart," nor any need of "safe conduct" if they departed.

31. the Jews shall use their own kind of meats.] Literally, "of expenses" (see Bel and the Dragon, v. 8); but "meats" are no doubt intended. (Compare Polyb. ix. 43, § 4.)

32. for things ignorantly done.] I.e. for infractions of the law through ignorance or accident. (Compare 1 Macc. xii. 39.)

33. the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.] Nearly five months after the date of the letter of Lysias (supra, v. 21). The concocter of the letter has supposed Eupator to be at Antioch, Lysias in Judæa, and has therefore taken care to put an interval between the letters. But the interval is in any case too long, and Eupator was really in Judæa with Lysias (1 Macc. vi. 57-63).

§ 9. SUPPOSED LETTER OF TWO ROMAN COMMISSIONERS TO THE JEWS.

34-38. This fourth document is a manifest forgery. Judas had not as yet entered into communication with the Romans (1 Macc. vii. 17-32); nor did he do so till after the landing of Demetrius and the death of Nicanor (ibid. vii. 47; ix. 1). Moreover, neither of the two names given is found among the legati of Rome in Asia at the period.

34. Quintus Memmius.] The Memmii were a respectable Roman family of the time.
II. MACCABEES. XI. XII.

B. C. cir. 163.

35 Whatsoever Lysias the king’s cousin hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased.

36 But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king, after ye have advised thereof, send one forthwith, that we may declare as it is convenient for you: for we are now going to Antioch.

37 Therefore send some with speed, that we may know what is your mind.

38 Farewell. This hundred and eight and fortieth year, the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

CHAPTER XII.

1 The king’s lieutenants vex the Jews. 3 They of Joppa drew two hundred Jews, 6 Judas is avenged upon them. 11 He maketh peace with the Arabians, 16 and taketh Caphso. 22 Timotheus’ arms overthrown.

WHEN these covenants were made, Lysias went unto the king, and the Jews were about their husbandry.

2 But of the governors of several places, “Timotheus, and Apollonius the son of Genneus, also Hieronymus, and Demophon, and beside them Nicanor the governor of Cyprus,”

(Liv. xli. 25; xliii. 5, &c.); but no Quintus Memmius is found, nor any Memmius at all among the commissioners sent into Asia. These are:

C. Sulpicius in B.C. 165
Ma. Sergius — — —
Cn. Octavius — — —
Sp. Lucretius — — —
L. Aurelius — — —
Tib. Gracchus — 163
L. Lentulus — — —
Servilius Glacius — — —

Titus Manlius.] A “Titus Manlius Torquatus” was Roman commissioner in Egypt in B.C. 161; but his colleague was Cneius Merula (Polyb. xxxi. 18, § 9); and he had no authority in Asia.

Ambassadors of the Romans.] Rather, “commissioners.” The Roman legati of this period were representatives of the republic, empowered to act very much as they pleased for the purpose of advancing Roman interests in the quarter to which they were sent. They had more practical functions, and far more freedom of action, than ambassadors ordinarily possess.

36. touching such things as be judged to be referred to the king.] See above, v. 18.

38. the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.] This letter is very improbably dated on the same day as that of Eupator (v. 33), nearly five months after that of Lysias (v. 21). If an authentic document, it would naturally have followed close upon Lysias’s letter, on which it is a comment. An interval would then have occurred, during which Roman influence would have been used, and then Eupator would have announced his final decision. As it is, the Jews are asked to consult together, and to inform the Romans of their wishes after the final decision has been taken.

CHAPTER XII.


1-9. According to our author, though peace had been made between Judas on the one hand, and Lysias and Eupator on the other, yet hostilities continued between the Jews and the provincial commandants. Particular captains and particular towns set themselves to vex and harass the obnoxious nation, which, while living in their midst, conformed to none of their usages, but maintained pertinaciously its own religion and its own customs. Among the towns which showed the most violent hostility were Joppa and Jamnia, the latter contemplating, and the former executing, a treacherous outrage, and thus calling down on themselves the vengeance of Judas, who burnt the havens of the two towns.

1. Lysias went unto the king.] See the comment on ch. xi. 33.

2. the governors of several places.] Rather, “the commandants” (αρπαγγοι, not εκποιηται).

Timotheus.] This is probably the same leader who is mentioned as an adversary of the Jews in ch. viii. 30-32, and ch. x. 24-37. In the latter place our author has wrongly represented him as slain. (See the comment on ch. x. 37.)

Apollonius the son of Genneus.] The epithet, “son of Genneus,” distinguishes this Apollonius from two others—the “son of Thraseas,” mentioned in ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, &c.; and the “son of Menestheus,” mentioned in ch. iv. 21.

Nicanor the governor of Cyprus.] Rather, “the Cypriarch”—probably the highest reli-
would not suffer them to be quiet, and live in peace.

3 The men of Joppa also did such an ungodly deed: they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt.

4 Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing: but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them.

5 When Judas heard of this cruelty done unto his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him to make them ready.

6 And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew.

7 And when the town was shut up, he went backward, as if he would return to root out all them of the city of Joppa.

8 But when he heard that the Jamnites were minded to do in like manner unto the Jews that dwelt among them,

9 He came upon the Jamnites also by night, and set fire on the haven and the navy, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem two hundred and forty furlongs off.

6 gious official in Cyprus during the time that Antiochus Epiphanes held the island, Crates having been the civil governor (ch. iv. 29). Compare the terms “Asiarch” (Acts xix. 31), “Syriarch,” &c. This “Nicanor” is most likely a different person from “the son of Patroclus,” mentioned in ch. viii. 9—24, 34, 35; xiv. 12—39; xv. 1—37.

3. The men of Joppa.] Joppa was at this time in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians, who maintained a garrison there (1 Macc. x. 75). The inhabitants were of mixed race, in part Jewish, in part Syrian, probably also in part Greco-Macedonian. In the present passage, the non-Jewish element is spoken of as preponderating, the Jewish as a sort of colony of foreign settlers. (Compare 1 Macc. xiv. 34.)

4. Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city.] These words shew that the massacre was not the private act of certain irresponsible persons, but was publicly determined on by the State. The Jews must have at first misunderstood the offer made to them, and have hesitated to accept it; whereupon a formal decree was passed to reassure them; and it was in reliance on this public act of the people that they embarked and met their doom. We cannot be surprised that Judas visited such a treachery with extreme severity (v. 6).

6. calling upon God the righteous Judge.] Compare Gen. xviii. 25; Ps. vii. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 8.

7. when the town was shut up.] I.e. “when he found that the gates of the town were closed, and that it could not be taken by surprise during the night.”

8. the Jamnites.] The inhabitants of Jamnia. On the position of Jamnia, see the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 15; and, on its importance, compare 1 Macc. v. 58, x. 69, xiv. 40, with Joseph. 1 Ant. Jud. xii. 8, § 6; 4 Bell. Jud. ii. 18.

9. two hundred and forty furlongs.] Yeboa, the modern representative of Jamnia, is about 38 miles from Jerusalem, or 243 stades. The port is distant from the town about two miles, or 17 stades, more, making a total of 260 stades. The configuration must have been very great to have been seen from such a distance.

§ 12. A BODY OF ARABS ATTACKS JUDAS, AND IS DEFEATED. HE MAKES PEACE WITH THEM.

10—12. It has been suggested that this is a variant account of the transactions related in 1 Macc. v. 37—39 (Grimm); but the scene of
II. MACCABEES. XII.

10 Now when they were gone from thence nine furlongs in their journey toward Timotheus, no fewer than five thousand men on foot and five hundred horsemen of the Arabsians set upon him.

11 Whereupon there was a very sore battle; but Judas’ side by the help of God got the victory; so that the Nomades of Arabia, being overcome, besought Judas for peace, promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise.

12 Then Judas, thinking indeed that they would be profitable in many things, granted them peace: whereupon they shook hands, and so they departed to their tents.

that encounter is the Transjordanic region, while the battle here mentioned took place little more than a mile from Jamnia. Wandering Arabs might be met with in almost any part of southern or eastern Palestine, and would be apt to attack any force to which they thought themselves superior. There is no evidence that these Arabs were in league with Timotheus.

10. in their journey toward Timotheus.] Having punished Joppa and Jamnia, Judas next proceeded against this powerful captain, the chief of the commandants left by Lysias to maintain the authority of Eupator in Palestine. (See v. 2.) He had, apparently, betaken himself to the Transjordanic territory, and was greatly harassing the Jews in those parts (1 Macc. v. 6, 11, 34, 40).

five thousand men on foot.] That the 5,000 were “men on foot” is not expressed, but is gathered from the context, and from the practice of the author to omit πεζοί in his estimates of the numbers of an army. (See ch. x. 31; xi. 2, 11.)

11. Whereupon there was a very sore battle.] Rather, “a stout fight.” If Judas had, as appears from 1 Macc. v. 20, eight thousand men with him, it might have been expected that he would have gained an easy victory. But Arab troops often fight with desperation, even against superior numbers.

promising . . . to give him cattle.] Almost the whole wealth of the nomadic Arabs consists in cattle. Tributary Arab tribes paid their tribute in beasts (2 Chr. xvi. 11; G. Smith, “History of Asahir-bani-pal,” pp. 287, 288).

12. they shook hands.] Rather, “they joined hands;” i.e. pledged their faith to each other, by each grasping the other’s right hand.

§ 13. JUDAS BESIEGES AND TAKES CAPSIN.

13 He went also about to make a bridge to a certain strong city, which was fenced about with walls, and inhabited by people of divers countries; and the name of it was Caspis.

14 But they that were within it put such trust in the strength of the walls and provision of victuals, that they behaved themselves rudely toward them that were with Judas, railing and blaspheming, and uttering such words as were not to be spoken.

15 Wherefore Judas with his company, calling upon the great Lord of the world, who without any rams or engines of war did cast

inhabited by people of divers countries.] The population was very mixed in the Transjordanic region. Amorites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabs were intermingled throughout the territory, which contained also a large number of Jews. (Compare 1 Macc. v. 9, 25, 39, 45.) There was also, no doubt, a sprinkling of Syro-Macedonians.

the name of it was Caspis.] The Vulgate has “Caspin,” and the Greek admits of this rendering. (Compare the “Caspphon” of 1 Macc. v. 36.)

14. behaved themselves rudely.] Literally, “somewhat rudely.”

15. calling upon the great Lord of the world.] Literally, “the great Δυνατός,”-i.e.
down Jericho in the time of Joshua,
gave a fierce assault against the
walls.
16 And took the city by the will
of God, and made unspeakable
slaughters, insomuch that a lake two
furlongs broad near adjoining thereto,
unto, being filled full, was seen run-
ning with blood.
17 Then departed they from thence
seven hundred and fifty furlongs, and
came to Characa unto the Jews that
are called Tubieni.
18 But as for Timotheus, they
found him not in the places: for
before he had dispatched any thing,
he departed from thence, having left a very strong garrison in a cer-
tain hold.
19 Howbeit Dositheus and Sosi-
pater, who were of Maccabees’ cap-
tains, went forth, and slew those that
the sovereign ruler of the universe. The
expression used is a rare one.

without any rams.] The battering-ram
was employed by the Assyrians as early as
the time of Asshur-nazir-pal (b.c. 880). The
Greeks used it in the Peloponnesian war
(Thucyd. ii. 76); and the Macedonians em-
ployed it with great effect from the time
of Philip. By the Greeks and Romans the head
of the implement was actually fashioned in
the shape of a ram’s head, whence the names
‘’νικός and αρίτις.

engines of war.] Other “engines of war”
known to the ancients were the balista, which hurled stones; the catapult, which threw
darts; and the belopoli, which was a com-
licated machine of great size, combining the
several engines already mentioned.

did cast down Jericho.] See Josh. vi. 20.
gave a fierce assault.] Literally, “rushed
against the walls like wild beasts.” Compare
ch. x. 35, where a similar expression is used.
In both cases the soldiers of Judas are re-
presented as lashed into fury by the “blas-
phemies” of their adversaries.
16. a lake two furlongs broad.] There is
a large reservoir near Heshbon, towards the
south, a few yards from the base of the hill
(Burckhardt, ‘Travels in Syria,’ p. 365),
which seems to be alluded to in Cant. vii. 4,
and which may have been the original basis of
this “lake two stades broad.” The descrip-
tion is marked by our author’s vice of ex-
aggeration.

§ 14. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS AGAINST CHAR-
AX. DEFEAT OF TIMOTHEUS, WHO IS
ALLOWED BY DOSITHEUS AND SOSIPATER
TO ESCAPE.

17-25. The expedition against Charax for
the relief of the Jews called “Tubieni,” is
omitted by the author of the First Book, who
however mentions the sufferings of certain
“brethren” who dwelt in the places of Tobie
(1 Macc. vii. 13). The defeat of Timotheus here given with some detail seems
to be that mentioned by the author of the
First Book in ch. v. 37-43. Our author, as
usual, exaggerates the numbers of the troops
engaged, and of the slain (ver. 19, 20, 23).
17. seven hundred and fifty furlongs.] This
is a distance of somewhat over 86 miles, and
is quite incompatible with the “Charax” in-
tended being “Charax-Moab,” or Carak,
since that place is less than forty miles from
Heshbon. Some other “Charax” must be
sought for, in a northerly direction (where
lay the “land of Tob”), not very far from
Ashtoreth-Karnaim (v. 26). Charax, “sal-
sated camp,” is a name which may well have
belonged to many distinct localities.

to Characa.] Rather, “to Charax.”
“Characa” is merely the accusative case of
the word.

the Jews that are called Tubieni.] Compare
1 Macc. v. 13. The “Tubieni”—“men of
Tub”—correspond to the Ish-Tob, “men of
Tob,” mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. Their
country, the “land of Tob” (Judg. xi. 3),
was a portion of Gilead, probably towards the
north-west.
18. as for Timotheus.] See above, v. 10.
Judas had set out from Jamnia with the
intention of engaging the army of Timotheus.
they found him not in the places.] He was
neither at Caspin nor at Charax.

for before be had dispatched any thing.] Rather,
“for having failed to accomplish anything.” The word ἰδαιομεν convey the
idea of an attempt which had ended in
failure.

be departed.] Rather, “he had departed.”
He had quitted Charax before Judas and his
army arrived.

19. Dositheus and Sospater.] The pre-
valence of Greek names, even among the
chief officers of Judas, is an indication of the
extent to which the Hellenizing mania had
affected even the soundest part of the nation.
(Compare 1 Macc. viii. 17.)

subo were of Maccabees’ captains.] Judas
did not allow himself to be diverted from the
Timotheus had left in the fortress, above ten thousand men.

20 And Maccabeus ranged his army by bands, and set them over the bands, and went against Timotheus, who had about him an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen.

21 Now when Timotheus had knowledge of Judas' coming, he sent the women and children and the other baggage unto a fortress called Carnion: for the town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto, by reason of the straitness of all the places.

22 But when Judas his first band came in sight, the enemies, being smitten with fear and terror through the appearing of him that seeth all things, fled amain, one running this way, another that way, so as that they were often hurt of their own men, and wounded with the points of their own swords.

23 Judas also was very earnest in pursuing them, killing those wicked wretches, of whom he slew about thirty thousand men.

24 Moreover Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, whom he besought with much craft to let him go with his life, because he had many of the Jews' parents, and the brethren of some of them, who, if they put him to death, should not be regarded.

25 So when he had assured them with many words that he would restore them without hurt, according to the agreement, they let him go for the saving of their brethren.

22. Judas his first band.] Compare v. 20. Judas had divided his troops into several "bands."

through the appearing of him that seeth all things.] A miraculous manifestation of the Divine presence is clearly intended, on a par with those mentioned in chs. iii. 25, 33; x. 29; xi. 8; xv. 27. The author of the First Book, though he mentions the battle (1 Macc. v. 43), says nothing of any such manifestation.

24. Timotheus ... fell into the bands of Dositheus and Sosipater.] This is not stated in the First Book, and is, apparently, disbelieved by Ewald and Dean Stanley, who say nothing of it. But the tale is not one which it would have worth while to invent; and it may fairly be regarded as one of our author's contributions to the history of the period.

with much craft.] Rather, "with much imposture." The author means that Timotheus invented the whole story of his having Jewish captives in his power, who would be ill-treated if he were put to death.

§ 15. Capture of the Atargatium at Carnion—Fall of Ephron—Return of Judas by way of Scythopolis to Jerusalem.

26–31. This passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. v. 44–54, with which it agrees in all the main particulars. It adds the facts, that Lysias had a house in Ephron, and that the inhabitants of Scythopolis (Beth-shan) lived on friendly terms with the Jews of the vicinity.
II. MACCABEES. XII.

26 Then Maccabeus marched forth to Carnion, and to the temple of Antargatis, and there he slew five and twenty thousand persons.

27 And after he had put to flight and destroyed them, Judas removed the host toward Ephron, a strong city, wherein Lysias abode, and a great multitude of divers nations, and the strong young men kept the walls, and defended them mightily: wherein also was great provision of engines and darts.

28 But when Judas and his company had called upon Almighty God, who with his power breaketh the strength of his enemies, they won the city, and slew twenty and five thousand of them that were within.

29 From thence they departed to Scythopolis, which lieth six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.

30 But when the Jews that dwelt there had testified that the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them, and entreated them kindly in the time of their adversity;

31 They gave them thanks, desiring them to be friendly still unto them: and so they came to Jerusalem, the feast of the weeks approaching.

Its estimates of the numbers slain by Judas are of the usual exaggerated character. (See the comment on v. 20.)

26. *the temple of Antargatis.*] The author of the First Book has "the holy precinct (τιμω-

νος) in Carnim" (ch. v. 43), which was evidently large enough to afford a camping-

ground to the remnant of the defeated army.

Antargatis, or Derketo (Derketois), was the great Syrian nature goddess (Dea Syra), corres-

ponding to the Phœnician Ashroteth and the Babylonian Ishtar or Nanza. The chief,

seats of her worship were Hierapolis (Magob) and Aphek or Apaca. On its essential

impurity, see Euseb. 'Vit. Constant.' iii. 56; Lucian, 'De Dea Syra,' §§ 4-10.

27. Ephron, a strong city.] On the identity of "Ephron" with Geprun (Polyb. v. 70) and its probable position, see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 46.

wherein Lysias abode.] The writer does not intend to say that Lysias was in Ephron at the time of the siege, but that he had a house there, in which he sometimes resided. There is no improbability in this statement.

and a great multitude of divers nations.] Compare v. 13.

28. when Judas . . . had called upon Almighty God.] Literally, "upon the Dynast." Compare v. 15.

29. Scythopolis.] Called "Beth-shan" in 1 Macc. v. 52, as in Josh. xvi. 11; Judg. i. 27, and generally in the canonical Books of the Old Testament—"Scythopolis" only here and in Judith iii. 10. Anciently the city belonged to the Canaanites, and from them probably received its name of Beth-Shem or Beth-Shan. The name "Scythopolis" (Σκυθοπόλις πουλις) is first found given to it in Polybius (v. 70, § 4), who wrote about B.C. 140, and afterwards occurs as the regular Greco-Roman name in Strabo, Pliny, Euse-

bius, Josephus, and the Itineraries ('Itin. Ant.' p. 197; 'Itin. Hierosol.' p. 586), main-
taining itself till the time of William of Tyre, after which the old name recurs in the form of Beisan. Scythopolis is thought to have derived its name from a settlement of Scythians at the spot, made perhaps at the time of the great Scythic invasion of Palestine mentioned by Herodotus (i. 165), which took place about B.C. 600. It was at all times more a heathen than a Jewish city (Judg. i. 27; Mishna 'Aboda Zara,' i. 4; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18, § 3, &c.).

six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.] This estimate is fairly correct. Beisan is distant from Jerusalem, as the crow flies, nearly 500 stades, and could not be reached by any ordinary route without an augmentation of the distance by at least one-fifth.

30. the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them.] This was not so at a later date. On the breaking out of the last Roman war, A.D. 65, the heathen inhabitants rose up against their Jewish fellow-citizens, and massacred them to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' l. s. c.).

31. they came to Jerusalem.] Compare 1 Macc. v. 54. It is a new fact, contributed by the writer of this Book, that the return immediately preceded the Feast of Pentecost. On the appellation "Feast of Weeks," see Deut. xvi. 10, 16, and compare Lev. xxiii. 15, 16.

§ 16. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMEA. GORGIAS IS NEARLY CAPTURED. DEFEAT OF HIS ARMY.

32-37. The expedition touched on by the author of the First Book in ch. v. 65 is here
II. MACCABEES. XII.

32 And after the feast, called Pentecost, they went forth against Gorgias the governor of Idumea.

33 Who came out with three thousand men of foot and four hundred horsemen.

34 And it happened that in their fighting together a few of the Jews were slain.

35 At which time Dositheus, one of Baccenor's company, who was on horseback, and a strong man, was still upon Gorgias, and taking hold of his coat drew him by force; and when he would have taken that cursed man alive, a horseman of Thracia coming upon him smote off his shoulder, so that Gorgias fled unto Marisa.

36 Now when they that were with Gorgias had fought long, and were weary, Judas called upon the Lord, that he would shew himself to be their helper and leader of the battle.

37 And with that he began in his own language, and sung psalms with a loud voice, and rushing unawares upon Gorgias' men, he put them to flight.

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given with some detail. It appears that Gorgias was the leader against whom Judas contended. Judas had only a small army (v. 33), and was in danger of suffering defeat, but by an appeal to the religious feeling of his troops gained the victory. In the struggle Gorgias was almost captured by Dosithesus, but escaped through the latter being wounded. No mention is made of Hebron, which, according to the author of the First Book, was captured by Judas.

32. after the feast called Pentecost. Compare Tobit ii. 1. The name is a translation of the Hebrew וַיַּשְׂרֵי, which was given to the Festival because it fell on the fiftieth day after the Passover sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16).

Gorgias the governor of Idumea. Gorgias had been already mentioned as in league with the Idumeans against Judas (ch. x. 14, 15). He had, shortly before this, inflicted a defeat on a body of Jews who had attacked Jamnia under Azarias and Joseph (1 Macc. v. 56-60). His command seems to have extended over Idumea and northern Philistia.

33. Who came out with three thousand men. This translation makes the estimate one of the army of Gorgias. But there can be little doubt that the author intends to give the numbers of the army of Judas. (See Grimm ad loc.) Gorgias's forces were probably far more numerous. Translate—"Now he came out with three thousand men."

35. Dositheus, one of Baccenor's company. It would seem that this "Dositheus" is not the commander of vv. 19, 24, or he would not have been called a certain Dosithesus (Δοσιθέω τις), "one of Baccenor's men." He was, apparently, a common soldier.

was still upon Gorgias. Rather, "attached himself to Gorgias"; i.e. made a set upon him—challenged an encounter, and would not be denied. taking hold of his coat. Rather, "catching hold of his cloak." The χλαμύς was a sort of cloak or scarf, fastened round the neck, and hanging loosely behind the warrior. (See Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, cutts on pp. 196, 275, 276, 519, &c.) It was easily caught hold of, and gave the man who seized it a grasp of his foe which was not easily escaped.

a horseman of Thracia coming upon him. The Thracians were renowned as light-armed troops, and served both on foot and horseback. They were constantly enrolled as mercenaries by the Epigoni, or "successors" of Alexander, and are found serving in almost all the large armies collected by them (See Polib. v. 65, § 10; 79, § 6, &c.) smote off his shoulder. i.e. his arm at the shoulder. (Compare ch. xv. 30.)

Gorgias fled unto Marisa. "Marisa," the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew מַרְעָש, was the name of a city of Judah situated in the lowPhilistine plain, or Shephelah. It was distant from Hebron about thirteen miles to the north-west, on the direct route to Ashdod. It seems to be represented by the modern "Marash" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 67, 68). The Syriac alteration of "Marisa" into "Samaria" is quite indefensible.

38. when they that were with Gorgias had fought long and were weary. Gorgias is the reading of a few MSS. only; the great majority have "Esdris." A Jewish, and not a Syro-Macedonian, commander is certainly intended. Note that "Esdris" (= Esdris) occurs as a Jewish name in 1 Chr. xxvii. 26.

37. with that he began in his own language and sung psalms. Rather, "with that he led off, in the national tongue, the song that was joined with psalms." Some well-known war-song must be meant.

Gorgias' men. The army which Gorgias had just deserted. (See v. 3-.)
38 So Judas gathered his host, and came into the city of Odollam. And when the seventh day came, they purified themselves, as the custom was, and kept the sabbath in the same place.

39 And upon the day following, as the use had been, Judas and his company came to take up the bodies of them that were slain, and to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.

40 Now under the coats of every one that was slain they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden the Jews by 'the law. Then every man saw 'Duet. 7. that this was the cause wherefore '25s 53. they were slain.

41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble

§ 17. Burial of the Jewish slain. Discovery of Idol-offerings upon their persons. Atonement made for them.

38-45. Judas, after the battle, occupied "Odollam," near "Adullam," and there rested during the Sabbath. On the day following he proceeded to bury the bodies of those soldiers belonging to his own side who had fallen in the fight. According to our author, it was found that all the slain had, concealed on their persons, objects which had been carried off from the idol temples of Jamnia. Hence their deaths were regarded as Divine judgments. Judas, having improved the occasion to warn the people against idolatry, made a collection for an offering to be sent to Jerusalem, in expiation of the sin which his soldiers had committed.

38. The city of Odollam.] Adullam appears as a Canaanite city in Josh. xii. 15 (compare Gen. xxxvii. 1, 12). In the division of the Holy Land it was assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 55). The place appears to have been in the Shefelah. It is probably identified with the "Aid-el-Ma" discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, near which is a cave, "sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band were garrisoning the hold or fortress" (Quarterly Statement of Pal. Explor. Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 44). Aid-el-Ma is marked in the twenty-first sheet of the great map published by the Fund.

they purified themselves.] Contact with the heathen would have made most of them "unclean," more especially such as had killed an enemy (Num. xxxi. 19). The purification would be by means of ablation.

39. As the use had been.] Rather, "according as necessity required." The burial of the slain could not be longer deferred without danger to the living from the setting in of decomposition.

to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.] This would scarcely have been possible in many cases, since the slain were, no doubt, from various and distant localities. They were probably all interred on the field of battle.

40. Under the coats.] The χρῶν is the close-fitting inner garment, corresponding to the modern "shirt," and in no way resembles our "coat." Evidently the soldiers sought to conceal the idol-offerings which they wore, as much as possible.

things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites.] Votive offerings in silver or gold, such as abounded in every heathen temple, are probably intended. A superstitious feeling had induced the soldiers of Judas to carry these off from the temples of the Jamnites, and suspend them about their persons as amulets, which would avert dangers. The fact is very important, as indicating an undercurrent of heathenish feeling and belief, even among those Jews who, on the whole, clave to the Law, and ventured their lives in its defence. Judas would naturally be shocked by the discovery, and, to check such a departure from true religion, he made it public, and put it before his soldiers, that the amulets, instead of averting danger, had attracted it, and been "the cause" wherefore those who wore them had been slain.

which is forbidden the Jews by the law.] The Law was very strict in forbidding any adoption of even innocent heathen rites, or any conformity with heathen religious practices. (See Ex. xx. 4, 23, xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Deut. xiv. 1, &c.) The particular practice here mentioned is not, however, forbidden in the Law expressly.

41. The Lord, the righteous Judge.] Compare above, v. 6.

who had opened, &c.] Rather, "who makes manifest the things which have been hid." The statement is quite general, though, no doubt, a special reference to the recent discovery is intended.

42. Might wholly be put out of remembrance.] Literally, "might be completely
Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsoamuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.

43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.

45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Eupator invadeth Judea. 15 Judas by night slayeth many. 18 Eupator’s purpose is defeated. 22 He maketh peace with Judas.

wiped out." Sin is "wiped out" by being forgiven, rather than by being forgotten. God can really never forget anything.

43. two thousand drachms of silver.] About eighty pounds of our money. Some MSS. give "three thousand;" the Vulgate, "twelve thousand." The money would be employed in the purchase of victims.

to offer a sin-offering.] On the law of sin-offerings, see Lev. iv. 2-35; v. 1-19; vi. 2-7. There is no indication in the Law that they were intended to be offered for the dead, nor any evidence to shew that they had ever been so offered before this occasion. Hence the anxiety of the writer to justify the act of Judas, which he does on general grounds.

doing therein very well and honestly.] Rather, "very well and rightly." "Arthos in the later Greek has the general sense of what is right and good.

be was mindful of the resurrection.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26; vii. 9.

44. to pray for the dead.] Offerings were supposed to be always accompanied by prayer. When a "sin-offering" was offered, it was, as a matter of course, accompanied by prayer that the sin for which the offering was made might be forgiven. (Compare v. 42.) The Jewish liturgies contain a form of "Prayer for the dead," called "the Kaddish," which is believed to be at least as old as the time of our Lord. (Farrar, " Eternal Hope," p. 216.)

45. And also, &c.] Verse 44 is parenthetic, being exegetical of the assertion in v. 43, that Judas "was mindful of the resurrection." Verse 45 is to be closely connected with the last clause of v. 43.

there was great favour laid up.] Compare ch. vii. 9, 11, 14, 23. The conviction of a happy future beyond the grave as reserved for the righteous was one of the chief animating principles of the Maccabean revolt, and seems to have been confidently held by all classes. Judas regarded the sinners who had fallen as purged from their sin by the sin-offering and the prayers of the people, so that they passed into the class of those who "died"—or rather "slept"—in godliness, and became possessors of the "favour" laid up for that class.

it was an holy and good thought.] This clause is best detached from the preceding one, and taken as a sort of summary. The entire conception which Judas had formed on this matter was "holy and good."

be made a reconciliation.] Rather, "the reconciliation"—that which had been already mentioned (v. 43).

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 18. GREAT EXPEDITION OF EUPATOR AND LYSIAS INTO JUDEA.

1-28. This expedition is, beyond a doubt, identical with that which the author of the First Book describes in ch. vi. 23-61, and which he assigns to the 150th Seleucid year (ib. v. 20). It was provoked by attacks, which Judas was continually making, upon the Acre of Jerusalem, and the Syro-Macedonian garrison which held it (ib. 18-27). The army collected by Lysias was the largest ever brought against Judea by the Syro-Macedonians. It was composed of foot, horse, chariots (2 Macc. xiii. 2), and elephants. The main campaign was on the Idumæan border, about the city of Beth-sura (1 Macc. vi. 31-50; 2 Macc. xiii. 19). The Syro-Macedonians had greatly the advantage over the Jews in the struggle; and the latter were only saved from complete subjugation by the sudden march of Philip on Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 35; 2 Macc. xiii. 23), which forced Lysias to bring the war to an end by a peace, under which the Jews were granted very favourable terms (1 Macc. vi. 59). The facts wherewith the author of the present Book enriches the history are his accounts of the
In the hundred forty and ninth year it was told Judas, that Antiochus Eupator was coming with a great power into Judea.

2 And with him a Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs, having either of them a Grecian power of footmen, an hundred and ten thousand, and horsemen five thousand and three hundred, and elephants two and twenty, and three hundred chariots armed with hooks.

3 Menelaus also joined himself with them, and with great dissimulation encouraged Antiochus, not for the safeguard of the country, because he thought to have been made governor.

4 But the King of kings moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked
wretch, and Lysias informed the king that this man was the cause of all mischief, so that the king commanded to bring him unto Berea, and to put him to death, as the manner is in that place.

5 Now there was in that place a tower of fifty cubits high, full of ashes, and it had a round instrument, which on every side hanged down into the ashes.

6 And whosoever was condemned of sacrilege, or had committed any other grievous crime, there did all men thrust him unto death.

7 Such a death it happened that wicked man to die, not having so much as burial in the earth; and that most justly:

8 For inasmuch as he had committed many sins about the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy, he received his death in ashes.

9 Now the king came with a barbarous and haughty mind to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father’s time.

10 Which things when Judas perceived, he commanded the multitude to call upon the Lord night and day, that if ever at any other time, he would now also help them, being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple:

wretch.] The execution of Menelaus, if it took place as here narrated, must have been the work of Lysias far more than of Eupator, whose consent to it would be a mere matter of form, like the signature, by modern constitutional sovereigns, of a death-warrant. How Menelaus had offended Lysias, or why the latter wished him to be put to death, is not apparent.

cause of all mischief.] Rather, “the cause of all the mischief.” It is quite conceivable that this might be asserted, especially as the real originator of the mischief, Jason (ch. iv. 7-26), was a fugitive in a distant land (ch. v. 8), and could not be made the scapegoat.

unto Berea.] The “Berea” here intended is, no doubt, that which lay halfway between Hierapolis and Antioch (Plin. ‘H. N.’ v. 191; Strab. xvi. p. 751), on the site of the modern Alexpo. It was not a place of much importance in ancient times.

as the manner is in that place.] We have no other evidence of the existence of this cruel custom at Berea; but suffocation in a pit full of ashes was a recognised Persian punishment, and one frequently inflicted on offenders of a high class. (See Ctesias, ‘Persic. Excerpt.’ §§ 48, 52; Val. Max. ix. 2, § 7.)

5. a round instrument.] Rather, “an instrument that turned round,” a sort of wheel, wherein a man could be placed, which turned with him, and, after making half a revolution, dropped him off into the ashes.

6. whosoever was condemned of sacrilege.] Menelaus had been guilty of sacrilege (ch. iv. 32), but it is scarcely likely that he was condemned for it, since his sacrilege consisted in his plundering the Jewish temple. He was probably executed as a traitor. Still there was an appropriateness in his being awarded a punishment specially assigned by custom to sacrilegious persons.

there did all men thrust him unto death.] A tumultuary proceeding seems to be intended, when a man, taken in the act, was hurried by a mob to the tower, and violently pushed against the machine described above, which caught him, and bore him to his death.

8. he had committed many sins about the altar.] Menelaus had accompanied Ephiphanes into the Temple and given the sanction of his authority to the profanation of the sanctuary and the altar then begun, and carried afterwards to such lengths (ch. v. 15; vi. 2-5, &c.). In the view of the Jews he was guilty of the entire series of pollutions to which his acts had led the way, and which he had at no time withstood. His death at this time, at the instance of Lysias, and the scene of it, Berea, are confirmed by Josephus (‘Ant. Jud.’ xii. 9, § 7). The author of the First Book passes the matter over in silence.

9. the king came... to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father’s time.] Rather, “to do to the Jews the worst that had been done in his father’s time.” It would not have been possible to “do worse” than Ephiphanes, who had profaned the Temple, put down the religion, set up idolatry, and commanded Lysias to slay or sell for slaves the entire nation (1 Macc. iii. 35-42). Eupator, or rather Lysias, came now with similar intentions (see v. 10).

10. being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple.] This does not appear from the First Book. In collecting, however, the unusually large army brought against Judaea on this
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11 And that he would not suffer the people, that had even now been but a little refreshed, to be in subjection to the blasphemous nations.

12 So when they had all done this together, and besought the merciful Lord with weeping and fasting, and lying flat upon the ground three days long, Judas, having exhorted them, commanded they should be in a readiness.

13 And Judas, being apart with the elders, determined, before the king’s host should enter into Judea, and get the city, to go forth and try the matter in fight by the help of the Lord.

14 So when he had committed all to the Creator of the world, and exhorted his soldiers to fight manfully, even unto death, for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth, he camped by Modin:

15 And having given the watchword to them that were about him, Victory is of God; with the most valiant and choice young men he went in into the king’s host by night, and slew in the camp about four thousand men, and the chiefest of the occasion (see v. 2 and the comment), Lysias can scarcely have had any other design than to carry out fully the object with which he had entered on his first expedition, which was the complete extirpation of the entire people (1 Macc. iii. 15). So far as human foresight can judge, the design would have been triumphantly carried out and the Jewish nation swept from the earth, had not Philip, at the most critical moment, marched on Antioch and forced Lysias to turn all his attention towards him. (See especially 1 Macc. vi. 47-54, where the extremity to which Judas was reduced is made far more apparent than it is by the present writer.)

11. but a little refreshed.] Rather, “but for a short time refreshed.” It was three years only since the recovery of the Temple.

12. lying flat upon the ground.] The ordinary prostration in prayer is intended. (Compare 1 Macc. iv. 49; 2 Macc. x. 4.)

commanded they should be in a readiness.] Rather, “commanded that they should come to him.”

13. with the elders.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33. This is the first indication of Judas having so far organised a civil government as to have established a council of “elders.” No doubt, however, from the time of the recovery of the Temple hill, the national character of the outbreak was recognised, and, while Judas commanded in the field, something like a civil power held possession of eastern Jerusalem. With this civil power he from time to time took counsel.

before the king’s host should ... get the city.] I.e. recapture the part of Jerusalem which Judas had recovered (ch. x. 1).

to go forth and try the matter.] I.e. to march against the enemy—not to wait within walls for the royal assault, but to take the field, and seek an opportunity for attack, as he had always done previously (1 Macc. iii. 11, 23; iv. 12; v. 33, 43; 2 Macc. viii. 6, 23, &c.).

14. the Creator of the world.] Compare ch. i. 24; vii. 23. The “Creator of the world” could not but be all-powerful, and able to give the victory to whomsoever He pleased.

for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth.] For all that they valued, either in Church or State—for the Divine laws, the Temple, Jerusalem, Judea, their new freedom and self-government.

be camped by Modin.] The Syrian line of march was along the coast from Carmel, through the low plains of Sharon and Philistia. (See the comment on 1 Macc. vi. 31.) They were wont to attack Judea either from the west or from the south. Judas therefore marched westward to the commanding position of Modin or Molein, whence he could move the movements of Lysias, and watch his opportunity for striking a blow.

15. the watchword ... Victory is of God.] Compare the watchword given in the battle with Nicanor (ch. vii. 23)—“Help is from God.” It was especially necessary to give a watchword before a night attack.

be ... slew in the camp about four thousand men.] It is strange that the author of the First Book says nothing of this daring exploit. Perhaps he omitted it, since it did not affect the result of the war. Lysias continued his march, only with greater caution than previously, and took up the position in Idumæa which he had probably from the first intended. It was the same position which he had occupied in his previous attack upon Judas (1 Macc. iv. 29).

the chiefest of the elephants.] It is not at
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B. C. 163.

632 [v. 16—22.

16 And at last they filled the camp with fear and tumult, and departed with good success.

17 This was done in the break of the day, because the protection of the Lord did help him.

18 Now when the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews, he went about to take the holds by policy.

19 And marched toward Bethsura, which was a strong hold of the Jews:

but he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men:

20 For Judas had conveyed unto them that were in it such things as were necessary.

21 But Rhodocus, who was in the Jews' host, disclosed the secrets to the enemies; therefore he was sought out, and when they had gotten him, they put him in prison.

22 The king treated with them in Bethsura the second time, gave his hand, took their's, departed, fought with Judas, was overcome;

all clear how this could be known, in the confusion and darkness of a night attack. One is led to suspect some confusion between this exploit of Judas and the later one of his brother Eleazar, who in broad daylight singled out the biggest of the elephants in the army of Eupator, attacked him and slew him, sacrificing his own life in the encounter (1 Macc. vi. 43-46).

with all that were upon him.] Literally, "with the crowd that was in his house." The "house" is the wooden tower on the elephant's back. This was believed by the Jews of Maccabean times to have been occupied by above thirty men! (See 1 Macc. vi. 37.)

17. This was done in the break of the day.] Or, "This took place when the day was already breaking." Though the protection of the darkness was withdrawn, God's protection saved Judas from disaster.

18. Now when the king had taken a taste, &c.] A change of policy is indicated. The Syrians had started forth on their expedition confident in their overwhelming strength. Judas's slaughter of 4000 men in their camp not far from Modein, had dispelled this confidence and made them see the necessity of proceeding with caution. The rest of the campaign was carried on according to the most approved rules of military art (bā meḥōn).

19. And marched toward Bethsura.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 31.

which was a strong hold of the Jews.] Judas had seized and fortified it, after the failure of Lysias's first expedition (1 Macc. iv. 61). Previously it seems to have been held by the Idumeans (ib. v. 29).

he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men.] This does not appear in the narrative of the First Book, where we have a description of a great battle between the hosts of Judas and Lysias in the vicinity of Bethsura, in which, though Lysias suffered certain losses, he was in the end completely victorious, forcing the army under Judas to retreat and leave Bethsura to its fate (1 Macc. vi. 42-47). It may be true, however, that Lysias made one assault upon the place which failed.

20. For Judas had conveyed unto them.] Rather, "And Judas [hereupon] conveyed unto them." It is meant that Judas took advantage of Lysias's failure to throw provisions into the town.

21. Rhodocus.] Nothing more is known of this traitor; for it is a wild fancy of Hitzig's that he was the author of the 86th and 88th Psalms.

disclosed the secrets.] Rather, "their secrets"—as their numbers, plans, weak points, and the like. Having to acknowledge, grudgingly, certain successes on the part of Lysias (v. 22), the author seeks to minimise the credit attaching to him for them by suggesting that they were attributable to treachery in the Jewish camp.

22. The king treated with them in Bethsura, &c.] In point of fact, Bethsura seems to have surrendered at discretion. The provisions were exhausted, and it was impossible to make any further resistance. (See 1 Macc. vi. 49, 50.)

fought with Judas, was overcome.] It is impossible to characterise this statement otherwise than as an absolute falsehood. Both the author of the First Book (1 Macc. vi. 47) and Josephus (Ant. Jud. xii. 9, § 5) admit the complete defeat of Judas, who retired with the remnant of his army to Jerusalem, whereupon Lysias, dividing his forces, pressed the siege of Bethsura to a successful issue, while at the same time he advanced upon Jerusalem and besieged Judas within its walls. Jerusalem itself must have surrendered, being well-nigh starved out, had not the news of Philip's march upon Antioch made it imperative upon Lysias to forego his
23 Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, was desperately bent, confounded,treated the Jews, submitted himself, and swaré to all equal conditions, agreed with them, and offered sacrifice, honoured the temple, and dealt kindly with the place, 

24 And accepted well of Maccabæus, made him principal governor from Ptolemais unto the Gerrhienians;

25 Came to Ptolemais: the people there were grieved for the covenants; for they stormed, because they would make their covenants void:

26 Lysias went up to the judgment seat, said as much as could be in defence of the cause, persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch. Thus it went touching the king's coming and departing.

24. made him principal governor.] "Hegemonidas governor." (So the Syriac Version, and, among commentators, Wernsdorf, Hasse, Scholtz, and Grimm.) It is very unlikely that Judas would have been made governor, and still more unlikely that, if he had been made governor, the author of the First Book would not have mentioned it. The word ἱερομοιδος, moreover, is not found elsewhere as an adjective.

unto the Gerrhienians.] The "Gerrhienians" should be the inhabitants of Gerrha, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura. But as even Rhinocolura belonged at this time to Egypt (Polyb. v. 80, § 3), it is impossible that Gerrha can be intended. Perhaps Τριπόποι is a corruption of Τραμποι (found in one MS.), and Gerar, not Gerrha, is pointed out as the southern limit of the Syro-Macedonian dominion.

25. Came to Ptolemais.] On the site and history of Ptolemais, see the comment upon 1 Macc. v. 15.

the people there were grieved for the covenants.] Ptolemais, as one of the most rising cities of these parts, was especially jealous of Jerusalem. It had taken a prominent part in the general rising which had followed the recovery of the Temple by Judas (1 Macc. v. 15), and had suffered shortly afterwards at the hands of Simon (ib v. 22). Hence there was great indignation at Ptolemais when the favourable terms of peace granted to the Jews were made known to the inhabitants.

their covenants.] Rather, "the covenants"—i.e. the terms of peace between Judas and Eupator.

26. Lysias went up to the judgment seat.] Rather, "to the tribune"—the rostra—the place from which speeches were made to the people.

persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch.] The extreme brevity of the style in vv. 19-26 is very remarkable, and recalls the author's observations, in ch. ii. 29-32, on the duty of an epitomator.
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CHAPTER XIV.

6 Alcimus accuseth Judas. 18 Nicanor maketh peace with Judas. 39 He seeketh to take Rassis, 46 who, to escape his hands, killeth himself.

Chapter XIV.

PART V.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE JEWS IN THE REIGN OF DEMETRIUS SOTER.

§ 1. Demetrius having made himself King, Alcimus complains to him of Judas. Nicanor commissioned by Demetrius to kill Judas and establish Alcimus as High Priest.

1-14. Omitting the contest between Lysias and Philip (briefly touched in 1 Macc. vi. 63), our author passes to the time when Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV., having escaped from Rome, landed on the Syrian coast and commenced his struggle for the crown. At first he met with great success, defeating Lysias, and killing both him and Eupator. Being established as king at Antioch, he received an application from a certain Alcimus, who claimed that the high priesthood belonged to him of right, and besought Demetrius to establish him in the office, at the same time deposing Judas from his high position. Demetrius adopted the advice, and sent Nicanor against Judas, with orders to kill him and establish Alcimus as High Priest. The passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. vii. 1-26, but contains some remarkable differences from that narrative. According to the present writer, Demetrius responded to the appeal of Alcimus by the immediate appointment of Nicanor to the chief command against Judas, and that commander began by attempts to negotiate a peace. According to the author of the First Book and Josephus, the person sent to install Alcimus was Bakhirides (1 Macc. vii. 8 ; Joseph. ' Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2); and it was at a considerably later date that, on a special application from Alcimus, who found his position in Judaea untenable, Nicanor was sent. Nicanor's relations with Judas are also very differently represented by the two writers. According to the First Book, he was "a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel" (ch. vii. 26); according to the Second, he was altogether friendly, and was forced by Demetrius against his will to adopt hostile measures. On the whole, the representations of the author of the First Book appear to be most worthy of credit.

2. Had taken the country, and killed Antiochus, and Lysias his protector.

3. Now one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself willingly in the times of their mingling with the Gentiles, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar,
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4. Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year, presenting unto him a crown of gold, and a palm, and also of the boughs which were used solemnly in the temple: and so that day he held his peace.

5. Howbeit, having gotten opportunity to further his foolish enterprise, and being called into counsel by Demetrius, and asked how the Jews stood affected, and what they intended, he answered thereunto:

6. Those of the Jews that be called Assideans, whose captain is Judas Maccabeus, nourish war, and are seditionous, and will not let the realm be in peace.

7. Therefore I, being deprived of mine ancestors' honour, I mean the high priesthood, am now come hither:

8. First, verily for the unfeigned care I have of things pertaining to the king; and secondly, even for that I intend the good of mine own countrymen: for all our nation is in no small misery through the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.

9. Wherefore, O king, seeing thou knowest all these things, be careful

rally, "there was no safety for him." If he had, like Jason, used his office to further the destruction of Judaism, he would no doubt have provoked a hostile feeling on the part of the more religious Jews, which he may have felt as continually threatening his life.

nor have any more access to the holy altar.] Of course, while the Maccabean party had possession of the Temple, it was impossible that a renegade from the faith should be allowed to officiate at the altar.

4. Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year.] See the comment on v. 1.

presenting unto him a crown of gold.] Such presents were common at the time (Polyb. xxii. 13; § 10; 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7; Liv. xxxviii. 14, &c.), and without them no applicant could expect to obtain favour at the Syrian court.

and a palm.] A golden vine (Herod. vii. 27) and a golden plane-tree (Athen. Deipn. xii. p. 414, F) were among the most precious ornaments of the great palace of the Persian kings. A golden palm is probably here intended, a work of art possessing the double value of precious material and artistic workmanship.

and also of the boughs which were used, &c.] Palm boughs are probably meant, such as were used at the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15) and at the Feast of the Dedication (supra, ch. x. 7). This presentation to Demetrius might be regarded as a mode of congratulating him on his successes, since to the Greeks the palm was the sign of victory.

that day be held his peace.] Alcimus did not at once prefer his request, lest it should be too palpable that the present was a bribe. Menclaus had not been so scrupulous (ch. iv. 34).

5. and being called into counsel.] Rather,

"since he was called into counsel." This was the opportunity.

6. Those of the Jews that be called Assideans.] On the meaning of the word "Assidean," see the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 43. Originally it was the name of a strict sect, but Alcimus now applies it to the whole of the patriotic party under Judas.

nourish war and are seditious.] I.e. are determined to resist to the uttermost the overthrow of their religion.

will not let the realm be in peace.] The realm could "be in peace" at any time, by the concession to the Jews of the right to retain the use of their own laws and religion. This both the Syrians and Alcimus knew very well. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

7. being deprived of my ancestors' honour.] It is allowed on all hands that Alcimus was "of the seed of Aaron" (1 Macc. vii. 14), and so had had one of his ancestors a High Priest; but it is not clear that any other of his ancestors had ever enjoyed the honour. The statement that he had been "deprived" rests on the view put forward in v. 3, which is not borne out either by Josephus or by the author of the First Book.

8. First, verily, &c.] Alcimus puts forward two motives as actuating him: (1) regard for the king's interests; and (2) regard for the well-being of his countrymen. He keeps his own aggrandisement, which was his true motive, wholly in the background.

the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.] I.e. of the Assideans—the party that supported Judas (see v. 6).

9. seeing thou knowest.] Rather, "when thou hast acquired a knowledge of." The suggestion is that the king should first inquire into the truth of Alcimus' assertions, and then, if he found them true, act upon them—a reasonable course to recommend.
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B.C. cir. 145.

for the country, and our nation, which is pressed on every side, according to the clemency that thou readily shewest unto all.

10 For as long as Judas liveth, it is not possible that the state should be quiet.

11 This was no sooner spoken of him, but others of the king's friends, being maliciously set against Judas, did more incense Demetrius.

12 And forthwith calling Nicanor, who had been master of the elephants, and making him governor over Judea, B.C. he sent him forth,

13 Commanding him to slay Judas, and to scatter them that were with him, and to make Alcimus high priest of the great temple.

14 Then the heathen, that had fled out of Judea from Judas, came to Nicanor by flocks, thinking the harm and calamities of the Jews to be their welfare.

15 Now when the Jews heard of Nicanor's coming, and that the hea-

our nation, which is pressed on every side.] It must be admitted that there was ground for this representation. The policy of Judas, whenever he was left to himself by the Syrians, was to harass and oppress, and so far as possible root out, the opposite party. No sooner was the peace made with Lysias than he proceeded to "make havock" among his adversaries (1 Macc. vii. 7), to put to death some and banish others (ibid. v. 6; compare ch. iii. 8, vi. 24, vii. 24, &c.), so that the opposite side had reason to complain.

11. Others of the king's friends.] Rather, "the remainder of the king's friends." Alcimus, having been "called into counsel" (v. 5), is reckoned among the number of such persons. On the details of the complaints made, see 1 Macc. vii. 5–7.

12. And forthwith calling Nicanor.] It has been already noticed that, according to Josephus and the writer of the First Book, Demetrius called in the first instance, not on Nicanor, but on Bacchides. Bacchides, at the head of an army, accompanied Alcimus to Jerusalem, and installed him in the western city under the protection of the garrison of the Acra, after which, having met with no resistance in the field, he returned to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 8–20). All this the present writer omits, being, apparently, unaware of it.

who had been master of the elephants.] Rather, "who had been made master of the elephants." i.e. who had received this appointment on the accession of Demetrius to power. It has been argued that Nicanor could not have been appointed to the office at this time, since the elephants had been destroyed by the Romans before Demetrius landed in Syria (Appian, 'Syria,' § 46); but we may question whether Rome was ever able to obtain the complete execution of her orders with regard to the Syrian elephants. Lysias had a number in Judea in B.C. 162 (1 Macc. vi. 20, 30), and Nicanor seems to have had some in the same country in B.C. 161 (2 Macc. xv. 21). The younger Demetrius had an elephant corps in B.C. 145 (1 Macc. xi. 56).

making him governor over Judea.] Rather, "commandant in Judea." A military, not a civil, office is intended.

18. High priest of the great temple.] Alcimus had been granted the high-priestly office by Demetrius, and proclaimed by Bacchides; but he had not been given possession of the Temple. It is possible that Nicanor was commanded to complete his installation by taking the Temple from the partisans of Judas, and handing it over to Alcimus as its proper master.

§ 2. Expedition of Nicanor. His Friendly Relations with Judas. Ordered by Demetrius to arrest Judas, he breaks with him and threatens to destroy the Temple.

15–36. According to the writer of the First Book, Nicanor, on reaching Jerusalem, made some attempts at negotiations with Judas, but without any honest intent, his design being to get possession of his person (1 Macc. vii. 27–30). Judas avoided his snares, and soon broke off communications with him. Our present author puts before us an entirely different view. According to him, Nicanor "loved Judas from his heart" (v. 24), and acted in the most friendly manner towards him, until Alcimus complained to Demetrius of his conduct; and Demetrius, having expressed disapproval of the negotiations, required his officer to break off friendly relations with the arch-rebel, to seize him, and send him a prisoner to Antioch. It was in consequence of these peremptory orders that Nicanor took a hostile tone towards Judas, required the patriots who held the Temple to give him up, and, when they professed inability, threatened the Temple itself with destruction.

15. They cast earth upon their heads.] Compare ch. x. 25.
them 'were up against them, they cast earth upon their heads, and made supplication to him that had established his people for ever, and who always helpeth his portion with manifestation of his presence.

16 So at the commandment of the captain they removed straightways from thence, and came near unto them at the town of Dessau.

17 Now Simon, Judas' brother, had joined battle with Nicanor, but was somewhat discomfited through the sudden silence of his enemies.

18 Nevertheless Nicanor, hearing of the manliness of them that were with Judas, and the courageousness that they had to fight for their country, durst not try the matter by the sword.

19 Wherefore he sent Posidonius, and Theodotus, and Mattathias, to make peace.

20 So when they had taken long advisement thereupon, and the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith, and it appeared that they were all of one mind, they consented to the covenants,

21 And appointed a day to meet in together by themselves: and when the day came, and stools were set for either of them,

22 Judas placed armed men ready in convenient places, lest some treachery should be suddenly practised

him that had established his people for ever.] See Deut. xxviii. 9; xxix. 13. The promise was, however, conditional, and was forfeited when the conditions were broken.

who always helpeth his portion. Israel is called God's portion (kōhēq) first in Deut. xxxii. 9. A similar phrase is used by Jeremiah (xii. 10) and Zechariah (ii. 12). The word implies a peculiar right of exclusive ownership.

with manifestation of his presence. The writer has probably in his mind, especially, the sensible manifestations in which he believes so firmly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30; xi. 8; xii. 22.) But he has doubt intended to include spiritual manifestations also.

16. the captain.] i.e. Judas.

came near unto them at the town of Dessau.] The "town" or rather "village" of Dessau is otherwise manifested, unless we identify it (as Ewald suggests) with the "Adasa" of 1 Macc. vii. 40.

17. Simon ... bad joined battle with Nicanor.] We have no other mention of this encounter. It probably took place while Nicanor was on the march. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 321, note 2.)

through the sudden silence of his enemies.] ἰφωορία is not simply "silence," but "speechlessness" caused by consternation. Such "speechlessness" on the part of an enemy could not produce a defeat. Probably we should translate, with Grimm, "through the sudden consternation into which they were thrown by their enemies." The ἰφωορία was on the part of Simon's men—not of Nicanor's.

18. the courageousness that they had to fight for their country.] Rather, "their courage in the battles that they had fought for their country."

durst not try.] Rather, "shrank from trying."

19. he sent Posidonius ... to make peace. The writer of the First Book admits the fact of the negotiations (1 Macc. vii. 27-29), but represents them as broken off almost immediately, on the discovery that they were not sincere, but a device for seizing the person of Judas. Our present author allows that Judas had suspicions, but represents Nicanor as honest, and declares that peace was actually made. It is difficult to suppose that the circumstances related in vv. 20-29 are wholly fictitious.

20. when ... the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith.] By "the multitude" must be meant the mass of the troops. (Compare v. 41.)

21. appointed a day to meet in together by themselves.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 29.

when the day came.] It is doubtful whether the words used can have this sense. Grimm translates, "And Judas came to the discussion."

stools.] I.e. "seats of honour."

22. Judas placed armed men ready.] As a measure of precaution. On any appearance of treachery, they would have started from their hiding-places, and rushed forward to give him protection. According to our author, the suspicions of Judas were unfounded, and the precautions taken unnecessary.
by the enemies: so they made a peaceable conference.

23 Now Nicanor abode in Jerusalem, and did no hurt, but sent away the people that came flocking unto him.

24 And he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight: for he loved the man from his heart.

25 He prayed him also to take a wife, and to beget children: so he married, was quiet, and took part of this life.

26 But Alcimus, perceiving the love that was betwixt them, and considering the covenants that were made, came to Demetrius, and told him that Nicanor was not well affected toward the state; for that he had ordained Judas, a traitor to his realm, to be the king’s successor.

27 Then the king being in a rage, and provoked with the accusations of the most wicked man, wrote to Nicanor, signifying that he was much displeased with the covenants, and commanding him that he should send Maccabeus prisoner in all haste unto Antioch.

28 When this came to Nicanor’s hearing, he was much confounded in himself, and took it grievously that he should make void the articles which were agreed upon, the man being in no fault.

29 But because there was no dealing against the king, he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.

30 Notwithstanding, when Maccabeus saw that Nicanor began to be churlish unto him, and that he entreated him more roughly than he was wont, perceiving that such sour behaviour came not of good, he gathered together not a few of his men, and withdrew himself from Nicanor.

31 But the other, knowing that he

23. Nicanor . . . sent away the people that came flocking unto him.] Rather, “that had come flocking to him.” The reference is to the “heathen” that had come to him “by flocks,” when he set out on his expedition against Judas (v. 14). These he now dismissed to their homes, either as a blind, or honestly thinking that he would have no need of their services.

24. be would not willingly have Judas out of his sight.] Literally, “he kept Judas in sight continually.” Contrast the statement made by the writer of the First Book: “After it was known to Judas, that he (Nicanor) came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more” (1 Macc. vii. 30).

25. He prayed him also to take a wife.] He represented to him that the time of war and struggle was over, and that it would be well for him now to contract the ties which every Jew was expected to contract—to marry and have children. According to our author, Judas followed his advice, “married, and was quiet, and took part of this life;”—i.e. became a peaceable citizen.

26. Alcimus . . . considering the covenants that were made.] Rather, “taking with him the treaty that had been made.” Alcimus contrived to get a copy of the treaty, and took it with him to shew to the king.

sucessor.] Such a design as this could never have entered into the head of Nicanor or of any one else, and Alcimus would have been very silly to have accused him of it. The design really imputed is an intention to instal Judas as “his own successor” in the government of Palestine. Alcimus desired this post for himself.

28. be was much confounded in himself.] Rather, “perplexed.” “Confounded” is too literal a translation.

29. be watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.] Here the writer of the Second Book becomes of accord with the author of the First. He admits that Nicanor, while still pretending friendship towards Judas, sought to arrest him (1 Macc. vii. 29, 30). Judas perceived the change in Nicanor’s sentiments, though no doubt he intended to conceal them.

30. withdrew himself from Nicanor.] Literally, “concealed himself.” The author of the First Book says that he quitted Jerusalem and went to Caphar-salama, whither Nicanor followed him at the head of his army. A battle was fought between the two, and Nicanor was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (1 Macc. vii. 31, 32). Nicanor and his beaten troops returned to Jerusalem.

31. knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas’ policy.] Literally, “perceiving that
II. MACCABEES. XIV.

was notably prevented by Judas' policy, "came into the great and holy temple, and commanded the priests, that were offering their usual sacrifices, to deliver him the man.

32 And when they sware that they could not tell where the man was whom he sought,

33 He stretched out his right hand toward the temple, and made an oath in this manner: If ye will not deliver me Judas as a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.

34 After these words he departed. Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven, and besought him that was ever a defender of their nation, saying in this manner:

35 Thou, O Lord of all things, who hast need of nothing, wast pleased that the temple of thine habitation should be among us:

36 Therefore now, O holy Lord of all holiness, keep this house ever undefiled, which lately was cleansed, and stop every unrighteous mouth.

he was notably out-generalled by Judas"—i.e., "outwitted, overreached."

came into the great and holy temple.] The author of the First Book tells us that he "went up to Mount Sion," and that there "certain of the priests and elders came out of the sanctuary to him," and proposed to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered continually for the Syrian king, but says nothing of Nicanor being received within the Temple walls. Still it is possible that he may have been admitted into the outer court. But the party of Judas remained masters of the Temple, which Nicanor could only impotently threaten. (See v. 33.)

commanded the priests . . . to deliver him the man.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 35. Nicanor seems to have supposed that Judas was somewhere within the Temple fortress.

33. He stretched out his right hand toward the temple.] Rather, "towards the sanctuary" (eis τὸν ναὸν). The ναὸς of this passage is to be carefully distinguished from the ἱερός of ν. 31. Nicanor was in the one; he stretched out his hand towards the other.

break down.] Rather, "raze—utterly destroy."

and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.] The Syro-Macedonian worship of Dionysus, or Bacchus, has already appeared in ch. vi. 7. It was evidently felt that there was something specially repugnant to Jewish ideas in the cult, which was therefore both threatened and, when opportunity served, actually enforced upon the nation. Dionysiac orgies were of the most disgusting character. (See Dillingler, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i, pp. 154—156.)

34. Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 36, where we are told that the priests "entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping." The threat of Nicanor was felt as a terrible blasphemy.

a defender of their nation.] Literally, "of our nation"—a transition from the third to the first person, which gives the narrative greater liveliness.

35. O Lord of all things.] Rather, "O Lord." The phrase τῶν Ἁκάνων is not to be attached to ἱερός, but to ἱπποδέης.

who hast need of nothing.] Compare 3 Macc. ii. 9, and Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' viii. 3, § 3, where a similar clause is introduced into Solomon's consecration prayer. The αὐριοπόρης of God has been a favourite theme with theologians (Clem. Alex. 'Homil.' ii. 44; Pearson, 'Exposition of the Creed,' Art. 1, pp. 94, 95, &c.).

the temple of thine habitation.] Even in the absence of the Shechinah, which, according to Jewish tradition, never showed itself in the second Temple, the building was still regarded as the "habitation" of God—His house, in which He dwelt. (See Ezra vii. 15, 19; Ps. cxxxv. 21; Zech. ii. 12, 13, vii. 2, &c.) Hence the extreme wickedness of profaning it, or even threatening it.

36. O holy Lord of all holiness.] I.e., "holy Lord, the source and fount of all other holiness in things or beings."

and stop every unrighteous mouth.] This clause is omitted in some MSS. It is, of course, an allusion to the "unrighteous mouth" of Nicanor (v. 33). The author of the First Book makes the prayer of the priests mainly an imprecation of evil on Nicanor's head (1 Macc. vii. 38).

§ 3. Nicanor orders the arrest of Razis, who, rather than be made prisoner, commits suicide.

37-46. The story of Razis rests solely on the authority of the present writer, being
37 Now was there accused unto Nicanor one Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, who for his kindness was called a father of the Jews.

38 For in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles, he had been accused of Judaism, and did boldly jeopard his body and life with all vehemency for the religion of the Jews.

39 So Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews, sent above five hundred men of war to take him:

40 For he thought by taking him to do the Jews much hurt.

41 Now when the multitude would have taken the tower, and violently broken into the outer door, and bade that fire should be brought to burn it, he being ready to be taken on every side fell upon his sword;

wholly untouched by either Josephus or the author of the First Book. Though probably exaggerated in its details, it is likely to be true in respect of its main substance, since so full and circumstantial an account of the death of a Jew of rank under such extraordinary and painful circumstances is not likely to have been invented. The name Razis may be compared with the Reesaias of 1 Esdr. v. 8. The temper displayed is not unsuitable to a Jew of the period—an age when heathen sentiments and rules of conduct penetrated deeply among the mass of the more religious Jews and largely influenced their conduct. (Compare the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 51.)

37. one of the elders of Jerusalem.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33, where certain of the elders of Jerusalem are said to have gone out to meet Nicanor.

who . . . was called a father of the Jews.] See Job xxix. 16, "I was a father to the poor;" and compare Ecclus. iv. 10; 1 Macc. ii. 65. In the East a protector is commonly called a "father."

38. in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles.] Not the times before the Hellenizing movement, especially promoted by Jason (ch. iv. 7-22), set in, but the early days of the persecution, when the religious Jews fled from the cities of Judah into "secret places" (1 Macc. i. 53; ii. 31), in order to continue the exercise of their religion, and thus separated themselves wholly from the Gentiles.

he had been accused of Judaism.] Judaism, the more confessing oneself to be a Jew, had been made a crime by Epiphanes (ch. vi. 6), just as Christianity was by the early Roman emperors. Death was the punishment of persistence, as appears by the narratives in chs. vi. 15-31, vii. 1-42.

did boldly jeopard his body and life.] It does not appear how Razis escaped; but we may be sure that it was by no unworthy compliances.

39. Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that be bare unto the Jews.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 26. Nicanor probably felt it necessary to rebut the accusations of Alcimus (v. 26) by some act of violence which should be sure to come to the king's ears. It does not appear that he was really actuated by hatred of the Jewish people.

sent above five hundred men of war to take him.] This can scarcely have been necessary. It must almost certainly have been done to draw attention and remark.

41. when the multitude.] I.e. the 500 soldiers. Compare v. 20.

would have taken the tower.] Rather, "were at the point of taking the tower." It is difficult to explain the use of the article before the word "tower," unless by supposing the abbreviation to follow his author in so doing, but to have omitted a previous reference to the fact that Razis took refuge in a tower. Gornonides says that he took refuge in his private house, which may, however, have possessed a "tower" or "keep" of its own.

and violently broken into the outer door.] Rather, "and were forcing the outer door." The αἰθρία (or αἰθρέα) θύρα is the door leading from the street into the ἀνάκτοριον, or main court of the mansion. It consisted of two flaps or valves meeting in the middle. Hence the singular θύρα of this clause is followed by the plural, θύραι, in the next.

and bade.] Rather, "and were commanding."

be . . . fell upon his sword.] Suicide was most rare among the Jews until the time of the Zealot (Joseph. 1 Bell. Jud. i. 7; iv. 1). Saul's suicide is doubtful (compare 1 Sam. xxxii. 4, with 2 Sam. i. 6-10). Samson's act, if it is to be considered a suicide, is that of a very mixed and imperfect character. There is no praise, no approval, no allowance of suicide in the inspired Scriptures. Even a heathen (Plato) could see that it was desertion of the post in which a man had been placed by God (Plato, "Phaedo," § 6). The author of the present Book evidently approves of
II. MACCABEES. XIV. XV.

42. Choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth:
43. But missing his stroke through haste, the multitude also rushing within the doors, he ran boldly up to the wall, and cast himself down manfully among the thickest of them.
44. But they quickly giving back, and a space being made, he fell down into the midst of the void place.
45. Nevertheless, while there was yet breath within him, being inflamed with anger, he rose up; and though his blood gushed out like sprouts of water, and his wounds were grievous, yet he ran through the midst of the throng; and standing upon a steep rock,
46. When as his blood was now quite gone, he plucked out his bowels, and taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again, he thus died.

CHAPTER XV.


But Nicanor, hearing that Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria, resolved without any danger to set upon them on the sabbath day.

42. to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth.] Grimm translates—"otherwise than beseemed his nobility of character." In either case, the motive is a low and selfish one, resting upon pride and self-conceit, not a motive that could in any way justify even a doubtful action.

43. through haste.] Literally, "through the haste of the struggle," i.e. the haste which the struggle necessitated.

44. be fell down into the midst of the void place.] Keréw has this meaning in Nonnus and the Greek Anthology. Among the classical writers it means "the flank"—"the hollow between the ribs and the hip." Some would translate here—"he fell on his loins" or "on his belly." But the A.V. is probably right.

45, 46. The description of these last two verses is in the worst possible taste. It is disgusting, horrible, and a heap of impossibilities. If the narrative up to the end of v. 44 is true, we may be quite certain that Razis was killed by his fall, and did not rise from the ground after he struck it. The author has an unfortunate habit of gloating over the details of horrid deaths (ch. vii. 3-13; ix. 5-10, &c.), and here outdoes himself in coarseness and ferocity of description.

Apoc.—Vol. II.
Nevertheless the Jews that were compelled to go with him said, O destroy not so cruelly and barba-
rously, but give honour to that day, which he, that seeth all things, hath honoured with holiness above other
days.

Then the most ungracious wretch demanded, if there were a Mighty one in heaven, that had commanded
the sabbath day to be kept.

And when they said, There is in heaven a living Lord, and mighty, who commanded the seventh day to
be kept:

be that seeth all things.] Rather, "He that overseth all things"—that has the
oversight and management of them.

the most ungracious wretch.] See the comment on ch. viii. 34. It is sinfulness, not ungraciousness, that is charged against
Nicanor.

if there were a Mighty one.] Literally, "a
Dynast," "a Ruler." Nicanor does not doubt
the existence of a dynast in heaven—he would probably have admitted many such dynasts: what he doubts is, whether any one of them has commanded the observance of the seventh
day.

Their reply was—"The Lord who liveth in heaven
is himself a Mighty one, who has commanded
the observance of the Sabbath day."

And I also am mighty upon earth.] Rather, "a mighty one." The point of the
story is that Nicanor, in a certain sense, places himself on a par with God. "There
is perhaps a Mighty one in heaven who has commanded one thing; but there is also
a Mighty one upon earth—myself—who com-
mands the contrary. Which will you obey?"

It is implied that the Jews in his army (cf. 2) preferred to obey God, and that, in con-
sequence, his design came to nought. Grimm's objection, that their number cannot have
been large enough to induce him to alter his

Then said the other, And I also
am mighty upon earth, and I com-
mand to take arms, and to do the
king's business. Yet he obtained
not to have his wicked will done.

So Nicanor in exceeding pride and haughtiness determined to set up
a publick monument of his victory
over Judas and them that were with
him.

But Maccabees had ever sure
confidence that the Lord would help him:

Wherefore he exorted his peo-
ple not to fear the coming of the

whenever they could, rested on the Sabbath,
they held themselves free to fight if attacked.
It is certainly strange that the writer did not know
this.

2. the Jews that were compelled to go with
him.] This, too, is probably unhistorical.
It was not the habit of the Syro-Macedonian
commanders to impress the devout Jews into
their service, and force them to bear arms
against their compatriots. They do not seem
even to have enrolled in their armies the Jews
who sided with them.

§ 5. Maccabees raises the spirits of
his countrymen by putting before
them various considerations, and
especially by relating to them a
vision which has appeared to him.

7-18. There is nothing improbable in this
narrative. Judas, reduced to great straits, at
the head of a force consisting of no more
than 3000 men (1 Macc. vii. 40), and opposed
to a large army of Syro-Macedonians under
a leader of repute, was likely to use every effort
to raise the spirits of his soldiers, and may
well have encouraged them to engage, not
only by employing the ordinary topics, but
by telling them of a vision that he had had.
On the eve of a battle, great commanders
of a sensitive temperament are liable to have
strange dreams. (See 'Records of the Past,' vol.
v. p. 43; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 24; Joseph.
'Ant. Jud.' xi. 5, &c.) And, as the thoughts
of Judas during the day were turned espe-
cially toward the subject of Divine aid (v. 7),
they may well have shaped his dreams at
night into the form here given. We may
even go further, and say that the occasion
would not have been an unworthy one for
an actual Divine vision. Israel was brought
very low. Had the three thousand not been
animated by a confident hope, they would pro-
bably have suffered complete defeat, and the
national movement might have been crushed.
This was not in accordance with the Divine
heathen against them, but to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven, and now to expect the victory and aid, which should come unto them from the Almighty.

9 And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets, and withal putting them in mind of the battles that they won afore, he made them more cheerful.

10 And when he had stirred up their minds, he gave them their charge, shewing them therewithal the falsehood of the heathen, and the breach of oaths.

11 Thus he armed every one of them, not so much with defence of shields and spears, as with comfort-able and good words: and beside that, he told them a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed, which did not a little rejoice them.

12 And this was his vision: That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews.

13 This done, in like manner there appeared a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty.

14 Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who

will, and something beyond natural means may have been employed to prevent it.

8. to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven.] See above, ch. viii. 5, 6, 18, 23, 34, 36; x. 16, 17, 25, 29; xii. 22, &c.

9. the victory and aid which should come unto them.] Judas was confident on account of his vision. He was not always so certain of victory. (See 1 Macc. iv. 10, ix. 10; 2 Macc. xi. 7.)

10. be gave them their charge.] Probably to seize their arms and begin the march (Grimm).

11. a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed.] It is not very clear what our translators meant by this. The MSS. have two readings—δειηθεν διδασκαλος ἐκφραζεν τι and δειηθεν ἐκφραζεν τι. If we prefer the former, we must translate "a dream worthy of belief, which was a sort of waking vision;" if the latter, "a dream worthy of belief beyond aught else." In neither case is any doubt intended to be cast on the reality of the vision.

12. Onias, who had been high priest.] Compare ch. iii. 1. Onias III. is meant, who held the high-priestly office from B.C. 198 to B.C. 175:

13. a virtuous and a good man.] On the character of Onias, see above, ch. iii. 1, 4, 5; iv. 2. On his murder by Andronicus, see ch. iv. 34, 35:

14. Onias answered, saying.] Judas had recognised Onias, whom he had doubtless known, but could not tell who was his companion. Onias "answered" his thought or look of inquiry.

This is a lover of the brethren.] Literally, "the lover," i.e. the one among the saints who loves them beyond all others. It is not clear why Jeremiah should have been assigned so prominent a position; but there are several
prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias the prophet of God.

15 Whereupon Jeremias holding forth his right hand gave to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it spake thus,

16 Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with which thou shalt wound the adversaries.

17 Thus being well comforted by the words of Judas, which were very good, and able to stir them up to valour, and to encourage the hearts of the young men, they determined not to pitch camp, but courageously to set upon them, and manfully to try the matter by conflict, because the city and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger.

18 For the care that they took for their wives, and their children, their brethren, and kinsfolks, was in least account with them: but the greatest and principal fear was for the holy temple.

19 Also they that were in the city took not the least care, being troubled for the conflict abroad.

indications that he occupied a leading place in the thoughts of the later Jews. (See ch. ii. 1-8; Matt. xvi. 14; 2 Esdras ii. 18.) Dean Stanley says that he “had come to be regarded as almost the Patron Saint of Palestine” (‘Lectures on the Jewish Church,’ vol. iii. p. 321).

15. Jeremias . . . gave to Judas a sword of gold.] The “sword” of this passage (ῥούθαὶ) is to be distinguished from the “sword” (μιχαπα) of 1 Macc. iii. 13, which Judas had hitherto employed. The ῥοθαὶ was the long broadsword of the Thracians—a much more formidable weapon than the short μιχαπα or ξίφος; and though given only in vision, indicated an increased power of slaughtering enemies. By “a sword of gold” we are to understand a sword with a golden hilt, and with the blade also, perhaps, inlaid partly with gold. On the appropriation of gold to the dress, arms, and accoutrements of divine personages, see the comment on ch. x. 29.

16. with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.] Rather, as Dean Stanley translates, “And with it thou shalt crush thine enemies.” The whole idea of the vision was, that such a powerful aid was vouchsafed from heaven as would utterly crush and destroy the entire force of the Syro-Macedonians.

§ 6. THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TO THE CONFLICT. THE PRAYER OF JUDAS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE ENGAGING.

17-24. Animated to the highest pitch of confident daring by the exhortations of Judas, and especially by his narrative of his vision, the small company of Jews insisted on marching at once against the enemy, being eager to engage. They felt that the battle would be decisive of their fate as a nation. If they were successful, all would be well; if the contrary, the country, city, Temple would be lost. The writer represents them as chivalrously anxious about the Temple—so lately recovered, so greatly in danger of being again lost, so blasphemously threatened by their proud enemy. Friends, brethren, kinsfolk, even wife and children, were of less account than the recently purified sanctuary (ὁ καθηγαμηνὸς ναός). At Jerusalem the peril was equally seen, and the issue expected with even greater anxiety. The two armies drew near Judas, “with his small band, saw the large and variegated host of the Syrians approach, the furious elephants snorting in the centre, the cavalry hovering on the wings. It was, if ever, a time and place to invoke the Divine aid which supports the few against the many” (Stanley). Judas’s prayer is given with substantial agreement by the authors of both the First and the Second Book (1 Macc. vii. 41, 42; 2 Macc. xv. 22-24). It invoked upon the proud blasphemer of the day the fate of Sennacherib.

17. the swords of Judas, which were very good.] Rather, “which were altogether noble.”

18. to encourage the hearts of the young.] Rather, “to revive the spirits.” It is implied that they had been drooping and depressed.

19. they determined not to pitch camp.] The author of the First Book says, that Judas “pitched in Adasa” (ch. vii. 40). The present writer does not contradict the statement. He only means that, after hearing the account of the vision, the army on the same day encountered the enemy.

20. the sanctuary.] Grimm translates, “the religion;” but it is better to understand by τὰ ἱερὰ, “the Temple building,” and by τὸ λειψῶν, “the sacred enclosure.”

21. the care that they took.] Rather, “the anxiety that they felt.”

22. was in least account.] Rather, “in less account.” No doubt it was very great; but it was not so great as their anxiety for the Temple.

23. they that were in the city took not the least
20 And now, when as all looked what should be the trial, and the enemies were already come near, and the army was set in array, and the beasts conveniently placed, and the horsemen set in wings,

21 Maccabeus saw the coming of the multitude, and the divers preparations of armour and the fierceness of the beasts, stretched out his hands toward heaven, and called upon the Lord that worketh wonders, knowing that victory cometh not by arms, but even as it seemeth good to him, he giveth it to such as are worthy:

carr.] Dean Stanley notes that the hills about Beth-boron, near which the fight took place, are visible from Jerusalem. Thus the city was in the greatest excitement. Translate "They that were in the city experienced no common agony."

20. when as all looked what should be the trial.] Rather, "what should be the decision"—how the matter should end.

the beasts conveniently placed.] By "the beasts" are clearly meant "the elephants." It has been argued that Nicanor could have had no elephants, since, shortly before Demetrius obtained the throne, certain Roman commissioners had forced Lysias to surrender the Syrian elephant-force, and had massacred the unfortunate animals (Grimm on 2 Macc. xiv. 12). Such a massacre certainly took place (Polyb. xxxi. 12; Appian, 'Syriae.' § 46). But it is open to question, (1) whether Lysias surrendered the whole force; and (2) whether Demetrius did not supply the place of those that were killed by fresh purchases. The onerous conditions of the treaty of Magnesia were, as much as possible, evaded by the Syrian kings.

the horsemen set in wings.] Rather, "on the wings." Compare the arrangement of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 40).

21. the divers preparations of armour.] Livy says the army of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia—"Regia acies servia magis multis gentibus, dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat" (I. e. c.). Nicanor's army probably presented a similar variety on a smaller scale.

called upon the Lord that worketh wonders.] Or, according to another reading, "called upon the wondering, all-seeing God."

22. thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias.] See 2 Kings ix. 15; 2 Chron. xxxvii. 21; Is. xxxvii. 36.

22. Therefore in his prayer he said after this manner; O Lord, "thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias king of Judea, and didst slay in the host of Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand:

23 Wherefore now also, O Lord of heaven, send a good angel before us for a fear and dread unto them;

24 And through the might of thine arm let those be stricken with terror, that come against thy holy people to blaspheme. And he ended thus.

25 Then Nicanor and they that and didst slay.] Some MSS. give καὶ ἀνέβης, "and he slew," for καὶ ἀνέβης, "and didst slay." The difference is unimportant.

23. send a good angel before us.] Compare ch. xi. 6.

24. those . . . that come against thy holy temple.] Rather, "that came." The reference is to the past action of Nicanor recorded in ch. xiv. 31–33.

§ 7. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF Nicanor. TREATMENT OF HIS BODY. APPOINTMENT OF Nicanor's DAY.

25–36. The two armies advanced to the encounter, the Syrians with trumpets and singing, the Jews with calling on God and prayer. There was scarcely any struggle. Nicanor fell in the first onset (1 Macc. vii. 43), and his army "cast away their weapons and fled" (ib. v. 44). The rout was complete. Our author calculates the slain at 35,000; but the older historian does not venture on any estimate. On the return from the pursuit, Nicanor's body was found, and on account of his blasphemies was treated with indignity. The head and right arm were struck off and carried to Jerusalem, where they were held up before the Syrian garrison in the Acra by way of derision. The head, after the tongue had been cut out, was actually nailed to the wall of the heathen fortress. The tongue which had blasphemed was chopped into small pieces and thrown to the birds. The hand and arm that had been stretched out to threaten the Holy Place was fastened to the "Beautiful Gate"—thence called "the Gate of Nicanor." Finally, in commemoration of the victory, the day of its occurrence, the 13th of Adar, was appointed for annual observance, and became known as "Nicanor's day."

25. Nicanor and they that were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.] On
were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.

26 But Judas and his company encountered the enemies with invocation and prayer.

27 So that fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts, they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men: for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

28 Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew that Nicanaor lay dead in his harness.

29 Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language.

30 And Judas, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens both in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to strike off Nicanaor’s head, and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem.

31 So when he was there, and had called them of his nation together, and set the priests before the altar, he sent for them that were of the tower.

32 And shewed them vile Nicanaor’s head, and the hand of that blasphemer, which with proud brag, he had stretched out against the holy temple of the Almighty.

33 And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanaor, he

29. in their own language.] The use of this phrase seems to imply that Greek was already the tongue most frequently spoken by the Jews.

30. Judas . . . who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life.] Rather, “who still retained the love for his countrymen that he had in his youth.”

to strike off Nicanaor’s head and his hand.] The head and hand had both sinned—the head, in that the brain conceived the blasphemous thought of ch. xiv. 33, and the mouth uttered it; the hand, in that it was stretched out threateningly against the Most High. It was not the habit of the Jews to mutilate the bodies of the slain; but the case of Nicanaor was regarded as exceptional, and so as justifying exceptional treatment.

with his shoulder.] Rather, “with the arm.” Compare ch. xii. 35.

31. be sent for them that were of the tower.] The chief men of the Acra are evidently intended. They were certainly not under his authority, and he could not require their attendance. But he may have sent for them on the plea of negotiations (Grotius), or simply telling them that he had something of importance to communicate. It was for them to attend or not as they pleased. According to our author, they obeyed his summons.

32. shewed them vile Nicanaor’s head and the hand, &c.] Not only certifying to them Nicanaor’s death, but making them aware, at any rate in part, of the punishment with which it had been determined to visit his blasphemy.

which . . . he had stretched out against the holy temple.] See ch. xiv. 33, and compare 1 Macc. vii. 47.

33. when he had cut out the tongue of that
II. MACCABEES. XV.

34 And they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before /Mardocheus' day.

35 He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower, an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord.

36 And they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before /Mardocheus' day.

37 Thus went it with Nicanor: and from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power. And here will I make an end.

38 And if I have done well, and as with a religious ceremonial. (See Hooker, 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' v. 81, § 6.)

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34. every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord.] "Crying toward heaven" is a common expression in the First Book, where the name of God is generally avoided. "Praising toward heaven" is a rare expression, but may be understood to mean, "with eyes and hands lifted heavenwards." The word translated "glorious" means probably "present to aid," and glances back at v. 27.

35. He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower.] In the external wall of the Acra. Compare the fastening of Saul's body by the Philistines to the wall of Beth-shan (1 Sam. xxxi. 10).

36. they ordained all with a common decree.] A decree of the Council of Elders, which was the chief civil authority at Jerusalem (ch. x. 8; xl. 27; xiv. 37), is probably intended. It was recognised that the civil power might lawfully appoint days for commemoration of events important to the nation.
is fitting the story, it is that which I
desired: but if slenderly and meanly,
it is that which I could attain unto.

39 For as it is hurtful to drink
wine or water alone; and as wine
mingled with water is pleasant, and
delighteth the taste: even so speech
finely framed delighteth the ears of
them that read the story. And here
shall be an end.

had the city in their power, I also will here
bring my relation to an end." The author
means that he ends where the danger to the
(eastern) city and Temple ended.

38. if slenderly and meanly, it is that which
I could attain unto.] Observe that the writer
claims no inspiration—no divine assistance at
all. The work is his own composition, and
if defective is so through his defects. He
only claims to have done as well as he could.

39. as it is hurtful to drink wine or water
alone.] To drink wine untempered with
water would be regarded in the East as
naturally leading to intoxication. To drink
water alone was probably reckoned unwhole-
some. (See 1 Tim. v. 23.)

speech finely framed.] Rather, "the arrange-
ment of the narrative." The pleasure, i.e., of
reading a history depends on the arrangement
of its various facts and circumstances by the
author, who must mingle "wine" with
"water"—or highly-wrought and exciting
passages with others of a more level and
tamer cast—if he would give satisfaction to
the reader. How far he has done this, the
author leaves the reader to say.

THE END OF THE APOCRYPHA.